Chapter 1

# A HISTORY OF E-LEARNING
*Echoes of the pioneers*

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**Abstract**:     In many contemporary sectors, E-learning is often regarded as a 'new' form of learning that uses the affordances of the Internet to deliver customized, often interactive, learning materials and programs to diverse local and distant communities of practice. This view, however, is historically disconnected from its antecedent instantiations, failing to recognize the extensive links between developing educational theories and practices that had shaped the use of E-learning over the past 40 years. In addition, the historic divide between Education and Training has led to both the concurrent development of different notions, foci, and labels for technology-enhanced learning in different contexts and situations, and different conceptual origins arising in acquisitive and participatory learning metaphors.

**Key words**:     E-learning;  history; theory; practice.

## 1.       PARALLEL HISTORIES AND TERMINOLOGY

With the historian it is an article of faith that knowledge of the past is a key to understanding the present (Stampp in Szasz, 2006). In the history of E-learning, it is important to note that there is no single evolutionary tree and no single agreed definition of E-Learning: since the 1960s, E-learning has evolved in different ways in Business, Education, the Training sector, and the Military (for a military perspective see Fletcher & Rockway, 1986), and currently means quite different things in different sectors. In the school sector, 'E-Leaning' refers to the use of  both software-based and online learning, whereas in Business, Higher-Education, the Military and Training sectors, it refers solely to a range of on-line practices. (Campbell, 2004)

The history of E-learning across all sectors is best summed up as: '*Opportunities multiply as they are seized.*' (Sun Tzu, 410bc) as for the past 40 years, educators and trainers at all levels of Education, Business, Training and the Military made use of computers in different ways to support and enhance teaching and learning. (Charp, 1997; Molnar, 1997) Consequently, the contemporary use of the term 'E-learning' has different meanings in different contexts (Campbell, 2004). In the Higher Education, Business, and Training sectors it relates particularly to Internet-based flexible delivery of content and programs that focus on sustaining particular communities of practice. E-learning in business and training can be characterised as being driven by notions of improved productivity and cost reduction, especially in an increasingly globalised business environment, with a focus on content delivery and online course management. These sectors initially employed the limited learning models extant at the time, but have since moved to incorporate a diverse range of learning models and foci. (Nicholson, 2004) Campbell (2004, p1) argues that:

> 'Broadly, in industry settings, E-learning reflects an emphasis on informal and non-formal, just-in-time learning where the emphasis is on collaborative productivity. Whilst, in higher education settings, best-practice online learning emphasises the development of metacognitive skills, where the emphasis is on reflective and collaborative learning.'

In the context of the wider education community, the use of the term E-learning has historically had wider connotations that embrace a diverse range of practices, technologies, and theoretical positions. It is not only focused on online contexts, and includes the full range of computer-based learning platforms and delivery methods, genres, formats and media such as multimedia, educational programming, simulations, games and the use of new media on fixed and mobile platforms across all discipline areas. It is often characterised by active learner-centred pedagogies. (e.g., Harel, 1991; McDougall & Betts, 1997)

The growth of E-learning in Business and Higher Education, and its marketing as a 'killer-app' (Friedman, 1999), has led to concerns about the influence of quality assurance driven models on the structure and quality of these programs (e.g., King, 2002; McGorry, 2003). Related concerns about its ability to deliver meaningful pedagogically structured learning experiences, or to have a clearly identifiable learning paradigm have also been raised (Gillham, 2002; Stone Wiske, Sick *et al.*, 2001; Suthers, Hundhausen *et al.*, 2003). Recently, driven by such concerns, its focus has expanded to accommodate the incorporation of learner engagement and social-learning models (e.g., Mortera-Gutiérrez, 2006; Schroeder & Spannagel, 2006). Since its inception, technological advances in computers

and networks facilitated advances in E-learning as educators seized on new features in an attempt to adapt them to their needs, to accommodate new educational theories, or looked for the promise of enhanced functionality. Curiously, many of these were foreseen by the pioneers of E-learning.

## 2. ORIGINS

The origins of E-learning as currently practiced in Business, Higher Education and the Military stem from the insightful work of Patrick Suppes at Stanford and Don Bitzer at the University of Illinois. While others such as Porter (1959) and Uttal (1962) were also active early in this field (Fletcher, 2002), only Suppes and Bitzer clearly situated the use of technology within a broader educational agenda (e.g., Suppes, 1964, 1966, 1986).

## 2.1 Patrick Suppes

In the 1960s, there were few educational applications of computers in universities, with most performing routine computational tasks. It was thought that the high cost of technology would prevent its ubiquitous uptake as an educational tool. In 1966 Suppes argued that '… in the future it would be possible for all students to have access to the service of a personal tutor in the same way that ancient royals were once served by individual tutors, but that this time the tutors would be in the form of a computer.' (Suppes, 1966). He argued that the single most powerful argument for the use of computers in education is individualized instruction and the dialogue that it supports. This was not an idle conjecture, but was based on Bloom's research that demonstrated that one-on-one tutoring improved student achievement by two standard deviations over group instruction – the equivalent of improving the performance of 50th percentile students to that of 98th percentile. (Bloom, 1984) Individual tutorials, Suppes argued, were also a core aspect of the university and computers would embrace and extend this through the use of virtual learning environments.

Driven by a belief in the educational potential of computers, Suppes founded the Computer Curriculum Corporation at Stanford as part of his ongoing inquiry into the nature, benefits and effectiveness of computer-enhanced learning. In accordance with prevailing psychological paradigms, he developed a Computer Managed Instruction system and used it widely in his courses. Suppes also provided elementary school children with individual CMI tutorials in mathematics to supplement teacher instruction. The results were inconclusive but led to suggestions for improved practices.

   Suppes work and teaching was confined to structured fields and views of knowledge, with 'drill and practice' approaches being typical for such fields. He was concerned with both producing better learning, and learning how to be a better teacher with computers.

   Contemporary critiques of his approach often overlook the lack of viable alternative paradigms at that time, something that Suppes was aware of. For example, in 1971 he noted that there was (then) a shallow understanding of how to use CAI effectively, and that it would take a long time to develop the necessary deep theoretical understandings that would underpin better practises. His research found that CMI produced profound effects on learning, and identified changes in students' understandings ranging from simple to complex. While his use of computers was essentially as a tool, he foresaw the potential for wider applications of computers in education. His research led to the following (amongst other) items for consideration:

- In 1971 the technology was not up to the tasks that he envisaged for it.
- The impediments to individual CAI were pedagogical not technological.
- CAI can track & follow each student, providing the potential for customised learning pathways.
- Richer learning theories were needed to inform design and practice.
- In the future, large numbers of students using CAI will be an important part of the mainstream university.
- There was a tendency to assess the product (of CAL) with simple studies using simple statistics when more complex measures might have led to more incisive conclusions.
- Students learning styles needed to be considered when developing CAL.
- How would more complex questions and responses be developed and handled as students increasingly engaged with higher-level content?

## 2.2     Don Bitzer: PLATO

In the early 1960s, Don Bitzer at the University of Illinois created PLATO, a timeshared computer system, to address concerns about student literacy. PLATO could be used to develop and deliver computer-based education, including literacy programs. It allowed educators and students to use high-resolution graphics terminals and an educational programming language, TUTOR, to create and interact with educational courseware and to communicate with other users by means of electronic notes – the forerunner of today's conferencing systems (Bitzer, Braunfeld et al., 1962). Woolley (1994) argues that as well as PLATO's advances in Computer Assisted Instruction, its communication features were equally innovative and were the foundations of today's conference and messaging systems:

'Two decades before the World Wide Web came on the scene, the PLATO system pioneered online forums and message boards, email, chat rooms, instant messaging, remote screen sharing, and multiplayer games, leading to the emergence of what was perhaps the world's first online community.' (Woolley, 1994)

When PLATO was eventually commercialised, it became the direct ancestor of today's E-learning systems such as Blackboard™ and WebCT™. It's interesting that what are widely touted as the key features of such systems are exactly those that Woolley identifies in PLATO! Like Suppes, Bitzer appears to have created the technology mainly as a tool, but also oversaw its operationalization in other dimensions.

## 3.     FROM SIMPLICITY TO COMPLEXITY

When Dan Watt took the first computer terminal into a Boston school in 1969 , he could hardly have envisaged the subsequent changes that would occur – in particular the shift from localized 1:1 computing to distributed many: many models that occurred with the rise of constructivist and social-constructivist theories in the 1990s, and the related notions of situated and distributed cognition. To accommodate these cognitive and social learning theories required a major epistemological shift to embrace active learners, and indeed active communities of practice (Wenger, McDermott et al.), that were both knowledge consumers and knowledge creators (e.g., Papanikolaou, Grigoriadou et al., 2002).

### 3.1     Paradigm shifts

The eclectic history of E-learning means that constructs and paradigms in and across fields of use have merged and developed as part of the following trends in a progressive and incremental manner rather than being a new 'killer app' or 'a new way of learning'. The two interrelated trends examined briefly below (Figures 1 and 2 below) are the pedagogical focus of learning environments, and changes in the psychological foundations of learning. The size of the circles in those figures is meant to imply increased adoption or implementation over previous items, and is indicative only – they are not based on particular data. These meta-level characteristics of E-learning environments represent key lenses into what educators and developers were attempting to build and achieve with educational computing.

One of the most obvious trends in all areas of educational, business and training applications has been the increased scale of adoption of constructivist
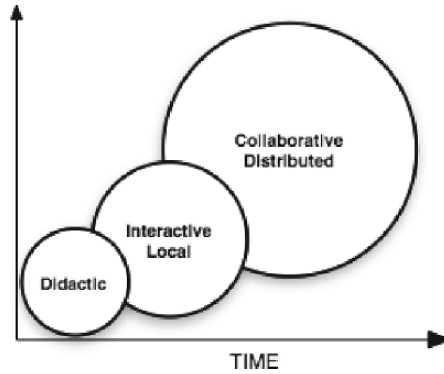
*Figure 1-1.* Trends in pedagogical stances over time. (Nicholson & McDougall, 2005)
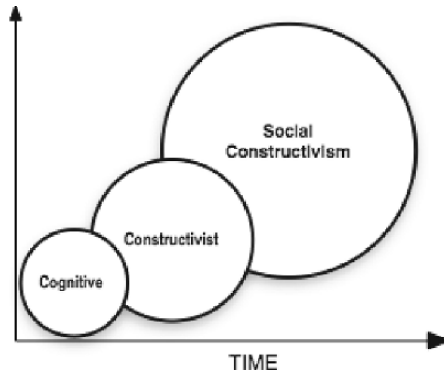


*Figure 1-2.* Development of learning paradigms over time. (Nicholson & McDougall, 2005)

paradigms, particularly social constructivism (Palincsar, 1998), distributed constructivism (Resnick, 1996), and the uptake of constructivist pedagogies (Forman, 1988; Ridgway & Passey, 1991). However, some care needs to be taken not to see this focus as being new or somehow being linked to the rise of ubiquitous networks etc. because its origins can be seen in both Bitzer's and Suppes' work, and because constructivist computing has been a key aspect of the use of computers in schools from the 1980s. However, in regard to the non-school sector, the constructivist trends shown below are arguably based more in the notions of communities of practice and computer-supported collaborative work (CSCW) than in constructivist psychology focus in schools.

## 3.2    Historical phases

Since its inception, E-learning has assimilated a diverse range of pedagogical practices, but the defining aspect of E-Learning—the trend towards collaborative online learning environments—is not only a result of the increasing adoption of constructivist paradigms, but is also a consequence of the affordances of ubiquitous global networks that have facilitated the realisation of individualised learning and interpersonal interactivity on a large scale, perhaps far exceeding the expectations of Suppes and Bitzer in its scale and scope.

## 3.3    A framework for comparison

Comparing E-learning practice over time is problematic and fraught with a host of methodological concerns. While Table 1 below provides an historical perspective based on macro-level features, it says little about the processes and agency occurring under the various categories. In order to make detailed comparisons of technology-based learning systems and paradigms over time it is necessary to explore complex interactions and

*Table 1-1.* The changing focus of educational technology over the past 30 years (after Charp, 1997; Herrington, Reeves et al., 2005; Leinonen, 2005; Mortera-Gutiérrez, 2006; Nicholson & McDougall, 2005; Pilla, Nakayama et al., 2006; THOMSON, 2005)

| Era | Focus | Educational characteristics |
|---|---|---|
| 1975-1985 | Programming; Drill and practice; Computer-assisted learning – CAL. | Behaviourist approaches to learning and instruction; programming to build tools and solve problems; local user-computer interaction. |
| 1983-1990 | Computer-Based Training; Multimedia; | Use of older CAL models with interactive multimedia courseware; Passive learner models dominant; Constructivist influences begin to appear in educational software design and use. |
| 1990-1995 | Web-based Training | Internet-based content delivery; Active learner models developed; Constructivist perspectives common; Limited end-user interactions. |
| 1995-2005 | E-Learning | Internet-based flexible courseware deliver; increased interactivity; online multimedia courseware; Distributed constructivist and cognitivist models common; Remote user-user interactions. |
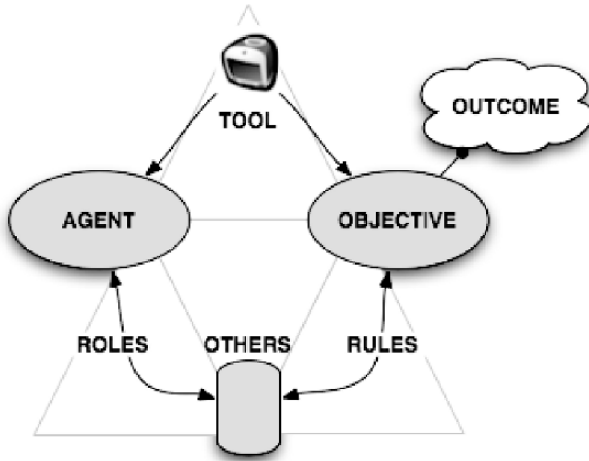
*Figure 1-3.* Activity Theory model for use with educational technology
(after Nardi, 1996; Roschelle & Pea, 2002)

contexts. The nature of some of this complexity is revealed in Figure 3 – an adaptation of Nardi's Activity Theory model for use in technology-based learning contexts. The value of this model is that it provides a plausible, fruitful and comprehensible framework for use in exploring E-learning environments—as in Table 2 below. As an example of its use, Roschelle & Pea note that '…the tutor, tutee, tool debate (Taylor, 1980), …has largely focused on the topmost agent-tool-objective relationship of the diagram' (Roschelle & Pea, 2002, p.8). A focus on 'the others' and their couplings may include distributed and collaborative learning, social-constructivism and learning communities. Using agency as a probe makes it easier to examine and compare the nature of E-learning environments through better articulation of the nature and purpose of the Tool, its efficacy, and impact.

*Table 1-2.* Agency in Taylor's (1980) models of use. (Roschelle & Pea, 2002)

| Model | Agent | Objective (goal) | Tool |
|-------|-------|------------------|------|
| Tool | Student | Semiotic tool | shared-knowledge |
| Tutor | Computer | student problem-solving behaviour | model-tracing |
| Tutee | Student | student-created program | microworlds |

# 4. CONCLUSIONS

The contemporary claims for E-learning being 'new or different' arise in the different and independent development of the application of computers to educational needs in the business and education sectors, as well as from the 'lost history' of educational computing. It is clear that early pioneers such as Suppes and Bitzer, though confined by the dominant paradigms and technologies of their time, were striving to move beyond their contemporary practices to better engage learners and to enhance teaching and learning: at the inception of the field, PLATO contained features that pre-empted, and now characterise, cutting-edge third generation E-learning systems.

What we find by inspecting the past is that the notions of agency in contemporary E-learning systems can be found scattered heavily throughout past endeavours; the need to develop knowledge and skills, creating and interpreting texts (in the post-modern sense), synthesising and making sense of data, and creating new knowledge. Their model also highlights the need for such a model! It is difficult to begin to interrogate the diverse field of technology-enhanced learning without the aid of such a meta-level model.

While the hyperbole surrounding E-learning is not surprising given its origins in the business and training sectors, it is a concern that it has been so readily accepted as fact. While recent events have celebrated its rich history, the distillation of the 'lessons learned' and the developmental pathways has not been widely published or publicised.

The lesson of History has been that societies that don't understand their history are fated to repeat the mistakes of the past, suggesting that there is a need to make the history of the development of technology-enhanced learning more widely available and perhaps to consider its uptake as an element of professional development programs.

A focus on the Roschelle and Pea model may well be an important part of such programs as professional educators need to have appropriate tools with which to interrogate their field. Without such intellectual tools of inquiry to use in developing an historical perspective, we may well better appreciate William's caution…

*History, history! We fools, what do we know or care*?
(William Carlos Williams)

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