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9. JANE GOES TO TIMOR

How Time, Space and Place Shape English Language Teaching in International Development

This is a travel story - it is specific, particular, and yet situated also in the flows of people, media, languages, disciplines and ideas in a globalised world. It concerns the travel of English language teachers from Australia to work in international aid programs in East Timor; it tells of a teacher's mission, and how that mission was translated into a spatial practice through experiences of embodied engagement in the contact zone (Pratt, 1992). I start the story by outlining the way English language teaching practices are shaped within dominant narratives that privilege time over space, and then take a closer look at how one teacher slipped the temporal bonds to engage with an embodied sense of place.

Although the teacher's journey was neither linear nor without mishap and confusion, inevitably the constraints of this present textual format may render it rather too neatly. Despite its neat appearance, the story does not pretend to offer a universalising solution, but rather seeks an insight into a singular experience that resonates with some collected tales of experiential and pedagogical engagements in the contact zone.[1]

TIME AND SPACE IN DEVELOPMENT AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

The prevailing narrative of overseas aid for international development is one of promoting forward progress towards modernisation, a temporal narrative inscribed with a "simple teleology of the one and only story" (Massey, 1999, p. 281). The story goes like this: through international development aid programs, wealthy countries (like Australia) help poor countries (like East Timor) along the path of economic growth, towards a goal embodied in the "classic image of the West" (Gertzel, 1994, p. 2). The stimulation of market-oriented programs, so the story goes, will propel economic development and bring greater happiness to poorer nations, while fostering the trade and strategic foreign policy interests of donor nations. This story of rational progress is underpinned by a temporal logic that draws together many other disciplines and systems of knowledge and privileges time-as-progress, and time-as-action, over the specificities of space and place.

The problem with this "potent mythology of progress" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 209) lies in the unspoken narrative carried within. Along with a modernist ideal of progress, the international development industry has inherited the systematic

hierarchies of colonialism: donor nations are accorded a superior position, due to their 'developed' status, while recipient nations lag behind in a state of permanent deficit (Escobar, 2004; Rist, 2002). Geographically distant and different places, people and knowledges have been relocated into a chronological scale, measuring their temporal distance from the present, civilised stage of humanity (Mignolo, 2000, p. 283). In the contact zone of interaction between donors and recipients, this inherent hierarchy casts development workers from donor countries in the role of knowledge-bearing international elites, and participants from host countries in the role of knowledge-deficient dependents.

Educational programs, including programs to develop English language skills, fit well into the temporal narrative of development and progress (Kingsbury, Remenyi, & Hunt, 2004). They are seen as investments in human resources development that contribute to economic growth by modernising workforce skills and stimulating economic activity. In the global hierarchy, education for development is associated with the transfer to periphery institutions of knowledge generated in the First World; and educational dependency is linked to the transfer of Western educational forms and models, the preferential use of Western languages, and reliance on Western academic books and journals, thereby rendering 'periphery' universities consumers of knowledge from the 'centre', rather than producers of locally mediated knowledge (Altbach, 1998).

By association, English is presented as *the* language of modernisation and development, a natural, neutral and beneficial technical skill, and an adjunct to progress in any context. As such, improving English language skills has become a central function of the Australian policy for development assistance in education (AusAID, 2007). The notion of English language as a neutral, technical skill tends to preclude scrutiny of the knowledge constructs and hierarchies, linguistic complexities, colonial legacies and geopolitical effects of English language spread within specific contexts (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 2000). This image of neutrality also underpins an international English language teaching industry that ignores its own situated origins, and presumes to equip teachers from English speaking countries of the 'Centre' with "universally relevant" skills that may be applied in language teaching programs "throughout the Periphery" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 238). Centre-produced methods and materials for English language teaching, have become "synonymous with progress, modernisation, and access to wealth" (Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996, p. 200); however, being 'universally relevant', these pedagogical tools can often be disconnected from the specific local contexts in which they are applied.

Despite these disciplinary and pedagogical conditions, English language teachers have been exhorted to devise language lessons that are relevant to the context of use and engage with students' experience. Just how this is to be achieved in practice, particularly in places where English is a foreign language and seldom used outside the classroom, remains unclear. When working for international aid projects, transient English language teachers may have little understanding of their students' lived context; as foreign 'experts', they are "flown in on sleek jet planes" and expected to perform their role according to a "script and plan" (Toh, 2003, p. 557)

that reflects the "best modern methods" of language instruction (Savage, 1997). They are obliged to work towards the achievement of predetermined competencies or outcomes, under time pressures that speak to efficiency but preclude a more exploratory approach to place. The contingencies of place are rendered irrelevant, as context is reduced to a "neutral backdrop" where "androgynous bourgeois agents assert individual choice" (Luke, 1996, p. 311). How, then, can the teacher engage with a deeper sense of place and meaning for language learning? How can we "inhabit the present as if it were a place, a home rather than something we pass in a mad scramble to realise the future?" (May & Thrift, 2001, p. 37).

JANE GOES TO TIMOR

In this section, I relate the experience of Jane[2], who was engaged by a non-government agency to teach in a professional development program aimed at improving the English language skills and language teaching methodologies of East Timorese school teachers. While her account is only one of many in a larger research project, I focus on her story as a singular narrative that illuminates some of the broader issues to do with teachers' estrangements and engagements with place. Jane, a white, monolingual speaker of English in her mid 50s, had many years of experience teaching English language in Australia, but this was her first experience of teaching overseas. Before she applied to teach on the program, Jane's knowledge of Timor was scant:

> Before I applied, I knew nothing about Timor. In '99 when all the [post referendum] trouble was in Dili, my daughter was in India, and I kept thinking, my daughter is involved in this in Delhi [where she was travelling at the time]. You know, that was how little I knew about Timor, much to my shame (Jane, p. 29).

From the outset, Timor was the unknown, out there, strange and exotic, and most certainly dangerous.

Perilous Landscapes

Scouring for information before her travel, she came across the usual representations of Timor, during the period of its transition to independence, as a place of danger. This was a place where various groups were engaged in a violent political struggle to shape the new nation as it emerged from some 450 years of Portuguese colonialism and 25 years of Indonesian occupation and genocide. The 1999 vote for independence had triggered a campaign of violence in which thousands of Timorese were killed or displaced, cities and towns were reduced to rubble, and most of the country's infrastructure was destroyed. An international peacekeeping force, led by Australia, quelled much of the overt violence but had only limited success in producing an air of safety and stability. Australian media carried images of burning buildings, militia insurgents, guns and machetes. Although the peacekeeping forces were followed by an influx of civilian personnel from the

UN and international aid agencies, Jane's family, friends and professional colleagues discouraged her from going because "Oh my goodness it's so dangerous!" (Jane, p. 29). Such fearfulness reinforced an image of Timor as part of Australia's wild northern frontier, a place suitable only for intrepid masculine endeavours and where, as in the colonies, "heroic individual males behave in adventurous ways, exploring undiscovered lands and subduing the inhabitants" (Mills, 1994, p.37).

On the ground in East Timor, Jane was caught up in the endlessly circulating rumours of impending trouble. These sustained the notion of Timor as a perilous place of random, unpredictable violence and resistance to external interference: "there was some conflict ... between the whites and the Timorese ... something is kind of stirring ... stones were being thrown" and rogue groups were felling trees for road blocks, demanding payments from wealthy internationals for safe travel in places that were "quite volatile" (Jane, pp. 15-16). As was the case in earlier incarnations of colonialism, such unruly elements were seen to pose a particular threat to white women, who were then targeted by expatriate authorities as objects of particular concern:

> We were told as females, when we first went there, to make sure we had somebody else with us. It wasn't a good idea to go out at night alone ... I would never have gone to the beach alone ... we were told not to go ... We couldn't go far on our own, we weren't allowed I suppose, to go too far without a [male] driver (Jane, pp. 15-16).

Surrendering to patriarchal control, white women experienced a significant curtailing of their mobility: this was a place for masculine territorial struggle, and women should be fearful, passive and dependent. Development sites are, in this way, emblematic of a modernism that is "profoundly patriarchal" and, in its links to empire, profoundly racist and classist (Massey, 1994). In this gendering of the development story, a second pattern of time and space was realised. Time became aligned with the masculine, knowing subject, with agency and action; space became fixed, subjugated, controllable, and aligned with the feminised object-world (Grosz, 1995). For the female expatriate teachers, one effect of these restrictive, subordinating regimes was to limit their engagements with places and people beyond the boundaries of the expatriate enclaves.

The teachers' sense of isolation in this new place was exacerbated by their restricted knowledge of languages, with most, like Jane, having no proficiency in the languages spoken within Timorese communities. A rich array of national or indigenous languages had survived centuries of colonial interference, traces of Portuguese remained amongst the older generation, and Bahasa Indonesia had a stronghold amongst a younger generation as the language of instruction in schools over recent decades. English language was itself an outsider, representing only the latest wave in a series of colonial languages in Timor. As a common language amongst the recently arrived, relatively wealthy community of international development workers, English appeared to offer the promise of escape from economic deprivation. Although the dreams encouraged by the

language have often proved to be illusory, a boom in demand for English as the new language of necessity ensued, and this reinforced the privileged – but separated – status of English language teachers as the expatriate experts.

Pedagogical Scripts

The discourses of isolation and fear in the face of unpredictability had a corollary in Jane's pedagogical performance, where she initially sought safety in the habitual routines and "repertoires of conduct" (Rose, 1996, p. 144) that "mobilise the flesh" (Nespor, 1994, p. 14) and produce the teacher as subject. Such routines are in turn organised through familiar temporal and spatial frames. The broad temporal frame of her teaching practice was established by the drive for modernisation, to be realised through the introduction of improved English language skills and Jane's more 'advanced' teaching methods. Within that broad narrative sweep, a third temporal frame operated, one that has become naturalised and largely invisible in our familiarity with a modernist western education. This is the temporal framework governed by a will to order, where learning is regulated in the form of a stepped curriculum which measures the progress of individual students through developmental stages, and directs them towards a set of predetermined goals to be achieved within a fixed time period. In this way, educational programs are internally structured according to a linear narrative that shapes the classroom as a place dominated by teleological considerations of personal growth and cognitive development towards predictable outcomes (Peters, 1996).

Faced with the unfamiliar context of Timor, Jane drew on the safety of these pedagogical scripts and plans, following the steps and stages of a competency-based syllabus set by the project management and based on an Australian ELT textbook designed for assimilating migrants into an Australian lifestyle. As has been the case for many Western teachers in unfamiliar situations, the textbook became a de facto curriculum for teacher and students, and at first, Jane felt bound to a program that shaped the teaching day as a series of lessons she had to 'get through'. The pages of the textbook provided, in their very fixity, a prescribed pathway through an otherwise fraught and daunting day: "I suppose initially, in a new environment and in teaching something that was new, it was like, this is on the page, okay, I'll get through this today" (Jane, p.11). In a practice similar to her colleagues, Jane's reliance on scripts and plans could be seen in her conscientious habits of planning and organising sequences of work before meeting her students at the commencement of the course, and before each day's work, in a way that 'filled up' what was otherwise represented as the fearfully 'empty' time and space of the classroom. In her determination to focus on and perform the pedagogical script, we see yet again, the conscientious development expert as the active agent of time, working against a background of the world (or, in this case, the 'empty' classroom) as a knowable object; a passive, feminised space (Grosz, 1995).

Looking up from the page and facing this new place, however, Jane's next struggle was to connect her language teaching content, derived from a mandated Australian textbook to the context of Timor:

> I guess we went in with the brief to adapt [the course book and the program] culturally. Okay, I did not *know* the culture, so, how to adapt it culturally, and all I was seeing was, what was happening in that tiny little area where I was living … so I didn't *have* the experience culturally to change it culturally (Jane, p. 2).

In the case of teaching in development, textbooks provide a mobile form of disciplinary knowledge and also carry within them the representations of supposedly typical situations for English language use. In the most commonly used centre-produced textbooks, such situations are designed to reflect a modern 'international' lifestyle and tend to reduce the complexities of the world by presenting a simplified, sanitised, Western world viewpoint (Gray, 2002, p. 166). This simulacrum of the West then becomes 'universal' disciplinary knowledge, abstracted and severed from its place of origin, to be reterritorialised as norms and ideals in new places (Giddens, 1990; Rose, 1996). For Giddens, this very decontextualisation of knowledge was a necessary condition for its spread from the West around the globe in the processes of imperialism. Yet it is the gap between a deterritorialised textbook world and local conditions that the English language teacher is expected to bridge.

Like many teachers in similar programs, Jane found her own limited experience of the context prevented her from either successfully adapting the spatial representations of the course book to her new surroundings, or drawing some new relation between English as a foreign language and the particular places and histories of Timor.

> [the textbook is based on] a Queensland program … it's very Australian, so you know. You catch a train, so you'd look at train timetables, but there are no trains in [Timor], Well I could adjust that to bus timetable, but like the microlets (Timorese minibuses) do not have a timetable! So it's all that, culturally so strange and there were a lot of things I left out because at the time I couldn't think of how to change it. And it was so new (Jane, p. 2).

As Jane soon discovered, the typical situations and scripts depicted in the textbook, and forming the basis of lesson plans, like reading timetables, catching trains, even eating breakfast, did not apply to Timor. The scripts and representations of textbooks, being divorced from the world outside the classroom, instead produced an 'English bubble', a disciplinary schema floating detached from the social and historical context of this particular location. For most of the Australian teachers in my study, the disconnection between those imported scripts and plans for teaching, and the particular characteristics of places and people in Timor, led to intense feelings of confusion, disorientation and doubt. Only a few of the teachers clung tenaciously to their 'universal' teaching methods and materials, remaining in the English bubble that hovered above the landscape.

What was not depicted in the anodyne representations of the textbooks were some of the material consequences of western intervention in Timor. For Jane, fragmentary encounters with the outside world began, in small ways, to shake any certainty she might have had about the promise of development to bring progress and modernity to Timor. She saw the spatial boundaries drawn around the development enclaves, the hierarchies of wealth and power that produced a dual economy, and the resultant alienation of development workers from the host community. These discrepancies in wealth were crystallised in a specific place where the detritus of an elite international lifestyle disfigured the landscape. Discarded from expatriate enclaves, mounting waste in the form of toilet paper, water bottles and packaging settled in swelling rubbish dumps: "Now the rubbish tip had only just started and there were people who lived in the rubbish tip and they would go through all that rubbish that had been thrown out" (Jane, p. 9). This despoiling of the landscape and degradation of a host community were problems for which Jane felt a sense of personal responsibility. This was rubbish generated "not only by Westerners, but *this* Westerner", and much of it was waste that was "*never* going to disintegrate" (Jane, p. 9), leaving an ugly scar in the wake of a transient expatriate occupation. Jane's reflections on these discomforting encounters contributed, in turn, to her uncertainties and misgivings about the effects of a pedagogical mission that had similarly promised to bring progress in the form of educational advancement.

LEARNING CONNECTIONS TO PLACE

Destabilising Hierarchies

Jane's moves to make a different sort of connection with the specificities of place in Timor involved subtle spatial and temporal shifts. The first entailed Jane's struggle against the presumptions of status that had constructed a spatial separation between herself and her adult students; a separation that was secured by the hierarchies of progress, development and disciplinary knowledge. Within these hierarchies, local colleagues and students were positioned as subordinate to foreign teachers, who flew in as knowledgeable expatriate experts, and were expected to maintain professional standards by approaching their task, their students, and the social, economic and political context, with an objective detachment. The implied "superiority of being us" (D'Cruz & Steele, 2003, p. 37), so evident in interactions between donor and host communities in development, reproduced relationships between coloniser and colonised, and created a discomforting position that Jane struggled to resist.

> I felt a lot of the Timorese, because I was white, it was this kind of thing [bowing] like especially one of the fellows who worked at the college, and [I'd say] "Domingos, please don't", and he'd be like this [bowing], and that was just [cringes] that was just, I didn't like that (Jane, p.15)

She was concerned that the respect her local colleagues and students gave her created a hierarchy of "I am here [gesturing a hand placed high] and you are there [a hand placed low]", producing a wariness and "this distance" between them

that she attempted to break down (Jane, p.17). Jane's struggle was one towards disrupting the boundaries between self and other, between self and the environment, in the contact zone. In this process, the separated, ordered spatiality of neo-imperial culture could be reconceived in terms of porousness and fluidity that allow for an engagement with the 'other' (Pratt, 1992, p. 222).

Despite these moves to break down boundaries, Jane was cautious to avoid any claims to belong to East Timor in a way that might replicate (neo)colonial possession. Expressions of affirmation and connection thus left her in an in-between space, neither part of the local community, nor completely identified with the expatriate community.

> With the East Timorese that I worked with, I was made to feel very welcome, but I'm *not* East Timorese, I didn't have the language, and I think the first step in any culture is to learn the language. And so yes, I didn't feel like an outsider, that it was lonely being an outsider, but I felt, I certainly wasn't an East Timorese (Jane, p. 17).

Language, then, was seen as central to the production of belonging. Whereas development discourses envisage English language as building global communities and bringing recipient communities forward into a globalised world, Jane became aware that her own deficiencies and failings in other languages and ways of understanding, had left her out of place. Far from being disabling, however, the uncertainty of this liminal location eventually opened up new spatial and temporal possibilities. Over time, Jane recalled a particularly strong sense of being in a new place in terms of a gradual shift in both space and time that flowed into her classroom work. Being in a new place was not a matter of bringing change to an impoverished recipient community: rather, "being there *changed me*" (Jane, p. 24).

Jane's attempt to shift from a position of teacher-as-expert was evident in an acknowledgement that the foreign teacher was not necessarily the one who 'knew' what was going on, either inside or outside the classroom. Resisting the position of the knower, Jane sensed that, as an 'outsider', she "*never* knew what was going on"; however, this "wasn't bewildering' or a cause of anxiety. "In the end you don't know what was going on anyway ... but it really, it doesn't matter that you don't know, and probably you'll never know" (Jane, p. 17). In this move, rather than positing a transcendent, knowing subject, a detached "monarch-of-all-I-survey" (Pratt, 1992, p. 213), Jane sought to relinquish the a priori position of authority granted her as the teacher, and through contextual experiences of "disorientation, incomprehension, self-dissolution" (p. 222) became open to a different sort of engagement with place.

Moving Outside the Classroom

A further shift involved a move outside the boundaries of the classroom, a move that also saw a further reversal in the balance between teacher and students' expertise. The conventional asymmetry of power between teacher and student is enabled, in part, by the enclosure of the modernist classroom within firm

boundaries. Such enclosure can be seen as an attempt "to stabilise the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time" (Massey, 1994, p. 5), and subjects those within to the gaze of disciplinary authority. In an early attempt to disrupt this pattern and to make connections with her students, Jane drew a time-line of her own life experiences, and used this as a model in the hope of eliciting students' own life stories. But students were reluctant, resistant. When inside the space of the classroom they were "very non-committal about their personal stories and about the war" (Jane, p. 10), eluding the spatial schema of the panopticon and the disciplinary gaze.

However, a move beyond the institutional envelope opened up possibilities for different, destabilising "spatial practices" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96). And although Jane had insufficient knowledge of the culture of East Timor to adapt the content of the textbook to that context, moving outside the classroom allowed a more subtle, spatially nuanced, contextualisation of language and meaning. It also enabled a different connection between the teacher, the student and the production of "spatial history" (Carter, 1987). When outside the classroom, students' stories about the meanings of various places were more readily shared. Walking down the street, she would be shown where "this place was bombed, the bombs came over here, this happened here, and that sort of thing" (Jane, p. 10). In this spatial practice, the students had become the experts, narrating the stories-in-walking that "weave places together" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 97).

Nevertheless, engagement with the students' stories was not without its difficulties. These were also places "haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence, spirits one can invoke or not" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 108). Here, de Certeau recognises that the verbal relics and debris, the shy, silenced memories that emerge from places, do so in resistance to the 'proper', disciplinary organisations of space and place. One such resistant engagement arose when Jane visited a Timorese beach with her students after studying textbook stories and information about Australian beaches. While beaches in Australian textbooks are often represented as jolly scenes of outdoor living, these beaches had a different meaning to tell. On the beach together, other stories surfaced, fragments and memories of other times in this place. The students told her that:

> going down to the water and swimming is not something that they did ... swimming or being in the water was avoided because, when the Indonesians were there that was part of the torture, they'd take them down to the beach and put their head down underneath and that kind of thing ... it takes a bit of courage to [go there], because this is what happened. (Jane, p. 3)

Outside the classroom there were communal practices of remembrance, recalling into the present personal memories of violence and trauma: "things *extra* and *other* [that] ... insert themselves into the accepted framework, the imposed order" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 107). In these events, the imposed order showed its instability; the beach was constructed through different experiences of different groups and individuals, as a liminal space of contested meanings. Through these narratives, the talk between teacher and students turned from the routine functions set out in the

textbook to talk emerging from the contingencies of place, not only alluding to past trauma, but also discussing the construction of a new nation built on old ties and allegiances, the writing of a new constitution, the role of the church in the new state, the impassioned speeches of Xanana on his election rounds.

Shifts in Time

In Jane's experience, there was evidence not only of the development of a different sense of space and place, but also of a different sense of time, as personal and community histories, and possible futures, were brought into the space of the language classroom. These were times uncontained by the causality and predictability of historicism, or the strictures of clock time that govern the modernist mission of education. The most pressing articulation of time appeared in almost every teacher's perception that there was never enough of it: their foreign presence, in a place of long historical struggle, was transient and fleeting. This was particularly true for teachers on short term contracts where the measurement of progress was tied to unrealistic objectives and time constraints. Such were the hopes and desires resting on the promises of English language that any amount of time was felt by the teachers to be insufficient to achieve what was expected of them.

Taking a different approach to time, Jane's observations help to put the notion of teaching into a longer and more complex perspective of local time. Her shifting sense of time appeared in accounts of a different tempo or pace, more in line with the exigencies of events outside the classroom walls, taking precedence over the regulated time imposed by institutional and disciplinary requirements. Holy days, family obligations, anniversaries and political involvements were, for some, primary commitments around which time was organised. Although some of Jane's expatriate colleagues became frustrated when other priorities interrupted their 'normal' temporal expectations of timetabled classes, others enjoyed the sensation of a merging with experiences of time evolved within this context. Jane's easing into a different way of organising and experiencing time was evident in her changing relationship with the teaching plan that structured her pedagogical practice. This change of pace was realised in a release from the boundaries of the textbook: "I mean I didn't have to open the book and think oh, my god what am I doing today?" (Jane, p. 24). In her pedagogical practice, this meant she could be more flexible, to "risk", and "begin to be creative, which I wasn't, I wasn't there in that space when I first started" (Jane, p. 25).

Jane's earlier idea of professionalism had suggested a valorisation of productive time also typical of an industrial, industrious modernity (Adam, 2003). Rushing around, "still working at Australian pace" (Jane, p.11), her embodied, pedagogical performance had reflected a regulatory politics of time that underpins development and strives for progress and productivity. As Adam points out, such notions of "time thrift", aimed at maximising labour force efficiency, have been ingrained in the West since the industrial revolution and have been central to the neo-colonialist agenda of globalisation and development:

to be 'modern', 'progressive', even 'civilised' means to "embrace the industrial approach to time" (Adam, 2003, p.71). But these habits were gradually challenged and then changed by a new, phenomenal sense of being in place and time:

> Once I could slow down to East Timor, it was difficult to keep, I suppose the professionalism, my expectations of teaching, and to be able to slow down to the pace that one has to slow down to, you know with the heat and things, and that was, I think I managed it towards the end … I was able to sort of slow down, I didn't have to go [gestures of speedy, robotic talking and moving] (Jane, p. 11).

She had moved from a place of having "conflict going on, rushing here, rushing there", to "slowing down", and learning just to "be there" (Jane, p. 24). Both inside and outside the classroom, the temporal bonds that had regulated her way of being slipped away:

> I had never experienced that continual sense of being in the moment that I did towards the end there … I thought, my joy is being here, that's how I felt … it was so sharp and so beautiful, but that experience I've only ever had like for seconds or for minutes or for a day, but I'd get up in the morning and it would be there, and you know, it would be there, the wonderment I think.

> To be aware, to be conscious, to be content, to be happy, um, to be there. To not have conflict going on, um, as to, I suppose I had learnt to live in 'Timor time' and not have that conflict of rushing here, rushing there, and knowing things will get done. Yeah, so that slowing down to be in 'Timor time' and to 'be there' … I was very content, and everywhere I looked I thought, 'this is great, I am happy to be here' (Jane, p. 24).

This embodied expression of pleasure in 'being there', de Certeau describes as another 'spatial practice', "under-expressed in the language it appears in like a fleeting glimmer" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 108). If a regimented, commodified ordering of time and space, 'rushing here, rushing there', signalled a detachment from or conflict with the phenomenal world, Jane's changing experience of time seemed to indicate a closer sensate engagement with being in place that, in turn, infused her pedagogical practice.

Being There

At the beginning, Jane's story of Timor was one of fearfulness and trepidation; everywhere she went, she was chaperoned to avoid the unwelcome confrontations of the contact zone. On her teaching assignments in different locations, she had been instructed to travel in the institutional four-wheel drive that signifies the western aid worker as privileged foreigner: large, white, and air-conditioned, they stand out from the Timorese landscape as the expat cocoon, just passing through. By the end of her journey, however, these detached, anxious ways of relating to

place had been transformed: "any fears that I had, had dropped away" (Jane, p. 24). After her teaching day at a village some distance from her base, rather than waiting as usual to be collected by the vehicle, she walked.

> [At the beginning] I used to just sit and wait for the car, and towards the end of my time there, the time when I felt that I'd settled in, I started walking ... I felt so comfortable, it was at sunset, everybody spoke to me: "where are you going?" uh, what was it, "bapasa Baucau", and they looked at me like: "you're walking to Baucau?! Is she off her head?!" *They* do it every day, but you know, and I had the pack full of books and stuff, and everybody was really friendly, and I felt very comfortable. I certainly didn't feel threatened at all ... it was lovely, that time when I walked back ... just talking to everyone at that time of night when they were outside and, yeah ...(Jane, p. 15).

The 'pack full of books' had not been abandoned, but Jane was no longer so tied to their scripts and plans, instead experiencing a different sort of relationship between language, pedagogy and the possibilities of place. Walking here has become the "spatial acting-out of the place" and "a space of enunciation" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 98). Rather than being the passive object of development discourses, and of masculine surveillance and control, viewing the landscape from the impersonal safety of the four-wheel drive, Jane encountered a more practical, nocturnal, sensual knowledge of place, made up from fragments of conversation, and the rhythm of walking in the contact zone.

RE-READING LANGUAGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Jane's story demonstrates some of the ways in which English language teaching relates to the development context, and the ways in which this relationship is shaped by naturalised, modernist regimes of time and space. Through these regimes, underlying temporal narratives propel development pedagogies in a 'mad scramble' to realise a future while, at the same time, spatial separations sustain the gendered and racialised legacies of a colonial past. Jane's fears of being in a new place were heightened by circulating rumours of impending violence and corresponding discourses of hypermasculinity that encouraged a shrinking detachment from a wild world beyond the boundaries of a closed, expatriate society. A sense of alienation from place was then reiterated through Jane's initial compliance with routines that organised her pedagogical performance in accordance with norms and expectations from elsewhere. However, as Toh (2003) has observed, a focus on scripted performance and dissemination of modern methods leaves little room for a critical orientation towards English language teaching, or the complicity of English in the patterns of social, economic and political hierarchies of development. For an insight into those ways of being that defy or undermine the conventional discourses of English language teaching and development, I have focused more closely on how other manifestations of space and place emerge in Jane's narrative, in the "microbe-like, singular and plural practices" and "surreptitious creativities" which a totalising system is designed to domesticate or suppress (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96).

For Jane, it was the mismatch between conventional pedagogical routines, and the contradictory fragments of lived experience encountered in the world outside the classroom, that led to doubts about the viability of a mission for development styled by external goals. Resisting the transcendent subject position accorded her as the expatriate expert, Jane found another way of being-in-the-world, of connecting to local places and people, unfolding some small particles of the stories accumulated in places, and reconstructing spatial histories. This experience was more than something she could read in a book or watch in a film, it was something to do with the embodied experience of being there, an embodied engagement with landscape, with learning, with place. Walking, listening and memory led her to an engagement with spatiality, and produced an embodied, situated, partial knowledge of place that informed her pedagogy. These involvements allowed Jane to be present in the contact zone, outside and inside the classroom, in ways that resisted the most overt expressions of power, distance and detachment that can too easily characterise the pedagogical practices of disciplinary knowledge, and the world of international development. Her spatial practices allowed a more flexible interaction between teacher and student, and between English language teaching and the cultural and political dimensions of local places and contexts of learning in development.

Using a framework of time, space and place to reflect on Jane's narratives has enabled a different reading of English language teaching and development. This new reading points to the importance of interrogating the ways and the extent to which performing English language teaching is colonised by notions of time and space that tie the discipline into global institutional, economic and social systems, and into the stratification of cultural politics in local places. It offers a means of questioning the way spaces, places and people are connected or disconnected through language and language teaching, and attempts to open the classroom space to the phenomenal, cultural and political influences and knowledges of local places. This is a process that, for the teacher, signals time and space as dimensions with which to critically rethink the textual and political relation between global and local space, and implies learning new ways of being in a postcolonial world. In some small ways, Jane's experiences help us imagine what a place-based English language teaching might look like.

NOTES

[1] The teacher's narrative draws on interview data collected in a larger research project that investigated the role of English language teaching in international development. A full account of the project will be published in Appleby (forthcoming) *Experiencing Time, Space and Gender: English Language Teaching and International Development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

[2] Jane is a pseudonym for one of the teachers interviewed in the research project.

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