AUTONOMY: WHERE ARE WE? WHERE ARE WE GOING?

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Abstract

Autonomy has figured large in recent TEFL literature and practice, and has run the risk of becoming the latest politically-correct catch-word, attempting to be all things to all teachers, and (because of this) defying attempts to pin down definitions of what it is that everyone seems to be agreed on. This paper takes a ‘state-of-the-art’ look at autonomy in the language classroom, and then views the larger picture of language learning as education. From such a perspective, the author argues that it is the responsibility of every teacher to promote autonomous, critically thinking, responsible members of society, and that lesson content or subject matter is a secondary goal in this endeavour.

Part 1: Where are we?

1.1 Introduction

The concept of individual autonomy has been central to European liberal-democratic and liberal-humanist thought since the 18th century (Lindley 1986), and was identified by Kant as the foundation of human dignity (Hill, 1991, p. 48). Growth of interest in autonomy as an educational goal can be identified in changes that occurred in the twentieth century in social sciences, psychology, philosophy, and political science. Pemberton (Pemberton et al., 1996, p.1) cites changes in educational philosophy, language-learning theory, political beliefs, the need to adapt to rapid changes in technology, communications and employment, the recognition that learning to learn is now more important than knowledge, and opportunities provided by technological developments to expand educational provision at the same time as cutting costs. Gremmo (1995) also identifies the following factors:

1. minority rights movements;
2. a reaction against behaviourism in medicine, politics, music, poetry, schooling, psychology, education, philosophy, and linguistics;
3. the emergence of “autonomy” as an educational ideal, with a direct influence on adult education in Europe;
4. developments in technology contributing to the spread of autonomy and self-access;
5. rising internationalism since the second World War;
6. adult learners and different learning needs, resulting in flexible learning programmes with varying degrees of learner-centredness and self-direction;
7. commercialisation of much language provision, together with the movement to heighten consumer awareness, leading to learners as consumers, making informed choices in the market;
8. increase in school and university populations, encouraging the development of new educational structures for dealing with large numbers of learners. Some form of self-directed learning, with institutional support in the shape of counselling and resource centres, has been found helpful. (from Gremmo 1995, p. 152)

Holec (1980, p.1) sees an “irreversible” trend in the late 1960s in industrially advanced Western countries to define social progress in terms of improvement in the “quality of life”, giving rise to various kinds of social awareness, from ecology to the status of women, the rights of patients, and education:

Adult education … becomes an instrument for arousing an increasing sense of awareness and liberation in man, and, in some cases, an instrument for changing the environment itself. From the idea of man ‘product of his society’, one moves to the idea of man ‘producer of his society’. (Janne ND\(^1\), cited in Holec 1980, p.2)

In second language learning, this humanistic trend (i.e. towards improving the quality of life of the learner) produced a wide-ranging series of investigations in the 1960s and 1970s, resulting in various socio-linguistic disciplines, such as speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969; Apel 1976), discourse analysis (Garfinkel 1967; Cicourel 1974), ethnomethodology, ethnolinguistics and the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1966; 1974; Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1982), language in education (Labow 1972; Halliday 1973; 1976; Habermas 1979), and the sociology of language (Fishman 1972). These all shared a pragmatic vision of language as “a tool for communication” - the rationale for the “Communicative Approach” to language learning and teaching. Another outcome and expression of humanist and cognitive psychology and sociolinguistics was the “deschooling education” movement of the 1970’s (Rogers 1969; Illich 1973; Freire 1976).

\(^{1}\) ND = “No Date”.

The autonomy debate has thus become a popular focus of foreign language teaching (Dickinson 1987; Brookes & Grundy 1988; Holec 1981; Little 1991; Dam 1995; Dickinson & Wenden 1995), relating as it does to central pedagogical concerns about “learner-centred” aims and methods (Rogers 1951; 1969; Illich 1973; Barnes 1976; Freire 1976; Trim 1976; Holec 1981; Hunt, Gow & Barnes 1989; Tudor 1996), and supported by a general educational concern to help students become more independent in how they think, learn and behave (cf. Boud 1988; Hammond & Collins 1991). Such an approach is often characterised by tensions between responsibility and freedom from constraint; between the individual and the social; and between the view of language learning as a means to an end (autonomy for language learning) and as an end in itself (language learning for autonomy) (Benson & Voller 1997, p. 5). This general debate has given rise to two inter-related directions of research. The first of these (mainly in Europe) has concerned itself with the development of learner autonomy as a primary requisite of learning beyond school in democratic societies (Holec 1980; 1988; Dickinson 1987; Kohonen 1987; 1989), while the second (mainly in North America) has focused on solving the “secret” of the good language learner by emphasizing learner strategies and the notion of learning to learn (Wenden & Rubin 1987; Chamot & Kupper 1989; Oxford & Nyikos 1989; Oxford 1990).

The general acceptance of these terms in the profession has prompted Little (1991, p. 2) to describe autonomy as the ‘buzz-word’ of the 1990s, and Wenden (1991b, p. 11) to observe that “few teachers will disagree with the importance of helping language learners become more autonomous as learners”). However, the concepts of learner autonomy (now seen as a legitimate goal of language education), and autonomous learning (now regarded as more or less equivalent to effective learning [cf. Benson & Voller [eds.] 1997, p. 2; Dickinson 1987, p. vii; Gremmo 1995, pp. 156,158]), lack any theory of autonomous language learning or other applied linguistic base (Benson & Voller 1997, p. 3; Benson 1996, p.28). Dickinson (1987) observed that most of the research on the effectiveness of self-instruction in language learning has not been done (though cf. Little 1991; Cotterall 1995a & b; 1999), and that “very few of the present or past methods and techniques for language learning are solidly based on research results. Either the research has not been done for them or the results are inconclusive” (p. 1).

1.2. Definitions

The general agreement on the value of autonomy in education has often hidden the fact that there is little consensus as to its definition. Such definitions as there are (appendix 1) have tended to reflect broader educational and sociopolitical derivations, and generally fall into five categories:

1. situations in which learners study entirely on their own;
2. a set of skills which can be learned and applied in self-directed learning;
3. an inborn capacity which is suppressed by institutional education;
4. the exercise of learners’ responsibility for their own learning;
5. the right of learners to determine the direction of their own learning.

(from Benson & Voller 1997:1)

For Holec (1980; 1981), Little (1991), Legutke & Thomas (1991) and Littlewood (1996), autonomy is an ability that has to be acquired (learning how to learn) and is separate from the learning that may take place when autonomy has been acquired (which Holec labels self-directed learning). Such acquisition of autonomy (Holec 1980:27) brings two different processes into play. The first of these is a gradual “deconditioning” process which will cause the learner to break away from ideas such as:

1. there is one ideal method;
2. the teacher possesses that method;
3. knowledge of the mother tongue is of no use for learning a second language;
4. experience gained as a learner of other subjects cannot be transferred;
5. he/she is incapable of making any valid assessment of performance.
   (from Holec 1980:27)

The second of Holec’s processes consists of acquiring the knowledge and know-how needed in order to assume responsibility for learning:

It is through the parallel operation of these two processes that the learner will gradually proceed from a position of dependence to one of independence, from a non-autonomous state to an autonomous one. (Holec 1980, p. 27)

This autonomy, which is rarely, if ever, realised in its “ideal” state (Little 1991, p.5), is not seen as a steady state (an autonomous learner has the freedom to choose teacher-direction (Pemberton et al. 1996, p.3) and involves taking responsibility for decisions concerning all aspects of learning: i) determining objectives; ii) defining contents and progressions; iii) selecting methods and techniques to be used; iv) monitoring the procedure of acquisition (rhythm, time, place, etc.); and v) evaluating what has been acquired (Holec 1980, p.4).

Holec (1985) and Little (1991) also see autonomy as a capacity, “autonomization” being “a matter of acquiring those capacities which are necessary to carry out a self-directed learning programme” (Little, 1991, p.180). Dickinson (1995, p.167) extends this capacity to include an attitude to learning, implying that it can occur in the classroom setting as well as in self-access learning centres. Most definitions agree on some aspect of responsibility for learning being assumed by the learner, but there are notable shifts in emphasis, such as Allwright’s (1990) “optimal state of equilibrium” and Hunt, Gow & Barnes’ (1989) “decision-making process.” Benson (1996) brings these differences together in three major classifications of learner autonomy for language learning (technical, psychological and political) roughly corresponding to three major approaches to knowledge and learning in the humanities and social sciences (positivism², constructivism³ and critical theory⁴):

1. **technical autonomy:** the act of learning a language outside the framework of an educational institution and without the intervention of a teacher;
2. **psychological autonomy:** a capacity which allows learners to take more responsibility for their own learning; an internal transformation that may be supported by situational autonomy without being dependent on it;

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² Positivism: language as a direct representation of objective reality.
³ Constructivism: knowledge as the construction of meaning (Halliday 1979).
⁴ Critical theory: learning is a process of engagement with social context, which entails the possibility of political action and social change.
3. **Political autonomy**: control over the processes and content of learning.
   (from Benson 1996)

Pemberton (Pemberton et al. 1996, p.2) and Dickinson (1987) identify various different terms in the literature on autonomy, some of which are used synonymously, and some of which have been ascribed a number of separate meanings:

1. **Self-instruction**: learning without a teacher (Little, 1991, p.3); learning “without the direct control of a teacher” (Dickinson, 1987, p.5).
2. **Distance learning**: a way of organising learners which usually only allows them control over access (Lewis, 1995).
3. **Individualised instruction**: designed to meet the needs of individual learners, but the teacher prepares materials, sets objectives and evaluates the learner’s ability to perform required skills (Logan, 1980). “… a learning process which (as regards goals content, methodology and pacing) is to a particular individual, taking this individual’s characteristics into consideration” (Chaix & O’Neil 1978).
4. **Flexible learning**: the teacher or department provides materials and activities; the learner has some choice over what to do and when, but there is usually little negotiation about learning goals or evaluation (Page 1992, p.83; Evans 1993).
5. **Self-Access learning**: learning from materials/facilities that are organised to facilitate learning; self-instruction in using these materials. The term is neutral as to how self-directed or other-directed the learners are (Dickinson 1987, p.11).
6. **Self-direction**: a particular attitude to the learning task, where the learner accepts responsibility for all the decisions concerned with his learning but does not necessarily undertake the implementation of those decisions (Dickinson 1987, p.11); the process or the techniques used in directing one’s own learning (Holec 1980, p.14); the change of consciousness that is the result of such learning (Brookfield 1985).
7. **Autonomy**: the situation in which learners are totally responsible for all of the decisions concerned with learning and the implementation of those decisions. In full autonomy there is no involvement of a “teacher” of an institution, and the learner is also independent of specially prepared materials (Dickinson 1987, p.11).
8. **Semi-autonomy**: the stage at which learners are preparing for autonomy (Dickinson 1987:11).
9. **Self-access materials**: materials appropriate to and available for self-instruction (Dickinson 1987, p.11).

A number of misconceptions about the definition of autonomous language learning have
thus arisen, with the wealth of such terms and meanings being perhaps indicative of an unwillingness to be critical, but also attributable to the lack of definition by professional authorities and the subsequent tendency for different terms to mean different things to different practitioners. Esch (1996a) explains what autonomy does not mean:

1. autonomy is not self-instruction/learning without a teacher;
2. it does not mean that intervention or initiative on the part of a teacher is banned;
3. it is not something teachers do to learners;
4. it is not a single easily identifiable behaviour;
5. it is not a steady state achieved by learners once and for all.

(from Esch 1996a, p.37).

1.3 Justifications

A number of justifications for advocating autonomy in language learning have been proposed. Dickinson (1987, p.19) provides five such reasons for the promotion of self-instruction: i) practical reasons; ii) individual differences among learners; iii) educational aims; iv) motivation; and v) learning how to learn foreign languages; which Cotterall (1995a, p.219) reclassifies under the headings of philosophical, pedagogical, and practical reasons:

1. **philosophical reasons:** the belief that learners have the right to make choices with regard to their learning; the need to prepare learners for a rapidly changing future, in which independence in learning will be vital for effective functioning in society (cf. Knowles 1975);
2. **pedagogical reasons:** adults have been shown to learn more effectively when they are consulted about dimensions such as the pace, sequence, mode of instruction and content of what they are studying (cf. Candy 1988, p.75).
3. **practical reasons:** Learners who are involved in making choices and decisions about aspects of the programme are also likely to feel more secure in their learning (cf. Joiner, cited in McCafferty, 1981).

Benson & Voller (1997, p.6) identify three related tendencies in language education, with implications for advocates of learner autonomy: i) individualisation; ii) learner-centredness; and iii) a growing recognition of the political nature of language learning. Other justifications for promoting learner-autonomy have also been proposed:

1. a resulting increase in enthusiasm for learning (Littlejohn 1985);
2. taking an active, independent attitude to learning and independently undertaking a learning task is beneficial to learning; personal involvement in decision making leads to more effective learning (Dickinson 1995, p.165);

3. when the learner sets the agenda, learning is more focused and purposeful, and thus more effective both immediately and in the longer term (cf. Little 1991; Holec 1981; Dickinson 1987);

4. when responsibility for the learning process lies with the learner, the barriers to learning and living that are often found in traditional teacher-led educational structures need not arise (Little 1991; Holec 1981; Dickinson 1987);

5. without such barriers, learners should have little difficulty in transferring their capacity for autonomous behaviour to all other areas of their lives, and this should make them more useful members of society and “more effective participants in the democratic process.” (Little 1991, p.8);

6. “…much of the significant language learning which individuals, for a variety of reasons, undertake at different stages in their lives, occurs outside classroom walls unassisted - some would state unencumbered - by a classroom teacher” (Altman, cited in Dickinson 1987, p.vii).

Nunan (1988, p.179), however, admits that there is no necessary direct relationship between planning and the actual outcome. Thus he and others (e.g. Dickinson 1988) stress the need for thorough empirical research and a gradualist approach, particularly as autonomous learning often produces unanticipated outcomes (Allwright, p.1986).

### 1.4 Autonomy in the classroom

Given this wealth of sociological, pedagogical, psychological, and political justifications for the promotion of autonomous learning, and in view of Bruner’s definition of instruction as “a provisional state that has as its objective to make the learner or problem solver self-sufficient” (1966, p.53), it would appear that all learners need to learn to be independent of the teacher (Dickinson 1992, p.2), whose role it is to facilitate this. Teaching methodology must therefore be concerned with facilitating and promoting the process of informed learning rather than with the content of that learning. Allwright (1988a, p.35) suggests that the “seeds” of such a process already exist in the language classroom, and that teachers can therefore identify and encourage the autonomous classroom behaviour of their students. He points to the fact that the individual learning agenda that all learners bring to the classroom is a form of individualisation of the learning experience, and that all learners’ errors and questions can be seen as (autonomous) moves that have the potential of individualising instruction (Allwright 1988b, p.37). Nunan also sees the language classroom as the best place for encouraging
learners to move towards autonomy (Nunan 1997, p.201), and agrees with Dickinson (1987, p.2) that this is a slow process:

I have found that it is usually well into a course before learners are in a position to make informed choices about what they want to learn and how they want to learn, and it is not uncommon that learners are in such a position only at the end of the course. (Nunan, 1996, p.15)

Little (1995, p.176) and Dickinson (1987) point out that learners do not automatically accept responsibility in formal contexts and do not necessarily find it easy to reflect on the learning process. Teachers must therefore first provide them with appropriate tools and with opportunities to practise using them. Dickinson (1987) sees the first stage in this process as the liberalisation of the classroom to allow the development of learner independence, through providing explicit opportunities for the learner to take on responsibility for learning, while Nunan (1992a) recommends incorporating two sets of complementary goals into language programmes (i) language content goals; ii) learning process goals), and proposes five levels for encouraging learner autonomy (Nunan, 1997, p.195). Oxford (1990) seeks to bridge the gap between theory and practice with a detailed step-by-step guide for teachers interested in developing learner-centred activities in their institutions (cf. Chamot et al. 1999), and Dickinson (1992) identifies six ways “in which the teacher can promote greater learner independence”:

1. legitimizing independence in learning by showing that we, as teachers, approve, and by encouraging the students to be more independent;
2. convincing learners that they are capable of greater independence in learning - give them successful experiences of independent learning;
3. giving learners opportunities to exercise their independence;
4. helping learners to develop learning techniques (learning strategies) so that they can exercise their independence;
5. helping learners to become more aware of language as a system so that they can understand many of the learning techniques available and learn sufficient grammar to understand simple reference books;
6. sharing with learners something of what we know about language learning so that they have a greater awareness of what to expect from the language learning task and how they should react to problems that erect barriers to learning. (from Dickinson 1992, p.2)

Ellis & Sinclair (1989) show that it is possible to organise learner-training courses
systematically, on the assumption that this will produce students who are better aware of the learning process and of the various techniques available for language learning (Sinclair & Ellis 1992, p.211). However, Esch warns that if such courses allow teacher-control to return “through the back door”, language learning gains will tend to be short-term, and will not help learners “reap the benefits of taking charge of their own learning” (1996b, p.175; cf. Chamot et al. 1999). Indeed, Esch claims that there are no “autonomous language learning skills” to be trained and that the word “training”, with its connotations of automatic behaviour and its associations with “drills”, “seems to sit particularly unhappily next to autonomous learning” (1996b, p.165). Littlewood, defining the goal of all education as “to help people to think, act and learn independently in relevant areas of their lives” (1996, p.434), proposes a framework for developing autonomy in foreign language learning, based on the need to develop autonomy as a communicator, as a learner, and as a person (fig 1, below):

Figure 1: A Framework for Developing Autonomy in Foreign Language Learning (Littlewood 1996, p.432).

Cotterall (2000) directly addresses the issue of incorporating autonomy into language courses, and proposes five principles which help students and teachers attempt the transfer of responsibility for decision-making which promotes autonomous learning:

1. The course reflects learners’ goals in its language tasks, and strategies.
2. Course tasks are explicitly linked to a simplified model of the language learning process.
3. Course tasks either replicate real-world communicative tasks or provide rehearsal for such tasks.
4. The course incorporates discussion and practice with strategies known to facilitate task performance.
5. The course promotes reflection on learning. (from Cotterall 2000, pp.111-12)

1.5 Materials for the autonomous learner


Despite various recommendations that learner autonomy be included as an objective of language programmes (e.g. Abé, et al. 1975; Hosenfeld 1976; Stanchina 1976; Trim 1976; Moulden 1978; 1980; Dickinson & Carver 1980; Holec 1981; Sinclair & Ellis 1985; Dickinson 1987; Wenden & Rubin 1987; Cohen 1990; O’Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990; Cotterall 2000), Sinclair & Ellis (1992) observe that activities aiming to promote autonomy in English course books are “often presented in an unprincipled and unexplicit way”, concluding that materials writers are probably overwhelmed by the necessity to include many other learning goals (cf. Sinclair 1996, p.149). Dickinson, writing in 1987, also does not see the “ready supply” of available materials as offering “a complete solution to providing materials for self-instruction” (1987, p.69), since the reality behind the claim of suitability for self-instruction often consists of little more than the addition of an answer key, and perhaps some notes on the answers. However, by 1997, Nunan (1997, p.203) points to “emerging signs” that commercially available materials are beginning to incorporate ideas about learner autonomy (e.g. O’Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990; Oxford & Scarcella 1993; Nunan 1995; Gardner & Miller 1996; Harrison 1997; Finch & Hyun 2000), and by 1999, Sinclair sees the situation improving:

the language teaching profession’s concern with developing autonomy of various kinds in language learners is bearing fruit in terms of the number and quality of publications emerging on related topics. (Sinclair 1999, p.328)
1.6 Roles: the learner

Kelly observes that “learners need to undergo a considerable transformation of their beliefs about language and their role as learners in order to be able to undertake independent learning effectively” (1996, p.94), and the role-change inherent in acquiring “the ability to take charge of one’s own learning” (Holec 1980, p.3) is especially noticeable in the Asian context, in which the learner is generally “an individual who is conditioned by a pattern of cultural forces that are not harmonious to learner autonomy, independence or self-direction” (Pierson 1996, p.52; cf. Liu 1998, p.5). Thus Pierson (1996, p.52) describes learning (in Hong Kong) as static and other-directed, with the teacher transmitting “correct” knowledge and students passively absorbing that knowledge. Stevick (1976) outlines the disadvantages of this view of education, observing that in such a “Parent-Child” relationship between teacher and the learners, learning is likely to be “defensive”, as learners seek to protect themselves from the possibility of being exposed or embarrassed. However, Hofstede’s profile of Korean interaction characteristics shows that teacher-student respect is an important factor, and Nunan (1996), Esch (1996a), and Little (1996), give evidence that traditional learning practices and cultural traits may actually contribute to the development of learner autonomy (cf. Ho & Crookall 1995; Pierson 1996), and that “cultural differences may not be the main barrier to the promotion of the concept of autonomy in countries with a group-oriented tradition such as China” (1996a, p.46; cf. Littlewood 1999, p.90). Littlewood (2000) goes further to question the stereotype of the “passive Asian student”:

the stereotype of Asian students as ‘obedient listeners’ – whether or not it is a reflection of their actual behaviour in class – does not reflect the roles they would like to adopt in class. They do not see the teacher as an authority figure who should not be questioned; they do not want to sit in class passively receiving knowledge; and they are only slightly on the ‘agreement’ side that the teacher should have a greater role than themselves in evaluating their learning. (Littlewood 2000, p.33)

Littlewood (2000, p.33) suggests that “educational contexts” are more responsible for Asian learning styles than the learners themselves, a conclusion that matches with the author’s experience with Korean university students, who tend to be aware of the value of autonomy and are receptive to innovative study methods.

1.7 Roles: the teacher

The success of attempts to empower learners to become actively involved in their learning depends to a large extent on the teacher’s ability to redefine roles (Hill 1994, p.214,
cf. Dickinson 1992 [foreword by Little 1992]; Little 1995), which Dickinson (1987, p.133) sees as the major adjustment for the teacher. Wright (1987, pp. 45-6) summarises teacher/student roles as a complex set of interacting factors, both interpersonal (social role, status and power, attitudes, beliefs, personality, motivation) and task-related (the extent to which any learning task activates individual’s personal goals, and how it stimulates their affective and cognitive faculties), and on this basis, defines a teacher’s role as having two functions: a management function (the social side of teaching), and an instructional function (the task-oriented side). Allwright (1989, cited in Dickinson 1987, p.90) notes that the teacher-as-manager function (determining learning goals, making decisions about materials, deciding how the materials will be used, keeping records, evaluating progress, allocating time to tasks, deciding on what tasks will be done, and who should do them, what groupings the learners will work in, etc.), is “daunting” and suggests that the responsibility for at least some of these might be shared with the learners. In terms of the instructional function, the promotion of autonomous learning also implies that the learner should take on responsibilities previously “owned” by the teacher, and leads to a view of teachers as “helpers”, counsellors, “learning advisors” and learning resources (“knowers”) (Carver 1982; Littlejohn 1985, p.595; Dickinson 1987; Hunt, Gow & Barnes 1989; Kelly 1996), extending the controller/facilitator continuum (Harmer 1983). In this view, the teacher becomes a skilled manager of human beings with access to a body of language and learning knowledge (Hunt, Gow & Barnes 1989, p.211):

The ideal helper is warm and loving. He accepts and cares about the learner and about his problems, and takes them seriously. He is willing to spend time helping. He is approving, supportive, encouraging and friendly; and he regards the learner as an equal. As a result of these characteristics, the learner feels free to approach him and can talk freely and easily with him in a warm and relaxed atmosphere. (Dickinson 1987, p.122)

This redefined role requires professional knowledge and skills in every aspect of learning (cf. appendices 3-4), as outlined by Dickinson (1987) in a list from Carver, 1982, p.33 and McCafferty ND, p.22:

1. the learners’ mother tongues: in order to be able to communicate with the learners without difficulty and with a minimum risk of misunderstandings;
2. the target language: in order to help the learner with all or most of items 3 - 11;
3. needs analysis:; to help the learner to identify and describe his/her needs in language learning;
4. **setting objectives**: in order to help the learner to break down these needs into achievable objectives;
5. **linguistic analysis**: in order to identify for the learner the key learning points in authentic texts in subject areas relevant to learners with specific language requirements;
6. **materials**: in order to help the learner to find appropriate materials from the resources of the institution (including published materials);
7. **materials preparation**: in order to prepare appropriate materials from authentic texts, and in order to adapt published and in-house materials for self-instruction;
8. **assessment procedures**: in order to help learners to assess their proficiency and to develop self-assessment techniques;
9. **learning strategies**: in order to advise learners about the best ways for them to go about their learning, and in order to be able to recommend alternatives to learners who are not succeeding;
10. **management and administration**: in order to maintain lists of native speakers of the target languages;
11. **librarianship**: in order to establish, maintain and run the self-access resources centre.

( from Dickinson, 1987, p.123)

Kelly (1996, p.94) sees language counselling as “a valid application of counselling within education” and provides a checklist of the macro-skills and micro-skills needed by the teacher-as-language-learning-counsellor (appendices 3-4), while acknowledging that notions of individuality and self-responsibility may not apply to non-western cultures “where different theories of the person are embedded in social practice” (Kelly 1996, p.97). Hunt, Gow & Barnes (1989) also offer guidelines for the “enhancement of self-management skills”:

1. Encourage the students to decide their own goals.
2. Intervene only when necessary.
3. Teach general rules and principles and when to apply them.
4. Invite students to take responsibility in the key areas of their learning.
5. Enhance motivation by:
   - Selecting topics of intrinsic interest
   - Minimising external rewards
   - Ensuring active participation
6. Ensure ecological validity of tasks and settings
Promotion of learner autonomy thus requires a change in beliefs about language learning on the part of both learner and teacher, as well as a corresponding change in roles, and learners and teachers may need preparation (if not explicit training) to undertake self-instruction (Dickinson 1987, p.121; Little, foreword to Dickinson 1992). However, Hunt, Gow & Barnes see the resulting closer relationships that are possible as “a worthwhile experience for both teacher and learner” (1989, p.216).

1.8 Concerns

Despite psychological, sociological and philosophical justifications, the main problems with autonomy as a goal of education are the lack of a sound theoretical base (Benson & Voller 1997, p.3), a lack of rigorous research, and the difficulty of discovering to what extent autonomous learners out-perform their traditionally-taught peers in the long-term (Hill 1994, p.214). Because of this, educators are warned by authors such as Pennycook (1994) and Dickinson (1987) to take a gradualist approach:

- to encourage ‘learner autonomy’ universally, without first becoming acutely aware of the social, cultural and political context in which one is working, may lead at best to inappropriate pedagogies and at worst to cultural impositions. (Pennycook 1994, p. 44)

Other current concerns regarding the promotion of learner autonomy in the second language classroom can be classified under three headings (i) pedagogical; ii) cultural; and iii) political), and are summarised in appendix 2. These claimed that self-direction could not happen: a) with children; b) with some ‘difficult’ languages; c) in institutions whose courses were exam-driven; and d) with adults of low educational level. Though these issues remain current, Gremmo (1995, p.154) points out that early logistic criticisms of autonomy have since been answered satisfactorily. Nunan (1997) addresses a more basic concern voiced by Johnston: “there is a very powerful assumption in this approach to learning that the learner knows what is best” (1985, p.192, cited in Nunan 1997, p.194), and argues that most learners at the beginning of the learning process do not know what is best:

- It is the function of the materials augmentation … to develop skills and knowledge in learners which ultimately will leave them in a position where they do know what is best. (Nunan 1997, p.194)

1.9 Conclusions
Holec sees the prime objective of language teaching as helping the learner “acquire the linguistic and communicative abilities he has defined for himself” (1980, p.28) (cf. Nunan 1996, p.14; Sinclair 1996, p.150; Brooks & Grundy [eds.] 1988), a subsidiary aim being to enable the learner to acquire autonomy by him/herself (cf. Trim 1976; Voller 1997). In this view, autonomous action “is an act of learning, and not of teaching, done by the learner and not the teacher. This reversal of the educational situation poles involves redefining all the functional components of that situation” (Holec 1980, p.40). Fifteen years later, Gremmo (1995) observes that work in the 1980’s and 1990’s has shown autonomous learning to be a fruitful approach in all aspects of language learning, and in all parts of the world.

For Kenny (1993) and Little (1991; 1996), autonomy implies a wider perspective of holistic education, in which learners are encouraged to value their own opinions as well as taking on responsibility for learning. This approach is independent of pedagogic styles, organisational models, student age, or learning environment, and goes beyond subject disciplines, being a defining characteristic of education (cf. Gremmo 1995, p.161; Little 1996):

Several authors have emphasised the need for caution and a gradualist approach (Hill 1994, p.214), investigating whether there is any evidence that the active involvement of the learner in the learning process has any effect on learning outcomes (cf. Allwright 1981, p.11). O’Neill stresses the importance of doing “ordinary things” well (O’Neill 1991, pp. 300-1), and Pennycook (1994, p.53) sees a need to take into account the cultural contexts of the language learners, above and beyond the more specific development of strategies for self-directed learning, or the un-aided use of a self-access centre. Nunan (1996, p.13) and others (e.g. Oxford 1990; Sinclair & Ellis 1992), however, stress the need for learners to be “systematically educated in the skills and knowledge they will need in order to make informed choices about what they want to learn and how they want to learn” (Nunan 1996, p.13), claiming that a degree of autonomy can be fostered in any learners and in any learning environment. Brookes & Grundy (1988) see it as “axiomatic that learner autonomy should be the goal of every learner and every teacher” (1988, p.1), while Little observes that “genuinely successful learners have always been autonomous”, and that educators must “help more learners to succeed” rather than following learner autonomy as an explicit goal (1995, p.175).

From this review, it can be seen that there are conflicting opinions on what autonomy is, and how it should be approached. Cotterall’s (1995a) findings on an experiment with a course-wide strategy are of particular interest at this point:

1. autonomy in language learning is desirable;
2. dialogue is more important to autonomy than structures;
3. the relationship between the learner and the class teacher is central to the fostering of autonomy (cf. Holec 1980);
4. autonomy has implications for the entire curriculum;
5. a vocabulary of language learning shared by all participants is required;
6. time must be made available within programmes for teachers and learners to engage in dialogue about the learning process;
7. teacher education programmes need to incorporate practice in the skills required for management of the learning dialogue (cf. Little 1995).

(from Cotterall 1995, p. 226)

Part 2: Where are we going?

2.1 Complexity theory and autonomy.

Autonomy in language learning has thus been advocated on largely cross-disciplinary grounds, many of which are yet to be tested in research. The best we can say, perhaps, is that more traditional, linear and discrete views of language learning have been shown to be without theoretical foundation or empirical justification (White 1988; Skehan 1996; Mohamed 1998, p.65), and that while advocates of autonomy should practice what they preach, in terms of reflective assessment of goals and achievements, a “return to basics” (the battle cry of many politicians) is not justified. We can only go forward.

Continuing the inter-disciplinary theme, the contemporary science of complexity theory is currently offering a new way of describing reality and has many implications for the language learning environment. Thus Larsen-Freeman sees “many striking similarities between the new science of chaos/complexity and second language acquisition” (1997, p. 141). Van Lier (1996) suggests that: “it is useful to regard the classroom as a complex adaptive system” (1996, p.38) in which “details are all that matters” (Gould 1993) and that “it is fruitless to search for causal relations” (Van Lier 1996, p.38). Larsen-Freeman also draws a number of chaos/complexity parallels in the language class: “languages go through periods of chaos and order as do other living systems. Furthermore, their creative growth occurs at the border between these two” (1997, p.158). This borderline between “order” and “chaos”, or the point at which the system is about to become chaotic (e.g. just before an avalanche) has been termed “the edge of chaos” by Waldrop (1992, p.198), who also coined the term “life at the edge of chaos” to describe the capacity for learning that complex adaptive systems have when they are neither settled nor chaotic - a concept with various implications for the language classroom and for the autonomous learner:
The educational context, with the classroom at its center, is viewed as a complex system in which events do not occur in linear causal fashion, but in which a multitude of forces interact in complex, self-organizing ways, and create changes and patterns that are part predictable, part unpredictable. Such changes must be analyzed from the bottom up. (Van Lier 1996, p.148)

One of the major tenets of complexity theory is that it is “a science of process rather than state, of becoming rather than being” (Gleick 1987, p.5). Complexity theory allows us to view SLA as a dynamic, complex non-linear process that is open, self-organising, adaptive, unpredictable, and sensitive to initial conditions and feedback:

we can neither claim that learning is caused by environmental stimuli (the behaviorist position) nor that it is genetically determined (the innatist position).

Rather, learning is the result of complex (and contingent) interactions between individual and environment. (Van Lier 1996, p.170)

Systems-thinking tell us that relationships are more important than isolated entities (Wheatley, 1999) and complexity theory amplifies this, pointing to connectivity as the essential characteristic of complex systems (such as the language classroom), in which constituent parts interact to produce self-organisation, from which unpredictable higher-order structures emerge. Applying this to the language classroom, interactions (connections) between participants are important events, from which exponentially expanding interactions can result. Minor differences in initial conditions can result in completely different outcomes (e.g. the “butterfly”, “camel’s back” and “avalanche” analogies; cf. Kirshbaum, 1998). Thus seemingly insignificant interactions in the classroom are part of the whole process of growth, setting off further interactions and learning experiences (Gleick, 1987, p. 8).

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5 “Complex: Not describable by a single rule. Structure exists on many scales whose characteristics are not reducible to only one level of description. Systems that exhibit unexpected features not contained within their specification.” (Complex Systems Glossary)
6 “Open: Allowing parameters (e.g. energy) to enter or leave the system, sucking in resources from outside or giving out more than they take in.” (Complex Systems Glossary)
7 “Self-Organisation: Ability to create structure without any external pressures, an emergent property of the system. Self-Organising Systems (SOS): Systems that generate their form by a process of self-organisation, either wholly or in part.” (Complex Systems Glossary)
8 “Adaptation: The ability of an organism to learn in response to changes in its environment over the course of its lifetime. This allows it to improve its fitness over that available from its initial phenotype.” (Complex Systems Glossary)
9 “Connectivity: The relation of an agent to its neighbours, it can be sparsely connected (only affected by a few neighbours), fully connected (interfacing with every other agent in the system) or some intermediate arrangement. This parameter critically affects the dynamics of the system.” (Complex Systems Glossary)
10 One butterfly flapping its wings can start a hurricane elsewhere in the world.
11 One straw can break a camel’s back.
12 One pebble can start an avalanche.
Allowing for such divergent learning events and being ready to accommodate and discuss them is implicit in the “complex” approach to the language classroom, with teachers as helpers, counsellors, learning advisors and learning resources (“knowers”) (Carver, 1982; Littlejohn, 1983, p. 595; Dickinson, 1987; Hunt et al., 1989; Kelly, 1996).

A complex view of the classroom allows us to include emotions, intuitions and attitudes as valid factors in the learning environment. Every learner is different, and everything that has an influence on the learner is an interaction (or a connectivity) that can have unpredictable effects. In this situation, the learning environment can be seen as a collection of learning opportunities which will be used in different ways by different students. Van Lier draws the analogy of a leaf in the jungle. For an ant a leaf might provide shelter; for a frog, a resting place or water for drinking; for a caterpillar, food; for a bird, nesting material; for a human, medicine or clothing. Thus students should be offered a non-threatening learning environment and allowed to follow their own learning path, finding new emergent structures as they progress, and thus discovering for themselves the things that they need to know, and the skills they need to acquire. This is the path of the autonomous learner, and provides a blueprint for the autonomous learning environment, in which it is not what is learnt that matters, but how.

2.2 Further justifications

Complexity theory, systems-thinking and network theory are thus offering a new description of the learning environment and providing further justification for the promotion of autonomy in language learning. However, there is another contemporary perspective which urges us to pursue autonomy even more adamantly in our profession. This is the perspective of a world facing various man-made disasters, most of which are the result of “education from the neck-up” (Rogers 1951), of defining intelligence as a cerebral, competitive, exclusive ability to absorb facts and apply them in the destruction of the environment for short-term gain, rather than as the ability to be a caring, social being. It could be said that education is no longer about the quality of life but about life itself.

This problem goes to the core of contemporary education and its rationale. There has been talk of paradigm shifts in the past, but what is needed now is a complete re-evaluation of education per se. Looking at mass education in the late 19th C and early 20th C, we find the need for an educated workforce to man (and to woman) the mills and factories. People were needed who could sign their names, read instructions and count the number of bobbins and bolts; hence the three R’s in state schooling. Since then, the world has changed. We are currently facing ecological crises that could not be imagined in the early days of mass education, and there will be further crises that we cannot imagine now (for example, it has been said that epidemiology will become a crucial medical discipline in the near future). Yet
we continue to define teaching and learning in terms applicable to the industrial revolution and even earlier. Various scientific authorities tell us that because populations, national economies and the use of technology are all growing, the global average temperature is expected to continue increasing, by an additional 1.0 to 3.5 degrees C by the year 2100. This will mean increased numbers of droughts, floods, and other weather usually termed unusual. The (27th May, 1997) tells us that rivers in China are being diverted by as much as 650 km, to feed the big cities. Many rivers no longer reach the sea, or are completely dried up. Farming areas are without water because of water usage in cities where inhabitants are limited to 8 m$^3$ of water per month. Deserts and ozone holes are expanding, ice caps melting, forests and fish disappearing, populations exploding and getting older … The list goes on: overfishing, illegal logging, poaching, pollution, industrial development, drug-resistant diseases, famines, etc.

As a minister in Borneo (South China Morning Post 25th August, 2000) commented on the illegal logging that is rampant there: “the issue is too complicated”. We all know what he is saying, and we all know that politicians have only five years at a time to make policies. But if they are helpless in this situation, what does this say to us as educators? Are we ‘only’ teachers of language? Do we have nothing to say to our students about global issues, even though their countries are attempting to achieve wealth using the same (environmentally unfriendly) methods used earlier by the “developed” countries from which we originate? Indeed, to tell our students that they should not contribute to the rape of global resources in the way that we (i.e. our mother countries) have done and are still doing, can only be seen as questionable logic, but this does not mean that we should give up hope. We are in the privileged position of mentoring the next generation of citizens, leaders, engineers, and educators – the very people who will face the problems outlined in the previous paragraph, when they become working members of society. If we continue to teach the intellect without attention to the heart, to the emotions, or to the spirit, however, we will be compounding the situation by duplicating the root causes. It is imperative now that education focus on the whole person as a thinking, feeling, creative individual - a responsible member of society. If we are to address the myriad problems facing us, we need citizens with problem-solving skills, critical thinking skills; people who ask questions, who set goals, reflect on achievement, re-assess the situation, and proceed in an informed manner. We do not need people who simply “take the money and run”. This is no longer an adequate survival strategy, as many are finding out in this part of the world. The autonomous learner is therefore no longer a matter of conjecture, but of necessity. The Asian classroom learning environment can seem to be a rigid and unlikely place in which to foster such learners, but tectonic plates do move (irresistibly, if imperceptibly), and once they move, earthquakes happen.

APPENDIX 1: DEFINITIONS OF AUTONOMY IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Definition of Autonomy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holec (1980:4)</td>
<td>“… an ability, a power or capacity to do something” (Concise Oxford Dictionary) “and not a type of conduct, behaviour. … To say of a learner that he is autonomous is therefore to say that he is capable of taking charge of his own learning and nothing more.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holec (1981:3).</td>
<td>“… the ability to take charge of one’s own learning. … This ability is not inborn but must be acquired either by “natural” means or (as most often happens) by formal learning, in a systematic, deliberate way.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young (1986:19)</td>
<td>“The fundamental idea in autonomy is that of authoring one’s own world without being subject to the will of others.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson (1987:11)</td>
<td>“… complete responsibility for one’s learning, carried out without the involvement of a teacher or pedagogic materials.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boud (1988:23)</td>
<td>“The main characteristic of autonomy as an approach to learning is that students take some significant responsibility for their own learning over and above responding to instruction.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, Gow &amp; Barnes (1989:209)</td>
<td>“… the decision-making process involved in identifying problems and making relevant decisions for their solution through access to sufficient sources of information.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allwright (1990:12)</td>
<td>“… a constantly changing but at any time optimal state of equilibrium between maximal self-development and human interdependence.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little (1991:4)</td>
<td>“… a capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision making and independent action.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legutke &amp; Thomas, (1991:270)</td>
<td>“… the ability to assume responsibility for one’s own affairs (see Holec 1980). … the ability to act in a situation in which he [the learner] is totally responsible for all the decisions concerned with his learning and the implementation of the decision.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenden (1991b:15)</td>
<td>“… ‘successful’ or ‘expert’ or ‘intelligent’ learners have learned how to learn. They have acquired the learning strategies, the knowledge about learning, and the attitudes that enable them to use these skills and knowledge confidently, flexibly, appropriately and independently of a teacher. Therefore, they are autonomous.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickinson (1992:330)</td>
<td>“… an attitude towards learning in which the learner is prepared to take, or does take, responsibility for his own learning.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotterall (1995b:195)</td>
<td>“… the extent to which learners demonstrate the ability to use a set of tactics for taking control of their learning.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson (1996:34)</td>
<td>“Autonomization is necessarily a transformation of the learner as a social individual. … Autonomy not only transforms individuals, it also transforms the social situations and structures in which they are participants.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littlewood (1996:428)</td>
<td>“We can define an autonomous person as one who has an independent capacity to make and carry out the choices which govern his or her actions. This capacity depends on two main components: ability and willingness. … Ability depends on possessing both knowledge about the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
alternatives from which choices have to be made and the necessary skills for carrying out whatever choices seem most appropriate. Willingness depends on having both the motivation and the confidence to take responsibility for the choices required.”

APPENDIX 2: PEDAGOGICAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONCERNS RELATING TO THE PROMOTION OF LEARNER AUTONOMY.

**Pedagogic Concerns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gremmo (1985)</td>
<td>Are self-directed programmes perceived by students as helping them develop useful autonomous learning skills?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candy (1991)</td>
<td>Can self-directed learning in formal institutions lead to learner autonomy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemberton et al. (1996)</td>
<td>In what (academic) situations is learner autonomy an appropriate goal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennycook (1994:42)</td>
<td>The notion of autonomy is firmly associated with a liberal-individualist ideology of learner-centredness. However, a pedagogy that takes into account students’ lives, desires, wishes, cultures, experiences, backgrounds and so on, should not be allied to any one movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennycook (1994:43);</td>
<td>The notion of autonomy should include the right for learners to opt for traditional teacher-directed methodologies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson &amp; Voller (1997:9)</td>
<td>Is it possible to “teach” learners how to be autonomous without at the same time denying their autonomy?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Political Concerns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hammond &amp; Collins (1991:14)</td>
<td>Self-directed learners often pursue narrowly defined personal learning needs, whereas the ultimate goal of autonomy should be to “empower learners to use their learning to improve the conditions under which they and those around them live and work.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookfield (1993:28)</td>
<td>In what (political) situations is learner autonomy an appropriate goal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemberton et al. (1996)</td>
<td>The notion of the free-willed, rational and autonomous individual has been challenged in the 20th century (Marxism, etc) (Heller &amp; Wellbery, 1986:10). As political and psychological beings, we have far less control over what we do or say than is suggested in the model of the rationally autonomous being.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennycook (1994:38)</td>
<td>To what extent are notions such as the “individual” or “rationality” products of the discourses of European modernity?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pennycook (1994:41)     | The idea of autonomy has moved from a political concept to one in which questions are less and less commonly asked about the larger social or educational aims of autonomy. “The
political has become the psychological”.

Cultural Concerns

Pemberton *et al.* (1996); Riley (1988)

In what (cultural) situations is learner autonomy an appropriate goal?

Pennycook, 1994:4

To what extent is the idea of student autonomy another version of the “free, enlightened, liberal West bringing one more form of supposed emancipation to the unenlightened, traditional, backward and authoritarian classrooms of the world”?

Benson & Voller (1997)

Are the principles and practice on which “autonomous” and “self-directed” learning schemes are based ethnocentric? Are there any ethnic or social groups whose cultural background predisposes them for or against such approaches?

Pennycook (1994:45)

“To become the author of one’s world, to become an autonomous language learner and user, is not so much a question of learning how to learn as it is a question of learning how to struggle for cultural alternatives.”


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macro Skills</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiating</td>
<td>introducing new directions and options</td>
<td>to promote learner focus and reduce uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal-setting</td>
<td>helping the learner to formulate specific goals and objectives</td>
<td>to enable the learner to focus on a manageable goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guiding</td>
<td>offering advice and information, direction and ideas, suggesting</td>
<td>to help the learner develop alternative strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modelling</td>
<td>demonstrating target behaviour</td>
<td>to provide examples of knowledge and skills that the learner desires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting</td>
<td>providing encouragement and reinforcement</td>
<td>to help the learner persist; create trust; acknowledge and encourage effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving feedback</td>
<td>expressing a constructive reaction to the learner’s efforts</td>
<td>to assist the learner’s self-awareness and capacity for self-appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluating</td>
<td>appraising the learner’s progress and achievement</td>
<td>to acknowledge the significance of the learner’s effort and achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking</td>
<td>connecting the learner’s goals and tasks to wider issues</td>
<td>to help establish the relevance and value of the learner’s project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding</td>
<td>bringing a sequence of work to a conclusion</td>
<td>to help the learner establish boundaries and define achievement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Micro Skills</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attending</td>
<td>Giving the learner your undivided attention</td>
<td>to show respect and interest; to focus on the person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restating</td>
<td>Repeating in your own words what the learner says</td>
<td>to check your understanding and to confirm the learner’s meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrasing</td>
<td>Simplifying the learner’s statements by focusing on the essence of the message</td>
<td>to clarify the message and to sort our conflicting or confused meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summarising</td>
<td>bringing together the main elements of a message</td>
<td>to create focus and direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning</td>
<td>using open questions to encourage self-exploration</td>
<td>to elicit and to stimulate learner disclosure and self-definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreting</td>
<td>offering explanations for learner experiences</td>
<td>to provide new perspectives; to help self-understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflecting feelings</td>
<td>surfacing the emotional content of learner statements</td>
<td>to show that the whole person has been understood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathizing</td>
<td>identifying with the learner’s experience and perception</td>
<td>to create a bond of shared understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confronting</td>
<td>surfacing discrepancies and contradictions in the learner’s communication</td>
<td>to deepen self-awareness, particularly of self-defeating behaviour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


South China Morning Post. http://www.scmp.com


