The Ecology of Language Planning in Timor-Leste

A study of language policy, planning and practices in identity construction

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K. J. Taylor-Leech

Errata List

Page vi: Figure 2. Additional credit should be "Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin."


Page 10: Instituto Nacional Linguística. The correct term is Instituto Nacional de Linguística.


Page 93: Figure 5. 55% of the 36-65 year age group. The correct percentage should be 16% of the 36-65 age group.

Figure 5. Exogenous and endogenous languages: Self-reported capability by age group. (Interpolated from Table 2.04 of the Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004 National Priority Tables, Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 82).

Page 167: Judicial System Monitoring Project. The correct title is Judicial System Monitoring Program.


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For a revised version of this thesis, please see www.taylor-leech.id.au
Loriku Português
Birus oan Timor
Ruas re’in hamutuk
Mesan lain kmurak

The Lorikeet is Portuguese
The Birus is Timorese
On the branch beside each other
They are both beautiful

From Knananuk
Traditional Tetum Quatrains.
Written and compiled by the lia na’in
Paulo Quintão Da Costa
(Sarmento, no date, p. 60)
MESSAGE FROM THE THIRD WORLD

Don’t be afraid to confess you drew blood
  Tore ulcers in my flesh
  Took me from my sea of fish and salt
  And the sweet water and the good land;
  You lifted the cross against my gods
  Silenced the words in my mind.

Don’t be afraid to confess you invented evil
  In torturing millions of me
  In giving me the ground you refused
  The fruit you found bitter
  The work you did not want
  And less than half an alphabet.

Don’t be afraid to confess the power
  Which silenced my dances
  Quenched my open fires
  Revealed my secrets and mysteries
  Destroyed all my games
  And also the songs of my ancestors.

Don’t be afraid, friend, I don’t hate you.
That was my history and yours. And I survived
  To build roads and cities at your side
  To create factories and science,
  The world could not be made by only you.

By the East Timorese writer Fernando Sylvan
  Translated by Barry Lane Bianchi.
  (Marcos, 1995, p. 211)
Translations

Unless otherwise stated, all official documents in this thesis are cited in their English versions. Unless otherwise stated, all other translations in this thesis are the author’s own.
This work is dedicated to the Queensland East Timorese Students Association
Figure 1: The geographical location of Timor-Leste (National Geographic, 2004)

Figure 2: Map of Timor-Leste, including the enclave of Oecussi and the island of Atauro. The map also shows West Timor and the islands of Roti, Semau, Flores, Pantar, Alor, Wetar and Kisar, all mentioned in this thesis (United States Central Intelligence Agency, 2003).
This thesis is concerned with the ways in which language policy, planning and practices shape national and social identity. The research was conducted in the young nation of Timor-Leste, which achieved independence in 2002 after 24 years of illegal occupation by Indonesia. The Constitution of the new republic declared the former colonial language, Portuguese, and the indigenous lingua franca, Tetum, to be co-official languages. English and Indonesian were allocated the special status of working languages. The Constitution also allocated the 15 endogenous languages the status of national languages, to be protected and developed by the State.

The thesis is structured around three classic language problems for developing nations, (i) dealing with the legacies of colonialism, (ii) reconstructing national identity, and (iii) managing the language ecology. The thesis is theoretically grounded in the ecology of language paradigm, which is founded on the assumption that languages exist and work in ecological relation to each other. Using multiple methods within an ethnographic design, the thesis provides a qualitative, holistic description and analysis of language policy, planning and practices in their cultural context. Taking a dualistic approach, the thesis studies language policy discourses at the macro (state) level and the micro (community) level. A sociolinguistic profile identifies the features of the language ecology; an historical study highlights the symbolic violence to the East Timorese habitus as a result of four distinct periods of language policy, planning and practice, the consequence of which was the fragmentation and hybridisation of identities. A qualitative analysis of contemporary language policy development discusses the issues and implications of the current trajectory for language policy-making, planning and use. The evolutionary study design culminates in a grounded theory analysis of data collected from 78 participants in semi-structured interviews and focus groups, in an effort to understand the relationships between language dispositions, language policy, and national and social identity. The narratives in the participant discourses were compared to those of official language policy.

A key finding is that, while older participants in the research were willing to accept Portuguese as the language of national and international identity, younger
participants tended to acknowledge a role for Portuguese as the primary source language for modernising and enriching Tetum and as a language of international communication. The participants were divided in their attitudes towards Indonesian. Older participants saw it as the language of the invader while many younger ones saw it as just another way to communicate. Whilst interest in English was high, it had little capital for the participants as a language of identity. In contrast, across much of the sample, there was deep and enduring loyalty to Tetum as the symbol of national unity and identity. However, negative, disparaging attitudes towards Tetum and doubts about its readiness to function as an official language were also elicited from certain participants. The thesis concludes that this has negative implications for reconstructing social and national identity and for achieving true parity between Portuguese and Tetum in the ecology.

The data indicate that linguistic identities in Timor-Leste are multiple, situated and contested, particularly amongst the younger participants. However, the data also show that, in spite of these contestations, there is higher congruity between official and popular language policy discourses than might be expected, given the negative reporting East Timorese language policy has received in the Australian media.

The thesis concludes that a more socially accommodating conception of identity would imply stronger efforts to promote respect for Tetum as the language of national unity and identity. This involves promoting it as a language fit for schooling and use in high-status domains. A socially accommodating approach to language planning would also imply a substantive commitment to indigenising literacy and promoting the national languages as symbols of local identity. The thesis presents the case for a consistently maintenance-oriented promotion policy approach that moves beyond mere tolerance and symbolic recognition of the endogenous languages. A language-as-resource ideology and a bottom-up approach to language planning which grants agency and voice to traditionally less powerful social actors and communities are advocated as essential to policy success.

This is the first doctoral study of language policy, planning and practices in Timor-Leste. The methodological significance of the thesis lies in its respecification and integration of analytical tools from critical discourse analysis and ethnographic approaches in order to understand the effects of language shift and reform on language communities and their speakers. The theoretical significance of the thesis lies principally in its contribution to a theory of ecological language policy and
planning in producing a set of principles for sustainable ecological language management.
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This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed

Kerry Jane Taylor-Leech

March 2007
Chapter 1 Research Perspectives

1.0 The Purpose of the Research

This thesis is a study of the role of language policy and planning in shaping identity. As a newly independent state, Timor-Leste faces language problems common to many multilingual developing countries. Among them is the problem of constructing an identity that encompasses the nation. It is within the boundaries of modern nation-states that certain language varieties come to be dominant, small groups come to be regarded as minorities, and small language groups are put under pressure to become bilingual or to shift to the use of dominant languages. The willingness of language groups to make these shifts depends not only on the economic and social advantages to be gained but also on consensus about what constitutes national identity. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the relationship between language policy and identity construction—or what may more accurately be described as re-construction—in Timor-Leste.

At independence in 2002, in response to widespread popular demands for the recognition of Tetum and the endogenous languages, the government of Timor-Leste adopted two co-official languages, Portuguese as the language of wider communication and Tetum as the language of national identity, abolishing the status of Indonesian as the official language. The 15 other endogenous languages were allocated the status of national languages. Indonesian and English were given the status of working languages in recognition of their strong presence in the language ecology. This was a courageous policy decision, not only politically, but also because of the immense resources that will be required to bring about such an extensive change in the language ecology. A list of the tasks facing language policy-makers and planners in Timor-Leste reveals the enormity of the challenge. Such radical modification of the linguistic environment involves, at the minimum:

- Convincing people to learn or relearn Portuguese.
- Bringing about the standardisation of Tetum and encouraging people to accept and implement the new standard.
- Abolishing Indonesian as the medium of instruction.
• Introducing two new languages of instruction, Tetum and Portuguese, across all educational sectors.
• Enabling the development of bilingualism and biliteracy in Tetum and Portuguese.
• Making language reform work across all sectors.
• Delivering on the promise in the Constitution to protect and develop the national languages.
• Balancing the demands for, and the place of, English and Indonesian in the language ecology, with actual needs.

1.1 The Aims of the Thesis and the Language Problems to be Studied

This thesis studies the challenges facing this resource-poor nation in making its declared language policy an instrument of language and human development. The thesis has three broad aims:

1. To understand the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste.
2. To identify and characterise the goals, motives and orientations of East Timorese language policy and planning.
3. To assess the congruence between official and popular language policy discourses in Timor-Leste.

Three classic problems of language policy and planning in newly independent, multilingual developing nations (see, for example, Rubin & Jernudd, 1971) provide the structure for this thesis:

1. Dealing with the legacies of colonialism.
2. Reconstructing national and social identity.
1.1.1 The Legacies of Colonialism

Timor-Leste is a highly multilingual society. According to Wurm (2001) the Greater Pacific area, in which Timor-Leste is situated, is one of the most linguistically diverse regions of the globe, home to 29.4% or over 2,000 of the world’s 6,912 oral languages—according to Ethnologue (Gordon, 2005). The two great Austronesian and the Papuan language families meet in Timor-Leste. According to Hull’s (1998a) classification, there are 16 distinct endogenous languages, including Tetum. The languages of Portuguese, Indonesian, English, Malay, Arabic and at least two varieties of Chinese (Hakka and Cantonese) are also present.

Yet, until the present day, the linguistic diversity of Timor-Leste has either been ignored or treated as a problem for elimination by ruling groups. These groups have sought to impose their languages on the people of Timor-Leste through the twin processes of linguistic and cultural assimilation. For hundreds of years language policy and planning have acted as the agents of underdevelopment. Language policy and planning on the part of the Portuguese and the Indonesian administrations were quite different in many ways. However, they were similar in one important respect: their use of language policy and planning as part of a range of both coercive and ideological strategies to maintain the hegemony of the governing powers (see Chick, 2002, who discussed this in the context of South Africa). These policies worked to the detriment of endogenous languages and speech communities whose speakers were marginalised because proficiency in the colonial languages was required in order to gain access to positions and services in most social institutions, for example, higher education and the civil service. Moreover, second languages were taught with the intention of supplanting the first, resulting in low levels of literacy and language development in the colonial languages and the relegation of the endogenous languages to low-status oral usage. Not only did this deny East Timorese people access to development opportunities, but it also denied them the right to define their own identity both as a people and as individuals. Rather, East Timorese national and social identity was subsumed into new hegemonic identities constructed by successive colonial powers.
1.1.2 Reconstructing National and Social Identity

The issue of national identity is a vexed one in Timor-Leste. Following Chick (2002) in his discussion of the role of language policy and planning in identity reconstruction in South Africa, this thesis argues that past discourses of language planning have served to construct quite different hegemonic identities in Timor-Leste: one, an elitist, colonial identity that reflected and served the interests of the Portuguese; and the other, a conflicted identity imposed by the Indonesians. The East Timorese nation has changed profoundly since the decolonisation process was interrupted by civil war and the first declaration of independence in 1975 by the Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (henceforth referred to as Fretilin), which was followed by the immediate annexation of the country by Indonesia. Fretilin constructed a popular anti-colonial identity in the notion of the maubere, or common people, a term that has provoked some debate over its current relevance and political acceptability (see Esperança, 2001). Moreover, the experiences of colonialism, occupation, and diaspora have reshaped the identities of a number of groups, which have formed differing attachments to the languages in the social system and perceptions of their role. The links between language and national identity are now more complex and multi-layered than they have been at any previous time. Not only have identities been hybridised, but they are also fractured and contested (see Crockford, 2003; Wise, 2002).

The challenge for the present government of Timor-Leste is the extent to which it can meet the demands of its different social groups, particularly youth, for the recognition of their identity. A further challenge for the government is the extent to which it can provide the opportunity for its various linguistic groups to preserve and develop their cultural and linguistic heritage without hindering their participation in the economic and social institutions of the wider, national society, through low proficiency in the languages of wider communication. From a language-planning perspective, this leads one to question the extent to which language policy and planning shape national and social identity.

In the 1960s and 1970s, when many colonies achieved their independence, language policy and planning tended to focus on the particular needs of developing nations and on the processes of bringing about modernisation and linguistic homogeneity (see, for example, Fishman, 1967; 1968). A homogenous linguistic
identity is not easily defined in the independent East Timorese nation, which has emerged from almost half a century of assimilationist language planning. As is often the case where the relationship between language and identity is controversial, political groupings inside and outside the country exploit language issues for their own ends. Another source of pressure is the tendency in the English-speaking press to attack the language policy decision, to present multilingualism as a problem, and to advocate monolingualism as a preferable, even desirable, state of affairs. One particularly negative example may serve to illustrate this point:

As East Timor looks ahead to full independence in May, a political decision to junk Indonesian and revert to Portuguese has done more than just turn the clock back. It has magnified the already difficult task of nation-building into a mind-boggling, budget-bleeding, head-banging exercise. (Cohen, 2002, p. 50)

The presence of a large body of international aid workers and non-government organisations (henceforth referred to as NGOs)–creating pressure to learn and use English–adds another dimension, which further complicates the issues. To give a second illustrative example, Nicolai (2004, p. 102) noted that, “Unfortunately, several donors expressed in interviews that they had been somewhat deterred in their contributions to the education sector due to language policies instituted by the East Timorese.” In a third example, this extract from an article in an Australian national newspaper (Sheridan, 2006, p. 12) sums up one journalist’s attitudes to East Timorese policy-making and the Australian diplomatic relationship with Portugal in Timor-Leste: “That Portugal should put the preening chauvinism of language promotion above the genuine interests of the East Timorese adds another chapter of shame to Portugal’s appalling colonial record …”. Yet in the same article, Sheridan made his assumption that Australia had the right to intervene in the decisions of another sovereign state quite clear, in his claim that:

… Canberra did want East Timor to have a large standing army and a separate police force. We lost that argument. Canberra did not want East Timor to choose Portuguese as its national language [sic] or model its constitution on that of Portugal. We lost those arguments too.

Australian press reports and editorials have at times openly called for Indonesian and English to be official languages (see The Australian, 2001; The Australian, 2002a). Multilingualism in Timor-Leste is consistently presented in a negative light and the adoption of Portuguese is portrayed as an inexplicable decision taken by a
government that is out of touch with the people (see, for example, Schulz and Freitas, 2002; The Australian, 2002b; Funnell, 2002). Further examples of the belligerent attitudes in the Australian press may be found on the website of the East Timorese National Institute of Languages (www.asianlang.mq.edu.au/INL/press.html). Other sections of the Anglophone press, particularly in Indonesia, also attack the decision to adopt Portuguese (see Khalik, 2007; Steele and Macdonald, 2007).

1.1.3 The Management of the Linguistic Ecology

The thesis follows Kaplan and Baldauf’s (1997, p. xi) broad definition of language planning as, “activity most visibly undertaken by government … intended to promote systematic linguistic change; to modify language behaviour in a community of speakers.” It also follows their definition of language policy as “a set of ideas, laws and practices intended to achieve the desired change” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi). In this thesis, where a generic term is required, the term language policy refers to activities and ideologies at a policy-making level. The term practices is also used to refer to the language strategies and behaviour on the part of colonisers which were not as conscious and deliberate as language planning. Language policy and planning are frequently used to pursue the agendas of those in power (see, for example, Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003), as this study shows. However, they can also be viewed as instruments for actively managing the language ecology. As Fettes (1997) suggested, language policy and planning can be conceived as “a set of theories and practices for managing linguistic ecosystems” (1997, p. 19). Environmental management of any kind is crucial for the potential impacts of decision-making on its component parts. Accordingly, decisions about language planning for nation-building are studied in this thesis for their actual and potential impacts on speakers and speech communities at the various levels of the East Timorese linguistic ecology.

For the first time in its history, Timor-Leste is officially acknowledged as a multilingual society in the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, promulgated on 22nd March, 2002. Section 13 of the Constitution declares:

1. Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste.
2. Tetum and the other national languages shall be valued and developed by the State.

Section 159 (Working Languages) states:

Indonesian and English shall be working languages within the civil service side by side with official languages as long as deemed necessary.

However, it remains to be seen whether these symbolic constitutional statements become substantive. A central problem for discussion in this thesis is what kind of policy focus can construct, or reconstruct, a pluralistic national identity and avoid a hierarchy or oligarchy (see Blommaert & Verschuerin, 1998) of languages. A language hierarchy creates barriers to equal opportunities when significant numbers of speakers lack proficiency in the dominant languages. Timor-Leste is developing in a worldwide linguistic and political order that is very different from the one in which many postcolonial language policies were formulated. According to Wright (2004), identity is increasingly a reflection of affiliations with small language groups, while regional and international lingua franca languages, such as English, facilitate global communication (see, for example, Brutt-Griffler, 2002). In this context alone, the future for the language policy as adopted in the East Timorese Constitution is unclear.

1.2 The Scope and Focus of the Research

This thesis follows the tradition in linguistic anthropology of viewing language as a set of symbolic resources and its use as cultural practice (see Duranti, 1997, p. 3). Also in the methodological traditions of linguistic anthropology, the thesis sets out to produce an ethnographically-grounded account of the linguistic ecological impacts of language reform. Following the focus of linguistic anthropology on situated discourse, the thesis endeavours to capture the multiple discourse strands, incorporating data analytical tools from sociolinguistics, historical enquiry, critical discourse theory and grounded theory.

As Ricento (2006, p. 9) has noted, research in language policy and planning is a multi-disciplinary activity in that theoretical and methodological tools from various disciplines need to be appropriately integrated and applied to real-world language problems. In this enquiry, four research procedures were utilised to produce a holistic analysis and interpretation of language policy and planning in their historical and
social context. These procedures were (a) a sociolinguistic profile of the language ecology at macro or state level and micro or participant level, (b) an historical account of past language policy and practices and their discourses, (c) a qualitative analysis of current official language policy development and its discourses, and (d) a grounded theory analysis of popular language policy discourses. The overall aim was to produce a rich and integrated overview of the ecology of East Timorese language policy and planning, past and present. The four research procedures explored the settings in which the three previously identified sets of language problems—dealing with the legacies of colonialism, constructing identity, and managing the language ecology—have come to the fore and where language has been the subject of competing discourses.

1.2.1 The Treatment of Multilingualism

Governments in different situations develop various strategies in their treatment of multilingualism. The classification of approaches to multilingualism on the part of the agents of language policy and planning can reveal a great deal about the kind of identity that is being shaped. In this thesis, language policy planning and practices are examined for their motivations (see Ager, 1999; 2001), taking a view of language policy and planning not only as who does what to whom (Cooper, 1989), but also why. Thus, a specific focus of the study is to identify the goals, motivations, and orientations of language policy-making, asking what approach to multilingualism and what assumptions about national and social identity are implied. The thesis uses frameworks developed by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000; see also Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; 1994) and extended by Annamalai (2003), to characterise the treatment of multilingualism from a linguistic human rights perspective. Ager’s (2001; 2005) seven motivations for language policy and planning and Ruiz’ (1984) language policy orientations for multilingual nations add strength to the analysis. According to Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2000, pp. 512 – 514); see also Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989, pp. 12-18) classification, policy treatments of language use fall into four types (see also Annamalai, 2003): (a) elimination or prohibition; (b) tolerance or permission; (c) non-discrimination prescription; and (d) maintenance and promotion. The prohibition of a language is brought about by forbidding or penalising its use. The goal is to force users to assimilate to the dominant language. Tolerance of a language
can take the form of indifference or a laissez-faire attitude towards its use, or its exclusion from policy formulations. Non-discrimination prescription describes efforts to prevent discrimination against people on the basis of language. The maintenance and promotion of a language includes proactive government efforts to institutionalise its use in public domains, such as education, public administration and the legal system. From this hierarchy of outcomes, the crucial question is whether Timor-Leste is able to achieve the goal of the maintenance and promotion of multilingualism and the linguistic human rights of all speakers in its ecology of languages.

1.2.2 Language Policy Discourses

As Chick (2002, p. 462) has argued, in situations of flux and rapid structural change, it is easier to observe the role of discourse in constructing, maintaining, and eroding social institutions and forming attitudes. The thesis uses the term discourse in a number of ways. Its interest in discourse lies beyond language use. Jaworski and Coupland (1999, p. 3) described discourse as “… language use relative to social, political and cultural formations … language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals’ interaction with society.” The thesis also adopts Chick’s (2002, p. 463) concept of discourse as: “ways of using language and other means of expression to construct social identities and social relations of power.” Moreover, the thesis makes use of Fairclough’s (1989, p. 4) definition of discourse as “the manufacture of consent to, or at least acquiescence towards the dominant group’s hegemony.” This view of discourse accepts that the term embodies assumptions about social identities and relations. It also accepts that dominant groups establish and sustain their hegemony by means of ideological strategies (see Thompson, 1990). Such strategies include, on the one hand, projecting their discourse conventions and the assumptions implicit in them as commonsense (in other words, naturalising their own discourse), and on the other, stigmatising the discourse conventions of subordinate groups. Individuals and groups that do not share these assumptions about social identities sometimes contest them by using discourses invested with quite different assumptions about social identities. Accordingly, social institutions are often sites of struggle between competing discourses: “a cultural arena where ideological, discursive and social forces collide in an ever-unfolding drama of dominance and resistance” (Kumaravadivelu, 1999, p. 475).
By extension, following Hornberger’s (2000) proposal that language policies can be viewed as discursive constructs, it is suggested in this thesis that past language and language-in-education policies contributed to the construction of an East Timorese identity around the hegemonic discourses of Portuguese and Indonesian colonialism. The National Constitution of 2002 is informed by more rights-oriented assumptions (Ruiz, 1984). Section 16 of the constitution provides that “there shall be no discrimination against any person on grounds of language, race, gender, ethnic origin, social or economic status, religion and education.” Section 13 also states that, alongside the official languages, the national languages “shall be valued and developed by the State.” The thesis considers whether this policy approach has the potential to construct a multicultural and multilingual identity that is authentic, dynamic, and inclusive. An examination of the discourses used in and in response to language policy and planning can reveal official and popular assumptions about national and social identity and the extent to which they are shared or contested. Thus, a central focus in this thesis is the degree of congruence between official and popular discourses concerning language policy.

1.3 The Official Agents of Language Planning

Five key official bodies have enacted language policy measures: (a) the Council of Ministers (comprising the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers and the Ministers); (b) the Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport (Ministério de Cultura, Juventude e Esporto, henceforth referred to as the MECYS); (c) the Superior Council of Magistrates, under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice; (d) the 88-member Constituent Assembly, now the National Parliament, which drew up the National Constitution of 2002; and (e) the National Institute of Languages (Instituto Nacional Linguística, henceforth referred to as the INL).

The INL (http://www.asianlang.mq.edu.au/INL/) describes its mission thus: “To oversee all language-oriented research (including language-in-education projects, interpreting and translating and teaching English as a second language) carried out within the national territory.”
1.4 The Research Questions

The statement of aims, the identification of the problems and the delineation of the scope of the thesis above lead to the following primary research question:

- In what ways have past and present language policy, planning, and practices shaped national and social identity in Timor-Leste?

This thesis defines the interaction between national and social identity as: “the search for reconciliation between nation building and demands by different citizens for recognition of communal identity” (Bekker, 1999, p. 1). In order to address the first research question, the thesis discusses how official discourse constructs the imagined community of Timor-Leste today, to use Anderson’s (1983) celebrated expression. It is not the same community imagined when Fretilin formed its first, short-lived government in 1975 and, following the norms of the time in officialising the former colonial language, declared Portuguese to be the sole official language. The thesis draws on the notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990a), the third space and negotiated identities (Bhabha, 1990; 1994; 1996) to situate the identity discourses.

Language policies need to be understood and interpreted in the context in which they are introduced. Therefore, popular understandings of such policies are central to this thesis. The East Timorese people are well informed politically. The Asia Foundation Survey of Citizen Knowledge (2002, p. 29) has indicated that, despite very high levels of illiteracy, at least 77% of the East Timorese population are aware that there is a constitution and that it mentions two official languages. Two further research questions posed by this study attempt to understand what this awareness might mean. The second research question seeks to assess the extent to which the research participants share the official discourses of language policy and identity. Thus, the second research question asks:

- Are popular discourses of language and identity congruent with official language policy discourses in Timor-Leste?

Language policy and planning can be conceptualised from a number of different perspectives, each of which potentially influences outcomes. The third
research question, which seeks to assess the implications and predict the outcomes of
the current language policy trajectory, asks:

- What outcomes may result from the current language policy trajectory in
  Timor-Leste in terms of the management of the language ecology?

1.5 The Theoretical and Methodological Significance of the Study

This is the first doctoral study addressing language policy and planning in
Timor-Leste. Its significance lies in its contribution to language policy research,
policy-making, and planning in multilingual developing polities. If aspirations to
social cohesion and participatory democracy are to become realities in Timor-Leste,
meaningful social inclusion is of critical importance. Examples from other polities
have shown that language policy can be a key instrument in establishing a climate of
tolerance or exclusion. To give a single illustrative example, as Lo Bianco (2001, p.
123) has pointed out, the 1956 Sinhala Language Act was widely regarded as a major
contributory factor in the breakdown of communal relations in Sri Lanka. Thus,
although the primary significance of this study arises from its attention to language
policy and planning in the particular context of Timor-Leste, it may be possible to
extend its findings to other multilingual and developing communities and nation-
building contexts.

The study’s secondary theoretical significance lies in the fact that it takes an
ecological view of language policy and planning. The thesis uses the case of Timor-
Leste to develop a theory about what ecological language policy and planning might
mean in practice. The thesis aims to get to the heart of language policy and planning
processes by analysing how and why symbolic power has been accorded to particular
language varieties and what this means for its target population in their lived
experience.

The methodological significance of this study lies in its holistic approach,
which draws on the traditions of ethnographic enquiry and mixed-methods research.
The study brings together a range of stakeholders’ accounts to produce a rich and
deep understanding of the ecological impacts of language policy and planning. The
combination of macro-level policy analysis with micro-level analysis of their
interpretations in local communities is a major innovative feature of this study. Its
significance also lies in the fact that it is a new study of a contemporary post-colonial context, built from a strong empirical base. The study combines historical with contemporary data to provide crucial background knowledge that contributes towards an understanding of the dynamics of language policy and planning from the state to the community levels of the linguistic ecology. Unlike many language policy and planning studies, this study explores language issues and attitudes from both the top-down and the bottom up.

1.5.1 The Global and Local Significance of the Study

Timor-Leste as an example of modern post-colonial language planning highlights the tension between the need to meet political imperatives and to deal with urgent economic, social, and sociolinguistic problems. Many of the development issues raised in relation to Timor-Leste are common to other small, island polities in Asia and the Southwest Pacific. They have relatively small populations, colonial histories and languages, struggle with weak economies, are in the grip of international organizations, and face the pressures of the spread of global languages, particularly English. An examination of the politics of language in Timor-Leste presents us with a case of language policy in the making and the nature of language problems in an under-resourced, desperately poor, post-conflict society. An analysis of the specific features of the East Timorese language ecology can reveal much about the complex interplay between the global and the local in language policy and planning for the global age.

Thus, a doctoral study of the language situation in Timor-Leste and its impact on nation building is significant for a number of reasons. At a global level, whilst a particular set of socio-political circumstances has affected language maintenance, survival and change in Timor-Leste, its linguistic ecology shares many similarities with its southwest Pacific neighbours and other multilingual developing countries. It is still unclear how the new language policy will affect the two families of local vernacular languages in particular, whose domains have been severely disrupted and

1 Note that in this thesis, the term post-colonial is hyphenated in order to distinguish it from postcolonial, which refers to the theoretical term.
restricted not only by the promotion of Portuguese and Indonesian but also by the spread of the Tetum language (Hajek, 2002). The problem faced in Timor-Leste of maintaining the endogenous languages and allocating them a niche in the ecology is common to many Pacific nations. In many societies in Australasia and the South Pacific, local languages exist in a context dominated by an official language, which, in many cases, is English. According to Baldauf and Djité (2003, p. 217), 15 of the 20 polities in Australasia and the South Pacific give English some sort of official role. This has led to a shift away from the smaller local languages. Consequently, natural linguistic variation has been reduced, while the position and dominance of local standard languages and English as a language of wider communication has been reinforced. Based on these trends, linguists believe that language extinction will be common in the region (Baldauf & Djité, 2003, p. 221). Mühlhäusler (1996) has warned that unless there are measures to protect these smaller languages, the fragile regional linguistic ecology will collapse, extinguishing hundreds of languages.

At a local level, linguistic research in Timor-Leste has to date been in the fields of structural and descriptive linguistics, focusing on the study of languages and their origins and their relationships with other language families in the region. Linguists have carried out important studies of the structure of East Timorese languages under difficult political circumstances and have laid the foundations for language revival and reform. However, applied linguistic research is in its infancy in Timor-Leste. To date, a doctoral study of language revival and reform in its sociolinguistic and political context has not been undertaken. This study hopes to contribute to the language and identity debate in Timor-Leste by making connections between past and present language problems and speculating about their future, using interdisciplinary procedures, and by applying language planning and identity theory.

Finally, issues of language and identity are widely understood to be important in a globalising world. Awareness of the importance of minority language rights and linguistic diversity is enjoying a revival in debates on nationalism, globalisation, and the spread of languages of wider communication. The need for the study of the relationship between language and identity in conflict resolution has been recognised both by scholars and by international bodies concerned with language issues. As Felix Marti, president of the International Committee of LINGUAPAX, has stated:

The observation of the fact that the conflicts which occur in the world are always linked to questions of cultural and linguistic identity leads us to realise
that when a good linguistic policy is put into place, we are setting up the bastions of peace. (in Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003, p. 2)

The perpetrators of the violence in Timor-Leste in 2006 appear to have been able to mobilise old regional tensions between Easterners (Lorosa’e) and Westerners (Loromunu) by investing them with ethnic overtones. This highlights more than ever the importance of the task of building social cohesion. Language policy and planning have a central role to play in this process.

1.6 Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2 reviews the literature informing the study. Key sociolinguistic terms are introduced and essential language policy and planning terms are defined according to the literature. The ecology of language is reviewed for its utility as a hermeneutic for this thesis. In addition, a review of identity theory highlights key theories that best elucidate the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste. Previous studies of language and identity in Timor-Leste are reviewed in order to identify the need for the present study. Finally, the chapter reviews selected literature concerning bilingual education and medium-of-instruction planning in order to understand the implications of the current trajectory in medium-of-instruction policy in Timor-Leste.

Chapter 3 explains the research design that flowed from the epistemological and ontological assumptions and informed the collection and analysis of data. It specifies the research procedures in detail and explains why an interdisciplinary, mixed-methods approach was taken. Chapter 4 presents a sociolinguistic profile of the contemporary language ecology. A series of micro-level language use profiles of the interview participant groups supplements this macro-level view. These micro-level profiles illustrate the marked variations in language use between the three different participant groups in the interview sample that have occurred because of the changes in the language ecology.

The causes of these intergenerational variations are explained by means of an historical account, which considers the impacts on the language ecology of Portuguese colonialism, the Fretilin interregnum, Indonesian occupation, and the new imperial powers embodied by the agencies of the United Nations and international donors. Chapter 5 traces the evolution of the language ecology from the arrival of the
Portuguese on the island of Timor in 1514 up to the present day and discusses the impact of language policies, planning and practices in these historical periods on the East Timorese habitus.


Chapters 7 and 8 present the participant discourses concerning language policy and identity. The chapters report the findings from a series of semi-structured interviews and focus groups with a range of social actors. These interviews and focus groups elicited participants’ language dispositions and allegiances. The narratives identified in the interviews were examined for their congruence with the official discourses of language policy and planning discussed in the previous chapter. The data analysis utilised a variation of constructivist grounded theory and critical discourse theory.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. It revisits the three broad contextual problems that structure the thesis to bring together the arguments and the implications of the data findings. The chapter readdresses the research questions in order to draw conclusions about the impact of language policy and planning on national and social identity, the discourses of language policy and planning, and the possible outcomes of the current language policy and planning trajectory. Finally, the chapter presents a set of principles designed to contribute to a theory of ecological language policy and planning.
Chapter 2  Review of Literature

2.0  The Theoretical Grounding of the Research

This study is concerned with exploring the role of language policy and planning in shaping identity. As Chapter 1 explains, the thesis is structured around the use of language policy and planning to manage three classic language problems in multilingual developing nations:

1. Dealing with the legacies of colonialism.
2. (Re)constructing national and social identity.
3. Managing the linguistic ecology.

This chapter reviews literature of relevance to these three contextual problems and establishes the theoretical foundations of the research study. Six areas of academic enquiry provide both insights into the problems and theoretical understandings with which to address the research questions and develop the arguments in the thesis. The six sections of this chapter review the following aspects of the literature:

2.1 Language maintenance, language shift and reversing language shift are discussed in order to name and explain some fundamental processes that occur as a result of competition between languages.

2.2 The notion of the ecology of language is reviewed in order to establish its utility as a metaphor and a paradigm in which to situate the research study.

2.3 The field of language policy and planning is reviewed in order to establish some basic definitions of terms. The field is also reviewed to identify descriptive frameworks for the analysis of policy types and approaches and their goals, motives, and orientations.

2.4 Language and identity theories are reviewed in order to select an interpretation from the literature that best describes and facilitates an understanding of the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste.

2.5 Postcolonial views of identity are reviewed with the aim of situating the discourses of language policy and planning and identity in Timor-Leste in a critical context.
2.6 Medium-of-instruction policy and issues in bilingual education are reviewed in order to understand the current trajectory of medium of instruction and literacy planning in Timor-Leste and predict its possible outcomes. These aspects of the literature reflect the multi- and inter-disciplinary nature of the issues in language policy and planning. They also show that there are a number of approaches to understanding the language situation in any given community (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 88).

### 2.1 Language Maintenance, Language Shift and Reversing Language Shift

Three fundamental concepts with which to discuss language change in multilingual contexts are **language maintenance**, **language shift** and **reversing language shift**. These concepts are germane to the enquiry because language policy and planning often take place in multilingual polities where the status and survival of endogenous languages are threatened by the presence of dominant exogenous and global languages. This is particularly true of the Southwest Pacific region where Timor-Leste is situated (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Cunningham, Ingram, & Sumbuk, 2006). Language maintenance is closely related to language shift and they can be regarded as being at either end of a continuum. Language maintenance describes a situation where speech communities sustain the use of their languages despite competition (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). Language shift occurs at the other end of the continuum. Whilst it is difficult to find a unanimously accepted definition of language shift, scholars generally agree that it involves a change by a speaker or speech community from the dominant use of one language to the dominant use of another language in most domains (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). The term can refer to the language behaviour of a whole community, a sub-group within it or an individual (Clyne, 2003, p. 20). It can also refer to a process such as a gradual shift away from the first language in certain domains, to the use of the dominant language (Clyne, 2003; Gal, 1979). Language shift frequently occurs in situations where endogenous or minority languages compete with dominant or majority languages. The result is invariably a shift to the dominant language and loss of the original language(s). In community language shift a whole community gives up or loses its language and
shifts to another language for most of its communicative needs. If the language survives it is because speakers still use it in limited contexts.

The third concept with which to discuss language revival and reform is reversing language shift, for which Fishman provides a comprehensive model (1990; 1991). Reversing language shift in this definition is usually preceded by a period of transitional bilingualism in which the competing languages are used side by side, with one language moving into the domains of the dominant language or the reclamation of domains for the dominated language (Fishman, 1991, p. 393). Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale provides a model of possible steps to reverse language shift, according to “the severity of intergenerational dislocation” (Fishman, 1991, p. 401). One set of strategies is the recognition of official and national languages in education, the local and regional media, government services, work spheres and government operations at higher and national levels (Fishman, 1991, p. 395). The goal in this set of strategies is the increased sharing of power amongst the languages in the system.

Influenced by critical notions such as linguistic imperialism, linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) and language rights (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1997), many researchers have come to focus on the study of language policy and planning from a language maintenance perspective. Studies associated with these approaches have popularised and legitimated the study of language use and language policy from a perspective that advocates respect for multilingualism, cultural diversity and linguistic human rights (see, for example, Hornberger, 1998; May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). Hornberger (2006a, p. 27) endorsed a maintenance perspective in her argument that,

for language planners and policy-makers in multilingual contexts … the question is not so much how to develop languages as which languages to develop for what purposes, and in particular, how and for what purposes to develop local, threatened languages in relation to global, spreading ones.

Mühlhäusler (2000, p. 310) also brought issues of language maintenance and language ecology together in his argument that language policy and planning should aim to sustain structured diversity, that is, diversity defined in terms of meaningful interrelationships between languages. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996, p. 429) combined a language maintenance perspective with a language ecological view, arguing from the premise that “the ecology of language paradigm involves building
on linguistic diversity worldwide, promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning and granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages.” The study of language planning from a maintenance perspective in situations where powerful, global languages compete for space and status with endogenous languages calls for an approach that treats languages as valuable human resources that complement each other rather than compete. This brings us to a consideration of the ecology of language and its utility for this enquiry.

2.2 The Ecology of Language

There are a number of theoretical perspectives from which language policy and planning in Timor-Leste could be examined. The ecology of language has been hailed as a new paradigm for language policy and planning research (Ricento, 2000, p. 20). As metaphor and paradigm, the ecology of language covers a wide range of issues to do with languages in their environment (Ricento, 2006, p. 206). In this section, the notion of language ecology is reviewed. This is followed by a review of aspects of the ecology of language that are most relevant to this thesis.

The notion of language ecology, as Pennycook (2004a, p. 214) has acknowledged, has been a popular and productive way of understanding relationships between languages and their environment, drawing attention to the ways in which languages are embedded in social, cultural, economic and physical ecologies. Among the earliest instances of its invocation was Haugen (1959; 1966; 1972, p. 334), who raised the issue of the reciprocity between languages and the environment. Haugen (1972, pp. 326-329) invoked the tradition of research in human ecology as a metaphor for an approach that comprised not simply the science of language description but also concern for language cultivation and preservation. Haarmann (1986, pp. 1-13) also used an ecological metaphor, positing the term “ecolinguistic variables” (demographic, social, cultural, political, psychological and interactional), which, he argued, form the total environment of a language. Mühlhäuser (1996; 2000; 2001; 2003) and Fill (2001) and others (see, for example, Harmon, 1996; Maffi, 1996; 2000) refined and elaborated the metaphor to address the question of what sort of support systems sustain language ecologies over time.
Three major scholarly contributions to the literature have defined the significance of an ecological approach to the study of language policy and planning. For Mühlhäusler (1996; 2000; 2001; 2003), ecological thinking in language planning is an approach that considers not just system-internal factors but wider environmental issues and interlinked sub-systems in the overall ecology of a language. Mühlhäusler (1996) also argued that language ecologies could be managed in a sustainable way, even in situations of endogenous and exogenous language contact. He suggested that:

Whilst much of the traditional support has been lost for good, it might well be possible to reconstitute different ecologies in which languages can coexist with other introduced languages. The analogy of permaculture suggests that new self-sustaining ecological systems can be created, combining indigenous and introduced species. (Mühlhäusler, 1996, p. 323)

Mühlhäusler (2000, p. 304) argued that small languages could survive in a structured language ecology where both medium-sized intercommunity languages and larger regional languages “make it possible for everyone to communicate as well as to signal their identity.” Mühlhäusler’s suggestion that language ecologies could be managed in a sustainable way is salient to this thesis because it provides a construct that transforms the notion of languages in competition into a dynamic framework for development, which understands languages as part of an interdependent system.

Hornberger (2002) used the ecology of language as a metaphor for language policy and planning, suggesting that it:

… captures a set of ideological underpinnings for a multilingual language policy, in which languages are understood to (1) live and evolve in an eco-system along with other languages (language evolution); (2) interact with their sociopolitical and cultural environments (language environment) and (3) become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them in relation to other languages in the eco-system (language endangerment).

(Hornberger, 2002, pp. 35-36)

Hornberger’s studies of educational language policy and planning have attempted to conceive what ecological language planning might mean in real situations (see, for example, Hornberger, 1998; 2004; Hornberger & King, 1996). These studies are important in the context of this thesis because they show how language policy and planning can serve as vehicles for promoting social inclusion, the vitality of languages and the linguistic rights of their speakers (Hornberger, 1998, p. 439).
Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 271) also drew attention to the importance of considering the whole language environment rather than the treatment of its parts. As they argued, “[Language planning] has tended to assume the modification of one language only and has largely ignored the interaction of multiple languages in a community and multiple non-linguistic factors – that is, the total ecology of the linguistic environment” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 269). For Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 13), “Language planning … is a question of trying to manage the language ecology of a particular language, to support it within the vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political, social structure in which language policy formation occurs every day.” Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 289) introduced the notion of “language change elements” in an ecology of languages, which echo Haarmann’s (1986) ecolinguistic variables. Language change elements represent all the forces at work in a linguistic ecosystem. They include language death, survival, change, revival, shift and spread, amalgamation, contact, pidgin, creole and literacy development. Kaplan and Baldauf also drew attention to the fact that agencies such as government and non-government organisations, education agencies and communities of speakers, have an impact on the languages in the system (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 311). This recognition of the role of agents is of great significance to this study. These contributions have given impetus to the notion of language policy and planning as a model and metaphor for the sustainable management of languages as interrelated and interdependent systems that can be affected by the ecological variables in any given environment.

In contemporary writings on language, the ecology of language is used as metaphor in a number of ways (Fill, 2001). Two themes in the metaphor of relevance to this study are:

(i). **Ecological linguistics**: This term is used to refer to the relationship between languages and their social and physical environment. The significance of the term is in its understanding of the fact that languages cannot be taken in isolation but should be understood in context. As Nettle and Romaine (2000, p. 79) put it, “a language is enmeshed in a social and geographical matrix just as a rare species is enmeshed in an ecosystem”.

(ii). **Ecology of languages**: This term refers to the principle that languages exist in ecological relationship to each other. Mufwene (2001) employed the term in his discussion of the macroecological relations of both internal and
external ecologies. In other words, the term covers both the relationships between languages and the relationships within languages (Pennycook, 2004a, pp. 217-8).

These terms are salient to the research, which seeks to reach a holistic understanding of how the complex variables in the East Timorese language environment interact and how they have been and might be managed. Whilst the ecological metaphor and paradigm has been criticised for its underestimation of the role of human agency in language change (Crawford, 1998; Crowley, 2000; Kibbee, 2003; Ladefoged, 1992; Pennycook, 2004a), the review of literature suggests that it offers a dynamic and flexible hermeneutic in which to situate the discussion of language problems, language change, language change elements and their treatment in Timor-Leste from a critical perspective that advocates language maintenance and language rights. The ecology of language also encompasses a theory of social change, which, as Cooper (1989, p. 98) has argued, is needed to move the field of language policy and planning forward. In short, the ecology of language offers the required holistic perspective and provides a highly appropriate metaphor and theoretical paradigm for this research study.

2.3 Language Policy and Planning

A definition of terms is a prerequisite for the description and analysis of language policy and planning processes in Timor-Leste. This section therefore presents some broad definitions of language policy and planning and draws distinctions between the two. The major categories of language policy and planning types and approaches are presented. The goals associated with each policy type are then explained. This is followed by a review of frameworks for classifying language policy types, motives and orientations.

The review of literature produced several generic definitions of language policy and planning. Cooper (1989, p. 45) described language policy and planning enterprises in terms of status planning, which he described as “deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others, with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes.” Drawing on the work of Rubin and Jernudd (1971), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3) produced the well-used formula:
“Language planning involves deliberate, though not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in societal contexts.” Fettes (1997, p. 19) saw language policy and planning as praxis, defining it as a set of theories and practices for managing linguistic ecosystems (see Chapter 1). Fettes (1997, p. 14) also recognised the need to incorporate a policy-evaluation element:

Language planning … must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy: the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better … language planning models.

Spolsky (2004, p. 5) produced an elegantly simple definition of language policy that recognised the relationship between language practices and beliefs in the formulation of policy. For Spolsky, language policy consisted of three components:

A useful first step is to distinguish between the three components of the language policy of a speech community: its language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management.

Whilst Kaplan and Baldauf provide a sound, general-purpose definition and Fettes presents language policy as a combination of theory and practice, Spolsky’s definition successfully captures the ideological and attitudinal components of language policy and planning.

Other, more specific definitions of language policy and planning tend to reflect the epistemological influences of their era. They range from a view of language policy and planning as a form of social engineering (Fishman, 1973; 1994), as an instance of engineering the perfect language (Tauli, 1968), as the management of an individual’s expressive alternatives (Neustupný, 1978), and as top-down, official decision-making regarding prevailing public language practices (McGroarty, 1997). Definitions broadly agree on certain common features of language policy and planning. Firstly, they attempt to influence language behaviour on an individual and a social level (see, for example, Cooper, 1989). Second, they are deliberate but not always overt (see, for example, Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). Third, they are purpose-driven and future-oriented but may have contradictory goals (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). As Baldauf (1993/4) has pointed out, language policy and planning may even
be unplanned and can have unexpected outcomes. Lastly, there is common agreement that language policy and planning and their discourses cannot be understood in isolation from their social context or apart from the history that produced that context (Cooper, 1989, p. 183).

The relationship between language policy and language planning is complex and the boundaries between them are often blurred. The terms are not interchangeable but the relationship between them is difficult to distinguish. Certainly the reality is that the one cannot succeed without the other. Nevertheless, whilst the term language policy and planning provides a unified conceptual rubric (Hornberger, 2006a, p. 25), the distinction between the two is important and necessary because they each play different roles in bringing about social change. Baldauf (2006, p. 149) distinguished between language policy as “the plan” and planning as “plan implementation”.

Baldauf (2006, pp. 148-149) produced the following comprehensive definition, which distinguished between the two terms:

Language planning is the deliberate, future-oriented systematic change of language code, use and/or speaking most visibly undertaken by government in some community of speakers. Language planning is directed by, or leads to, the promulgation of a language policy(ies) – by government or another authoritative body or person.

A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the intended language change. Language policy may be realised in very formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legislation, policy statements), in informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or policy may be unstated (covert). Formal statements may be symbolic or substantive in their intent.

In recent years, the study of language policy and planning has moved from a focus on positivistic epistemologies, focusing on finding technical solutions to language problems, towards the exploration of its discourses (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xiii). Influenced by critical theory and postmodernism, the study of language policy and planning has undergone epistemological shifts towards critical analysis of the role of ideologies (see, for example, Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994) producing “more nuanced and contextualised historical descriptions of events and practices” (Ricento, 2000, p. 18). Postmodern scholars of language planning have
even challenged the notion that language is a fixed code (see Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Pennycook, 2006) suggesting a notion of language as discourses shared by overlapping communities of speakers. The notion calls into question whether the relationship between languages can be planned at all (Ricento, 2006, p. 6). The connection between ideology and language policy and planning has become a focus of attention (Giroux, 1981; Luke, McHoul, & Mey, 1990; Tollefson, 1986; 1991; 1995) and Gramsci’s notion of hegemony, or ideology as struggle, is enjoying renewed interest in the study of language ideologies (Ricento, 2000, p. 6).

The Gramscian notion of hegemony is an aspect of critical theory of great relevance to this enquiry. It provides a useful critical construct which enables language policies and practices to be perceived as sites of ideological struggle. By hegemony, Gramsci meant the permeation throughout society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations (see Gramsci, 1971). To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalised by the population, it becomes part of what is generally called “common sense” so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite come to appear as the natural order of things (Boggs, 1976, p. 39). As Fairclough (1989) interpreted it in the late 20th century, hegemonic practices tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as a natural state of affairs. However, the notion of hegemony as ideological struggle does not only apply to the efforts of powerful groups to legitimate their power. It can be applied where dominant or official ideologies are contested (Ricento, 2006, p. 6). This theme is taken up in the review of postmodern identity theories (see Section 2.4.3). The notion of hegemony is salient to this thesis because it enables the critical investigation of the relationship between language and identity construction under two successive colonial regimes in Timor-Leste, those of Portugal and Indonesia. The notion of hegemony also provides a critical construct with which to understand the discourses of past and present language policy and planning in Timor-Leste.

A major goal of language policy research within contemporary paradigms is to examine the historical bases of language policy and planning. This goal is driven by consistent evidence in the literature that language policy and planning are social, historical processes that are inseparable from social, cultural, economic and political concerns arising from their historical context (Pennycook, 2000, p. 50). As Pennycook (2000, p. 59) has argued: “One of the lessons that we need to draw from [the] account
of colonial language policy … is that in order to make sense of language policies we need to understand their location historically and contextually.” The view of language policy as the product of its history and social context is highly salient to this enquiry because it provides a means of linking past with present language policy development and practice, thus enabling an understanding of the conditions under which present language policy operates and the social historical forces that drive it.

In summary, having established some basic concepts for understanding processes of language change, this review has established the utility of the notion of the ecology of language as a key theoretical framework for this thesis. Some generic definitions of language policy and planning have been reviewed. These definitions reflect both the breadth of the field and changing epistemological influences on language policy and planning research. This chapter now turns its attention to a review of descriptive categories for language policy and planning. There is a widely accepted conceptual distinction in the literature between language policy and planning types and approaches. The following sub-section discusses this distinction. A review of the goals associated with each policy type follows.

### 2.3.1 Language Planning Types and Approaches

As this enquiry was concerned with identifying and characterising language policy development, not just in the past but also as it is happening in Timor-Leste, a set of descriptive categories was required for this purpose. There have been a number of efforts to define and classify the activities that make up the language planning process. This sub-section considers the key language planning types and their defining features, which are described in terms of their approaches and goals.

Language policy and planning activities are generally categorised into four types (see Hornberger, 2006a, pp. 28-29): status planning (which concerns the uses of language), corpus planning (which concerns the structure of language), acquisition planning (which concerns the users of language), and prestige planning (which concerns the image of the language). Following Hornberger, status planning may be defined as efforts directed at the allocation of the functions of languages and literacies in a speech community; corpus planning as those efforts directed at influencing the form or structure of languages and literacies; prestige planning may be thought of as
those efforts directed at improving the image of languages; and, finally, acquisition planning may be summarised as efforts to influence the distribution of languages and literacies.

Ascribing these categories to their original authors, we find that early language planning theorists, of whom Kloss (1969) and Haugen (1983) are the most well-known, were mainly concerned with planning as internal to language (i.e., codification) and the process of standardisation. Haugen’s model, developed from Kloss, is widely used to describe the process of standardisation. Haugen identified two types of planning for what he termed status standardisation—status planning and corpus planning. Haarmann (1990) added prestige planning as another planning type. The term prestige planning refers to social attitudes towards a language and usually refers to an attitudinal scale with one language or variety having higher prestige than another (Ager, 2005, p. 1040). Cooper (1989) identified the fourth planning type, which he called acquisition planning, or language-in-education planning. This is often regarded as the most important site for language policy and planning because it is through schools that languages are formally taught and learned.

An important distinction is made in the literature between policy and cultivation approaches to language planning (Neustupný, 1974). Each of the four policy types identified above can be realised through one of these approaches. The policy approach is seen as attending to the establishment of a linguistic norm, while the cultivation approach is seen as attending to the extension of its functions (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). The following sub-sections consider the four language policy and planning types and their associated approaches and goals.

### 2.3.1.1 Status Planning Goals

Cooper (1989, p. 99) defined status planning in terms of policy, describing it as “deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community’s languages.” Fishman (1991, p. 338) defined status planning in terms of cultivation, that is, as “seeking to restore societal resources in order to promote the use of a language or languages in a wider and more important range of social functions among a wider group of people.” As Lo Bianco (1989, p. 99) noted, one of the characteristic results of status planning is laws and clauses in constitutions prescribing the official
standing of languages and regulations for their use in public administration. Haugen’s (1983, p. 275) original language planning matrix viewed language policy and planning goals as having either a societal or a linguistic focus. The policy-oriented, or form-focussed, goals of status planning concerning the formal role of languages in society are referred to as the “selection and allocation of norms”. These include the “officialisation, nationalisation and/or the proscription [or prescription] of language use” (Cooper, 1989, pp. 100-104). The cultivation-oriented, or function-focussed, goals concerning the functional role of languages in society are referred to as “the implementation of function”. These include language revival (incorporating language restoration, revitalisation and reversal of language shift), language maintenance, interlingual communication and language spread (Hornberger, 2006a, p. 29). Status planning goals are central to this study because they have such a significant impact on the language ecology in which languages are used.

2.3.1.2 Corpus Planning Goals

In Haugen’s (1983) matrix of language planning goals, corpus planning consisted of the policy/form-oriented goal of codification and the cultivation/function-oriented goal of elaboration (Eastman, 1983; Haugen, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Codification refers to the selection and standardisation of a linguistic norm. The policy-oriented goals of codification are usually divided into three activities, which Haugen (1983) termed “graphisation”, or the development of a system of writing and orthography, “grammatication”, or the development of a standard grammar, and “lexication”, or the development of a standard lexicon and terminology. The cultivation-oriented goals of elaboration involve developing the linguistic resources of the language so that it can deal with new domains of language use and realities (Liddicoat, 2005, p. 994). Elaboration includes lexical and stylistic modernisation, language renovation and reform, language purification and stylistic simplification. Corpus planning often goes hand-in-hand with status planning because it involves determining which variety of the language will form the basis for the standard language to develop a more regular, uniform language structure. As critical language planning analysts have pointed out (see Luke, McHoul, & Mey, 1990), the selection of a norm usually empowers or consolidates the power of some groups and
disempowers, or marginalises, those who do not use it. This resonates strongly with Bourdieu’s (1982; 1990b) notion of the habitus (see Section 2.4.5.4.)

These understandings of corpus planning were relevant to this study because in an ecological view, the development of a standard language, where no such standard has previously existed, changes the balance of the linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler, 1996). This occurs because standardised written languages acquire an authority not usually enjoyed by non-standard or unwritten forms. Standard languages also become prescriptions for good language use (McGroarty, 1996). While corpus planning might appear to be a purely linguistic exercise, it has far-reaching political implications. Graphisation has strong links with notions of identity. Aspects of a spelling system may be rejected because the users feel they are not reflective of identity (see for example, Dunn, 2000). There are many examples of orthographic systems devised by non-native speakers onto a language, which do not reflect the sound system at all (Hornberger, 1992, p. 192). As Cooper (1989, p. 155) has stated, “successful corpus planning requires sensitivity to what target populations will like, learn and use.” Through the process of codification and elaboration, the selected variety acquires new status in the eyes of its users. As such, a standard language can be a potent symbol of national unity.

### 2.3.1.3 Prestige Planning Goals

While corpus planning aims to promote a certain language variety with linguistic tools, the prestige of a language can be promoted by other means. The policy-oriented goals of prestige planning are achieved through official promotion by governments, institutional promotion by agencies, pressure group promotion by groups and individual promotion through the activities of individuals (Haarmann, 1990, pp. 120-121). Prestige planning, or “normalisation” (Ager, 2005), is closely associated with both status planning and corpus planning. Prestige planning is defined for the purposes of this research as the “enhancement of the prestige of a language” through its use in higher domains (Lo Bianco, 2004, p. 743) such as the sciences, the professions, diplomacy, high culture, refined social interaction and literature. These represent the cultivation-oriented goals of prestige planning. Ager (2001) referred to this process as “image creation”. Image creation plays a central role in identity
construction. Image creation for standardised endogenous languages is a critical issue in the development of new nations. Languages used in traditional domains may have difficulty in gaining acceptance in modern domains. In an example from the regional context of Malaysia, Omar (1998) discussed the problems of creating an image repertoire for Malay in such higher domains. Omar found that although Malay functions as a lingua franca in the region, the language is not identified with modern high culture and therefore, there is some resistance to its use in higher domains. Tetum shares this need for an image repertoire in all of the aforementioned domains. One important finding from the literature is that language attitudes play a vital role in developing such a repertoire.

2.3.1.4 Acquisition and Medium-of-Instruction Planning Goals

Acquisition or educational language planning is arguably the most important site for language planning. Not only are schools the formal transmitters of languages but also the education sector transmits and perpetuates culture (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 123). Acquisition planning is directed at language education programmes and language teaching for various purposes. Policy-oriented goals include curriculum and personnel policy, methods and materials policy, and resource and evaluation policy. Cultivation-oriented goals include language maintenance, shift and reacquisition of language(s). However, the present research is not concerned with the policy-oriented goals of acquisition planning. Rather, it is concerned with the cultivation-oriented goals of the selection of the languages of instruction and literacy in East Timorese schooling and their implications for learners. Medium-of-instruction policy and its outcomes therefore have great relevance for the research.

The choice of language in the educational system confers power and prestige on the language concerned through its use in formal instruction. Not only is there a symbolic aspect to this power and prestige, but there is also a conceptual aspect referring to shared values and worldview expressed through and in that language (UNESCO, 2003, p. 14). Many scholars have demonstrated the importance of medium-of-instruction and literacy planning in the educational achievement of the learner (see, for example, Corson, 1990; Spolsky, 1986; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Tollefson (1991), in particular, has shown how medium-of-instruction planning can
reinforce social inequality. The review of the literature concerning issues and philosophies in bilingual schooling later in this chapter takes up these issues.

Definitions of language policy and planning types and approaches and their goal orientations have been reviewed here as a prelude to reviewing frameworks and typologies that analyse their motives and ideological orientations. An integrated framework is required for describing East Timorese language policy and planning that is not only descriptive, but also explanatory and predictive. For this purpose, the ensuing sub-sections deal with frameworks and typologies that demonstrate this capacity.

### 2.3.2 Frameworks and Typologies for Describing Language Policy and Planning

The field of language policy and planning is rich in frameworks and typologies that provide lenses through which to examine language policy and planning processes, their motives and orientations towards multilingualism. In this section, three frameworks which have attempted to synthesise language policy and planning processes and which are particularly helpful in contextualising these same processes in Timor-Leste are examined. The first is Cooper’s (1989, p. 98) accounting scheme. This consists of eight components, which indicate the variables that need to be attended to in the language planning process:

(i) What actors, (ii) attempt to influence what behaviours, (iii) of which people, (iv) for what ends, (v) under what conditions, (vi) by what means, (vii) through what decision making process, (viii) with what effect?

Although it has been criticised for taking a very top-down approach, Cooper’s scheme is useful for defining the scope and visualising the sequence of language-planning processes.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) (see also Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; 1994) drew upon and developed earlier typologies of language policy and planning in multilingual states (see Ferguson, 1966; Kloss, 1969; 1977; Stewart, 1972). Their framework classified language policy types from a linguistic human rights perspective. The model broadly divided the treatment of languages and the rights of their users into four tendencies, either implicit or explicit, termed (a) assimilation-
oriented elimination or prohibition of language use; (b) assimilation-oriented
tolerance of language use; (c) non-discrimination prescription; and (d) maintenance-
oriented permission or promotion of language use (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 512).
The goal of prohibition is to force speakers to assimilate to the dominant language.
Tolerance describes a situation where the use of a language (or languages) is not
forbidden (either explicitly or implicitly). Non-discriminatory prescription describes a
situation where people are granted permission to enjoy their own culture and to use
their own language. Overt or explicit non-discriminatory prescription forbids
discrimination against people on the basis of language. This also amounts to a form of
implicit toleration (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, pp. 524-525). The next point on the
continuum is permission to use a language or languages. The last goal of promotion is
obviously towards maintaining and encouraging the use of a particular language or
languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, pp. 511 – 512).

Annamalai (2003, pp. 113-132) elaborated on this model, providing further
descriptive features of the policy treatments. Following Skutnabb-Kangas, Annamalai
(2003, pp. 113-132) categorised language policy objectives for multilingual societies
in terms of a continuum of public resource distribution between languages and their
speakers and the power to control those resources. At one end there is the common
policy of appropriating all or most of the resources to one language and its speakers,
which leads to language dominance. At the other end is the policy of equal
distribution of resources between all languages and their speakers. Like Skutnabb-
Kangas, Annamalai identified the most negative policy goal as the elimination, or the
prohibition of the use of a language of speakers’ choice. Closure of the public domain
to minority languages is a common policy with this goal. For example, the
suppression of endogenous language varieties in Taiwan was linked to the political
agenda of integrating Taiwan with Mainland China (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 203;
Tse, 1982).

As Annamalai (2003, p. 121) noted, a tolerance-oriented policy may stop at
the token recognition of the historical distribution of languages. This type of policy
does not encourage the entry of minority languages into the public domain but may be
willing to grant some space to their speakers and support their cultural activities. A
tolerance-oriented language policy allows the use of different languages by speech
communities for the expression of culture and identity. The tolerance-oriented policy
type, in which the goal is not to increase but rather to curtail the number of linguistic
options, has been particularly visible in Latin America, for example, in Mexico, Argentina and Chile, where the objective of language planning has been the diffusion and promotion of the Spanish language (see, for example, Sánchez & Duenãs, 2002). Many states which espouse a monolingual ideal effectively bar both minority and endogenous languages from the public domain, despite the fact that no stated policy exists.

Maintenance-oriented promotion of language use is the most positive policy goal. It includes the provision of government resources for the use of minority languages in public domains, the prohibition of linguistic discrimination and the institutionalisation (in principle if not always in practice) of the use of minority languages in public domains. These goals may not be overt but may be implicit in equal rights or anti-discrimination laws, the policy treatment defined by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p. 512-514) as non-discrimination prescription (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994). A good example of maintenance-oriented promotion is the highly progressive language policy of South Africa, where all 11 of its major languages are official, although resource implications and elite interests, among other issues, challenge the successful implementation of this policy. These evaluative frameworks suggest criteria for the explanation, classification and synthesis of the elements of language policy development in Timor-Leste that are the focus of this enquiry. They also possess the necessary reliable predictive capacity based on empirical evidence from their application to other polities. However, they lack criteria for evaluating motives and language ideological orientations. For this, it is necessary to review other frameworks.

2.3.2.1 Motives and Orientations in Language Planning

Two particular schemata provide useful and relevant criteria for analysing the motives and ideological orientations of language policy and planning development. Ager proposed seven typical motivations for language policy and planning which polities have adapted in varying combinations and to varying degrees, (i) the construction of identity, (ii) the creation of an image, (iii) instrumental motives, (iv) integrative motives, (v) the correction of social inequality, (vi) the defence of identity, and (vii) the use of ideology (Trim, 2002, p. 183). Arguing that language policy is a process of dynamic identity construction (Ager, 2005, p. 1040), Ager (2005, p. 1050)
cited a number of instances to show that language policy motivations are inseparably linked with language attitudes and goals related to changing the image of a language. Ager’s (1999; 2001; 2005) seven motivations provide a useful set of criteria with which to characterise the overall drive for language policy and planning actions.

Ruiz (1984) suggested that underlying language policies, particularly in multilingual settings, is one of three distinct ideological orientations. The first and most common orientation perceives linguistic diversity as a problem. The kinds of action taken to deal with the problem take the form of eradicating, minimising or alleviating the problem. The second orientation perceives language and multilingualism as a right and acknowledges legal, moral and natural rights to local identities (often, these rights are more assumed than actual). The third and most progressive orientation perceives languages and their communities as social resources. Ruiz’ orientations are useful and dynamic in that they are not mutually exclusive. Thus, whilst Ruiz acknowledges the existence of language problems in society, he does not preclude a language-as-right or resource orientation to managing these problems. Importantly for this enquiry, Ruiz’ schema allows for the fact that a polity might adopt a combination of these ideological orientations.

2.4 Language and Identity

From the field of language policy and planning, this chapter turns to the equally broad and cross-disciplinary field of identity theory, in order to select a model that sheds light on the relationship between language, identity, and language policy in Timor-Leste.

Various interpretations of identity have emerged in the social sciences and humanities over the past few decades. The review of this literature begins with an overview of five philosophical conceptions of social identity that mark the field: primordialism, instrumentalism, situationalism, constructivism and hybridity. This is followed by a review of key contributions from the disciplines of sociology and social psychology to theories of language and identity, namely core value theory and psychosocial theories of identity. Postmodernist conceptions of identity are considered in a discussion of the notions of negotiated identities and the discoursal construction of identities. Contributions to the literature concerning the tension between global and
local forces in nation-building are reviewed for their relevance to the situation in Timor-Leste. Finally, from the fields of political science and sociology, five sets of understandings about the role of language and identity in nation-building are of interest to this enquiry. These are: (i) the notions of civic and ethnic nationalism; (ii) the principle of nation-state congruity; (iii) the notion of imagined communities; (iv) the dual notions of the habitus and the linguistic marketplace; and (v) the notions of inhabited and ascribed identities.

Theories of language and identity represent a broad, complex field of inquiry spanning a number of disciplines. The philosophical divide between primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism produces different understandings of identity. For primordialists, a threat to language choice is a threat to both individual and collective identity—the links between language and identity are inseparable and primordial in their relationship. Others regard the link between language and identity as instrumental (Nagel, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Worsley, 1984), claiming that speakers learn or activate languages when required. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971, p. 196) perceived language as “a social resource that acquires importance according to the identific values which members of a speech community grant it.” When seen in this light, individuals and groups adopt and adapt ethnic histories and ascriptions according to the particular social and political aims under pursuit at the time (May, 2001, p. 36). Constructivists perceive identity as the result of complex social processes, which use mythologies and historical accounts of a common past and/or language in order to continually construct and reconstruct symbolic boundaries between groups. These various identities may overlap with other social identities. The constructivist concept of situational identity emphasises that identity is defined in relation to social interaction between groups. According to Barth (1969; 1982), for example, cultural attributes such as language only become significant as markers of identity when a group deems it necessary. Thus, attributes such as language may vary in salience and may be constructed or reconstructed, or even discarded, by an ethnic group. More recent interpretations of situational identity acknowledge that identities are multiple and that they vary in salience according to time, place, and audience, but they also interact with external as well as internal ascriptions of identity (see Nagel, 1994).

Hall (see for example, 1992; 1996), Gilroy (1993) and Bhabha (1994), among others, brought a postcolonial, postmodernist perspective to identity in the notion of
hybridity. This view of identity stresses that ethnicity and nationalism are historically constructed and rejects any form of rooted, or fixed, primordial notions of identity based on ethnicity, nationality or language. The notion of hybridity emphasises the complex, contested aspects of identity and holds that multiple, shifting and non-synchronous identities are the norm for individuals. Hybridity in this sense is not an offensive term. Rather, it describes an identity that interweaves the elements of colonised and coloniser, challenging any essentialised notion of cultural identity. In postcolonial discourse any notion that a culture is pure or primordial is disputed. For Bhabha (1994; 1996), it is the indeterminate spaces between ascribed identities—or subject-positionings—that disrupt and displace hegemonic narratives of culture and identity. Bhabha posited hybridity as a form of liminal, or in-between, space where identity is negotiated. He named this the third space. According to Bhabha, the third space “initiates new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation,” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 1).

Critics of hybridity are justified in arguing that its emphasis on the fragmentation of identity, its rootlessness and its contingent nature underestimates the durable appeal of ethnicity (May, 2001, p. 24). Cultural mix and adaptation have been common to all societies, in all historical periods, and fractured identities are not just a postmodern phenomenon, as Eagleton (1990) and Lévi Strauss (1994) have rightly argued. According to Ahmad (1995, pp. 14-16), articulations of hybridity have failed to address adequately the social and political continuities and transformations that underpin individual and collective action in the real world.

In sum, whilst hybridity does not fully address the significance of identity and its symbolic links with language, it rejects any notion of fixed and inextricable links between language and identity. The notions of hybridity and the third space also call into question primordial, hegemonic categorisations of culture and identity. They provide powerful constructs for analysing the impacts of language policy, planning and practice on national and social identity.
2.4.1 Language as a Core Value

Core value theory is essential to understanding the relationship between language and identity because groups attach different values to the languages in their ecology. Smolicz (see, for example, 1979; 1981) drew on the work of the humanist philosopher, Znaniecki (1963), to define core values as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group’s culture. Core value theory is based on the assumption that each group subscribes to a set of cultural values considered essential to its existence. Some groups define language as a core cultural value, whereas in others it is less central. The Poles, who were subject to ruthless attempts in the 19th century to extirpate their mother tongue and their culture as a whole, are a good example of a culture where the native language has acquired the status of a core value. Where this has happened, it has frequently succeeded in elevating that language to a symbol of the survival of a group and the preservation of its heritage (Smolicz, 1991, p. 76). Smolicz (1981, p. 88; see also 1991) also invoked the notion of core values that acquire overarching significance. Overarching values are not limited to one particular group but are shared by all citizens. Smolicz’s theory of overarching core values offers a possible explanation for why Tetum plays such a central role in East Timorese social identity. It also presents a way of understanding the relationship between Tetum and Catholicism. It was clearly important to this study to understand the relationship between these two ecological variables.

2.4.2 Psychosocial Theories of Identity

Tajfel and Turner’s (1979; 1986) model of identity drew from inter-group theories in social psychology. Tajfel and Turner defined social identity in terms of people’s sense of belonging to certain social categories and the value or emotional significance they attached to this. Tajfel and Turner (1979) based their theory of social identity on the principle that people accord themselves status as members of in-groups and out-groups (Joseph, 2004, p. 77). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) developed a theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (see also Giles & Byrne, 1982; Giles &
Johnson, 1981; 1987), which considered language to be a salient marker of ethnic identity and group membership.

The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality is concerned with identifying objective factors that a group needs or relies on in order to operate as a distinct group, especially in inter-group situations (Pauwels, 2004, p. 728). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) identified a number of factors that contributed to group ethnolinguistic vitality and conditions in which group members were most likely to shift to the language of the dominant group (see also Allard & Landry, 1986; 1994; Giles & Johnson, 1981). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor also stressed the importance of perceived or subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. This referred to the group’s perception of its own vitality.

Criticisms of inter-group approaches to identity have targeted the simplification and essentialism inherent in their premises (see, for example, Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 5). Critics of psychosocial identity theory claim that such approaches prevent scholars from perceiving the multiple ways in which social contexts constrain or prevent individuals from accessing linguistic resources or adopting new identities (see Myers-Scotton, 1983; Pavlenko, 2001). For the purposes of this research study, the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality appears to be of limited value as this enquiry is primarily concerned with how discourse and ideology shape identity.

2.4.3 Postmodern Notions of Identity

The pioneering investigations of social identity by scholars such as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Gal (1989), Heller (1982; 1988a; 1988b 1992; 1995) and Myers-Scotton (1993; 1998) have ensured that research into multilingualism now perceives language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in wider social, political, economic and cultural systems (see Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 10). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s ethnographic study of language use in the Caribbean marked a transition from psychosocial approaches to “ethnographically-oriented interactional sociolinguistics, which viewed social identities as fluid and constructed in linguistics and social interaction” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 8). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller argued that variations in language use resulted from a process of constant negotiation (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 32). Their theory has relevance for the present study in its notion of negotiated identity. Le Page and
Tabouret-Keller suggested that individual and societal language use is shaped and modified through interaction, which takes place within communities and with social institutions such as government agencies and schools. For Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, language use is primarily a series of speech acts that express and enact identity. Postmodern social identity theory and post-colonial writings on identity argue that multilingual speakers move about in multidimensional social spaces (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and that each act of speaking or silence may constitute for them an act of identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 8). Another important aspect of identities in this perspective is that they are multiple and overlapping (Chick, 2002). This approach to identity highlights the fact that identities are constructed at the intersections between age, race, gender, class, generation, sexual orientation, locale, institutional affiliation and social status. It also suggests that identity might be conceived as “a set of social, discursive and narrative options offered by society in a specific time and place, to which individuals and groups appeal...” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19). This might be summarised as a discoursal view of identity, in that it perceives identity options as constructed, validated and offered to individuals through discourses at particular points in time and place (Tabouret-Keller, 1997).

In considering the place of language policy discourses in the process of identity construction, this review again takes up the notion of hegemony as ideological struggle, first discussed in Section 2.3. Thompson (1990), Davies and Harré (1990), Weedon, (1987) and Gee and Lankshear (1994) have suggested that an ideological struggle takes place both at the macro-level of policy discussion but also at a micro-level of community, school and individual discourses concerning identity. According to this school of thought, individuals and groups who do not share official constructions of identity sometimes contest them. In terms of this explanation, social identity, or subjectivity, is multiple and subject to negotiation. It becomes a site of struggle and changes over time (Weedon, 1987). Each individual and group has identities that are diverse, provisional, often overlapping and even contradictory. Through their discourse, interlocutors, writers and readers position themselves and each other, or the groups they affiliate with, as participants in a wide range of different, and not necessarily compatible, storylines. These perceptions of the role of discourse in shaping identity provide a critical insight and research tool for examining
data and for developing a sophisticated understanding of how identity is shaped by policy, as well as how it is negotiated.

### 2.4.4 The Tension Between Global and Local Identities in Nation-Building

The influence of globalisation cannot be excluded from any contemporary discussion of language and identity. Language policies and planning in modern times have played a major role in the development of nationhood and the formation of national identities (Hatoss & Cunningham, 2005). The 21st century has seen two strong tendencies which act as driving forces for policy action: the push of globalisation, which necessitates a common international language, and the pull of local identities, which have highlighted the need to shift policy attention to the maintenance of linguistic diversity and pluralism (Hatoss & Cunningham, 2005). Language policies of the 21st century have to grapple with the challenge that language communities are global and local at the same time, (Canagarajah, 2005). As Hall (1992, p. 302) has stated:

National identities remain strong, especially with respect to such things as legal and citizenship rights, but local, regional and community identities have become more significant. Above the level of the national culture, global identifications begin to displace, and sometimes, override, national ones.

In a discussion of how the new world order has affected theories of language policy and planning, Wright (2004, p. 251) recommended the investigation of how language policy and planning develop and interact at global, national and local levels. As Wright suggested, in this global era, we may be moving away from a national model of language planning. Wright (2004, p. 13) argued that language policy and planning interact at three levels: at global level, what is happening linguistically as the process of globalisation brings the citizens of nation-states into ever-greater contact; at national level, how language has been used as a mobilising force in nation-building; and at local level, how groups who have had their languages eclipsed in nation-building are engaged in reviving these languages in what could become a post-national era. The interplay between the global, the regional and the local in managing the legacies of colonialism is of immense significance in Timor-Leste where, as is
widely known, the foreign policy interests of three major powers, Portugal, Indonesia and Australia, compete to exert great influence on policy-making in general and on language policy and planning in particular. Wright’s (2004) recommendations provide insight into the kinds of tensions at play in multilingual language ecologies and suggest that consideration of the interaction between the local, the regional and the global is imperative for this research.

2.4.5 Understandings of Language and National Identity

Five sets of understandings from studies of nationalism and nation-building have significantly influenced understandings of the relationship between language and nation. Each invokes a particular view of language in relation to national and social identity and each is reviewed for its relevance to the language situation in Timor-Leste. The following sub-sections review the principle of nation-state congruity, the concepts of civic and ethnic nationalism, the notion of imagined communities, the twin notions of the habitus and the linguistic marketplace and, lastly, the notions of inhabited and ascribed identities. This is followed by an assessment of their relevance for the thesis.

2.4.5.1 The Principle of Nation-State Congruity

As May has stated (2001, p. 157), “The triumph of official languages and the suppression of their potential rivals are prominent characteristics of the construction of statehood and the achievement of national hegemony.” The principle of nation-state congruity operates in favour of dominant official languages and diminishes the status of linguistic minorities. According to this principle, the boundaries of political and national identity should coincide. Gellner (1983, p. 1), who developed the principle, described it as “a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries do not cut across political ones.” Gellner (1997, p. 27) argued that for people to be upwardly mobile in a modern, national economy, they had to share a language: they needed to be socialised into the same “high linguistic culture.” The implication of this claim is that modern nation-states require a certain degree of
linguistic homogeneity and its extended logic is that nation-states should be culturally and linguistically homogenous. Dorian (1998, p. 18) summed up the tension between the forces of homogeneity and diversity in nation-states aptly in the following statement, “the concept of the nation-state coupled with its official standard language […] has in recent times posed the keenest threat to both the identities and the languages of small communities.” This tension is particularly apparent in Timor-Leste and, hence, the research seeks to investigate how these tensions may play out in the language ecology.

2.4.5.2 Civic and Ethnic Nationalism

As May (2001, p. 309) has argued, the rise of political nationalism and the nation-state, which is its product, are “the principle catalyst and agent in [the] process of selective identity construction.” The concepts of civic and ethnic nationalism are contextually relevant to this study. The interplay between these two concepts often relates to language. As Safran (1999) has suggested, the relationship between a civic (or political) and an ethnic (or cultural) nation is reciprocal: “[the relationship] is a two-way process in which a pre-existent language facilitates the creation of a state, and in which the state, once established, legitimates and develops a language and a culture laden with state-specific ingredients” (Safran, 1999, p. 84). As Safran observed, if nationalism is defined in civic terms, language tends to be a product of state policy. If nationalism is defined in ethnic terms, then language is an important element of an organic, historical community that gives rise to a state (Safran, 1999, p. 93). The interplay between civic and ethnic nationalism has been highly influential in language policy and planning in Timor-Leste where both have been used for different purposes by governing powers.

In both the civic and the ethnic models of nationalism, languages have high symbolic value. Civic nationalism is a form of nationalism in which the state derives its political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizens and from the degree to which it reflects the will of the people. Membership of the civic nation is voluntary and considered part of a social contract between the citizen and the State. Renan (1990) argued that the “will to nationhood” defined the nation (see also May, 2001, p. 59). Indonesian is an expression of civic nationalism in that all Indonesians are
expected to learn the language of Indonesia out of civic duty. Similarly, in the French Republic, a policy of strict monolingualism invested the French language with the symbolism of Republican identity and unity. The discourse of civic nationalism tends to ignore the presence of regional and minority languages. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, defines the nation in terms of culture. It invokes the ideals of a shared culture between members of the group and their ancestors and usually a shared language. The 18\textsuperscript{th} century German Romantics, Herder (see 1969), Humboldt (1836) and Fichte (1807), were the first to advocate linguistic nationalism where language and culture were viewed as essential to the \textit{volksgeist} (character) of the nation. In this perspective, blood and ancestry bind the nation together and language is regarded as the defining characteristic of nationhood (May, 2001). Civic nationalism is essential to understanding Indonesian language ideology and its discourses. Moreover, the interplay between civic and ethnic nationalism is of interest in examining the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste.

\textbf{2.4.5.3 Imagined Communities}

The conjunction of civic and ethnic nationalism features prominently in Anderson’s (1983; 1991) definition of the nation as an imagined political community. Anderson argued that a nation is an imagined community because, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1983, p. 15). Anderson (2001) accorded language a primordial role in the formation of a separate identity in the early East Timorese nationalist movement. Anderson (1991, p. 133) argued that the important aspect of language was “its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect, particular solidarities.” In Anderson’s view, the irony of Indonesian colonialism was that its expansion and development projects engendered a strong sense of community among the East Timorese as it had done amongst the Indonesians in their struggle against Dutch colonialism. Although Anderson’s analysis of nationalism has been influential, it has been criticised for reductionism, overgeneralisation and for an essentially European association of national unity with linguistic homogeneity (see Wagner, 2001). This same criticism can be applied to his analysis of East Timorese
nationalism. Anderson referred to standard languages as though they are constant when they are just as much social and cultural constructs as the imagined communities he invoked. As Gal (1998, p. 325) pointed out, since languages are communities of cultural practice, it is not only communities that must be imagined, but also languages themselves, before their unity can be socially accomplished. As postmodernist literature has shown, standard languages are not the self-evident, natural facts that Anderson assumed. A key implication for the thesis is, therefore, that the notion of the nation as a linguistically homogenous, uncontested imagined community invites further investigation and should be questioned.

2.4.5.4 The Linguistic Habitus and the Linguistic Marketplace

Although Bourdieu’s notion of habitus is principally concerned with social class, its application to identity formation is equally valid and powerful (May, 2001, p. 45). Bourdieu (1990b, p. 59) described the habitus as “a system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditioning”. The habitus comprises all the social and cultural experiences that shape one as a person, and is the embodiment of the set of dispositions or ways by which people view the world. These dispositions include historical attitudes, dress, diet, customary practices and, most relevant to this thesis, language use. Bourdieu’s (1982, p. 31) interpretation of the habitus as “… a set of habitual and recurrent practices that imply not only a system of particular dispositions, but also a forgotten and hidden struggle over the symbolic power of a particular way of communicating” is salient to this study because it allows a view of ethnic and social identity that is both socially constructed and primordial. Moreover, the notion of habitus explores the inequality of power between dominant and subordinate groups.

Bourdieu’s (1982; 1991) concept of the linguistic market is best understood as an economic marketplace that is structured by the relationships between producers and consumers (Mac Giolla Chriost, 2003, p. 14). The market is a site of struggle in which one’s competitive capacity is determined by the amount of capital one possesses. According to Bourdieu, there are different forms of capital, not only economic capital, or material wealth in the form of money, stocks, shares and property and so on, but also cultural capital, or knowledge, skills and other cultural
acquisitions, and symbolic capital, or symbolic value, in the form of accumulated prestige or honour (Thompson, 1991, p. 14). In the linguistic market, language competence functions as a form of capital. The market value of certain languages varies according to the worth of the language as perceived by both producers and consumers (Mac Giolla Chriost, 2003, p. 14). Bourdieu used the term “symbolic power” to describe the linguistic hegemony that arises when a valued form of linguistic capital, along with the hierarchical relations of power in which it is embedded, is “misrecognised”–even by those who do not have access to it–as a natural rather than a socially and politically constructed phenomenon. Bourdieu (1991) described the undermining of the cultural and linguistic capital of subordinate groups as “symbolic violence”. By this he meant that the habitus of subordinate groups tends to be marginalised and devalued both as an expression of identity and for a perceived lack of relevance to the modern world (May, 2001, p. 48).

The notion of habitus provides an invaluable theoretical construct for understanding how some languages come to dominate others and how language dispositions are shaped in this process. The notion of habitus also draws attention to the importance of an historical assessment of the extent of symbolic violence that occurred to the East Timorese habitus under Portuguese and Indonesian colonialism. Further, the notion of habitus highlights the role of language policy and planning in shaping language dispositions.

2.4.5.5 Inhabited and Ascribed Identities

It can be seen from all these accounts that the relationship between language policy and national identity is highly ideological. In both Gellner (1983; 1997) and Anderson’s (1083; 1991) accounts of nation-building, the variety of language that is valorised is the standard, written, formal variety. This elite variety is manipulated to symbolise national identity and comes to be associated with membership of a nation, producing Bourdieu’s (1990b; 1991) habitus–a set of dispositions that guide language behaviour and can be converted into inhabited identities (Blommaert, 2006, p. 244). Blommaert (2006, p. 238) provided a succinct distinction between “inhabited identity”, which he defined as the identity people articulate or claim, and “ascribed identity”, which he defined as the identity given to someone by someone else. As
Blommaert (2006, p. 245) pointed out, national identity is invariably ascriptive, “attributed by the state or state-affiliated institutions such as education systems … [which] … may lead to an inhabited identity in which people adopt the ethnolinguistic national identity as part of a broader repertoire of identities.” This perception of national identities echoes the postmodernist view that identity is not unitary but part of a repertoire of possible identities, each with a particular range, scope and function. As Blommaert (2006, p. 245) has argued, “if national identity is taken as the single dominant identity of the people, it does not help us to understand the multiple and complex identity work we perform when we communicate” (see also Myers-Scotton, 1993).

To sum up, several key assumptions about identity have emerged from postmodernist literature. Firstly, it is more than just a by-product of linguistic communication. Secondly, identity is not only self-ascribed but also ascribed by others. Thirdly, according to social constructivism, linguistic identity is changeable, negotiated and performed (see Pennycook, 2004b; 2006). Fourthly, in a constructivist interpretation, national languages are understood to be cultural constructs and national languages and identities as arbitrary and situationally contingent. Finally, constructivists understand linguistic and national identities to be constructed in discourse (Joseph, 2004, pp. 41–42). These insights provide powerful concepts and tools with which to critically analyse official and popular understandings of identity in East Timorese language policy, planning and practice—past and present.

### 2.5 Postcolonial Views of Identity

In Timor-Leste, in common with almost all newly-independent developing countries, the principal agent in the shaping of national and social identity has been colonialism. For insights into the profound and complex psychological effects of colonialism on linguistic identities and attitudes, this chapter now turns to a consideration of the contribution of postcolonial theory to notions of identity.

Social and cultural assimilation cause particularly complex issues of identity in societies that emerge from colonialism. Postcolonial scholars of identity have attempted to come to grips with the impact of colonialism and assimilation on the identities of the colonised. Fanon’s (1952; 1959) two major works studied the
psychological\textsuperscript{2} impact of racism on both the colonised and the coloniser. Fanon was interested in why colonised people were so willing to speak the languages of their colonial rulers (see Fanon, 1967a; 1967b). Foreshadowing Foucault’s (1967; 1972; 1980) coupling of knowledge and power, and Bourdieu’s (1982; 1991) notion of language as a form of symbolic capital, Fanon argued that language becomes an index of both cultural difference and power imbalance. In a powerful indictment of assimilationism, he stated:

Every colonised people … in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality … finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonised is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards. (Fanon, 1967, p. 18)

Foreshadowing also Bourdieu’s notion of the misrecognition of lower-status languages (Bourdieu, 1982; 1984), Fanon argued that in the process of linguistic and cultural assimilation, colonised people abandon or lose their ethnicity and culture. Willingly or unwillingly, they mask themselves in the language and culture of their colonial rulers.

In the later 20\textsuperscript{th} century, writers such as Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986, p. 16) also discussed the question of the domination of a people’s language by the languages of the colonising nations, which, as he argued, “… was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised.” In a similar vein, Stevens (1996, p. 218) invoked the image of “the danger zone” of psychic and social ambivalence as it is lived in post-colonial spaces, to describe the conflicting effects of assimilation on colonised people(s). However, the work of one postcolonial scholar in particular, has greatly influenced perceptions of the impacts of colonialism on the identities of its supposed subalterns.

Bhabha’s (1994; 1996) notions of hybridity, ambivalence and the third space (introduced earlier) drew on and extended Fanon’s pioneering theories of identity. Bhabha (1994, pp. 107-108) discussed the ambivalent nature of identity in post-colonial contexts, taking up the notion of ambivalent identifications as a powerful

\textsuperscript{2} Fanon (1967) saw the identification of many colonised peoples with the culture and values of their former masters as a form of mental illness.
perspective from which to examine identities in societies that emerge from
colonialism (see Mitchell, 1995, pp. 80-84). For Bhabha, the colonised both mimics
and, in the same process, resists the coloniser. These ambivalent identifications are
played out in the third space. Third spaces, as we have seen, are “discursive sites or
conditions that ensure that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial
unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated and
rehistorised anew” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). The notion of the third space denotes the
place where negotiation takes place and where identity is constructed and
reconstructed.

Postcolonial theory provides valuable insights into the ideological processes
by which identity is constructed and negotiated. It provides indispensable lenses
through which to view identity discourses in language policy and planning in Timor-
Leste, a country still fresh with the memories of two colonial hegemonies.

2.5.1 Post-Colonial Identity Discourses in Timor-Leste

Moving from the general to the particular, the following two sub-sections
review the small body of writings on language and identity in Timor-Leste. Strands in
East Timorese post-colonial discourse are highlighted and Portuguese grand narratives
of identity are explored in a discussion of Portuguese post-colonial language planning.
In addition, four previous studies of language and identity in Timor-Leste are
discussed, Hull (1999); Leach (2003); Hajek (2000; 2001); and Ferreira da Silva
(1999). These studies confirm that East Timorese identity is the site of struggle
between competing discourses.

In a speech entitled “East Timor in the third millennium,” His Excellency
Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo expressed his concern at the absence of a strong
sense of national identity in post-independence Timor-Leste. In a comment that
emphasised the fragility of the identity of the new nation, Belo stated:

Full development in the context of East Timor calls forth a dialogue of life
among people and nations crying out for healing of their past. Everyone has to
dialogue with the oral and living traditions of the people. It is true that we
have not come up yet with a holistic view of what constitutes the identity of an
East Timorese. A daunting task, but a rewarding one. (UNDPb, 2002, p. 30)
Hull, an Australian linguist and director of the INL, argued that the role of Portuguese in the social and economic history of the country situated Timor-Leste firmly within the Portuguese-speaking family of nations, widely referred to as Lusofonia. Hull (1999c) declared: “An equitable binomium of Portuguese and Tetum will be a uniquely progressive situation within the Lusophonia and one worthy of other states, which, while cherishing their Portuguese heritage, need also to embrace fully their own ethnic identities (Hull, 1999c, p. 7).

Elsewhere, Hull adopted a strongly pro-Lusophone stance, stating in a speech to the Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorense (National Council of Timorese resistance, or CNRT):

The central position of the Portuguese language in East Timorese civilisation is beyond any doubt … If East Timor wishes to remain connected to its past, it needs to retain Portuguese. If it chooses otherwise, a people with a long memory will be converted to a nation of amnesiacs, and East Timor will suffer the fate of countries that have thrown away their past by depriving people of knowledge of languages that have played major roles in the formation of the national culture. (Hull, 2000a)

However, as postcolonial theory has shown, the linguistic and cultural effects of European colonisation on endogenous identities warrant critical examination if they are to be understood fully. The linguistic and cultural legacies of colonialism have been a primary reason why identity is so difficult to define in Timor-Leste today. Analysts of Portuguese colonialism, such as Bastos (2005), have noted that until the end of the Salazar/Caetano regime in 1974, official representations of the Portuguese nation included the euphemism of the overseas territories. Consistent with Salazar’s slogan “Portugal não é um país pequeno” (Portugal is not a small country), maps hanging in classrooms brought together Portugal and all its colonies. The notion of a transcontinental Portuguese identity went hand-in-hand with the promotion of the belief that racism was absent from Portugal’s imperial project. According to this narrative, Portuguese colonialism was more benign than any other form of colonialism because of a supposedly exceptional Portuguese gift for amicable interaction with other peoples. As Bastos (2005, p. 24) observed, in their attempt to

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3 This term is referred to in English throughout this thesis as the Lusophonia.
rewrite Portuguese history by glorifying the early “discoveries” and linking them to the colonial present, regime ideologists came to draw on the idea of the lusotropicalism (see Freyre, 1947; 1961). The notion of lusotropicalism provided the Portuguese dictatorship under Colonel Salazar with a convenient narrative of a multi-racial and pluricentric nation. Lusotropicalism was invested with notions of a Christian brotherhood and it was used to express the shared identity of all the peoples and territories of Portugal. Although the notion of lusotropicalism had been discredited by the 1960s, its discourse as a refraction of assimilationist colonial policy still resonates in the late 20th century discourse of the Lusophonia.

As Kukanda (2000) has noted, the existence of international organisations based on a common language is an important feature of post-colonial language planning. The Comunidade do Países de Língua Portuguêsa (Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, or CPLP) was founded in 1996. Its function is to maintain links between Portugal and its former colonies. The CPLP member-states are Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe. Timor-Leste became a member on 31st July 2002. Among the objectives of the CPLP are social, cultural, economic, legal, technical and scientific co-operation among its member states, and the promotion of the Portuguese language. Moreover, Portuguese-speaking African countries exist as a specific grouping, Países Africanos de Língua Portuguêsa (African Portuguese-speaking Countries, or PALOP), within the Portuguese-speaking world (see Vilela, 2002). As Almeida (2001, p. 597) has asserted, the issue of the Lusophonia has arisen as a grand theme for reconfiguring Portuguese identity in the post-colonial period and following the country’s incorporation into the European Union. As Almeida (2001, p. 598) also remarked, “this process is nothing if not ambiguous in its oscillation between a neo-colonialist ethos and a multinational political project.” Other former colonial powers, most notably France, share assimilationist policies and beliefs. The modern Francophone movement (Francophonie) serves as a useful bloc in the fight for markets and as an arm against English and American influence (Hagège, 1996). As Wright (2004, p. 133) has observed, France is a major funder of Francophone initiatives and is now educating a greater number of Vietnamese than when it was a colonial power. The same phenomenon can be observed with the promotion of the Lusophonia and the teaching of the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste. Portuguese expenditure on
language training accounts for the greater part of Portuguese aid in education (see La’o Hamutuk, 2001; MECYS, 2004a).

### 2.5.2 Previous Studies of Language Policy and Identity in Timor-Leste

A previous study of language policy and identity in Timor-Leste also finds that aspects of identity are contested. In August 2003, Leach conducted a survey which investigated perceptions of identity amongst 320 young East Timorese people at the national university (UNTL) in Dili. His study raised some important issues concerning language and identity. Leach (2003, p. 139) claimed that his study indicated “a younger generation of East Timorese conceive of national identity in ways which partially contest […] official cultural affiliations of the new nation-state, while strongly supporting other core narratives of national identity and history.” The survey revealed contrasting responses to the two official languages. While 83% of the respondents described the ability to speak Tetum as very important to being truly East Timorese, the equivalent figure for Portuguese was 24% (Leach, 2003, p. 136). Leach (2003, p. 148) found that Portuguese speakers were just as likely to regard Tetum as important to national identity as non-Portuguese speakers, indicating, in his view, that the debate was not about Portuguese and Tetum but about Portuguese alone. The young people in Leach’s survey expressed strong support for Tetum as the language of national identity. His conclusion from this study that there was an intergenerational cleavage around the issue of Portuguese language invited further exploration.

Three other scholars have addressed language policy, planning, and identity issues in the East Timorese context. Hajek (2000; 2002) used the ecology of language as metaphor to demonstrate that Timor-Leste is only a more recent example, following Mühlhäusler (1996), of “colonial indifference to local needs or wishes, as colonisers worked instead towards establishing entirely new sociolinguistic environments in their own image” (Hajek, 2000, p. 401). Hull, as already mentioned, strongly advocated the reinstatement of Portuguese as the official language and the elevation of Tetum Praça to co-official status. Hull (1999c, p. 3) also argued for the protection and promotion of the 15 other endogenous languages by the new government, as “legitimate expressions of regional identity.” Hull advocated the retention of English and Indonesian as “utility” or ancillary languages without any
official status. He also argued that English posed a serious threat to the official and regional languages of Timor-Leste. Ferreira da Silva (1999) addressed language policy in a perceptive article that questioned the low esteem in which East Timorese people held Tetum and their own first languages. Da Silva put forward a coherent case for making Tetum Praça an official and national language because of its symbolic capital as an index of national identity. These studies represent three key strands in East Timorese post-colonial identity discourses. The small number of studies and their limitations in scope suggest that the further investigation of the relationship between language dispositions, language policy, and identity may contribute further insights.

2.6 Educational Language Policy and Bilingual Education

As stated earlier, acquisition, or educational language policy, is arguably the most important site for language policy and planning. As Fasold (1984, p. 292) pointed out, “one of the most crucial language planning decisions that a country can make is the determination of a language to serve as the medium of instruction in schools” (see also Tollefson, 1991; 1995). The selection of the medium of instruction plays a central role in the construction of national and social identity. Hence, it is imperative to understand the trajectory of medium-of-instruction planning in Timor-Leste in order to predict its possible outcomes. For this purpose, it is necessary to review some central philosophies and understandings in bilingual education. The following sub-sections define some key terms in bi- and multi-lingual education according to the literature. Three further aspects of the literature provide philosophies and concepts that are essential in understanding the outcomes of acquisition planning and the general educational achievement of bi- and multi-lingual learners. These aspects are: medium-of-instruction policy, philosophies of bilingual education, and additive and submersion models of bilingual education. Finally, studies of bilingual projects in developing countries are reviewed to assess the evidence in the literature for the efficacy of bilingual and biliterate schooling.
2.6.1 Key Terms in Bi- and Multi-lingual Education and Literacy

Bilingual education refers to education in which two languages are used instructionally. Bilingual education may be oriented towards transition from the first language to the second language or towards the maintenance of the first. Multilingual education entails the teaching and learning of multiple languages. However, it is also common to refer to individual bilingualism as involving an individual’s command of two or more languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984, p. 90) provided this useful definition of bilingualism:

… a speaker is bilingual who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or multilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made on an individual’s communicative and cognitive competence by these communities and by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able to identify positively with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or part of them.

Hornberger (1990, p. 213) defined biliteracy as “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in and around writing.” Hornberger stressed that the very notion of bi- or multi-literacy assumes that one language and literacy is developing in relation to one or more other languages and literacies.

The terms mother tongue and vernacular are frequently used in discussions of educational achievement in multilingual contexts. However, as the literature shows, they are context-dependent, politicised, and vary in the light of official policies. According to Benson’s (2004, p. 1) definition, mother tongue-based programs use the learners’ first language to teach beginning reading and writing skills along with academic content. Issues of what is popularly called mother-tongue instruction (more accurately referred to as first-language instruction) and vernacular literacy play a major part in medium-of-instruction planning (see, for example, Crowley, 2005; Pattanayak, 1987). Since the 1951 UNESCO recommendation in favour of basic education and literacy in the learner’s mother tongue, policy makers have discussed the issue of vernacular literacy and the medium of instruction (see UNESCO, 2003). Medium of instruction policy decisions in multilingual contexts are made more difficult by the fact that there are many ways of defining what is meant by mother tongue. Stern (1983) pointed out that a person’s first language or mother tongue may be used to refer to either the language first learned in infancy or a language that is
acquired later, but has come to be dominant. UNESCO defined a person’s mother
tongue as “… the language that a person acquires in their early years … which
normally becomes its natural instrument of thought and communication” (UNESCO,
1953, p. 46). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1990, p. 9), an individual may speak
his/her mother tongue by origin, competence, function or identification. Speaking a
mother tongue by origin means it is the first language that an individual learned at
home. Speaking a mother tongue by competence refers to the language an individual
knows best. Speaking a language as a mother tongue by function refers to the fact that
it is the language an individual uses most frequently. Finally, speaking a language by
identification implies either that it is the language an individual identifies with or by
which s/he is identified by others. Some East Timorese speak Tetum as a mother
tongue by origin and competence, while others speak it by competence and function.
Still others speak it by identification. In Oecussi, Atauro and the Ponta Leste regions
of Timor-Leste, Tetum users do not speak it as a first language under any of these
categories, but as a second language.

As Le Page (see Tabouret-Keller et al. 1997, p. 321) and others (see for
example, Akinnaso, 1996; Liddicoat, 1990) have pointed out, the terms mother tongue
and vernacular are relative concepts whose meanings change according to context and
under pressure from the political, social and economic values attached to language
and different forms of literacy. UNESCO (1953, p. 6) defined a vernacular as “a
language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically
dominated by another group speaking a different language.” Tabouret-Keller et al.
(1997, p. 4) described a vernacular as “the everyday spoken language or languages of
a community, as contrasted with a standard or official language, generally, a Low as
opposed to a High variety in Ferguson’s (1959) terms.”

As Liddicoat (2004, p. 11) argued, language planning for literacy is a strategic
site for contestations about what it means to be literate. Language planning for
literacy not only makes statements about concepts of literacy, it also allocates status
and functions to particular languages as languages of literacy. Where literacy is
defined only in terms of the formal, written official language, literacy in minority or
endogenous languages becomes marginalised and the many forms of literacy
developed in other languages are misrecognised and undervalued (Liddicoat, 2004, p.
13). Where access to literacy is solely defined in terms of literacy in the official
language(s), learners who do not know these languages are often perceived as
deficient in some way (Manyak, 2004). An alternative conceptualisation of literacy is that it is a set of language processes that are independent of any particular language and can be transferred to other languages. This conceptualisation enables literacy skills to be initially developed in vernacular languages and then introduced in the official language(s) at a later stage.

2.6.2 Medium-of-Instruction Policies

Many policy studies of educational language planning have pointed out that it is never simply an educational issue but should be understood in its broader social and political context (Pennycook 2002; Tollefson 2002). As Tollefson and Tsui (2004, p. 2) have stated, the tension between social, political, and economic agendas can be difficult to resolve and invariably ends in the triumph of the political over the educational agenda. For this reason, as Tollefson and Tsui (2004) argued, it is important to ask what and whose agendas drive the selection of the medium of instruction. Since the 1990s, there has been interest in examining the issues involved in the medium of instruction as an instrument of power dynamics. Medium-of-instruction policies and planning are never neutral. As Tollefson and Tsui (2004, p. 9) observed:

On the one hand, they are the reflections of power structure, yet on the other hand they are also the agents for changing the power structure. They can be instruments of cultural and linguistic imperialism but they can also be means of promoting linguistic diversity and cultural pluralism.

Moreover, as McCarty (2004, p. 285) argued, medium-of-instruction policies are both ideological and discursive constructs. As ideological constructs, policies and plans often reflect the interests of groups that control the state policy-making apparatus and thus they can reproduce unequal power relationships in the wider society. At the same time, medium-of-instruction policy and planning can provide arenas in which marginalised linguistic groups may assert their rights. These critical perceptions have relevance for the research study, which seeks to investigate to what extent medium-of-instruction policy in Timor-Leste is a reflection of official ideological assumptions about the role of language in particular contexts.
2.6.3 Philosophies of Bilingual Education

Like the multilingual policy types discussed in Section 2.3, educational language policy types reflect social philosophies and political ideologies concerning language. As previously stated, there are two philosophies of bilingual education (see Hornberger, 1991), the maintenance philosophy and the transitional philosophy. The maintenance philosophy promotes the development, enrichment, and preservation of languages in education and, as such, promotes additive bilingualism. Maintenance bilingual education offers a stronger model of bilingual education than a transitional model, which is assimilationist in intent (Baker, 1993, p. 152). Additive bilingualism, in which the learner acquires the second language without detriment to the first, is promoted in maintenance bilingual education, because study of the first language is continued as a subject after the medium of classroom learning has converted to the second language. The process involves adding second language skills to the individual’s repertoire in a context where both languages and cultures are valued.

The transitional philosophy, on the other hand, aims to introduce basic literacy and numeracy in the first language or a vernacular language while introducing the second language by oral means. After introductory first language or vernacular-medium schooling, the medium of the classroom officially changes to the second language. Typically, this takes place by about Grade 3. Some students in such classes may not be fully proficient in the instructional language. In transitional programmes, pupils have classes in which the second language is used as a medium of instruction and it is also taught as a subject. The second language becomes the language of classroom instruction when the students have acquired enough competence to grasp ideas and concepts relayed to them in this language (Matiki, 2006).

2.6.4 Additive and Submersion Models of Bilingual Education

The maintenance/transition philosophies work in tandem with additive/submersive concepts of the teaching of language. These terms relate to the goals of education. Baker (1993; 2001) characterised bilingual education programs as strong and weak. In strong bilingual education programs, additive bilingualism and
biliteracy are the intended outcomes. As Lotherington (2004, p. 703) explained, additive bilingualism is fostered where a second language is added to the first in a process of mutual enrichment. In education programs only weakly oriented towards bilingualism, additive bilingualism is not an intended outcome (see Lotherington, 2004, p. 707). If the aims of second language education are not additive bilingualism then the program is, in effect, submersion (see Cummins, 1981; Lambert, 1975). In submersion education, the curriculum is delivered through the medium of a high-status second language, which may be a majority language of the country or a language of wider communication not actually used or spoken at community level. Therefore, learners who do not belong to the dominant language group may lack proficiency in it. Submersion programs offer what is often called a “sink or swim” approach to language and literacy acquisition. Children receive minimal pedagogical support for the acquisition of literacy skills and a threshold level of the second language sufficient to support further schooling. Where the teachers are survivors of submersion education themselves, they often lack confidence and proficiency in the target language. Children are expected to undertake cognitively demanding work through the medium of the second language where there is insufficient oral support or proficiency, all but predestining them to failure (Lotherington, 2004, p. 711). Such submersion programs are common in colonial and post-colonial contexts. Additive bilingual programs encourage learners to understand, speak, read and write in more than one language. In contrast, submersion programs attempt to promote skills in a new language by eliminating them from the known language. This frequently results in limiting learners’ confidence, competence and achievement in both (Benson, 2005a, pp. 2-3; Cummins, 1981).

2.6.5 Studies of Bilingual First Language Schooling in Developing Countries

The literature provides convincing international evidence that initial education in the first language, rather than the colonial language, has educational advantages and closely associated psychological, social and cultural benefits (see Akinnaso, 1991; 1993; Dutcher, 1982; Gonzales, 1990; Hornberger and King, 1996; see also Hornberger, 2002) and has the potential to improve the quality of basic education in
developing countries. Many studies also show the clear pedagogical advantages of additive bilingual over traditional programmes (see Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1999; 2000). According to Benson (2004, p. 52), these advantages can be summarised thus: In the first place, content area instruction in the first language can be understood so that learning does not have to be postponed until learners acquire the second language. Moreover, initial literacy in the first language means that learners make the connection between spoken and written communication, developing skills on which they can build once they learn the second language, which is taught explicitly. In addition, teachers and students can interact more naturally in the first language and negotiate meanings together. This facilitates participatory teaching and learning and has positive consequences for the affective domain (Baker, 2001). Further, bringing the language and culture of the home into the school is important for identity and for personal as well as group empowerment (Cummins, 2000). Lastly, students become bilingual as well as biliterate. Once learners have basic literacy skills in the first language and communicative skills in the second, they can begin reading and writing in the second language efficiently, transferring the literacy skills they have acquired in the familiar language. The principles behind this positive transfer of skills are Cummins’ (1991; 1999) “interdependence theory” and the concept of “common underlying proficiency”, whereby the knowledge of language and concepts learned in the first language can be accessed and used in the second language once second language oral skills are learned and no relearning is required.

Bilingual models and practices vary, as do their results, but what they have in common is their use of the first language at least in the early years so that students can acquire and develop literacy skills in addition to understanding and participating in the classroom (Benson, 2005a, p. 1). The introduction of first language-based bilingual policies usually goes far beyond the classroom to address social and political objectives. Benson (2005a) has listed some examples of historical precedents in developing countries, which not only have both positive and negative implications for current practice, but also illustrate the ideological nature of medium-of-instruction planning. In many former British colonies, vernacular literacy was provided as part of a policy of separate but unequal development. In India this led to the marginalisation of Indian languages with regard to power (Annalalai, 1995). In South Africa, unequal development evolved into the highly discriminatory Bantu education system under Apartheid (Heugh, 2003). Another historical example was the use of local
languages by missionaries to spread the gospel, which contributed to the development of orthographies and grammars and basic literacy materials in many of the world’s languages (see Grimes, 2000). This has occurred in Tetum and a handful of endogenous languages in Timor-Leste. Some initiatives were reactions to colonial systems such as the growth of Swahili in Tanzania under the “Education for Self Reliance” campaign (see Benson, 2005). Bilingual schooling has been imposed as part of political ideologies, for example in Guinea and Malawi, where endogenous languages have been promoted but have provoked resentment. Lastly, under communist governments, China, Vietnam and the former Soviet Union promoted local language instruction to promote comradeship and equality (Kosonen, 2004) but this did not necessarily result in the equitable distribution of resources. More recent policies have been implemented in Guatemala (Dutcher, 1995) and Bolivia (Benson, 2004), which is in the process of implementing education reform that promises bilingual, intercultural schooling for all (Hornberger, 1996). Africa and Latin America (see King & Benson, 2004) and parts of Asia have seen continent-wide demands for appropriate cultural and educational policies (Kosonen, 2004; von Gleich, 2003), and India has implemented a trilingual and triliterate schooling policy (Pattanayak, 2003).

Well-documented empirical studies of first language-based bilingual programmes in developing countries in recent years have shown that they are both achievable and successful, even in low resource situations. Major studies include Modiano’s (1973) landmark study in the Chiapas highlands of Mexico, which found that endogenous children transferred literacy skills from the first to the second language and out-performed monolingual Spanish speakers. The 6-year Yoruba medium primary project (Adegbiya, 2003; Akinnaso, 1993) demonstrated unequivocally that a full 6-year primary education in the mother tongue with the second language taught as a subject produced better results than all-English teaching. Research on Filipino-English bilingual schooling in the Phillippines (Gonzales & Sibayan, 1988) showed a positive correlation between achievement in the two languages and that poor performance was not the result of bilingual education but of other factors, particularly poor teacher training (Benson, 2005a, p. 12). More recent studies demonstrate similar findings and go beyond these to show the positive aspects of first language-based bilingual programmes. These include facilitated bilingualism and biliteracy (see Hovens, 2002; Ouane, 2003); classroom participation, positive affect and increased self esteem (Dutcher, 1995; Richardson, 2001); valorisation of
home language and culture (Benson, 2005a); increased parent participation (Cummins, 2000; Dutcher, 1995); and increased participation of girls (Benson, 2005b). The literature consistently indicates that first language-based, bilingual education not only increases access to skills but also raises the quality of basic education by improving classroom interaction and integration of prior knowledge and experience with new learning (Benson, 2005a, p. 16).

The review of this literature affirms the importance of examining medium-of-instruction and literacy policy as a key instrument of language policy development in Timor-Leste and suggests a number of key theoretical concepts with important implications for current education policy development in its very early stages. The concepts reviewed in this section provide lenses through which to evaluate medium-of-instruction policy in Timor-Leste, its assumptions about literacy and its potential outcomes.

2.7 The Implications of the Literature for the Research

This chapter has reviewed six broad areas of academic enquiry which have suggested a number of theoretical notions and constructs on which to base this research. The first and most central was the notion of the ecology of language. The notion of an ecology of language has particular relevance in the East Timorese sociolinguistic context because of the country’s complex colonial history, in which four exogenous languages have been superimposed onto a complex network of endogenous languages. The notion of the ecology of language can also incorporate the interactions between official processes and popular patterns of language use. In addition, it draws attention to the historical experiences that inform and influence language ideologies. Last, but by no means least, it has the ability to incorporate a language rights perspective, which advocates that minority and endogenous languages should be accorded the same protection, status and institutional support as dominant languages and their speakers enjoy (May, 2006, p. 265; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

A central understanding from the literature is that the study of language policy and planning are best understood and explained in their historical and cultural context. As Pennycook (2000, p. 50) has argued, not only do language policies need to be discussed in all their complexity, they need to be understood contextually. Input from
critical theory suggests that language policy and planning discourses, past and present, project ideological assumptions about national and social identity and reflect power relations in society. The notion of ideology as struggle suggests that language policy is a site where official and popular discourses may compete.

The literature suggests a number of possible frameworks for the description and analysis of the goals and motives in East Timorese language policy and planning: Cooper’s (1989) accounting scheme provides a way of seeing language policy as a process; Skutnabb-Kangas (2000; see also Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; 1994) and Annamalai (2003) provide a typology of policy treatments of language use in terms of language rights; Ager’s (1999; 2001; 2005) studies of language policy and planning suggest that language policy can be analysed in terms of a set of generic and recurring motivations for constructing and defending identity and image. Finally, Ruiz’ (1984) orientations provide a tried and tested tool for the assessment of the language ideological orientations.

The review of theories of social and national identity finds that psychosocial models of identity are of limited value to the purposes of this thesis, which is concerned primarily with how identity is shaped and contested through discourse. Critical and postcolonial perspectives of identity suggest a more applicable notion of multiple, overlapping, situated identities constructed in discourse. Despite its inability to explain fully the links between language and identity, the notion of hybridity offers a useful concept with which to describe the multiple influences that shape identity. The constructs of the third space and negotiated identity hold great promise as a basis for understanding the relationship between language and social identity. They enable inclusionary, multi-faceted interpretations of culture and identity. As such, they have much significance for this research study. Core cultural theory offers a possible explanation for the enduring attachments to the Tetum language and its links with Catholicism observed in the literature. The notions of nation-state congruity, ethnic and civil nationalism and imagined communities are also of contextual interest to the present research study. In addition, Bourdieu’s (1990) notion of habitus is a powerful construct that brings together past with present conditions in the formation of language dispositions. The concepts of inhabited and ascribed identities and the argument that national and social identity form part of a repertoire of identities (Blommaert, 2006) challenge the notion of the nation as a linguistically homogenous, uncontested imagined community.
In educational terms, evidence from the literature indicates that the low levels of literacy and educational achievement in Timor-Leste reflect a history of assimilationist and submersion approaches to language and literacy education. The outlook for social, economic and human resource development in this context is poor. Critical studies of medium-of-instruction policies suggest that they reflect wider social and political agendas and play a highly significant role in the construction of identity. The philosophies and understandings in medium-of-instruction policy and bilingual education reviewed here provide concepts with which to evaluate the trajectory of current early language acquisition and literacy planning in Timor-Leste and predict its possible outcomes.

In closing this chapter, the review of literature finds that the ecology of language suggests a dynamic hermeneutic in which to situate the discussion of language problems in a multilingual former colony emerging from a long history of assimilation and co-opted identity by ruling groups. The successful management of the diverse language ecology of Timor-Leste is critical for the reconstruction of social cohesion and human resource development. A key conclusion, from the literature overall, is that the relationship between languages is the result of the interaction between complex environmental factors which reach back to the past and are rooted in sociopolitical experience. As Haarmann (1986, p. 1) has argued, the identity of any collective or aspiring nation reflects the sum of its past and present experiences in the ecological setting. Hence, the thesis seeks to evaluate the role of language policy and planning in shaping identity. With these insights from the literature in mind, the thesis sets out to understand the relationship between language dispositions, language policy and identity in the East Timorese context. The following chapter discusses the methods used in the thesis and their underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions.
Chapter 3 Research Methods

3.0 The Research Design

This chapter describes the principles underlying research design and the procedures selected to gather data in order to address the research questions and inform the outcomes of the thesis. In one respect, the research design reflects the interdisciplinary nature of language policy and planning research while, in another, it reflects the complexity of issues involving language in society (see Ricento, 2006, p. 10). As Ricento (2006, p. 18) has claimed, the development, implementation and evaluation of specific language policies is an under-studied aspect of language policy research, a reflection, as he suggests, of the past emphasis on theory as problem-solution in the field (see Chapter 2). Ricento (2006) identified a need for empirically-based studies of language policy and planning. This research hopes to contribute to addressing this need.

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) have pointed out, no two language planning situations are exactly alike. To understand a particular instance of language policy and planning, it is necessary to situate it in its particular historical, geopolitical and social context (Pennycook, 2000). A further challenge in language policy research is the fact that language choices are ideological and subjective. As Canagarajah (2006, p.154) has argued, “considerations of language allegiance, linguistic identity and linguistic attitudes are not necessarily rational, pragmatic or objective. They are ideological. As such, language relationships are difficult to predict or manage.”

Past language practices and ideologies have been the cause of fractured identities and complex language loyalties in Timor-Leste, which cannot be understood or resolved without understanding the combination of forces that have shaped them. A positivist, deductive approach that studies fixed variables and tests out a hypothesis by the precise measurement of quantitative data would neither contribute to elucidating the deeper, subjective meanings and associations of languages in Timor-Leste and their relationship to identity construction, nor contribute to understanding the complex relationship between such variables in their specific context. The complexity of the issues pointed to an interpretive methodology in the qualitative tradition as the most
appropriate to generate deep and interrelated insights. This called for an exploratory study of language policy discourses in their historical and cultural setting. Thus, the research had three broad aims:

Aim 1: to understand the relationship between language and identity in contemporary Timor-Leste.
Aim 2: to identify the goals, motives and orientations in post-independence language policy and planning.
Aim 3: to assess the congruence between official and popular language policy discourses.

Accordingly, three research questions were framed to draw out understandings of language and identity and their relationship to language policy, planning and practices, past and present. To recall from Chapter 1, the research questions were:

Research Question 1: In what ways have past and present language policy, planning and practices shaped national and social identity in Timor-Leste?
Research Question 2: Are popular discourses of language and identity congruent with official language policy discourses in Timor-Leste?
Research Question 3: What outcomes may result from the current East Timorese language policy trajectory in terms of the management of the language ecology?

In order to address these questions, the researcher adopted an ethnographic design. This design applied both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect comprehensive data that would allow the contemporary and historical forces shaping language policy, planning and practices to be captured and integrated into a whole picture. This approach does not aim to triangulate findings but rather the data sets aim to complement each other and ensure the collection of rich data. The primary focus is on the qualitative analysis of qualitative data.

The research design was evolutionary, moving progressively towards more in-depth analysis and towards theory-building through the method of grounded theory. Due to the sensitive context of the research in Timor-Leste, as well as the task of collecting and interpreting complex data, the research used a multiple-method strategy
with the overall aim of producing a rich and integrated picture of language policy in the East Timorese context. The four strategies of enquiry, or research procedures, consisted of:

1. A sociolinguistic profile of the contemporary language ecology at macro and micro levels.
2. A historical account of the role of four successive and distinct periods of language policy and practice and their discourses.
3. A qualitative analysis of contemporary official language policy development, which examined five statutory instruments of language policy and their discourses.
4. A grounded theory analysis of popular language policy discourses elicited from semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

This research design was dualistic in that it examined language policy at a macro (i.e., state) level and at a micro (i.e., community) level. This duality is often lacking in language policy and planning analysis. Ricento (2006) and others (see, for example, Hornberger, 2004) have emphasised the need for such a dual focus. In methodological terms, the thesis moved from the descriptive (i.e., summative analysis of published material and quantitative micro-data that reflect language shift and change), towards the qualitative analysis of policy and a grounded theory study using semi-structured interviews and focus groups. What emerges from this enquiry is a theory of the ecology of language policy and planning that is grounded in the data.

The research procedures provided emic and etic perspectives. The goal was the acquisition of (a) emic knowledge, in terms of the researcher’s efforts to infer the insider’s point of view, that is, to describe language policy and planning as its target population understands and participates in it; and (b) etic knowledge, in terms of the researcher’s shift to an analytical view of policy-making as an outsider. It is through this dialectic, as Hornberger (1994a, p. 689) has argued, that the holistic perspective of ethnographically-oriented research emerges. When taking an emic perspective, Creswell (1998, p. 114), Agar (1986) and others have warned of the risk to the validity of the data when the researcher is an insider in the studied group. Taking an outsider, or etic, point of view has the advantage for the researcher of avoiding insider bias and being able to track attitudes and values of which the participants in the culture may not be aware. The outcome of this dualistic enquiry is a holistic analysis and interpretation (see Creswell, 1998, p. 60) of East Timorese language policy and
planning that incorporates both the views of the actors (the emic) and the interpretations of the researcher (the etic).

Many scholars agree that current research in language policy and planning involves an interdisciplinary approach that integrates theoretical and methodological tools from various disciplines, in order to clarify what issues are at stake (see for example, Ricento, 2000; 2006). The research procedures used in this study drew from the disciplinary traditions of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, historical investigation, critical discourse theory and grounded theory. In combination, they produced a comprehensive analysis of the data that addressed the research questions from both the official and community perspectives. Figure 3 provides an overview of the overall research design. The following sections describe the philosophical underpinnings of the research methods, the interdisciplinary procedures, the relevant theoretical constructs, the data collection tools and methods of analysis.

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**Figure 3.** Overview of the four elements of the research design.

*Note.* LP = Language policy
3.1 Underlying Philosophies

The philosophical assumptions in this thesis were informed by interpretive and critical discourse theory. Constructivists, as Charmaz (2003, p. 313) has stated, view data analysis as a construction that locates the data in time, place, culture and context, but also reflects the researcher’s positioning in the research. The researcher’s intent is, therefore, to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings that individuals have about the world. The philosophical assumption that knowledge is socially constructed (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Neuman, 2003; Schwandt, 2000) holds that the individuals involved in the research situation construct their own understandings of reality. Thus, multiple realities exist, including the realities of the researcher, those of the individuals under investigation and those of the reader interpreting the study (Creswell, 1998, p. 76). Meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow meanings in a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2003, p. 8). The goal in this research therefore was to rely as much as possible on the specific context in which language policy activities occur and on participants’ views of the language policy situation.

As previously stated, rather than starting with a theory, the researcher developed a theory or pattern of meaning from the data (Creswell, 2003, p. 9; see also Crotty, 1998). The thesis aimed at producing substantive-level theory (Creswell, 1998, p. 242), which evolves from the study of a phenomenon situated in “one particular situational context” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 174) or suggests how and why things happen in specific settings, thus enabling the consideration of lessons for other settings. The following constructivist knowledge claims were made: (a) multiple realities exist, (b) data reflect the researcher’s and the research participants’ mutual constructions, and (c) the researcher, however incompletely, enters and is affected by participants’ worlds (Charmaz, 2003, p. 313). This approach, as Charmaz has claimed, provides an interpretive portrayal of the studied world rather than an exact picture of it (Charmaz, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Schwandt, 2000).

However, critical discourse theory also provided a lens through which to view the data. Following critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1996) and others (see, for example, Thompson, 1990; van Djik, 2001), the researcher took the view that the discourses associated with particular social institutions, communicative events and situations embody assumptions about social identities and
relations (see Chick, 2002; Davies & Harré, 1990). These can be hegemonic, contested, inclusive or negotiated. As Weedon (1987, p. 2) argued, “language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed.” As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis takes the view that language policies and their discourses serve to construct, maintain and change national and social identities. Language policy therefore has the potential to construct conflicted, hegemonic identities or inclusive, diverse identities. This thesis focuses on areas of language policy development as sites of struggle between these competing discourses.

**Reflexivity** is an important ontological aspect of qualitative, social research. Guba and Lincoln (1981; see also Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 183) have described reflexivity as the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher. Following the call of critical social science for social research to study and criticise itself as well as its subject matter (see Neuman, 2003, p. 81), reflexivity is defined as the ability to critically reflect on the research process (May, 1997, p. 200). A self-reflexive approach, in which the researcher constantly reflected on her procedures, allowed for flexibility in data-gathering procedures and interaction with participants. Following Willis (1977), the researcher made constant efforts to move beyond passively listening to local informants and to rethink and interpret her own and the participants’ positions. Working from these knowledge and truth claims, the researcher searched all data for narratives—or storylines through which people describe their worlds (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997)—that would not only highlight the relationship between language and identity but would also elucidate both official and popular perspectives on language policy.

While all forms of research call for attention to ethics, this research project was particularly concerned with ethical procedures in view of the circumstances in which the research was conducted. The INL Regulations for Language Research, Teaching and Development Projects require that linguistic research is subject to approval. This requirement states:

All research, teaching and other development projects involving Tetum and the other vernaculars of East Timor conducted by non-East Timorese nationals must be approved in advance by the INL (the national language authority) which issues one-year research permits on behalf of the Ministry of Education,
Youth, Sport and Culture (MECYS) and in consultation with the Ministry of Justice and the Department of Immigration. (INL, 2003, p. 5).

This research was subject to this process in addition to the ethical standards for human research set by Griffith University. The INL regulations reflect the sensitivity of language issues in Timor-Leste (and in fact serve to emphasise that there is a problem to be studied). In view of these sensitivities, ethical considerations took a high priority in the research design. All participants were given two documents, (a) a letter of introduction explaining the purpose of the research and the researcher’s contact details on Griffith university letterhead, and (b) a consent form containing a research summary and assuring freedom of consent and confidentiality, which participants were asked to sign and return to the researcher (see Appendix A). These documents were prepared in Tetum, Portuguese, Indonesian and English and offered to participants in their language of choice. All forms and profile information were stored in a secure location. The researcher was required to attend an interview with the INL before approval to undertake research in Timor-Leste was granted (see Appendix B). The researcher was given an INL identity card which was worn at all times in the field. This was helpful in indicating to participants the researcher’s association with the INL.

3.2 The Four Research Procedures

The following sections describe the aims, data collection tools, and data analysis methods for each of the four component research procedures. Additional details are provided in the relevant chapters. Each procedure examined the language ecology at a different level (see Figure 1). The sociolinguistic profile aimed to show linguistic ecological relationships and patterns of language use. The historical investigation set out to explore how past language policy, planning and practices shaped the language ecology and linguistic identities and thus set the scene for understanding the conditions and circumstances under which current language policy operates. The policy analysis provided a means of evincing the official language policy discourses and exposing the grand narratives of language and identity against which local narratives could be juxtaposed. The semi-structured interviews and focus groups provided a means of evincing local narratives of language and identity. These
local narratives were compared for their congruity with official language policy discourses.

Critical discourse theory assumes that documents and discourses are not freestanding. They refer, however tangentially, to other realities and domains (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p. 55). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are the fundamental nature of all texts (Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2001, p. 540), that is, all texts represent different voices engaged in implied, if not actual, dialogue with one another. Accordingly, the researcher approached all documents and texts, both written and oral, with this principle in mind. The following sub-sections provide further details of each of the four research procedures and their methods of data analysis.

3.2.1 The Sociolinguistic Profile: Macro and Micro Views of the Language Ecology

The sociolinguistic profile explored patterns of language use at macro and micro social levels (see Chapter 4). It took the form of (a) a macro-profile of the contemporary language ecology, and (b) micro-profiles of participant language use. The aim of the macro-profile was to establish the sociolinguistic context of language reform. The data were drawn from the publications of the INL and the website of the Sebastião Aparício Da Silva Project (which lists publications and resources about language studies in Timor-Leste) and other literature. The macro-profile reviewed and computed statistics from past and present census data. The language situation was analysed using Fishman’s (1972a) typology of diglossia and Fishman’s (1991) classification of the steps in reversed language shift. Notes made from personal observations during two 12-week working visits to Timor-Leste in 2001 and 2004 were used to corroborate reported data. These tools were used to classify Tetum and Portuguese locales of use (following Fishman, 1972b) in order to assess the extent of their image repertoires.

In addition to the macro-profile, a set of micro-level language use profiles provided information about actual language use among the participants. The data were collated from profile forms given to each participant (see Appendix C). Participants were asked to identify which languages they used regularly in the following locales: at home, at primary and secondary school (in and outside class), at university (if they
attended it), at work, at church, and when dealing with government offices, customs and administration. Each participant was also asked which language(s) s/he had used most regularly at home as a child. Finally, each participant was asked which language(s) s/he used most frequently as an adult and for what purposes. The profile data were collated into a series of charts, which show the changes in language use that participants were obliged to undergo in response to colonial language policy and political events. Chapter 4 presents, describes and discusses the profile data.

3.2.2 The Historical Account of Past Language Policy and Practices and their Discourses

Historical understandings help to make language policy decisions in their contemporary geopolitical context more meaningful. By exploring the past, it is possible to understand the values, attitudes and beliefs that influence decision-making in the present. This historical account of the role of language policy and planning in shaping identity aimed to explore the formative influences on identity and the extent to which these influences underpin and impel contemporary language policy and planning. The data were drawn from the available literature concerning language contact in Timor-Leste before the country’s independence in 2002. Primary and secondary historical data were compiled to produce an account of past language policy and planning (the terms primary and secondary are used in historical method to describe the difference between original, authentic source material and synthetic accounts based on primary sources and usually in consultation with other secondary sources). Documents are understood here as written texts that serve as a record or evidence of an event or fact (Wolff, 2004, p. 284). Primary historical documents included catechisms, prayer books, a manual for Portuguese military personnel, early Tetum dictionaries, newspaper archives, recorded oral literature and the writings of contemporary observers. Sources of secondary historical data included academic theses, journal articles, and historical, anthropological and sociological studies.

As Munslow has noted, historians tend to use facts to create their own meanings. Following Munslow (2000, p. 18), the researcher took the view that while believing the past at a factual level … nevertheless, historians do not discover the story. Instead we invent emplotments to explain the facts … [but]
we prefigure the past as history of a particular kind … the stories we impose on the past are done so […] for reasons that are epistemic.

In this abductive approach to interpreting history (Munslow, 2000, p. 122), historical data are used as *emplotment* (White, 1975, p. 5; Wiley, 2006, p. 138). In other words, the data were used to show that while the grand narratives of Portuguese and Indonesian language policy, planning and practice have played a formative role in shaping the East Timorese habitus, they have also left the legacy of deep and enduring social fractures and discontinuities discussed earlier. Chapter 5 presents the historical data in the form of a chronological account of past language policy, planning and practices and their role in shaping identity.

### 3.2.3 The Qualitative Analysis of Official Language Policy Development and its Discourses

Emphasis in language policy and planning research has shifted from a focus on seeking solutions to language problems to uncovering language policy discourses and their attendant ideologies. As stated in Chapter 1, language policy and planning are regarded in this thesis as sites of struggle, where social relationships are reflected, reproduced and contested (Ricento, 2006, p. 15). The qualitative analysis of contemporary language policy development took the form of a comparative analysis of five statutory instruments of language policy development (see Figure 1)—the National Constitution of 2002; the Language Decree of 2004; the Language Directive of 2004; the standard orthography of Official Tetum of 2004; and the Medium-of-instruction Policy Goals for 2004-2008. These five instances of language policy were classified according to Haugen’s (1983, p. 275) descriptive framework for language policy activities. They were also treated as discursive constructs and were examined for their goals, motives and ideological orientations. The analysis was drawn from Cooper’s (1989) accounting scheme for language planning; Skutnabb-Kangas (2000; see also Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1989; 1994) and Annamalai’s (2003) typology of policy treatments of rights to language use; Ager’s (2001) motivations for language policy and planning, and Ruiz’ (1984) language policy orientations for multilingual nations.
As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. xi) have asserted, language policy can be realised at a number of levels, from very formal planning documents and pronouncements to informal statements of intent in the form of social discourse about language, which may not at first glance seem like language policies at all. There is little explicit, primary documentary data about language policy and planning in Timor-Leste to draw upon. Data for this analysis were obtained from the publications of the MECYS and the INL, and the publications of the United Nations, the World Bank and the Judicial System Monitoring Project, an international non-government organisation (NGO) based in Timor-Leste. Other data came from the online language digest of the East Timor Action Network and the Back Door website, which maintain archives of newspaper articles, speeches and papers. Documents produced by NGOs and development agencies that mention language do not generally focus explicitly on the nature of multilingualism or the motivations for language policy decisions and, where they discuss language, they tend to focus on the practical problems of communication in a multilingual developing society. Such documents frequently reflect their authors’ perception of language problems as an obstacle to their development projects. They can reveal much about attitudes towards multilingualism. According to the most recent estimates, there are 402 NGOs operating in Timor-Leste, 122 of which are international (UNDP, 2006, p. 45). The vast majority of international NGOs are English speaking. It was important therefore to be aware of potential monolingual bias in the documents produced by these institutions. One particular document provided not only exceptional insight into reversed language shift in the formal justice sector, but also how it is perceived by the international NGO that authored this document. The document was entitled “The Impact of the Language Directive on the Courts in East Timor,” published by the Judicial System Monitoring Project in August 2004 (JSMP, 2004). Chapter 6 presents the results of this qualitative policy analysis.

3.2.4 The Grounded Theory Analysis of Popular Language Policy Discourses

In order to understand popular perceptions of language policy, it was necessary to talk and listen to people involved in and affected by the process. The
discussion and critique of these discourses enabled a better understanding of the nature of language and identity politics in Timor-Leste. Between June and August 2004, the researcher conducted a series of semi-structured interviews and focus groups with members of the public over the age of 18, to explore popular understandings of language policy and the relationship between language and identity. These exploratory interviews investigated the nexus between language dispositions and allegiances, identity and popular views of language policy. The interviews served two purposes: first, to gather data concerning the participants’ attitudes and loyalties to, and their associations with, the languages in their environment. Second, to elicit the identity narratives from the data in order to assess their congruence with the official discourses. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups offered the opportunity to gather rich, qualitative data. Following Geertz (1973), the purpose of analysing the interview data was to produce thick description, or data that went beyond simply the reporting of an act (thin description). Following Denzin (1989), the data analysis set out to elicit the important and recurring variables in popular perceptions of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste. The findings from the interviews and focus groups are presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups followed the principle in grounded theory of building a theory that was faithful to the evidence (Neuman, 2003, p. 52). Grounded theory uses systematic procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss maintained that theory could be grounded in data from the field, especially in peoples’ actions and interactions. However, Strauss and Corbin (1994; 1998) departed from Glaser’s (1978; 1992) inductive approach to data interpretation in their argument that a theory can be the product of identifying a plausible relationship among concepts (Creswell, 1998, p. 56). In Strauss and Corbin’s approach, the researcher develops substantive-level theory from the interview data at the end of a series of stages in which the data are systematically coded into categories of information, assembled in new ways from which narratives, or storylines, are identified. As a critical but empathetic outsider, the researcher was drawn to this principle of abductive reasoning, as an extension of inductive reasoning, which refers to the process of reasoning to arrive at the best or most likely explanations.
3.2.4.1 The Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informants and Individuals

Prevailing models of practice comprise what Lyotard (1984) called “grand narratives.” According to Lyotard (1984, p. xxiv) grand narratives, or metanarratives, tend to prescribe rather than describe. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups was to elicit petits recits, or localised narratives, which counterbalance official language policy discourses. These popular discourses were identified and examined for their congruence with the official discourses. Semi-structured interviews provided an ideal forum for gathering rich, ethnographic data about language attitudes and language policy issues. According to Minichiello et al. (1995, p. 65), semi-structured interviews entail the use of the broad topic of concern to guide the interview, which is developed around an interview protocol (Tashakorri & Teddlie, 2003, p. 708). In this case, the interview protocol (see Appendix D. Note that the interview protocol is presented in the context of an explanation of the interview design) consisted of a set of nine open-ended questions, which were translated into four languages (Tetum, Portuguese, Indonesian and English).

The key informants were senior members of the country’s leadership. In many cases, they were policy-makers and shapers of opinion themselves. The individuals were educated and informed working people over the age of 20, of an appropriate age to be able to talk about the impacts of past and present language reform on their lives and work. As urbanised working people, their language dispositions and choices significantly influence language policy success or failure.

3.2.4.2 The Student Focus Groups

Since the 1980s, the focus group as a form of research method has been increasingly used in qualitative research (Ho, 2006, p. 053). From the writings and studies of the topic (see, for example, Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999; Litosseliti, 2003), it is possible to establish a working definition of the focus group as a group interview without the characteristic question and answer sequence in typical interview sessions. According to Ho, “the hallmark of focus group interviews is the explicit use of group interaction as data to explore insights that might otherwise have remained hidden”
Interaction is based on a planned series of discussion questions by the researcher who acts as moderator during the discussion (Green & Hart, 1999; Litosseleti, 2003). Focus groups were organised with groups of tertiary students between 18 and around 35 years of age. There were two reasons for treating students as a separate group. On the one hand there is a common view in Timor-Leste that young East Timorese people in this age group and social milieu share the same views about language issues as a result of their language learning experiences in Indonesian times. One purpose of the focus groups was to assess the veracity of this claim. The second reason for using student focus groups was that tertiary students are the potential shapers of opinion and the decision-makers of the future. As such, their language dispositions are critical to the success of language reform. The student focus groups constituted an educated and informed social network of young adults, able to speak from experience about the impact of language policy on their lives and studies.

The research site was also expanded to include participants in Australia as well as in Timor-Leste. This decision is justified by the fact that in today’s globalising world, communities have become more fluid and less tied to particular localities. This is particularly true of Timor-Leste, which has a large and highly dispersed diaspora. Indeed, this is an important reason why modern East Timorese identities are so contested. The perspectives of expatriate East Timorese provided valuable insights and acted as a form of triangulation for the focus group data. Student focus groups were organised in Brisbane, Australia, and in Dili, Timor-Leste, in order to observe whether and how experience in an English-speaking environment might have affected students’ opinions. The Brisbane-based students’ views were compared with those of their Dili counterparts to see whether there was a significant difference between the views of diasporic and home-based groups of students.

In practical terms, the focus groups obtained good coverage over a short time span. It was easy to organise them in settings that were familiar and normal to the participants with minimal disruption to their routines. The open, informal nature of focus group discussions also lent itself well to the research context. In terms of data collection, it was anticipated that student focus groups would be a dynamic forum for debate and capture a wide range of perspectives. Three student focus groups were organised in Brisbane, Australia, and five in Dili, Timor-Leste. The researcher used the same basic interview protocol with the key informants, individuals and focus groups.
3.3 Sampling Decisions

The approach to sampling was driven by four considerations: informant accuracy, data validity, a good spread across the community to ensure varied responses, and ethical issues. The sample needed to contain educated and informed members of society as social actors who possessed varying degrees of agency (the breakdown of the participant groups is discussed further in the following subsections). The minimum age was 18. In keeping with ethnographic traditions, the researcher used a form of non-probability, purposive sampling known as snowball sampling. Snowball sampling relies on the researcher’s knowledge of a social situation. It involves using informants to identify cases that would be useful to include in the sample and uses insider knowledge to ensure that the participants included in the sample are appropriate cases to include in the final study (Kemper, Stringfield & Teddlie, 2003, p. 283). Snowball sampling, also known as network, chain referral, or reputational sampling (see Neuman, 2003, p. 214), was appropriate for two further reasons. First, it was an appropriate method for identifying, selecting, and accessing people across a range of social networks that fitted the criteria for the research project (Minichiello et al., 1995, p. 161) and, second, it provided a useful fit with the way social networks function in Timor-Leste. In accordance with the snowball sampling principle, participants referred the researcher to other members of their social networks. In cases where the researcher had a telephone number, an introductory call was made and interviews arranged over the telephone. It was often necessary to make a prior visit to explain the purpose of the research and the interviews. In cases where participants did not have a telephone, a prior visit was obviously essential. In the case of the focus groups, it was necessary to locate groups of students, and spend time getting to know them and explaining the purpose of the research. From there, a venue was agreed and a further meeting was arranged. Further details about the organisation and conduct of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups are provided in Chapters 7 and 8.
3.3.1 The Participants as Holders of Agency

Social actors in language policy are usually examined on three levels, individual, community and state. Cooper (1989, p. 98), in his accounting scheme for the study of language planning, produced the well-known formula: “What actors attempt to influence what behaviours, of which people, for what ends, under what conditions, by what means, through which decision-making processes, with what effect?” As Baldauf (2006, p. 5) has pointed out, this scheme relates agency to actors as members of a powerful elite set of top-down decision-makers. On the other hand, Duranti’s (2004, p. 453) definition of agency allows all individuals, as social actors, the power of potential agency:

Agency is understood here as the property of those entities (i) that have some degree of control over their own behaviour, (ii) whose actions in the world affect other entities (and sometimes their own), and (iii) whose actions are the object of evaluation (e.g. in terms of their responsibility for a given outcome).

As Baldauf (2006) has suggested, the issue of agency is an important variable in any language-planning situation. The location of agency is a central issue in relation to language policy and planning processes in Timor-Leste. This thesis follows Baldauf and Duranti in its assumption that not only macro-level actors have agency. The concept of actors and agency extends to a micro-social level as well. Thus, three groups of actors were identified according to their possession of or capacity to exercise agency:

1. **Key informants**, as members of aware elites, power-holders and holders of agency, that is, they have the power to influence change. The nine key informants were all in senior positions in government and were thus able to speak from an insider’s point of view and provide knowledgeable and informed insights.

2. **Individual participants**, as micro-level, non-elite social actors who choose to comply with or resist language policy implementation and identity construction. The individual participants included men and women, of various ages, who were educated and who were, or had been, employed in some sort of professional or semi-professional work. In most cases, they were interviewed as single individual members of different households but, in one instance, there was a married couple. As holders of economic and social
capital, the individual participants exercise agency through their linguistic
behaviour in the workplace and the home or in the choices they make for their
children’s education. Individuals, as members of communities, may also
assume agency and initiate their own form of language planning on a micro
scale, as Baldauf (2006) has suggested, by using and developing their own
language resources in response to their own needs and problems. A number of
language-planning studies have shown, for example, that families often
assume agency for language shift (see, for example, Nahir, 1998).

3. **Tertiary students**, as potential future holders of power and agency. The student
focus group members were all studying in tertiary institutions in Australia or
in Dili. Students exercise their agency through their choices to comply with or
contest language policy and its assumptions about social identity. University
students are a vocal and assertive group in East Timorese society, having won
great credibility through their contribution and sacrifice in the struggle for
independence. In addition, as stated, they are widely assumed to hold hostile
views towards language policy.

In summary, a total of 78 people were interviewed using semi-structured
interviews and focus groups in order to learn more about their lived experience of
language policy and planning. In the tradition of snowball sampling, cases were
selected until no new names or information were forthcoming and the networks
appeared to be at their limit (Neuman, 2003, p. 214) The composition of the interview
sample is shown in Table 1.

### Table 1. Participant Groups in the Interview Sample (N=78)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key informants (N=9)</th>
<th>Dili student focus groups 1 - 5 (N=30)</th>
<th>AusAid student focus groups 6 - 8 (N=13)</th>
<th>Individual participants (N=26)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 males</td>
<td>23 males</td>
<td>5 males</td>
<td>18 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 females</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 females</td>
<td>8 females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3.2 Sampling Constraints

It is notable that there was a significant gender imbalance in the interview
sample. One disadvantage of the sampling decision was the fact that men
outnumbered women in the individual interviews by roughly three to one. This reflected two aspects of East Timorese culture and society. The first was male and female employment patterns and the second was women’s tendency to defer to men in East Timorese society. Participants invariably referred the researcher on to men and it was difficult to make contact with women unless one had a prior direct personal contact or telephone number. Thus, although there was no evidence to the researcher’s knowledge that gender was a significant variable affecting attitudes towards language and identity or language policy in the East Timorese context, the minority of female respondents across the sample was a clear limitation.

3.4 The Phases of the Research

The research consisted of three broad phases. The first phase was in Australia where the language issues and the historical, social, and political contexts of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste were explored through the available literature. The research proposal was formulated and ethical clearance was applied for. The second phase saw the research proposal accepted by the INL and the semi-structured interviews, student focus groups and primary data-gathering in Timor-Leste. The third phase consisted of the data analysis, coding, categorisation and interpretation, which took place back in Australia.

3.4.1 Mapping out the Issues

In this phase a review of the literature gathered together definitions and critiques of language policy and planning. The literature was reviewed for a conceptual framework within which to understand the processes and problems of language policy and planning as they apply in Timor-Leste. A number of academic journals provided rich sources of information about ecolinguistics, bi- and multilingualism, language maintenance and shift, language endangerment, language rights, educational linguistics, language ideology and other language policy and planning concerns in multilingual developing countries. Studies of identity in a range of post-colonial contexts provided models and comparative data with which to interpret
identity issues in Timor-Leste. Another imperative for the researcher was to polish up her skills in Portuguese and to study Tetum, whilst getting to know the local East Timorese community in Brisbane.

3.4.2 Conducting the Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups

Whilst engaged in a teaching contract in Timor-Leste over a 12-week period in 2001, the researcher observed and made hand-written notes of language behaviour, language dispositions and locales of use. A second working visit to Timor-Leste in 2004 provided the opportunity for further observation and data collection over another period of 12 weeks. This observation took place during classes, in the staffroom, canteen and recreation areas, at meetings, at people’s homes, in the shops and marketplace, at church, at family and community events and when travelling. The other purpose of the 2004 visit was to conduct the semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Most interviews took place in Dili, in people’s homes, their educational institutions or place of work.

The logistics of travel meant that any data collected outside Dili were dependent on luck, availability of transport, personal security considerations, and good contacts. In the event, five individual interviews were conducted outside Dili. Two of these were in a remote village in the district of Bobonaro near the Indonesian border, one in the town of Samé, and two on Atauro Island. Capital-city bias was not considered too great a problem because most residents of the capital city come from outside it and travel back to their districts frequently. Thus, although they lived in or near the capital, they were still able to talk first-hand from the point of view of their district and first language group.

In every case, the participants agreed happily to the interview and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about language. Conducting interviews in the participants’ language of choice helped to put people at ease. It was important to spend time getting to know people, breaking the ice and explaining the purpose of the project in order to avoid setting up erroneous expectations. Two people in a remote area, for example, assumed that the researcher was with the United Nations and it took some time to convince them otherwise.
All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. In total, approximately 30 hours worth of interview material were recorded. Field notes were made by hand in a notebook and a diary was maintained, which recorded contacts’ names and telephone numbers, dates of visits, appointments, referrals and any other significant details. On return to Australia, each interview was summarised or transcribed (first by hand and later word processed) and translated where necessary by the researcher. The data were categorised and arranged into broad themes ready for the process of open and selective coding (described later). The key informant interviews were translated and broadly transcribed into 35 pages of interview notes. The individual interviews were translated and broadly transcribed into 90 pages of interview notes. The focus group data were broadly transcribed and summarised into 13 pages of interview notes.

3.4.3 Interpreting the Semi-Structured Interview and Focus Group Data

As mentioned earlier, the analytical interpretation of the interview data applied a variation of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and critical discourse theory, aiming to build a theory from the data. Constructivist grounded theorists study how participants construct meanings and actions and they do so from as close to the inside of the experience as they can get. As the researcher was unquestionably and at all times an outsider, a constructivist approach allowed for her own positioning in the research process. Hence, grounded theory methods were used as flexible, heuristic strategies rather than as formulaic procedures (Charmaz, 2003, p. 510). The interpretation was also iterative, involving the constant revisiting of the large body of literature concerning language policy and planning, language attitudes, identity and critical discourse research, in the search for ways of identifying codes and categories in the data. As Charmaz (2003, p. 319) has asserted, the codes in the data reflect the interests and perspectives of the investigator as well as the information in the data. Researchers build theory through the prism of their disciplinary assumptions and theoretical perspectives. Inevitably, the investigator brought preconceptions about what it would be important to focus on. Consistent with traditional ethnography, the data analysis attempted to capture participants’ perspectives, their perceptions and understandings of what they were experiencing and these were related to the research perspectives. However, the data analysis also
adopted the critical discourse perspective discussed earlier. In this perspective, in every communicative event or situation a range of discourses occurs, some that are congruent with new policies and some that are congruent with the old (Chick, 2002). With this in mind, the researcher examined the interview transcripts for the discourses that were most pervasive.

It will be recalled that, in keeping with the philosophical assumptions in the study, it was assumed that the subjects had agency, that is, that they might opt to contest prevailing discourses by producing storylines or counter-discourses that contained their own assumptions about social identities. The emphasis here is on the word might. Identity has the power to unite as well as divide individuals. The interpretation of the interview data sought to assess how far assumptions about social identity were shared as well as contested.

Grounded theory provides researchers with a set of guidelines for analysing data at several points in the research process, not simply at the analysis stage (Charmaz, 2003, p. 319). The researcher already possessed a set of “sensitising concepts” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p. 319) based on language policy and planning theory, which informed the enquiry and sparked the development of more refined and precise concepts. These sensitising concepts and theoretical perspectives were used to begin coding the interview data. Coding is understood here as representing the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 57).

The NVivo 7.1 (QSR International Pty, 1999-2006) software program for processing qualitative data was useful for creating a casebook, which stored case files containing the personal information and details of language use collected for each participant. These case files were used as a database from which to enter data for the micro-level language use profiles into Microsoft Excel in order to analyse and present the data in a graphical format. An additional advantage of the casebook was its confidentiality. NVivo was also helpful for handling and sorting the data in the early stages. Free nodes, which store stand-alone themes and topics that do not fit a hierarchy, were created for each interview group. In all, 96 free nodes were created containing 266 references. Free nodes were linked to sources (which contained the transcribed interview data for each group) and this facilitated the handling and viewing of the data so that the researcher was able to become very familiar with them. The free nodes were narrowed down to nine topic groups, or open codes, which were
grouped together under the heading “Understandings of Language Policy”. Thereafter, the nuances and intersubjectivities in the data, especially the focus group data, became too subtle and interconnected to place into hierarchical or tree nodes, as they are termed in NVivo. Therefore, the selective coding was completed manually.

The next series of passes through the data applied a process of selective or focussed coding, through which the researcher endeavoured to sort and synthesise the data. Through a reiterative process of comparing instances applicable to each topic group, whilst differentiating more finely the relationships amongst concepts, the researcher was able to reduce and simplify the data into a set of focussed codes or analytical categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 105-113). The focussed codes enabled a more precise and sophisticated organisation of the data and provided a framework within which one could begin to integrate and synthesise the participants’ discourses. As the analysis moved towards an integrated interpretation, the etic gave way to the emic as the storylines in the data became increasingly unified and coherent to the researcher. The final categories were developed into themes that were in vivo, that is, they were based on phrases or expressions that recurred in the transcripts and summaries. Table 2 summarises the process of open coding and the construction of the analytical categories. Chapters 7 and 8 present and discuss the final integrated analysis from the interviews and the narratives extracted from them by evaluating the participants’ take-up of terms in their talk and by taking note of the frequency with which they occurred in the data.
Table 2. Summary of the Processes of Open Coding and the Construction of Analytical Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1: Open coding</th>
<th>Stage 2: Participants’ take-up of terms</th>
<th>Stage 3: Analytical categories/focused codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understandings of language policy</td>
<td>High, medium, low</td>
<td>Language symbolism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Resistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status-oriented</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity-oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>International relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Lingua franca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalistic</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispositions towards non-endogenous languages</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Language dispositions: positive/negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinions of language policy</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Evaluations of language policy: positive/negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter has discussed the underlying research philosophies and procedures, the approaches to data collection and the theoretical perspectives that informed the data analysis. The research set out to contribute to language policy and planning research by considering the reality of language policy and planning in its actual setting at both official level and as it is experienced in the wider community. This thesis adopted an ethnographic design, which applied a mix of predominantly qualitative methods to produce comprehensive, qualitative data that would depict a holistic “cultural portrait” (Creswell, 1998, p. 60) of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste at macro and micro levels. The design departed from traditional ethnography in two key respects. Firstly, the researcher did not spend extended time in the community concerned. Secondly, the research site was expanded to include expatriate participants. Nonetheless, the broad design using multiple methods enabled the rich interpretation of several dimensions of language policy and planning from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. A descriptive, interpretive approach was thus possible in which the theory generated was grounded in rich data. In the following chapters, the findings from the four research procedures are presented and discussed.
Chapter 4 The Contemporary Language Ecology: From Macro- to Micro-Levels

4.0 The East Timorese Language Ecology

Following Haarmann’s (1986, p. viii) analysis of ethnicity in terms of a framework of ecological relations, this thesis proposes that language and identity exist and work in ecological relation to each other. A framework of ecological relations provides a useful tool for investigating the covariance of language use and the dynamics of environmental factors in Timor-Leste. Following Haarmann, this chapter describes the overall patterns of language use that reflect and follow changes in the sociopolitical environment and goes on to describe and compare changing patterns of language use at the micro-social level of the participant groups. Haarmann’s inventory of ecological variables (discussed in Chapter 2) includes demographic, social, political, cultural, psychological, interactional and linguistic variables (see Haarmann, 1986, pp. 7-8). In the case of Timor-Leste, it is predominantly sociological, demographic and political variables that have shaped the relations between languages and their speakers.

This study of the contemporary East Timorese language ecology provides a context in which to situate the political and social identity statements in the data about why this ecology occurs. The patterns of language use described in this chapter reflect the changing sociopolitical environment over the course of recent history. As Chapter 3 explained, the participants are not a representative sample. Their patterns of language use reflect extraordinary changes in many respects because they are members of elites who have been able to take refuge abroad in times of crisis and take advantage of opportunities, such as scholarships, to improve their educational and social prospects. Moreover, as literate, educated, skilled and relatively affluent members of various social elites and holders of agency, they are not the passive or powerless objects of social change but, in themselves, have the potential to influence and change the linguistic ecology. The ecological relationship between the patterns of language use and sociopolitical change in the survey data is best seen when studied
according to the participants’ approximate ages. This chapter begins by surveying the language ecology and its precolonial antecedents.

### 4.1 The Number of East Timorese Languages

There are differences of opinion as to the precise number and classification of Timorese language varieties (see Capell, 1944; 1972; Fox, 1997; 2003; Hull, 1998a; Thomaz, 1974; 1981). The Ethnologue (see Gordon, 2005) listed twenty languages in Timor-Leste, nineteen living and one extinct. The Linguistic Survey of Timor-Leste Project at the INL has identified nineteen distinct autochthonous linguistic entities in the whole of Timor and the offshore islands of Wetar, Atauro/Kambing, Semau, Roti and Ndao. As Bowden and Hajek (2007, p. 264) have pointed out, the differences between Gordon and the INL are based on different ways of classifying languages and dialects. Thirteen languages are Austronesian varieties and six are Papuan languages from the Trans-New Guinea phylum. Sixteen of these languages are spoken in Timor-Leste compared to seven in West Timor. Four vernacular languages\(^4\) are spoken on either side of the border with West Timor and two languages\(^5\) are spoken on both sides of the border between Timor-Leste and Maluku (Hull, 1998a, p. 4). The vitality of the endogenous languages of Timor-Leste is considered to be robust. Only one language, Makuva (also known as Lóvaia) is seriously endangered, having only a small number of speakers, with the rest having shifted to Fataluku (Hajek, 2006a, p. 719). In addition, to recall from Chapter 1, the exogenous languages of Malay, Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, modern Indonesian and English are, or have at some time been, present in the ecology.

### 4.1.1 The Origins of Tetum and the Endogenous Languages

The island of Timor is a site where the Austronesian and Trans-New Guinea or Papuan languages meet as a result of migration and settlement. Glover’s (1971)

\(^4\) Baikenu, Tetum, Kemak and Bunak.

\(^5\) The Wetarese and Galoli languages (Hull, 1998a, p. 4) and their dialectal varieties.
evidence indicates the presence of a hunter-gatherer population on the island dating from at least 11,500 BC. First evidence of agricultural activity dates back to 3,000 BC. This is interpreted as evidence of the arrival of early seafaring Austronesian populations into the region (Fox, 2003, p.5). It is thought that the Austronesian languages of Timor are related to the languages of eastern Flores and the islands of southern Maluku. Hull (1998b) contended that the Austronesian languages of Timor should be considered a Timorese subgroup, which includes the languages spoken on the island of Roti. There was contact between the islands of Solor, Flores and Timor from the early 17th century to the mid-19th century. Wurm (1981) hypothesised that the Trans-New Guinea or Papuan language speakers arrived later than the Austronesians as people from the east of New Guinea moved westward (Fox, 2003, p. 5). The Trans-New Guinea phylum languages appear to form a subgroup with the languages on the Indonesian islands of Alor, Pantar and Kisar (see Figure 2, p. iv). These languages, in turn, appear to be related to languages in the Birdhead (Vogelkop) peninsula of West Papua (see Figure 1, p.iv).

The INL lists the Austronesian language varieties spoken in Timor-Leste as Tetum (and its varieties), Habun, Kawaimina (the Kairui, Waima’a, Midiki, Naueti dialects), Galoli, the Atauran and Dadua dialects (belonging to the Wetarese language), Makuva (or Lóvaia), Mambae, Idalaka, Kemak, Tokodede, Bekais and Baikenu. The Papuan language varieties are listed as Bunak, Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku (Hull, 1998a, pp. 2-4). Hull’s research (2001, pp. 98-99) has shown that these languages form a linguistic area or Sprachbund, having over the course of centuries replaced their individual characteristics with Timorese forms and structures in a process of mutual assimilation. Figure 4 shows the geographical distribution of the endogenous languages.
Hull (2001) has suggested that Tetum and the Austronesian languages of the islands of Timor and Roti descend from a single language (Old Timorese) introduced from the Buton region of southeastern Celebes. Hull (2001a, p. 101) claimed that, from about the 13th century AD, the dialects of Timor were influenced by a central Moluccan language (probably from Ambon), and the impact of Malay, the regional lingua franca, began to be felt in the 15th century. Tetum is one of three of the most important Austronesian languages of Timor. The first, Baikenu, also known as Dawan, Atoni or Uab Meto, is spoken in West Timor and the East Timorese enclave of Oecussi. The second, Mambae, is spoken entirely in eastern Timor and the third, Tetum, is spoken in both the East and the West of the island. As Fox (2003, p. 21) pointed out, it is important to appreciate that Tetum is not simply the lingua franca of Timor-Leste, but the most commonly spoken language on both sides of the island. Note that throughout this thesis, Tetum is spelt according to the English pronunciation of the name. The thesis uses Tetun to denote other varieties of the language. Tables 3 and 4 show the approximate numbers of speakers of Papuan and Austronesian languages in Timor-Leste and the main locations of their speech communities. The numbers were calculated from the 2004 National Census data which listed numbers of private household residents, aged six years and over, according to mother tongue (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 80).
Table 3. *Languages of Papuan Origin Spoken as a First Language According to the 2004 National Census*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of speakers</th>
<th>Main areas where used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bunak</td>
<td>50,631</td>
<td>Central interior and Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fataluku</td>
<td>28,893</td>
<td>Eastern tip of Timor-Leste around Lospalos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makalero</td>
<td>5,981</td>
<td>South-east coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makasai</td>
<td>90,018</td>
<td>Eastern end of Timor island around Baucau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. *Languages of Austronesian Origin Spoken as a First Language According to the 2004 National Census*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of speakers</th>
<th>Main areas where used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ataúran varieties (Adabe, Atauran, Rahesuk, Raklungu, Resuk)</td>
<td>5,576</td>
<td>Ataúro Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baikenu, also known as Vaikenu/Atoni</td>
<td>45,695</td>
<td>Oecussi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekais</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>North of Balibó and Batugadé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadu’á</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>Around Manatuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galoli, also known as Galolen.</td>
<td>10,998</td>
<td>North coast, Laklo, Manatuto, Laleia and Wetar island. Ataúro island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habun</td>
<td>1,586</td>
<td>South of Manatuto and north-east of Laclúbar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idalaka (Idaté, Isní, Lolein, Lakalei)</td>
<td>14,201</td>
<td>South-east of Dili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kairui-Midiki</td>
<td>13,540</td>
<td>Central Timor-Leste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemak</td>
<td>51,057</td>
<td>The far west near the border with West Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makuva, also known as Lóvaia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>North-east tip of Timor island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mambae</td>
<td>131,472</td>
<td>Mountains of central Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naueti</td>
<td>11,321</td>
<td>South-east coast, around Uatolari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetum, in its rural varieties, also known as Tetum-Belu, Plains Tetum, Tasi Mane, Tetum-Terik or Classical Tetum</td>
<td>45,944 in Timor-Leste</td>
<td>Western Timor-Leste on the south coast and its hinterland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetum-Dili, also known as Tetum-Praça, Dili Tetum</td>
<td>133,102</td>
<td>In and around Dili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokodede</td>
<td>31,814</td>
<td>Bazar-Tete, Liquiça, Maubara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waima’a</td>
<td>14,506</td>
<td>North coast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 The Macro-level Language Ecology: The 2004 National Census Data

One of the main difficulties in studying multilingualism in Timor-Leste is the measurement of actual language use in society. The 2004 National Census results, released in 2006, reveal complex patterns of language use. According to the census, out of a total of 741,530 private household residents aged six years and older, 702 (approximately 0.1%) spoke Portuguese as a first language and between 179,046 and 224,308\(^6\), in other words between 24% and 30%, reported that they spoke some form of Tetum as their first language. The use of Tetum as a first language varies from district to district. Just over 78% of Dili residents use a variety of Tetum as a first language\(^7\) compared to 9% of residents in Baucau. The numbers of speakers of Tetum varieties as a first language are as low as 1.4% in Lautem district and Oecussi. Just over 0.3%, or 2,411, claimed that they spoke Indonesian as a first language and 808, or just over 0.1% of the population, said they spoke English as a first language. The number of speakers of self-reported speakers of Malay as a first language was 146 and the number of self-reported Chinese mother tongue speakers was 511.

The overall percentage of those claiming capability\(^8\) in Portuguese was just over 36\(^9\) of the population accounted for by the census (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 82). This figure makes an interesting comparison with the 40% (Lopes, 1998, p. 447) of the population of Mozambique who speak and understand their official language, which is also Portuguese (the official language of independent Mozambique since 1975). The percentage claming capability in Tetum amounted to 85% of the East Timorese population. Those claiming capability in Indonesian

\(^6\) These figures were extracted from three sets of figures for Tetum (see Table 2.03 Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004 National Priority Tables 2006, p. 80). The table lists 45,363 speakers of Tetum, 133,102 speakers of Tetum Praça and 45,944 speakers of Tetum Terik as a mother tongue. Census question 8 asked respondents to list their mother tongue (i.e., the language or dialect spoken at home). Census question 9 asked respondents if they could speak, read or write in the languages of Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English. Thus, it was possible for respondents to select Tetum twice.

\(^7\) Mother tongue was defined in the census as the language most commonly spoken in the household (Census Dictionary, Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 37).

\(^8\) Capability was defined in the Census as “the capacity to speak, read or write or in any combination of the above” (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 47).

\(^9\) Derived from Table 2.04 Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004 National Priority Tables (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 82).
numbered 58% and 21% reported capability in English. A significant 13% of the population did not speak either the official or the working languages. The census figures show that the use of Tetum is highest in the 18 to 25 year age group, at 94%. This is the most multilingual age group, with 51% using Portuguese, 82% claiming capability in Indonesian and 42% reporting that they used English, whilst only 7% of this age group spoke only their local languages. This makes another interesting comparison with the 55% of the 36 to 65 year age group who had no capability in either the official or working languages.

Figure 5 gives an indication of the relative proportions of users of exogenous and endogenous languages according to the three main age groups used in this thesis (18 to 25, 26 to 35 and 36 to 65 years of age). The information was derived from the 2004 National Census results for the number of private household residents, six years of age and older, collected by age group according to gender and capability in the official languages. As Figure 5 shows, the use of Tetum in all age groups is very high while the use of Portuguese is higher than previous census figures have shown (see Hajek, 2000; 2002) but still relatively low. English has become a strong competitor to Portuguese amongst the younger age groups. The use of Indonesian overall, but particularly by young people in their twenties, is quite high. People over the age of 36 speak mostly Tetum and their local languages with some use of Indonesian.

Figure 5. Exogenous and endogenous languages: self-reported capability by age group. (Interpolated from Table 2.04 of the Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004 National Priority Tables, Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 82).
Figures in earlier census records provide an interesting contrast with the 2004 census. Hajek (2000; 2002) based his estimates of the numbers of language speakers in Timor-Leste on Indonesian census figures. According to Hajek (2002, p. 192), the 1980 census figures indicated that 30% of the population spoke Indonesian. This figure had doubled to just over 60% by the time of the 1991 census, published in 1995. However, as Hajek noted, the very high number of Indonesian transmigrants who were resident in the country at the time would have inflated this figure. According to Hajek’s (2000, p. 409) estimates, based on available information at the time, the actual number of East Timorese Indonesian speakers was between 40% and 50% in 1990. This was a reasonable estimate as the 1990 Population Census shows. This census presented the data for the numbers of Indonesian speakers according to persons living in households where the head of the household was born in Timor-Leste. The overall total was 56.4%. The younger cohorts, who had been taught in school in the Indonesian language, contained high proportions able to speak Indonesian—85% of males and 77% of females aged 15 to 19—but this dropped off sharply to 35% for males and 17% for females at age 40 to 44 and even lower at older ages (see Jones, 2003, p. 48). Hajek (2000, p. 409) estimated that between 60% and 80% of the population spoke some form of Tetum. He put the number of Portuguese speakers anywhere between 5% and 20%. Whilst these figures do not give a terribly accurate picture, it is clear from Figure 5 that the number of Tetum speakers has increased since then as the population has grown. The number of Indonesian and Portuguese speakers is also higher.

4.2.1 Diglossia with Bilingualism

The study of diglossia is of great value in understanding processes of linguistic change in multilingual societies. Diglossia is an indication of change in the social functions of languages, on the one hand, and change in the social organisation of speech communities on the other (Hudson, 1991, p. 1). Changing diglossia also signals changing language attitudes as Hudson has pointed out (p. 8). The changing nature of diglossia in Timor-Leste is one interesting reflection of rapid social change.
since independence in 1999. Ferguson (1959) originally coined the term diglossia, defining it as:

A relatively stable language situation in which […] there is a divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety […] which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 336)

In Ferguson’s definition, the term refers to two varieties of the same language that are functionally specialised and used in mutually exclusive domains by the same speech community. The superposed\textsuperscript{10} variety, or the “high” variety, is abbreviated to H and the variety used in everyday situations, or the “low” variety, is abbreviated to L. Fishman (1967) extended and elaborated the concept of diglossia to include the distribution of one or more language varieties to serve different functions in a society. Thus, according to Fishman’s definition, in a diglossic situation several separate language varieties may be present, separated along the lines of an H(igh) language on the one hand and an L(ow) language on the other. Fishman (1972a, p. 92) suggested that diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies that officially recognise several languages, but also in societies that use vernacular and classical varieties, registers, or functionally different language varieties of whatever kind. Fishman distinguished diglossia from bilingualism, which he described as an individual’s ability to use more than one language variety. Fasold (1984) in turn distinguished between bilingualism, which he described as an individual phenomenon, and multilingualism, which is societal. Using these definitions, the current language situation in Timor-Leste is both diglossic and multilingual with high but varying levels of individual bi-, tri- and quatri-lingualism. Some individuals, for example many Baikenu speakers, are monolingual. According to the 2004 Census (2006, p. 84), 192,692 people, or just over 25\% of the population, are monolingual Tetum speakers. Roughly 15\%, or 113,008, use the three languages of Portuguese, Tetum and Indonesian while 143,684 people (just under 20\%) use all four official and working languages (Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English).

\textsuperscript{10} Meaning that the variety in question is not the primary \textit{native} variety for the speakers in question but learned in addition to this (Ferguson, 2003, p. 345).
According to Fasold’s (1984, pp. 48-49) typology of diglossia, the actual arrangement in Timor-Leste is one of linear polyglossia (see also Platt, 1977). Platt used the term polyglossia to refer to cases like Singapore and Malaysia where several codes exist in a particular arrangement according to domains. Using Fasold’s typology, an educated, urbanised East Timorese individual’s verbal repertoire might consist of: (a) a vernacular language, used as a Low variety (L); (b) a variety of Tetum used as a Sub-Low variety, a classification that accommodates lingua franca languages (L-); (c) Indonesian, taught as a High (H) variety in the education system during the occupation period; and (d) Portuguese, taught and used as a High (H) language during the colonial period. The term linear is problematic, however, because languages range along a continuum from high to low varieties. This is especially true of Indonesian language varieties.

Languages are assigned to H and L categories by the concept of domains (Fishman, 1971; 1972b). Fishman (1972b, p. 442) defined domains as: “a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators and locales of communication in accordance with the institutions and spheres of a speech community.” Similarly, Romaine (1995, p. 30) defined domains as: “an abstraction which refers to the sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships”. Thus, domains are a consequence not only of the functions for which a language variety is used but also of speakers’ attitudes towards the language. Domains are organised along a continuum from public to private interaction and from high to low formality (Fasold, 1984, p. 49). The concept takes into account how highly speakers value the variety in their repertoires. High varieties have much more prestige than Low varieties do. In addition to the languages mentioned earlier, an educated, urbanised East Timorese citizen might have English and/or a variety of Chinese in his/her language repertoire. S/He may also have knowledge of an older, rural variety of Tetum, spoken in the southeastern region of the country, known as Tetun-Terik, or Classical Tetum (see also Chapter 5). As also previously noted, it is important to appreciate that there is diglossia, according to Ferguson’s definition, in Indonesian itself (Sneddon, 2003a; 2003b) and thus the varieties of Indonesian used and understood in Timor-Leste vary along a continuum from the formal H variety taught through the Indonesian education system to the highly informal, colloquial L varieties used in everyday activities. Sneddon (2003b, pp. 532-533), observing that the difference in functions between H
and L in Indonesian is not as strict as in Ferguson’s model of diglossia (see also Wardhaugh, 1998, p. 88), noted that while H and L Indonesian are associated with most formal and informal situations, there are intermediate forms, associated with semi-formal situations. The number of Indonesian speakers in Timor-Leste, as the data in this chapter show, is still high. Indonesian is still found in use in social life, small businesses, in the daily work of NGOs and in secondary and tertiary education. The Portuguese language is undergoing revival through the education system, in the civil service and the formal justice system. The dynamism and complexity of this situation was enhanced by the sudden entry of English into the ecology in 1999. Tetum is the most commonly spoken endogenous language and even in traditionally non-Tetum speaking areas, its use appears to be growing (Himmelman & Hajek, 2001, p. 93). This is confirmed by the census results and also in the participant language use profiles. Tetum is also increasingly used in traditionally H domains such as the courts, parliament and in primary education.

In both Ferguson’s (1959) and Fishman’s (1967; 1971; 1972a) versions of diglossia, the languages in an individual’s repertoire are highly compartmentalised, although Ferguson later revised this to say that there is always a continuum between H and L. Even so, as Ferguson (1959, p. 337) noted: “No segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H as a medium of ordinary conversation and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic or artificial […] and in some sense disloyal to the community […].” Hudson (1991, p. 13) suggested that rigid compartmentalisation is a necessary requisite for the long-term maintenance of diglossia. While Ferguson and Fishman have argued that the compartmentalisation of language use in diglossic situations contributes to stable bilingualism and language maintenance, others (see, for example, Schiffman, 1993) have claimed that diglossia tends to be unstable because the balance of power between the two languages leads to language shift. Fasold (1984) argued that two signs of changing diglossia are “leakage” in function from one domain into another and mixing of form. He suggested that where there was leakage of H or L varieties into any of the other’s functions, this was usually a sign of the breakdown of the diglossic relationship. It is suggested here that the changing language situation in Timor-Leste has led to a form of unstable diglossia, which reflects the changing relationship and status of languages in society.
4.2.2 Language Shift and the Reversal of Language Shift

One major reason for the breakdown of stable diglossia in Timor-Leste is the reversal of language shift (see Chapter 2). Language communities take a range of actions to maintain their languages or reverse language shift. In Timor-Leste both language shift and the reversal of language shift are being promoted through language policy and planning: language shift towards the increased use of Tetum in public domains, and the reversal of language shift through the removal of Indonesian and the revival of Portuguese in high status domains. There have been measures to reverse language shift and revive Portuguese in the domains of education, public administration and government institutions. This thesis focuses, in particular, on the reversal of language shift through the constitutional mandate, the orthography of Official Tetum, the Language Directive in the formal justice system and the reform of the medium of instruction (see Chapter 6).

4.2.3 Lexical Borrowing

The frequency of lexical borrowing from a number of languages is striking in Timor-Leste. As Romaine (1995, p. 59) has stated, borrowed items have an uncertain status for some time after they are first adopted. Before a particular loan is met with general social acceptance, each individual may adapt it to varying degrees. The source languages for lexical borrowing in Timor-Leste give rise to some controversy. To illustrate, many Portuguese-speaking purists dislike the English loanwords such as skill, capacity and gender that have crept into use in Tetum to replace the respective Portuguese loans jeito, qualidade and genero. Other English loans such as the acronym NGO and the term feedback have also come into common use. There is also criticism by both Tetum users and lusophones of the heavy use of Indonesian loanwords for which Tetum equivalents exist, such as tim (ekipe = team), guru (mestre = teacher), frater (irmaun = religious brother) and desa (suku = village). In the same way as many Indonesian words are already loanwords, many more Tetum words are also originally Portuguese loanwords. There are numerous Portuguese loanwords for which original Tetum equivalents exist. Four examples are borboleta.
Many Malay words remain in the Tetum language, along with aspects of grammar, attesting to the long association between the East Timorese and the Malays. The word *malae* used to describe all foreigners comes from Malay. Until the start of the 19th century the majority of loanwords in Tetum were Malay words. Place names such as *Batugadé* (Big Stone) and words such as *kilat* (rifle) and *tunaga* (fiancé, betrothed) reveal a long and close relationship with the Malays. Words of Dutch origin are also used, such as *balanda* (originally meaning Dutch but now also meaning fair or light skinned). *Matan balanda* means blue eyes but in a literary or poetic sense it is used to mean “very white” (Thomaz, 2002, p. 110). As Malay declined in use, Portuguese took its place as the primary lexifier language for Tetum until the Indonesian occupation, when modern words from Indonesian infiltrated the language heavily.

The increased use of Tetum in previously H domains and the revival of Portuguese as an H language is an indication of the breakdown of stable diglossia. Borrowing, code switching and mixing are of interest in the context of ethnographically-oriented sociolinguistics and identity theory, both of which claim that code switching and mixing are deliberate, conscious discourse strategies and, as such, are often expressions of identity (see for example, Heller, 1982; Le Page & Tabouret Keller, 1985; Myers-Scotton, 1995). However, these features in themselves are not the focus of this thesis, which examines language policy-making and its impacts on identity. The focus is instead on attitudes to the languages and what these languages symbolise to the participants in the sample. Hence, the concept of negotiation, in which individuals use language codes and varieties to evoke, assert, define, modify, challenge and/or support their own and others’ desired self-images (Ting-Toomey, 1999), is used to theorise the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste.

### 4.2.4 The Ecology of Literacy

One situation in which diglossia occurs is when literacy in a community is limited to a small elite (Romaine, 1995, p. 36). Literacy rates in Timor-Leste are extremely low. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated the
mean literacy rate in 2001 at 43%. Noting the striking gap between urban and rural areas, the UNDP estimated the urban literacy rate at 82% and the rural literacy rate at only 37% (UNDP, 2002, p. 47). Calculating from the figures in the National Census of 2004 (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 133), 47% of all women and 34% of all men between the ages of 15 and 60 are illiterate. According to the UNDP, between 10% and 30% of primary-school-age children are still not attending school (UNDP, 2006, p. 1). These figures raise questions about the role and function of literacy in East Timorese society, what kind of ecological niche can be found for vernacular literacy, and what the current language policy and planning trajectory mean for literacy levels. Chapters 6 and 9 discuss these issues further.

4.2.5 Tetum and Portuguese Locales of Use

As Ager (2005) has noted, the status of a language in a particular society is its position or standing relative to other languages. The status of a language variety can be measured by the number and nature of domains in which it is used. High status domains (H)—the elite, parliament, the judiciary, education, the forces of law and order—represent the public domains. Low status domains (L) are domestic and private situations and where powerless groups wish to distinguish themselves from those in power, or where such groups are marked as powerless because they are unable to deploy linguistic skills in the high status language (Ager, 2001, p. 1040).

For the purposes of this discussion, it is more appropriate to talk in terms of locales, because they describe a less complex situation than the term domain, which, in both Fishman’s (1972b) and Romaine’s (1995) definitions, includes the parameters of reciprocal language choices by classes of interlocutors on kinds of occasions to discuss particular topics (Fishman, 1972b, p. 437). Tables 5 and 6 make rough classifications of the main locales of use for Tetum and Portuguese and the High or Low functions of each language. It is important to point out that speakers do not use these languages exclusively in these locales. Rather, these locales tend to be reserved for these languages. There is a great deal of code switching and mixing in all locales. There is evidence of this in the data gathered for the profile of participants’ language use. According to Law 8, 2004, which designates Portuguese as the language of the Civil Service, civil servants are required to use Portuguese in the workplace (see
JSMP, 2004, p. 23). Yet, as the data in the second part of this chapter show, the participants make regular use of Tetum when dealing with public offices. At political rallies and meetings, both the former and the current president and other leaders address their audience in very intimate and familiar terms in Tetum. Tables 5 and 6 therefore serve primarily as a guide for evaluating the vitality of Tetum and the extent of its image repertoire.

Table 5. Tetum Locales of Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum locales of use</th>
<th>H or L status functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The National Parliament. The majority of members of parliament use Tetum in debate and questions, in addition to Portuguese.</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Police and Armed Forces</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church services</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The District Courts</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Civil Service/public administration</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political meetings, speeches, conferences, rallies and other cultural events, in addition to Portuguese, Indonesian and English</td>
<td>H and L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Press and on radio and television (mainly news and public information programs).</td>
<td>H and L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The marketplace</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The home and family gatherings</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Portuguese Locales of Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese locales of use</th>
<th>H or L status functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The National Parliament, in the rubric of legislation and written documents</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-primary and primary education</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Court of Appeal.</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In church services in hymns and funeral prayers and ceremonies</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Civil Service/Public Administration</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conferences, seminars and meetings</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs and Excise</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomatic activities involving Portugal and the CPLP</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Press and on radio and television (news and popular entertainment).</td>
<td>H and L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

11 In turn, former President Gusmão is often popularly referred to as maun boot (elder brother).
Tables 5 and 6 show that, although Tetum is increasingly used in H locales, it is still used for mostly L registers (or a combination of H and L registers, where it primarily plays an L role), whereas Portuguese is used for mainly H registers. An inevitable conclusion is that, for its standardisation to be successful and its status elevated, Tetum needs to broaden its image repertoire (see Ager, 2001; Omar, 1998) in such locales as the professions, the media, education and the sciences, high culture and refined social interaction. The diglossic situation, in which Indonesian continues to dominate in secondary and higher education, many professions and small businesses, has still not significantly changed. The arrival of English has exacerbated diglossia because of its widespread use along with Indonesian in NGO activities and many working situations where foreign aid workers and volunteers are employed. English is also the working language of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese dominates the telecommunications and education sectors. The health sector is truly multilingual, being heavily reliant on international medical and health professionals. The language of technology, as elsewhere, is for the most part English. The persistence of diglossia potentially undermines the successful standardisation of Tetum and the elevation of its status.

In summary, this section has described and analysed the language ecology at macro level and discussed the origins and relative status of the languages within it. This is an appropriate point to move from a macro- to a micro-level view of the ecology. The following section discusses the patterns of language use by the participants in this study in the context of overall language use.

4.3 The Micro-level Language Ecology: Background Information about the Participants

Seventy-eight participants agreed to take part in the semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Table 7 provides background information about the participants. As Table 7 shows, most had achieved a minimum level of secondary education and many were tertiary educated. All participants were literate and multilingual. Most were resident in Dili at the time of the interviews but most originated from outside the capital and returned to their districts of origin frequently. A small number lived and worked in the districts. As emphasised previously, this was not a representative
sample of East Timorese society. The participants were members of various elite
groups. As such, their language choices have considerable bearing on the success or
failure of language policy. As Chapter 3 explained, the participants were selected
according to their power to exercise agency in their choices regarding compliance or
non-compliance with language policy. Their use of language, as the following data
show, indicates the willingness of elites to adapt their language choices to prevailing
ideologies. The data showing their changing patterns of language use reflect the
marked variations that have occurred in the linguistic ecology over time and, hence,
the variations in the participants’ language use are inextricably linked to their ages.

As Chapter 3 also explained, the sample consisted of three participant groups:
key informants, student focus groups, and individuals. The student focus groups were
divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group, consisting of Student Focus Groups
1 through 5, was named the Dili Student Focus Groups because they were living and
studying in Dili. The second sub-group was named the AusAid Student Focus Groups
6 through 8. These student groups were studying in Australia on an AusAid
scholarship program.

Table 7. The Participant Groups in the Sample: Background Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Group</th>
<th>Number interviewed</th>
<th>Gender Mix</th>
<th>Occupational background</th>
<th>Minimum educational level attained</th>
<th>Age range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key informants</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9 males</td>
<td>Civil servants; Members of Parliament; Diplomatic Service</td>
<td>Secondary; Some tertiary</td>
<td>40 - 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected Individuals</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18 males</td>
<td>Skilled/trained professionals</td>
<td>Secondary; Some tertiary</td>
<td>20 - 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dili Student Focus Groups</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23 males</td>
<td>Tertiary students</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>18 - 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AusAid Student Focus Groups</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5 males</td>
<td>Tertiary students</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>21 - 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 females</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.3.1 Changing Patterns of Language Use

The language use profiles were compiled from the language use profile form (see Appendix C), completed by all participants (N=78) who were asked to list which language(s) they used most frequently in various locales. As participants were able to list more than one language, the percentages do not add up to 100%. The picture of language use according to locale in Figure 6 provides some interesting reflections of the census figures. It shows further signs of changing language use and the changing nature of diglossia, when compared with Figure 7. As Figure 6 shows, not only was Tetum used by the majority of participants (over 85%) in the home and at church, but it was also the language they used most often in the workplace and when dealing with public offices, an interesting fact in view of the legal requirement for civil servants to use Portuguese. The use of Tetum and Portuguese at church reflects two historical developments. The first is the close and long-term relationship between the two, as languages of worship. The second is the key role that Tetum came to play in the Catholic Church. Chapter 5 discusses how these two languages came to embody these overarching core cultural values. The figures for English should take into account the fact that 13 participants were living in Australia and a number of participants were studying English, so these percentages should not be taken as a sign of marked changes in language use overall. In sum, Figure 6 clearly shows the lower use of Indonesian in comparison to Tetum and Portuguese by the participants in public locales.

![Figure 6](image)

*Figure 6. Language use by locale: languages used most frequently by participants in their interactions in these locales (multiple responses possible).*
Figure 7 offers further insights into the participants’ changing language use. As the census also shows, the use of Tetum is extremely high—85% in the case of the census and 99% in the case of the participants according to Figure 5. Almost all participants spoke Tetum, Portuguese, English and at least one other endogenous language. Eighty percent of participants reported that Tetum was the language they used most often and approximately 75% of them had spoken the language as a child in the home. Just over half (54%) of participants spoke Portuguese. This reflected both their socioeconomic background and the fact that, in the majority, they were residents of the capital city. Indicative of the incursion of English into the urban linguistic ecology, the percentage of English speakers matched that of Indonesian at 77%, whilst just over half (53%) spoke at least one other endogenous language. On the other hand, in another indication of the reversal of language shift among the participants, only 9% reported that they used Indonesian most frequently now. This was only slightly more than those who said they used another local language (8%) most now. The participants had clearly moved away from using local languages to using languages of wider communication, perhaps also indicating accompanying shifts away from local identities. Although over half the participants spoke Portuguese, only a quarter (24%) percent of them reported that they used Portuguese most frequently now, compared to 37% who said they used English most. However, it is important not to jump to any conclusions about the use of English from these figures, because more than half of the participants were studying English or attending English-medium institutions, as can be seen in the focus group social profiles later in this chapter. Most significant is the indication from Figures 6 and 7, that the use of Tetum has increased significantly and that it is used in locales from which it was once excluded.
Figure 7. Participants’ changing language use (multiple responses possible).
Note: Other = any other endogenous language

4.3.2 Languages Used in Education

A comparison of languages used in education gives a clear indication of the language shifts participants were obliged to make in view of the dramatic changes in the political situation since 1975. Figures 8a and 8b present a picture of language shift and reversal of language shift over as short a period as three generations. The variations are seen most clearly when grouped according to participants’ ages. To obtain this overview of language shift, the participants were divided into four age groups: (a) 18 to 25 year olds, (b) 26 to 35 year olds, (c) 36 to 45 year olds and (d) 46 to 65 year olds.

For each group, a median year was calculated in which the participants were assumed to be attending primary or secondary school. Patterns of language use inside and outside the classroom were plotted according to these median years, as shown in Figures 8a and 8b. The graphs show language use in the primary and secondary school classroom and outside class, in the schoolyard. They provide further evidence of diglossia and language shift. For the sake of clarity, the data for language use at university were not included. In any case, they did not show any significant changes in language use amongst the participants studying in Timor-Leste. The graphs also
omitted the data for English because the make-up of the sample would have skewed the data by giving a false impression of the high use of English. One disadvantage of grouping the data by median age is that the small sample sizes across the age groups have the effect of exaggerating relatively minor statistical differences and making the changes look very marked on the graphs. For this reason, it is best to view figures 8a and 8b as showing general trends only and they are best viewed in ecological relation to one another. They are intended to provide a picture of language ecological change.

There were noticeable differences in the languages that participants reported using most in the classroom compared to those used in the schoolyard, suggesting (as the original survey question intended) that the languages used most inside the classroom were primarily driven by the medium of instruction. As the graphs show, the reported use of Portuguese as the language of the classroom was high, ranging between 90% in 1957, 100% in 1962 and 70% in 1972. This was just before the Indonesian invasion when Portuguese was still the medium of instruction. In contrast, the numbers reporting the use of Portuguese in the schoolyard ranged from 60% in 1957 to just under 50% by 1972. Conversely, the use of Tetum in the classroom was low at just under 50% in 1957, dropping to 20% by 1962 and falling to a low of about 15% by 1972. On the other hand, in the schoolyard, Tetum was used by between 60% and 80% of that age group in the same period. The use of Tetum in the classroom shows a steady increase to around 60% in the early 1980s. The sharp increase in the use of Tetum in this age cohort probably reflects the Indonesian tolerance of vernacular language use in primary education in the 1980s (see Chapter 5). Numbers reporting the use of Tetum in the classroom fluctuated between 1982 and 1992 but did not rise above 60%. From 1992 onwards, the use of Tetum in the classroom began to decline, as the younger age group was growing up schooled in the Indonesian language. After 1992, the use of Tetum in the classroom dropped off sharply. In contrast, the use of Indonesian in the classroom increased steadily, especially after 1980 as Indonesian language planning came into effect. By 1997, 90% of the participants in that age cohort were using Indonesian as the language of the classroom whereas, in the schoolyard, only 30% used Indonesian compared to 95% who used Tetum. After 1981, Portuguese was prohibited as a medium of instruction and, by 1997 the use of Portuguese by the relevant age group had all but disappeared. Although the use of Tetum as a language of the schoolyard had dropped to around 55% by 1978, its use has increased steadily since then, as Figure 8b shows.
To sum up, Figures 8a and 8b show that Tetum came under sustained pressure between the late 1950s and early 1980s. Its use as a classroom language increased in the 1980s but by 1997 had declined. The use of Portuguese declined steadily, particularly after the Indonesian invasion of 1975, and by the late 1990s it was no longer used in the classroom or the schoolyard. In contrast, the use of Indonesian overall showed a sustained increase, particularly after 1977. Although the use of Indonesian in the schoolyard shows a similar pattern to its use in the classroom, its
use in the schoolyard was lower, reflecting the fact that Indonesian was a school taught language for most participants. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a sharp drop in the reported use of Indonesian in the schoolyard, which may reflect the beginnings of nationalist consciousness, disenchantment with the occupation and resistance amongst youth (see Chapter 5). It can be seen that the use of Tetum rose steadily in the schoolyard in the same period. The figures provide a visual example of how medium-of-instruction planning influences patterns of language shift and use. They provide evidence of near linguistic genocide as far as Portuguese was concerned (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) were it not for the symbolism that the language acquired as the language of the resistance. Although the figures show the low use of Tetum in the classroom over the period of 1957 to 1977, the loyalty and attachment to Tetum is evident in its sustained use as a language of the schoolyard and this is a clear indicator of social identity.

Having collated, described and analysed the variations in language use across the different generations in the sample, the chapter now turns to a description of the language profiles of each group of participants. In the following sections, a language profile is provided for each of the participant groups and set within a brief summary of the social composition of each group.

4.4 The Key Informants: A Language Profile

The nine key informants were all males between 40 and 58 years of age. Their language use profiles showed that they were multilingual individuals who were well educated and highly literate, although not every key informant had a university education. The additional information in their language use profiles (not shown in Figure 9) indicated that all but one had been educated in Portuguese-medium primary schools. The one exception grew up in the enclave of Oecussi, where Tetum is not spoken as a first language, and he had used Baikenu as a child. Six participants were educated in Portuguese-medium secondary schools. Of the remaining three, two were educated in English-medium schools in Australia, where they had been taken as children with their families as refugees after 1975. One, for reasons that are not known, received his secondary schooling in Indonesian.
Figure 9, which indicates their patterns of language use, shows that all key informants spoke Tetum although their language use profiles indicated that they did not all speak it as a first language. Eight key informants had used Tetum at home when they were children. All nine key informants spoke Portuguese and all but one of the key informants used Portuguese at primary school. Six key informants used Portuguese as the language of the classroom at secondary school. Six out of the nine key informants spoke Indonesian but only one key informant reported that he used it regularly now. Seven key informants reported that the language they used most now was Tetum and six key informants reported that the language they also used frequently now was Portuguese.

![Figure 9. Key informants’ language use profile (N=9) (multiple responses possible).](image)

4.4.1 The Dili Student Focus Groups: A Language Profile

The Dili focus groups consisted of 30 young adults ranging in age from 18 to 35. As Figure 10 shows, whilst every participant in this group spoke Tetum, 77% reported that they spoke Indonesian and a very high number (80%) spoke English. Although about half (47%) the Dili student focus group members claimed capability in Portuguese, only 10% said that Portuguese was the language they used most frequently now compared to 27% who reported that they currently used English most.
The high percentage of English speakers is not surprising. Most of the Dili student focus group participants were students of English. Although 90% of them had used Indonesian as the language of the classroom, a tiny 7% reported that they used Indonesian regularly now.

The additional information in the language use profiles (not shown in Figure 10) also indicates some interesting signs of language shift and the breakdown of diglossia amongst this group. In a strong indication of the vitality of Tetum and the local languages, 96% said they used Tetum at home and 60% used another endogenous language at home. Forty three percent reported that they used Portuguese when dealing with the civil service or public administration, while the majority (87%) said that they used Tetum for these purposes. Thirty three percent claimed that they used English when dealing with public offices. In view of the Civil Service Law 8, mentioned earlier, this indicates a gap between policy and practice, which is probably a reflection of the widespread presence of English-speaking NGOs and United Nations bodies operating in Dili.

![Figure 10. Dili student focus groups: profile of language use (multiple responses possible).](image-url)
4.4.2 The AusAid Student Focus Groups: A Language Profile

The AusAid Focus Groups 6, 7 and 8 comprised 13 students, studying in Australia supported by AusAid funded government scholarships. The 5 males and 8 females, aged between the ages of 22 and 40 years old, were following a range of undergraduate programs in Australian universities. Focus Group 6 consisted of two young men and two young women between 21 and 27 years of age. Focus Group 7 consisted of four females from 22 to 27 years old and Focus Group 8 was made up of two women and three men, all mature-age students between 35 and 40 years old.

Figure 11 shows their patterns of language use. As can be seen, all the AusAid student focus group members spoke Tetum, Indonesian and English, although English was a relatively recent addition to their repertoires. Nobody had been exposed to English as a child, either at home or primary school. Only 3 of the Australian student focus group members spoke Portuguese. Nine people spoke Tetum as a first language and 7 spoke at least one other endogenous language. Seven people had learned Indonesian in primary school and 10 had used Indonesian in secondary school. Only one person had used Portuguese (because she had attended the prestigious Saint Joseph’s Portuguese-medium day school, the Escola Externata São José referred to in Chapters 5 and 6). Outside the secondary classroom, however, 11 people reported that they used Tetum while 5 said that they used Indonesian. Eleven said that the language they used at home was Tetum, whilst 1 participant, who came from an old Portuguese-speaking family, used Portuguese. Two participants used other endogenous languages at home.

From the further information provided in their language use profiles (not shown in Figure 11) 11 AusAid student focus group members said that they used Tetum when dealing with the civil service and other public offices while 6 said that they still used Indonesian. Indicating their low level of proficiency in Portuguese, only 2 participants reported that they used Portuguese for these purposes whilst 3 claimed that they used English.
4.4.3 The Individual Participants: A Language Profile

The 26 individual participants comprised 18 males and 8 females, ranging in age from 24 to 64 years old. They all worked in some kind of professional or semi-professional capacity, with the exception of 2 who were retired (a former nurse and a former soldier in the Portuguese colonial army). Their occupations ranged from teaching and journalism to salaried positions in the Church and civil service. Some also worked or directed NGOs or worked in senior positions for government and/or donor-sponsored bodies. In this group, language use differed yet again from that of the key informants and the student focus groups.

Figure 12 shows that, true to the overall pattern, as Dili residents in the majority, their use of Tetum was extremely high at 96%. However, their patterns of language acquisition were also related to their age and occupations as well as the era in which they had been educated. As Figure 12 shows, nearly two-thirds (62%) spoke Portuguese, Indonesian (69%) and English (65%). Just over half (54%) also spoke at least one other endogenous language. Nearly all members of this group (92%) reported that the language they used most now was Tetum, compared with 35% who said they used Portuguese most now. A very low number (15%) said that they used Indonesian most now. The same low percentage said that they used a local language most, reflecting the shift away from local identities amongst this highly urbanised
sample. Sixty nine percent had used Tetum in the home when they were children compared to 46% who said they had used a local language at home as children. In another indication of the recent arrival of English into the ecology, about two-thirds of the participants spoke English at the time of the interviews but not one individual had used English in the home or at primary school. Only one person had used English at secondary school (as a refugee in Australia), whilst just over half had used Portuguese as the language of the primary and secondary classroom.

Figure 12. The individual participants: profile of language use (multiple responses possible).

4.5 The Disruption of the Linguistic Ecology and its Speech Communities

This series of profiles is complex because it compares the use of four languages across three groups. To recap, participants were asked which language(s) they used most (see Appendix C) and the majority listed more than one language. This accounts for the fact that percentages in the tables do not add up to 100%. It is also a reflection of participants’ high level of multilingualism. The participant profiles show the particular impacts on the linguistic ecology of Portuguese and Indonesian language policies and practices (see Figures 8a & 8b), which imposed their own dominant language ideologies and their own demands on the language use of educated elite groups.
The language profiles indicate that because of the changes brought about in the language ecology, age has become a highly significant variable in patterns of language use. The profiles also highlight the fact that the task of constructing an overarching identity in such a multilingual context is a challenging one. English has only made a recent entry into the ecology but has already had a powerful impact in this largely urban sample, posing strong competition to both Portuguese and Indonesian. Although the use of Indonesian amongst the participants in public domains for high registers is declining and the use of Portuguese appears to be increasing, international NGOs and aid organisations persist in (and insist on) using both Indonesian and English. This presents a significant threat to the successful introduction of Tetum into these domains, even though it is still very early days since independence in 2002. The role of Tetum as the national lingua franca, and the obvious attachment to the language across the sample, seems to be unquestionable but should also be seen in light of the fact that the participants were mostly urbanised residents of the capital city. There were two important exceptions on the island of Atauro (a short boat ride in a prevailing wind from Dili), where the two resident participants used Indonesian as a lingua franca. Chapter 7 discusses their specific responses further in the report of the interview findings.

At this point, we return to the past to trace the impact of colonialism on the languages of Timor-Leste. The following chapter makes use of the available literature to follow the history of languages in contact up to the end of the Indonesian occupation in 1999 and the first years of independence in an effort to establish how they came to occupy their niches in the ecology.
5.0 Tracing the Role of Policies, Planning and Practices in the Evolution of the Language Ecology

Não esquecer que para se conseguir a assimilação do elemento indígena, é indispensável, um trabalho lento, reflectido, que demanda muito paciência, tenacidade, prudência e racional energia. (Celestino da Silva, 1898)
(Do not forget that the successful assimilation of the native is a slow, reflective and indispensable task, which demands much patience, prudence, tenacity and rational energy.)

This extract from instructions to Portuguese military commanders with administrative duties in Portuguese Timor, dated 1898, sums up the early Portuguese colonial philosophy. The assimilation of selected natives into the colonial project was central to the Portuguese colonial strategy and the key emblem of assimilation was the natives’ acquisition of the Portuguese language. However, an endogenous language, Tetum Praça, was itself the victor in competition with other varieties. To understand the symbolic power of Portuguese and Tetum in the present language ecology and to appreciate their associations with national and social identity, it is necessary to understand how social policies and practices have shaped their ecological relationship. To do this, we must return to the past.

Beginning with an account of the rise and spread of Tetum in the pre-colonial period, this chapter describes and discusses the history of language planning practices in Timor-Leste, in order to evaluate their influence on identity formation. This account traces their path in four further successive and distinct political periods. The first covers the early period of Portuguese colonialism. The second covers the period from the coup d’État\textsuperscript{12} and civil war in August, 1975, which interrupted this process

\textsuperscript{12} Carried out by the União Democrática Timorense (the Timorese Democratic Union, or UDT) with the aim of wresting power from the Portuguese and halting the growing popularity of Fretilin.
and prompted the first declaration of East Timorese independence on 28th November, 1975 by Fretilin. This brief but highly significant period in language policy and planning terms is known as the Fretilin interregnum. The Indonesian invasion of the fledgling Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste followed rapidly on 7th December, 1975 and led to the third period, which covers the 24 year occupation of the country by Indonesia. In 1999, this illegal occupation came to an abrupt end with the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). In the wake of UNTAET came the fourth global or new imperial era (Phillipson, 1992), in which English competes for hegemony. The chapter draws upon the ecological paradigm in its view that complex environmental factors shape national and social identity. According to this view, we cannot adequately describe identity without reference to the phenomena that have shaped it (Haarmann, 1986, p. 2).

5.1 The Pre-colonial Language Ecology: Tetum Language Spread and the Decline of Malay

Various scholars have described the history of Tetum. Among them are Fox (1997; 2003), Hull (1998a; 1998b; 1999e), Thomaz (1981; 1994; 2002), and Schulte Nordholt (1971). However, a great deal remains unknown about the process of language change and how or why the dialects of Tetum have diverged from one another. The expansion of Tetum speaking people, from their traditional place of origin on the central south coast, to the north and along the south coast, resulted in several distinct forms of Tetum (Fox, 2003, p. 42). *Tetun-Terik* or rural Tetum, also known as Classical Tetum, is the name given to the language variety spoken in the southeastern Viqueque-Samoro-Alas region and to the western variety spoken along both sides of the border with West Timor. Its other name is *Tetun-Loos* (True Tetum). It is considered the highest, most sophisticated variety of Tetum. The dialect spoken around the north of the border region is *Tetun-Belu*, also called Plains Tetum. The variety of Tetum spoken in Dili and its surrounds became known as *Tetun-Praça*, Dili being traditionally referred to by the Portuguese as a *Praça forte*, or fortress. Its other title is *Tetun-Dili* because it established itself as the vernacular of Dili, the capital city, after it became urbanised in the 18th century.
After the Indonesian occupation, the Catholic Church established a form of liturgical Tetum or *Tetun-Ibadat* (Fox, 2003, p. 43). As Fox pointed out, this variety of Tetum is widely understood because of its use in church services, but it is not what people speak in everyday communication. At the end of the 19th century, Portuguese missionaries, who learned Tetum and other local languages in order to convert the native populations to Catholicism, also facilitated the spread of Tetum. These missionary priests learned the native languages and compiled dictionaries, in order to translate catechisms, prayer books and the gospels and to win converts. They printed prayer books, grammars and dictionaries in Tetum, Baikenu, Galoli, Makasai, Midiki and Mambae (Hull, 1998a, p. 8). However, Tetum was most widely used. According to Hull (2000b), it became so closely linked to Christianity that it was called *a lingua dos baptisados* (the language of the baptised).

The spread of the Tetum language, rather than Mambae which has the second largest numbers of speakers in eastern Timor, is thought to result from the expansion of the Tetum-speaking Wehali kingdom (in West Timor) and the use of Tetum as a trade or contact language as Malay declined in the Portuguese colony (Fox, 1997; 2003; Thomaz, 1994). Thomaz (1981, p. 58) reasoned that Tetum-Praça was used in Dili (traditionally a Mambae-speaking area, a language which is still spoken outside a four- or five-mile radius of the town) because of its role as the capital of the territory and thus a meeting place for different languages. He surmised that the spread of Tetum as a lingua franca was the result of the dominance of two Tetum-speaking kingdoms over the entire eastern half of the island Belu (in the Viqueque region) and Wehali (now in West Timor). The *datos Belos* (the lords of Belu) were already dominant by the time the Portuguese arrived and Thomaz (1981, p. 58) suggested that the use of the Tetum language by these kings, together with the expansion of Dili,

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13 In 1902, a Jesuit seminary was established at Soibada in the Samoro district. The influence of Soibada was very strong. It was the only secondary school in Portuguese Timor and it was intended for the training of *mestre-escolas* (schoolmasters) whose job was to teach basic literacy, numeracy and catechism in rural schools. These *mestres* were the only educated indigenous group in the country and held great prestige (Thomaz, 1981, p. 67).

14 Most notable was the work of Fr Sebastião Aparício da Silva, who wrote a catechism in Tetum in 1885 and a Portuguese-Tetum dictionary in 1889. Raphael das Dores’ Tetum-Portuguese dictionary of 1907 complemented Silva’s work. Fr Manuel da Silva’s grammar of the Galoli language was written in 1900 and his dictionary of the same in 1907 (Hull, 1998a, p. 8).
promoted the spread of Tetum. According to Thomaz (1981, p. 59), by becoming a common language to the East Timorese but not in use outside the island, and being assisted by Catholic evangelism, Tetum came to play a unifying role and a differentiating one, similar to that of the national languages in Europe.

By about 1845, the parallel use of Tetum and Portuguese was well established and had begun to displace Malay, which had almost disappeared from the colony by the end of the 19th century. Tetum was used as a lingua franca throughout the colony. It was only in the areas where Tetum had spread less widely that Portuguese, and Indonesian since 1976, came to be used as languages of wider communication in its place. The use of Malay is today confined to the Muslim community, the descendants of Arabs from Hadramaut who came to Timor via Java, in the Kampung Alor suburb of Dili, once also known as the Campo Mouro, or Moorish camp. Today, this community is isolated and somewhat ostracised. Thomaz (1994, p. 616) attributed the decline of Malay in Timor-Leste to a number of factors. These were, in short, the spread of Portuguese, the priority given to Tetum by the Portuguese, the separation of Portuguese Timor from the surrounding Dutch colonies, and the transfer of the capital from Lifau in Oecussi to Dili (see section 5.2.1). Thomaz also mentioned another contributing factor to the decline of Malay. This was the replacement, after 1851, of the Malay-speaking Companhia de Moradores de Sica (a Christian military troop from Sica in Flores, that was based in Dili) with a Portuguese-speaking Timorese troop.

15 The Viqueque/Soibada area, which is traditionally Tetun-Terik-speaking; the Fataluku-speaking area in the far west around the town of Lospalos; and in the enclave of Oecussi, where Baikenu is spoken.

16 The Companhia de Sica was a Christian army troop based in the suburb of Bidau, Dili. After the Portuguese ceded Flores to the Dutch in 1851, the troop was replaced with an East Timorese company. The language used by this troop came to be known as the Portuguese of Bidau. (Thomaz, 1981).
5.2 Contact with Portuguese 1514 – 1945: The Arrival of Missionary Priests and the Settlement of the Topasses on the Island of Timor

The Portuguese arrived on the island of Timor in 1514, attracted by the opportunity to exploit the island’s sandalwood forests. Missionary work began in 1566 when the Dominicans arrived in Solor and Flores. The first mestiço (mixed race) class, the Topasses or Black Portuguese, established a settlement at Lifau, in Oecussi, the present-day enclave of Timor-Leste, in 1641 after the Dominicans converted the native ruler. The Topasses or Larantuqueiros were descended from the Portuguese sailors and traders who married local women at the original settlement on Solor. The Dutch attacked this settlement in 1613 but allowed the population to leave. The Topasses transferred to Larantuka, in eastern Flores. Joined by deserters from the Dutch East India Company, their numbers continued to grow until they controlled the trade routes between Solor, Larantuka and Timor. The distinctive features of this population were its use of Portuguese, in addition to Malay, and its devout Catholicism. The Topasses aligned themselves closely to the Dominicans and, although they were reluctant to accept any outside appointee of the Portuguese, their loyalty to the Portuguese language was strong.

5.2.1 Early Portuguese Colonial Practices and their Ecological Impact on the Tetum Language

In 1642, the Topasses attacked the kingdom of Wehali to gain control of the sandalwood trade. They retained their hold in the region for almost a hundred years. Struggles with both the Dutch and the Topasses finally led the Portuguese to relocate from Lifau to Dili, where they established a settlement in 1769. Dili became the base for all Portuguese activities in eastern Timor. In the 17th century, most liurai (local kings) transferred their allegiance to the King of Portugal, fearing Dutch domination

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17 The word ‘topasse’ is derived from tupassi, a Dravidian word, meaning ‘interpreter’. They were also called ‘os casados’ (lit. the married ones) because they were the product of mixed race marriages, a practice originating in Goa and Malacca, where there are many people of Euro-Asian origin (Albarran, 2003, p. 74).
and influenced by the Dominican friars, who in turn feared the spread of Calvinism. The Portuguese had great difficulty controlling the territory and the practice of conferring military ranks on the indigenous leaders was an effort to maintain allegiances and some degree of control. In 1703, the first Portuguese governor was installed, and the whole territory was organised into a semi-military hierarchy. The chiefs all received military ranks. The colonial army was raised from each kingdom and every liurai organised his own civilian army or Companhia de Moradores. Continuous wars kept this form of social organisation alive almost into the 20th century and many Tetum words have their origins in this system (Thomaz, 2002, p. 112). The term of address for Kings was amu-koronel (lit. master-colonel) and for queens, liurai-feto (lit. king-woman). The Portuguese word amo (master) is almost obsolete in Portugal but Thomaz (2002, p. 113) suggested that it has remained in Tetum (spelt amu), perhaps because of its adaptability to the patriarchal structure of Timorese society18 and its similarity to the Tetum word aman (father). The use of the Portuguese word reino (kingdom) in Tetum (reinu) also dates from about this time.

The East Timorese adopted Portuguese greetings, words for religious festivals, titles, the Christian calendar, the days of the week and Portuguese cuisine. The East Timorese who converted to Christianity took Portuguese names, usually that of the paternal godfather (Thomaz, 1981, p. 63).

The Portuguese administration controlled the country through the plantation system, governing through individual families who owned the plantations, known as fazendas. These families were descended from liurais who had supported colonial power and from Portuguese political activists, who had been deported to Timor-Leste, known as deportados. The mestiços, who were the children of deportados who had married local East Timorese women, became a second layer in the Portuguese colonial administration together with the liurai families and African officials who had been posted to Portuguese Timor from other Portuguese colonies. These people enjoyed greater educational opportunities, not only in Timor-Leste but also in other Portuguese colonies such as Macao or in Portugal and other parts of Europe (Aditjondro, 1994, p. 26). Faced with the rapid development of other European colonial powers while Portugal itself remained an “agrarian-based feudal backwater” (Taylor, 1991, p. 10), Portugal tried to bolster its position by exploiting its colonies.

18 A liurai was the protector, grandfather and lord of his people (Pederson & Arneburg, 1999, p. 113).
more systematically. This included Portuguese Timor, which had so far been little
more than a trading post. The success of its policies required more widespread and
effective political control than before. The Portuguese were fully aware that the East
Timorese system of marital exchange was a major barrier to this control. Taylor
(1991, p. 11) pointed out that, without exception, the rebellions against colonial
authority in the 19th century drew their strength from alliances resulting from marital
exchange. Thus, Portuguese administrative policies at the end of the century
developed two objectives. The first was to undermine the indigenous system of
kinship exchange and the second was to create a basis for the systematic economic
exploitation of the country. The abolition of their kingdoms undercut the power of the
liurai and the colony was reorganised into administrative units based on the suco
(princedom), the unit below the kingdom level in the indigenous hierarchy. In short,
the key reason for the incorporation of indigenous political and military structures into
the colonial administration was the destruction of a crucial aspect of the indigenous
social system that threatened Portuguese control.

With the introduction of the European administrative structure, under the
governorship of Celestinho da Silva (1898 - 1908), a new set of Portuguese loanwords
to designate the new organs of power, such as secretaria (secretary), conselho
(council) and cabo (commander, corporal) came into the language. Portuguese settlers
married Timorese women and were often called mane-foun (son-in-law, lit. new men)
(Thomaz, 2002, p. 114). The Portuguese in turn adopted Tetum words to express
Christian concepts. They adopted Maromak (bright, shining) for God, Na’i-lulic
(sacred lord) for priest, amu-lulik or amu-bispo for bishop and uma-kreda (lit. house-
church) for church (Thomaz, 2002, p. 111). Thomaz (1981, p. 65) argued that the
extensive Portuguese loanwords, used in both the public and the private family
domains, indicated the integration of the Portuguese into the very fabric of society.
5.2.2 Early 20th Century Portuguese Colonial Social Policy: The Civilising Mission

Na convivência future, o soldado tem por dever, progressivamente, ir sustituindo o tétum por português […] aproxima-te dos mais isolados e sê merecedor da sua confiança, para que depois eles te sigam. (Fernandes, 1967 [1937])

(In our future coexistence, soldiers must consider it their duty progressively to replace Tetum with Portuguese […] Approach only those most isolated and be worthy of their confidence so that later they will follow you.)

This extract, at the back of the 1937 military manual for officers in the Portuguese colonial service, was reprinted in 1967 for the use of the Comando Territorial Independente de Timor. It reflects the extension of assimilationist philosophy into the 20th century. The guidelines instruct soldiers to learn a few phrases of Tetum in order to gain the initial confidence and friendship of individual natives. The guidelines describe this task as “moroso e difícil” (tedious and difficult). Officers are oriented to approach isolated individuals and gain their confidence and loyalty by using Tetum, progressively replacing it with Portuguese.

Established after a military coup in 1926, the Estado Novo of Antonio Salazar began to formalise Portugal’s civilising mission in its colonies by creating new institutional relations between them and the metropolis. The Colonial Act of 1930 centralised political control over the colonies, bringing them under direct control from Lisbon. Legislative councils were set up representing local colonial elite interests: the administration, the church, Portuguese plantation owners and the army. The act created two categories of people in the colony: indígenes (unassimilated natives) and não indígenes, including mestiços and assimilados (assimilated natives). To qualify for assimilado status an East Timorese had to prove that he could read, write and speak Portuguese, earn sufficient income to maintain his family and prove that he possessed good character (Taylor, 1991, p. 13). The Catholic Church was incorporated into this system and education in the colonies was entrusted to the church. As a Vatican-Portuguese Accord of 1940 put it: “Portuguese Catholic missions are considered to be of imperial usefulness; they have an eminently civilising influence” (Taylor, 1991, p. 13). Thus, as Taylor observed, East Timorese children subsequently learnt colonial values through a socialising encounter with
Catholic missions. This was to be an important factor contributing to the emergence of Timorese political elites in the 1950s and 1960s.

5.2.3 The East Timorese Language Ecology by the time of World War II

Hajek (2002, pp. 186-7) accurately described the early Portuguese colonial presence as “a period of stable multilingualism” for the colony. According to the definitions in Chapter 4, it was a situation of stable diglossia. Because there was stable diglossia, the Portuguese language did not threaten the local languages. Portuguese was well established in Dili, but used even here alongside Tetum and, outside the capital, it was used by few until after World War II. Portuguese was a lingua franca only in the Fataluku-speaking areas and in Oecussi, where Tetum was unknown. Other than the Creole variety of Portuguese that developed in the Bidau suburb of Dili (see also footnote 5) and appeared to be almost obsolete by the 1950s (Albarran, 2001; Baxter, 1990), the only change in the language ecology before World War II was the displacement of the Mambae language in Dili. This occurred primarily because of the use of Tetum by Catholic missionaries to spread the Catholic faith. The geophysical ecology of Timor-Leste, its resources and infrastructure remained severely underdeveloped until 1945, with an economy based on barter. By the start of World War II Dili still had no electricity, water supply and few roads.

Brief mention must be made of the period in World War II, during which Timor-Leste was under military occupation by the Japanese. The landing of the Dutch and Australians on the island of Timor, to whom it was important for its mineral resources and as a buffer zone, gave the Japanese a pretext to invade the island in 1942. The Battle of Timor (1942 – 1943) and the subsequent period of military occupation was one of extreme hardship for the East Timorese. Some 40,000 East Timorese people died resisting the occupation and assisting the Australian troops (CAVR, 2006, p. 18). People were forced to feed and billet Japanese soldiers and farming was severely disrupted by warfare. Women suffered particular abuses of their human rights (see Turner, 1992; CAVR, 2006). By the time the Japanese surrendered, the East Timorese population was close to starvation and the plantations had been abandoned (UNDPb, 2002, p. 70). Although there is little known impact on the language ecology as a result of this interlude, the Japanese military occupation was
without doubt a major episode in the country’s traumatic history. Although more data is emerging as women are beginning to speak out about their experiences (see Hirano, 2007), due to lack of linguistic and sociolinguistic data, the Japanese occupation of Timor-Leste is not considered further in this thesis.

5.3 Portuguese Assimilationist Policy 1950 Onwards: The Promotion of Portuguese as the Language of the Elite

At the end of World War II, Portugal began to pay more attention to its colony’s social development. It continued to govern through a combination of direct and indirect rule, managing the population through traditional power structures rather than by using colonial civil servants as in the British and Dutch colonial pattern. This represented the ongoing incorporation of traditional society into the colonial system (UNDP, 2002, p. 71). Colonial policy permitted educated members of a small elite group to become full Portuguese citizens with Portuguese civil rights. In order to qualify for membership of this elite, an individual had to assimilate fully into the Portuguese way of life and faith. This required a shift to the Portuguese language.

The Organic Law of Portuguese Overseas Territories, passed in 1953, was the instrument of colonial policy under the Salazar dictatorship. The law declared all colonies to be províncias ultramarinas (overseas provinces) of Portugal. The acquisition of Portuguese was promoted through the education system and the Church. Although the missionaries had used Tetum, the language used by the Church was Portuguese. According to Aditjondro (1994, p. 40), by 1975, around a quarter of the population was Catholic. Thus, through either the Church, the school or military service, a number of East Timorese citizens, in the towns at least, had some contact with Portuguese. Tetum-Praça borrowed heavily from Portuguese, which has influenced the phonology, daily discourse and the lexicon of Tetum-Praça to a point where some argue (see, for example, Hull, 2000a) it has played an important role in preserving East Timorese cultural integrity. There is substantial evidence to support this argument. The use of Portuguese in the liturgies, hymns and anthroponomy developed a specifically East Timorese character as it diverged from that of Portugal, as Albarran (2002, pp. 25-38) has argued. She drew attention to the ritualistic nature of East Timorese society and Animist religion, which had similar customs to Catholicism, such as paying respect to the dead. As Albarran (2003, pp. 71-73) also
showed, Portuguese is the language of almost all given names and the great majority of family names of the East Timorese population. The integration of Portuguese into the linguistic and cultural ecology is also evident in the fact that it remained the language of celebratory religious ceremonies until the 1980s. Many East Timorese hymns are still in Portuguese. Portuguese provided the loan source for the Tetum lexicon in the fields of religion, politics and activism, administration, the army, food, education, housing, weights and measures, tools and instruments, music, traditions, flora and fauna (see Albarran, 2002).

5.3.1 Portuguese Language-in-education Planning Post 1950

Education statistics for this period vary greatly according to source. They are poorly referenced and contradictory and thus it is almost impossible to judge their reliability. However, an overall picture emerges of patchy, unplanned provision that only reached a proportion of children. Catholicism pervaded education in the colony. Missionaries had established the first schools and by the middle of the 1960s the church still controlled primary education. In the 1950s the Portuguese began to invest in state-directed education (Gunn, 1999, p. 246). In 1952 the first liceu (High School) opened in Dili and the first vocational school four years later. Staffing numbers indicate the small scale of the project. By the end of 1974, there were 200 teachers in Portuguese Timor, 16 Portuguese and the rest East Timorese. Only a small percentage had any teacher training (Nichol, 1978, pp. 21-22). For the privileged few students among the assimilado group came the opportunity to study in Portugal but by 1974 there were only a handful of university graduates. According to Taylor (1991, p. 17), before 1970 only two students a year attended university and, by 1974, there were thirty-nine students in attendance. By the 1970s, assimilationist policies were intensifying. Major Eurico Grade articulated this in an article of 1973. In this article, Grade described the need to educate the East Timorese as a type of war. The second objective of what he described as “our war of education” was that everyone had to learn Portuguese:

Eis o segundo objectivo fundamental da nossa guerra da educação: Todos têm que falar português! Há que rezar? Reze-se em português! Há que discutir? Discuta-se em português! Há mesmo que praguejar? Pragueje-se em
português! Há que nos entendemos? entendamo-nos em português! (Grade, 1973, p. 219)

(Here is the second fundamental objective in our war of education: everyone must speak Portuguese! Is there a need to pray? Pray in Portuguese! Is there a need to curse? Curse in Portuguese! If we need to understand each other, then let us understand each other in Portuguese!)

Taylor (1991, p. 17), basing his figures on Ranck (1977, p. 17 – 29), reported that the numbers of East Timorese children attending primary school between 1954 and 1974 increased from 8,000 to 57,000. This figure is not as high as it seems if it was spread across six years of schooling. These children received a classically subtractive model of schooling. Education for those who completed primary school education, and the still smaller number who graduated from secondary school, required that children use Portuguese. There was strict enforcement of the language in the classroom. As reported in Pinto and Jardine (1997, p. 35), the punishment for speaking anything other than Portuguese in school could be a palmada (a slap in the face) or the palmatória (the ferrule\textsuperscript{19}). This is a classic feature of assimilation in which teachers act as its agents by punishing students for using their native languages. Most students received only a few years schooling and most of the population were illiterate. The sort of education that children received was often both irrelevant and alien to their home life. Surveying primary education in the early 1970s, Hill wrote:

The first year in posto and suco\textsuperscript{20} schools, run by the missions was a preparatory year aimed at giving children a grasp of the Portuguese language. Those who did not succeed in this year were severely handicapped in the rest of their education. As rural East Timorese generally spoke no Portuguese at home, this would have been a high percentage. The curriculum of the next four years consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and the history of Portugal. Even in the remotest villages, children were required to commit to memory the rivers, railways and cities of Portugal. [East] Timorese culture and traditions were not mentioned in the classroom and neighbouring Asian countries rarely

\textsuperscript{19} The palmatória was a stick of wood a few centimeters thick and about forty centimeters long. It had a handle and a disc with holes in it so that there was no air to cushion the blows (Lennox, 2000, p. 24).

\textsuperscript{20} Postos and sucos were administrative units based on traditional social structure.
mentioned. There was a very high dropout rate even at the primary school level. (Hill, 1978, pp. 44–45)

Ranck (1975, p. 20) confirmed that education in Portuguese Timor was the preserve of the elite and something that few rural families could afford, writing:

“Education is a tremendous economic burden and confers only dubious benefits on a rural family. Students’ parents must pay for books and uniforms and many large rural families can afford to send only a couple of children.”

The small number of East Timorese who reached junior secondary school became the intellectual elite. Outside the Liceu, the Escola Técnica (Technical School), and the Escola de Habilitação de Professores de Posto (Teacher Training College), the seminaries provided education for those Timorese who reached the ranks of the civil service. According to Hill (2002, p. 39), less than 10% of seminary students ever achieved the status of priest and, in 1973, less than half of all children were attending a school.

5.3.2 The East Timorese Language Ecology in the Later 20th Century

The consequence of Portuguese colonial policy was the construction of a Portuguese-speaking elite, based in conurbations such as Maubisse, Lospalos, Baucau and Dili. A large proportion of the population, even those who were uneducated, spoke Tetum along with one or more of the other endogenous languages, with the exception of the Lospalos region, the Oecussi enclave and Atauro Island, where Tetum remained unknown and Portuguese was used as a lingua franca. The ongoing situation of stable diglossia meant that the vernacular languages remained largely undisturbed by Portuguese for at least 400 years. There were three combined reasons for this. The first was the use of Tetum and the local languages by missionaries. The second was the fact that the colonial administration did little to educate the population—only establishing primary education on a wider scale in the 1950s. The third was the fact that only a tiny elite gained admittance into the senior Portuguese colonial structure, so that the numbers of Portuguese speakers remained relatively few.
The General Census of 1970, using a rigid racial hierarchy, broke down the population as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestiço</td>
<td>2,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other non-indigenous</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous civilizado</td>
<td>1,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Não Civilizado</td>
<td>434,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite the fact that, as Ranck (1977, p. 63) noted, this classification ignores the rich ethnic blend in Timor-Leste and is probably inaccurate due to under-reporting amongst the population in order to avoid forced labour conscription or tax, the figures indicate that the Portuguese-speaking civilizados and mestiços accounted for less than 2% of the total population.

The irony of colonialism was that the educated assimilados provided the necessary leadership and momentum for its own defeat. By 1974, there were 39 students attending university in Lisbon (Taylor, 199, p. 17). Most of these graduates took up posts in government, administration, the health sector, education or the army. In this process, as Taylor (1991, p. 18) wrote, they came up against the familiar realities of their childhood: rigid political control, colonial hierarchies, propaganda masquerading as education in poorly resourced schools, and a rural sector where basic diseases were endemic, resulting in a 50% mortality rate for children under five. This elite emerged as the major actors in the movement for independence. Although schooled in colonial values, they formed their own ideas, which owed as much to East Timorese socialisation as to their acculturation in the colonial system. In the 1960s, it began to seem possible that new political and social groups could emerge, with an ability to express their aspirations for national development within the framework of indigenous social values (Taylor, 1991, pp.18-19). They used Portuguese and Tetum to express their critiques of the colonial regime and their awareness of the country’s potential for independence.

Chinese was also present in the language ecology, used by the mainly Hakka Chinese until 1975. The Chinese communities in this period, mostly entrepreneurs from Taiwan and Macao, maintained their languages by establishing a separate schooling system (Hajek, 2000, p. 403), running their own businesses and remaining
socially segregated from the indigenous communities. The link through the Portuguese Catholic Church with Macao was also extremely important and Portuguese Timor was part of the diocese of Macao. Mandarin enjoyed special status along with Portuguese as a language of high culture. The Chinese used Mandarin as a language of writing and only used Portuguese as required by the colonial administration (Wait, 1994, p. 63). Many Chinese lost their lives in the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Many others fled the country, abandoning their schools and businesses and taking their languages with them. Today, Chinese is a small minority language in Timor-Leste. Wait (1994, p. 64) summed up the use of languages in the Portuguese colonial period in the following way: “a local language for everyday use at home and in family domains, a vehicular language, Tetum, for business and commerce, Portuguese for administration and education and for many, Chinese, a language of high culture.” In sum, linear diglossia was firmly in place by the 1970s.

5.4 The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste: The Construction of the Maubere Identity and the Popularisation of Tetum

Fretilin selected Tetum to represent the language of the maubere, or common people. Maubere was originally a word used by the poorest hill-peoples, the Mambae, to mean friend (Taylor, 1991, p. 42). The Portuguese used the word in a derogatory sense to imply that the East Timorese peasantry was primitive and ignorant. Fretilin co-opted it in 1974 and transformed it into a symbol of cultural identity and national pride. They took ownership of the word in their use of the expression the Maubere people as an expression of solidarity. Tetum was used in Fretilin’s popular education program in the mountains of the interior until the 1976–1979 aerial bombing put an end to the widespread guerrilla movement (Aditjondro, 1994, p. 40). The extract below from Fretilin’s political program (1974) provides an illustrative example of the use of Tetum as a populist strategy:

21 Macao became the main Portuguese trading centre in the Far East after the fall of Malacca in 1641 because Macao merchants exploited the sandalwood trade. Hence, most imported products came to Portuguese Timor through Macao (Thomaz 1981, pp. 64 - 65).

(Since a nation wants truly to obtain its liberty, this nation must have some words to say about the government of this country. The people must know everything necessary in order to be able to truly realise their wishes. The people cannot always be ignorant, so that learned people cannot lie to them. In this way, the people can know what they want, and also why they want it. Politics is not only for doctors. Everybody must know, so that they can ask for the things, which concern their rights, so that they can no longer lie. How can our country obtain good things? How can they put on paper the words of the elders, the songs, the traditions, when many, many people are ignorant of their letters? How can they put on paper the words of the elders, the songs, the traditions, when many, many people cannot yet write on paper? Many things, many words, added here, added there, are lost today.)

The text is a translation of a Portuguese text printed above it on the same page in the original document. As Thomaz (1981, p. 78) commented, the translation into Tetum is quite free and tries to avoid abstract ideas, which are difficult to express in Tetum. The phrase “politics is not only for doctors” appears to be a broad translation of a statement which implies that politics should not be vague and foreign or only for people with doctorates. The phrase “how can our country find good things?” is an approximate translation of a paragraph asking: “How can we develop our literature, our poetry so that they become the expression of the people if the people cannot read or write?” The sentence structure imitates that of Portuguese and the text is often ambiguous because Portuguese verbs are translated in the active voice but often

\textsuperscript{22} Note that the spelling differs from Official Tetum.
without a subject. The passage contains some more modern Portuguese loanwords, such as *povo* (people/nation), *liberdade* (freedom), *direito* (right) and *doutor* (doctor). As Thomaz (1981, p. 79) observed, some ideas would have been easier to express in Classical Tetum but this would have gone against Fretilin practice and ideology. The language of the *lia na’in* would have appeared too elitist.

The founding declaration of Fretilin in 1975 (see Jolliffe, 1978, p. 335) stated its intention to retain Portuguese as the official language, while establishing a program of study of Tetum and the vernacular languages. Following the general pattern of the 1970s, new nations tended to officialise their former colonial languages as languages of wider communication and as symbols of modernity. Fretilin was not the only organisation to support the retention of Portuguese. The UDT advocated “the integration of the Timorese people through the use of the Portuguese language” (Jolliffe, 1978, p. 337). Even the pro-integrationist party, the *Associação Popular Democrática Timorense* (the Timorese Popular Democratic Association, or APODETI), stated that it would support the right “to enjoy the Portuguese language” as well as the use of Indonesian as the language of instruction (Jolliffe, 1978, p. 326). However, Fretilin stood out from the other political parties in that, while it adopted Portuguese as its official language, it went further in promoting traditional cultural forms. This was evident in its literacy program, which followed the Freirean principles of changing the consciousness of the oppressed through educational dialogue, praxis (or informed action) and *consciencialização*, better understood as awareness-raising (Freire, 1972). Fretilin’s founding program declared the aim of fostering the literature and art of the various ethnic groups through cultural exchanges and “the enrichment not only of East Timorese culture as a whole, but also as a contribution to universal culture” (Jolliffe, 1978, p. 335). Fretilin also promoted Tetum in its literacy campaigns, using local volunteers to teach adults in the rural areas to read and write. Fretilin published a series of articles in its newspaper, the *Journal do Povo Mau Bere*, written in Portuguese and Tetum, discussing its methods for teaching people how to read. Fretilin’s predecessor organisation, the *Associação Social Democrática Timor* (the Social Democratic Association of Timor, or ASDT), was the first political grouping to use local languages at its meetings besides Portuguese (Taylor, 1991, p. 42). This was an effective way to reach the mass of the population who spoke no Portuguese and were relatively unaffected by European culture. The Fretilin literacy campaign was initiated at the beginning of 1975, using a
Tetum-language literacy reader entitled *Rai Timor, Rai Ita Niang* (Timor is our Country), which broke words into syllables and then placed them in different contexts of village life, together with associated words (Taylor, 1991, p. 34). The essence of the approach was its reflection of the East Timorese rural experience. It was part of the unfolding tragedy that this program was eventually disrupted.

As Traube (in Carey & Bentley, 1995, p. 5) pointed out, despite the success of these programs, a sense of East Timorese nationhood was almost certainly in its infancy at this time. We can speculate that, had Fretilin had the opportunity for its policies to mature, a richer understanding might have developed of the significance of nurturing the national languages and cultures. Nevertheless, as Gunn acknowledged (1999, p. 267), the construction of the Maubere identity was a masterstroke on the part of Fretilin. Identification with the values of Mauberism in no way weakened one’s kinship or tribal alliances. As Taylor (1991, p. 95) argued, the existence of traditional structures within a nationalist political framework explains much of the early success of the resistance to Indonesian occupation in 1976-1977. However, as the Indonesian army began to chalk-up successes, local affiliations sometimes conflicted with national ones and, by the end of the 1970s, the Fretilin leadership was in crisis.

By the end of the 1970s, most of the original Fretilin leaders were either dead or imprisoned. The political shifts and maneuvers of the 1980s reflect the search for a more socially and politically inclusive identity by the Fretilin leadership. As tensions grew between Marxism and nationalism within the resistance movement after 1978, Kay Rala José Alexandre “Xanana” Gusmão emerged to lead and unify the next phase of the struggle for independence. After extensive clandestine grassroots consultation, the embattled resistance movement was reorganised into the *Conselho Revolucionária Da Resistência Nacional* (the Revolutionary Council of the National Resistance, known as the CRRN), a Marxist-Leninist movement with Gusmão at its head. This evolved into the CNRM, the *Conselho Nacional Da Resistência Maubere* (National Council of Maubere Resistance), an umbrella organisation that encompassed all political ideologies (Niner, 2001, p. 23). Later, in 1989, the word *Maubere* was removed from the title and replaced with the word *Timorese*, forming the *Conselho Nacional Da Resistência Timorense* (or CNRT). Niner (2001, p. 23) cited the reasons for this as either the derogatory connotations of the word remembered from Portuguese days or for its associations with the far leftist tendencies of Fretilin. Today, the term Maubere still provokes mixed reactions (see Esperança, 2001, pp.
149-156). Some reject it because of its masculine, patriarchal connotations. Nevertheless, Mauberism represents the construction of a unique ethnonational identity for the East Timorese, which enabled a unified national resistance movement to come together as a force for change. The use of the term symbolised the reassertion of East Timorese culture and the struggle against poverty and colonial subordination (Taylor, 1991, p. 42). The development of other indigenous cultural forms—music, poetry, dance and the use of vernacular languages—also enabled Fretilin to express their ideas in ways with which the common people could identify.

Up to this point, this chapter has followed the tracks of Malay, Tetum and Portuguese from the 16th to the late 20th century in order to establish the continuity and place of these languages in East Timorese culture and its language ecology. However, Timor-Leste experienced two very different forms of colonialism. The following sections trace the impact of coercive language shift under Indonesian occupation.

### 5.5 Bahasa Indonesia – The Language of Indonesia

“One homeland, one people, one language.” Youth Pledge adopted by the 1928 All Indonesian Youth Congress (Anwar, 1980).

“We are dying as a people and as a nation.” His Excellency Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SBD in a letter to United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar 6th February 1989 (Budiarjo, 1994, p. 14).

“We talk with our eyes – they say you are suffering like me. If you go there, you will know. Their eyes will tell you they are not happy.” (Turner, 1992, p. 136).

The three extracts quoted above reflect three aspects of nation building. In the first instance, the slogan *Satu bangsa* (one homeland), *Satu nusa* (one people), *Satu bahasa* (one language), adopted by Indonesian nationalist youth in the *Sumpah Pemuda* 23 (Youth Pledge, sometimes translated as the Oath of Youth) at their second...
congress in 1928, served a progressive purpose when it was adopted as a guiding ethos for independence from Dutch colonialism. However, when applied to annexed peoples it assumed a quite different meaning for those compelled to undergo its consequences. Bishop Belo’s statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations sums up these consequences for the East Timorese. The personal testimony given to Turner (1992, p. 136) expresses the loss of identity and disempowerment experienced by so many individuals during the illegal occupation of their country.

Indonesian is an Austronesian language and, for at least a thousand years, it has been a principal lingua franca in the islands of South East Asia. It is the national language of Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Singapore, and there are Indonesian speakers in Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka and the Cocos Islands. The language has a great number of dialects and creolised forms but the major formal varieties are based around what are known as Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 119). Since the 1970s, there have been efforts by the language agencies in Indonesia and Malaysia (known as MABBIM or Majalis Bahasa Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia, the Language Council of Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia) to co-ordinate these languages through their lexicon—particularly scientific and technical terms—and through a joint orthography adopted in 1972 (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 120). The point about this is that in letting go of Indonesian, the East Timorese also let go of a rich and varied range of linguistic and literary resources in the region. The decision to readopt Portuguese as an official language and to relegate Indonesian to the status of a working language was no small one for the East Timorese. To understand the reasons for such a major decision, it is necessary to discuss the experience of occupation, in order to draw out the symbolic associations of Indonesian in Timor-Leste.

5.5.1 Indonesian Language Planning 1975 – 1999: Coercive Language Shift

The Indonesian invasion of 1975 was followed by the integration of Timor-Leste into Indonesia as its 27th province, ushering in a long period in which the language rights of the East Timorese people were ignored and the balance of the ecology changed dramatically. Conflict and aerial bombardment caused massive loss
of life. By 1980, an estimated 200,000 out of a pre-invasion population of less than 700,000 had died (Robinson, 2003, p. 16). About 4,000 people fled to Portugal and Australia in 1975-1976 (Liddle, 1992, p. 22) and another 40,000 refugees fled over the border to West Timor (CAVR, 2006, p. 75). Immediately after the invasion, most East Timorese fled to the mountains where they survived on Mounts Ramelau and Matebian for three years outside Indonesian control. The Fretilin popular education programs discussed earlier were organised in these areas. After heavy bombing, most people were forced down to the lowlands where many were met and killed or died from malnutrition in the resettlement camps. The survivors were relocated into the newly established resettlement villages, known as strategic hamlets. The forced resettlement of communities led to starvation and social dislocation because the strategic hamlets frequently lacked accessible plots of land that could be cultivated. It also led to the dispersal of traditional speech communities. These speech communities suffered further dislocation because of genocide, resettlement and transmigration policies. The Indonesian government designated *Timor Timur*, as they called it, a transmigration area. The transmigration program was an important vehicle for the spread of Indonesian among the highly concentrated East Timorese populations. By 1980, there were a reported 150 transmigration sites in Timor Timur, for incoming Javanese and Balinese (Hajek, 2000, p. 193). As Hajek noted, transmigration had a dramatic effect on the language ecology, favouring Indonesian at the expense of local languages.

Indonesian language planning followed the policy employed throughout the archipelago, of teaching Indonesian as the language of unification and modernisation, with English as a second language. Educated Indonesian has its origins in a literary variety of Malay used by the Riau Sultanate. As Sneddon (2003a, p. 83) has explained, the Dutch colonialists had long debated the relative worth of what they called High and Low Malay, and which form was most suitable for the propagation of an Indies Bible in the Dutch East Indies. Low Malay, also known by a number of other terms, including Bazaar Malay, referred to a variety of local vernaculars that had developed because of trade and the influence of local languages (Sneddon, 2003a, p. 84). As Sneddon observed, the Dutch considered High Malay more refined. Its prestige derived from this and from its origins in the Malay heartland. The Dutch had made use of Malay to a greater extent than was usual in colonial situations and, as Sneddon (2003a, p. 83) pointed out, in attempting to mould it to their own ends they
made a central contribution to the development of the standard form of the language. Thus, Malay was used as a language of religious and general instruction and, from the 18th century, the Dutch generally dealt with the Javanese through Malay. By the end of the 19th century a variety of High Malay had emerged in the school system based on the Classical Riau Malay tradition in morphology and syntax with Latin orthography (Sneddon, 2003a, p. 94). Nationalist groups acclaimed this variety as the language of national unity. The second Indonesian Youth Congress of 1928 adopted the name Bahasa Indonesia (the language of Indonesia). This congress also adopted the Youth Pledge referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

Many scholars have hailed the standardisation and modernisation of Indonesian as a monumental achievement in linguistic planning and reform, carried out over a relatively short period (see, for example, Fishman, 1978, p. 332). It transformed an “artificial administrative dialect of Malay into the fully viable and universally acknowledged language of Indonesian nation and citizenship” (Errington, 1998, p. 272). As Errington also noted, because Indonesian is not attached to any politically salient ethnic, native-speaking community, it is quite transparently related to the institutional infrastructure of the Indonesian state. Lowenburg (1992, p. 66) pointed out that besides the official communicative functions that Indonesian serves, it is also “expressly the symbol of national pride and identity and a tool for the unification of Indonesia’s diverse ethnic, cultural and language groups.” The occupation of Portuguese Timor was marked by the aggressive spread of the Indonesian language. Portuguese and Chinese were targeted for elimination. The use of Portuguese was prohibited in schools, administration and the media and it was openly vilified as a colonial language (Hajek, 2000, p. 406). People heard using Portuguese risked arrest, torture and accusation of being kepala dua (two-headed), in other words, a Fretilin sympathiser or spy.

The Pancasila is a set of guiding principles for the Indonesian state. Its philosophy emphasises consensus and group unity, particularly in its vision of democracy (Wright, 2004, p. 85). Pancasila consists of five principles (faith in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, representative government and social justice). These principles form the basis of a contract between the citizen and the state. In much the same way as the French state invokes liberty, fraternity and equality in its relationship with its citizens (Wright, 2004, p. 263), it is considered to be the civic duty of speakers of languages other than Indonesian to become bilingual. Moreover,
societal arrangements mean that it is to their advantage to do so (Wright, 2004, p. 88) despite the fact that English is acquiring increasing social and economic capital (Wright, 2004, p. 93). Integrationist discourse downplays individual and group rights and presents the nation as one large family. It promotes Indonesian as an expression of civic nationalism (see Chapter 2). In New Order Timor Timur, Indonesian was promoted as the language of literacy, modernisation, social mobility, patriotism and national identity. The Indonesian language was also a symbol of integration and national unity.

In an effort to exert greater control over its unwilling new province—whose seizure was condemned by the United Nations—Indonesia invested considerable sums in Timor Timur to develop the economy and strengthen its control, particularly in infrastructure and in the development of cash crops for export. The Indonesian administration also employed a large number of people in the civil service, in the process creating an ethos in which white-collar jobs were considered desirable. The result was a largely unproductive workforce. As part of their Indonesianisation policy, the Indonesians increased the school population. As Nicolai (2004, p. 44) commented, despite the many criticisms that can be made of Indonesian education policy in Timor Timur, one thing in its favour was that it introduced the concept of education for all. However, it is difficult to ascertain the actual numbers of children in schools. As stated earlier, Taylor (1991, p. 17) had claimed there were 57,000 children in primary schools by 1974. Dunn (1983, p. 31) estimated there were 1,200 students in secondary schools by the same year. United Nations estimates differ greatly. According to the UNDP (2002, p. 48), in 1978 there were 10,500 children in 47 primary schools, 315 in two junior high schools with no senior high schools. One can only assume that these figures are taken from Indonesian sources, as the UNDP did not state where its figures came from. The UNDP also estimated that there were 167,181 children in 788 Primary Schools, 32, 197 children in 114 Junior High Schools and 18,973 students in 54 Senior High Schools by the end of the Indonesian occupation in 1999 (UNDP, 2002, p. 48). Even allowing for the disparity between Taylor, Dunn and the United Nations figures, there is no doubt that more children attended school under the Indonesian administration. Physical resources also show that educational provision expanded under the Indonesian administration. Tertiary education consisted of the national university, opened in 1992, a polytechnic, a state health academy, a Catholic pastoral institute and a private school of economics. By 1985, nearly every village had
a primary school (UNDP, 2002, p. 48). Population demographics meant that demand for education was high. In 1998, the population of Timor Timur was 875,689 of which 52% were under 18 years old (World Bank, 1999, p. 7). As Nicolai (2004, p. 46) remarked, on the face of it, education was available from the early years through to university but the reality was that for most people basic education only lasted about six years. Jones (2000, p. 48) drawing on figures from the Intercensual Survey, which showed educational attainment by age and gender in 1995 among persons living in households whose head had been born in Timor-Leste, noted that even in the 15 – 19 year age group, which grew up under Indonesian administration, less than half of both males and females had completed primary school or gone further. According to Jones, (2001, p. 257 – 258), the proportion of East Timorese with senior secondary education was 23% for males and less than 9% for females.

While Indonesian rule brought more widespread education, the UNDP Human Development Report of 2002 highlighted two major flaws: the use of education to Indonesianise the population and the low quality of educational standards. Indonesianisation was important, not only for the integration of the province into the state structure, but also because it served the purpose of social control, since most Indonesians did not speak Portuguese or the local vernacular languages. In the early years of the occupation, teachers in the rural areas were military personnel and, throughout the occupation period, the majority of teachers in the province were Indonesian (Arneburg, 1999, p. 85). Less than 12% of teachers in the province (427 out of 3698) were East Timorese (Jones, 2003, p. 49). The curriculum was highly centralised, devoid of information about East Timorese history and culture and the quality of the teaching was notoriously low (Budiarjo & Liong, 1984, pp. 110-112). There were high levels of teacher and student absenteeism and low levels of professionalism (Jones, 2003, p. 50). The Indonesian language and assimilation into Indonesian state ideology were also promoted through the compulsory membership of the scouting organisation, Pramuka. Pramuka activities consisted of military style training, marching, drilling and flag-waving at official state ceremonies, in addition to assisting the Indonesian Red Cross (Budiarjo & Liong 1984, pp. 111-113). Between May 1978 and May 1981, the number of members of Pramuka grew from 10,000 to 22,455 (CAVR, 2006). Youth martial arts groups were also encouraged (CAVR 2006). Such activities played an instrumental role in promoting a culture of gangs and militarism.
Until 2002, the education system ran from Jakarta on a single model (Wright, 2004, p. 91). Languages other than Indonesian were respected “where they were well preserved by the people,” but they were allowed only a very limited role in the public domain. However, Indonesian state policy permits some teaching in schools of regional languages with two million or more speakers. In the case of Tetum, as Hull (1999d, p. 64) noted, the Indonesian Ministry of Education did not object to its use in the schools in the Diocese of Dili, despite the fact that the number of speakers was far lower. Even so, the policy had very little practical benefit because there was very little spending on local languages in the public education sector. A 2004 World Bank Report (2004, p. 30) shows that public spending on education equated to only 2.9% of the Gross Domestic Product for the year 1998-1999.

By the 1990s, young people had begun to emerge as among the most vocal critics of the Indonesian regime. As Nicolai (2004, p. 50) argued, many young people rebelled in reaction to the prescriptive and centralised education system, which ironically had the opposite aim of forming good East Timorese Indonesian citizens. Several sources, for example Nicolai (2004, p. 49) claimed that by the 1990s, student indiscipline and passive resistance in schools had become a serious problem. Indonesian sources claimed that some teachers faced threats of violence if they did not give students the grades they wanted or they did not promote students to the next grade. Tirtosudarmo and Handayani (1993, pp. 485-486), for example, claimed that in some cases, teachers feared for their lives. Indeed, as Jones (2003, p. 50) observed, an education did not lead to improved employment prospects, as there were few jobs for educated people. In the 1990s, young people suffered severe disruption to their schooling because of increasing civil activism and the violent responses of the Indonesian military. The visit of Pope John Paul II to Dili in October, 1989, prompted the first of many demonstrations by young people, 40 of whom were arrested, interrogated and tortured in the aftermath (Carey & Bentley, 1995, p. 247). On 12th November, 1991, Indonesian troops fired on young demonstrators in the notorious Santa Cruz Massacre, the event regarded as the turning point which set the trajectory for independence and brought the situation to world attention. Popular estimates claim that 271 people (mostly in their twenties) died, 382 were injured and 250 disappeared (see Etan.org/timor/sntaCRUZ.htm. Accessed 12th October, 2006). From February to June 1999, before the referendum, students barely attended school and, as the crisis deepened, the academic year 1999/2000 never opened (World Bank, 1999, p. 9) as
students emerged to play a central role in the campaign for independence. The post-referendum violence virtually destroyed the education sector. Most of the teaching force fled and large numbers of students became displaced persons.

5.5.2 The Role of Indonesian Literacy Planning in Shaping National Identity

Parallel to the irony that colonialism constructed an elite that was instrumental in its own downfall, another colonial irony can be identified. For the Indonesians in their independence struggle, the language of the coloniser—Dutch—had enabled wider communication and access to modernity. Vernacular literacy was tolerated, if not encouraged, by the Dutch and British in their colonies when it served the interests of the local colonial administration (Powell, 2002, p. 207) or where a vernacular educated population was considered to be better able to participate in the colonial economy (Pennycook, 1994, p. 82). In Portuguese Timor, as we have seen, mass education was never a policy. However, Indonesian literacy teaching on a mass scale had the opposite effect to that intended in Timor-Leste. Whilst the spread of literacy in Indonesian failed to incorporate the East Timorese people into the Indonesian development project, as Almeida (2001, p. 601) pointed out, literacy enabled new generations to make contact with each other and with the outside world—and thus to agitate for support for nationalism and independence.

5.5.3 The Human and Social Costs of the Indonesian Occupation and its Disruption of Speech Communities

This chapter would not be complete without mentioning the human cost of social policies and practices in the Portuguese and Indonesian eras. These policies and practices left a legacy of fractured identities and enduring social divisions that are still

24 This was the same throughout Portugal’s colonies. To illustrate, vernacular education was outlawed in Angola in 1921 and, by 1950, all schools in Angola were Portuguese-medium (Powell, 2002, p. 271).
playing out to this day. On 20th January, 2006 the President of Timor-Leste presented the United Nations Secretary-General with the final report of the Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor (the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste, or CAVR in its Portuguese acronym). The report estimated that at least 102,800 East Timorese people are estimated to have been killed or to have died of hunger or illness directly attributable to the occupation of the country by Indonesia. This figure corresponds to approximately 10% of the present population of Timor-Leste. According to the CAVR report, human rights violations were “massive, widespread and systematic” (CAVR, 2006, p. 2). A study published in the medical journal The Lancet (Modvig et al., 2000), based on a survey of 1,033 East Timorese households, found that 97% of people in the sample had experienced at least one traumatic event during Indonesia’s occupation. The death of a family member was common. Torture and post-traumatic stress appear to have been widespread. Overall, the Indonesian occupation subjected the language ecology and its speech communities to intense and sustained pressure.

The personal testimony at the opening of the chapter bears witness to the individual and social effects of fear, hunger, ill health, loss and psychological stress—the kind of environmental impacts discussed by Mühlhäusler (2000, pp. 310-311) in his argument that the health of language ecologies includes the well-being of its species (i.e., its indigenous peoples). The CAVR, which documented experiences from 1974 to 1999, reported the pervasiveness of the system of spies and informers, which used rumour and disinformation as weapons of war and sowed deep suspicion among the population. As the CAVR (2006) has confirmed, social bonds and cohesion were the casualties of this undercover element of the conflict. It was the intensity of repression, the brutality of the military campaigns, the coercive nature of assimilationist social policies and the denigration of East Timorese languages, culture and values that prompted Bishop Belo’s letter of 1989 to the United Nations in which he wrote: “…we are dying as a people and as a nation.”

In summary, by 1999, Indonesian was in common use in its 27th province. The teaching of Tetum and the vernacular languages was tolerated in early primary education by the 1990s but they were used only in domestic and rural domains. As they progressed through school, children were forbidden to use Tetum in the schoolroom and some students reported being punished for doing so. Intensive borrowing from Indonesian further influenced and altered the Tetum language,
compounding the process of grammatical simplification which had already been reinforced by the predominance of Portuguese as the prestige language used for all public written functions. Indonesian, as Errington (1998, p. 275) has argued, “resonates with the vision of bounded but socially and linguistically homogenous space, characteristic of national forms of territoriality.” This conforms to Gellner’s (1983) account of nation-state congruity. Indonesian represents Gellner’s “high culture, a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of a reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication” (Gellner, 1983, p. 57). This homogenised identity was imposed at the expense of the well-being of the endogenous East Timorese language ecology and the cultural and social well-being of language communities and their speakers.

5.5.4 Portuguese and Tetum: Their Acquisition of Core Cultural Value

As Hajek (2000, p. 194) noted, by the 1990s Indonesian efforts to remove Portuguese had achieved the desired effect. Portuguese was no longer openly spoken or taught in schools and so, as Hajek observed, transmission to new generations became virtually impossible. The already tenuous hold of Portuguese was even weaker by 1990. However, its role as a symbol of resistance came to have great significance. The Church retained Portuguese as the language of external communication (Lutz, 1991, p. 7). The clandestine resistance used Portuguese in its internal documents, for personal and external communication, for secret reports, coding, letters, memorial texts and poetry. As Albarran’s (2003, pp. 70-71) research has shown, most of the written correspondence of the resistance fighters was in Portuguese, compared to those written in Tetum.

In the 1980s, East Timorese Church leaders increasingly turned to the use of Tetum. The Vatican acceded to their request to recognise Timor Timur as a separate diocese (a symbol of its implicit disapproval of the occupation by Indonesia) and Tetum was upgraded to a full liturgical language in 1981. Tetum, as mentioned earlier, was also being introduced gradually into Catholic primary schools in the Dili diocese as a medium of instruction in the lower grades. Aditjondro (1994, p. 40) reported that during the period of Indonesian occupation, the use of Tetum spread substantially amongst East Timorese through Church activities. The evolution of Tetum into a language of national identity had intricate links with the evolution of the
East Timorese Church. Senior Church members insisted on translating the liturgies into Tetum, rather than using Indonesian, after Portuguese was banned from public use. As Williams van Klinken (2002) has observed, the religious register of Tetum was strongly influenced by the fact that its writers had, for the most, part been educated at the Soibada Seminary. As we have seen, Soibada graduates made up the entire educated group in East Timorese society prior to World War II (see Footnote 14). Liturgical Tetum uses many Tetun-Terik forms and has fewer Portuguese loanwords than Tetum-Praça, making it more difficult to understand for Tetum-Praça speakers. Nonetheless, the use of Tetum as a religious language raised its status and made it important in the eyes of its users.

One of the five principles of Pancasila dictated that everyone had to subscribe to a religion. This was probably the main factor that led to the conversion of most of the remaining Animist population to Catholicism. The numbers of Catholics in Timor Timur also swelled, due to the influx of Catholic transmigrants from West Timor. In fact, Aditjondro (1994, p. 37) reported that, for the same reason, other religions saw an exponential growth in this period, mainly Protestants and Muslims. The number of professing Roman Catholics rose from only 27.8% in 1973 to 81.4% in 1989 (Aditjondro, 1994, p. 34). There are various explanations for this dramatic increase in the number of Catholics. Aditjondro (1994, p. 35) suggested that Catholic icons substituted for the lulics or sacred objects used in Animist ancestor worship, which became difficult to conduct for fear of being seen as Fretilin gatherings. Smythe (1998, p.154) speculated that it was safer to be a Catholic given the anti-communist views of the Indonesian regime. Whilst both these explanations are probably true, it is indisputable that the East Timorese Church stood by the people and supported them through a period of terrible repression and intimidation. As Smythe (1998, p. 158) has argued, Catholicism came to symbolise identity to the extent that there was fusion of Catholicism with nationalism. Aditjondro (1994, p. 37), himself an Indonesian, declared that he felt Catholicism served as an expression of East Timorese collective identity. The Church provided a form of cultural space for the East Timorese. The Church was almost the only place where people could associate freely and publicly in large numbers, and, as we have seen, the translation of the liturgies into Tetum raised its prestige in the eyes of ordinary people. This combination of factors ensured the survival of Tetum and contributed to its transformation into a core cultural value.
As Smolicz (1979, p. 75) argued, where language becomes central to identity or, as he put it, where language becomes core cultural value, the sharing of language engenders solidarity. When people feel there is a link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial distinguishing elements of the culture, the elements concerned become core values for the group. “Any attempt to alter its traditional culture brings forth counter measures that help pinpoint those values that the group considers as its cultural core and therefore meriting all efforts in their defence (Smolicz, 1981, p. 77). The Portuguese language came to represent a symbolic challenge to Indonesian governmentality, “a weapon of the weak”, in the sense that Scott (1985) described it (in Almeida, 2001, p. 599). As for Tetum, its use in church services and private domains became a form of everyday resistance. In this way, Portuguese and Tetum came to project a dual set of core cultural values of overarching significance for the East Timorese people. These overarching values (Smolicz, 1989, p. 112) grew out of their joint history and combined role in subverting Indonesian political, linguistic and cultural hegemony.

5.6 CNRT Language Planning Discourses

The Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorense or CNRT was formally established at a convention of 2000 East Timorese delegates held at Peniche in Portugal in April 1998. It was the first broadly representative gathering of East Timorese nationalists since 1975. A key outcome of the convention was the acclamation of the charter (known as the Magna Carta) of freedoms, rights, duties and guarantees for the people of Timor-Leste, on 25th April, 1998. The charter committed the future independent state to upholding human rights, constructing a pluralistic, democratic society, respecting the environment, building relationships with other Portuguese-speaking nations and supporting the Association of East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) and the South Pacific Forum. The CNRT adopted Portuguese as the official language and Tetum as the national language (Walsh, 1999). There appeared to be different opinions as to the status of Indonesian. José Ramos Horta, at that time in the role of roving ambassador for the CNRT, stated that English would be taught at school from primary level but there would be no place for Indonesian. Other Indonesian-educated representatives
argued that Indonesian should be maintained and that there should be multi-faceted co-operation with Indonesia. On the occasion of the Popular Consultation of 30th August 1999, Xanana Gusmão, then President of the CNRT, made its position abundantly clear in a speech in Portuguese entitled: “A hora é de construir! Reconciliação, unidade e desenvolvimento nacional no quadro da transição para a independência” (Now is the time to build the future! Reconciliation, unity and national development in the framework of the transition to independence.) In this speech he dealt with language issues within the context of education and training and made the following statement concerning language:

Tendo em conta a nossa história, a realidade presente e a geo-economia e cultura em que a nosso país se insere, devemos aprofundar a nossa língua tétum, generalizar e aperfeiçoar o domínio da língua portuguesa e manter o estudo da língua indonésia. (Mensagem do Presidente Xanana Gusmão por Ocasião da Consulta Popular: A Formação e o Treinamento, 1999. (Hull, 1999c, p. 1)

(Bearing in mind our history, present reality and the economics and culture of the regions surrounding our country, we must develop our Tetum language, generalise and perfect people’s command of the Portuguese language, and maintain the study of the Indonesian language.)

At the following CNRT Strategic Development Planning for Timor-Leste Conference held in Melbourne, Australia from 5th to 9th April 1999, East Timorese intellectuals, academics and professionals discussed language policy issues in the education stream of the conference. As part of the gradual transformation of the education sector, Indonesian would be phased out of public administration and the education system over a 10-year period. As Hajek (2000, p. 408) commented, there is little doubt that the progressive elimination of Indonesian from all public domains was an important objective. Portuguese and Tetum would take its place and there would be space in the ecology for English. The other endogenous languages received no particular attention.

Language planning issues were also considered at an international academic conference entitled “East Timor: Towards self- determination: the social and cultural questions”, held at Parliament House, Sydney, from 15th to 16th July, 1999, where there was considerable discussion about the linguistic situation in Timor-Leste and the ideal language policy of an independent state. The participants made recommendations,
published later by Xanana Gusmão. At the Sydney conference of 1999, there was a change of orientation from that expressed in the *Magna Carta*. The conference made the following recommendations:

1. Domestically the most important languages in Timor-Leste are Tetum and Portuguese. Given the largely negative role and connotations of the Indonesian language, official in East Timor since its annexation by Jakarta in 1976, and given the remarkable tenacity of Portuguese in spite of official proscription and relentless persecution, it is recommended that the linguistic order prevailing in the decolonised East Timor of 1974/75 be now restored, i.e. the reinstatement of Portuguese as the official language of East Timor and the elevation of Tetum to co-official status.

2. Tetun-Terik and the other fourteen indigenous languages of East Timor “are all valuable and honourable elements of the national patrimony and should be officially protected and promoted by the new government as legitimate expressions of regional identity co-existing with Tetum and Portuguese.”

3. The Malay-Indonesian language, obviously necessary to East Timor because of its geographical position and wider cultural context should retain some presence in the new state as a utility (ancillary) language without any official status. (Hull, 1999c, pp. 2-3)

These recommendations marked a significant change in attitude towards the status of Tetum and the other endogenous languages and they formed the basis for the East Timorese Constitution of 2002. A 10-year timeframe was agreed to allow for the systematic replacement and retraining of Indonesian-speaking teachers. However, events after 1999 rapidly overtook the CNRT vision of orderly language planning for Timor-Leste.

### 5.7 1999-2002: The United Nations Transitional Administration: English Enters the Language Ecology and Portuguese is Reintroduced

In 1997 and 1998, the Suharto New Order collapsed in Indonesia, shaken by severe economic crisis, leading to widespread protests in Jakarta and demands for political change. In 1999 President Habibie stated, in a total break with previous policy, that he no longer wanted to shoulder the burden of its dissident province, and
offered the East Timorese people autonomy within the Indonesian Republic. The Portuguese agreed on a referendum in May 1999, under the auspices of the United Nations (UN). On 30th August 1999, 78.5% out of a 98.6% turnout from a population of 450,000 voted for full independence from Indonesia (Hajek, 2002, p. 193). In the retaliatory campaign conducted by militias at the instigation of the Indonesian military (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or TNI), at least 1,200 civilians and perhaps as many as 1,500 people were killed (Robinson, 2003, p. 1). At least 60,000 people were forcibly displaced from their normal place of residence and 250,000 were forcibly relocated over the border to refugee camps in West Timor (CAVR, 2006, p. 85). Pro-integration militia gangs subjected the country to a frenzy of attacks, massacres, looting and burning. One effect of the violence and forced movements of populations was the further severe dislocation and disruption of speech communities.

Whereas, under a blanket of censorship and media silence, the events and abuses of the previous two decades had gone largely unreported, the conduct of the militias, the TNI and the Indonesian authorities at the time of the referendum of 1999, received worldwide media attention. In response to international pressure, the UN Security Council authorised a multinational peacekeeping force, the *International Force for East Timor* (INTERFET) under Australian command to restore order. The UN established the *United Nations Transitional Administration of East Timor* (UNTAET), responsible for the administration of the country during its transition to independence. On 30th August, 2001, on the anniversary of the referendum, elections were held for political representatives, whose task was to draw up a new Constitution. The 88 seat Constituent Assembly was agreed on 24th March, 2002. This body formally established the language policy in the Constitution of 2002. Independence was set for 20th May, 2002. It had come at a high price for the people of Timor-Leste.

As Hajek (2000) argued, the period after the referendum of 30th August, 1999 had possibly the most dramatic effect on the East Timorese language ecology. Under the five United Nations missions to date in Timor-Leste, which use English as an official language, large numbers of English-speaking aid workers have come into Timor-Leste, creating a demand for interpreters and translators who are proficient in English. There are currently 15 United Nations agencies operating in Timor-Leste. Appleby (2002, p. 332) rightly predicted that current socio-economic influences and the global dominance of the English language would see a continued role for English in spite of policy. In recognition of its high social and economic capital, as well as its
strong presence in the contemporary East Timorese linguistic ecology, the new constitution granted special status to English (and Indonesian) as working languages. Nevertheless, in this same period, the Portuguese were losing no time in investing in the reintroduction of their language. In the year 2000-2001, the education sector received the largest amount of Portuguese aid at over half the available monies (Nicolai, 2004, p. 101). According to the Ministry of Education, Youth, Culture and Sports, expenditure on Portuguese language training in secondary education in the financial year 2000/2001 amounted to (US$) 5,571,556 with a further (US$) 732,900 from the Foundation of Portuguese Universities, in the financial year 2002/3. In 2001/2002, some (US$) 59,090 went into establishing a Portuguese Language Centre and (US$) 156,407 in establishing a Distance Learning Centre. Portugal also donated (US$) 36,023 for teacher training. Of all donors, Portuguese annual disbursements for the Education and Training Sector have been the highest, rising from (US$) 1,032,198 in 1999/2000 to (US$) 9,552,366 in 2001/2002, despite a reduction to (US$) 5,518,621 in 2004/2005 (MECYS, 2004a, pp. 49-53). This funding focuses, in the main, on strengthening Portuguese as the language of instruction (Nicolai, 2004, p. 101). Among its other initiatives, it has provided language training for teachers, procured textbooks and supported scholarships for further education. Brazil has also provided assistance based on its language ties with Timor-Leste. Its funds go primarily into non-formal education in the form of literacy teaching and vocational education (Nicolai, 2004, p. 101).

5.8 The Shaping of the East Timorese habitus

This account of languages in contact has identified a combination of six social, political and cultural variables (Haarmann, 1986) that have played a central role in shaping the East Timorese habitus. The first was the formation of an educated Portuguese-speaking leadership influenced by European culture and ideas. The second was the acquisition of core value status by Portuguese as the language of the resistance. This worked in combination with the third variable, which was the successful elevation of Tetum by Fretilin and the Catholic Church from a language and culture despised and denigrated in Portuguese colonial discourse, into a new language and culture, symbolising independence and national identity. The fourth
variable was the exponential growth of Catholicism and the stance of the Catholic Church against human rights abuses, which led to its evolution into an overarching symbol of core cultural identity for the East Timorese people (Smolicz, 1991). The expansion of education and literacy under the Indonesian administration and the spread of Indonesian through the education system facilitated the growth of pro-independence sympathies and networks, especially among East Timorese youth frustrated by lack of opportunities. The last variable arose out of the terror tactics of the Indonesian security forces and their disrespect for East Timorese religious and cultural values, which, together with appalling human rights abuses, have entered collective memory and, in Anderson’s terms (1983, p. 15), “engendered particular solidarities.”

In order to discuss and analyse post-colonial language policy in the following chapters, it has been necessary to delve into social policies and practices that have had a direct influence on language choice and public use. The chapter has shown the central role, both substantive and symbolic, that language policy, planning and practices have played in the shaping of the habitus. The deep social fractures and unresolved trauma that have been the legacy of colonialism and occupation, call for careful policy attention in order to restore long-term stability and to reconstruct an overarching national identity that can encompass all citizens, including the Indonesian-educated generation and the diaspora. The following chapter turns its attention to language policy development in the present. It presents a qualitative analysis of five instruments of contemporary language policy development.
Chapter 6  (Re)constructing Identity:
Five Instruments of Language Policy Development

6.0  The Framework for Analysis

The identity of a political community is precious to it. Language is perceived to be its symbol and as such its own identity is created in and through the language which symbolises it and whose use it aims to control. (Cooper, 1989, p. 99)

The previous chapter provided a history of language contact, policy, planning and practice, from the pre-colonial past to the post-independence present, in which Timor-Leste faces the challenge of managing the linguistic and social legacies of colonialism and occupation. This chapter examines and analyses five instruments of contemporary language policy development. The analysis suggests that, as discursive constructs, these instruments serve to reconstruct identity. In this sense, Cooper’s statement, which opens this chapter, provides a focus for the analysis.

As Fishman (see particularly 1972a) has often observed, it is not surprising that nationalist movements invariably originate among the educated sector of society. These elites are the groups with the knowledge and power to manipulate different symbols. Chapter 5 reviewed the strategies and symbols with which Fretilin and the CNRT constructed an identity to contest the one imposed by the Portuguese. The events and experiences under Indonesian occupation caused further rifts and fractures in identity. In contrast to the present leadership, who were assimilated through education and religion into Portuguese language and cultural values, many young East Timorese people who were educated in the Indonesian system also went to Indonesian universities and spent time living in an Indonesian environment. As Wise (2002) and Crockford (2003) have shown, the experiences of population dispersal and diaspora added new layers to East Timorese identities and contributed to their hybridisation. In the 1970s and 1980s, refugees sought asylum in countries as diverse as Portugal, Britain, Ireland, Macao, the USA, Australia and the Portuguese-speaking African countries. As suggested in Chapter 1, the combined result of these experiences is that the links between language and national identity are now more complex than they
have been at any other time. Not only are contemporary identities hybridised and
diverse, but they are also contested. This social context and its complex variables
present major challenges to language planning for nation-building.

The analysis was drawn from the following frameworks and typologies: (a)
Cooper’s (1989) accounting scheme; (b) Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2000; see also Skutnabb-
Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; 1994) typology of policy treatments of language use,
elaborated by Annamalai (2003); (c) Ager’s (2001; 2005) motivations for language
policy and planning; and (d) Ruiz’ (1984) language policy orientations. In brief, the
chapter sets out to identify and describe which actors attempt to influence what
behaviours, of which people, for what ends, under what conditions, by what means
and through which decision-making processes and with what effect (Cooper, 1989, p.
98). Following Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Annamalai (2003), it asks – with what
policy orientations towards language use and the rights of language speakers? Finally,
following Ruiz (1984), the analysis also asks – with what ideological orientations
towards language? Using this framework, the chapter examines and analyses five
instruments of language policy which carry statutory force in an effort to draw out the
official discourses. The five instruments are:


6.1 Homogenous Versus Heterogenous Views of National Identity

The reader will recall the contention in Chapter 1 that while both the
Portuguese and Indonesian administrations constructed hegemonic colonial identities,
Portuguese colonialism constructed an elitist identity and the Indonesian occupiers
constructed a conflicted one. Neither of these identities reflected East Timorese core
cultural values in their fullest and most inclusive sense. Local identities compete
strongly with national identity in Timor-Leste. East Timorese people have both a
national and a local culture, based on territorial boundaries and local language groups.
According to Benedito da Silva (2004, p. 10), people identify themselves by their
place of origin, locality or uma fukun (common ancestral land) and fetsa humane (extended family). Fitzpatrick and McWilliam (2005, p. 59) have also affirmed that ethnolinguistic communities are structured and reproduced through complex networks of kinship and marriage alliance focused around the concept of uma lulic (sacred houses).

Anderson’s (2001, p. 238) explanation of the origins of East Timorese nationalism is that the experience of living under “the gaze of the colonial state” engendered a strong sense of commonality that had not previously existed in any organised form. Timor-Leste, to use Anderson’s well-known trope, imagined itself by differentiation from Indonesia (see Anderson, 1983; 1991). Anderson’s notion of imagined communities echoes the Gellnerian principle of nation-state congruity (Gellner, 1983) in that it appears to assume the imagined community to be linguistically and culturally unitary (see Joseph, 2004, pp. 123–124). According to Gellner (1983, p. 55), modernising nation-states require a degree of linguistic homogeneity. This argument implies the selection of a unitary standard language, which also represents the identity of the nation. Barth (1982) took up this perspective in his notion of ethnic boundaries. In this view, the necessity of boundary maintenance requires the construction of an identity that clearly differentiates Timor-Leste from Indonesia. However, as Hobsbawm (1990, p. 183) and others have pointed out (see in particular, Blommaert & Verschuerin, 1998), this definition of nations as homogenous, monolingual or oligolingual (Blommaert & Verschuerin, 1998, p. 189) imagined communities, is out of touch with the objective reality in most multilingual national communities. As May (2001, p. 81) has observed, the uncritical acceptance of the perceived need for a homogenous national culture in modern nation-states has given rise to the “one state one culture” equation. Bamgbose (1991, p. 35) summarised this view as “the assumption … that nationhood also inevitably involves linguistic unity.” This thesis contends that in an ecological approach, an homogenous or hierarchical view of language and national identity is unworkable in Timor-Leste in view of the heterogeneity and vitality of local, endogenous linguistic identities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, an ecological view of multilingualism must inevitably problematise both Anderson’s (1983; 1991) notion of the nation as an imagined community and Gellner’s (1983, p. 21) account of national languages through which “all referential uses of language ultimately refer to one coherent world and can be reduced to a unitary idiom.” Both notions make ethnocentric assumptions
about the relationship between language and nation. They are based on a westernised,
specifically European, assumption that the nation-state is the inevitable outcome of
human social development and the natural, inexorable, historical evolution of a sense
of nationhood (Mansour, 1993) anchored in fixed linguistic and ethnic identities. The
reality is that, like many postcolonial polities, the modern East Timorese nation refers
to a geopolitical space shaped by colonialism and colonial rivalries. Rather than a
unitary imagined community, East Timorese nationalism, therefore, may more
appropriately describe an emergent sense of ethnic solidarity and related sentiments
(see Hailemariam, Kroon, & Walters, 1999) that have evolved out of historical
experience and solidarity but do not necessarily reflect an inevitable, singular,
homogenous geopolitical entity. In the case of Timor-Leste, history provides an
insight into how a strong sense of nationhood can grow out of the common
experiences that bind people together. This is true of many postcolonial developing
countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nonetheless, in dealing with
multilingualism and the processes of nation-building, developing countries have to
reconcile the push for an homogenous national unity with the pull of heterogenous
local identities. The following sections discuss the challenge of managing the
interaction between these forces in the language ecology and (re)constructing a
linguistic identity that is an authentic expression of the diverse and plurilingual East
Timorese nation.

6.1.1 Act of Identity (i): Status Planning in the National Constitution of
2002–Language as Implied Right

The provisions for language in the National Constitution represent the first act
of status planning by the government of Timor-Leste. According to Faingold’s (2004)
typology of constitutional provisions, the constitution of Timor-Leste conforms to
“Type 17: Official language; national language; provisions for official language and
national language” (Faingold, 2004, p. 17) in common with the constitutions of
Cameroon (1973), Ireland (1973) and Switzerland (1998). That is to say, it (a)
designates one or more official and national languages, and (b) establishes language
provisions to protect these official and national languages. To recall, Section 13 of the
East Timorese National Constitution allocates the functions of the dominant languages in its ecology thus:

1. Tetum and Portuguese shall be the official languages in the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste.
2. Tetum and the other national languages shall be valued and developed by the State.

Provisions for official language status in legal covenants constitute an important dimension of linguistic human rights. The treatment of language rights makes a fundamental statement about how identity is perceived by the state. In terms of the treatment of these rights, Clause 1 of Section 13 above is an example of assimilation-oriented prohibition. It implicitly prohibits the use of languages other than Portuguese and Tetum for official functions and forces all speakers to use Portuguese and Tetum for official purposes instead of their own languages or the shared use of all languages. Clause 2 of Section 13 above is an example of maintenance-oriented permission. The national languages are not forbidden and their use is permitted and supported but not in official situations. Taken together, Clauses 1 and 2 amount to assimilation-oriented tolerance in that the endogenous languages are not forbidden but their use is restricted to non-official situations (see Lopes, 1998, pp. 460–461; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, pp. 512 - 513) with the aim of assimilating speakers into the dominant use of Portuguese and Tetum.

The language clauses of the East Timorese National Constitution make an interesting contrast to the constitutions of Eritrea and South Africa. In the Eritrean Constitution, no language has official status, so as to avoid marginalising any ethnolinguistic group. In contrast, in the South African Constitution, 11 of its languages have official status. The South African Constitution requires that “the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the official languages” (PANSELB Government Gazette, 1999). Section 13 of the East Timorese Constitution makes a definitive statement about national identity in officialising Portuguese and Tetum and privileging them over the national languages. The clauses that provide for international relations and language also privilege Portuguese. Although Section 8 acknowledges Timor-Leste as an Asia-Pacific nation, “proclaiming special ties of friendship and cooperation with its neighbouring countries and the countries of the region,” Section 8.3 provides that “the Republic shall maintain privileged ties with the countries whose official language is
Portuguese.” Thus, the Constitution places a higher value on the nation’s historical and ethnic ties with the Portuguese-speaking countries than on its ties with its Asia-Pacific neighbours.

Tetum also represents the state of Timor-Leste in the sense that its revitalisation is associated with the success of the liberation struggle. As shown in Chapter 5, the fate of the Tetum language became so closely associated with the success of the struggle for independence, that it earned deep symbolic value. This process is comparable to the symbolic value acquired by Tigrina in the Eritrean liberation struggle (see Hailemariam, Kroon, & Walters, 1999, p. 486) and that of Swahili in the movement for independence in Tanzania (see Blommaert, 1999; Cooper, 1989, pp. 102–103).

In Stewart’s (1972) definition, official languages function as legally appropriate languages for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis. However, as Cooper pointed out (1989, p. 100), there are two other types of official language: a language that the government uses as a medium for its day to day activities, and a language which the government uses for symbolic purposes, that is, as a symbol of the state. Thus, as Cooper stated, there are three types of official language, respectively statutory, working and symbolic. Working languages can thus hold a powerful position in a language ecology. In Timor-Leste, Portuguese is both a statutory and symbolic official language while Tetum is a statutory and symbolic official language and, in addition, a national language. In Ireland and Israel, as Cooper (1989, p. 103) noted, Irish and Hebrew are both statutory and symbolic official languages. English is both a statutory and a working language in Ireland. English has also functioned as a working language in Israel since its independence. French functions as a de facto working language in many ex-French colonies. Examples include Morocco, Algeria, Senegal and Tunisia (Cooper, 1989, p. 101). The United Nations has six working languages and the European Union has three. Using the example of Eritrea, while there are no official languages, there are two working languages, Arabic and Tigrina. As Hailemariam, Kroon and Walters (1999, p. 486) have shown, they have special status and function as de facto official languages.

Part VII Final and Transitional Provisions, Section 159 (Working Languages) of the East Timorese Constitution states: “Indonesian and English shall be working languages within civil service side by side with the official languages as long as deemed necessary.” The exact meaning and purpose of Section 159 is debateable. The
phrase “as long as is deemed necessary” is understood by many people to imply that the language clauses are temporary and open to change (this is confirmed in the interview data, particularly in Chapter 8). The 2004 Census National Priority Tables (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2006, p. 46) made the following statement regarding section 159: “The working languages of Timor-Leste are English and Indonesian. They have been approved in the Constitution to allow for working communication purposes until such time as the official languages, Portuguese and Tetum, are fully integrated.”

Following Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p. 512), Section 159 is an example of assimilation-oriented toleration. Whilst Indonesian and English are not forbidden, the objective is clearly to contain them in this special category until Portuguese and Tetum are secure in the ecology. Faingold (2004, p. 21), like Cooper (1989), took the term “working language” to mean the same as “official language” in the context of the Ethiopian constitution, which declares Amharic to be the working language of the Federal Government, because Amharic is the day-to-day language of the Ethiopian legislature, judiciary and administration. The positions of English and Indonesian are not as clear-cut in Timor-Leste. As shown in Chapter 4, Indonesian is still widely used as a language of administration, business and education. As for English, although it is not the language of the judiciary or civil service, it is used in certain formal legislative domains, particularly where the UN is involved (see later in this chapter), in the Timor Sea Office and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, as Chapter 4 also shows, both languages are used daily in other professional domains. In the East Timorese context, it is contended in this thesis that, whilst placing the two languages in the special category of working language acknowledges their powerful role in the language ecology, the clause effectively excludes them from playing any part in national identity. Moreover, the phrase “as long as is deemed necessary” clearly marks their status as temporary and subject to change.

Whereas an official language is a language that a government uses for its day-to-day activities in the fields of legislation, public administration, judiciary and teaching, a national language is a language (or languages) that a nation adopts as symbolic of its traditional heritage. According to the East Timorese Constitution, as we have seen, Tetum has both official and national status whilst the 15 endogenous languages have national status. A number of scholars (see, for example, Schiffman, 1996) have pointed out that in many multilingual nations, where policy appears to be
accommodating linguistic pluralism, it often remains purely symbolic, and substantive planning does not follow from the declaration. The national languages of Timor-Leste have symbolic rather than substantive status. Whilst the INL and other scholars are engaged in the study of several endogenous languages of Timor-Leste (for example, Mambae, Fataluku, Naueti and Makuva—now considered moribund), policy-makers will need to consider specific statutory provision to protect the linguistic rights of endogenous language users if their protection and promotion are to become substantive.

The language clauses of the East Timorese Constitution recognise multilingualism and attempt to deal with its complexities. However, they are more conservative than the language clauses in the constitutions of Eritrea and South Africa, especially with regard to the maintenance and promotion of the endogenous languages. South Africa is one of the rare nations in the world that recognises as fundamental the linguistic rights of both individuals and groups. In the East Timorese National Constitution, the right to speak and understand a language of one’s choice is recognised as an implicit component of freedom of speech. In an example of non-discriminatory prescription, the Constitution, which is founded upon the notion of individual rather than collective rights, also enshrines the rights of freedom of speech and information (Section 40:1-2), along with the right to enjoy one’s cultural heritage (Section 59:5). It guarantees the right of freedom from discrimination on grounds of colour, race, marital status, gender, ethnic origin, language, social or economic status, political or ideological convictions, education and physical or mental condition (Section 16:2). This might be termed a language as implied right policy orientation in that, although it does not specifically mention the language rights of individuals and groups, they are recognised implicitly as an element of individual freedom from discrimination and the right to celebrate one’s cultural heritage. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) and Annamalai (2003) have pointed out, the drawback of this type of laissez-faire approach is that it stops short of the active promotion of language rights for minority or national languages. This can effectively mean that the domination of certain language groups goes unchallenged. In short, the Constitutional provisions for languages are a long way from a policy that maintains and promotes multilingualism.

Other clauses in the Constitution make strong statements of national identity. The central defining statement is the “Valorisation of Resistance” clause in Section 11 (Constituent Assembly, 2002, p. 15), which commemorates the struggle for national
As Leach (2002; 2003; 2006) noted, this clause embeds the official conception of East Timorese history in the statement: “The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste acknowledges and values the secular resistance of the Maubere People against foreign domination and the contribution of all those who fought for national independence.” The Constitution also valorises the Catholic Church for its central role in uniting the different language groups and facilitating the emergence of Tetum as an expression of national identity (Leach, 2002, p. 44). Section 10 of the Constitution declares solidarity with other national liberation struggles to be a guiding principle of the new State. This “Solidarity” clause (Constituent Assembly, 2002, p. 15) commits the Republic to providing asylum to all people persecuted in struggles for national liberation. As Leach (2002, p. 44) concluded, these sections indicate that a truly national sense of East Timorese identity and community arises from the collective memory of Indonesian occupation and the resistance movement. Billig (1995, p. 70) argued that “the nation depend[s] upon continual acts of imagination for its existence”, suggesting that the imagining of the nation is reproduced through the everyday deployment of national symbols. In Timor-Leste, the national anthem and flag deploy the symbols of the resistance (funu), homeland (patria) and solidarity against imperialism. The national anthem is written in Portuguese. It was first used on 28th November, 1975, at the declaration of independence by Fretilin. To date, it is still sung in Portuguese and there has been no translation into Tetum. The Indonesians prohibited the anthem during the occupation and it was readopted at East Timorese Independence on 20th May, 2002. The adoption of this date as marking the restoration of independence invokes a sense of tradition. Thus, at both state level and the “banal” everyday level (Billig, 1995, p. 8), the notions of resistance, homeland, struggle and solidarity are reproduced as symbols of national identity.

### 6.1.2 Act of Identity (ii) Status Planning and Purism in the Language Decree of 2004–Language as Right

On 14th April, 2004, the Council of Ministers issued Government Decree No 1 of 2004, entitled “Orthographical Standard of the Tetum Language”. In the East Timorese legal context, a Decree Law is the term used to describe sovereign laws
enacted since independence. In the preamble to the Language Decree, a language as right policy orientation to Tetum is discernable. The preamble states:

Tetum, given its dual status as an official and national language must be used in a consistent manner in the entire administration of the State, and in other institutions, as well as by the mass media. Tetum is an essential element in the construction of the Nation and in the affirmation of East Timorese identity. For this reason, its utilisation is a constitutional imperative and its implementation a matter of urgency. To this end it is essential that its orthography be made uniform as part of the process of developing the language. Conscious of the strategic importance of the Tetum language in the cementing of national unity, the Government hereby decrees in the terms of paragraph 0 of Article 115 of the Constitution of the Republic, as a regulation with the force of law, the following: Adoption and Implementation of the Orthographical Standard for Tetum. (Source: East Timor Law Journal, 2006)

The Decree goes on to: “adopt the orthographical standard (standardised spelling system) as developed by the INL” (Article One). The Decree confirms that the variety of Tetum recognised as:

The official and [first] national language is Official Tetum, a modern literary form of the vernacular, most widespread in the country and based on Tetum-Praça with the proviso that this choice is made without prejudice to those varieties of Tetum circumscribed to particular regions, which the State preserves and fosters as national languages. (Article Two)

The Decree provides that the orthographical standard of Official Tetum must be used in three high-status public domains: the general education system, in official publications, and in social communication. It further provides that:

Priority must be given to Official Tetum and to Portuguese in public images and signs and that English and Indonesian, as simple working languages, must not be used in public images and signs unless they are accompanied by texts in Tetum and Portuguese with greater visual prominence. (Article Three)

The Language Decree enacts three measures to reinforce the status of the official languages. First, it follows the Constitution in reaffirming Tetum as a defining symbol of East Timorese identity. The preamble makes the status of Tetum as a nation-building tool very clear. Second, the Decree emphasises the joint co-official status of Tetum and Portuguese and third, the Decree adopts the official orthography
of Tetum. The decree takes the Constitutional provisions for the official languages a stage further, in its requirement that they should take priority in public images and signs. Reflecting a policy orientation towards English and Indonesian as problem, the Language Decree attempts to address the issue of the ongoing and widespread use of English and Indonesian by many NGOs, which, whilst not actually circumventing language policy, effectively undermines the state identity-building process.

It is not unusual to pass language legislation in order to protect linguistic identities considered vulnerable or under threat. To give some illustrative examples, after the race riots of 1969 in Malaysia, in a measure to control ethnic violence, the 1971 Sedition Act made it an offence to question the use of Malay as the sole national or official language (Comber 1983, p. 82). Whilst it was a draconian piece of legislation, the Malaysian government could not afford to ignore the devastating impact on Malaysian national unity of ethnic violence. The 1971 Sedition Act effectively placed Malay at the centre of Malaysian national identity. In a more contemporary example, the French Loi Toubon (Toubon Law) of 1994 defended French as a symbol of identity by mandating its use in the five key domains of education, employment, the media, commerce and public meetings. In a third example, Québec’s Bill 101: Charter of the French Language of 1977 (see Bourhis, 1984, p. 230) institutionalised and legitimised French as the definitive symbol of a distinctive francophone identity in Québec.

Like Québec’s Bill 101, the Language Decree contains a mixture of sanctions and incentives to enhance the status of official Tetum and Portuguese. Articles 1 through 3 of the Language Decree institutionalise Tetum and Portuguese, implying a language as right view of the official languages. The Decree legitimates the acrolectal form of the Tetum language as the prestige variety or standard. From an ecological point of view, the articles have the effect of ensuring space for the official languages. As Liddicoat (2005, p. 138) has observed, the symbolic uses of language, such as bilingual public signs, street and place names, use on public formal occasions, in education and the arts, creates space in which a limited range of language can be used to achieve great impact on community perceptions and revive a sense of cultural identity.

Article 4 establishes the INL as the Language Academy—the authority on standardisation and the arbiter of correctness. The INL also has the task of producing orthographies for the other national languages. Language academies are set up to
ensure standardisation. Two prominent regional examples are the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* of Malaysia and the *Pusat Pembinaan Bahasa* of Indonesia. Language academies are also established to preserve language purity. Part of their rationale is to keep the language free from foreign and politically undesirable influences. The INL has acquired some sweeping powers in order to achieve this (see also Chapter 3). Breach of these provisions can lead to the cancellation of a researcher’s visa. Among other provisions concerning linguistic research (see Chapter 3), Article 4 of the Language Decree sets out the role and function of the INL as follows: (a) the INL is the scientific custodian of Official Tetum; (b) the INL must develop the scientific activities necessary to the preservation and protection of the other national languages, devising orthographical standards for each of them.

The Language Decree is an example of the maintenance-oriented promotion of Tetum. It charges the INL specifically with developing Official Tetum as the national language. The goal is clearly to prescribe the use of English and Indonesian and to cement the status of Official Tetum in these three key public domains. The INL exercises control over the language under the auspices of the decree. The decree charges the INL with providing a workable definition of Tetum Praça as the Dili-based lingua franca and to enrich its vocabulary from the rural varieties of Tetum and from Portuguese with the purpose of fusing together the modernised standard (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 211 for a similar discussion of the purpose of standardising Malay). This modernised standard is clearly central to the construction of an authentic national identity. Politically, Official Tetum is a powerful statement of national identity and potentially an equally powerful statement of national unity (see Chapter 2). If Tetum is to fulfil this role, its existing lexicon needs developing in a wide range of domains and registers, particularly in the sciences and technology (see Chapter 4). The appointment of a language-planning agency is therefore important for the development of a modern lexicon and will require significant resources over the long term if Official Tetum is to occupy a substantive role in the language ecology. Finally, whilst Article 4 charges the INL with responsibility for maintaining and preserving the endogenous languages, the Language Decree privileges Tetum in relation to the national languages.

The new orthography of Official Tetum is an instance of the maintenance-oriented promotion of a language. The INL aims to achieve the standardisation of official Tetum through a set of four principles for renovating the lexicon (Hull & Eccles, 2001). These four statements are powerful identity discourses: (a) Tetum-Praça will form the basis of the literary language; (b) Indonesian loanwords are to be avoided and eventually eliminated; (c) there is to be a distancing from Indonesian-influenced idiom in favour of Tetun-Terik and Portuguese-based higher vocabulary; and (d) all loanwords are to conform to the rules of the orthography.

The standardised orthography unifies previous systems into a more linguistically coherent one. The removal of Indonesian words is a first step in returning Tetum to its authentic endogenous origins. A contiguous aim is to devise a system that avoids the imposition of ethnocentric Portuguese or Indonesian-influenced spelling onto Tetum sounds. Taking a minimising approach, Hull and Eccles (2001b, p. 222) declared that the orthography of Official Tetum aims to be true to the work of earlier orthographers, whilst avoiding an ethnocentric, Portuguese-influenced and macaronic spelling. The principles of renovation also endeavour to establish a systematic approach to word-formation, establishing four sets of conventions. The first is a clear set of rules for hyphenation of words, of which there are many in Tetum. The second is a set of rules for the use of accents to mark regular and irregular stress. The third is the removal of the glottal stop from some words in Tetum-Praça considered to have Tetun-Terik origins (Hull & Eccles, 2001b, p. 220), because the glottal stop is unpronounced in Tetum-Praça. Finally, the Tetun-Terik phoneme /w/ is replaced by /b/ so that, for example, the Tetun-Terik word lawarik (child) becomes labarik in Official Tetum. Through the official orthography, Tetum-Praça is clearly distinguished from Tetun-Terik as the variety to be valorised.

The orthography follows spelling principles introduced by Fretilin in 1974, when it launched its national literacy campaign during that same year, and those reforms introduced by the Catholic Church when it adopted Tetum as the liturgical

25 Macaronic means the spelling of words according to the orthographic conventions of their various languages of origin.
language during the Indonesian occupation. These involved the simplifying of Portuguese words. To give some illustrative examples, *educação* (education) is transliterated as *edukasaun* and *colonialismo* (colonialism) as *kolonializmu*. However, in other respects the orthography departs from these traditions. One innovation that has proved controversial to a public schooled in Portuguese orthographic conventions, is the transliteration of the Portuguese conventions *lh* and *nh*, which were imposed onto Tetum sounds, into *ñ* and *ll* as found in Galician, a language closely related to Portuguese. To give two illustrative examples, *senhor* (sir) as written in Portuguese is written as *señor* and *trabalhador* (worker) as *traballadór*. These conventions were previously completely unknown in Timor-Leste. Other linguists favoured *ly* and *ny* because *ny* is used in Catalan, which is also closely related to Portuguese. However, again illustrating the identity dimension of the orthography, these were not acceptable to the INL because of their similarity to Indonesian spelling. Another reform that departs from Portuguese orthographic conventions is the consistent replacement of the grapheme *c* and the digraph *qu* with *k* as in *kareta* (car), *kaneta* (pen) and *kolega* (friend). However, place names such as Bacau and Viqueque have not changed their spelling. A further change makes consistent the *ch* combination in Portuguese, which is transliterated as *x*. Hence, *cha* (tea) is written *xá*. Actual pronunciation is closer to *sá*. A final reform is the replacement of the diphthong *ou* with *o* so that, for example, *mouriš* (to live) is spelt *moris* (see Hull & Eccles, 2001b, p. 222).

The orthography is a classic example of language corpus planning as a resource for nation-building. In a document that invokes tradition, entitled *The Standard Orthography of the Tetum Language–115 Years in the Making*, the INL Directorate (2004, p. 3) described the development of the orthography as “the culmination of an experimental process spanning 115 years since the publication of the first Tetum dictionary in 1889.” In acknowledging the antecedents of the orthography in the work of Portuguese priests, colonial military officers, East

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26 They are listed as:
- Fr Sebastião Aparício da Silva, (1889). *Diccionario de Portuguêz-Tétum*.
- Raphael das Dores, (1907). – *Diccionario Teto-Portuguêz*.
- Fr Artur Basílio de Sá, (1952). *Notas sobre linguística timorense: sistema de representação fonética*.
- Fretilin Literacy Committee, (1975). *Como vamos alfabetizar o nosso povo Mau Bere de Timor-Leste*.
Timorese clergymen and the Fretilin literacy committee, the INL has claimed an historical pedigree for Official Tetum that firmly links the language with Portuguese as its main lexifier language. The surprise amongst the literate public to the introduction of the tilde, which is unknown in Portuguese, reflects the strong influence of Portuguese spelling on its perceptions of correctness. In a situation where literacy levels are low and the concept of spelling rules is new, some people find the rules for hyphens complex, while others find the functions of accents difficult to perceive. Indeed, there are many examples from other languages, which show that not all attempts at orthographic reforms are successful (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 216, for a discussion of successful and unsuccessful reforms of Malay spelling). In sum, the long-term adoption of the orthography depends on the willingness of users to change and the degree of fit between the orthography and current popular notions of identity.


The current language issues facing the government in the formal justice sector are a legacy of past coercive public policy under Indonesian occupation, which imposed a shift from a Portuguese to an Indonesian justice system. To complicate matters further, UNTAET Regulation 2000/11 (as amended by Regulation 2001/25, Article 35) had allowed for the use of four working languages (Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English) in the courts during what was known as the Transitional Period, referring to the period between 1999 and 2002.

In the civil service, the reintroduction of Portuguese and the introduction of Tetum are already in progress. Law 8/2004, which came into force on 16th July, 2004, established a number of requirements including the obligation of public servants to use the official languages as the languages of the public service (see also Chapter 4). Article 2(3) of this law states that the law applies to civil servants of the defence forces, the Police and administrative staff of the office of the President of the Republic, the National Parliament, the courts, the Public Defenders Unit and the Prosecution Unit (JSMP, 2004, p. 23).
The reintroduction of Portuguese and the introduction of Tetum into the formal justice system present a particularly complex set of challenges. In an interview of 27th August, 2002, the then Prime Minister, Dr Mari Alkatiri, blamed the UNTAET administration for opting for Indonesian in the justice system. The result of this, according to Dr Alkatiri, was “a completely disastrous justice system” (http://www.jsmp.Minihub.org.news/10_9_02.htm). Dr Alkatiri stated: “All legislation currently being prepared by the government is in Portuguese. I don’t see how, two or three years henceforth, judges can take decisions based on this legislation without knowing Portuguese,” (JSMP, 2002). He also stated that the East Timorese government was looking to the future, in which the legal system would be based on that of Portugal and the CPLP and that it was vital to improve training in Portuguese to ensure the viability of judicial projects.

There are two equally important sets of competing issues in the debate over language reform in the formal justice sector; neither of which has quick nor easy resolutions. On the one hand, the right to a fair trial implies that it is imperative to avoid any injustice because of errors of linguistic interpretation or delays caused by translation, which could result in loss of public confidence in the system. On the other hand, the use of official languages in the judiciary enhances their prestige. The use of Tetum in formal domains is vital for the modernisation and expansion of its vocabulary. Tetum does not yet possess a full set of legal terms that could be used in the formal justice system. This is due not only to the imposition of the Indonesian system, but also to the fact that East Timorese communities have used an informal justice system based on oral traditions, known as Lisan, so no formal source of legal reference has existed for legal terms in Tetum. The INL took some initial steps towards addressing this lack by producing a glossary of legal terms in Tetum, which was finalised in early 2005, and in mid-2005, 23 students graduated from a course in legal translation and court interpreting using Official Tetum. The Asia Foundation, an American funded NGO, is currently undertaking another project to develop and clarify legal terms in Tetum. Only a very small number of laws and decrees have been officially translated into Tetum. One of the tasks of the translators on completion of their training is to translate the applicable laws in Timor-Leste into Tetum. Simultaneous translation facilities have been available (although not always fully functional) in the Appeals Courtroom since April 2004.
On 27th February, 2004, the Superior Council of Magistrates (CSMJ) adopted the Directive on the Use of Official Languages in the Judicial System, known as the Language Directive. The term Directive refers to a lower-level class of laws passed by UNTAET. The Language Directive established a period of seven months in which all court documents were to be written in the official languages (JSMP, 2004, p. 4). One of the main justifications given by the CSMJ for its decision was the need for the courts to follow developments in other institutional areas such as public administration and the ministries, where Portuguese is now in use. The Language Directive reflects a language as problem policy orientation in the formal justice sector. The Directive requires every court actor to use the official languages. One national NGO, The Judicial System Monitoring Project (known as JSMP), has been outspoken in its criticisms of the Language Directive. The JSMP was set up in Dili in 2001. It describes its role as court monitoring, legal analysis and the provision of thematic reports on the development of the justice system. A number of predominantly English-speaking donors fund the JSMP. They are AusAid and USAid, the Asia Foundation, New Zealand Aid, the International Commission of Jurists and the Finnish Embassy (JSMP, August 2004, p. 2).

The Directive instructs all court actors to use Portuguese in *actos procesuais* (procedural acts and requests), correspondence, requests, official documents and letters. Court actors, as identified by the JSMP, are judges, prosecutors, lawyers and court clerks (JSMP, 2004, p. 13). The Directive made allowance for the use of working languages in documents concerning sentences and appeal submissions up to 30th September 2004. Judicial secretaries and other court officials were instructed not to accept documents that were not written in Portuguese and were subject to disciplinary action if they failed to follow this directive. According to the Directive, documents not submitted in the official languages have to be sent back and given eight days for translation before resubmission. To understand the full significance of the Language Directive, it is necessary to know something of the ecological impact of several previous system changes in the formal justice system.

During the UNTAET period, the use of English and Indonesian had a stalling effect on the implementation of language policy and reversal of language shift in the district courts. According to the JSMP, regulations were written in English with translations, mostly into Indonesian (JSMP, 2004, p. 8). Court actors in the district courts used Indonesian in hearings and for administrative purposes. UNTAET adopted
78 regulations, all written in English. Sixty-three of these were translated into Indonesian and 9 into Tetum. The Special Panel for Serious Crimes (set up by the United Nations and disbanded at the end of 2005) used English (JSMP, 2004, p. 8). From 2003 to 2004, the JSMP stated that it did not see a single case from the district courts where the court actors spoke Portuguese in hearings. During the same period in the district courts, the JSMP observed a gradual shift from Indonesian to Tetum, although Indonesian was still used for writing. The JSMP noted that in the district courts more hearings were conducted in Tetum in 2004 than in the previous year. However, in practice the JSMP observed that court actors used Indonesian when writing long documents. Prosecutors still tended to use Indonesian for reading out indictments and sentencing. Appeal statements up to April, 2004 were written in Indonesian.

In the Appeals Court too, the effect of multiple system changes on language use was chaotic. The JSMP noted that in the Court of Appeal in 2003, out of 47 written decisions, 42 were in Portuguese, none in Tetum and 22 were written in Indonesian. In 2004 up to April, the JSMP noted that only two court decisions were issued in Tetum. During appeal hearings originating from the districts, the court actors used Tetum when they spoke. The JSMP noted that since April, 2004, in compliance with the Language Directive, every document from the Court of Appeal has been written in Portuguese, although, as the JSMP pointed out, these documents are all based on a set form, which does not require high levels of linguistic ability to complete. The majority of indictments are written in Tetum. The JSMP observed that the court clerks were complying with the Language Directive but for documents that were more complex, they usually made use of Indonesian. After 2004, according to the JSMP, two out of the three appeal judges who were fluent in Tetum had started to write decisions in Portuguese. On the other hand, the JSMP also noted some reluctance on the part of certain international judges to allow the translation of documents into Tetum from Portuguese, indicating an expectation that court actors should function fully in the Portuguese language. As the Appeal Court judges invariably work under international contracts, there is also frequent turnover of personnel, which leads to a lack of both continuity and consistency of practice.

The situation observed by the JSMP reflects the lack of both an image repertoire in this domain for Tetum and a motivating ideology to encourage the reversal of language shift. The Language Directive attempts to address this lack of a
motivating ideology. Nonetheless, this period of linguistic transition in the East Timorese justice system is likely to continue for quite some time. Powell (2004, p. 111) pointed out the fact that 25 years after independence, Malaysia still ran its judicial system in English. Today, despite decades of sophisticated, well-resourced terminological development, there is still reluctance to shift to the full use of Malay in the Malaysian courts system (Powell 2004, p. 109). Language shift, as Powell has noted (2004, p. 126) in such a powerful domain is never straightforward. Moreover, as Kaplan and Baldauf (2003, p. 120) have stated, the legal system in most countries is deeply linguistically conservative because words that have been tested in previous legal decisions have a known meaning and force, whereas new wording may not be deemed to have the same connotations. The delicate question of the relationship between language and justice remains an important human rights issue. As Powell (2004, p. 126) stated of the legal profession in Malaysia, it has a long way to go before it operates in a language most people know best, but that does not mean it is less just. This statement can be applied with some confidence to the collapsed legal system in Timor-Leste, which still faces a massive task of reconstruction, reconciliation and linguistic renovation. Indeed, the numerous sound and valid criticisms of the East Timorese legal system made by the JSMP since its inception have not so far included any serious miscarriages of justice on account of language.

The Language Directive, like the Civil Service Law of 2004, is an example of assimilation-oriented prohibition in placing an obligation on all court actors to use the official languages, in an effort to carve out a niche for them in this high status, public domain. As far as Indonesian and English are concerned, the implicit objective is their elimination from this domain. As Lopes (1998, p. 478) noted, the influence of any language upon another language depends on the registers it occupies (see also Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). As long as English and Indonesian monopolise key registers, the greater the threat they will continue to pose to the successful reintegration of the official languages into the language ecology. This has serious implications with regard to the work of NGOs and aid agencies. In ecological terms, the retention of English and Indonesian as dominant languages in the formal justice system constitutes a significant challenge to the reconstruction of national identity as defined in the language clauses of the National Constitution.
6.1.5 Act of Identity (v): The Medium-of-Instruction Policy Goals for 2004 to 2008–Language as Problem

A few brief statistics illustrate the enormity of the task of rebuilding education in post-conflict Timor-Leste. According to the 2004 Census, 36% of the population is under 14 years old. The median age is 18 years. According to the World Bank (World Bank, 2004, p. xvii), in 2001, 57% of the adult population had little or no schooling. Only 23% of the population was primary educated, 18% secondary educated, and only 1.4% tertiary educated. After the violence of 1999 most buildings were burned to the ground, four out of five schools were destroyed and almost all non-East Timorese teachers left the country, precipitating the collapse of the education system (see also Chapter 5). It was not operational again until the start of the October 2000 school year. From 2002, enrolment across the whole education sector increased rapidly, despite the lack of adequate buildings, furniture and equipment, unsanitary, unsafe conditions in most classrooms, and the severe shortage of both teachers and teaching materials. The number of primary school teachers increased from 2,992 to 4,080 and the pupil-teacher ratio dropped from 67:1 to 45:1. At junior secondary level, the number of students increased from 29,586 to 38,180 and the number of teachers from 884 to 1,103 (World Bank, 2004, p. xviii).

Although an improvement, the situation is still far from ideal. According to the development indicators published in the Education and Training Sector Investment Programme (see MECYS, 2004a, p. 1), net enrolment (that is, the percentage of all children of primary age) in 2001 was 75%. This compares poorly with a 99% net enrolment in Indonesia. Net enrolment of children of secondary age was 26%, compared with 43% in Indonesia and 67% in East Asia and the Pacific. According to the 2004 Census (Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 2005, p. 21), the mean youth literacy rate (that is, the percentage of the population aged between 15 and 24 years who could read or write in any language) is 73%—74% for males and 71% for females—compared to 98% for Indonesia. The Ministry of Education currently employs more than 7,825 teachers, all recruited after 1999 (MECYS, 2004a, p. 20). Most of these are primary school teachers who were educated under the Indonesian system. At secondary level, most teachers are still university students who have had no teacher training (UNDP, 2002, p. 52). Most university teachers do not hold
postgraduate or even basic teaching qualifications. Many recently-recruited teachers were employed simply on the strength of being able to speak Portuguese.

The negative outcomes of two assimilationist education systems has left a legacy of low-level, low-quality educational, personal, social and economic development along with confusion, anger and controversy over the issue of national identity. Education remains in a state of crisis. The MECYS estimates that at least a quarter of all students currently fail the school year and at least 10% abandon their studies at each year of primary education and pre-secondary education (World Bank, 2004, p. 25). A significant number of parents still do not see education as a worthwhile investment. Rural parents in particular remain unconvinced of the value of education for their children. The World Bank Education report of 2004 provides an index of the level of parental disengagement. This document reported that 32% of the poorest families and 26% of the richest families had “no interest” in sending their children to school (see World Bank, 2004, p. xix), citing poor educational quality (including in this category, instruction in a language that children did not understand) and lack of access to schools as the main deterrents. The World Bank (World Bank, 2004, p. xix) has predicted that only 47% of those who enter Grade 1 will complete Grade 6, while 53% will drop out. Dropout rates are consistently higher amongst boys than girls (World Bank, 2004, p. 25) and are higher in the poorest social quintiles. On average, school dropouts will only complete four years of schooling, leaving school with very low levels of basic literacy and numeracy, the outcomes of which are low levels of skill and productivity in the workforce. Such high levels of school dropout and repetition increase the costs of education (World Bank, 2004, p. 25). However, a much bigger challenge to achieving universal basic education is the evidence that both parents and children remain alienated from two successive education systems that failed to acknowledge or respect East Timorese culture and traditions or to meet educational needs, promoting only the languages and national interests of the hegemonic powers. Educational language reform in Timor-Leste is being phased in through the formal primary school system. The structure of the East Timorese education system consists of two years of non-compulsory pre-school/kindergarten, known as eskola pre-primária (pre-primary school); six years of primary school, or eskola primária; four years of lower secondary school, or pre- secundária; and two years of upper secondary school, or eskola secundária; at the end of which pupils sit for the Ensino Secundário Diploma (Secondary School Diploma). Curriculum and
language planning for the pre-primary years is outside the formal school system (UNESCO, 2007).

In the first instance, medium of instruction policy focussed exclusively on the reintroduction of Portuguese. There was no provision for Tetum (according to an UNTAET Circular of 26th September, 2000). As early as the year 2000, the CNRT had announced its intention to reintroduce Portuguese as the medium of instruction (see Chapter 5). In 2000, the United Nations Transitional Administration updated the primary school curriculum and Portuguese was designated the language of instruction. This reform moved up a grade every year after that, reaching Grade 5 in the academic year 2003/4. This curriculum model delivered Portuguese as a subject for four hours a week. However, the practical difficulties caused by the fact that so few teachers spoke the language, let alone wrote it, forced the MECYS to relax its attitudes and allow teachers to use Tetum to explain things to the children. Following intense debate over the issue of early literacy in the child’s first language, in 2005 the MECYS accepted Tetum as the medium of instruction in the first two years of schooling, that is, from Grade 1 in primary schools.

The Education Policy Framework for 2004–2008 set out a vision, goals and priorities for education. Education policy objectives include hastening the reintroduction of Portuguese and the revival of Tetum in all schools, along with developing capacity for educational management and service delivery. Under the new national curriculum framework, curriculum policy mandates the use of Portuguese as the medium of instruction from Grades 1 to 6 (World Bank, 2004, pp. 28-29). The new curriculum framework was introduced into each grade, commencing from September 2005 with Grades 1 and 2, with the objective of instituting the framework in all primary schools by 2009. The new curriculum designates five hours of Tetum and three hours a week of Portuguese as subjects in Grades 1 and 2; four hours each of Portuguese and Tetum in Grade 3; five hours of Portuguese and three hours of Tetum in Grade 4 and six hours of Portuguese and two hours of Tetum by Grade 6. The new syllabus framework is to be introduced through the Hundred Schools Project, a pilot parent-teacher association program set up to encourage parent and community involvement in schools.

Colonial legacies continue to challenge the process of identity reconstruction through the education system in Timor-Leste. Although Portuguese was introduced as a subject in the junior secondary grades from 2005, at the time of writing, the
curriculum in Junior High and Senior High schools still runs on the Indonesian model. Indonesian is the most common language of instruction in the universities and high schools. Moreover, textbooks are mostly still Indonesian. At the national university (UNTL), the degree structure, syllabi and methods of assessment are still predominantly Indonesian. By 2003, Indonesian was no longer taught as a subject in schools or the national university. However, junior secondary and secondary school students have continued to date to use Indonesian books, whilst learning Portuguese at the same time (World Bank, 2004, p. 29). In this educational context, a language as problem policy orientation is inevitable.

In its statement of goals, the MECYS is committed to promoting identity-construction and national unity through schooling. A key goal is to reintroduce Portuguese and Tetum as languages of instruction (MECYS, 2004a, p. 10). The MECYS is also committed to developing teaching materials for the official languages in addition to improving the educational standards and qualifications of its teaching staff. This includes language development in Portuguese, the development of bilingual Portuguese-Tetum teaching materials, the development of parent-teacher associations and the reinforcement of the role of parents and of communities in school life (MECYS, 2004b, pp. 20–24 ff).

The following statement in the MECYS policy document for 2004 to 2008 acts as an indicator of attitudes towards the use of Tetum and the national languages as medium of instruction.

Overall, since Tetum is at a preliminary stage of development, the implementation of Portuguese will have precedence, and Tetum may be used as a pedagogic aide in the teaching of disciplines related to the environment, social sciences, history and geography. (MECYS, 2004b, p. 11)

Despite its co-official status with Portuguese, this statement firmly places Tetum in the role of junior partner to Portuguese and effectively implies that it is an inferior medium for educational purposes. An educational policy containing the implicit assumption that endogenous languages are deficient contributes to the low esteem in which people tend to hold their native languages. This frequently fosters a downward spiral of underachievement in their speakers. Moreover, in this policy document, the national languages are not even visible.

The high level of linguistic diversity in Timor-Leste means that first language-based and/or vernacular medium schooling present a major challenge. As the majority
of the population is illiterate, the first language is in almost all cases an unwritten language. In the second place, appropriate terminology for education purposes is yet to be developed in Tetum, let alone the national languages. Thirdly, there is an almost total absence of educational materials in the national languages. An additional obstacle is the fact that the multiplicity of languages makes it a logistical challenge to employ and place teachers who speak the local languages in the appropriate communities. For these reasons, the MECYS response to calls from educators and linguists for the recognition of the need for early literacy teaching in the first languages has been muted and cautious. Concern that recognition of the principle of first language-based schooling might lead to demands from the different linguistic groups that it cannot meet, initially led the MECYS to avoid the use of the term *lingua materna* (mother tongue) in relation to schooling. Medium-of-instruction planning in Timor-Leste has underplayed, mainly for reasons of costs and practical implications, the importance of maintaining and facilitating emergent literacy and language development in the languages of the home and community. The central focus has been on the reintroduction of Portuguese and the teaching of early literacy in Tetum. To date, medium of instruction policy appears to combine maintenance-oriented promotion of Portuguese with assimilation-oriented toleration of Tetum. This situation creates dissonance between policy and practice. Timor-Leste is not unique in facing this kind of dilemma. The country shares these problems with small island states across the South Pacific, faced with managing the continuing influence of colonial languages in their multilingual ecologies. As Lotherington (1998, p. 65) has noted in the context of these small island states, “post-colonial education policies continue to oscillate between the security of instituted colonial models and the pressing need to shelter and nourish […] cultures and languages.”

In the new curriculum, the MECYS has shifted from a submersion model of bilingual education to a transitional one. The draft curriculum framework for 2004–2008 (MECYS, 2004b, p. 8) affirms that, “Portuguese and Tetum are the languages of instruction.” The framework describes one of the curriculum objectives for the teaching of languages as: “the development of two languages at the same time in a process of mutual enrichment” (MECYS, 2004b, p. 9). The document goes on to state that early literacy will be taught in Tetum with the transfer of literacy skills to Portuguese, although it does not state clearly how this will be achieved. Although, as the World Bank survey shows, actual classroom practice varies, at a policy level it
would appear that children are intended to acquire basic skills in Tetum whilst building up a threshold level of Portuguese sufficient to cope with the demands of schooling (see World Bank, 2004, p. 29). After the introduction of Tetum in Grade 1, the emphasis changes gradually to Portuguese by the end of Grade 6. In reality, practice varies from school to school and teachers seem to be using a variety of language and content teaching strategies. Nevertheless, according to policy, children are learning to read in Tetum—a second language for many children—and/or Portuguese—an unknown language for the majority of children. An additional challenge is that teachers are working in a low or no-resource situation.

The MECYS Curriculum Framework states its literacy goals as: “To ensure the effective mastery of both national languages, both oral and written skills. To develop good habits of reading and writing in practical and recreational situations” (MECYS, 2004b, p. 9). These policy goals focus on literacy in the co-official languages. However, they overlook the many forms that literacy can take. These forms include local literacies, or literacy practices connected to local or regional identities (Street, 1994; 1995); and vernacular literacies, or literacies in non-standard languages (Tabouret-Keller et al., 1997). As Hornberger (1994b) has argued, literacy planning needs to engage with different forms of literacy and the uses to which literacy will be put. These decisions have important implications for the wellbeing of those citizens for whom literacy is being planned. These implications are discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

To recall from Chapter 2, in a situation where teachers cannot give sufficient oral support for the second language and there is inadequate support for children’s first language or lingua franca, transitional bilingual education can become submersion in effect (Lotherington, 2004). Moreover, if children’s first languages are educationally and socio-culturally devalued through continued emphasis on the colonial language, one long-term result could be continued low mass literacy and poor home and community support for children’s literacy acquisition. The choice of the medium of instruction is an important statement of identity for the East Timorese as a nation. However, as Lotherington (1998, p. 72) has advised, bilingual education will require careful attention if it is to avoid failing to recognise the importance of maintaining and facilitating the languages of the home and community and if it is to successfully enrich and maintain children’s linguistic repertoires and value their first languages.
A great deal of evidence supports the view that providing children with educational support for cognitive and social development in their first language supports the acquisition and development of the second language by augmenting general language development, increasing metalinguistic awareness and bolstering socio-cultural identity. This is especially important for children in low-status speech communities (see for example, Baker, 1993; 2001; Cummins, 1991; 1999). Offering education in the language of the home also helps to provide opportunities for increased community participation in education (McCarty, 2004). Siegel (1997) reported that in Papua New Guinea, vernacular medium literacy programs for children in community pre-schools resulted in substantial benefits for children when they entered formal education (see also Crowley, 2005, p. 36). However, this goal is far from reality in Timor-Leste, where first language print material outside the classroom is almost non-existent and lack of codification makes vernacular literacy education impossible to implement for the present. Among the few projects that produce literacy materials in Tetum are the East Timorese NGO Timor Aid, through its Tetum Literacy Project and the Mary MacKillop East Timor Institute, which is currently working with UNICEF to introduce Tetum readers in all schools (Sister Irene Macinante, Mary MacKillop East Timor Institute, 24th February 2007, personal communication). The children’s magazine Lafaek (Crocodile) and its junior version Lafaek Ki’ik (Little Crocodile), published in Tetum by the NGO Care International, is a shining example of reading material in an endogenous language that goes beyond the classroom. Lafaek is the main source of reading and learning material for some 300,000 students in schools across the country. Care International also runs a radio programme (Radio Lafaek) and a pen pal program in which some 6,000 children participate (http://www.careinternational.org.uk). Other than the national newspapers, read mainly in the capital, there is very little available reading material for adults in Tetum. With the exception of the Waima’a language project (see Bowden and Hajek, 2007, p. 263 – 274), there there is virtually no reading material in the national languages. From this point of view, the MECYS decision to focus on Tetum as the language of early literacy was a pragmatic one.

However, pragmatism or no, the issues of first-language-based bilingual schooling and vernacular literacy will continue to demand policy attention. The medium of instruction is a powerful way of maintaining and revitalising a language and a culture and an important tool of intergenerational language transmission.
The longstanding low status accorded to endogenous languages and the prestige enjoyed by colonial languages has resulted in a universal lack of confidence in endogenous languages as adequate and suitable for schooling. Timor-Leste is also the victim of extreme poverty and aid dependency, which slows down the efforts of corpus planning and impedes serious commitment to literacy in the national languages. As Tollefson and Tsui (2004) have pointed out, in many countries the need for standardisation and codification becomes a reason to justify lack of commitment to a clear timeframe for implementing first-language schooling. Indeed, as Alidou (2004, p. 209) has asserted, the absence of standardisation frequently becomes useful as a delaying tactic that maintains the power of the colonial languages while little meaningful effort is devoted to the use of national languages as medium of instruction. Further, in Timor-Leste, although the World Bank (2004, pp. 89-90) has advocated the teaching of literacy in the mother tongue in the early grades as a policy option, there is little evidence of a practical commitment to making this a reality. Again, this is not unique to Timor-Leste. As Alidou (2004, p. 205) has noted, the World Bank demonstrates continuing reluctance to embark on programmes to promote comprehensive bilingual education in Africa.

Moreover, as Hornberger and Skylton-Sylvester (2000, p. 105) and many others (see Chapter 2) have argued, the tendency in many developing countries towards second-language literacy teaching in a culturally-decontextualised, skills-based, functional approach to literacy runs the risk of devaluing, marginalising and weakening local, informal, traditional forms of literacy and culture, by excluding them from the classroom. One major drawback of this is that the child’s cultural and home experience is dismissed as irrelevant to formal school-based learning and this contributes to the disengagement of communities from formal schooling.

In summary, the medium-of-instruction problem in Timor-Leste is the legacy of two colonial powers, which imposed their own languages as medium of instruction for economic, political and cultural reasons. In the post-colonial era, the search for effective solutions to the problem is constrained, not only by inadequate physical and human resources and by the hesitancy of the Ministry of Education to promote the instructional use of East Timorese languages, but also by the economic power of western agencies to determine development policies. Donor agencies in Timor-Leste persistently problematise multilingualism without offering clear alternatives or
solutions, while Portuguese aid goes for the most part into supporting the teaching of Portuguese (see Chapter 2).

Table 8 provides an overview of current East Timorese language policy and planning development in ecological relationship. The table classifies policy actions by treatment (Annamalai, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1989; 2000) and policy orientation (Ruiz, 1984).

Table 8. East Timorese Language Policy Development in Ecological Relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Language as Problem</th>
<th>Language as Right</th>
<th>Language as Resource</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment ▼</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance/ Promotion</td>
<td>Legislation to promote Portuguese in formal justice system and civil service.</td>
<td>Tetum and Portuguese accorded co-official status.</td>
<td>Orthography of Official Tetum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance/ Tokenism</td>
<td>Tetum as an oral medium in first two years of schooling</td>
<td>Constitutional freedom from discrimination on grounds of language, ethnicity or culture.</td>
<td>Constitutional designation of English and Indonesian as working languages as long as deemed necessary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimination/ Prohibition</td>
<td>Indonesian as a medium of instruction.</td>
<td>Endogenous languages protected and recognised in Constitution.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indonesian in public administration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indonesian in high domains.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2 An Overall Analysis of the Goals, Orientations and Motives of Language Policy and Planning

This analysis of the five aforementioned sites of struggle indicates that contemporary language policy and planning take a mixed approach, combining aspects of assimilation-oriented tolerance of Tetum, English, Indonesian and the national languages with maintenance-oriented promotion of Portuguese. As Ruiz (1995, p. 76) has argued, a mixed-language policy approach arises because of an association of former colonial languages with modernisation and, by implication, the association of endogenous languages with backwardness and underdevelopment. Fishman (1990, p. 9) attributed this attitude to a western sociological view that has convinced people that “modernisation and authenticity preoccupations cannot go together, just as authenticity preoccupations and rationality cannot go together.” In this way, mixed-policy approaches tend to reinforce the lower status of local endogenous languages. This is the case in Timor-Leste, where negative views of Tetum continue to hold back its development and use in education, the formal justice system and other high-status domains. Assimilation-oriented tolerance of language use that stops at tokenism will not do enough to contain or reconcile the diverse political and ethnic forces that have emerged since independence.

The Language Decree charges the INL with recording and developing Tetum and the endogenous languages but, for the reasons that follow, this may not suffice to raise its status substantially. Although the national languages are tolerated in the National Constitution, they are effectively excluded from higher domains because of their lack of status and use for formal and official functions. Whilst they are valued for inter- and intra-ethnic communications and as markers of ethnic identity, the national languages are not officially used in education or the wider society or communication beyond their local area. In such an approach, low-status language groups are vulnerable to marginalisation. As Smolicz (1981; 1984; 1991) has argued, to achieve consensus, multilingual societies need to evolve a set of shared values that overarch all citizens. The achievement of maintenance-oriented promotion type of language policy, which supported and endorsed the official use of endogenous languages, would be a significant step in this direction.
This chapter has examined five instruments of current language policy development and has contended that they may be perceived as discursive constructs, through which the motif of identity construction runs, from the construction of a linguistic ideology to the allocation of linguistic norms and the languages of instruction. Following Ager (2001; 2005), East Timorese language policy development can be characterised as a process of dynamic identity construction. This identity-building motive runs across all aspects of language policy development. The use of legislation to protect and promote the status of Portuguese and Tetum is an official declaration of national identity. The defence of identity is evident in the establishment of the INL as the language academy and the protector of the national languages. In corpus planning, identity-construction is the clear motive for the legitimation of an official orthography and principles of lexical renovation for Tetum, which strengthen the linguistic links with Portuguese and act as a signifier of distance and difference from Indonesian, in addition to valorising the standard form of Tetum-Praça as the symbol of national unity. The motive of image creation is highly visible in the measures to reverse language shift and institutionalise Portuguese and Tetum in the formal justice sector. The motive of image creation is also visible in efforts, although small scale at the present, to build prestige and create an image repertoire for the Tetum language by encouraging its use in the legal domain. It is evident, however, that the language preferences of NGOs form a powerful lobby and intensify the pressure from English and Indonesian. Finally, in education the reconstruction of identity through language revival and reacquisition in schooling motivates medium-of-instruction planning.

As Powell (2002, p. 262) has stated, the medium of instruction in education is as central to post-colonial as it was to colonial language planning. The revival and reacquisition of Portuguese ascribes to schoolchildren a Lusophone identity and cultural orientation. On the other hand, attitudes towards Tetum on the part of the education authorities have been ambivalent. The MECYS has moved from advocating a submersion model of bilingual education to a transitional model, which accepts the principle of early literacy in the national lingua franca. However, in the efforts to re-establish Portuguese and Tetum, the other national languages risk being lost from sight. The form of transitional bilingual education that is operating makes the reintroduction of Portuguese potentially assimilationist in effect.
In short, while the issues and challenges for language policy-making are enormously complex, the official identity discourses are fairly simple. They invoke the symbols of resistance, homeland, sacrifice and struggle against Indonesian hegemony. They invoke historical, cultural and linguistic ties with Portugal through Catholicism and solidarity with the Lusophonia and the CPLP. Accordingly, language policy promotes Portuguese but, despite its rhetoric, ends up taking an assimilation-oriented tolerance approach to Tetum and the national languages, implicitly prohibiting the national languages from official domains. Policy tolerates Indonesian and English. At the same time, it works to contain English and eliminate Indonesian from the educational and legal domains.

The East Timorese National Constitution invokes a tradition, using symbols of resistance, solidarity and links with Portuguese culture through language and religion, to claim a unique national identity founded in Tetum and Portuguese. As Cooper (1989, p. 102) has observed, the specification of statutory languages is an exercise in the manipulation of political symbols to the advantage of political elites. However, according to Cooper, there are two dangers in such an exercise. First, political rivals may try to win popular support by claiming to be better guardians of the sacred symbols. Second, political rivals may try to substitute different symbols for the existing ones in an effort to win mass support. As the interview data allude, this is a very real possibility in Timor-Leste.

Table 9 synthesises the analysis of current language policy development in this chapter. The table applies the descriptive categories for language policy activities discussed and defined in Chapter 2. Cooper’s (1989, p. 98) accounting scheme is used to draw the activities together into a process. The five instruments of language policy development are classified according to their societal or linguistic focus (Haugen, 1983); activity type and goals (policy planning and cultivation planning); treatment of language rights (Annamalai, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1989; 2000); and ideological orientations (Ruiz, 1984).

The following chapters present the interview and focus group findings and an exploration of the narratives in the interview and focus group data. These give voice to popular perceptions of language policy and linguistic identity. The interview data represent the third space in language policy and planning: the space where grand narratives of official language policy are confirmed, contested and negotiated.
Table 9. *The (Re)construction of Identity*
Summary: Five instruments of language policy development—focus, activity type, goals, treatment of multilingualism and policy orientation in ecological relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language planning Agents</td>
<td>Statutory instrument (Enactment of identity)</td>
<td>Focus: Societal or Linguistic</td>
<td>Activity Type</td>
<td>Policy Planning goals (the formal role of language in society)</td>
<td>Cultivation planning goals (the function of languages in society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituent Assembly</td>
<td>National Constitution of 2002</td>
<td>Societal focus: directed at the uses of language(s)</td>
<td>Status planning: Language selection</td>
<td>Officialisation of Tetum and Portuguese as co-official languages. Officialisation of English and Indonesian as working languages. Nationalisation of 16 endogenous languages including Tetum.</td>
<td>Revival of Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Ministers</td>
<td>Language Decree of 2004</td>
<td>Societal focus: directed at the uses of language(s)</td>
<td>Status planning: Policy implementation.</td>
<td>Prescription of language use.</td>
<td>Tetum reinvigoration and spread</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7 Negotiating Identity (i):
The Key Informant and Individual Interview Data

7.0 Entering the Third Space in the Discourses

This chapter and the following begin an exploration of the discourses in the interview data. In Chapters 7 and 8, we enter and explore the third space in East Timorese language policy and planning. The semi-structured interview and focus group data are organised into themes and presented under headings developed from the focussed codes listed in Table 3 (Chapter 3). To reiterate, these were: resistance, identity, prestige, international relationships, religion, lingua franca, unity, language attitudes (positive/negative) and evaluation of language policy (positive/negative).

The chapter analyses the salient themes and narratives arising from these codes for their congruence with the official discourses discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 3 argued that the discourses of social institutions, communicative events and situations embody assumptions about social identities, which can be hegemonic, contested, inclusive or negotiated. Central to the data analysis in this chapter is the elicitation of petits recits or local narratives that confirm, reject, or contest dominant discourses or grand narratives about language and identity. In terms of the specific aims of this thesis, the chapter seeks to assess the extent of consensus in the participant interview data regarding language policy and planning. It examines the participant understandings of language and identity for their congruence with the official discourses. In so doing, the analysis seeks answers to the overarching and secondary research questions.

The interpretive analysis was achieved through a continuous and reiterative process of weaving “the webs of significance” in the data (Geertz, 1973). As Scollon (2002, p. 81) has asserted, “texts incorporate other texts; texts speak in response to and in anticipation of other texts.” With this in mind, as stated in Chapter 3, close attention was paid to both intertextuality and polyvocality, which refer to ways in which texts incorporate the voices of other texts (see Scollon, 2002, p. 82), as the data were searched for the interplay between the dominant historical and contemporary
discourses and those of the different interview groups. This approach highlighted the
dialogic nature of the discourses. Dialogicality here incorporates the ways in which
texts speak to other texts (see Scollon, 2002, p. 82). In addition to the sociolinguistic
data which, as Chapter 4 suggests, indicate important signs of language shift and
change amongst the participant groups, the interactions between the four sets of
interview data and the official discourses (see Chapter 6) produced some complex
interdiscursivities, through which identities were claimed and disputed, ratified and
repudiated (Scollon, 2002, p. 81).

The first part of this chapter presents and interprets the interview data from the
9 key informants. The second part interprets the data from the interviews with 26
individuals. Although every interview followed the same basic protocol, the semi-
structured format allowed participants’ language attitudes, practices and lived
experiences of language policy and planning to emerge through the dialogues and
discussions. Each participant had their own personal concerns and perspectives on
language and language policy issues. The interviewer made every effort to take her
lead from the interlocutors’ responses and to allow the participants’ narratives to
unfold.

7.1 Data Collection

The participants were interviewed in various locations in Timor-Leste and
Australia. Interviews were conducted in the participant’s home, place of work or
study, or, in some cases, another mutually convenient location. Most were interviewed
alone, but in some cases family members or friends were present. As mentioned in
Chapter 3, the participants were given the option of holding the interview in
Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian or English. In many cases, they chose English out of
courtesy to the interviewer, although quite a lot of code switching took place.
Approximately half the interviews were conducted in Portuguese with the remainder
of the participants opting for Tetum or English. The language of each interview is
recorded in Tables 10, 11, 12 and 14, which provide details of each interview group.
Each interview was numbered and the date, time and place of interview recorded
along with the participant’s age and occupation. All interviews were transcribed and
translated by the researcher from either Portuguese or Tetum, unless they were in
English, in which case the participant was quoted verbatim and language transference errors were not corrected. In accordance with ethical procedures, all names were changed. All qualitative data quoted in this study are expressed in italics, with the following transcription conventions:

R Researcher
A Answer
Ss Students
S1 Individual Student
! Shows emphatic speech
[ ] Researcher’s insertion
( ) Non-verbal cues and other paralinguistic features
… Pause or section of transcript omitted
- Incomplete utterance
CAPS emphatic stress
(?) Talk inaudible on tape or inaudible utterance

The following abbreviations are used to cross-reference the data in this chapter and the next:

KI Key Informant data
I Individual data
DFG Dili Student Focus Group data
AFG AusAID Student Focus Group data
E 1 Extract 1
ST 1 Sub-theme 1

Fine-grained transcription methods used in traditional discourse analysis, such as marking length of pauses, turn-taking conventions and so on, were not used because they were not relevant to the purposes of this study, which was primarily concerned with whether and how the narratives confirmed or disconfirmed the official discourses discussed in Chapter 6.

7.2 The Key Informants

Table 10 provides a summary of relevant details about the key informants, who all held leadership positions as ministers, public representatives, or members of
parliament, or positions in a range of political parties. All participants were given pseudonyms.

Table 10. Key Informants’ Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Languages spoken</th>
<th>Language of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domingos</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum, Tetun-Terik, Makasai, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Indonesian, Baikenu, Tetum, Portuguese, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helder</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Portuguese, Tetum, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abel</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum, Makasai, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fransisco</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum, Makasai, Midiki</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicente</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum, Kemak, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viriato</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Portuguese, Tetum</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leão</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Portuguese, Tetum, Mambae, Indonesian</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Portuguese, Tetum, Mambae, Tokedede, Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, French, Italian, English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of recurrent themes were identified in the key informants’ discourses. The themes were arrived at using the process of open and selective coding described in Chapter 3. One of the most interesting features was the high level of consensus regarding the historical role and symbolic capital of Portuguese, so that even the strongest critic of Portuguese as an official language was obliged to acknowledge its influence and place in the language ecology. At the same time, ambivalent feelings towards “the language of the coloniser” led to some interesting dualities, especially in the key informants’ talk. Examples of this are presented and discussed further later in this section.

All nine key informants were involved in some way in the constitutional consultation. This dated from the debates in the CNRT congresses of the late 1990s (see Chapter 5) and culminated in the language policy decision of the Constituent
Assembly (an 88-member body representative of all the 13 districts of Timor-Leste, elected in a democratic process overseen by UNTAET, to form the National Constitution in 2001). A number of these informants had participated in or played leading roles in the Constituent Assembly. The key informants all shared the view that the consultation had been wide ranging and all had in one way or another been given the opportunity to contribute to the debate about the choice of official languages.

7.2.1 Themes in the Key Informant Interviews

“How do you identify your nationality? With only a passport?”

(Key informant interview, 17th July 2004)

Fifteen key themes were extrapolated from the key informant interview data. In the following sections, each Key Informant (KI) theme (numbered 1-15) is discussed under an in-vivo code, or category, linked to the interview questions and interpreted within the theoretical framework of the thesis. The illustrative extracts are numbered sequentially for ease of reference later.

KI 1: “This colonisation was a motive. A reason to be a nation.” The colonial language as identity marker

There was near total unanimity with respect to the reasons for the officialisation of Portuguese, even among the members of opposition parties. The nine key informants could not fail to be aware that Timor-Leste, as a small country, is surrounded by more powerful and influential neighbours, but that culturally and linguistically speaking, very little marks the difference between West and East Timor. Several participants placed emphasis on the fact that only the colonisation of Timor-Leste by the Portuguese demarcated a difference between the eastern and western parts of the island of Timor. Therefore, in the view of these informants, the Portuguese language is seen to function as a boundary marker and an emblem of difference in the region. This view, which ran across the political spectrum, harks back to the support for Portuguese on all political platforms in 1975 (see Chapter 4). Fransisco, a leading member of a prominent opposition party, exemplifies this
perspective in the following statement, in which he appears to use Portuguese to reify (Barth, 1969; 1982) the ethnic distinction between West and East Timor:

Nothing really demarcates a difference/border between Portuguese and Dutch Timor. Only colonisation determined this part is Indonesian and this part is Portuguese. This political fact obliged the political leaders to choose the Portuguese language. (Fransisco, Extract 1)

In many participants’ responses it seemed to be regarded as axiomatic that an ex-colony would choose to adopt the former colonial language as official. The role of Portuguese as the former colonial language was tied in with other statements to do with culture and identity. Fransisco provided an illustrative example of this attitude, arguing that colonialism provided the impetus for the growth of nationalism: We were a colony of Portugal ... half of an island. This colonisation was a motive, a reason to be a nation.

KI 2: “We can’t separate from our history.” The colonial relationship

As previously stated, the key informants by and large took it for granted that the new nation would adopt Portuguese because it was the former colonial language. As Leão put it, we can’t separate from our history. Vicente, in particular, compressed a whole range of issues and connections into the assumption that independent countries adopt the colonial language simply by virtue of the fact that they are former colonies:

Portuguese was adopted because of historical, cultural and political links that cannot be separated from this decision. Timor-Leste is like any other former colonies ... all adopted Portuguese. There is no anomaly. (Leão, Extract 2)

The historical role of Portuguese as the language of resistance and boundary marker was configured in various ways in the key informants’ discourses. Helder, a senior advisor to a key member of parliament, reiterated this view of Portuguese, linking East Timorese identity with its colonial past in the following remark:

Portuguese is important. It was a colonial language for 400 years. It was the language of the resistance. It’s important for our identity – to differentiate from the area that we’re in. (Helder, Extract 3)

Leão, like his colleagues, had been a long-standing member of the resistance. He had remained in Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation and was intensely aware of the symbolic power of Portuguese as the language of resistance and struggle:
We opted to remain in the great family of nations that speak the Portuguese language. A country without a history has no identity. It’s true ... some people think, politicians and diplomats from the Commonwealth, think that we opted for Portuguese because we are nostalgic for Portugal. NO! This couldn’t be! It has much bigger significance connected to our struggle for independence for which so much suffering was endured and so much committed. It’s not because with this language we’ll be rich – it’s not this. It’s our history – this is why we chose this language. (Leão, Extract 4)

KI 3: “It was a political decision.” Politics and geopolitics

All informants agreed that it was a political decision to officialise Portuguese. They all used the term very loosely, tending to blend it with cultural, historical and strategic issues. This is evident in Fransisco’s statement: You can see that the question of Portuguese or not Portuguese is a political question, a question of culture. It is that Portugal colonised Timor-Leste for 400 years.

Others, Leão in particular, stressed not only historical links with Portugal but also the relationship with the CPLP (see Chapter 5). The relationship with the community of Portuguese-speaking countries was regarded by the key informants as critically important, both as a source of solidarity and aid. In this statement, Leão drew on the historical links between the resistance and the CPLP:

It was a political decision because we have a close affinity with the CPLP and we can’t separate from our history. During the resistance the CPLP helped us a lot. The links with these countries is very strong. Our young people don’t understand this. (Leão, Extract 5)

KI 4: “If they are going to develop themselves in the future, then they are going to have to learn Portuguese.” Portuguese as the language of nation-building

The key informants were people with power and political influence. As a group, they represent decision-makers with responsibility not only for implementing, but also forming, public policies. As such they constitute an informed and influential group in East Timorese society. When speaking about the role of Portuguese in the future development of the nation, their talk clearly reflected the fact that as policymakers they were concerned with nation-building. This can be clearly seen in Helder’s assertion that:

The East Timorese find it very easy to learn languages. Most people speak at least three or four languages so it is a cultural (?). East Timorese learned Bahasa Indonesia by necessity. Portuguese and Tetum are going to be exactly the same. They’re going to have to learn. It’s for the future of their children – it’s not going to change. The Constitution is set up in such a way that it will be
very difficult to change ... Some people may opt not to speak Portuguese – that’s their choice – but if they are to develop themselves in the future, then they are going to have to learn Portuguese. (Helder, Extract 6)

As shown later in the focus group data, many young East Timorese do in fact opt not to speak Portuguese. Although on an individual level they sometimes pay the price for this in lost opportunities (see DFG E 9 in the next chapter), the linguistic, social and economic consequences of this have yet to be felt on a national scale. In a different kind of statement, which illustrates no less clearly the nation-building impetus of language policy, Domingos highlighted the neutral, lingua franca function of the ex-colonial language:

_The Portuguese and the Portuguese influence on the development of Tetum-Praça accompanied the development of East Timorese nationalism. To take the Portuguese out would mean, bang, MY people, MY culture, the Tetun-Terik speakers, are the ones who have been given prominence ... it’s a tricky question ... people don’t get emotive about it yet but they will. Particularly the Makasai. You’ve heard the terms – Firaku27 – they’re a big Makasai-speaking group._ (Domingos, Extract 7)

KI 5: “We were all involved in this decision when we were in the resistance groups.” Portuguese as the language of the resistance

The key informants were very mindful of the fact that Portuguese was the language used by the clandestine resistance movement. Two informants in particular affirmed the official identity discourses, which emphasise the symbolic links between Portuguese and the resistance (see Chapters 5 and 6). Domingos acknowledged the symbolic role of Portuguese and its links to the armed struggle: _Portuguese was the language of the resistance, of FALINTIL. For this reason there was respect for Portuguese._ Leão, as has been shown, also identified with Portuguese very strongly as the language of the resistance. In the following statement, he affirmed the central official narrative that the resistance and the use of Portuguese as a symbol of

27 A reference to the popular distinction between the supposedly “aggressive” easterners (Firaku) and the more “passive” westerners (Kaladi), also known respectively as Loros‘e and Loromunu. In the violence of 2006, these distinctions took on political and ethnic overtones, providing a justification for violence and murder on both sides but particularly targeting easterners (see Quinn, 2006). With hindsight, Domingos’ remark makes a particularly important point about the urgency of socially inclusive policy-making.
resistance played a unifying role in the formation of the early nationalist movement, making this very clear in his choice of the term *intifada*.

_We were all involved in the decision when we were in the resistance groups. The Portuguese language was one of the forms of resistance. The Portuguese Saint Joseph’s Day School was closed because it was here that the first germination of the first young people in the intifada, of the resistance in towns and cities, when the Pope arrived in Timor ... the first intifada was in Tasi Tolu. This came from the Portuguese Day School and for this reason it was closed. The language we used in our correspondence in the resistance was Portuguese. It was used by FALINTIL and also those of us who went abroad and for this reason we were all involved in this decision._ (Leão, Extract 8)

**KI 6: “We have no reason to refuse the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste.”**

**Cultural integration or assimilation?**

A number of statements made by members of this group indicated that they regarded the cultural links between Portugal and Timor-Leste as strong: *There is already some marriage between our culture and Portuguese. About 30% of our borrowed words [in Tetum] come from Portuguese* (Vicente). Several key informants’ remarks reflect the socio-religious influence of Portuguese language and culture in shaping their sense of identity, but at the same time, also illustrate the ideological effects of assimilationist policies on their language attitudes. This is particularly evident in Antonio’s responses. Antonio, who was the oldest member of the key informants, had long-standing personal, familial and political links with Portugal. In the following comment, he explained how natural it seemed for him to continue using Portuguese:

_We have 400 years of links with Portugal. 97% of the country is Catholic. [Before] 24 years of occupation, the official language was Portuguese not Indonesian. So, it felt like a simple extension of the decision already taken to adopt Portuguese._ (Antonio, Extract 9)

Antonio’s responses showed three important ways in which Portuguese language and culture had shaped his sense of identity. Firstly, through the granting of citizenship, secondly, through shared religion, and thirdly, through socialisation. His response clearly shows the effect of assimilationist colonial policies and practices on his language attitudes:

_In Timor-Leste, we believe in one God. When the missionaries came, it was easy to convert the East Timorese. We pray in Portuguese, do business in Portuguese, [carry out] administration in Portuguese, [we use Portuguese in] education. Portuguese has political and social influence. Portugal gave us_
support during the resistance. Portugal allowed East Timorese to become Portuguese citizens and gave ALL East Timorese the right to citizenship; not just the sons of the Portuguese. All leaders hold a Portuguese passport. We have no reason to refuse the Portuguese language in Timor-Leste. (Antonio, Extract 10)

The influence of assimilation also came through in Domingos’ remark, quoted below, which contains several layers of meaning. Not only does it show that he sees a deep relationship between Portuguese and East Timorese culture, but it also exemplifies how, for many East Timorese, the experience of the Indonesian occupation made Portuguese colonialism appear more benevolent:

*Portuguese became deeply embedded in East Timorese culture. Indonesia tried over 24 years to suck East Timorese culture out of the East Timorese. The Portuguese showed a lot more respect for our culture.* (Domingos, Extract 11)

In contrast, one member of this group was far more cynical about the way that Portuguese had been introduced. Abel, who was 16 years younger than Antonio but close in age to Domingos, inferred that Portuguese had been learned under coercion and the threat of physical punishment. In the following retort he connected the present-day officialisation of Portuguese with neocolonialism, vehemently disconfirming Domingos’ view that Portuguese is embedded in East Timorese culture:

*In a liberated country, you demand that people use a language that they cannot speak? The Portuguese forced people to speak Portuguese. If you didn’t speak Portuguese you got a palmatória.* (Abel, Extract 12)

**KI 7: “We could drown, be surrounded in Asia.” Portuguese as a statement of national identity**

There were two contrasting perspectives on the role of Portuguese as an identity marker. The first perceived Portuguese primarily as a border or boundary marker, reflected in Domingos’ opinion that if we were to choose Bahasa Indonesia we would just continue to be swamped by the Indonesians. Echoing this sentiment, Fransisco declared that Portuguese served as a marker of national difference and identity. This statement is central to understanding the motivation for the language policy decision. Along with the other statements made by the key informants (see, for example, KI E 3, 4 & 15), it affirms that the key informants do not identify as Asian. This perception lies at the heart of the officialisation of Portuguese. It is discussed further shortly.
Imagine if we spoke Bahasa Indonesia as an official language. One day, whether we want it or not, we’ll want to enter Asia. When we do, our frontiers will be open. Indonesia comes in, Malaysia could come in and there is no difference between us. We need to distinguish ourselves culturally from Asia. There is no difference between us and Indonesia, no difference between us and the Philippines – we could drown, be surrounded in Asia. But if we were the only ones who speak Portuguese, then when we speak this language, then when people hear this language, it is of the nation Timor-Leste. It is a strategy ... Portuguese is an expression of East Timorese identity. (Fransisco, Extract 13)

The second perspective perceives a deeper cultural, even spiritual bond between the Tetum and Portuguese languages and looks to Portuguese to complete Tetum – to somehow make it whole. This attitude is absolutely central to understanding the key informants’ sense of national identity and their perceptions of the role of Portuguese and Tetum in the language ecology. It implicitly accepts Portuguese as the model of ‘completeness.’ Viriato was by no means the only participant who referred to Portuguese in this way when discussing the level of development and modernisation that needs to be attained for Tetum:

*For me, since the Tetum we speak today is the Tetum which we spoke before the Indonesian coup, it is Tetum that has developed a certain form, which gained a certain life with Portuguese. For this reason we say here that Portuguese is the soul of Tetum, which enriches Tetum in order to enable our language to develop into a complete language* (Viriato, Extract 14)

As has been shown, with the exception of two participants, the key informants indicated that they felt strong affinities with Portuguese language and culture, taking the view that the Portuguese language plays a significant role in national identity formation. Fransisco’s concern that *we could drown in Asia* (KI E 13) is a highly significant statement of identity. This is also reflected in Antonio’s and Helder’s remarks. Antonio spoke from a global perspective, placing high value on his country’s membership of the Lusophonia:

*To unify our country and for our identity, we need to have these two languages ... we feel part of the same family when we speak with people from ex-Portuguese colonies. Our feelings are similar because we were colonised by Portugal ... when I go to Cabo Verde I feel at home. Brazilians come to Timor-Leste and feel at home ... we are Asian people but I feel nothing for the Indonesian language because I did not live in Timor-Leste during the occupation.* (Antonio, Extract 15)
Helder, on the other hand, spoke from a local perspective, emphasising the national identity-building function of Tetum and Portuguese:

*Our long term plan has always been for Tetum to be the official language and Portuguese – it’s always been, because of cultural identity, because of resistance, because of religion, because of all these issues but Portuguese is always going to be important because to develop … I’m not a linguist but to develop a language to be an official language there’s a lot of hard work, a lot of planning and for Tetum to be an official language. A good example is Tagalog in the Philippines which has taken over 100 years and is still developing … So we needed a language first to function every day. Second, also to identify within the whole region. We want to be different. Even though we are very close to Indonesia … we are close to Australia … we are close to all the neighbours in our region but we want to be different. By using Portuguese we can also be a path from Asia to Europe and we have a relationship with the CPLP.* (Helder, Extract 16)

**KI 8: “Portuguese was a wrong decision.” Resisting Portuguese**

Of the nine key informants, two rejected the view that Portuguese played an important role in forming a distinct East Timorese identity:

*My party say that Portuguese is not the best one. Portuguese was a wrong decision. Only 5% of East Timorese can write Portuguese. My party questioned this. In reality after 500 years, only 5% of people can speak Portuguese. Portuguese was a wrong decision.* (Abel, Extract 17)

In the following exchange, André pointed out that in remote areas, the Portuguese language and culture have barely penetrated:

*R. Is Portuguese an integral part of East Timorese identity? This can only be claimed in some urban areas. In rural areas they are hardly touched. It’s only for the urban areas and those that were educated. That’s not much. So I don’t believe the idea that Portuguese has become a part of East Timorese ethnic identity.* (André, Extract 18)

Abel was much more emphatic than André in refuting the claim that Portuguese was intrinsic to East Timorese culture. He strove to maintain a pro-Tetum position whilst arguing that the status of Portuguese should be diminished – a position that followed from his fervently held anti-colonial perspectives. In the following statement, he rejected Portuguese as the language of national identity but acknowledged that Portuguese had a role as the primary lexifier language for Tetum:

*Portuguese is not forming the character of our national identity ... is not forming the character of our national culture. Nothing is there. It is a dead language. Portuguese could only be used to enrich our words, our sentences.* (Abel, Extract 19)
Similarly, in the following exchange, Abel clearly stated his support for having an endogenous language variety as first official language. In his view, Tetum was the primary symbol of East Timorese identity and Portuguese should come after that:

*R. If you win, are you going to change the language policy?*
Yes. We are going to adopt the reality. Tetum is the official language. Leave Portuguese as the second language. We shall not forget our history. We shall find out our own character. Our own national identity and language is the one instrument to express that. (Abel, Extract 20)

Whilst asserting that language decisions had been made on the basis of symbolic and emotional associations with Portuguese, which he described as *all the feeling*, Abel expressed his own sense of ambivalence towards the colonial metropolis and towards Portuguese as its symbol. However, he was far more critical of Portuguese colonialism than his compatriot, Antonio, who was 16 years his senior. Voicing his ambivalent feelings towards the Portuguese colonisers (see Chapter 2) he commented:

> People need to make a very rational, very correct decision. What has been done is because of all the feeling. Sometimes I feel that I am very close to Portugal. Sometimes I feel that Portugal did everything for us but in fact Portugal did nothing during 500 years. (Abel, Extract 21)

Leão voiced a similar ambivalence in a different kind of statement, in which he compared the character of Portuguese and Indonesian colonialism, alluding to the physical brutality of the Indonesian occupation. Like Domingos, this led him to cast Portuguese colonialism in a rosier light: *One thing I will tell you, the Portuguese did not colonise ... it was not a physical colonization ... It was ... an ideological colonisation.*

Some informants talked as if the officialisation of Portuguese was temporary – using qualifying phrases like *for now* and *at the moment*. As will be shown in the individual interview findings, this view resonated strongly in the focus group interview data. These qualifying statements were symbolic of loyalty to Tetum. As Francisco asserted, *at the moment Portuguese is a political and strategic choice for our country.* In another example, Vicente said:

*For now, we have Portuguese as official and Tetum as co-official. This signifies that one day Tetum will be developed enough to occupy the place Portuguese has as an official language. This is the rightful future of Tetum.* (Vicente, Extract 22)
KI 9: “Tetum lacks many things.” Ambivalence towards Tetum

In a statement that alludes to the effects of the progressive loss of status of Tetum, Viriato described the effects on the language as a consequence of the country’s occupation by two hegemonic powers:

Tetum is a language still very poor in vocabulary. Over 450 years of Portuguese administration, Tetum absorbed many words from Portuguese because when we didn’t have a word we looked for it in Portuguese. Thus Tetum developed a form like Portuguese structure. In the 25 years under Indonesia, Tetum suffered from the influence of Indonesian. People mixed Indonesian with Tetum. When people needed a word, Indonesian words competed. So Tetum suffered under two periods, I don’t know if they were periods of damage or growth. (Viriato, Extract 23)

These remarks reflect a widespread attitude towards Tetum amongst the key informants. The participants were virtually unanimous in their opinion that Tetum was not ready to be an official language because they did not regard it as having a grammar or lexicon of its own that was adequate to meet the demands of the modern world. Although most key informants recognised that Tetum was fundamental to East Timorese identity, they commonly dismissed its importance, skating over the issues raised by the questions. All the key informants were Tetum speakers and in their positions could not have failed to be aware that Tetum is already an official language. Yet they frequently spoke of Tetum as if it were still not an official language, making generally negative and disparaging comments about it and showing its low status in their eyes. This attitude is typified both in Helder’s statement that a lot of work needs to be done to make it a truly official language in the future, and in Leão’s view that Tetum is the only language understood in most regions but Tetum lacks many things. André also felt that Tetum was not yet ready to take a place on the world stage:

Tetum is not yet ready to be used as a language, like English, French, Portuguese have a good structure. Tetum could be used as an official language one day but the use of Tetum depends on its development. (André, Extract 24)

André was a strong supporter of Tetum as an official language. He had presented a paper at an NGO Forum in 2000 on options for the official and national languages in which he had strongly advocated that: Tetum should be the first option for official language with Portuguese as a second language while English should be used for business purposes. In view of this, André was surprisingly unconfident about the grammatical and pragmatic capacities of Tetum, acknowledging his own tendency
to fall back on Portuguese as a language of wider communication. He was clearly sensitive to the symbolic importance of linguistic tools such as grammars and dictionaries in enhancing the status of a language in the eyes of its users. In the following comment, André asserted that Tetum was not ready for use in written communication until it had a standard orthographic, lexical and grammatical system:

*I prefer to use Portuguese for official correspondence because if I write in Tetum he probably doesn’t understand what I mean because there are some expressions we haven’t discovered yet ... a system – a semantic system, semiology, syntax, morphology, spelling, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics of Tetum. We need more time to describe/discuss systems.* (André, Extract 25)

KI 10: “How can you identify your nationality? With only a passport?” Attitudes towards Tetum as the language of national identity

Helder, an experienced political activist, upheld the Fretilin party line (see Chapter 5). Referring in the following statement to the shift from supporting Portuguese-only as an official language to supporting both Tetum and Portuguese, he connected present with past policy, thus reinforcing the narrative that the government is fulfilling its language policy mandate of 1975. In fact, his claim glosses over the popular pressure that led to the shift in the status of Tetum from a national to a co-official language:

*Fretilin’s position from its foundation is that Portuguese would be the official language and that Tetum would be the national language to be prepared as an official language. This has always been Fretilin’s position. What Fretilin did in the debate in the Constituent Assembly was to put more attention on Tetum so we decided that Tetum would be an official language.* (Helder, Extract 26)

All the key informants expressed strong attachments to Tetum as a core cultural value and affirmed its importance as the language of national identity. This is encapsulated in Francisco’s assertion that *Tetum is the instrument which can unite the people.* Of all the participants, two in particular expressed very positive views of Tetum, linking it firmly with national identity. Abel and André both rejected the idea that Portuguese played a significant role in East Timorese identity, stating their preference for Tetum as the language of national identity. Abel took a “glass half full” perspective, suggesting that for Tetum to develop as a standard language it is important to use and promote it at government level.

*Even if they adopt Portuguese as an official language they have to realise that Tetum is the first official language. Portuguese is the second. So to implement*
the Constitution as well as possible I think that the government, schools, universities ... they use Tetum as the first language. Tetum has a structure. It only lacks vocabulary. We can borrow words. (Abel, Extract 27)

In contrast, André took a “glass half empty” perspective, reflecting the view that only a standardised grammar will enhance the status of Tetum, and only then can it be used as an official language:

Tetum will only be developed if it gets support not only from the government but from the people. We need people to write the grammar of the language. Only then will it be developed for administration and official correspondence. (André, Extract 28)

One thing that clearly distinguished Abel from his colleagues was his confidence in Tetum. He showed this in several statements. In one instance he stated: Students can study Tetum. It is possible to translate anything into Tetum. Here at our institute we use Tetum. Teachers explain the books in Tetum .... In another instance, he declared: The reality is that people are using Tetum. People use Tetum for debate. The dynamic of the language is growing as we use it. Emphasising the importance of Tetum to the formation of national identity, Abel expressed the tension between local and regional identities:

How can you identify your nationality? With only a passport? I believe the reality is that people use Tetum, Bahasa Indonesia, not Portuguese. They don’t use Portuguese as a way of communication in their daily life ... we realise we have multiplicity, the diversity of ways, of culture, of values and so on but the most important one is how you identify yourself. How you use the language to say: “This is me.” Then you can plan and use other languages ... we should not try and force our people to speak Portuguese. In Dili very few people speak Portuguese. My relatives in Viqueque and Ossu don’t speak Portuguese. I use Tetum and Makasai to talk with them. (Abel, Extract 29)

KI 11: “Portuguese links us to a community of solidarity that we are going to need more and more.” Timor-Leste and its place in the world

Domingos, like Francisco, recognised in Tetum a powerful nation-building tool. When asked why it had been selected to be an official language he replied: It’s the lingua franca. It’s used for social intercourse. It’s the language that unites us. I see Tetum as a powerful unifying force. At the same time, however, on the question of national identity, Domingos articulated clearly the strategic nature of the decision to adopt Portuguese:
Tetum is the language that is mine. It belongs to my people all the way to the bottom and I love Tetum. I love Tetun Terik. I am discovering more and more every day of its intricacies … But Tetum in itself is not going to help us in terms of establishing our place in the world, where we are. (Domingos, Extract 30)

In the following extract, he expressed a keen awareness of the vulnerability of his country to its neighbours’ foreign policy interests, spelling out why membership of the CPLP is seen to protect East Timorese identity in the shadow of its powerful neighbours.

Portuguese links us to a community of solidarity that we are going to need more and more. We can count on solidarity from people in Australia, not from governments. Timor-Leste exists in a precarious situation. We’re a tiny little nation with neighbours who live on one side of us who have not given up wanting us back and we have Australia, who in my view and in the view of many Australians, would like to have Timor-Leste as a successful, independent, sovereign nation on Australia’s terms, as a protectorate of Australia, as an extension of its political solution, of its Pacific policy. (Domingos, Extract 31)

Leão, Helder and Domingos all indicated in their responses how language policy is linked to other global and local political interests, which they perceived, with justification, as threatening to their national sovereignty. This is reflected in Leão’s affirmation.

This struggle on the part of these people against Portuguese is on the part of people who don’t want to know our history. It’s a real war going on against our choice and it’s still going on. They still want other political, economic and cultural options but we have our decision. It’s already been taken. We have our foundations already laid. Let’s begin to build the house. (Leão, Extract 32)

KI 12: “How do we move forward and stand alone?” Negotiating identity

Leão, Domingos and Abel represented three different points on a continuum with respect to perceptions of the role of Portuguese in national identity. At one extreme Leão was unequivocal in his support of Portuguese as a symbol of national identity:

We opted to remain in the great family of nations that speak the Portuguese language. A country without a history has no identity … if we don’t create conditions, people won’t learn. They aren’t interested. We have to put a bit of pressure on people. We have to create conditions. There’s no law to stop people speaking English but we can’t have our freedom and speak Indonesian. (Leão, Extract 33)
At the other extreme, Abel was equally unequivocal in his rejection of Portuguese as a symbol of national identity:

*Let me pose this scenario. If they come [referring to the younger generation of students educated in Indonesian] and are elected to parliament, they will not speak Portuguese. So we are living in this contradiction. A contradiction in terms of language ... a contradiction in terms of the character building of this nation.* (Abel, Extract 34)

Domingos, on the other hand, took a more compromising and inclusive perspective – one that acknowledged local identities in the form of the endogenous languages, prioritising Tetum as a symbol of national unity and taking the focus away from Portuguese:

*How do we move forward and stand alone? What we inherited – Wow! I don’t think we have some of the national commitment from young people that we should have. They have this broad notion about wanting to be independent but there are still so many links that they will never ... unless they build a true national identity ... and an area where we can do that is through the Constitution. Many people’s sense of national identity is very fragile and there are people in whose interests it is to turn them. In the past national unification was built through the iron fist but I don’t subscribe to that. We need to find a new way to consolidate national unity and one of the ways we can do this is through the language policy ... I don’t think we’ve got it quite right yet. The moment we realise that we can unite our people through our native languages and take the heat away from Portuguese and concentrate on Tetum, then I think from that moment on, we are going to see some really - [trails off].* (Domingos, Extract 35)

**KI 13: “I don’t think the young people identify:” Young people and Portuguese**

There were various shades of opinion amongst the key informants as to the existence of an intergenerational split in language attitudes. Vicente denied emphatically that any such split existed:

*R. Is there a lost generation?*

*The idea that there is a lost generation is wrong. 70% of our civil service is young. 50% of police are young. They are not lost.* (Vicente, Extract 36)

Leão saw young people’s resistance to Portuguese as an obstacle to successful language reform. He recognised the need to encourage them to learn the language.

*R. What do you think about those young people who don’t want to learn Portuguese?*

*This is our obstacle. In 1975, I didn’t want to speak Indonesian but the time came when it was a necessity. If I want to resist I have to know what my enemy is saying. 90% of East Timorese speak Indonesian but today we speak Portuguese because we chose to. It was a language policy decision for the*
country and we are using all our force to give youth opportunities to read, write and speak the language. (Leão, Extract 37)

However, André reiterated the view that the decision to adopt Portuguese had alienated young people:

*Portuguese has left behind some cultural affinities. Some people feel that it will show our identity as being colonised by Portuguese. Most of our older generation supports this. Personally, I agree and I am happy to use it but I don’t think the young people identify.* (André, Extract 38)

Finally, in a statement that forms an important binary with Helder’s assertion that if young people were going to improve their prospects they needed to learn Portuguese (see KI E 6), Fransisco defined young people’s identification with Portuguese as a political statement. This view in turn resonates through the student focus group data:

*Young people want to learn Bahasa Indonesia more than English. It is a political option. They could choose to learn Portuguese. Many do not [opt to learn Portuguese].* (Fransisco, Extract 39)

**KI 14: “What we want to do now is strengthen and consolidate the two official languages.” Where the endogenous languages fit in**

Attitudes towards the endogenous languages amongst the key informants varied, but in general showed a low level of concern for their survival and maintenance, particularly in the education system. All the key informants expressed the view that the national languages were safely protected by the Constitution and showed little immediate concern for their development. Vicente pointed out that in its statement of Millennium Goals, the government had prioritised the two co-official languages (see Chapter 6). In view of this, the endogenous languages took much lower priority:

*The indigenous languages will be preserved and developed. There is no concrete policy as yet but steps are being taken to preserve dialects that are endangered. What we want now is to strengthen and consolidate the two official languages.* (Vicente, Extract 40)

Helder also took the view that the endogenous languages would be maintained in the rural domains, giving the following rather non-committal reply when asked how he saw their future:
R. As Tetum develops do you feel there is any threat to the indigenous languages?
I don’t think so. They are still used quite often. Most people speak Tetum, Portuguese and at least one indigenous language. When they go to the districts they use the indigenous languages. We have plans to develop and promote the indigenous languages so that we don’t lose them. We have some very important languages in the indigenous languages. (Helder, Extract 41)

Viriato was more forthcoming when asked about plans to protect and promote the endogenous languages. He stressed that he saw language as fundamental to ethnic identity:

We have no intention of allowing the indigenous languages to disappear. The indigenous languages identify the communities but we have this diversity of languages. A language identifies its people. This ethnolinguistic diversity is a resource, a treasure. Tetum could be enriched by the indigenous languages. They could complement Tetum. (Viriato, Extract 42)

Viriato went on to explain the policy regarding the endogenous languages in education:

When we elaborated the national language policy, there were people who wanted to use the maternal languages in pre-school as the language of instruction. We could not take this decision because the maternal languages are spoken languages. Children only get the chance to learn Tetum and Portuguese in school. They don’t practice it at home. For this reason we decided that school would be the vehicle for the transmission and teaching of Tetum and Portuguese. (Viriato, Extract 43)

Antonio, a speaker of at least five languages, expressed confidence that the vernaculars and local traditions would remain strong and stressed the need to protect these local traditions and languages. In the following comment, he described his own language practices and preference for switching back to a local identity in his use of Mambae as the language of his home:

Tetum is not a threat to the indigenous languages. In some cases Mambae is a threat to Tetum because there are almost more Mambae speakers than Tetum speakers. Tetum is important but I like to speak Mambae at home. (Antonio, Extract 44)

KI 15: “I don’t want Timor-Leste to be a country closed to the world.” Visions for the next 5 – 20 years

All the key informants expressed confidence that in the future Timor-Leste would be a Portuguese-speaking country. Leão, Helder, Vicente and Viriato all expressed the hope that universal primary education would be in place with a critical
mass of tertiary graduates capable of finding work anywhere (Vicente). Whilst all key informants were optimistic that the use of Tetum would increase, they also all predicted that the influence of English would increase and the role of Indonesian would gradually decline in the language ecology. Their aspirations for their country revealed a deep desire for peace, social equity, cultural openness and an absence of national chauvinism – a situation in which multilingualism and negotiated identities might thrive, with appropriate management:

_We want a country that is a garden. A country where people can live in peace, where everyone has a chance, everyone can eat, can study, can love. A country in which people say it was worth the effort to struggle for so long to win this independence._ (Viriato, Extract 45)

All the key informants expressed a strong desire to see democratic and open government. Improved social welfare and education were given high priority: _The market is important but I prefer to see the emphasis on social assistance, education and social service_ (Antonio). Finally, another strong feature in the discourses was the desire to embrace globalisation and see their country open to the world, as shown below.

_We are a very new country. Only three years old. There are many dreams we won’t realise. We were born in an era of globalisation. I don’t want Timor-Leste to be a country closed to the rest of the world. I want to work for a country that is open to the world, that has its door open to the world._ (Leão, Extract 46)

### 7.2.2 Narratives in the Key Informant Discourse

From this data four key narratives unfolded. The narratives ran across the political spectrum. They clearly concerned the construction of identity and, for the most part, confirm those discussed in the previous chapter.

**Narrative 1: “We were a colony of Portugal.”**

The officialising of Portuguese was seen by the majority of key informants to be a long-term commitment and the adoption of Portuguese as an official language is regarded as an affirmation of this commitment. The roots of this decision were seen to lie in the experience of colonialism and resistance and were strengthened by Catholicism and the relationship with the CPLP.
Narrative 2: “We chose to belong to the great family of Portuguese-speaking nations.”

Membership of the Lusophone family of nations was seen as an important political strategy and one that emphasises a Lusophone identity, as opposed to an Asian or Indonesian identity. This was regarded as providing not only a link to Europe through Portugal, but also to other Portuguese-speaking countries through the CPLP.

Narrative 3: “There is some marriage of cultures between the East Timorese and the Portuguese.”

Cultural affinities with Portugal and Portuguese-speaking countries were regarded as important. They were seen to act as a buffer against cultural and linguistic incursions from Indonesian and English. Although English and Indonesian were acknowledged as important, even those who opposed Portuguese as an official language regarded them as extraneous to identity.

Narrative 4: “Tetum is the language that is mine.”

Tetum was unanimously regarded as the language of national identity and unity. However, with the exception of two people, the participants were not confident that Tetum was ready to hold its own without the support of Portuguese as the language of wider communication.

7.3 The Individuals

At this point, we turn to the synthesis and interpretation of the individual interview data. The 26 individual interviews were transcribed and interpreted, following the same procedures as with the key informant and student focus group data. The 26 individuals ranged in age from 20 to 64 years old. They were all educated and employed in some kind of professional or semi-professional capacity. The range of occupations is shown in Table 11. The majority were urbanised residents of the capital, Dili. However, in the majority, the participants had grown up in the districts. Five individuals were interviewed in the rural districts of Ainaro, Atauro and Bobonaro. Unfortunately, practical considerations made it impossible to interview more people outside of the capital. Twelve participants opted to be interviewed in
English, 11 participants opted for Portuguese and 3 opted for Tetum. Table 11 provides a summary of relevant details about the individual participants. All participants were given pseudonyms.

Table 11. *Individual Participants’ Details*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Language of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ana Maria</td>
<td>University graduate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egas</td>
<td>University graduate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmenio</td>
<td>Translator for rural NGO</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tetum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xico</td>
<td>Journalist (Press Officer)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rina</td>
<td>Journalist (Media Officer)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomé</td>
<td>Coordinator NGO</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nono</td>
<td>Coordinator NGO</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tetum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agosto</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulo</td>
<td>Retired ex-Portuguese army</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andreas</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestina</td>
<td>Director of NGO</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs employee</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitorino</td>
<td>Journalist (Radio &amp; TV)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lurdes</td>
<td>Activist and Scout Leader</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favanio</td>
<td>Head of rural NGO</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Tetum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mateus</td>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>Teacher Trainer</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luisa</td>
<td>Coordinator of Literacy</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamim</td>
<td>Commissioner for NGO</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacinta</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldo</td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florindo</td>
<td>Director Primary Education rural</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilherme</td>
<td>Catechist</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José</td>
<td>Retired Nurse</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padre Pedro</td>
<td>Church leader</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the key informants, as politicians, had the gift of oratory, the individuals had the benefit of life experience. The older individuals, who were aged 40 or more, had grown up under Portuguese colonialism. The younger individuals, under the age
of 40, had only experienced life under Indonesian administration. This had a distinct influence on their language dispositions. Language proved to be a particular challenge with the individual interviews. Occasionally, intended meanings were slightly changed or obscured in translation, particularly from Portuguese. Some participants who chose to be interviewed in English, out of courtesy to the interviewer, were hampered by limited grammar and restricted vocabulary. Nevertheless, the strength of their opinions shines through in the data and makes compelling reading. The individual interview data were rich and varied, covering an enormous range of language issues and problems. Time and space only permit a selective interpretation, which captures the predominant themes in the data.

7.3.1 Themes in the Individual Interviews

“The Indonesians brought education, built houses, factories, roads … but they also killed us and caused chaos … Portugal did not do anything but it didn’t destroy anything either.”

(Individual interview, 19th June, 2004)

The individual participants’ direct involvement in the consultation process regarding language policy was limited and very much at a local level. Only three individuals had been directly involved in the process, one in discussions at district level in his capacity as the representative of a student NGO at a youth and student congress held in Baucau in 2000 (at this congress the students had called for Tetum to be a national and official language). The second participant had been involved in his capacity as a senior Church leader. The third participant, as an educator and academic, had been involved in the CNRT conference of 2000 (see Chapter 5). Each Individual (I) theme is coded with the prefix I and numbered (1-4). Themes 3 and 4 are then broken down further into sub-themes related to the main theme, coded with the prefix ST, and numbered within each theme. Extracts are numbered sequentially throughout.

I 1: Polarised attitudes towards Portuguese

There were polarised views of Portuguese across the individual interview sample. Poles of opinion were clearly linked to age, as can be seen in the two
contrasting sets of attitudes. On the one hand, Luisa, aged 45, said: *For me Portuguese is like a first language. It seems very natural to me to use this language.* On the other hand, Ana Maria, aged 20, remarked: *Maybe the next generation will learn Portuguese well, but for us it’s very difficult.*

In their discussions of Portuguese, whether positive or negative, the individual participants tended to see Portuguese in the light of Indonesian colonialism. Aldo’s remark captures not only the participants’ commonly felt negative associations with Indonesian, but also some ambivalence towards Portuguese:

> The Indonesians brought education, built houses, factories, roads … but they also killed us and caused chaos … Portugal did not do anything but it didn’t destroy anything either. (Aldo, aged 50, Extract 1)

Agosto, on the other hand, saw Portuguese from a postcolonial perspective:

> Portuguese is a beautiful language but I disagree with the attitude of the Portuguese here. It’s kind of arrogant and a bit pushy. Young people often react to this feeling that they are being pushed. It’s not so much that they want Indonesian but since the Portuguese impose this – then they react. If you go really deep and ask them if they want to adopt Indonesian, they say “No! No!” They have this reaction …. (Agosto, aged 34, Extract 2)

Carlos, a junior high school teacher in a Mambae speaking rural area, accepted Portuguese because he chose to remain loyal to tradition:

> I would prefer one official language but since it was the decision, I accept it. Not all East Timorese know Portuguese but our parents and grandparents knew it and they also support Portuguese, so I will. (Carlos, aged 42, Extract 3)

In total contrast, Vitorino, a Dili-based journalist, felt no such loyalty to tradition:

> I belong to a generation that did not fully enjoy the time in Portuguese. I spent most of my time in Indonesia. I can say that I don’t agree with the decision to adopt Portuguese. (Vitorino, aged 37, Extract 4)

Vitorino’s comments represent a significant set of counter discourses. His remark above is a mirror image of Antonio’s in the key informant data (see KI E 15). These two extracts embody the fundamental challenge of constructing identity in Timor-Leste. Although they were both native East Timorese, Antonio and Vitorino had been assimilated into quite different and competing identities. In an interesting reflection of Helder’s remark (KI E 6) to the effect that if people were going to
develop themselves they were going to have to learn Portuguese, Vitorino remarked dryly: *Well, it’s in the Constitution – I recognise that it’s in the Constitution - but I’m not obliged to speak or learn it.* Warming to his theme, he went on to justify why he thought the adoption of Portuguese was unrealistic:

*I don’t agree with the [language policy] decision that was made because it was a historical thing ... what historical thing? It was a colonisation relationship ... If we use that then we also have a relationship with Indonesia and this was more recent ... and, also, what is the advantage of adopting that language [Portuguese] in this new era of globalisation? Portugal is far away. Indonesia is here and Australia is near. For me to know Portuguese is not an option. It’s better to know more foreign languages but here to adopt Portuguese as an official language is very unrealistic. It’s not because I don’t like Portuguese people but it’s unrealistic.* (Vitorino, aged 37, Extract 5)

This attitude is similar to that expressed by AFG students (see AFG E 7 in Chapter 8) who were also in their late thirties. It is reflective of the four-language environment in which the exogenous languages compete for status. It is also a good example of the influence of social, economic and political perspectives on personal language choice. Journalists in Timor-Leste are known to be predominantly Indonesian-educated and Indonesian-speaking. They have been subject to official criticism for their lack of support for Official Tetum in their writing (see Journal Nacional Semanario, 3rd April 2005).

Egas, aged 21, identified more with English but, like his peers in the student focus groups, was careful to emphasise his loyalty to the government: *It’s not that I don’t want to learn Portuguese. If I say it like this then it’s like I am refusing my government. I just think that English is much easier to learn than Portuguese.* José, with the wisdom of experience, understood that perceptions of difficulty relate closely to language attitudes:

*Young people say they don’t want to learn Portuguese, because they think it is difficult but there is a lack of will. They speak English badly. They think it is easy but they don’t speak it well. In my opinion it is not because it is difficult, it is a lack of motivation. They want to learn English because they think it is easy but in my opinion one language is no easier than other. To learn a language you have to make an investment.* (José, aged 55, Extract 6)

**I 2: Using Portuguese was an act of resistance.** Language policy as a link with the past

Despite the poles of opinion regarding Portuguese, not one of the individuals disputed its claim to official status. A highly prevalent theme was the recognition of
the role Portuguese had played as the language of resistance. Some of the older individuals, of whom Aldo was an eloquent example, showed a deep appreciation of Portugal’s assistance in the decolonisation process and its support for the cause of East Timorese independence:

'It was Portugal itself that decolonised Timor in order to bring about its independence and Portugal that struggled. Portugal always defended the cause of Timor for its independence to the very end!' (Aldo, aged 50, Extract 7)

Luisa, aged 45, had taught Portuguese and Tetum literacy using bamboo bark and charcoal in the mountains during the early resistance years. She drew on her experience in this simple statement: *Using Portuguese was an act of resistance*, while Aldo voiced a commonly held sense of bitterness towards the English-speaking world on account of its failure to support the East Timorese resistance against the Indonesian incursion:

'Give me an example of a Portuguese speaking country that did not defend our independence. Give me one example! Was there one English speaking country that supported our independence? There was not one!' (Aldo, aged 50, Extract 8)

In the following statement, Aldo expressed the view that the East Timorese owed a debt to the countries of the CPLP and Portugal in recognition of their support:

*In the first place, there was not one Portuguese speaking country that was against our independence – not one. On the contrary, it was the English speaking countries that supported integration ... and after all this, now we have an ongoing situation where if we don’t use the Portuguese language and when we don’t know the Portuguese language, we cannot be an integral part of the CPLP.* (Aldo, aged 50, Extract 9)

Luisa saw the use of Portuguese as part of a link with the past, having a momentum of its own, post-independence: *Portuguese is a link with what happened before and for co-operation, for help. Portuguese will continue to be the official language. It is a gift. It is free.* Where Luisa saw Portuguese as part of a cultural and linguistic inheritance, Aldo regarded the use of Portuguese as honouring its link with the resistance. Aldo also placed high symbolic value on the political links with the CPLP:

'We chose Portuguese because we have already learned it ... to maintain relations with Portuguese speaking countries and to protect ourselves politically. Portuguese is a symbol of the resistance and at the same time a
testimonial to the countries that speak this language, which continued to support our cause until the end. (Aldo, aged 50, Extract 10)

Like the key informants, many of the individual participants shared the view that language policy was a reflection of the country’s historical patrimony:

Portuguese is our history. We were a colony for 450 years. It is part of our history. We know Portuguese (Paulo, aged 55). Like the key informants, many individual participants showed a deep awareness of the historical role of the co-official languages and drew on a national identity founded in the struggle of the resistance movement (see Chapter 5), as the following examples show.

In the time of resistance, Portuguese was used by the resistance to communicate with the outside world and for clandestine activities. (Paulo, aged 55, Extract 11)

Portuguese and Tetum were languages of resistance. Language is used a tool to resist and to be different. (Andreas, aged 35, Extract 12)

Portuguese was used by the resistance in diplomatic relations with our brothers and foreigners who supported the struggle. (Benjamim, aged 46, Extract 13)

The children of the resistance members went to the Externato São José [St Joseph’s Portuguese Day School]. They were the children of the elite. We learned through our games and our experience that we could use a language the occupiers did not understand. (Lurdes, aged 38, Extract 14)

The language policy decision is a reflection of the political reality of Timor-Leste. The Portuguese language was used during the resistance. It was the language that united us. So we had to consecrate the Portuguese language used in the resistance period as the official language of this new nation. (Padre Pedro, aged 64, Extract 15)

I 3: “Every country needs to identify with something they own.” Identity issues

Identity narratives were highly prevalent in the individual interview data. The range of narratives is an indicator of the multiple layers of identity in contemporary Timor-Leste. As Celestina, aged 45, put it: Every country needs to identify with something they own, something unique. In our case we have the rich culture from all the inputs ... from Portugal, Indonesia itself and from international countries – even Australia. Participants spoke from the perspective of their local, regional, urban, rural and national identities. They were united in support of Tetum as a symbol of national identity but were more divided on the issue of Portuguese and its place in East Timorese cultural identity. A number of storylines in the data made this very evident.
Not only did they provide insight into the tension between the local and the global in East Timorese identities, but they also provide clear evidence of their hybridisation. The following sub-sections present these storylines. The first storyline belongs to an East Timorese woman of Chinese origin.

13 ST 1: “Returning to Timor-Leste in 1999 was like coming to a new country.” Multiple identities

Eva, aged 35, personified the hybridisation of East Timorese identity. Eva worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was of Chinese origin. She grew up speaking Hakka and Tetum. She attended a community Chinese primary school in the districts, where she had learned Portuguese as a second language for two hours a day. As an older child, she attended a Chinese junior high school in Dili for two years. The language of instruction was Mandarin (see Chapter 5). Eva also learned English in class and had a private tutor of English every evening. When she was older, her parents sent her to Taiwan to go to school, where she was educated up to university level. In the chaos of 1975, she lost contact with her family and did not hear from them again until 1979. In 1982, she moved to Jakarta and from there, she migrated to Australia. Eva and her parents were finally united in Australia, in 1983. As she remarked, returning to Timor-Leste in 1999 was like coming to a new country. She found she could no longer communicate with Tetum speakers because they spoke Tetum mixed with Indonesian. I could speak Tetum without English influence... that is I didn’t use English words. She also found that the Hakka community now spoke not very good Hakka. Eva also spoke about her multiple linguistic identities in the context of her working life:

... because I work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and should have better command in English ... so I use English mostly, and people are encouraged to use English because it’s relevant to their work. All diplomatic correspondence has to be in English because if we write to another country it has to be in English, apart from the CPLP. Other than that, I use some Portuguese to communicate with staff who only understand Portuguese and some official correspondence in Portuguese but I need a lot of help to write anything in Portuguese. Some can understand English, some don’t. Some can only understand Indonesian and Portuguese so the common language to communicate with everyone is Tetum, although my mother tongue is Hakka. I only use that now at home or with a very few family members, but it is my mother tongue. (Eva, aged 35, Extract 16)
I 3 ST 2: “We don’t use the official languages on Atauro.” Local identities

Gilmenio, aged 24, and Favanio, aged 39, were representative of the strength of local identities. They lived on the island of Atauro and worked in a small but successful eco-tourism enterprise. They both spoke their local languages and neither was a native Tetum speaker. On Atauro they used Indonesian as a lingua franca. As Gilmenio put it:

Our government chose Portuguese and Tetum. The problem is that for a long time we have used the language of our neighbour. The languages have been changed by the use of Indonesian ... it will take a long time to change to these two languages. (Gilmenio, Extract 17)

Gilmenio and Favanio felt that the government was not fully acknowledging the problems of the remote areas, and saw themselves as spokespeople for the island of Atauro. They both stressed that they were not hostile towards Indonesian. Gilmenio explained that he used the three local languages most, as well as Tetum, and he felt that Tetum threatened the local Atauran languages. Favanio, on the other hand, claimed that nobody used the official languages on Atauro. In a reflection of their role as key workers in an English and Indonesian speaking NGO, they expressed the view that English was easier than Portuguese, although neither of them was very confident in English. In fact, as they acknowledged, language issues were primarily a concern for them in the context of the economic development of the Atauro communities. Their attitudes to English were probably influenced by the fact that they worked for a local NGO with an English-speaking advisor and that large numbers of their visitors were English-speaking.

Another local storyline belongs to Guilherme, a catechist aged 57, and Florindo, a district primary education director aged 50. Both were Kemak speakers who lived in a remote area near the Indonesian border. Florindo and Guilherme confirmed the stories of what the Indonesians did if they heard one speaking Portuguese: If we spoke Portuguese, they [the Indonesians] would slap our face and call us kepala dua [two-headed]. They assumed we were spying for the resistance (Florindo). They were both fluent Portuguese speakers and expressed strong loyalty to Portuguese. They did not speak Indonesian, despite living within walking distance of the border with West Timor. Under Indonesian occupation, they had continued to
use their native Kemak, with Tetum as the lingua franca. Florindo, in particular, saw the United Nations as liberators of his country from what he called *Indonesian colonialism.*

The loyalty to local languages across the sample is evidence of the vitality of the endogenous languages. Some participants felt that Tetum represented a threat to the status of their local languages. However, most were confident that their native languages would survive. Tomé, aged 30, who came originally from LosPalos in the far eastern end of the island, felt that because Tetum was receiving so much attention, the local languages might be marginalised: *Tetum may make the other languages left behind.* In contrast, Nono feared that Tetum was losing ground to Portuguese:

> Portuguese is taking priority over Tetum. This has a negative effect on students and teachers in schools. The government should develop and reconstruct Tetum and invest in its development. (Nono, aged 33, Extract 18)

Most participants felt that the endogenous languages were safe because they had a niche in the ecology. As José put it:

> The growth of Tetum will not affect the dialects because people use the dialects in their locality and most people already know Tetum...I think it is impossible that the indigenous languages will disappear. (Jose, aged 55, Extract 19)

Aldo, aged 50, who worked in the Ministry of Education, stressed that there was a need for *resource books in Tetum.* As far as the endogenous languages were concerned, Aldo was confident of their survival, stating: *Mambae will not suffer because of Tetum because people use Mambae and Tetum in different situations.* Ana Maria and Egas, both in their twenties, felt that there was no threat to the indigenous languages: *There is no controversy about Mambae being overlooked, for example.* Ido appreciated the importance of preserving local identities as an expression of identity, commenting: *We need authenticity and over the next two to five years we can do this ... and we can help everyone to understand this ... we can do what we can do to enrich the indigenous languages.*

Tomé echoed the voices in the student focus group data in stating that he felt strongly that he wanted to see East Timorese identity validated through a focus on developing Tetum:

> I think language is important for us to express our ideas ... you know ... freedom of expression and all that kind of stuff ... and I think that if the understanding of one language is not complete, it’s very difficult for you to express your ideas ... and ... well ... I can freely express my ideas in Tetum ...
so there should be one language that we can use and we can develop it so that it makes the expression of ideas more powerful and more clear .... (Tome, aged 30, Extract 20)

Tomé went on to make a case for promoting the local languages as expressions of identity and culture, in the following remark:

I think that, for me, if we can choose, we can suggest to put a lot of concentration in developing our local languages, with local languages as national languages and also our identity and our culture. (Tome, Extract 21)

I 3 ST 3: “Our generation likes Portuguese culture:” Assimilation

José, aged 55, expressed the same negative disposition towards Indonesian and the same positive disposition towards Portuguese culture as Aldo (50) and his wife, Jacinta, in her late forties. José, Aldo and Jacinta regarded Indonesian as the language of the invader. José’s sense of identity had clearly been shaped by his schooldays under Portuguese colonialism:

The government is now insisting that everything will be taught in Portuguese [in order] to diminish this language. It is the language of the invader. People don’t like this...Indonesian was used here under their domination. Let’s see what the government does to get rid of this language.
R. Why don’t you have this feeling towards the Portuguese language?
It’s different. It was the administration. Indonesian was learned by force. Portuguese was not forced on the people. The Portuguese created a primordial connection – a close relationship. I was educated by the Portuguese. I learned about the Portuguese empire. (José, aged 55, Extract 21)

Aldo and Jacinta were happy to state that they identified strongly with Portuguese culture:

R. Can you tell what you think is the role of Portuguese culture in East Timorese culture?
A. Religion. All our names are Portuguese. Our food ... for example, sopa, bife, calderada ... those in the mountains have their own customs that are not influenced by Portuguese.
J. Our generation likes Portuguese culture. (Aldo & Jacinta, Extract 22)

Aldo also pointed out an important and continuing legacy of assimilationist colonial policy—the fact that many East Timorese continue to receive pensions from the Portuguese government to this day. In the following comment he showed that he regarded this act of generosity. Clearly, it is one reason for his positive dispositions towards Portuguese:
Portugal still pays us. We still receive money from Portugal. Former functionaries still receive a salary even if they worked one year for Portugal and 20 years for Indonesia. (Aldo, Extract 23)

Agosto, who had studied and worked in the United States, looked at the question of culture from the viewpoint of a younger generation, whilst nevertheless respecting the views of his elders:

R. How far is Portuguese integrated in Timorese culture?
A. (laughs) It’s very interesting. I’m not taking for granted or whatever from Portugal. I have mixed criticisms but because of such a tough pressure ... intimidation from Indonesia at the time ... people identify themselves ... you know, you think “Bloody Indonesia”...you know ... so you identify yourself differently with this group and you identify not only based on your culture you identify with your former master ... of course we have also the Church ... you can’t deny that our parents identify with Portuguese. Our generation don’t really care but those who grew up in Portuguese time, they feel quite strong even though you question them the logic is not really true ... but they have this sense. (Agosto, aged 34, Extract 24)

However, not all the younger participants felt ambivalent about the role of Portuguese. Lurdes, aged 35, wholeheartedly shared the opinions of her elders:

R. Which language represents the cultural identity of Timor-Leste?
For cultural identity, historical identity and religion I think that it is Portuguese. Why this is so is because of this historic resistance. The history of these 450 years. The Catholic Mass which is here and after they will develop Tetum on the shoulders of Portuguese. (Lurdes, Extract 25)

Moreover, Lurdes held a sophisticated and politicised view of social identity:

For me because of our history, our leaders, especially the resistance, used Portuguese like a weapon to defend and struggle against the enemy. Secondly, the history in which we lived for almost 24 years to identify a people here. It is not a Portuguese people but a Timorese people who have this characteristic, who have this identity different from the Pacific or Asia because Timor is like this - between the Pacific and Asia. For me, I have an interest in defending this language solely for these two reasons. (Lurdes, Extract 26)

I 4 ST 4 “Our logic was to use a language that people could understand.”

The Catholic Church and identity

The final words concerning identity should go to a representative of the Church. Padre Pedro, as a senior member of the clergy, had taken part in the promotion of Tetum by the Catholic Church. His account of the evolution of Tetum into a symbol of identity makes fascinating reading and adds a personal dimension to the historical accounts (see Chapter 5):
Before 1975, before Vatican 2, we used Latin ... but after Vatican 2 when they allowed the liturgy to be said in the vernaculars, they allowed Portuguese in the Mass. The Catechism was always in Tetum. Even priests from abroad used the Tetum Catechism. Homilies and lessons were always in Tetum even when said by foreign or European priests. They used Portuguese in the colleges and seminaries ... they prayed in Portuguese. (Padre Pedro, aged 64, Extract 27)

Padre Pedro went on to talk about the role of Tetum in the liturgy after the Indonesian invasion. He also made some interesting points about the logic of the Church compared to that of the Government in promoting Tetum:

After the invasion, the Church wrote the whole liturgy in Tetum. The Indonesians did not show a great reaction because they knew the Church was a big institution with a lot of influence ... so they did not try to stop us. When we used Tetum, we translated the whole Mass and the sacraments for baptism and marriage. It was a decision to show our identity. The Indonesian Mass was used only by Indonesians. This helped the development of Tetum and helped the survival of Tetum.

R. Did this provide a solace or support for the people?
Yes but implicit not explicit. The decision to use Tetum was made by the Church. The politicians had their own logic. Maybe a logic different from ours. Our logic was to use a language that the people could understand. The logic of the government was to help Timor fit into the Lusophone community and gain access to other countries in the world, including Europe. (Padre Pedro, Extract 28)

I 4: “In 5 to 10 years I want to see Tetum being spoken across Timor as the language of national identity and as a cultural symbol and why not?” Visions for the future

In their visions and aspirations for the future, the individual participants were unanimous in their high aspirations for Tetum to take up its true role as the language of national identity. They talked about the wish to see it developed and its status improved. Some were cynical about whether this would happen while others were optimistic. Nono, aged 33, was the elected coordinator of a student representative body. He was passionate in his advocacy of the development of Tetum: Tetum is our identity ... a symbol of our identity ... it is the language symbolic of the East Timorese. Making an important point about the need to engage young people in the standardisation of Tetum, Nono added:

After independence the decision was made to develop Tetum but this hasn’t happened in reality. There have been no explanations or clarifications for young people of the methods and strategies for developing our Tetum. (Nono, aged 33, Extract 29)
Nono’s views were shared by the key informant, Abel (see KI E 27), who argued that the heavy investment in Portuguese was eclipsing both Tetum and the indigenous languages: *If we want to develop Tetum - Tetum should be the first ... the government should invest in socialising Tetum at all levels.*

The participants were unequivocal in their attachment to Tetum as a symbol of social and national identity, as evidenced in the following illustrative examples:

- *Tetum was very symbolic for young people.* (Agosto, Extract 30)
- *People will choose Tetum over Portuguese. Only the minority will choose Portuguese.* (Nono, Extract 31)
- *We need to develop our Tetum language. We have a large vocabulary and we can take from Portuguese.* (Tomé, Extract 32)
- *Tetum is the lingua franca and the language that can unify the country.* (Mateus, Extract 33)
- *In five years’ time I want to see Tetum standardised and well-developed ... the national anthem is in Portuguese. I think it should be in two languages.* (Andreas, Extract 34)
- *I want to see Tetum more developed to become our true official language.* (Rina, Extract 35)

There was also widespread appreciation of the importance of raising the prestige of Tetum. As Nono said, *The government must make Tetum the first in writing and in speaking.* Whilst the individual participants recognised the urgent need to standardise Tetum, they were noticeably less inclined than the key informants to denigrate Tetum. They used much less derogatory language, as can be seen in Benjamim’s choice of the word *evolving:* *It’s important to use two languages because Tetum is still evolving.* The following extracts stand in contrast to the key informants’ descriptions of Tetum as weak, undeveloped, unready and impoverished:

- *At the moment, we are adapting the languages and using Portuguese but later we can use the national languages when they are adapted. If we use Tetum only now, there will be difficulties with numbers and calculation in administration ... we could use it after 15 years or so when it is developed.* (José, Extract 36)

- *I think the government has a duty to develop Tetum. History proves that failed languages were marginalised. In our case we had a gap of 25 years. There is a huge demand for Tetum. We need to put a policy and a program in place to develop Tetum. I’m confident that we can develop Tetum as an official language.* (Agosto, Extract 37)

- *For me, Tetum is the best way for the people of Timor-Leste because it is used by most people of all ages. Portuguese is only known by people who learned it before.* (Egas, Extract 38)
The individual participants understood the relationship between language and identity clearly. As Benjamim, aged 46, put it:

*Learning Portuguese is a way of developing an identity. The government should make a very big investment in making this happen.* (Benjamim, Extract 39)

They also recognised that it was possible for different languages to express global and local identities: As Aldo suggested:

*We should use the three languages in this way: English – for the whole world; Portuguese – for the countries that helped us and Tetum for our identity.* (Aldo, Extract 40)

Across the sample group, awareness of the international implications of language policy was well understood. Andreas declared:

*My vision for Timor-Leste is for it to be a developed country. Timor-Leste is between two giants [referring to Australia and Indonesia]. We need to manage the giants.* (Andreas, Extract 41)

Celestina perceived Tetum as a symbol of East Timorese avoidance of the dependency on Australia that has been the fate of certain Pacific polities:

*We don’t just want to be one of the Pacific countries where Australia can come and bulldoze its way through. At least there will be one barrier that will make them stop and that will be the language.* (Celestina, Extract 42)

Lastly, the participants placed high value on the spirit and values that they felt were a positive legacy of the struggle for independence. Several participants said that they wanted to preserve these values and indicated in their conversations that they tended to associate Tetum with these values as the true expression of East Timorese identity. Participants in their thirties expressed these associations most strongly, as typified here by Agosto and Nono:

*We shouldn’t lose the spirit of the struggle – the spirit of social solidarity.* (Agosto, Extract 43).

*Solidarity thinking ... humanity thinking ... is something we learned from our past... we need links with neighbouring countries but to help, not for political interests.* (Nono, Extract 44).

Celestina has the last word here in her fervent assertion: *In five to ten years I want to see Tetum being spoken across Timor as the language of national identity and as a cultural symbol - and why not?* (Celestina, Extract 45)
Once a decision is made – enforce it – make it happen.” Final comments on language policy

Three final comments serve to close this chapter. All of them express the desire to see language policy become substantive. Antonio wanted to see the development of Tetum become more of a reality:

*We haven’t seen the development of Tetum ... well, we have this dictionary and this orthography or whatever, but still it’s not well-developed. From my understanding it’s not just take it easy.* (Antonio, Extract 46)

Padre Pedro recognised that language policy should not just benefit the elite if it is to be successful:

*This [the language policy] was a political decision but they [the government] need to make this decision a reality. If [they don’t] only an elite, an old guard elite, will speak it [Portuguese]. This is a decision that must be accompanied by a realistic and effective policy in order to bring about change ... if not – it is a dead letter.* (Padre Pedro, Extract 47)

Eva’s phlegmatic comment, like Florindo’s (see I 3 ST 2), was a stern reminder of the realities of enforced language shift:

*R. Is the language policy working well?  
E. Any language chosen will need a period of developing and training. Once a decision is made – enforce it – make it happen ... Bahasa Indonesia ... we were forced to speak it ... we got no choice ... if you don’t answer in Bahasa they would slap your face and insist you use Bahasa.* (Eva, Extract 48)

Eva’s final comment showed a keen understanding of the scale of the challenge:

*In my opinion, any language that is chosen for official or national language is going to be a challenge because it is a very multilingual society here, even without the presence of internationals, because of the history and background of the people and almost an entire generation gap between the people who were displaced all over the world after 1975 and before 1999 ... so whatever language was chosen was going to have to be developed and built up over a period of time.* (Eva, Extract 49)

7.3.2 Narratives in the Individual Discourse

Whilst attitudes to Portuguese amongst the individual participants were polarised, there was not the universal hostility to Portuguese that might be expected if one were to believe the Australian Press. Not one of the individual participants...
wanted to remove Portuguese as an official language. Moreover, whilst several participants felt that Indonesian had a practical role as a widely spoken language, no one advocated its reinstatement as an official language. The individual participants valued English as a language of international communication and technological development but not as an official substitute for Portuguese. They expressed strong loyalty and high aspirations for Tetum. Most participants were unconcerned as to the survival of the endogenous languages because they felt that these languages would continue in use in their particular domains. However, several younger participants expressed the desire to see the local languages recognised, protected and developed as literary languages. These participants also thought that lexical borrowing into Tetum from the endogenous languages should take higher priority than from Portuguese. Some participants felt that Portuguese was being favoured over Tetum and some expressed concern that because the Portuguese language was being promoted all over the country through the education system, Tetum was losing ground.

Seven key narratives were extrapolated from the data. The narratives were highly congruent with the key informant narratives and the official discourses with respect to the role and status of Portuguese in the ecology. The narratives concerning Portuguese were more contested. While, there was greater acceptance of Indonesian as a language of wider communication, there was intense loyalty towards Tetum as the language of national identity, together with high aspirations for the improvement of its prestige and status.

**Narrative One:**  “Portuguese is a link with what happened before.”

Participants showed a deep awareness of Portuguese as a symbol of their country’s historical relationship with Portugal.

**Narrative Two:**  “Portuguese was the language of resistance.”

Although several participants also acknowledged that Tetum and Indonesian were also used in the struggle for independence, there was strong consensus on the role of Portuguese as a symbol of collective resistance to Indonesian occupation.
Narrative Three: “Portuguese is the language of the countries that supported us.”

The older participants in particular felt keenly aware that it was only Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking countries that supported them in the struggle for independence.

Narrative Four: “Our elders identify with Portuguese.”

Whilst the younger participants did not unanimously identify as strongly as their elders with Portuguese, they acknowledged and respected their elders’ opinions.

Narrative Five: “Indonesian was the language of the coloniser/invader.”

Whilst some participants had more positive attitudes towards Indonesian than others did, it was the Indonesian language rather than the Portuguese language that participants tended to describe as the language of the coloniser or invader. A significant few also saw Portuguese in this way but they were in the minority.

Narrative Six: “The government has a duty to develop Tetum.”

The participants were unanimous in wanting to see the status and prestige of the Tetum language raised to become a political and social reality.

Narrative Seven: “The government should make a big investment in making language policy happen.”

Many participants felt strongly that they wanted to see language policy become substantive and they wanted to see practical outcomes especially for Tetum.

This chapter has reported the themes and narratives extrapolated from the key informant and individual interview data. The data show the multiple, overlapping and situational nature of the participants’ linguistic identities. The data illustrate the symbolic associations of the languages in their ecology for the participants. The data also clearly show the influences that have shaped the participants’ language dispositions (habitus). The following chapter reports and analyses the data from the student focus groups in Dili and Australia.
Chapter 8 Negotiating Identity (ii):
The Student Focus Group Interview Data

8.0 Student Focus Group Interview Data Collection

In this chapter, the voices from the student focus group data are synthesised and interpreted. Student focus group interviews were selected as a means of obtaining a range of young people’s perspectives. The focus group participants, who were young people in post-secondary education, constituted a fundamentally different sort of sample from the key informants and individuals. Whereas the key informants and the individual participants had completed their education and were informed, articulate and mature, the student focus group participants possessed few of these attributes. Nevertheless, many of them were already experienced political activists. Students played a leading role in the pro-independence demonstrations and campaigns of the 1990s. The student participants were young and lacking in world knowledge as a consequence of an education disrupted by conflict and violence. They were high stakeholders in that they stood to gain or lose potential employment and/or study opportunities as a consequence of language policy.

Intersubjective understandings of language and identity were highly convergent across both sets of focus groups. However, understandings of the reasons for language policy were, perhaps understandably, hazy, even allowing for the interviewer’s limited Tetum and their difficulties with English. Although some individuals were aware of the process by which the language policy decision had come about via the Constituent Assembly, they were only able to talk about consultation in very general terms. This is reflective of the typically top-down nature of government decisions about language policy and planning—a phenomenon by no means unique to Timor-Leste. On the other hand, their levels of language awareness were high compared with young people in other more monolingual societies, such as Australia, where language politics are generally less visible and in the public eye. The student focus group identity discourses, in some very significant respects, ran counter to those of the leadership as seen in the key informant data and in Chapter 6.
Typically of unrehearsed speech, there was a great deal of circularity and repetition in the discussions as well as some complex and highly interactive exchanges which were almost impossible to transcribe verbatim. For these reasons the participants’ responses were pared down in translation to the bare bones of what they were saying. Many participants opted to use English but this is unsurprising because three of the Dili-based focus groups were studying in the English Department of the Faculty of Education, UNTL, and the Australian-based focus groups were all studying in English-medium universities in Queensland.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part covers the focus groups interviewed in Dili, referred to as Dili Student Focus Groups (DFG) 1 to 5 and the second part covers the focus groups interviewed in Australia, referred to as AusAid Student Focus Groups (AFG) 6 to 8.

### 8.1 Dili Student Focus Groups 1 – 5

Student focus groups (FG) 1 to 4 chose to be interviewed in English. FG 1 was a group of four young men and one young woman, from Suai in the far west, close to the border with Indonesia. They were second- and third-year students following a range of subjects at UNTL. FG 2 was a group of five young women who were third-year English students in the Faculty of Education and FG 3 was a group of five young men from the same faculty. The members of FG 1 to 3 were all well acquainted with the interviewer, who had been their teacher in 2001. Allowing for the possibility that this might have influenced their responses, the data findings indicate that they did not differ in any obvious way from those of the other two focus groups who did not know the interviewer at all. FG 4 was a male group of five members of the same study association. FG 5, nine young men and one young woman, were members of a beginners’ English class at the School of Non-Formal Education in Dili. They chose to be interviewed in Tetum. Table 12 provides a summary of the Dili student focus group details.
Table 12. Dili Student Focus Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group Number</th>
<th>Gender mix</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Language of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18–27 years</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tetum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2 Themes in the Dili Student Focus Group Data

“We have to give more space to our identity.”
Student focus group interview, 25th June 2004

As in Chapter 7, the recurrent themes extrapolated from the data are discussed under headings based on in-vivo codes and interpreted by searching for the interplay between the themes and the official discourses. A set of seven common narratives was identified. These narratives overwhelmingly concerned language and identity. Each theme and extract is coded with the prefix DFG and numbered.

DFG 1:  “Portuguese is used for administration [and] diplomacy but Tetum is used by everybody.” How the student focus groups understood the language policy decision

FG 5 acknowledged the role of Portuguese in the formal registers of administration and diplomacy. They also acknowledged its historical associations and its role in the resistance movement. They raised the issue of the need to modernise Tetum and they recognised the strong relationship of their political leaders with the Portuguese language. In these respects, there was little disparity between the focus group discourses and those of the key informants. FG 1 had similar understandings to FG 5 as to the reasons why Portuguese and Tetum were made co-official languages:

DFG Extract 1
R. Why did the government decide to have two official languages?
S1. Portuguese is used for administration, diplomacy but Tetum is used by everybody ... I never learned Portuguese in my life because I was born in...
Indonesian times but because it was chosen as an official language I have to learn it.
S2. Our leaders were educated in Portuguese and speak it better than English.
S3. Some European countries can use Portuguese. Portuguese is related to the past. There are some cultural links between East Timor and Portugal.
S4. Tetum is not developed to be an official language but many people use this language.
S5. Tetum is our own language but it needs to be developed. Politically Portuguese can be used in diplomacy and administration. Portuguese was used by the resistance and also in diplomacy. Those in the leadership—the only foreign language they speak is Portuguese.
S6. Portuguese also helps our relationship in Europe.

The focus group discourses ran counter to both the official and the key informant discourses when it came to issues of identity. Neither FG 1 nor 5 placed any value on Portuguese as having any part in their social identity, valorising instead its historical role and its role as the language of wider communication. They were also more openly critical of the language policy, stating quite explicitly that they thought it would be open to change in the future:

DFG Extract 2
S1. It is better to use Tetum than Portuguese because more people can understand. Our government took this decision because it points to our relationship with another country. Portuguese creates a relationship with another language.
S2. These two languages were chosen for historical reasons. Portugal was here for 450 years ... is very good for us because we can cooperate with other countries. Most Timorese speak Indonesian. Portuguese is good for us—we can have a lot of friends in other countries ... [in] Europe.
S3. We speak Portuguese and Tetum in Timor. I think many people understand Tetum but not many speak Portuguese. The government made this decision because Tetum is not yet perfect. All of our leaders speak Portuguese and I think not forever we will use Portuguese but after 5 to 10 years it will change. The majority of youth in Timor-Leste speak Indonesian, English and Tetum so I think it is very bad to have Portuguese as our official language.
S4. Our government made this choice because first for cooperation with other Portuguese-speaking countries. Second, we need Portuguese help. Third, Tetum is imperfect because many words or names of things that we don't have so we use Portuguese ... if our linguists complete our language so maybe we will use as our official language.

The participants in FG 2 had very little to say when asked about the reasons for choosing two official languages. They chose to focus instead on the problems of learning and using Portuguese:

DFG Extract 3
S1. [After a long silence] ... Most older people already speak Portuguese.
S2. ... The Resistance used Portuguese language. It is also used in [the] CPLP and they [presumably the government] need to develop Tetum.
S3. ... This is because of the political situation. Our country is involved in [the] CPLP. First, this country was colonised by Portugal. Portuguese is good for older people but for younger people it’s difficult. We need a lot of time to learn it.
S1. ... Our government chose Tetum because most of the people speak it.
S4. ... Tetum cannot be official language because it is not a complete language. Portuguese is official but it makes people confused.

FG 3 also made it clear that they did not identify with Portuguese:

DFG Extract 4
S1. Our government chose Portuguese because ... if Timor-Leste use Portuguese means the country will be involved with Portuguese speaking countries ... also our government chose Tetum because it’s our own language.
S2. (Nods) It was a political decision ... also because of the past as I hear and the symbolism of Portuguese.
S3. The government chose Portuguese because they helped the government.
S1. Actually ... I don’t understand why government chose Portuguese. Our generation cannot speak Portuguese and we don’t understand it.
S4. Most of us agree we don’t want to use Portuguese. Maybe our government want to get something from CPLP.

Although FG 4 demonstrated somewhat clearer understandings than other groups about why the two languages had been made official, like the other groups, their talk frequently returned to their difficulties with Portuguese and what were clearly, for them, its negative associations with colonialism:

DFG Extract 5
S1. Tetum represents a regional language of Timor-Leste. It also stands for Timorese identity. We use it as a lingua franca. Some places use their own dialects. Portuguese is our official language based on our history ... For myself Portuguese is a bit hard ... We also have CPLP.
S2. Tetum is our national and official language. I never learned Portuguese so for me the decision to set up Portuguese as an official language is quite difficult.
S3. Tetum represents the characteristics that form the identity of the people of Timor. Also there are many dialects ...and Tetum.
S4. Tetum ... I agree with the choice of Tetum completely 100%. Tetum is a lingua franca. Timor has linguistic diversity but many people only speak Tetum. About Portuguese–I don’t like it. I don’t agree with the decision. I don’t think that’s a reason for choosing Portuguese now. I don’t like the Portuguese history of Timor. Portugal did not educate the Timorese people fairly. I also think the Timorese people are not happy because they have no money and no formal education. Portuguese were here for many years and did not develop our human resources and now they want Portuguese as an official
language but I agree that Tetum language has many weaknesses so it’s OK to choose Portuguese as co-official language.

DFG 2: “I think not forever we will use Portuguese.” Attitudes to Portuguese

In general, the focus group participants demonstrated a lack of willingness to invest in learning the Portuguese language. One of the most interesting features of the focus group discourse was the widely held belief that Portuguese might only be official for a short period. This is reflected in statements such as: *I think not forever we will use Portuguese but after 5 to 10 years it will change* (DFG: E 2) and *It’s not permanent … we think it will change. We think it’s possible that in 10 years Portuguese may not be an official language* (DFG: E 13). The participants in FG 2 all thought that Portuguese might only be official for about 10 years (see DFG: E 6). In the following exchange, the young women in FG 2 expressed their concerns about not having good command of Portuguese, yet at the same time, they indicated a low level of motivation to learn it:

**DFG Extract 6**

S1. We think that Portuguese may only be official for a short time … maybe 10 years. After that we may only use Tetum (all murmur in agreement).
R. But in maybe in only 1 year you’ll speak good Portuguese?
S1. Most young people don’t want to learn Portuguese.
R. Do you not find learning Portuguese easy because of Tetum?
S2. Some words, yes, but writing is difficult. Grammar, writing, punctuation are all difficult.
R. What other results do you have because of the language policy?
S1. When someone speaks Portuguese we don’t want to listen. We just switch off.

The students’ attitudes towards Indonesian stood in marked contrast to those of the key informants. The statement about Indonesian, quoted in DFG: E 7 below, is absolutely central to the focus group identity discourse. It encapsulates a key difference in attitude between the key informants and the focus groups. It is taken up again later in this section.

**DFG Extract 7**

R. So does everybody agree that Timor-Leste should have two official languages?
S1. Yes. Maybe in 20 years we can change Portuguese.
S2. Maybe in 20 years we can change Portuguese. On the other hand in the administrative system now we need Portuguese. Indonesian is better. We
haven’t rejected Indonesian because we don’t want to be Indonesian. It’s because our leaders don’t speak it. (Focus Group1)

FG 5 made some cogent points about how they felt disenfranchised by not speaking Portuguese. One statement in particular stands out because it is such a strong statement about young people’s identity and sense of inclusion in the new nation: We cannot apply this Portuguese language. It’s hard to join the development plan because we don’t understand it (DFG: E 8). This statement forms a significant triad with two important key informant perspectives, namely Helder’s statement (see KI: E 6) that if young people want to develop themselves they were going to have to learn Portuguese and Fransisco’s claim (see KI: E 39) that young people are making a political statement in refusing to learn Portuguese:

DFG Extract 8
R. What are the negative and positive aspects of the language policy?
S1. Negative is that at the present time we can’t use it and the people in the villages don’t speak Portuguese.
S2. We cannot apply this Portuguese language. It’s hard to join the development plan because we don’t understand it. So for this generation it’s very difficult. We can’t use Portuguese outside school. We don’t use it at home.
S3. The positive effects are just for those who know Portuguese. The negative is for us who don’t know it. We are trying to learn—we have to.

In an exchange that appears to support these sentiments, participants in FG 2 expressed concern that they might miss opportunities as a consequence of not being able to speak Portuguese. One young woman gave a specific and graphic example:

DFG Extract 9
S2. My father forced me to learn Portuguese at the Portuguese Day School [St Joseph’s Portuguese Day School]. When I went for a job as a secretary at the Portuguese embassy but I didn’t get a job because my Portuguese was down.
R. So do you miss opportunities because of not speaking Portuguese?
S2. Yes, sometimes. If there are certain positions, they will leave me out.

However, it is important to put these concerns into perspective. Although both sets of focus groups had radically different language attitudes from those of the key informants, the transcripts showed that, even whilst indicating that they were not altogether happy with the language policy decision, the participants invariably followed up with some kind of statement that showed they were prepared to comply with and respect the Constitution, as may be seen in the following examples: I never learned Portuguese in my life but because it was chosen as an official language I have
to learn it (DFG: E 1) and later in the same focus group in this statement by another participant: *We are trying to learn—we have to (DFG: E 8) and I’m not happy with this decision but I have to live with this system* (DFG: E 10). When FG 2 was asked: *So are you happy with the position?* (as set out in the Constitution) despite their complaints about Portuguese they all replied: *Yes. We accept it.* In the following exchange, FG 1 indicated that they accepted the officialisation of Portuguese, not because they identified with it but because they thought it would help the development of Tetum. This perception of Portuguese can also be seen in DFG: E 1 and E 2.

*DFG Extract 10*
R. So does everybody agree that Timor-Leste should have two official languages?
S1. I am not happy with this decision but I have to live with this system.
S2. I don’t want Portuguese as an official language because Portuguese is too difficult for Timorese.
S3. I think Portuguese and English will help Tetum to develop. Tetum mixes perfectly with Portuguese. Portuguese has adapted to Timor-Leste. Portuguese will help Tetum to become strong (all nod in agreement).

While few participants in the focus groups identified personally with Portuguese, the idea that Portuguese was useful to support and develop Tetum was a consistent feature. It can be seen in the following assertions: *I agree that Tetum language has many weaknesses so it’s OK to choose Portuguese as co-official language* (DFG: E 5) and *Tetum is imperfect because many words or names of things that we don’t have so we use Portuguese* (DFG: E 2).

Some participants supported the commonly held view that there is an intergenerational divide over identification with Portuguese. A participant in FG 5 reflected this view in the statement that: *Portuguese is not our native language ... leave it for the older generation* (DFG: E 13). Other participants in FG 5 took up the intergenerational issue in the following exchange:

*DFG Extract 11*
S1. I want to use English and Indonesian because Portuguese is just used by the old generation but the new generation want to use Tetum and Indonesian (the group members all nod in agreement)
S2. ... Because the post ’75 generation know this language.
S1. Portuguese is difficult. We never studied it.
DFG 3: “We haven’t rejected Indonesian because we don’t want to be Indonesian. It’s because our leaders don’t speak it.” Attitudes to Indonesian and English

The focus group participants had more pragmatic attitudes towards Indonesian than did the key informants. They did not see the maintenance of Indonesian as either a political or an identity issue. Many focus group members emphasised the fact that they had been educated in Indonesian and some expressed a preference for Indonesian. This is reflected in the following highly significant statement which both comments on elite closure and runs directly counter to the key informants’ identity discourses: We haven’t rejected Indonesian because we don’t want to be Indonesian. It’s because our leaders don’t speak it (DFG: E 7). They also acknowledged the importance of English: English should be a second language rather than Portuguese because Portuguese is just focussed on the CPLP. With English we can reach the whole world (FG 5). However, considering that many participants were competent English speakers, the focus group participants did not advocate strongly that the status of either English or Indonesian in the ecology should change. Their comments seemed rather to reflect the view that speaking another language widens options.

DFG Extract 12
S1. English is important. If we can’t speak English we can’t go to Australia. Indonesian can be used for business and commerce.
S2. The present generation use it a lot rather than English or Portuguese. Indonesian is used a lot in Malaysia. Indonesian—we need to learn Indonesian. We use it in schools. It is good for those who can’t speak English or Portuguese ... they can go to Indonesia rather than Australia (Focus Group 5).

DFG 4: “Portuguese is OK because it gives access to other countries so I don’t mind if we have Portuguese.” Portuguese as the language of wider communication

As has already been shown, the Dili student focus groups did not see Portuguese as integral to social identity, referring to it across the groups as the language that enabled communication with other countries, particularly Europe and the CPLP. In a range of responses, a significant number of participants indicated that their view of Portuguese, whilst not necessarily integrative, certainly acknowledged Portuguese as a key component in international relations. This is reflected in such comments as: The government took this decision because it points to our relationship
with another country (DFG: E 2, S1), Portuguese is good for us—we can have a lot of friends in other countries—especially Europe (DFG: E 2, S2), Our government made this choice because of first, cooperation with other Portuguese-speaking countries and second, we need Portuguese help (DFG: E 2, S4), Our government chose Portuguese because ... if Timor-Leste use Portuguese means the country will be involved with Portuguese-speaking countries (DFG: E 4, S1), and Portuguese helps our relationship in Europe (DFG: E 1, S6). A final statement, which disproves the notion that all young people are against language policy, was: Portuguese is OK because it gives us access to other countries so I don’t mind if we have Portuguese (DFG: E 16, S5).

DFG 5: “Tetum expresses our identity:” Identity issues

The most dominant theme in the focus group interview data concerned identity. The focus group participants were fiercely loyal to Tetum and keen to see its status raised. It was noticeable that, like the key informants, many did not seem to think that Tetum was already an official language but rather that it was in some kind of waiting situation while it was groomed or prepared for modern use as the country’s official language. Whereas there was doubt and division over the place of Portuguese as an official language, there was strong consensus on the role of Tetum as the language that unites the East Timorese people. The focus group participants looked to Portuguese as the language that would develop the full potential of Tetum and only in this respect did they grant Portuguese recognition and value. This is clearly seen in this discussion in FG 3, where the participants differed in their attitudes to Portuguese but shared their regard for Tetum as the language of national unity and identity:

DFG Extract 13
S1. Tetum is identity. It is the first language to unite society. Portuguese—the government chose it because of links with Portuguese through religion. The members of parliament use it and don’t use Indonesian. Portuguese is an official language ... it’s not permanent (others all agree) ... we think it will change. We think it is possible that in 10 years’ time Portuguese may not be an official language.
S2. I hope that one day Tetum will be official. Researchers are trying to develop the written form so we can use it. Using Portuguese is OK because knowing more languages will be better but as Timorese we should show our identity. I think this is important. I hope that one day the government will chose one language.
S3. The language that will be used in Timor is one language that can be understood by all Timorese. Otherwise there will continue to be confusion. It
doesn’t show our nation. Asking us to learn four languages makes us confusion.

S4. For me four languages is OK because it benefits our country but we have to give more space to our identity. We have to study Tetum more in order to socialise the Tetum language to be a standard language. Tetum is our identity language.

S5. The government should develop Tetum and teach it in schools even though it hasn’t complete terms. We need to develop it and develop ourselves rather than Portuguese. We can use Portuguese but it’s too difficult to study for our generation ... Portuguese is not our native language ... leave it for the older generation.

S1. I want Tetum as an official language because it expresses our identity.

DFG 6: “Tetum is not yet perfect.” Deficiency views of Tetum

Despite their strong identification with Tetum, the participants consistently denigrated their own language. A number of statements in earlier extracts have already shown that the focus group participants held the same self-deprecating attitudes towards their own native language as the key informants: Tetum is not yet developed to be an official language (DFG: E 1, S4), Tetum is not yet perfect (DFG: E 2, S3) and Tetum cannot be an official language because it is not yet a complete language (DFG: E 3, S4). In common with the key informants they misrecognised (see Chapter 2) it as unprepared, undeveloped and unready for use as an official language. The following exchange in FG 4 shows this very clearly:

DFG Extract 14
S1. I agree that Tetum has many weaknesses so it’s OK to choose Portuguese as an official language.
R. What are the weaknesses of Tetum?
S1. Lack of vocabulary and also grammatical aspects. It is being developed but at the same time there was not a grammatical basis. I have two points here: First, as a Timorese I disagree with the choice [referring to Portuguese] but as a student I agree because of the problems with the [Tetum] language.
S2. At the moment many people use the Tetum language in Timor. I accept that Tetum is used by many people in Timor and our brothers and sisters will use it in the future because in our country it has for a long time already expressed our national culture and identity.

DFG 7: “As an independent country we have to show our identity.”

Aspirations for the future

In their aspirations for the future the identity motif came through strongly. As has already been shown, the Dili student focus group participants looked to Tetum to express their national identity, seeing Portuguese mainly as a source for enriching the
lexical and grammatical repertoire of Tetum. In spite of their sense of inferiority about Tetum, they felt that the future for their language looked bright.

DFG Extract 15

S1. In 5 to 10 years Tetum will be well developed. Luckily we have the INL and they will help our language develop. We can use Portuguese words to enrich our vocabulary and that will be OK.
S2. In the next 5 years if Tetum will be well developed we can borrow from Portuguese but also from other languages so that Tetum will be good for use.

FG 5 expressed their reluctance to become a neo-colonial satellite state whilst at the same time taking an optimistic view of language change. The exchange below reflects a full range of views covering the spectrum from doubts and concerns about Portuguese to positive and open attitudes to multilingualism. To conclude the analysis of the Dili focus group data, whilst we do not find a unanimously negative view of either Portuguese or of language policy, we find ambivalence towards the ex-colonial language and a strong attachment to Tetum as symbolic of the identity of the nation and an equally strong desire to see the status of Tetum raised:

DFG Extract 16

S1. [5 to 20 years into the future] lots of people will speak Portuguese. They’ll be able to use it at work. They’re also learning it at school.
S2. Portuguese and Tetum will be well developed and won’t disappear. We’ll see a great transformation.
S3. The young generation will pass the language [presumably Portuguese] down. I am afraid our language and culture will die because as a nation we should choose our own language as an official language.
S4. As an independent country we have to show our identity. If we use Portuguese as an official language we’ll still be a Portuguese colony.
S5. The language isn’t important because all languages can enrich our knowledge. Portuguese is OK because it can give us access to other countries so I don’t mind if we have Portuguese.
S6. Now I agree to use two languages but I hope that Timor-Leste can develop so that we can develop our own language.
S7. The future of this country depends on the young generation and our human resources. If we can develop our human resources we can develop our languages. We need linguists to develop our language and our dialects. I want the younger generation to learn a lot, new skills, new experience and a lot of languages so that we can develop our own language not use Portuguese as an official language.
8.3 Key Narratives in the Dili Student Focus Group Data

Analysis of the interactive discourse yielded eight common narratives that offered insights into the Dili focus group participants’ perceptions of language policy and revealed some significant counter discourses. From the focussed codes, a list was drawn up of the most frequently used phrases and expressions used to discuss Portuguese and Tetum across the focus groups. When these were subjected to a frequency count, it was found that the most recurrent narratives in relation to Portuguese were to do with its difficulty, its role as a language of wider communication, its relationship with the CPLP and its relationship with Tetum. However, whereas the discourses concerning Portuguese ran counter to those of the key informants, the discourses regarding Tetum were highly congruent with the key informant discourses. When references to Tetum were subjected to scrutiny it was found that the Dili student focus group participants’ talk about Tetum focused strongly on its perceived deficiencies as a language but also on its role as a powerful expression of East Timorese identity. These findings show that the young people in the sample, in marked contrast to the majority of the key informants, did not identify strongly with Portuguese as a language that reflected their culture or social identity. Rather, they acknowledged its role as the language of wider communication and as a linguistic resource for Tetum. Table 13 displays the common narratives in the Dili student focus groups in terms of frequency of occurrence in the data. As may be seen, negative attitudes towards Portuguese accounted for a relatively low percentage in terms of frequency of mention (20%) whereas loyalty to Tetum figured far more strongly (47%). At the same time, self-deprecating attitudes to Tetum were quite common (26%). Moreover, the view that Portuguese would only be temporary came through strongly at 37%.
Table 13. *Dili Student Focus Groups: Key Narratives in the Discourse*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key narratives in the data</th>
<th>Common phrases and expressions</th>
<th>Frequency of occurrence in terms of percentages (N=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tetum expresses our identity and unites us</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Portuguese will not always be an official language (i.e., it is only temporary)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tetum is imperfect/not complete/has many weaknesses/ needs to be developed</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Portuguese is difficult</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Portuguese helps Tetum develop</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Portuguese enables us to build relationships with other countries, especially in Europe and the CPLP</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>We don’t like/want Portuguese</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Our leaders speak Portuguese and that’s why they made it official</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4 *AusAid Student Focus Groups 6 – 8*

“I want to see the real Timor.”
(Student focus group interview, 11th May 2004)

The AusAid student focus groups 6 to 8 took place in Brisbane in various locations. The students had all been studying in Queensland tertiary institutions for at least two years. Although their education had been just as severely disrupted, they had also acquired more world knowledge than their counterparts in Dili. They spoke better English than the Dili groups and, as a result, were able to be more articulate in the interviews, which were all conducted in English. While the AusAid student focus groups shared many of the views of their peers in Timor-Leste, identity issues were, if anything, an even stronger concern. The AusAid student focus group data were subjected to the same interpretive analysis as the other two groups. Four key themes were extrapolated and are discussed under headings based on in-vivo codes. Each theme and extract is coded with the prefix AFG and numbered. Table 14 provides a summary of the AusAid focus group details.
Table 14. AusAid Student Focus Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus group Number</th>
<th>Gender mix</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Language of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21–27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22–27</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35–40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5 Themes in the AusAid Student Focus Group Data

AFG 1: “I have a feeling that Portuguese is only temporary.” Portuguese and national pride

In common with their peers at home, FG 6, 7 and 8 understood language policy very clearly as a strategy for nation building and identity construction. FG 6 saw Portuguese as a symbol of their country’s ex-colonial identity, both as a means of communicating with the international community and as a way of retaining the ongoing support of the Portuguese-speaking nations. Moreover, like their Dili counterparts, they were very aware that Portuguese was the language that their political leaders identified with:

AFG Extract 1
S1. Portuguese represents our identity as an ex-colony of Portugal. It’s part of our identity as an ex-colony. Portuguese is the only language our leaders speak well.
S2. The decision was already taken about Portuguese before the government was elected.
S3. The most important reason was politics. This was the driving force behind the decision. As an independent state we need access to the international community. Portugal is a member of the European Union and the CPLP is an important player. Portuguese support is really needed to gain the support of foreign investors in the country.

FG 7 also placed Portuguese specifically in the role of identity marker and language of wider communication. In common with other focus groups they expressed the view that it should either not be official at all or should only be official for a short time so that Tetum could be allowed more space to take up its role as the language of national identity:

AFG Extract 2
S1. Tetum is our language. It is our mother tongue. Portuguese is based on our historical background. We were a colony for 500 years.
S2. Perhaps they wanted to maintain a good relationship with Portuguese-speaking countries and the countries that speak Portuguese such as Mozambique, Angola ...

S3. I think Portuguese was decided based on political reasons ... yeah of course we have the historical background but then they looked more into how, I think, it will advantage Timor because Tetum ... you cannot use Indonesian because if you want to be separate and unique within that area where you have Australia and Indonesia and they are dominating ... you want to stand out then you choose something different but then at the same time their argument is that you can’t use Tetum anywhere else so you have to use another language to have more links that open you up to the world.

R. Do you speak Portuguese? (Addressed to the whole group).

Ss1 & 4. I don’t [two participants speak Portuguese and two do not].

R. Are you studying it?

S4. (laughter) I’m trying!

R. What are the advantages of having two official languages?

S1. It’s very good for us ... Portuguese can help us to maintain relationships with other countries. If we can speak Portuguese then it makes it easy for us.

The AusAid student focus groups were as intensely loyal to Tetum as the Dili focus groups. In both sets of data the participants’ strong sense that Tetum plays a central role in East Timorese national pride and identity came through prominently. In FG 6, attitudes to Portuguese were particularly negative as can be seen in the following statement: I am very unhappy with the policy and I hope they will change it one day (AFG: E 4, S1). In common with the Dili focus groups, the belief that Portuguese would only be used as a temporary measure was recurrent, as exemplified in the following three exchanges.

**AFG Extract 3**

S1. For myself I think that Portuguese should only be used for a short period of time and OK we know Tetum, everybody argues, has been suppressed for so long and lacks so many words etcetera but for myself I don’t agree with having two languages. I think that Portuguese should be only for a short time and then I think Tetum should take over ... having your own distinct language ... it’s [a matter of] pride that you can use it. (Focus Group 7)

**AFG Extract 4**

R. Why is it important to have two official languages?

S1. We don’t need one of them! [referring to Portuguese]

S2. We need it [referring to Portuguese] now for writing at a high level.

S3. I have a feeling that Portuguese is just temporary.

S1. Hopefully!

S4. It’s just a way to make communication easier.

[They all agree that they hope Portuguese is only temporary].

S1. I am very unhappy with the policy and I hope they will change it one day. (Focus Group 6)
AFG Extract 5
R. What are the advantages of having two official languages?
S1. It’s inclusive ... it helps people understand. Portuguese is used in written texts and communications.
S2. I’m not sure if Portuguese will be accepted in the long term. I am not sure if the young people will accept to use that language forever or not so I think we’ll use Tetum (?) so we hope one day Tetum can be ah –
S3. Portuguese is so difficult
S2. Because Portuguese is quite difficult and we are not sure about that .... (Focus Group 8)

AFG 2: “It’s OK to use a lot of languages as long as you don’t lose yourself.” Language and identity

A central strand in the AusAid student focus group discourse was the tension between linguistic homogeneity and heterogeneity. As scholarship students, the participants had been exposed to the “one language–one nation” ideology predominant in Australia. They also voiced their personal sense of confusion in the face of the breakdown of stable diglossia and radical language reform.

AFG Extract 6
S1. Our generation understands Indonesian. Portuguese is like a high language. It’s very hard ... but people should be encouraged to learn Tetum. We can borrow from Tetun-Terik or the dialects not from Portuguese. I hate Portuguese.
S2. More than 50% of Timorese speak and understand Indonesian and have been disadvantaged by these two official languages.
S3. I agree. People are forced to learn two languages. I think people should be forced to learn Tetum.
S2. There is a problem for people to understand who they are! Portuguese or Timorese?
R. Can’t you have a dual identity?
S2. Well I hope I don’t sound very nationalist but I wouldn’t say we are very comfortable with that. We don’t have that very strong relationship ... you know ... cultural link with Portuguese, which would enable us to be comfortable in this dualism [all agree].

FG 8 touched on the competition between languages–perhaps without quite appreciating what is evident from their own discourse: that a multilingual language policy offers them a range of linguistic options:

AFG Extract 7
R. What are the disadvantages of two official languages?
S1. Non-Portuguese speakers feel inferior.
S2. It’s confusing for people. What should people use each language for?
S3. People use Tetum more. The problem is that not all people can speak Portuguese well. Like us ... today we are learning in Australia but we're thinking will I get a job as a government officer when I go back? The language education determines our future. It's hard.

R. Will English give you any advantage?
All. Yes!

S4. I don't care if I don't get a job using Portuguese. I'll look for another job.

FG 7 raised a number of identity issues in their discussion. They touched on the colonial relationship with Portugal and the consequent linguistic/cultural dislocation for the East Timorese:

AFG Extract 8

R. How much do you think Portuguese is an expression of East Timorese identity?

S1. In another country like Indonesia they use their own language and still have relationships with other countries. It's like a pride ... we have our own language [referring to Tetum] and we use another language [referring to Portuguese] ... but at the same time it's very good for us ... to use the language ... in order to maintain good relations with other countries.

They firmly rejected the suggestion that Portuguese played a significant part in East Timorese identity, taking pride in the fact that, with independence, their cultural identity could now be recognised in its own right:

AFG Extract 9

R. To what extent do you think that Portuguese expresses East Timorese cultural identity or to what extent Portuguese is a part of East Timorese cultural identity?

S2. I think Portugal doesn't have any ... part of -

S3. It cannot express Timorese culture –

S2. Exactly! It cannot express ... S3. We might be able to express it with them because they were the ones that came to us but ... they are the colonisers (laughter) ... they are above the others ... I don't think they would want to be on the same level.

S2. I think East Timor has its own culture and it's like now ... like it's a bit hidden kind of thing because of the Portuguese and mmm maybe the Indonesians ... but they do have their own culture and it's like they can now show it.

Their Australian experience had also shown these students what might happen to their own endogenous languages if English were to become dominant:

AFG Extract 10

R. Can you think of any other advantages of having two official languages?
You told me it was good for international relations and maintaining links with Portugal. Can you think of any other advantages?
S1. I think that compared to English, Portuguese is not a dominating language ... say if English were used in time we will definitely lose the other dialects ... R. Why do you think that will happen?
S1. Well look what happened to Australia ... where is all the indigenous languages? Everybody now speaks English only ... everywhere else where English is used or became one of the other languages your local language disappears. For Portuguese, I don’t know ... look at Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau ... the local languages are still there ...

The participants in FG 7 had a lively discussion about the impact of language change on their sense of identity, focusing in the following extract on the occasionally confusing effects of holding multiple linguistic identities:

**AFG Extract 11**

R. What are the disadvantages of having two official languages?
S1. I cannot think of any disadvantages but one thing ... they use Portuguese ... they say Tetum is the official language but everywhere, especially in government, they use Portuguese so it’s kind of taking away Tetum. They use Portuguese instead.
R. Will Tetum come up do you think? Will Portuguese help Tetum to grow as a language?
All. No.
S1. You see the older generation they prefer to use Portuguese than Tetum so I think may be later on it will change because when the older generation is gone and we are the ones who -
S1. There is a lot of confusion of people like us young people. We just can’t speak Portuguese like that.
S2. It takes time. You can’t expect much else. It’s impossible to ... you know ... sleep and then the next day you wake up expecting everybody to speak that language ... so alien ... so different [referring to Portuguese] ... Indonesian is still there ... it’s still familiar ... I think the main disadvantage is confusion. I think for me the more languages you know the better as long as you don’t lose yourself by knowing the others and then sort of put down what you actually are.
R. You guys speak at least three languages, don’t you? So have you lost yourselves?
S3. I do sometimes (they all laugh). You’ve been in one language and you try and speak in another (More laughter)!
S4. It’s crazy!

**AFG 3:** “I want to see the real Timor.” Aspirations for the future

In their visions for the future, the participants’ aspirations for Tetum were central to their discourses. FG 7 participants were positive about the initiatives to standardise Tetum. They were optimistic that standardisation would be successful and that it would improve the status of Tetum. In this exchange they voiced their desire to see Tetum used in higher prestige domains.
AFG Extract 12
S. It’s the first time this language has had the chance to show off.
S2. I want Timor to be proud of itself and not look for other languages and
other cultures to represent them.
S3. I want to see the real Timor. I want to see Tetum as the official language of
Timor-Leste.

The AusAid student focus groups showed greater awareness than their
counterparts in Dili of potential threats to the vernacular languages as a result of the
spread of literacy and education in the official languages. FG 6, in particular, stressed
their allegiance to Tetum but also acknowledged the endogenous languages of Timor-
Leste as part of their heritage: People should be proud of their heritage and their local
language (AFG: E 13). FG 6 had an animated debate about the effects of Portuguese
and Tetum language spread on the local languages. They felt that Portuguese was
being cultivated at the expense of Tetum and worried that the standardisation of
Tetum would entail the inundation of the language with Portuguese loanwords,
expressing the view that the very strong push for Portuguese was ... going to be like
Indonesia all over again. They expressed concern at the fact that there was no
teaching of first languages in schools and feared that this would lead to the loss of the
endogenous languages: I mean Portuguese ... if you go to school you learn
Portuguese there ... which school will you send me to, to learn Makasai? There is no
school in East Timor where you can learn Makasai. This comment forms another
interesting binary pair with the statement made by Domingos in the key informant
data (see KI: E 7), where he referred to the challenge of managing the aspirations of
the different linguistic groups (To take the Portuguese out would mean, bang, my
people, my culture ... are the ones who have been given prominence). FG 6 were very
aware that the spread of education, literacy and urbanisation could threaten the
endogenous languages:

AFG Extract 13
S1. It depends to the development of education in East Timor. Like if the
government push all people, even those in the countryside to go to school and
yeah force to learn Portuguese ... 
S2. I believe that unless you teach your kids to speak in dialects (?) that’s the
problem ... you have to like be keen to learn your dialect and encourage
yourself ... try ...
[They agree that people should be proud of their heritage and learn their local
languages].
AFG 4: “I don’t want East Timor to be like Australia.” Tetum as a symbol of national identity

Discussions in all groups returned consistently to the issue of Tetum as the symbol of national identity. This final extract captures the feeling amongst the Australian student focus groups:

AFG Extract 14
R. Five years down the track what languages will people be using?
S1. I’d like East Timor to be East Timor. What I mean is to see East Timor as a country which could develop with all the natural resources that it has to be a country that is equal to any other country in the world to be an independent state and at the same time but without losing its identity or its language. You can be a country as developed as America or United Kingdom but you don’t have to use their culture and you don’t have to use their language.
S2. I’d like Tetum to be used.
S3. I don’t want Timor to be like Australia—no culture, no identity, no religion ... no identity at all ... it’s not good ... so Tetum should be the official language, because it (?) the language of East Timor.

8.6 Key Narratives in the Australian Student Focus Group Data

The narratives identified in the AusAid student focus group interview data matched those of the Dili focus groups in almost all aspects. Time spent outside the mother country did not seem to have greatly altered their attitudes, indicating that, at least in the short term, diasporic groups of similar age do not differ greatly in their language attitudes from their compatriots at home. In common with the Dili student focus groups, the AusAid focus group participants were vehement in stating that they wanted to see Tetum used as the first official language of Timor-Leste (frequency of mention was 61%). They were more negative about Portuguese than their counterparts and they were opposed to the notion that Portuguese is integral to East Timorese identity (59%). They were even more strongly of the opinion that Portuguese was only a temporary option as an official language (46%). On the other hand, the low percentage of 8% frequency of mention indicates they did not feel that either English or Indonesian played an important part in their identity. They drew instead on an identity that was firmly rooted in the Tetum language and in their local identities, which they also valued, if anything, more highly than the home-based groups. They valued their national independence highly and they passionately wanted to see their
country on an equal footing with others (53% frequency of mention). Table 15 presents the key narratives in terms of their frequency of occurrence in the data.

Table 15. *AusAid Student Focus Groups: Key Narratives in the Data*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key narratives in the data</th>
<th>Common phrases and expressions</th>
<th>Frequency of occurrence in terms of percentages (N=13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 I’d like to see Tetum used as the official language of Timor-Leste</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Portuguese is not integral to East Timorese identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 I’d like to see Timor-Leste as independent and on an equal footing with other countries without losing its identity or its language</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Having two official languages makes people confused</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Portuguese is only temporary</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Portuguese enables us to build good relations with other countries</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Our leaders speak Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Portuguese is part of our common history with Portugal</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 People should be proud of their heritage and their local languages</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 The dialects might be lost</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 English and Indonesian play no role in East Timorese identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 9 Managing the Language Ecology: Findings and Conclusions

9.0 Language Policy and Planning in the Post-Colonial, Global Age

This thesis has investigated the role of language policy and planning in identity construction. To reiterate from Chapter 1, the aims were to understand the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste; to identify and characterise the goals, motives and orientations of East Timorese language policy and planning; and to assess the congruence between official and popular language policy discourses in Timor-Leste. The objective was to produce a composite, holistic, qualitative description and analysis of the language situation and the issues and challenges for policy-makers, planners and language users. The research design consisted of four elements, each of which produced findings about language policy and planning, that are borne out in the general literature. The findings from the four elements of the research study now need to be drawn together. Seven key conclusions about language policy and planning in the post-colonial, global age were drawn from this research:

1. In a globalised world, language policy and planning issues interact at international, regional and local levels in any ecology of languages.
2. Language policy and planning reflect the historical experiences of a polity and the wider social and political influences on that polity.
3. As discursive constructs, language policy and planning initiatives reflect and reproduce prevailing ideological discourses in society.
4. Where language is associated with identity or has become a core cultural value, language policy and planning play a significant role in the construction or reconstruction of national and social identity.
5. In a multilingual, globalised world, post-colonial social and national identities are multiple, overlapping, contingent and often contested. In this context, the notion that a unitary, standard language or hierarchy of languages can
represent the identity of a nation and that monolingualism, or oligolingualism, is a prerequisite for development is flawed and problematic.

6. Language varieties and language identities are best seen as part of a repertoire of possible identities rather than as single emblems of national identity.

7. The treatment of multilingualism in language policy and planning has important ecological consequences for each language in the system. For this reason, all languages in a system need a niche, role and space.

9.1 A Synthesis of Findings from the Interview and Focus Group Data

All participants, even those in the remote rural areas, indicated a heightened awareness of language and had strong views about language issues in Timor-Leste. This could be expected from a context in which radical language shift and reform has been the order of the day. From an early stage in the data analysis it became obvious that, to a great extent, the participants understood and shared the symbolic associations of the languages in the ecology. However, whilst the participants demonstrated intense loyalty to the Tetum language, they showed a general lack of confidence in Tetum as a language that was ready for the modern, globalised world. There was also a common lack of concern for the status and future of the endogenous languages. This seemed to be because most participants felt that the vitality of their local languages was, and would continue to be, sustained in the rural domains. However, a significant few felt that the endogenous languages were being marginalised. Whilst there were differing attitudes towards Portuguese, for the vast majority of participants it held deep significance as the language of resistance, international solidarity. Portuguese was valued because it provided their country with access to membership of the CPLP and the Lusophonia. Portuguese was universally acknowledged as the source language for the relexification of Tetum. While English and Indonesian held high capital as important languages of wider communication, they held little or no value as languages of identity for the participants.

An important finding, which confirms Leach’s (2002) quantitative survey findings (see Chapter 5), was that age and educational experience appeared to play a key role in shaping language dispositions. Geographical differences and gender did not appear to be significant variables affecting attitudes to language or identity. A
further important finding is that, far from the social division that has been claimed, there was a higher consensus and acceptance of the constitutional language policy decision amongst the participants than might have been expected, given the kind of comments about East Timorese language policy that have been made in the Australian and international media. Overall, whilst language dispositions naturally varied and various individuals inevitably had personal or political reasons to reject or dislike Portuguese, there was a higher level of congruence with official language policy, acceptance of Portuguese as an official language and loyalty to the Constitution than might have been expected.

9.2 A Synthesis of Findings from the Focus Group Data

In the focus groups, the official language policy discourses were highly contested. One significant finding is that, although consensus was high as to the importance and benefits of membership of the Lusophonia and the CPLP, the focus groups did not see Portuguese as playing a role in national or social identity (DFG: E1-5). However, they were unanimous in supporting Tetum as the language that expressed not only their history and culture, but also their identity as a nation to the outside world (see, for example, DFG: E13). The focus group participants generally felt that Portuguese had an important place in the ecology as the language of wider communication (DFG: E4) largely because Tetum was not yet ready to take up the role of an official language (DFG: E6). A number of participants mentioned that they thought Portuguese was official only because their leaders spoke it (DFG: E5; AFG: E2, E6 & 8), an implicit recognition of elite closure and the fact that language policy often serves the interests of leading elites. The focus group participants referred frequently to the problems of coping with the impacts of language reform on their lives and studies (DFG: E6, E8 & 9). Indeed, these young people are faced with the challenge of learning a language that has not been in use since 1975 in a situation where most university courses and study materials are still in Indonesian. Many of the Dili-based student focus group members were student-teachers and therefore at the cutting edge of language reform in their professional lives as well. However, even though the problems of having to learn another language was a recurring motif in the student focus group discourses, their attitudes towards language policy were
surprisingly compliant, given the negative reporting this issue has received in the Australian press. Despite their criticisms of language policy, several participants emphasised their loyalty to the government (DFG: E8 & E10). In sum, the narratives in the focus group discourses were congruent with official language policy in many respects but significantly dissonant in others. In what follows, the commonalities and differences across the three groups of participants are discussed.

9.3 The Key Informant Discourses

The key informant discourses were highly congruent with official language policy discourses. The majority of the key informants perceived Portuguese as a symbol of historical and cultural links with Portugal (KI: 1, 2, 5 & 6) and as a symbol of national identity (KI: 1 & 7). They were keenly aware that Portuguese played a political role in linking Timor-Leste to the Lusophonia and the CPLP (KI: 3 & 11), an alliance they considered important for their country’s economic and political interests. Only one key informant thought that the role of Portuguese in the language ecology might change (KI: E20). The key informants expressed affection and deep attachment to Tetum but some showed a lack of confidence in its ability to function effectively in the modern world (KI: E14 & 22; E 23 - 25).

9.3.1 The Individual Discourses

Although there were polarised attitudes towards Portuguese (I: 1), the individual participant discourses also indicated a high degree of congruence with official language policy discourses. Portuguese featured strongly in their narratives as a symbol of national identity and solidarity in the struggle for independence (I: E2). Some participants perceived Indonesian as having a practical role as the language of regional communication (I: E 5). Others perceived Indonesian as the language of the invader (I: E1, 17 &20). Some had clear preferences for Portuguese (I: E21 & 22), while others were more ambivalent (I: E1 & 2). There was interest in English as the language of international communication but no suggestion from any quarter that English might be a symbolic official language (see Chapter 6) or that it had any role
to play as a language of identity. In the majority of cases, negative attitudes to Portuguese did not correlate with opposition to the language policy decision. However, there was at least one significant exception (I: E 4). On the other hand, at least one individual participant felt that Portuguese and Tetum were a joint expression of East Timorese identity and that the two languages had different functions in the language ecology (I: 40). Several participants in this group made a point of stating that they thought language policy should be substantive and not remain on paper only (I: E46 - 48). Several individuals remarked that they felt that Tetum and the national languages were not receiving enough attention (I: 4).

### 9.3.2 The Student Focus Group Discourses

There was much greater dissonance between the student discourses and official language policy discourses. The students’ attitudes towards Portuguese also differed sharply from their elders in the key informant and individual groups. A significant number of students did not think that Portuguese would be an official language for ever (DFG: 2 & AFG: 1) The student focus groups did not see Portuguese as integral to national or social identity but they acknowledged it as a language of wider communication (DFG: 1). The student groups also held less negative attitudes towards Indonesian, perceiving it as a language of regional communication (DFG: E12) rather than as the language of the invader. The student groups shared pride in the vitality of their local languages and were concerned that the national languages might be endangered (AFG: E10 & 13). The student participants were unanimously and deeply loyal to Tetum and had high aspirations for its development as the language that East Timorese people could use on equal terms with the rest of the world (AFG: 3 & 4; DFG: E13). On the other hand many student participants also saw Tetum as inadequate and incomplete (DFG: E1- 4).

Table 16 provides a summary of the official language policy discourses and attempts to capture the discourse strands across the participant groups that are congruent with and run counter to official discourses.
Table 16. Official and popular discourses of language and identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Dispositions</th>
<th>Official Language Policy Discourses</th>
<th>Popular Discourses: Congruent with official language policy</th>
<th>Popular Discourses: Counter to official language policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese is …</td>
<td>-a part of our history.</td>
<td>-a means of access to CPLP and Europe.</td>
<td>-a language of wider communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-enshrined in the Constitution.</td>
<td>-the language of our leaders and our elders.</td>
<td>-not always going to be official.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an expression of national identity.</td>
<td>-a means of access to CPLP and Europe.</td>
<td>-the language of the coloniser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-not a part of our identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetum is …</td>
<td>-deficient and unready for the modern world.</td>
<td>-in need of modernisation and development.</td>
<td>-an expression of national and social identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian is …</td>
<td>-the language of the coloniser.</td>
<td>-not a part of our identity.</td>
<td>-just another way to communicate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English is …</td>
<td>-a simple working language.</td>
<td>-not a part of our identity.</td>
<td>-useful for international communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The endogenous languages are …</td>
<td>-protected by the Constitution.</td>
<td>-safe and vital in their local domains.</td>
<td>-possibly at risk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4 Readdressing the Research Questions

In this section the research questions are readdressed and the findings of the thesis as a whole are drawn together.

Research question one addressed the relationship between language and identity in Timor-Leste. The question was:

- In what ways have language policy, planning and practices shaped national and social identity in Timor-Leste?

The findings pertaining to the first research question indicate that language policy and planning have shaped national and social identity in very significant ways. One noticeable feature of the interview and focus group data is the perception that Tetum is incomplete, imperfect, impure and unready for the modern world. The model for the completion of Tetum or its achievement of “full languageness” (see Blommaert, 2006, p. 247, who discussed this in relation to Swahili and English) is Portuguese, and
the participants looked to academic scholars to standardise, renovate, modernise and purify their language as a standard artifact to represent their identity. This is ethnic nationalism, as Blommaert (2006, p. 246) has argued, inherited from colonial language ideologies. Pending the accomplishment of full languageness, the colonial language and the working languages continue to “have to be” used in higher domains due to the inadequacies of Tetum. As Blommaert (2006, p. 248) has suggested, this creates a gap between the ascriptive identity of official language policy and the inhabited identities of the people, who continue to use Tetum, Indonesian and the local languages in all their varieties in many domains, activities and relationships.

This research study has shown that Portuguese language planning was largely unplanned and implicit but, by the mid 20th century, was consciously oriented towards the construction of a colonial elite. Colonial policy constructed a Lusophone identity, into which the educated elite was co-opted through assimilation. Portuguese colonialism constructed an elaborate racial hierarchy, which has left an enduring legacy in East Timorese society. Moreover, today, as Almeida (2001, p. 596) has noted, “the old colonial rhetoric, now rephrased as universalism, non-racist humanism, miscegenation and cultural encounter” continues to be a structuring element of Portuguese narratives of identity. Portuguese language-planning agencies in Timor-Leste reproduce these narratives. To give an illustrative example, in the publication Camões, a journal of literary and cultural writings from the Lusophonia, Felgueiras (2003, pp. 42–49) described the survival of Portuguese as a miracle which sprang from the East Timorese love of all things Portuguese—a classically primordial perception. The extended colonial presence of the Portuguese, cultural and religious syncretism, assimilation through education, intermarriage, family and social networks have, nevertheless, had a profound influence on East Timorese social identity and the shaping of the habitus. Through its role as the secret language of the resistance and the efforts of the Indonesians to extirpate it, Portuguese came to acquire the status of a core value in East Timorese culture.

Indonesian language policy and planning was a consciously state-driven project, which strove to spread literacy in Indonesian through universal elementary education. This has had massively disruptive effects on local ecologies contained within its borders (Errington, 1998, p. 274). Indonesian, as Errington has noted, is a vehicle of Indonesian state discourse. Pembangunan Nasional (National Development) “treats ethnic diversity less as a problem to be solved than a condition
to be abandoned as Indonesians advance into a modern, national future” (Errington, 1998, p. 272). New Order language policy and planning may be called an instance of language engineering—a phrase that captures the state’s ideological backing of this and other aspects of nation-building (Errington, 1998, p. 276). In the case of Timor-Leste, however, this state-sponsored development project failed to carry the majority of the people with it, engendering a very different kind of nationalism among the East Timorese.

Whilst Fretilin constructed an identity that was firmly linked to its colonial past, its co-construction of the Maubere identity was steeped in indigenous traditions and mythology. Maubere represented an indigenised identity that had a profoundly unifying effect because of its ability to capture the essence of the East Timorese habitus at the time. The physical and ideological onslaught of the Indonesian occupation, with its gross violations of linguistic and human rights and disruption of the language ecology, fragmented and hybridised this identity.

The transitional period between 1999 and 2002 (which in many respects is still ongoing) caused further hybridisation of identities with the entry of English into the ecology. As the interview data show, English has high social capital as a global language that carries the promise of opportunity. As such, English wields considerable influence in the ecology and this creates instrumental reasons to acquire the language. However, it held no value for the participants as a language of identity.

Today, all these elements interact in the language and cultural ecology. At the global level, English exerts powerful influence, while Portuguese is re-establishing itself and increasing its presence in the everyday lives of the East Timorese. At the regional level, Indonesian retains its foothold in the ecology and is very likely to continue to do so. At the local level, linguistic identities interact with these exogenous languages and with the indigenous lingua franca, Tetum, which is increasingly used in domains from which it was once excluded (see Hajek & Williams van Klinken, 2006, p. 2).

Figure 13 provides an overview of the interactions between the global, the regional and the local variables in the East Timorese language ecology that have been mentioned at various points in this research study. The darker lines represent interactions that are more significant and pervasive and the lighter lines represent those that are less pervasive.
Research question two produced findings about the discourses of language policy and planning. The question was:

- Are popular discourses of language and identity congruent with official language policy and planning discourses in Timor-Leste?

The interview and focus group data showed a high level of congruity across all the groups concerning Portuguese as the language of the CPLP and Lusophonia. There was also universal attachment and loyalty to Tetum and high aspirations for its standardisation and development. The counter-discourses came mainly from the student focus groups, indicating different perceptions of the relationship between language and identity from the key informants and individuals. Command of English appeared to play a role in these dispositions, confirming Leach’s (2003, pp. 147–149) survey findings. Amongst the other interview groups, there is little evidence of any significant disjuncture between the official and popular notions of identity. However, young peoples’ urgent appeals for the development of Tetum and concern for the future of the endogenous languages carry a strong message for policy-makers. The implication is that substantive planning and attention to Tetum and the endogenous languages is necessary.
languages may serve to win the confidence of young people, improve the prospects of policy success, and include them more in the development project.

Research question three sought to assess the possible outcomes from the current language policy and planning trajectory in terms of the management of the language ecology. The question was:

- What outcomes may result from current language policy and planning trajectory in Timor-Leste in terms of the management of the linguistic ecology?

Language policy approaches are a combination of non-discrimination prescription, assimilation-oriented tolerance and the maintenance-oriented promotion of language use. A mixture of language-as-problem, language-as-right and language-as-resource perspectives is discernible and no clear picture emerges of a coherent overall orientation. Mixed-language policy orientations are a product of deferential attitudes towards colonial languages, which are associated with modernity and progress, while endogenous languages tend to be associated with backwardness and tradition (see Fishman, 1990; Pattanayak, 1986; Ruiz, 1995). The Constitutional provisions for language maintain and promote Portuguese as the language of modernity and Tetum as the language of authenticity (Fishman, 1990) but only tolerate the national languages and implicitly exclude them from official domains.

The Language Decree and the orthography of Official Tetum are instances of maintenance-oriented promotion of Tetum. They attempt to raise its status and promote its use in the general education system, official publications, and social communication. However, despite the interest expressed by the participants in the standardisation of Tetum, the professional sectors have been slow to take up the orthography. The press, which continues to make use of Indonesian, has been criticised for its reluctance to adopt the orthography (Interview with Dr Corte-Real, 2003). Only time will tell if all aspects of the orthography will take hold and the principles of renovation are accepted. The Language Decree prescribes the use of Portuguese and Tetum in public communication and restricts the use of English and Indonesian in an effort to reduce their power in this domain. The Language Directive is an instance of assimilation-oriented prohibition. It prescribes the use of the official languages in the high-status domain of the formal justice system, the clear intention being the elimination of Indonesian.
In terms of medium-of-instruction planning, policy-makers have inherited a complex set of problems. In accepting Tetum as a language of instruction in the first two years of school, medium of instruction policy has moved away from a submersion model. However, the steady shift to Portuguese from Grades 1 through 6 is a typical transitional model of bilingualism. From this analysis, three possible outcomes might be predicted.

- **Outcome 1**
  
  According to the provisions of the Constitution, the national languages are not forbidden. Their use is permitted and supported but not for functions that are performed in an official language. A tolerance approach leaves vulnerable languages open to the risk of marginalisation under pressure from the exogenous languages. If languages cannot be learned or used in official situations, they are less likely to be adequately learned and developed. The best outcome that can be expected from this policy approach is that the national languages will continue to be restricted to oral usage in rural domains. However, the worst outcome could be that, in view of the changing language ecology and as language shift begins to occur on a wider scale, they might be expected to decline or even disappear, as has happened to many smaller languages in Indonesia (see Florey, 1991; Hajek, 2006b).

- **Outcome 2**
  
  Whilst the orthography of Official Tetum, the Language Decree and the Language Directive are all examples of maintenance-oriented promotion of language use, in view of the overall policy approach and without greater support and engagement of social actors at both community and individual level and the cooperation of international donors, they are unlikely to fully achieve the desired outcome of ensuring that Tetum thrives in the designated domains.

- **Outcome 3**
  
  Initially, medium-of-instruction planning followed a typically submersive model of language teaching (see Chapter 6). Two very common outcomes of submersion education are low levels of language proficiency and literacy in both the first and second languages. The recent change to a transitional model with an early
shift to Portuguese is encouraging but is still likely to result in subtracted competence in both Portuguese and Tetum in later grades, which may prove difficult for learners to make up.

Lopes (1998, p. 31), writing in the context of Mozambique, another multilingual ex-Portuguese colony, recommended an “initial bilingualism model.” Applied to Timor-Leste, the initial bilingualism model would mean that the changeover to Portuguese occurred after a period of at least three years in which Portuguese and Tetum were used as co-languages of instruction. This is quite similar to the current MECYS policy goals. However, it is contended in this thesis that policy-makers should place greater emphasis on Tetum as a language of instruction and literacy. This would not only validate Tetum but would also reduce the risk of under-proficiency of Portuguese in the later grades. In this light, the granting of permission by MECYS for teachers to use Portuguese and Tetum in the first two years of schooling is a very positive step. Nonetheless, this thesis advocates a policy approach that moves further towards additive bilingualism for the following reasons.

The literature provides convincing evidence that early bilingual education in the first language, rather than in the former colonial language, has educational advantages. It also has closely associated psychological, social and cultural benefits (see Chapter 2). Results from such immersion programs, which aim to enrich children’s skills in their first language without threat to the language they already know, have been positive in many parts of the world (Romaine, 2001, p. 529). For example, a five-year bilingual education pilot project in the Bantu languages of Cinyanja and Xichangana in Mozambique reported improved retention and less repetition, particularly in the case of girls (see Benson, 2005b, p. 54). Importantly, it was also well received by parents (Lopes, 1998, p. 454). In an example from the Southwest Pacific, Crowley reported (2005, p. 37) that the key elements of successful educational innovation in Papua New Guinea were early education in the endogenous languages and gradual transition to the dominant exogenous language (in this case, English) as the language of wider communication.
9.5 Policy Options for the Sustainable Management of the Language Ecology

The data in this research study point to five possible directions for language policy development and the sustainable management of the language ecology in Timor-Leste. This section discusses these options.

1. Societal and educational contexts need to validate Tetum as much as Portuguese.

As we have seen, the student focus group participants in this study, in common with the young people in Leach’s identity studies (2002; 2003), expressed strong loyalty towards Tetum as the language that expressed their national identity (see Chapter 8). The focus group data confirm that the Tetum language has become an overarching core cultural value (see Chapter 2) for the East Timorese people. This suggests that the young people and newly-literate adults who emerge from an additive bilingual and biliterate education will do so with good command of Portuguese and Tetum. They will also have the self-respect that comes from the knowledge and affirmation of their own linguistic and cultural identity and the awareness that it is genuinely valued in society and by the state.

2. Additive bilingualism is the best model for valuing endogenous languages.

The model of additive bilingualism, promoted through the education system, is widely regarded as the best model for valuing not only the official languages, but also the endogenous languages and cultures and for exploiting their potential as resources for development and growth. In an additive approach to language teaching and learning, teachers have access to professional development and training in the official languages. Official languages are taught either as first, second, or foreign languages, and content-based teaching methods allow for the use of the endogenous languages as a resource in the classroom without relegating them to the sidelines. Additive bilingualism allows the teaching of initial literacy in the learner’s first language. This carries educational benefits for the future, since the learner understands content more effectively. In the context of the present research study, an additive approach to language teaching and learning would value Tetum by granting it equal status with
Portuguese as a language of instruction and, as Alidou (2004) and Lopes (1998) have suggested, allow for vernacular-medium schooling at least as an oral medium through the early primary years (see Chapter 6). An additive approach to language teaching and learning encourages the instructional use of both first and second languages; for teaching content to be drawn from local cultural contexts, and literacy media to include oral and written texts drawn from traditional and modern cultures (see Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 115).

Whilst schools cannot be expected to bear exclusive responsibility for language maintenance and revival, they can play an important role in making links with parents and local communities to raise awareness and encourage engagement in language planning. Following Hornberger (2002, p. 45), this thesis recommends that linguists, language planners and language educators work alongside language users to fill the space opened up by the constitutional provisions for language to explore classroom interaction, develop teachers’ second- and foreign-language teaching skills and discuss these approaches with parents and local communities. The MECYS Hundred Schools Parent-Teacher Association Project presents a golden opportunity to engage with parents on the issues of bi- and multi-lingual education. The experience of being socialised into considering their own language to be inferior may lead many parents to take a negative view towards the use of first languages in the classroom. Parents also often want their children to learn the colonial language because they see it as the language of opportunity. This can have the effect of reinforcing the low esteem of local languages and their speakers. It is therefore vital to convince parents of the value of using the first languages in the classroom. In an additive approach to language teaching and learning, parents can play a useful role as models of the local languages. Parents and children can be more involved in the life of the school because it validates the language that is used at home. The great advantage of this approach is that it sustains not only the national languages, but also the language of wider communication, by enabling more effective transfer of literacy and cognitive skills to the second language.

3. **Successful literacy is indigenised into the language ecology.**

Scholars associated with language ecology, such as Mühlhäusler (1987; 1990; 1996), Goody (1987) and Tabouret-Keller (1997), have questioned the value of vernacular literacy, suggesting that foreign literary practices that transform oral
cultures into literate ones threaten the survival of these languages because they are fundamentally changed by the process of standardisation. In this process, they lose their niche in the ecology because they cannot compete with dominant, exogenous languages. However, despite the fact that this thesis advocates an ecological view of language, it does not concur with the view that oral languages should never be written down. Although first language and vernacular literacy inevitably alters the language ecology in ways that Mühlhäusler (see 1996), Goody (1987) and others have described, it is still important for status planning, corpus planning and image creation. Moreover, while the promotion of vernacular literacy cannot protect endogenous languages against possible threats from metropolitan languages, there are other very good reasons for encouraging literacy in the endogenous languages. Besides the positive psychological and educational benefits (see UNESCO, 2003) if materials in these languages are available, it enables speakers of these languages to be informed about their own histories, cultures and traditions as well as empowering them to make informed choices about their place in the world. Dictionaries and grammars also enhance the status of languages in the eyes of their users, as the interview data confirm.

According to Crowley (2000, p. 379), the experience of literacy projects in many Pacific islands demonstrates that literacy should be incorporated into people’s cultures in order to be successful. This implies that while literacy has been introduced from outside, successful literacy becomes indigenised into the language ecology. A critical issue will be the production of literacy materials in both Tetum and the endogenous languages for both children and adults that go beyond the classroom and reflect East Timorese culture, values and realities so that literacy can have a purpose and can flourish. As Crowley (2000, p. 384) has observed in the context of literacy teaching in Vanuatu, language policy-makers in Timor-Leste should be encouraged to promote vernacular literacy in such a way that it promotes local rather than exclusively national or international interests. Experience from many countries has shown that it is possible to incorporate vernacular literacy into indigenous cultures without threatening their niche in the language ecology (see, for example, Freeland (1999) discussing Nicaragua; Aikman (1999) discussing Peru; Young (2002) discussing the Philippines; and Hornberger (2006b) discussing the Andes, Paraguay and New Zealand). Crowley (2005, pp. 31-49) recommended the gradual introduction
of initial vernacular literacy, over a period of at least 15 years, in order to avoid losing public support through mistakes or poor planning.

4. **Language policy success grows from changes in perceptions of language and from community decision-making.**

   It would be true to say that language policy and planning in Timor-Leste has so far followed the general pattern in being implemented in a top-down fashion and taking little account of what parents, communities and ordinary people think. A common criticism of language planning in the post-colonial phase, as Khubchandani (2004, p. 4) has argued, is that it has been ideology-driven and elite-sponsored: “it is mainly the custodians of language who decide what is good for the masses, by virtue of their hold on the sociopolitical and literary scene.”

   In the absence of a strong sense of civic nationalism in Timor-Leste, language policy serves as an instrument of political integration and in the absence of a strong sense of national identity, membership of the Lusophonia offers a young and fragile state a sense of a belonging to a wider, global community. However, as Tollefson and Tsui have warned, allowing too much power and privilege to dominant exogenous languages “[…] may produce nationals who are ambivalent about their identity and nations stripped of their cultural heritage.” Moreover, as Matiki (2006, p. 244) has observed, colonial language planning has fostered the impression that endogenous languages are inferior and less suitable for use at higher levels of national life. Negative attitudes towards Tetum do not bode well for its sustained development in public life. Successful planning for language revival needs to grow from community changes in the perception of language and from community involvement in decision-making. Such processes can make a positive contribution to reconciliation and social reconstruction. Community engagement through the multitude of networks and non-government organisations that exist in Timor-Leste could yield rich lexical resources and encourage interest in the standardisation of Tetum.

5. **Language policy success grows from allowing identities to be negotiated.**

   As Almeida (2001) has commented, the era of post-colonial studies is marked by the dependency of post-colonial societies on representations of their identity by the colonisers. A language policy approach that invites an inclusive and accommodating view of identity allows for a range of identity options to be negotiated without fear of
coercion or marginalisation. Negotiated identities do not rely on essentialised or idealised myths about the colonial heritage or links with the language and culture of the coloniser. They are able to incorporate different narratives that have grown out of the experience of occupation and diaspora. Following May (2001, p. 311), this thesis suggests that through the recognition of the collective language rights of all language groups, the nation-state can be re-imagined to accommodate greater cultural and linguistic diversity, whilst still acknowledging the historical/cultural forces that have shaped the ecology and the dispositions (habitus) of its speech communities. Finally, as May (2001, p. 315) has suggested, the recognition of historically and culturally situated identities should not set the limits of ethnicity and nationality nor act to undermine other equally valid forms of identity.

9.6 The Significance of the Study

This is the first doctoral study addressing language policy and planning in action in Timor-Leste. In investigating the complexity of multilingualism in Timor-Leste, this study is significant in that it has shown the ways in which language policies, practices, and instructional strategies have been tools for gaining and sustaining power. According to Corson (1999, pp. 14-15), “Language is the vehicle for identifying, manipulating and changing power relations between people … in short the struggle for power in any setting is really a struggle for the control of discourses.” This implies a policy approach that involves the devolution of research and decision-making processes down as far as possible to the lowest level of stakeholder (Corson, 1997, p. 177). As Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000, p. 100) have forcefully argued, ecological, multilingual and multiliterate language policies have the power to shift the traditional balance in language ecologies by acknowledging and giving voice to actors (educators, researchers, community members and education policy-makers) and practices at the macro- and micro-levels of society.
9.6.1 Methodological Significance of the Study

In terms of method, the thesis contributes to language policy research in its empirical approach to understanding language policy and planning in a postmodern, globalised world. As stated in Chapter 3, it takes a dualistic approach examining language policy and planning from the top down and from the bottom up. The thesis makes a detailed analysis of the components and features of the language ecology and makes use of an integrated framework for analysing the discourse strands in East Timorese language policy and planning. The ecology of language is used as both a metaphor and paradigm in which to situate the enquiry.

9.6.2 Policy Significance of the Study

The significance of this study for policy-makers lies in its confirmation of the linguistic vitality of Tetum and the other endogenous languages. It points to a need to embrace and promote the Tetum language as fundamental to national identity and the other endogenous languages as fundamental reflections of local identities. The study uncovers a complex range of attitudes and dispositions towards the exogenous languages. The language use data in this research study enhance the information provided in the 2004 National Census by providing details of language use amongst the participant groups at a micro social level. The policy significance of this study lies in its clear message for policy-makers that inclusive, consultative, bottom-up approaches are critical to successful policy outcomes and in its suggestion that an ecological approach values all languages in the system and seeks a niche for them. The data findings draw attention to the fact that oral or unwritten languages can play as valuable a role as written languages in the ecology, as expressions of local identity. Accordingly, in an ecological approach, it is essential to provide a niche for them through substantive status planning.
9.6.3 Theoretical Significance of the Study

The research design was innovative in that it adopted multiple research procedures and interdisciplinary data analytical tools. The thesis respecified and integrated analytic tools from critical discourse analysis and ethnographic research in order to understand the impacts of language shift and change on speakers and speech communities. In terms of substantive theory-building, the thesis defined the relationship between language policy and planning in Timor-Leste as a process of identity construction. In this process, the thesis challenged two traditional notions regarding language and nationalism: the principle of language and nation-state congruity and the notion of nations as linguistically homogenous or hierarchical imagined communities. Core value theory was used to explain how Portuguese and Tetum and their strong associations with Catholicism and Resistance have come to acquire such central significance in East Timorese national and social identity. The thesis utilised the notion of the habitus to enhance understanding of the relationship between historical experience, language dispositions and present-day identity in Timor-Leste. To recall, the habitus embodies a set of naturalised predispositions that guide behaviour and shape identity. The thesis has shown how the East Timorese linguistic habitus has been shaped by tremendous symbolic violence, obliged to defend a common ethnic and cultural identity in the face of Portuguese colonial policy and practices, military occupation by the Japanese in World War II and the onslaught of coercive nation-building during the illegal occupation by Indonesia. In the global age, the East Timorese habitus is under further pressure from the symbolic power and the social capital of English.

The thesis has shown how this symbolic violence has resulted in fractures and discontinuities in ethnic social and national identity, which are vulnerable to political manipulation. The competing agendas between, on the one hand, the forces of globalisation and post-colonial hegemony and, on the other, the demands for recognition and enfranchisement that were so violently expressed in the civic disorder of May 2006, pose serious challenges to nation-building. Language policy can

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28 The Japanese occupation has not been discussed in detail in the thesis because there is not enough extant data to reveal its impact on the language ecology (see Chapter 5).
contribute to reconciliation and social reconstruction—provided it can allow for people to select from a repertoire of non-hierarchical, heterogenous and negotiated national and social identities.

This conclusion was drawn from the application of postmodern and postcolonial theories of identity to the language situation in Timor-Leste. An important implication for the present study was that all East Timorese, but particularly young people in their twenties and thirties whose identities have been subject to greater hybridisation than those of their elders, may opt to select from a repertoire of identities depending on time, place, audience and their particular claim to identity. The postcolonial notion of the third space was used to situate the popular discourses of language and identity in relation to the grand narratives of official language policy and planning. However, the main contribution of the thesis to language policy and planning research lies in its development of a set of principles for ecological language management in multilingual polities. This is discussed in the closing sections of this chapter (Section 9.7).

9.6.4 The Limitations of the Study and Possible Directions for Future Research

This study worked by choice within the parameters set by the host country. When a researcher collects data from any host environment, s/he must accept the rules and requirements of that country. The particular parameters within which linguistic researchers are required to operate in Timor-Leste were among the constraints that shaped and influenced the design of the study. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 3, men outnumbered women in the interview sample groups. It would also have been desirable to obtain better representation of the districts and to spend more prolonged time in the field. The high number of English speakers in the sample also should be taken into account.

Timor-Leste is a rich source of potential data for applied and sociolinguistic study. A future large-scale study, based on a representative sample, investigating the links between language attitudes and language use might yield valuable quantitative information for planners and policy-makers. Equally, sociolinguistic research into language use at the meso- and micro-levels of the ecology, such as workplaces, educational institutions and families, would yield rich insights. One important area for
research is the investigation of issues and policy options in planning for bi- and multi-lingual education.

9.7 Towards a Theory of Ecological Language Planning

The final task of this thesis, in the light of its findings, is to outline what sustainable language ecological management might mean. Despite a great deal of writing both for and against the ecology of language paradigm, the actualities of ecological language planning remain underdefined. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 269) suggested, planning for language revival is, typically, focussed on individual languages. In many of their studies (see, particularly, 1997), they have embedded traditional language policy and planning frameworks in an ecological context. In his writings, Mühlhäusler (see, for example, 2000, pp. 331-332) initiated a discussion of what an ecological approach to language planning might involve. Mühlhäusler drew parallels between the preservation of linguistic diversity and the preservation of biodiversity and habitat. He equated ecological language planning with the preservation of traditional indigenous knowledge systems, recommending that language planning should include linguistic impact assessment, which examined whether or not a proposed development should go ahead in view of its environmental impact. However, little has been written about what principles a substantive theory of ecological language planning might include. This thesis proposes that ecological language policy and planning principles demonstrate concern for the total language environment. Drawing the findings and lessons from this study together, the thesis offers the following set of principles for the sustainable management of a language environment. As a set of outcomes based on a single study, they would require validation from other situations and therefore are presented here for consideration only in summary form. They are grouped together as a set of strategies for managing the three problems (managing the legacies of colonialism, reconstructing national and social identity and managing the language ecology) that have structured this thesis. In what follows, a set of possible ecological policy and planning strategies and recommendations for addressing each problem is listed.
1. Managing the legacies of colonialism
Ecological language policy and planning
a) aim to balance the global, regional and local interactions between the languages in the ecology.
b) take into account the need to provide a niche for all languages and forms of literacy in the ecology.
c) take into account the importance of planning from a language maintenance-oriented promotion perspective.
d) take into account the fact that the symbolic power of languages can promote or undermine their position in the language ecology.

2. Reconstructing national and social identity
Ecological language policy and planning
a) take into account the need to respect language rights, not only of individuals but also of groups.
b) take into account the fact that globalisation and the decentring of the nation-state have led to new forms of social identification which are multiple, multivocal, overlapping, situationally contingent and form part of a repertoire of possible identities, each with a particular range, scope and function.
c) acknowledge that people can hold several identities, without compromising their loyalty to the nation state.

3. Managing the language ecology
Ecological language policy and planning
a) acknowledge the potential of a language-as-resource ideology as an alternative to language-as-problem and language-as-right ideological orientations in language planning.
b) take into account the importance of recognising that social actors have agency and can exercise it to support or undermine language policy.
c) enable language planning from the bottom up and acknowledge the importance of engaging local communities in language planning from macro- to micro-levels.
d) acknowledge that the hierarchical ordering of languages is detrimental to endogenous languages. Accordingly, ecological language policy and planning take steps to ensure that international and national languages do not displace other languages in the ecology.

e) identify and strengthen cooperation and links between all language communities in the ecology.

f) regard language policy and planning as a niched activity, that is, involving planning for language use in a range of domains, activities and relationships and for various registers.

9.8 Closing Comments

Within the overall conception of language policy and planning as discursive constructs, this thesis has followed Cooper’s (1989) model in setting out to identify and analyse what actors, attempt to influence what behaviours, of which people, for what ends, and why. Starting from a brief discussion of pre-colonial language contact, the account of the evolution of language policy, planning and practices in four further successive and distinct historical periods has aimed to shed light on the circumstances under which current East Timorese language policy functions. Language policy and planning are highly charged issues in Timor-Leste, provoking reactions that range from passionate approval to outright disapproval and condemnation from some quarters. As recently as April 2006, Indonesian-based journalist, Janet Steele, justified the continued use of Indonesian and attacked the use of Tetum in the East Timorese press, making the following emotive claim: “It would be a tragedy if the journalists who helped build a sense of Timorese national identity were shut out by the language policy of the very nation they helped create” (Steele, 2006). Steele was referring to the fact that most East Timorese journalists write in Indonesian and claim that they find writing in Tetum very difficult. Her claim is ironic given the circumstances under which many East Timorese acquired Indonesian. As Hailemariam, Kroon and Walters (1999, p. 49) have pointed out in the context of Eritrean language policy and planning, the origins from which these reactions emanate may be less important than the question of whose interests they represent.
In the present political climate in Timor-Leste, policies that promote social inclusion and reconciliation are high on the list of government priorities. As Hornberger (2002, p. 27) observed, multilingual language policy and planning approaches which recognise ethnic and linguistic diversity as resources for nation-building open up new worlds for speakers of previously oppressed and undervalued endogenous languages. In closing, this study hopes to have shown how multilingual, language ecological policy approaches can allow the speakers of all languages in the ecology to participate in this process and to confront the challenges of development and nation-building both in and on their own terms.
Appendix A
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

I am asking for your help in a research project on language policy in Timor Leste. The research is for my Doctor of Philosophy degree. My supervisor is Associate Professor Tony Liddicoat. Our contact details are given at the end of this sheet. I would like to learn about the languages being used in Timor Leste today. Your participation in an interview will help me to understand how the present language policy came about. I believe that your ideas and opinions will contribute to a better understanding of how language affects peoples’ lives in Timor Leste. I hope that, if you are 18 or over, you are willing to help with this research. Participation is voluntary. Even if you agree to participate, you may stop at any time without giving a reason.

Details
Your participation in this research will involve an interview with me, or a research assistant. The interview will take approximately one hour. The interview can be in Tetum, English or Portuguese. I would like your permission to record the interview so that I can listen to it again, transcribe it and look for patterns in what you and other people say. Soon after the interview I will contact you again if necessary to talk about what happened during our discussion, or if I need to clarify anything.

Confidentiality
I will be very careful with confidential information. The recorded interview will be heard only by me, or by a research assistant. Information about the recorded interview will not be given to any other person. I will make sure that you cannot be identified from the recording or transcript.

Concerns or complaints
Please contact me at any time if you have questions or concerns about the research. If you wish to make a complaint to an independent person, you may contact Griffith University’s Ethics Officer at the Office of Research, Bray Centre, Nathan Campus. Telephone 07.3875.6618.

Griffith University is grateful for your assistance with this research project.
Researcher: Kerry Taylor-Leech. Supervisor: Associate Professor Tony Liddicoat
School of Languages and Linguistics, Nathan Campus, Brisbane, Queensland, 4111, Australia
Telephone: 07.3875.6751. Email: k.taylor-leech@griffith.edu.au
PARTICIPANT FREEDOM OF CONSENT AND CONFIDENTIALITY
AGREEMENT

English version Page 2.

The Ecology of Language Planning in Timor Leste

Summary of Research
Each volunteer will be interviewed for about an hour. Focus group discussions will take approximately one hour. The interview will be tape-recorded. If necessary the researcher will contact volunteers if clarification or follow-up is needed. Confidential information will be fully protected. Only the researcher or research assistant will hear the audiotape of each interview unless you give your permission in writing for others to hear it. The tape-recorded interview will not be given to anyone else. We will make sure that no one who is interviewed can be identified.

Consent
Please sign the statement below and return it to the researcher, Kerry Taylor-Leech immediately. Please sign this statement or the statement in Tetum on the next page.

I have read the information sheet and the consent form. I agree to participate in the project and give my consent freely. I understand the project will be conducted as described in the information statement, a copy of which I have retained. I realize that whether or not I decide to participate is my decision. I also understand that I can withdraw from this research at any time and that I do not have to give any reasons for withdrawing.

Appendix B

INL LETTER OF INVITATION AND AUTHORISATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AND INTERVIEWS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF TIMOR-LESTE

Instituto Nacional de Linguística
UNIVERSIDADE NACIONAL DE TIMOR-LESTE
Av. Cidade de Lisboa, Liceu Dr. Francisco Machado
Dili - Timor-Leste
Telefone (+670) 390 341 142 • FAX: (+670) 390 321 211

9 Juňu, 2004


Konvití ne’e la autoriza ema temi iha leten atu hala’o peskiza scientifica ida iha teritóriu RDTL nia laran.

Prof. Dr. George Saunders
Supervizór ba projetu-investigasaun sirá ne’ebé sidadaun Azia, Austrália ka Zelândia Foun maka hala’o iha mahon INL nian

hodi naran

Prof. Dr. Benjamim de Araújo e Corte-Real

Kontaku iha INL-Dili:
Dr. Adérito José Guterres-Correia
telemovel: 7236522

Escolares do Instituto Nacional de Linguística na Austrália:
School of Languages and Linguistics, Bankstown Campus, University of Western Sydney, Locked Bag 1797, Penrith South DC, NSW 1797 • Centre for Language in Social Life, Macquarie University, NSW 2109
Appendix C
THE LANGUAGE USE PROFILE
The Ecology of Language Planning in Timor-Leste
Focus Group /Semi-structured Interview Respondent profile

English Version

Group name/number (if a focus group):

Respondent's name (if an semi-structured interview):

Respondent's title and position:

Venue:
Date:
Time:

Dear participant,
Thank you for agreeing to take part in this focus group discussion. I would be grateful if you would complete this table providing me with some personal information. Please write the information in the right hand column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your name (optional).</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your age: Please choose from 18 - 25, 25 - 35, 35 +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you male or female?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What languages do you speak?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language (or languages) did you speak at home as a child?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you went to primary school, what language(s) did you speak most at primary school in class?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In primary school what language(s) did you use outside class?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you went to secondary school, what language(s) did you use most at secondary school in class?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At secondary school, what language(s) did you use outside class?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you went to university, what languages did you speak most at university in classes?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At university, what language(s) did you use outside class?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language do you use most at the moment? For what reasons do you use this language?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language do you use most at work?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the moment what language do you use most at home? For what reasons do you use this language?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language do you use most when you deal with public offices (For example, government offices, customs, administration etc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language do you use at church?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each question in the interview protocol was designed to be as open-ended as possible so as to allow for further elicitation of information as it arose in the conversation. It was also important to keep the questions and the profile simple and straightforward so that people of varying levels of literacy could complete them quickly and easily. Questions were prepared in Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English. Once each key question had been posed, further questions probed participants’ responses more deeply.

**Question 1: Can you tell me something about your involvement in the consultation process leading up to the decision to adopt the current language policy?**

In 2001 there was a popular consultation process in the run-up to the promulgation of the National Constitution of 2002. This question was designed to find out how much the participant knew about this process and whether s/he had participated in it in some way. If the participant had taken part as a party member or activist or in some other role, it was anticipated that s/he would talk about this. This question acted as an icebreaker and provided a way to start talking about language policy.

**Question 2: As you know, Portuguese and Tetum were declared co-official languages with Tetum as the national language. What do you think were the reasons for this choice?**

This question was designed to elicit understandings of the language policy decision and whether it was seen as an instrumental, political or symbolic decision. Probe questions explored whether it was thought to be the right decision and how the policy was thought to be progressing. This approach was drawn from a local newspaper article, which discussed in an interview with the Rector of the National
University (Interview with Dr Corte-Real, 2003) whether the language policy was thought to be ‘going well.’

Question 3: Why do you think it is important to have two official languages?

This question was designed to elicit views of the roles of Portuguese and Tetum and the relationship between them. Did people regard it as a fair and equal relationship or did they think that Tetum might lose out to Portuguese? It was anticipated that the discussions around this question would draw out dispositions towards these two languages and the participants’ levels of identification with them. Probing elicited whether the participant was concerned about the status of either language. Further probing elicited participants’ dispositions towards Indonesian, English and the endogenous languages by asking why two official languages had been chosen and not three or four or more.

Question 4: What do you think is the impact of having two official languages?

This question overlapped somewhat with the previous one. This was intentional. Overlap allows the interviewer to go back to an earlier thread to gain more information or to allow topics in the conversation to be revisited or followed up (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p. 316). The question was also designed to allow the opportunity to discuss the participant’s sense of the ecological impact of the language policy decision. Probing elicited whether the participant would prefer to see one, two or more official languages and if so which one(s). Probing also aimed to draw out the participant’s attitudes towards the endogenous languages and whether s/he feared that his/her first language, if it was not Tetum, might be excluded from development or marginalised by the two official languages. Further probing elicited how the participant felt about having to learn or relearn a new language or languages. It was anticipated that this would disclose attitudes and allegiances towards the language under discussion. Questions three and four provided a platform on which to discuss Indonesian and English as well as Portuguese and Tetum.
Question 5: How do you see the relationship between Portuguese and Tetum developing?

The purpose of this question was to find out whether the participant thought that the partnership between the two languages was equal. Probing elicited whether s/he thought that Tetum would develop as a consequence of being made official or whether Portuguese would dominate at the expense of Tetum. Probe questions elicited attitudes towards and/or awareness of the standardisation of Tetum and the official orthography.

Question 6: How do you see the indigenous languages developing?

This question was deliberately very open and designed to elicit the widest range of views about the endogenous languages. Probe questions elicited whether the participant regarded them as under threat or protected by the constitution and whether enough was being done to protect them.

Question 7: How do you see Tetum developing?

As with the previous question, this was very open-ended and intentionally overlapping somewhat with Question Five, again allowing for threads or themes to be picked up. The question also offered the opportunity for people to discuss the progress and take-up of Official Tetum. The researcher also probed to find out how much the participant knew about the new official Tetum orthography and whether they were using it in their workplaces and elsewhere. Probe questions drew out more details about whether they felt that Tetum would hold its own against Portuguese and what its status might be in the future.

Question 8: What do you see happening to the languages of Timor-Leste - in 5 years’ time? in 10 years’ time? in 20 years’ time?

This question was designed to find out whether people thought that language policy would serve the needs of the nation and whether the policy direction might change. The researcher made efforts to guide participants to set language in the
context of other priorities in their responses in order assess how important they thought it was. People were free to discuss any aspects of development. Probe questions asked where they would place language in a scale of priorities for the country. Did they value membership of the Lusophonia (the Portuguese-speaking family of nations) and how important did they think this was for the country? Did they see Timor-Leste as a Portuguese-speaking country in the future? Would their children be speaking Portuguese or Tetum or some other combination of languages? Did they perhaps see Timor-Leste as Indonesian or English speaking if policy changed?

Question 9: What sort of Timor-Leste do you envisage in the future?

This final question was again very open, overlapping somewhat with the previous question. It aimed to elicit what sort of society participants wanted for themselves and their children. Did they see themselves living in a multicultural society and what did this mean? Probing questions asked about their aspirations for their country so that the researcher could build up a picture the relationship between the participant’s aspirations for the country and language. The question was a pleasant way to bring the interview to a close because it allowed people to dream a little.
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Sydney.


