In Search of a Better Way to Organize Instruction: The Elaboration Theory

Charles M. Reigeluth Assistant Professor Dept. of Instructional Design, Development, and Evaluation Syracuse University Syracuse, NY 13210

The elaboration theory of instruction is an alternative to the standard way of organizing instruction based on a hierarchical task analysis. The hierarchical organization results in an instructional sequence that begins with highly fragmented, small pieces of the subjectmatter content. Many educators have found its fragmentation to be demotivating. Many educational psychologists have found its parts-to-whole sequence to be inconsistent with much knowledge about how learning occurs most effectively-namely schema theory and its predecessor, subsumption theory. And many instructional designers have found that "learning hierarchies" represent a very incomplete basis upon which to make decisions about sequencing the instruction, primarily because learning hierarchies are only one aspect of the structure of subject-matter content. All this is not to deny that learning prerequisites exist nor to say that they are not important-they do exist and they

Author Note

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This paper was presented at the annual convention of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology (AECT), New Orleans, March 1979. are important. Rather this affirms that learning prerequisites are not a sufficient basis for organizing a whole course: our knowledge must progress beyond the hierarchy. It is for these reasons that the elaboration theory is being developed.

Context

Before describing the elaboration theory, I would like to place it within the context of instructional design in general. Instructional design theory can be thought of as being concerned with four major aspects of instruction (see Figure 1): (1) ways of organizing instruction, which include such concerns as sequencing and formatting the subject-matter content, (2) ways of delivering instruction, which is usually a matter of media selection, (3) ways of motivating students, which may be intrinsic or extrinsic, and (4) ways of managing the student's use of the other three aspects of instruction (Reigeluth & Merrill, 1979).

As Figure 1 indicates, it is helpful to think of ways for organizing instruction as being of two types, based on their scope. Micro strategies are ways of organizing instruction on a single topic, such as on a single concept or on a single principle. They include such strategy components as generalities (or definitions), instances (or examples), and practice. Macro strategies are ways of organizing those aspects of instruction which relate to more than one topic, such as sequencing the topics, showing interrelationships among the topics, and previewing or reviewing the topics. Task analysis is done primarily, if not exclusively, to develop this last type of strategy-specifically sequencing strategy.

The elaboration theory of instruction is a partial theory of instruction—it does not deal with all aspects of instruction. As is shown in Figure 1, it deals primarily with macro strategies for organizing instruction; but it also includes many motivational strategies, and the other aspects of instruction will be integrated with elaboration theory in the forseeable future. Merrill has done excellent work on micro strategies for organizing instruction (Merrill, Reigeluth, & Faust, 1979; Merrill, Richards, Schmidt, & Wood, 1977), and Keller (1979) and Dodge (1979) are making some excellent progress in the development of a motivational theory of instructional design.

The Elaboration Theory

The elaboration theory of instruction states that if cognitive instruction is organized in a certain specified way, then that instruction will result in higher levels of learning, synthesis, retention, and affect. There is a limitation to this theory: the smaller the amount of interrelated subject-matter content, the less difference it will make. With a small enough number of topics, it doesn't make any difference how you sequence them, whether you show interrelationships among them, or whether you preview and review the topics (as long as there are no learning prerequisite relationships among them). The following is a description of that "certain specified way" of organizing instruction, which is called the elaboration model of instruction.

The Elaboration Model

A good introduction to the nature of the elaboration model of instruction is an analogy with a zoom lens. Taking a look at a subject matter "through" the elaboration model is similar in many respects to looking at a picture through a zoom lens on a movie camera.

A person starts with a wide-angle view, which allows one to see the major parts of the picture and the major relationships among those parts (e.g., the composition or balance of the picture), but without any detail.

The person then zooms in on a part of the picture. Assume that, instead of

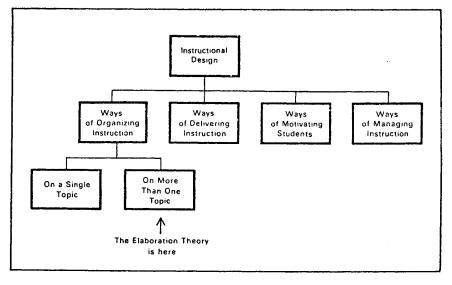


Figure 1. The context of the elaboration theory in relation to other aspects of instructional design theory.

being continuous, the zoom operates in steps or discrete levels. Zooming in one level on a given part of the picture allows the person to see the major subparts. After having studied those subparts and their interrelationships, the person could then zoom back out to the wide-angle view to review the other parts of the whole picture and to review the context of this part within the whole picture.

The person continues this pattern of zooming in one level to see the major subparts of a part and zooming back out for context and review, until the whole picture has been seen at the first level of detail. Then the person can follow the same zoom-in/zoom-out pattern for the second level of detail, the third level, and so on, until the desired level of detail is reached.

In a similar way the elaboration model of instruction starts the student with an overview of the major parts of the subject matter, it elaborates on one of those parts to a certain level of detail (called the first level of elaboration), it reviews the overview and shows the context of that part within the overview (an expanded overview), it continues this pattern of elaboration/expanded overview for each part of the overview until all parts have been elaborated one level, and it follows the same pattern for further levels of elaboration. Of course, it must be remembered that the zoomlens analogy is just an analogy and therefore that it has nonanalogous aspects. One such dissimilarity is that all

the detail of the picture is actually present (although usually not noticed) in the wide-angle view, whereas the detail is not there at all in the overview of the subject matter.

Now, some people ask, "don't you have to go through a lot of learning prerequisites to teach the overview?" The answer is a definite "no." In fact few unmastered learning prerequisites (if any) exist at the level of the overview. As a learner works to deeper levels of detail, increasingly complex prerequisites will need to be introduced. But if they are introduced only at the level of detail at which they are necessary, there will be only a few prerequisites at each level; and the learner will want to learn those prerequisites because he or she will see their importance for learning at the level of detail that now interests him or her.

The general-to-detailed organization prescribed by the elaboration model helps to ensure that the learner is always aware of the context and importance of the different topics that are being taught. It allows the learner to learn at the level of detail that is most appropriate and meaningful to him or her at any given state in the development of one's knowledge. And the learner never has to struggle through a series of learning prerequisites that are on too deep a level of detail to be interesting or meaningful at the initial stages of instruction.

Unfortunately, the zoom-lens approach has not been used much in instruction, in spite of its fundamental simplicity and intuitive rationale. Many

textbooks begin with the "lens" zoomed in to the level of detail deemed appropriate for the intended student population, and they proceed-with the "lens" locked on that level of detail-to pan across the entire subject matter. This has had unfortunate consequences for synthesis, retention, and motivation. Many instructional developers begin with the lens zoomed all the way in and proceed in a highly fragmented manner to pan across a small part and zoom out a bit on that part, pan across another small part and zoom out a bit on it, and so on until the whole scene has been covered and to some limited degree integrated. This has also had unfortunate consequences for synthesis, retention, and motivation. And some educators have intuitively groped for an elaboration-type approach with no guidelines on how to do it. This has resulted in a good deal less effectiveness than is possible for maximizing synthesis, retention, and motivation.

The major reason for the lack of utilization of the zoom-lens approach in instruction is probably that the hierarchical approach was well-articulated and was a natural outgrowth of a strong behavioral orientation in educational psychology. This in effect put "blinders" on most of the few people who were working on instructional design strategies and methodology.

To summarize, the elaboration model of instruction starts by presenting knowledge at a very general or simplified level-in the form of a special kind of overview. Then it proceeds to add detail or complexity in "layers" across the entire breadth of the content of the course (or curriculum), one layer at a time, until the desired level of detail or complexity is reached. It is important to emphasize, though, that the elaboration model prescribes a special kind of overview, and it prescribes a special way in which the elaboration is to occur. The following is as close as we can come (without sacrificing clarity) to a nontechnical introduction to these special aspects of the elaboration model.

The Epitome

We do not like to use the word "overview" because its meaning is very vague—it means different things to different people. Also, we believe that a certain specific kind of overview is superior to other kinds. Among other things, our overview must epitomize the subject matter that is to be taught, rather than summarizing it. Hence, we have named it the *epitome*. An epitome has two "critical characteristics" that distinguish it from other types of overviews: (1) it epitomizes the subject matter of the course (or curriculum) rather than summarizing it, and (2) it has a single "orientation"—which means that it emphasizes a single type of content.

With respect to epitomizing the subject matter of the course (or curriculum), an epitome is formed by "boiling down" the course content to its essence. It does not preview all of the course content; rather it presents a few fundamental topics that convey the essence of the entire content. Those topics are chosen or derived in such a way that all the remaining course content provides more detail or more complex knowledge about the epitome. Although an epitome is very general, it is not purely abstract. Since "general" and "abstract" are often confused, this distinction will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

With respect to having an orientation, the epitome emphasizes any one of three types of content: concepts, procedures, or principles. A concept is a set of

objects, events, or ideas that have certain characteristics in common. Knowing a concept entails being able to identify, recognize, classify, or describe what something is. A procedure is a set of actions that are intended to achieve an end. It is often referred to as a skill, a technique, or a method. Knowing a procedure entails knowing how to do something. A principle is a change relationship-it indicates the relationship between a change in one thing and a change in something else. It describes causes or effects by identifying what will happen as a result of a given change (the effect) or why something happens (the cause). These three different emphases are referred to respectively as a conceptual orientation, a procedural orientation, and a theoretical orientation; and the orientation is selected on the basis of the general goals or purpose of the course (or curriculum). All three types of content may appear in the epitome, but one type receives primary emphasis; and the epitome is formed by epitomizing the orientation type of content, and then introducing whatever of the other two types of content are highly relevant. More will be said about this below.

I mentioned above that an epitome is

very general but is not purely abstract. The terms "general" and "abstract" are often confused. It is helpful to think of three continua: (1) general to detailed, (2) simple to complex, and (3) abstract to concrete. These three continua are illustrated in Figure 2. The first two are very similar to each other, but the third is very different.

The general-to-detailed continuum refers primarily to a continuum formed by subdividing things (concepts or procedures) or by lumping things (concepts or subprocedures) together. "General" has breadth (things lumped together), while "detailed" is usually narrow (subdivisions). In Figure 2(a) "polar bear" is a more detailed concept than "animal." The simple-to-complex continuum refers primarily to a continuum formed by adding or removing things (principles or procedures). "Simple" has few things, while "complex" has many things. In Figure 2(b), the procedure for subtracting multidigit numbers is more complex than the procedure for subtracting single-digit numbers. Additional complexity can be added by introducing subprocedures for "borrowing" when the top number is smaller than the bottom number. The abstractto-concrete continuum refers to tangi-

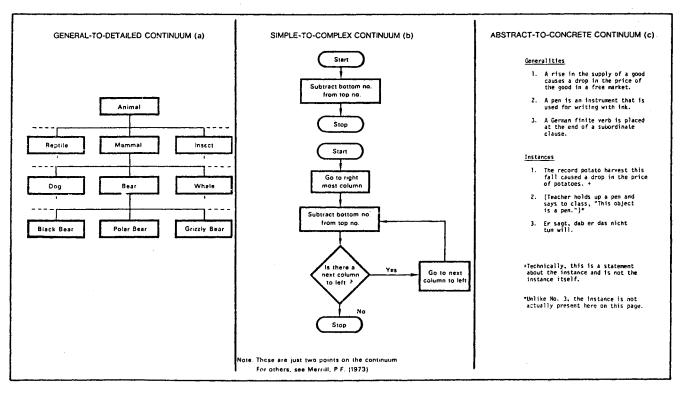


Figure 2. Illustrations of three continua that are often confused.

bility, and there are two major types of tangibility. First, generalities are abstract, and instances are usually concrete—the definition of a tree is abstract, while a specific tree (an object) is concrete. This is the most important abstract-to-concrete continuum for instructional theory. Second, some concepts are considered abstract because their instances are not tangible. "Intelligence" is a good example of an abstract concept. This second abstract-to-concrete continuum is largely irrelevant for our purposes.

On the basis of these distinctions, an epitome is always either very general or very simple-it must be, to epitomize the instructional content. But it should never be purely abstract. According to Merrill's Component Display Theory (Merrill, Reigeluth, & Faust, 1979) it should contain the following for each topic it presents: a generality (e.g., the definition of a concept), some instances of that generality (e.g., examples of the concept), and some practice for the student in applying the generality to new instances. As a rough guide, an epitome usually contains about six (plus or minus three) topics-that is, about six different generalities, along with some instances and practice items for each. These topics may be any combination of concepts, procedures, and/or principles. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the nature of each of the three kinds of epitomes: conceptual, theoretical, and procedural.

A Level-1 Elaboration

A level-1 elaboration is a part of the instruction that provides some more detailed or complex knowledge on an aspect of the epitome. It should not include all of the more detailed or complex knowledge on that aspect. Rather, a level-1 elaboration should itself be an epitome of all of the more detailed or complex knowledge on that aspect, just as zooming in one level provides a slightly more detailed wideangle view of one part of the whole picture. There is usually a level-1 elaboration for each aspect of the epitome, but an aspect is not the same thing as a topic. It is possible that a level-1 elaboration may elaborate to some extent on all of the topics in the epitome or perhaps even on a relationship among those topics.

The depth to which a level-1 elabora-

Theoretical Epitome

- 1. The law (principle) of supply and demand.
 - a. The principle of what causes changes to occur in the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied (price changes).
 - b. The principle of why prices change in a free market economy.
- 2. The principle of why changes occur in supply schedules or demand schedules.
- 3. The concepts of supply, supply schedule, and supply curve.
- 4. The concepts of demand, demand schedule, and demand curve.
- 5. The concept of changes in quantity supplied or demanded.
- 6. The concept of changes in supply schedules or demand schedules.
- 7. The concept of equilibrium price.

Practically all principles of economics can be viewed as elaborations on the law of supply and demand, including those that relate to monopoly, regulation, price fixing, and planned economies.

Conceptual Epitome

- 1. Definition of economics
- 2. Definitions of subdivisions of economics:
 - a. Definition of macro economics
 - b. Definition of micro economics
 - c. Definition of comparative economics
 - d. Definition of international economics
 - e. Definition of labor economics
 - f. Definition of managerial economics.

Practically all concepts in economics can be viewed as elaborations on these concepts (i.e., as further subdivisions—either parts or kinds—of these concepts).

Figure 3. The instructional contents for a theoretical epitome and for a conceptual epitome for an introductory course in economics.

- 1. There are four major stages in the multidimensional analysis and interpretation of creative literature:
 - a. Identifying elements of the dramatic framework—character and plot,
 - b. Combining the elements into composites appropriate for analysis of their literal meaning—analysis of character in terms of plot.
 - c. Figuratively interpreting the elements-symbolism through character, mood, tone.
 - d. Making a judgment of worth-personal relevance, universality.

(This procedure is simplified by introducing only *two* elements for the analyses in a and b, *three* in c, and *two* in d. It is further simplified by introducing only those procedures and concepts necessary for the analysis and interpretation of a *short poem*. Complexity is added later by increasing the number of elements used in each stage of analysis or interpretation and by introducing procedures and concepts needed for analyzing and interpreting more complicated types of creative literature.)

- 2. Concepts necessary for performing the procedure in 1.
 - a. Character
 - b. Plot
 - c. Symbolism
 - d. Mood
 - e. Tone
 - f. Universality

Figure 4. The instructional content for a procedural epitome for an introductory course in literature. (I appreciate the help of Faith Stein in the preparation of this figure.)

tion should elaborate on an aspect of the epitome is somewhat variable (i.e., the discrete levels on the zoom lens are variable, not always constant and equal in the amount of detail added). The most important factor for deciding on the depth of a given level-1 elaboration is student learning load. It is important that the student learning load be neither too large nor too small, for either will impede the instruction's efficiency, effectiveness (especially for retention), and appeal. The number of topics that represent the optimal student learning load will vary with such factors as student ability, the complexity of the subject-matter topics, and student prefamiliarity with the topics. The breadth of a level-1 elaboration will usually be fairly difficult to adjust. Hence optimizing the student learning load in a given elaboration can often be done mainly by varying the depth of that elaboration.

Figure 5 illustrates the nature of a level-1 elaboration on the theoretical epitome in Figure 3, and Figure 6 illustrates the nature of a level-1 elaboration on the procedural epitome in Figure 4.

Other Elaborations

A level-2 elaboration is identical to a level-1 elaboration except that it elaborates on an aspect of a level-1 elaboration rather than on an aspect of the epitome. In a similar manner, a level-3 elaboration provides more detail or complexity on an aspect of a level-2 elaboration, and so on for elaborations at deeper levels of detail/complexity. In all cases, an elaboration at one level of detail/complexity should be an epitome for all the lower level elaborations that elaborate on it.

According to this kind of organization, elaborations that are on the same level are very different from each other with respect to the instructional content they contain (i.e., their topics are very different from each other); but elaborations that are on different levels are very similar to each other with respect to their instructional content (i.e., their topics are very similar), because each level has the same content as the previous levels, only at a level of greater detail/complexity. This provides an important systematic review mechanism-more will be said about this shortly.

- 1. Principle of increasing marginal costs as an explanation for the shape of the supply curve.
- 2. Principle of profit maximization for individual firms.
- 3. Procedure of marginal analysis to arrive at profit maximization.
- 4. Concepts of fixed and variable costs.
- 5. Concepts of total, average, and marginal costs.
- 6. Concepts of break-even point and shut-down point.

Figure 5. The instructional content for a level-1 elaboration on the theoretical epitome in Figure 3. This level-1 elaboration elaborates on the supply aspect of the law of supply and demand by presenting more complex principles that relate to supply.

- 1. How to identify other elements of the dramatic framework—setting, perspective, and language.
- 2. How to combine the elements into composites appropriate for analysis of their literal meaning—(1) analysis of character, plot, and setting, (2) analysis of perspective, character, and plot, and (3) analysis of language.
- 3. Concepts of setting, perspective, and language.
- 4. Concepts of types and patterns of imagery (in language).
- 5. Procedure for analyzing imagery.
- 6. Concept of prosody.
- 7. Procedure for analyzing prosody.

Figure 6. The instructional content for a level-1 elaboration on the procedural epitome in Figure 4. This level-1 elaboration elaborates just on stages a and b—which must be elaborated at the same time because of their interrelatedness. It elaborates on these two stages by adding elements that need to be identified (in stage a of Figure 4) and analyzed in combination (in stage b of Figure 4). (I appreciate the help of Faith Stein in the preparation of this figure.)

Expanded Epitome

After each elaboration, the instruction presents a summarizer and an expanded epitome, equivalent to the zoom-out-for-context-and-review activity in the zoom-lens analogy. The summarizer is comprised of a concise generality for each topic presented in the elaboration. The expanded epitome does two things. (1) it synthesizes the topics presented within the elaboration (internal synthesis) and (2) it shows the relationship of those topics (and relationships) to the rest of the topics (and relationships) that have been taught (external synthesis).

Summary of the Elaboration Model

In summary, the elaboration model is as follows (see Figure 7). First, the epitome is presented to the student. Then a level-1 elaboration is presented to provide more detail on an aspect of

the orientation content in the epitome (that aspect which is most important or contributes most to an understanding of the whole orientation structure). Next a summarizer and an expanded epitome are presented. Another level-1 elaboration and its summarizer and expanded epitome are presented. This pattern of level-1 elaboration followed by its summarizer and expanded epitome continues until all aspects of the orientation content that were presented in the epitome have been elaborated one level. Then a level-2 elaboration is presented to provide more detail on an aspect of the orientation content that was presented in one of the level-1 elaborations. As always, this elaboration is followed by a summarizer and an expanded epitome. This pattern continues until all of the aspects of the orientation content presented in all of the level-1 elaborations have been elaborated one

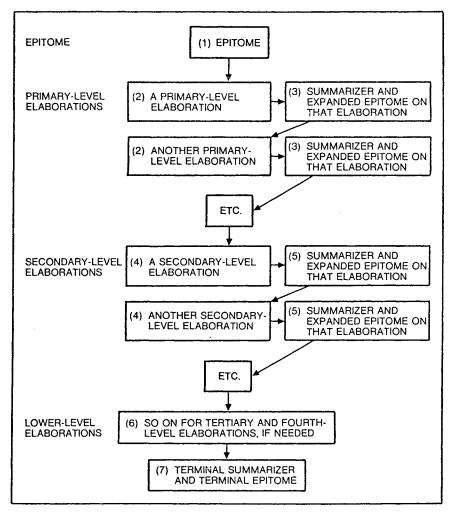


Figure 7. A diagramatic representation of the elaboration model of instruction.

level (unless the objectives of the course or the nature of the subject matter exempt a level-1 elaboration from being further elaborated). Additional levels of elaboration are provided in the same manner—an elaboration followed by a summarizer and an expanded epitome—until the level of detail/complexity specified by the objectives is attained in all aspects of the orientation content of the course.

It should be noted that there are three ways in which systematic review takes place. First, each level of elaboration covers content similar to that in the previous level (only with some additional detail and related topics). Learning this more detailed version of the same content stimulates or incorporates review of that earlier part of the course content. Second, the summarizer at the end of each elaboration reviews the content that was just presented in that elaboration. It does this by providing a concise generality for each topic. And third, the expanded epitome at the end of each elaboration constantly reviews the major content that was presented in earlier elaborations.

Using the Elaboration Model

We have developed a fairly detailed set of procedures for designing instruction according to the elaboration model (Reigeluth, Merrill, Wilson & Spiller, 1978). A major part of those procedures is analyzing the instructional content as to four different types of subject-matter structures. A subject-matter structure is something which shows a single kind of relationship that exists within a subject matter. Figure 2(a) shows part of a subject-matter structure. The four different types of subject-matter structures are: conceptual, procedural, theoretical, and learning structures. (Learning structures show learning prerequisite relations within the subject matter.) It is beyond the scope of this paper to describe and illustrate each of these four types of structures. The interested reader is referred to Reigeluth, Merrill, & Bunderson, 1978.

There are six major steps for designing instruction according to the elaboration model (see Figure 8). First, one must select an orientation-either conceptual, procedural, or theoretical-on the basis of the goals or purpose of the instruction. Second, one must develop an orientation structure for that orientation. It depicts the orientation content (either concepts, procedures, or principles) in the most detailed/complex version that the student needs to learn. This is a form of content analysis or task description. Then the orientation structure is analyzed in a systematic manner to determine which aspect(s) of the orientation content will be presented in the epitome and which aspects will be presented in each level of elaboration. In this way the "skeleton" of the instruction is developed on the basis of epitomizing and elaborating on a single type of content.

The fourth major step is to embellish the "skeleton" by adding the other two types of content at the lowest appropriate levels of detail. This is usually done by "nesting" the remaining subject-matter structures within different parts of the skeleton. Learning prerequisites are one of the considerations that enter in at this point.

Having allocated all of the instructional content to the different levels of elaboration, it is now important to establish the scope and depth of each individual elaboration that will comprise each level. The scope is usually predetermined by the orientation topic and its necessary supporting topics. The depth is then determined on the basis of achieving an optimal student learning load, as described above.

Sixth and finally, some of the internal structure of each elaboration within each level can be planned. The sequence of topics within an elaboration is decided on the basis of contribution to an understanding of the whole orientation structure (but of course within the constraints of learning prerequisites),

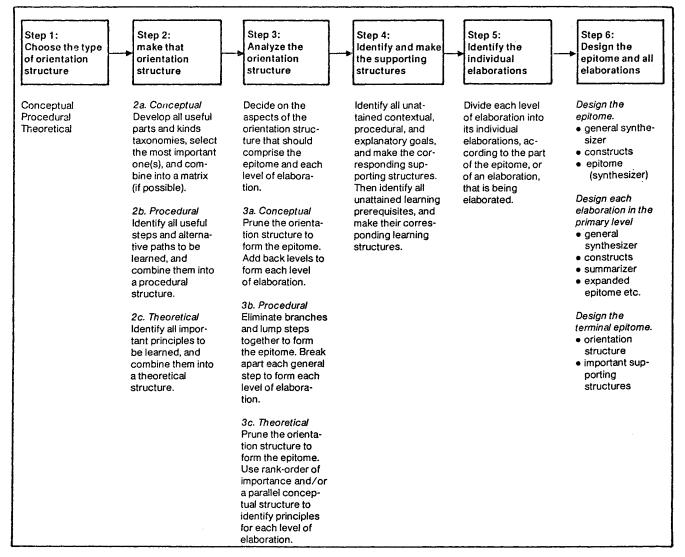


Figure 8. The six-step design procedure for structuring the instruction in any course entailing cognitive subject matter.

and the locations of synthesizers and summarizers are also determined.

This concludes the "macro" design process, at which point the "micro" design process begins—decisions as to how to organize the instruction on a single topic. We have spelled out these procedures for designing instruction in much greater detail elsewhere (Reigeluth, Merrill, Wilson, & Spiller, 1978).

The Need for Research

The model and procedures as described above have undergone very limited field-testing and virtually no research. It may turn out that having a complete expanded epitome after every single elaboration is inefficient and unnecessary (especially after lower-level elaborations). It may also turn out that it is unnecessary for a student to study all level-1 elaborations before proceeding to a level-2 elaboration. This would have important implications for learnercontrolled selection and sequencing of topics—a student could now truly follow his or her interests in approaching a subject matter. This would be particularly valuable in adult and continuing education contexts.

It is also likely that a large, full-scale field test of the design procedures will reveal more effective and efficient ways to design instruction according to the model.

The elaboration model as developed to date is a tentative move in a much-

needed direction. It does not yet have the maturity and validation of the currently used approaches to instructional design, but the need for alternatives should be clear. And there is great potential for the elaboration model to meet that need.

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Designing Instruction for Attitudinal Outcomes

Michael R. Simonson Associate Professor of Secondary Education, College of Education Iowa State University Ames, IA 50011

As early as 1931 Thurstone was able to demonstrate the impact of film on the attitudes of children. In this landmark study it was found that two films depicting the Chinese either favorably or unfavorably were capable of producing attitude changes in either a positive or negative direction. Since Thurstone's study there have been numerous experiments conducted that have evaluated some aspect of the relationship between instructional media and the attitude formation and change of students. Over two hundred of these experiments were reviewed by Simonson (1977; 1979; Simonson, Thies, & Burch, 1979). Generally, the results of those studies were not uniform enough to produce a single, definitive conclusion concerning the relationship between mediated instruction and attitudes. Results were often contradictory. However, there were a considerable number of studies in the literature where researchers were able to produce positive attitude results, similar to Thurstone's. In other words, educational researchers reported findings where instructional media was used to deliver messages, and desired or hypothesized attitudinal outcomes were produced.

While a review of the literature is not intended here, it is important for the instructional developer to be aware of the type and scope of positive relationships that have been reported to exist between mediated instruction and the attitudes of learners. This paper attempts to document procedures that were successful in experimental situations in producing desired attitudinal positions, and that would seem to be useful information for the instructional developer. These techniques will be supported by citing a sample of specific research studies where the procedure was successfully validated. Naturally, the instructional developer should apply these recommendations skeptically. The very nature of educational research prohibits the development of conclusions about the learning process that can be universally applied. The following statements are intended as guidelines only, not laws or rules.

Obviously, most instruction is designed to produce cognitive outcomes. Attitude positions are usually of secondary importance when learning processes are developed. However, because attitudes are thought to be "predispositions to respond" those attitudinal positions that are related to instructional procedures or content might possibly be important to the instructional developer.

While a positive link between attitude and achievement has been identified by some (Simonson and Bullard, 1978; Simonson, 1977; Levy, 1973; Fenneman, 1973; Perry and Kopperman, 1973; and Greenwald, 1966, 1965; for example), most researchers have been reluctant to propose any cause and effect relationship between these two learner variables. Because the relationship between attitudes and achievement has been examined by many, with unclear conclusions often resulting, the reason for the instructional developer to be concerned with attitude positions resulting from instruction should not be based primarily on the impact of attitude on achievement. Rather, the development of a more favorable attitude toward instruction or subject area is a desirable end in itself. Fleming and Levie (1978) have provided additional reasons why the instructional developer should be interested in the attitudes of students. First, most teachers would agree that there are cases when it is legitimate, and important, to urge learners to accept the truth of certain ideas. In other words, to promote an attitudinal position. Second, as stated above, that while the relationship between attitudes and learning is unclear it seems to be common sense that students are more likely