

The First Generation of Computer-Assisted Instructional Systems: An Evaluative Review¹

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INTRODUCTION After developing machines which could automatically teach drill material and administer and score tests, Pressey (81, 82, 83) argued that the advance of a science is dependent upon the technological improvements made in that science. His contributions to the "educational revolution" were not to be realized, however, until Skinner (98) cogently argued that mechanical means were necessary to arrange the "contingencies of reinforcement" which would allow a student to learn more rapidly and effectively than he could if he were under the unsystematic—and often aversive—reinforcement schedules of the classroom. This argument was attractive to psychologists and experimental educators because it offered the opportunity to apply the psychological principles of learning, derived from the laboratory, to the classroom.

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Families of compatible computers are being manufactured, giving greater possibilities for multiprocessing⁶ of problems, allowing optimal employment of all parts of the computer. Nevertheless, certain needs are evident: (1) increased speed of input/output systems, (2) greater storage for time-sharing systems, and (3) better display systems (37). The first two needs do not yet directly concern CAI since present input-output speeds and storage space are more than adequate for the present instructional uses. Display systems and other input-output devices are, however, a current concern. Some of the devices presently in on-line use or as experimental prototypes for future use are the following:⁷

1. Visual Communication:

a. Typewriters are used as input-output devices under computer control (e.g., to ask the student a question or to direct him to some reading material) or under student control (e.g., to answer the question).

b. Film Projection Devices:

(1) The Thompson Ramo Woolridge *Mentor* selects films on the basis of on-line responses, presents auditory and visual materials, and can score student responses automatically (17).

(2) Displays may now be created on-line by superimposing symbols on a film-projected background to highlight certain aspects of the film. As film development time is shortened (it now takes 10-15 seconds), it will be possible to photograph new information and update a display almost immediately.

c. Cathode ray tubes are the most adaptable visual displays for on-line usage and changing display material. Using a light pen held near a screen, one can draw curves (although the present capacity for handdrawn responses is limited) or indicate answers, which can then be evaluated by the computer by plotting coordinates. These devices are being developed in color, for three dimensional displays, and with image storage capabilities.

d. Random access slides and films are also in popular use.

2. Auditory Communication:

Those who work daily with CAI consider auditory communication a (if not the) major unsolved technical problem. While random access tape recorders are in general use, they are not as efficient as workers would like. Thus, prototypes are being developed for speech generation and recognition. Two types of speech generation devices being developed are the following:

a. Compiled speech, where the computer has random access memory of prerecorded words or phrases which are then arranged as output on the basis of a student's response (e.g., the computer could tell a student the formula of a chemical).

b. Synthetic speech, where the computer uses a set of rules to convert stored speech sounds into meaningful speech patterns.

Speech recognition is more difficult because the acoustic cues of verbal communication are not completely understood, and the receptor must be capable of adjusting to variations such as speaker intonation, loudness, rapidity, and length of the spoken phrase. Character readers, designed to convert words or numerals into a computer code without human intervention, are also becoming commercially available, while prototypes of equipment capable of scanning a page of ordinary type and coding it for the computer have been developed (8).

Besides the response devices already discussed, such as the typewriter and light pen, a manipulation board for children has been developed. It is capable of providing information concerning the shape and orientation of blocks and other items on its surface.

Finally, although the present generation of computers is fairly reliable in terms of repairs, computers must become more reliable for on-line operations where "down time" will be a nuisance in addition to being costly (8).

*Computer Programming*⁸ While much research needs to be done on most of these technical devices to make them practically feasible, most researchers would

⁸ Although computer programming is really a semantic problem from the standpoint of communicating "meaning" between programmer and machine, it has been included under the technical problem here. The reason is that for most CAI programmers, the semantic problem deals with instructional programs, and the computer programs which translate these instructional programs into machine language are technological givens.

computer system for different problems (35). Time sharing, as we shall see, is the most frequently suggested method of reducing cost per student and increasing total system efficiency.

⁶ Multiprocessing: simultaneous or parallel functional operations.
⁷ For a further discussion of these devices, see (4)

agree that programming, not equipment improvement, is the major computer problem. Time sharing, multiprocessing, mass information retrieval, and storage allocation, to name a few, are systems concepts of today and tomorrow—and they are programming system concepts (10).

Increased capabilities of computer systems have led to problems in compiling and debugging large programs and in developing executive systems to control time-shared systems. Further progress in developing these systems "... will depend very much on the work of theoreticians, and several moves have been made in recent years towards establishing a theoretical basis for programming" (45, p. 204). One such attempt is Naur's (78) conception of programming as a *tool* which interacts with *people* and *problems* in a symmetric manner.

Instructional programming can make use of the computer's calculation powers. More useful, however, may be its learning and decision-making powers, especially in systems designed to adapt to individual differences and "learn" from this "teaching experience." More about these instructional systems will come later.

Arbitrarily limiting the semantic problem to meaning conveyed by the instructional program may result in some confusion, despite the qualification in footnote 8. For example, Mrs. Aiko Hormann of System Development Corporation (SDC) is developing a computer system⁹ called "Gaku" (a Japanese name for learning) which is capable of learning from a human tutor, who instructs it by presenting samples of problems previously solved, general information in the form of a lecture, and suggestions as to how to solve the problem. CAI is usually involved in having the computer-tutor teach human students. Both approaches involve the conveyance of desired meaning via instructional programs. The main difference perhaps is that in the former case the instructional program involves programming the computer with a set of explicit heuristics,¹⁰ whereas in the latter case this is not required (presumably because the student already has a set of implicit heuristics which he can use). This distinction, however, may not

be applicable in all cases (e.g., with experienced computers) and is not necessarily recommended. For the purposes of this paper, then, no distinction will be made although programs utilizing the computer as a tutor will be stressed.

It is a popular, although possibly optimistic, opinion that CAI "is limited only by the imagination of the programmers" (33, p. 52). Assuming that this statement refers to the goal of achieving optimum instructional efficiency, there may be definite limits imposed upon the instructor-authors' imaginations. For example, if many of the display devices discussed in the last section prove feasible—and probably every system now in operation includes at least a typewriter, some other visual display, such as slides or a cathode ray tube, and a tape recorder—there exists a distinct possibility that communication channels could be overcrowded, leading to error and confusion on the part of the student (121). Moreover, the conclusions of Travers (118, p. 3) suggest other avenues of investigation:

First, no advantage seems to be achieved by transmitting redundant information simultaneously through both the auditory and the visual modality except where unusually high speeds of transmission are involved. These are speeds far in excess of those ordinarily encountered. Second, switching from the auditory channel to the visual, or the reverse, occupies time which appears to be wasted insofar as learning is concerned. Third, devices which have been used to draw attention to the information transmitted through one sense modality tend to depress the information received through another. Fourth, in broad terms, the data fit well a model of information processing similar to that of Broadbent, or of Feigenbaum and Simon, which portrays the information processing system in its final level as a single channel of limited capacity which can generally handle only information from one source at a time.

Consideration should also be given to the student-subject matter interface (48) to examine the display and response characteristics by which a student can interact most effectively with a given subject matter. That is, display and response modalities may interact with type of learning required, and determination of the optimum modalities for a given subject matter should be a high priority research topic. Other student-subject matter interactions may be found with age of the student; parameters of the learning process; individual or group instruction; competition or cooperation; and individual differences in aptitude, personality traits, or physical disabilities.

⁹"Gaku: A Computer System that Learns to Solve Problems by Experience." *Naval Research Reviews*, April 1965, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰Heuristics: techniques or strategies by means of which the individual can solve problems. They do not guarantee a solution. Algorithmic decision procedures do.

Individual Differences

Perhaps the most interesting advantage claimed for CAI is that instruction can be individualized.¹¹ Stolurow (31, 102, 103, 104, 105) has suggested the name "ideomorphic programing" for this approach which, in addition to using the student's last response, uses all other available past information as well to make a decision as to the next instructional frame or sequence of frames. As an example of what he means, Stolurow argues that someone high in arithmetic computation but lower in arithmetic reasoning could receive an *inductively* organized sequence of frames, while someone with the opposite arithmetic profile might be given a *deductively* organized sequence of frames. Or, if a student were high in aggression, he could receive "social reinforcers" which were suitable for that personality trait: he cites a study by Frase which showed that aggressive people like aggressive reinforcement such as the remark from the computer, "That was a stupid mistake" (104).

By no means is Stolurow alone in advocating branching decisions which adapt to individual differences. In a series of studies, SDC researchers found three response criteria to be important for branching decisions: (1) the specific answers given by a student to certain diagnostic items; (2) the student's cumulative error record over a series of frames; and (3) the student's own assessment of his level of understanding of the concepts covered (19, 27, 96). Bushnell (12) has suggested historical and personal measures such as IQ, sex, aptitudes, and reading rate in addition to response data; Mager and Clark (64) have suggested that branching decisions be applied in determining how much a student already knows in a given subject area, so that he can begin a program at the appropriate point; and Keislar (57) has considered the problem of step size in regard to individual differences. Smallwood (100) has modeled his system after two important properties of a human tutor—namely, adaptability to the student and systematic improvement with experience—pointing out, as was mentioned earlier, the importance of a computer-teacher which can "learn." In addition, Rigney (89) makes the distinction between remedial sequencing (where a student is sent into a remedial loop on the basis of performance on test frames) and predicted sequencing (where an attempt is made to predict from the sub-

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ject's characteristics the best path for him to follow through the program).

While course authors' imaginations do not have to be limited when it comes to basing branching decisions and individual difference criteria, it would be highly desirable from the standpoint of future exchange of ideas and materials (131, 132) to have a standardized taxonomy of branching logic. This would allow comparisons of courses on the basis of their logical similarities rather than on the basis of their content (120), and would certainly facilitate the study of the effects of such branching logic.

Programming Educational Material

Professional instructional programmers agree that only a few good frames can be written in a day, so that preparation of a two-hour lesson may take several months (95). To add to the problem of programing a lesson (with which subject matter the teacher is familiar), the problem of writing in a form acceptable to a computer (which form may be completely foreign to the teacher) is too much to ask. Hence, the search is on for compilers compatible with natural language (see, for example, [119]) so that programing can eventually be no more difficult than writing a book.¹²

At least three levels of computer language difficulty, in terms of the course author's needed facility with the language, are in existence today (129). At the lowest level of computer language difficulty are languages such as PLATO¹³ (5), which require only that the author enter his text and rules for evaluating answers. The computer has been programmed to accept the text so that the author does not need to learn a computer language. IBM's Coursewriter language (65, 66) is an example of a second level, requiring the author to specify his pattern of instruction in a relatively simple language. At the highest level of sophistication, an author writes his own computer program for his instructional strategies. This allows him to use the full capability of the computer but necessitates a high level of competence in computer programing.

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Once the program has been completed and stored in the computer's memory,¹⁴ it can be tested by submitting it to some students. Students' responses are permanently recorded (see, for example, [4]), and these data can be subjected to statistical treatments for evaluations of difficulty and clarity of the frames and for evaluations of student performance. The program thus serves as its own quality control mechanism as well as being a teaching device.

But what happens if the student's answer does not correspond with the given answer stored in the computer memory? In more primitive systems, the author had to anticipate all correct and incorrect answers and store them in the computer. This is no longer necessary. Misspelled words can be accommodated by partial answer processing, and computers are now evaluating answers for which the word sequence is indeterminate (101). Partial answer processing appears to be necessary not only for program elegance but also for student performance. As Wodtke's research indicates (as reported in [76]), when students' answers are correct but typed in a form unacceptable to the computer (i.e., that form of the answer has not been stored in the computer memory), students often try that same answer once or twice more just for good measure and then discard the original correct answer for an incorrect response. These incorrect responses, forced on students by a "rigid computer," then have a higher probability of appearing as answers in a posttest.

One other problem, which is partly technical and partly semantic, deserves attention—namely, that courses written in one programming language for a given computer system are presently restricted to that system. That is, a mathematics program written in language A for CAI system X cannot be used on CAI system Y, which uses language B, for some of the following reasons: (1) smaller memory storage capacities in system Y; (2) different auxiliary interface equipment in system Y; (3) incompatibility of language A with language B; and/or (4) unavailability in system Y of data on which branching decisions are based in system X. While between-system incompatibilities of this nature are at least expected, if not desired, there is also often a within-system in-

¹⁴ System Development Corporation's PLANIT (Programming LANGUAGE for Interactive Teaching) language offers the possibility of immediate write-execute capabilities, so that the course author can compose lessons while sitting at the teletype. He does not have to wait for the program to be compiled and executed. (Personal communication from B. R. Jwn.)

CURRENT CAI SYSTEMS

compatibility. The latter arises from technological improvements or the addition of interface equipment and results in course material which has to be revised in order to avoid obsolescence (see, for example, [63]). If CAI is ever to have an influence on education, courses will have to be compatible with many CAI systems so that good curricula can be used by anyone with adequate facilities. There will necessarily be a great and unnecessary duplication of effort if the courses developed on an IBM system are not able to be used on a Bendix system (or even another IBM system).

The discussion of the technical and semantic problems in CAI has been concerned thus far with a "straw machine," as it were. Actual CAI systems in operation or soon to be in operation remain to be mentioned before the effectiveness problem is examined.

An earlier draft of this paper (44) included summaries of several of the CAI facilities and their research programs. Since then, however, more extensive summaries of CAI systems have been published,¹⁵ and the reader interested in specific details about any given system is referred to those papers.

The feasibility of using a computer as a teaching machine was probably first explored at IBM by Rath and others (88), who wrote a program to teach binary arithmetic. The present IBM system has the main computer located at Yorktown Heights, New York, while there are student-author terminals spread across the country connected to it by telephone lines.

¹⁵ a. For summaries and comparisons of most of the CAI facilities across the country, see (133) and (13).

b. For a compilation of available courses, their grade levels, course length, authors, and other information, see (131, 132).

c. For a comparison of the computer programming languages used in the several CAI laboratories, see (51) and the summary of the Office of Naval Research's March 1966 Conference on CAI Languages (79).

d. For general reviews of CAI, see (33) or (108, 110).

e. For an overview of the entire spectrum of a computerized educational technology, see (49).

f. For research and development reports of some of the major (and older) facilities, the following should give an introduction:

(1) Bolt, Beranek and Newman: (38, 40, 114, 115, 117).

(2) International Business Machines: (65, 66, 88, 120).

(3) Pennsylvania State University: (72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 127).

(4) Stanford University: (50, 52, 53, 106, 107, 111, 113).

(5) System Development Corporation: (16, 23, 24, 25, 27, 36, 94, 96).

(6) University of Illinois, Coordinated Science Laboratory: (2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 34, 63).

(7) University of Illinois, Training Research Laboratory: (70, 71, 102, 103, 104, 105).

University of Pittsburgh: (48, 86).

More generally, equipment at a student terminal ranges from a random-access slide projector and tape recorder (e.g., Penn State) to a projector which can display randomly accessible micro-filmed pages of material, a cathode ray tube (oscilloscope), and a random-access audio system (e.g., Stanford).

There is one development underway at System Development Corporation which has the goal of improving the efficiency of an entire schoolroom. Their CLASS (Computer-Based Laboratory for Automated School Systems) project is an elaborate instructional area, in which up to 20 students (although it will not necessarily be limited to that number) can receive concurrent automated instruction. Each student has his own input-output facilities which, through time sharing of the computer, allows him to receive a unique sequence of materials and proceed at his own pace. Or any number of these students could receive group instruction through television, films, lectures, or textbook, but they could respond individually to any question asked of the group. A special teacher console in each classroom area would allow the teacher to check on each student's progress by having the computer turn on a warning light for any particular student when he was not meeting some criterion of performance. This would allow the teacher to give that student the personal attention he needs (23).

Programs have been developed to teach very young children to read via a "talking typewriter" (77, 80); to teach basic economic or legislative principles to elementary (122, 123) and secondary (7, 20) school students via simulated games; and to help medical students practice diagnoses (see the references under Bolt, Beranek and Newman in footnote 15f).

Shuford and his associates (3, 91, 92, 93) are using CAI equipment to quantify confidence in a student's decisions. Multiple-choice alternatives are presented on an oscilloscope to the student, who may express his degree of certainty as to the correct answer by increasing or decreasing the length of the bars on a bar graph associated with each alternative. He does this by pointing the light pen at the alternatives for varying amounts of time, while the bars grow or shrink to the chosen probability levels of certainty. Ultimately these researchers expect to program messages appropriate to the advances made by a student in the reduction of uncertainty of a particular concept.

The author of any paper which attempts to describe a field that

is growing as fast as CAI finds his discussion badly outdated before it is printed. This discussion, therefore, was to be an overview of some of the highlights only. No mention has been made, for example, of many of the younger CAI laboratories, such as Florida State, Texas, and Wisconsin, which are fast gaining prominence. For the latest information on CAI systems, the reader should contact Zinn,¹⁶ who has begun a library of materials and systems. For the purposes of this paper, this overview gives a sufficient background in types of activities in which CAI researchers are involved to allow an examination of more basic problems.

THE
EFFECTIVENESS
PROBLEM

The effectiveness problem in CAI focuses on the purpose of any given program. A program which is to teach German vocabulary must be judged in terms of the author's criteria for learning this vocabulary. Furthermore, comparison should be made with other methods of teaching to these criteria in order to judge the efficiency in terms of time and cost of the method. Hansen (51, p. 596), for example, reports:

One of the most consistent findings with CAI tutorial applications is the marked saving in instructional time along with no loss in post-instructional achievement test performance.

He cites three studies to support that conclusion. More recent studies, however, showed that students using a CAI typewriter interface had increased instructional time without any compensating increase in achievement, in comparison with students who were taught via programmed text (46, 125, 126).

The question of the efficiency of a CAI system, then, has not been answered but probably needs studies of the subject matter-interface interaction. That is, the typewriter interface may be less efficient than a cathode ray tube for some subject matters, but not for others.

Theoretical
Considerations

Because a psychologist advocates a certain method of teaching does not necessarily imply that the espoused method is based upon uncontroversial scientific principles. The psychologist, like other intelligent men (as Bugelski [11] points out), may simply have found a new approach to an old problem. The naive reader of advertisements for programmed texts and teaching machines (and, unfortunately, many technical reports of studies with programmed instruction), however, could easily be brainwashed into believing

¹⁶ Dr. Karl L. Zinn's address is UM-CRLT, 1315 Hill Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

that scientific psychology had finally solved all the teaching, motivation, and individual difference problems which have plagued man for centuries. Nevertheless, while there are several "theoretical orientations for CAI" (51), each of which specifies some of the components of learning via CAI, there exists no general theory of CAI from which we can deduce learning principles appropriate to the CAI situation. Is there such a theory in the broader body of programmed learning literature?

Since Skinner (98) gave programmed learning its present impetus using techniques analogous to those used to shape the behavior of pigeons, it is not surprising that he and his colleagues have emphasized the scheduling of reinforcement for an emitted response. In practice, this has led to the use of small-step linear programs with heavily prompted frame sequences, in which these prompts are assumed to become discriminated stimuli which set the occasion for a student's response. Seeing that his response was correct is assumed to reinforce the student's response so that empirically there is an increased probability of that response occurring again in the presence of the discriminated stimulus. Some researchers (e.g., Lumsdaine [61]) maintain that reinforcement is not necessary for these stimulus-response connections to be formed but only that, following Guthrie, the stimulus and response occur contiguously.¹⁷

If it were not sufficient to have two learning models clash in interpreting the same datum, Hilgard (54) argues that cognitive theorists would interpret it in yet another way—namely, that a process, not a response, may be what is learned. The purpose of this discussion is not to take sides in the controversies of learning theory, but to emphasize with Hilgard (54, pp. 136-37) that

... advances made in programmed learning have been based very little upon a strict application of learning theory, regardless of what devotees of the different theories may assert.

Is programmed learning, then, just another gimmick being perpetrated on unsuspecting educators as a scientifically sound method of teaching? The answer lies in research on the advantages claimed for it.

¹⁷ An interesting theoretical issue which has been raised is whether the proper paradigm for programmed learning is classical, free operant, or controlled operant conditioning (see [61] or [128] for the arguments involved). Practically speaking, however, this issue has little, if any, bearing on actual programming practices, especially CAI practices, and a resolution will not be attempted here.

Programed instruction has been based on four basic tenets that are assumed to be significant for learning: 1) The subject matter is systematically presented in small bits to the student, who is required to 2) become an active participant in the learning situation by constructing an answer to a question; 3) he receives immediate information about the quality of that response; 4) then he continues at his own rate to the next frame (33, p. 41).

Research on all of these points is inconclusive (examples of studies of these assumptions can be found in [32] and [62]); by no means are findings sufficient to provide an authoritative formula for programmed learning.

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief digression into the theoretical and research basis of programmed instruction is that there is no comprehensive theoretical base for it. There is, however, a specialized theoretical approach which investigators at Stanford have been pursuing—namely, focusing on specific learning situations and developing quantitative learning models which, when related to optimal instructional sequences, can be used to maximize learning. (For examples, see [50, 52,¹⁸ 106, 109, 112].) These investigators build curricula on the basis of specific models of the learning process within that given subject matter. Their instructional sequences then become hypotheses of optimal learning and can be compared to other sequences. In sum, the curriculum is viewed as a theoretical statement of the best way to learn the subject matter. As such, it is to be tested experimentally and changed accordingly.

Task Specificity

Even if there were systematic data collected in programmed learning, generalizability to CAI cannot be assumed without replication of studies. The following three examples indicate the difficulties involved in generalizing the results of non-CAI studies to CAI systems.

- * Licklider (60) found that poor typists learned more rapidly when they responded implicitly (when they just pushed a button telling the computer to go on) than when they responded explicitly (when they typed the response), while good typists showed no difference in learning rate between implicit and explicit responding.
- * Silberman and others (96) found that students exposed to a branching technique (using a textbook format) had higher criterion test scores than students who received a fixed-sequence

¹⁸ Dr. Hansen is now at Florida State University.

These questions lead us to whether we are right when we urge teachers to adapt to individual differences. If the teacher has a standard plan, well fitted to the average of the group, he should hesitate to depart from it. Marked alteration of the plan to fit individuals appears to be advisable only when individual differences are validly assessed and their implications for treatment clear.

Few psychologists would maintain that we can validly assess any given individual differences; fewer still would recommend an educational treatment based on that assessment. Until parametric investigations of these individual difference variables are undertaken in CAI settings to make clear their educational implications, programing energy might best be expended in the development of one good program aimed at the mean of the population who will use the program.

For those who would object that this procedure is wasting the special powers of the computer to make on-line branching decisions, two points should be raised. First, it has yet to be demonstrated that branching sequences which are unique to criteria based on individual differences produce superior learning to some other simpler remedial technique, such as repetition of the difficult frame sequences. Second, the burden of proof rests with those who would replace existing teaching techniques with CAI systems. Thus, if it is claimed that adapting to individual differences through CAI would improve some aspect of learning, then parametric studies of variables deemed important should be undertaken. Yet studies of this sort are almost nonexistent. Almost all funds allotted to CAI projects are being spent on the development of courses or equipment to the exclusion of research on teaching-learning variables, where research is needed most.

Other Effectiveness Issues (4) To compare adequately the effectiveness of an instructional program on different students, control must be maintained over their prior experience with the concepts to be taught. This is difficult to accomplish with most subject matter since students generally have some knowledge—more than they realize—about any given area (64). One solution to this problem might be to use invented material in the program (e.g., the imaginary science of Zenograde Systems used by Merrill [70, 71]) or else to use standardized materials such as paired associates (as did Licklider [60]). Use of such materials, however, may limit the generalizability of the results to education. Regardless of the materials, it would be advisable as standard practice to have students respond

to a pretest, which can then be used as an index of students' prior knowledge of the subject matter.

One solution to this perennial problem might be longer range experiments.¹⁹ Variables which are posited to be important educationally could be explored first with standardized materials. When the effects of a variable are known in this laboratory situation, the experimenter will then be in a better position to make predictions of the effects of that variable in the more complex teaching program.

2. The criteria of learning are also a problem. Some of the measures which have been used have been error rate, response latency, percent improvement from pretest to posttest, time to learn, retention scores, and transfer scores. In many cases, one measure is not predictive of another (43) but, more importantly, one measure should not necessarily be expected to be predictive of another. Selection of measures of learning should be based on the theoretical expectations of the study. For example, highly test-anxious students might be expected to be no different from low test-anxious students in number of errors or trials to some preselected criterion, but might be expected to show longer response latencies. Therefore, if branching decisions are to be based on some individual difference construct, such as test anxiety, the branching criteria should be selected on the basis of their theoretical (with empirically demonstrated) relevance.

3. Motivational concerns are a continuing problem in learning theory and remain so in CAI. It has been suggested that the Hawthorne Effect may be operating in the highly atypical CAI laboratories (33), which may help to account for the generally favorable attitudes of students found by Wodtke and others (127). Lest the conclusion be reached that we can capitalize on the Hawthorne Effect and the students' resultant favorable attitudes, it must be remembered that attitudes must somehow be shown to affect performance in some way, if they are to be important as learning variables. In what may be the only study on this question, Wodtke (124, p. 53) found that "attitude towards CAI did not appear to affect performance when the effects of aptitude were partialled out." Of course, even if attitude were predictive of performance, the effect over long periods of time (so the Hawthorne Effect could have worn off) would have to be assessed (84).

¹⁹ Cronbach (29) gives an excellent discussion of the necessity of long-term experiments in education.

It has been pointed out repeatedly that the present costs of CAI are prohibitive for all uses except research. The section on current CAI systems, however, has indicated that quite a few groups across the United States are very concerned with more than "pure" research. Indeed, it is clearly implied that these systems are expected to be operable in the near future. To keep costs down, Coulson (23) suggested that the computer could be used during normal school hours for instruction for large numbers of students, counseling, and displays for teachers and administrators. At night the same machine could perform the routine processing of pay-rolls, attendance records, cost accounts, and other administrative duties.²⁰

More important obstacles than costs must be surmounted, however. One of these is the negative attitude of many teachers toward programed instruction. Although it is almost a cliché that teachers will not be replaced by programed instruction but that they will be "elevated" to having a motivating function, the teacher's point of view should be considered for a moment (85, p. 135):

Educational functions are not, in practice, fragmented, and it is therefore difficult for teachers to see just how they will go about being creative in a classroom where subject matter is taught by programed material.

This, coupled with the threat of the predicted new profession of "teaching engineers," a maximum of clerks and administrators and a minimum of teachers doing the highest thinking and training (87), would be expected to raise the anxiety level of all but a few teachers. It is possibly this type of unexpected side effect which Atkyns (1) warns about.

Another problem is the rush to "mechanize" education prematurely. Glaser (47) and Lumsdaine and Glaser (62) warned that hardware production is way ahead of program production. Like-

²⁰ There is a great deal of activity in the development of "extracurricular" uses of the computer. For example, in the area of counseling, Cooley (22) recommended increased use of computers to obtain and collate information on students as an aid to overburdened guidance counselors. Carter and Silberman (16) at System Development Corporation have, in fact, begun to develop such a program. At Penn State, Impellitteri (56) is launching a program designed ultimately to use a CAI system to present students with information concerning vocations relevant to a student's interests. In the area of computerizing many administrative functions, the Iowa Educational Information Center (67) has developed a system (CARDPAC) to process educational information more easily and quickly.

wise, neither of these two areas should be allowed to develop faster than the psychological principles on which this technology is based (69). Or, in Skinner's words (97, p. 168):

The "mechanizing of education" has been taken literally in the sense of doing by machine what was formerly done by people. Some of the so-called computer-based teaching machines are designed simply to duplicate the behavior of teachers . . . What is needed . . . is an analysis of the functions to be served, followed by the design of appropriate equipment. Nothing we now know about the learning process calls for very elaborate instrumentation.

It is not necessary to agree with Skinner that elaborate instrumentation is unnecessary; on the other hand, where elaborate instrumentation is advocated (as it is in CAI systems), its need should be justified. Justification, however, does not consist of citing historical maxims, such as "teachers should adapt to individual differences." Rather it consists of experimental demonstrations of the increased effectiveness and/or efficiency of teaching with this instrumentation certain courses to certain students under specified conditions.

At the 1965 American Psychological Association Convention, Coulson (26) stated that most of the remarks of the CAI symposium panel members could have been made five years ago. What worse indictment could be made of the research emphasis in CAI! The technical problem is virtually solved in the sense that more equipment is available with faster operating speeds than the educator knows how to use. The semantic problem is being solved with the development of languages which allow courses to be programed relatively easily. What kinds of programs to write in order to use the equipment *effectively* is, nevertheless, an almost untouched problem. We need, as Coulson (26) said, a model of the student. We have all kinds of flow charts for decision strategies, but how these affect students is almost completely unknown.

Parametric studies of theoretically important variables must be undertaken. The few experimental studies that were done seem to have been of the trial-and-error variety, leading to little progress through one generation of CAI systems. A suggested experimental approach is to take a current model of school learning, e.g., Carroll's (15) model, and engage in a series of studies to test some of these notions in CAI. Conveniently, most of Carroll's variables are time-dependent measures, which can easily be ex-

plored in a CAI system. Thus, one series of studies might explore the conditions under which high aptitude students (i.e., those students who need small amounts of time to learn a given subject matter) learn a given set of concepts best, varying the opportunity (time allowed for learning).

Another approach might be to follow the Stanford investigators' method of building curricula according to models of student learning and optimal instructional strategies.

These approaches are not being advocated over any other number of possible systematic attacks on the effectiveness problem. What is advocated is systematic parametric research on the effectiveness problem. Indeed, some systematic (if not theoretical) approach similar to these must be undertaken if we are to avoid hearing at the 1970 American Psychological Association Convention that "most of the remarks made here today could have been made ten years ago."

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