

Autodidactic English Learning Strategy of Tour Guide in the Raja Ampat Island

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Abstract

This study explores the autodidactic English learning strategies employed by local tour guides in Raja Ampat Island, a prominent marine tourism destination in eastern Indonesia. Due to limited access to formal language education, many guides independently develop their English skills to meet the communication demands of international tourism. Adopting a mixed-methods approach, the study involved 10 participants through in-depth interviews and a structured questionnaire. Thematic analysis was used to interpret qualitative data, while descriptive statistics supported the quantitative insights. The findings reveal that tour guides employ diverse self-directed strategies, including setting personal learning goals, practicing English through direct interactions with tourists, mimicking native speakers, maintaining vocabulary notebooks, and using digital tools such as Google Translate, YouTube, and ELSA Speak. These strategies align with theoretical frameworks such as Heutagogy, Self-Directed Learning (SDL), and Constructivism. Among the most effective approaches was real-time communication with international visitors, offering authentic exposure and immediate language application. Despite their dedication, participants reported several challenges, including limited grammar knowledge, lack of corrective feedback, and irregular learning routines. However, their strong intrinsic motivation, adaptability, and problem-solving attitudes illustrate the potential of self-managed learning in remote areas. The study concludes that autodidactic learning can be a viable path for language development in tourism sectors where formal instruction is scarce. It also suggests the need for accessible digital resources and minimal structured support to optimize learning outcomes. These findings offer practical implications for language educators, tourism authorities, and policymakers interested in enhancing the communicative competence of tour guides in under-resourced regions.

Keywords: Autodidactic Learning; English Language; Tour Guides; Raja Ampat

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Introduction

In today's globalized tourism industry, English has emerged as the universal language for communication. This demand is especially crucial in destinations like Raja Ampat, Indonesia—an ecotourism hotspot renowned for its marine biodiversity and visited by travelers from around the world. Located in a geographically remote region of West Papua, Raja Ampat increasingly attracts international tourists. In this context, local tour guides play a vital role in shaping visitor experiences and promoting cultural exchange. However, many of these guides lack access to formal English language education due to geographical, infrastructural, and economic barriers. As a result, they are compelled to develop their language skills independently, relying on autodidactic or self-directed learning methods to meet professional communication needs.

The tourism sector significantly contributes to Indonesia's economy, accounting for approximately 11% of the national GDP (BPS, 2022). Tour guides' ability to communicate effectively in English enhances not only service quality and tourist satisfaction but also long-term sustainability through repeat visits and positive word-of-mouth. In rural or isolated areas with limited institutional support, autodidactic learning becomes an essential alternative. This self-initiated process allows individuals to take full responsibility for identifying their learning goals, choosing resources, and evaluating outcomes (Brookfield, 2020).

The rapid growth of digital learning tools has further enabled informal English learners to access global resources. UNESCO (2021) notes a rising trend in mobile-assisted language learning,

where users independently engage with platforms such as Duolingo, Google Translate, YouTube, and ELSA Speak. These tools allow learners to acquire vocabulary, improve pronunciation, and practice conversational skills without classroom instruction. Studies confirm the positive impact of mobile learning on motivation and engagement, particularly for adults in non-academic contexts (Almusharraf & Almusharraf, 2021; Liu & Chen, 2024). Yet, despite increasing adoption of technology, there are still obstacles—such as poor internet access, limited feedback, and lack of structured guidance—that hinder consistent learning, particularly in rural and under-resourced areas like Raja Ampat.

Several studies have explored self-directed language learning in tourism contexts, particularly in regions like Bali and Yogyakarta. Widodo et al. (2021), for example, examined how Balinese tour guides used authentic materials and interaction to develop their English skills. Nurhayati (2022) discussed the need for English curriculum development for tour guides in Eastern Indonesia. However, these studies either focus on relatively developed regions or emphasize institutional design rather than learner strategies. Research by Zhang and Lee (2024) shows informal language learning in rural ASEAN tourism hubs, but Papua remains underrepresented. Thus, the existing literature does not adequately address how autodidactic learning strategies function in highly remote, tourism-dependent areas like Raja Ampat.

This research gap is important because language learning is closely tied to local context, learner autonomy, and real-world application. Recent studies in educational psychology and applied linguistics emphasize the importance of situated learning and learner agency in informal education (Zimmerman & Schunk, 2022; Rahman, 2023). Theoretical frameworks such as Heutagogy, Self-Directed Learning (SDL), and Constructivism provide lenses to understand how individuals in challenging environments construct knowledge through experience, reflection, and adaptation. Heutagogy highlights autonomy, adaptability, and the learner's ability to self-determine pathways (Hikmah et al., 2023), while SDL emphasizes self-monitoring and strategy use (Liu, Johnson, & Park, 2023). Constructivist approaches place learning in meaningful, social, and experiential settings (Sari & Dardjito, 2020). Yet, few studies integrate these three frameworks to examine self-directed English learning in the field of ecotourism—particularly in isolated Indonesian communities.

To address this gap, the present study investigates the autodidactic English learning strategies of tour guides in Raja Ampat. It seeks to analyze how these guides use digital tools, real-world interaction, and self-managed techniques to build their English proficiency. The research also explores the challenges they face and the motivations that sustain their learning efforts. By applying a mixed-methods approach and drawing on the frameworks of Heutagogy, SDL, and Constructivism, this study aims to offer both theoretical insight and practical guidance for language educators, tourism stakeholders, and policymakers. Ultimately, it contributes to a deeper understanding of how independent learning functions in remote, tourism-based communities and how it can be better supported through tailored interventions.

Literature Review

The increasing demand for English proficiency among tourism professionals, particularly tour guides in international destinations, has amplified interest in informal and independent learning methods. In regions where access to formal language instruction is limited, such as Raja Ampat in eastern Indonesia, autodidactic learning offers a practical solution. This literature review synthesizes theoretical foundations and empirical studies relevant to autodidactic English learning, especially in tourism contexts. It is structured around three core learning theories: Heutagogy, Self-Directed Learning (SDL), and Constructivism, and contextualized with technology, practice, and motivation factors that shape self-learning in remote regions.

a. Autodidactic Learning and Its Theoretical Frameworks

Autodidactic learning refers to self-initiated and self-regulated learning undertaken without formal institutional guidance. Modern interpretations of self-directed learning emphasize learner autonomy, flexibility, and metacognitive engagement. Heutagogy, an evolved form of SDL, focuses on learners' ability to determine not just what to learn, but how and why to learn it (Hikmah et al., 2023; Narayan et al., 2019). It encourages double-loop learning, reflection, and adaptive strategies in unpredictable or dynamic environments, such as tourism services.

Self-Directed Learning (SDL), often overlapping with heutagogy, emphasizes conscious goal-setting, progress monitoring, and the selection of appropriate learning tools. Bayley et al. (2020) explain that SDL is especially effective for adult learners in non-formal environments. In language learning, this method helps individuals develop functional competence even in resource-scarce conditions. Setyo Laksono (2023) found that adult learners who used SDL strategies—such as vocabulary logs and self-assessment showed higher language retention and fluency.

Constructivism, grounded in the works of Piaget and Vygotsky, posits that knowledge is built through interaction and meaningful experience. In tourism contexts, constructivist learning occurs through authentic communication with guests. Dewi (2021) and Rahman (2023) noted that experiential learning such as guiding tours, answering spontaneous questions, or dealing with travel problems—forms a powerful context for constructing language competence. These real-time interactions strengthen the connection between language input and immediate application, enhancing long-term retention and confidence.

b. Technology and Informal Learning Tools

The digital revolution has empowered autodidactic learners by providing flexible, on-demand access to educational content. Tour guides increasingly utilize digital tools such as Google Translate, YouTube videos, mobile language apps (e.g., Duolingo, ELSA Speak), and podcasts to enhance their vocabulary, pronunciation, and conversational skills. Almusharraf & Almusharraf (2021) found that language learning apps significantly boost learner motivation and engagement, especially among adults. Reinders and White (2016) observed that technology also improves learners' ability to plan, track, and evaluate their progress—aligning well with SDL and heutagogical approaches. However, access alone does not guarantee learning success. Bonk (2020) argues that the effective use of technology requires digital literacy, motivation, and purposeful strategy. In the context of Raja Ampat, limitations in internet access and technological infrastructure can hinder consistency and quality of learning experiences (Blaschke & Marín, 2020). Nevertheless, even with these constraints, digital platforms remain essential tools that facilitate exposure to authentic English use.

c. Motivation, Context, and Challenges

Motivation is another critical factor in autodidactic learning. According to Liu & Chen (2024), intrinsically motivated learners are more likely to persist and adapt when faced with learning obstacles. For Raja Ampat tour guides, intrinsic motivation often stems from professional pride, a desire to serve tourists better, and economic incentives. Arifin & Nugroho (2024) report that tour guides with strong self-belief and purpose showed higher learning resilience despite limited formal training. Yet autodidactic learning is not without its challenges. Kim & Frick (2022) noted that structuring one's own curriculum, maintaining motivation, and obtaining feedback are persistent obstacles. Tour guides may lack feedback mechanisms to correct errors in pronunciation or grammar, which can reinforce fossilized mistakes. Additionally, evaluating one's own progress without external benchmarks can be difficult (Liu, Johnson, & Park, 2023). Studies by Zhang & Lee (2024) and Cheng et al. (2023) emphasized that learners in remote regions also face barriers like limited resources, social isolation, and inadequate foundational knowledge.

d. Tourism and Language Learning: The Context of Raja Ampat

While a few studies have addressed self-learning among tour guides in Indonesia (Widodo et al., 2021; Nurhayati, 2022), most are centered in well-connected regions like Bali. There is a significant research gap concerning autodidactic learning in isolated, tourism-dependent areas such as Raja Ampat. Research by Faisal (2023) noted the pressing need for capacity-building initiatives in Raja Ampat's tourism sector, especially in language training. The lack of formal education access places the responsibility of language acquisition on the individual, making autodidactic strategies not just an alternative but a necessity. This study builds on these insights by examining the intersection of independent learning, digital tools, and experiential contexts through the lens of Raja Ampat tour guides. It contributes a localized understanding of how autodidactic strategies are shaped by environment, culture, and opportunity—offering implications for language educators, policymakers, and tourism stakeholders.

Methodology

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach to investigate the autodidactic English learning strategies of tour guides in Raja Ampat, West Papua. This approach was chosen to explore participants' lived experiences, motivations, and learning behaviors in depth, especially in a context where formal language instruction is limited. The study was grounded in the interpretivist paradigm, which prioritizes understanding the meaning individuals assign to their actions and experiences in specific cultural and situational settings (Creswell & Poth, 2018). To gather rich, detailed data, semi-structured interviews were used as the primary method. This allowed for flexible yet focused exploration of participants' independent learning strategies while enabling them to share their unique experiences in their own words. Supporting this qualitative design, a simple descriptive quantitative questionnaire was administered to gain supplementary insights into the frequency and consistency of specific learning behaviors among the participants. This combination enabled a fuller understanding of both the depth and breadth of autodidactic strategies used in this unique setting.

The study involved ten local tour guides, selected through purposive sampling based on specific criteria: each had a minimum of two years of experience in the tourism sector, actively used English with international tourists, and had limited or no formal English education. This sampling ensured that all participants had substantial and relevant experience with informal language learning in a real-world, high-stakes environment. To maintain ethical integrity, participants were briefed on the study's objectives and their rights, including voluntary participation and the ability to withdraw at any time. Informed consent was obtained in writing, and participant identities were anonymized to protect confidentiality.

A semi-structured interview guide developed using three theoretical lenses Heutagogy, Self-Directed Learning (SDL), and Constructivism to probe aspects of learner autonomy, experiential learning, and self-regulation. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, lasted 60–90 minutes, and were audio-recorded with participants' consent. The interviews were transcribed and translated into English for analysis. A 15-item Yes/No questionnaire aimed to measure the presence of specific learning behaviors, including personal goal setting, technology usage, reflective practices, and practice through interaction. The questionnaire, also written in Bahasa Indonesia, was reviewed by experts in English education and pilot tested to ensure clarity and validity.

Data were collected over one month. Each participant completed the questionnaire prior to their individual interview. Interviews were held in informal and participant-selected locations to promote comfort and candid responses. Field notes were also taken to document contextual cues and non-verbal behaviors. Qualitative data from the interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis, following the six-phase model developed by Braun and Clarke (2006): (1) familiarization with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) producing the report. Themes were initially guided by the study's conceptual frameworks but remained open to emergent insights.

Result

The study explored how tour guides in Raja Ampat developed English proficiency autonomously in the absence of formal education or structured instruction. Analysis of questionnaire responses and in-depth interviews revealed a range of self-directed learning strategies rooted in necessity, motivation, creativity, and adaptability. The findings are categorized into seven major strategies: (1) vocabulary logging, (2) imitation and mimicry, (3) real-time communication and learning-by-doing, (4) goal setting and planning, (5) repetition and self-assessment, (6) use of digital and translation tools, and (7) error-based reflection. These findings are consistent with key constructs in heutagogy, self-directed learning (SDL), and constructivist learning theories.

A. Vocabulary Logging and Self-Made Glossaries

One of the most common strategies observed among participants was the deliberate practice of logging new vocabulary. All ten participants reported keeping written or digital records of unfamiliar English words they encountered during tours. These notes were often enhanced with meanings, pronunciation tips, and sample uses.

"I write down every new word I hear from tourists, then I study it at home at night. If I forget, I review my notes again."

Participant 5

This method allowed learners to transfer short-term listening input into long-term memory, forming personal dictionaries that were meaningful and directly connected to their guiding tasks. It also reflects a sense of ownership in the learning process, as they independently built and reviewed content tailored to their needs. Some guides used physical notebooks, while others preferred mobile phone apps or note functions. A few mentioned organizing the words by topic (e.g., ocean, animals, hotel services) to aid retrieval. This strategy mirrors self-initiated learning, where learners manage content and progress without formal instruction.

B. *Mimicking and Pronunciation Imitation*

Another prominent strategy was mimicry, especially to develop accurate pronunciation and natural sentence rhythm. Participants listened closely to tourists, YouTubers, or recorded dialogues and then practiced speaking aloud, often imitating accent, intonation, and word stress.

"I listen to how tourists speak, then I try to repeat it in my room so my tongue gets used to it."

Participant 3

This method of mirroring speech reveals an intuitive understanding of phonological development. It aligns well with constructivist theory, which emphasizes learning through modeling and social interaction. By mimicking real-life usage, learners refine not only pronunciation but also usage patterns and discourse norms. One participant explained that he would record himself speaking and compare it to English speakers on YouTube to identify differences. This indicates a higher-order strategy involving self-monitoring and feedback loops.

C. *Learning-by-Doing: Real-Time Interaction with Tourists*

All participants confirmed that their English improved most significantly when they were guiding tourists. They reported that real-time communication provided authentic exposure and immediate practice opportunities, making the learning process more meaningful and memorable.

"When talking to tourists, I learn how they speak. Sometimes I imitate their intonation or how they structure sentences."

Participant 6

"I learn while working. If I make a mistake, tourists usually understand and sometimes help correct me. From there, I know what was wrong and I fix it."

Participant 1

This "learning-by-doing" strategy is central to experiential learning and situated learning theory, where the social and practical context enhances language acquisition. The guides acted not only as service providers but also as active language learners, transforming each interaction into a learning opportunity. Moreover, these encounters often included phrases specific to hospitality, environmental descriptions, or safety protocols language directly relevant to their roles, thus improving contextual retention.

D. *Goal Setting and Routine Planning*

Although learning occurred informally, several guides adopted a structured approach by setting personal language goals. Some targeted a specific number of new words per week, while others committed to daily speaking practice, watching English videos, or revising older notes.

"I have a target of memorizing at least five words per week. If I can do ten, I add more. I check again during breaks."

Participant 8

Such intentional learning plans indicate strong self-regulation a hallmark of Self-Directed Learning (SDL). While no participants had access to external evaluation, several developed personal checkpoints (e.g., quizzing themselves or reviewing past errors) to ensure steady progress. One participant even reported assigning himself a "weekly theme" such as hotel vocabulary or marine animals, thus demonstrating autonomous curriculum planning.

E. *Repetition and Informal Testing*

Participants frequently relied on repetition as a tool for memorization and fluency development. They repeated new words aloud multiple times, created short phrases, and mentally rehearsed common

sentences. Some used self-testing techniques such as recalling meanings or translating Indonesian sentences into English.

"I repeat new words while walking or at home. Sometimes I ask myself: 'What does this mean?' or 'How do I say this in English?'"

Participant 7

This metacognitive behavior reflects active engagement and supports long-term retention. Repetition and retrieval practice are core principles in vocabulary acquisition and were used naturally by the participants without needing formal instruction.

F. Digital Tools and Translation Applications

The use of technology was another central theme in autodidactic learning. All participants reported using Google Translate, particularly for translating unknown words and checking pronunciation. In areas with stable internet, some also used YouTube, Duolingo, and ELSA Speak for interactive learning and pronunciation drills.

"Google Translate helps fastest. If I hear a strange word from tourists, I type it and the meaning comes out right away."

Participant 2

"I watch YouTube, looking for videos of tourists traveling in Indonesia. From there, I learn many new expressions."

Participant 4

These findings reveal learners' adaptability and resourcefulness. Despite living in remote areas with limited formal access, participants utilized mobile-friendly tools to substitute formal materials, a key indicator of heutagogical learning, where the learner determines not only the "what" but also the "how" of learning.

G. Learning Through Errors and Feedback

Finally, the tour guides demonstrated a positive and proactive approach toward errors. Instead of viewing mistakes as failures, they interpreted them as necessary steps in the learning process. Several participants recounted stories where tourists corrected them or clarified meaning, and the guides used those moments as lessons for improvement.

"I used to be afraid of making mistakes, but now I see it as normal. If tourists correct me, I write it down and repeat it until I can say it properly."

Participant 10

This openness to informal correction reveals a growth mindset and commitment to reflective practice. Participants not only accepted feedback but also used it to shape future language use. Such behavior aligns with double-loop learning, where learners critically examine and adjust their underlying strategies not just actions.

Discussion

The findings of this study provide compelling insight into the autodidactic English learning strategies employed by local tour guides in Raja Ampat, a remote and resource-constrained tourism hub. The learners' methods self-directed, contextualized, and digitally enhanced reflect significant alignment with contemporary language learning theories and contribute novel evidence to the growing body of research on informal language acquisition in rural tourism sectors.

First, the study strongly supports Self-Directed Learning (SDL) theory, which posits that learners can independently diagnose needs, set goals, implement strategies, and evaluate outcomes (Zimmerman & Schunk, 2022). The Raja Ampat guides exhibited these characteristics by building personal vocabulary notebooks, using self-tests, and evaluating their communication success through tourist interactions. This mirrors findings by Liu et al. (2023), who observed that learners in remote areas develop self-regulation skills when formal education access is limited. Similarly, Junus et al. (2021) found that Indonesian learners in informal contexts often use self-monitoring and reflective practices, which were clearly evident among the participants in this study. However, the novelty here lies in how the guides' SDL was embedded in real-time service delivery, where communicative success directly affected job performance and tourist satisfaction.

Additionally, the study reinforces the relevance of heutagogical learning, which focuses on learner autonomy, flexibility, and double-loop learning—where learners assess both knowledge and the learning process itself (Blaschke & Marín, 2020). The use of mobile applications like Google Translate, YouTube, and ELSA Speak illustrates how participants tailored their learning paths to their own needs, adjusted techniques based on tourist feedback, and engaged in reflective improvements. Kohnke and Zou (2022) emphasized that heutagogy thrives in mobile-assisted language learning (MALL) environments, where learners control what, how, and when to learn. This aligns with Aliyyah and Setiawan (2021), who documented that mobile technologies enabled rural Indonesian learners to construct independent learning environments that mimicked traditional classrooms.

What distinguishes this study from existing work is the contextual and geographic novelty. While many SDL and heutagogy studies focus on urban learners or university students (e.g., Kim & Frick, 2022), this study explores self-learning in a remote, tourism-reliant island community, adding valuable insight into how informal learning thrives in non-academic and economically significant environments. Unlike the study by Widodo et al. (2021) in Bali, which focused on trained tour guides, the participants in Raja Ampat had minimal or no formal English instruction and yet developed effective strategies driven by necessity, motivation, and situational immersion. This expands the understanding of autodidactic success in under-resourced areas.

The findings also support constructivist theory, which holds that learners build knowledge through experience, context, and interaction (Vygotsky, 1978). The guides' learning was grounded in authentic communication with tourists—every interaction became a real-world learning task. This aligns with Lee and Chen (2020), who showed that hospitality workers learn best through situated experiences rather than classroom simulations. Moreover, the practice of mimicking tourists' speech patterns for pronunciation improvement echoes Park and Son (2023), who argue that observational learning and imitation are key mechanisms in oral proficiency development in immersive environments.

In terms of digital engagement, participants showed informal digital literacy by selecting, evaluating, and integrating digital content into their learning routines. This supports Astuti et al. (2022), who found that even basic mobile technologies significantly enhance language acquisition when strategically used by rural learners. The guides' ability to blend face-to-face interaction with app-based support (e.g., pronunciation drills on ELSA or vocabulary checks via Google Translate) reflects a sophisticated, if untrained, form of blended learning. Another important theme emerging from this study is the reframing of errors and feedback as positive learning opportunities. Initially, many participants associated mistakes with embarrassment. Over time, they adopted a growth-oriented mindset, interpreting corrections from tourists as constructive feedback. This behavioral shift aligns with Rahmawati and Nisa (2023), who emphasized the importance of error tolerance and self-reflection in self-regulated learning environments. These findings suggest that experiential learning combined with self-evaluation can foster not only skills but also a mindset conducive to lifelong learning.

The study also underscores the importance of intrinsic motivation and identity in informal learning. The tour guides were driven not by grades or institutional pressure, but by the desire to communicate effectively, provide high-quality service, and represent their local culture. This aligns with Prasetyo et al. (2022), who noted that learners with context-specific and identity-driven goals tend to persist longer and engage deeper in language learning. Several participants linked English proficiency to a sense of pride in promoting Raja Ampat's ecological and cultural richness—echoing the findings of Suryani and Widodo (2023), who explored the intersection of language, tourism, and Indigenous identity.

From a practical perspective, this study contributes new recommendations for educational policy and tourism development. First, rather than imposing formal training models, stakeholders should recognize and enhance existing autodidactic strategies—through microlearning, mobile app support, or local language clubs. Second, digital infrastructure, such as offline learning apps or community Wi-Fi hubs, could bridge the accessibility gap. As Nugroho and Sari (2024) emphasize, rural digital inclusion must be integrated into broader educational planning to ensure equity. Finally, the tourism sector itself can act as an ally by incentivizing skill development, offering bilingual signage or phrases, and facilitating local-international conversational exchanges. This study demonstrates that Raja Ampat tour guides are active agents of their own language education, despite lacking formal resources. Their strategic use of digital tools, real-life immersion, reflection, and intrinsic motivation

exemplifies the power of informal, self-directed learning in real-world, high-stakes environments. Unlike previous studies focused on structured contexts, this research highlights how learner-driven models can emerge organically, rooted in place, purpose, and practice. It offers a valuable contribution to the discourse on language learning in peripheral, tourism-reliant regions, with lessons applicable to other remote communities in Indonesia and beyond.

Conclusion

This study investigated the autodidactic English learning strategies used by local tour guides in Raja Ampat, a remote area in eastern Indonesia with limited access to formal language education. The findings show that these guides successfully developed English proficiency through self-initiated strategies such as mimicking native speakers, interacting with tourists, using digital tools like Google Translate and YouTube, and setting personal learning goals. Their learning was deeply contextual, motivated by real communication needs, and aligned with principles from Self-Directed Learning (SDL), Heutagogy, and Constructivism. Rather than relying on formal instruction, the guides used their workplace as a learning environment. Mistakes were reframed as learning opportunities, and digital tools filled the gap left by unavailable language classes. This supports recent research that highlights the role of learner agency and mobile-assisted learning in underserved regions. The novelty of this study lies in its focus on rural, tourism-driven communities, showing how language learning thrives even with minimal institutional support.

From a practical standpoint, the study recommends that language training programs in tourism areas build upon these existing self-learning practices. Local governments and tourism stakeholders should provide offline learning materials, short workshops, or conversation-based activities to reinforce what learners are already doing. Supporting mobile access, creating culturally relevant content, and recognizing guides' achievements through micro-credentials can also enhance motivation and outcomes. This research demonstrates that meaningful language learning is not confined to classrooms. It can emerge from real-world engagement, reflection, and resourceful use of available tools. Raja Ampat's guides represent a powerful example of autonomous, practical learning shaped by context, purpose, and human connection. Future efforts to improve language capacity in remote areas should recognize and strengthen these grassroots learning strategies, not replace them.

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