

DOCUMENT SUMMARY

This foundational paper by John Sweller (1994) details Cognitive Load Theory, explaining that learning difficulty is determined by the interplay between the inherent complexity of information (intrinsic load) and the way it is presented (extraneous load). This is a core document for Enlitens' mission, as it provides the scientific framework to critique standardized assessments, which frequently impose high extraneous cognitive load through confusing formats, irrelevant mental processes, and reliance on limited working memory. Sweller's theory validates Enlitens' approach by demonstrating that effective instruction—and by extension, effective assessment—must be designed to minimize extraneous load, thereby allowing an individual's cognitive resources to be focused on the actual task of understanding and communicating, which is the exact goal of the Enlitens Interview.

FILENAME

SWELLER_1994_Cognitive_Load_Theory_Learning_Difficulty_and_Instructional_Design_Evidence_Against_Extraneous_Load_in_Assessment.md

METADATA

- **Primary Category:** ASSESSMENT
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- **Relevance:** Core
- **Key Topics:** cognitive_load_theory, instructional_design, learning_difficulty, extraneous_cognitive_load, intrinsic_cognitive_load, schema_acquisition, working_memory
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CRITICAL QUOTES FOR ENLITENS

- "It is pointed out that cognitive load theory deals with learning and problem solving difficulty that is artificial in that it can be manipulated by instructional design."
- "In contrast, in different areas, if elements can be learned successively rather than simultaneously because they do not interact, intrinsic cognitive load will be low."
- "It is suggested that extraneous cognitive load that interferes with learning only is a problem under conditions of high cognitive load caused by high element interactivity."
- "In other cases, two tasks may appear to have roughly similar amounts of information but differ enormously in the effort required to achieve mastery."
- "Both [schema acquisition and automation] have the effect of substantially reducing working memory load."

- "The theory suggests that instructional techniques that require students to engage in activities that are not directed at schema acquisition and automation, frequently assume a processing capacity greater than our limits and so are likely to be defective."
- "According to cognitive load theory, engaging in complex activities such as these that impose a heavy cognitive load and are irrelevant to schema acquisition will interfere with learning."
- "Extraneous cognitive load, by definition, is entirely under instructional control. It can be varied by varying the manner in which information is presented and the activities required of students."
- "Learning will be difficult if cognitive load is high, irrespective of its source."
- "Material may be difficult to understand if it incorporates a high level of element interactivity."

KEY STATISTICS & EVIDENCE

- **Working Memory Limits:** In contrast to a huge long-term memory, working memory is very limited and can store and process no more than a few discrete items at any given time, a concept established by Miller (1956).
- **Expert Schemas:** In intellectually complex areas, experts have acquired tens of thousands of schemas which act as the building blocks of their intellectual skill. This was estimated by Simon and Gilmarin (1973).
- **Worked Example Effectiveness:** A study by Zhu and Simon (1987) found that a three-year mathematics course was completed in two years by emphasizing worked examples rather than conventional instruction.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Core Learning Mechanisms

- **Schema Acquisition:** "A schema is a cognitive construct that organizes the elements of information according to the manner with which they will be dealt." Schemas allow people to categorize problems and information, enabling them to handle an infinite variety of specific instances (like different trees or algebra problems) with a single mental model. Schema acquisition is a primary mechanism of learning.
- **Automation of Intellectual Operations:** This is the transfer of learned procedures from controlled to automatic processing. When a skill is first learned, using it requires conscious attention and effort (controlled processing). With practice, the skill becomes automatic, requiring minimal conscious thought and freeing up cognitive resources for other activities. Without automation, performance is slow, clumsy, and error-prone.

The Function of Learning in Relation to Working Memory

"The two learning mechanisms discussed above, schema acquisition and automation, share one intriguing characteristic. Both have the effect of substantially reducing working memory load. It has been known since Miller (1956) that in contrast to a huge long-term memory, working memory is very limited. Working memory can store and process no more than a few

discrete items at any given time. A major function of schema acquisition and automation may be to ameliorate or even by-pass this restriction.

Schemas effectively increase the amount of information that can be held in working memory by chunking individual elements into a single element. ... In this sense, while the number of items held in working memory may be very limited, thanks to schemas, the amount of information held in working memory may be quite large and this may be one of the functions of schema acquisition.

Automation also has a significant effect on working memory. It permits working memory to be by-passed. Processing that occurs automatically requires less working memory space and as a consequence, capacity is freed for other functions. In this sense, automation, like schema acquisition, may have a primary function of circumventing limited processing capacity."

Cognitive Load Theory and Instructional Design

"The theory suggests that instructional techniques that require students to engage in activities that are not directed at schema acquisition and automation, frequently assume a processing capacity greater than our limits and so are likely to be defective. ... According to cognitive load theory, engaging in complex activities such as these that impose a heavy cognitive load and are irrelevant to schema acquisition will interfere with learning."

- **The Split-Attention Effect:** When learners must mentally integrate disparate sources of information (like a diagram and a separate block of text), the act of integration itself requires cognitive resources, imposing an extraneous cognitive load. Physically integrating the information (e.g., putting labels directly on the diagram) reduces this load and facilitates learning.
- **The Redundancy Effect:** If information is presented in a self-explanatory format (e.g., a fully labeled diagram) and is accompanied by redundant text that explains the same thing, processing the redundant text imposes an extraneous cognitive load. In this case, extraneous load is reduced by *eliminating* the redundant text, not integrating it.

Intrinsic vs. Extraneous Cognitive Load

"Cognitive load imposed by instructional material can be partitioned into that which is due to the intrinsic complexity of the core information and that which is a function of the cognitive activities required of students because of the manner in which the information is presented. ... total cognitive load is an amalgam of at least two quite separate factors: extraneous cognitive load which is artificial because it is imposed by instructional methods and intrinsic cognitive load over which instructors have no control. The primary determinant of intrinsic cognitive load is element interactivity. If the number of interacting elements in a content area is low it will have a low cognitive load with a high cognitive load generated by materials with a high level of element interactivity."

Element Interactivity

"Element interactivity is characterized in terms of element interactivity. The elements of most schemas must be learned simultaneously because they interact and it is the interaction that is critical. If, as in some areas, interactions between many elements must be learned, then intrinsic

cognitive load will be high. In contrast, in different areas, if elements can be learned successively rather than simultaneously because they do not interact, intrinsic cognitive load will be low.

An element is defined as any material that needs to be learned.... When the elements of a task can be learned in isolation, they will be described as having low element interactivity. ... Elements interact if they are related in a manner that requires them to be assimilated simultaneously. ... High element interactivity or connectedness occurs when a task cannot be learned without simultaneously learning the connections between a large number of elements."

- **Example of Low Interactivity:** Learning the vocabulary of a second language can be seen as having low element interactivity because each word pair can be learned in isolation without reference to others.
- **Example of High Interactivity:** Learning a mathematical procedure, like multiplying out the denominator in an equation ($a/b=c$), involves a large number of interacting elements that must be processed simultaneously for the procedure to make sense.

Redefining "Understanding"

"The concept of understanding is only applied to some but not other material. The perspective taken in this paper suggests that information that needs to be "understood," rather than merely learned, consists of material that has a high degree of element interactivity. Material that has a low level of interactivity only needs to be learned rather than both understood and learned. In this context, understanding can be defined as the learning of high element interactivity material. In fact, it can be suggested that all information falls on a continuum from low to high element interactivity and learning is the only cognitive factor operating. When the schemas associated with high element interactivity material have been acquired, people feel they have understood the material."

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Some Instructional Implications of Intrinsic Cognitive Load

"If cognitive load is caused by a combination of design features and element interactivity, then the extent to which it is important to design instruction to reduce extraneous cognitive load, may be determined by the level of element interactivity. While extraneous cognitive load can severely reduce instructional effectiveness, it may do so only when coupled with a high intrinsic cognitive load. If the total cognitive load is not excessive due to a relatively low intrinsic cognitive load, then a high extraneous cognitive load may be irrelevant because students are readily able to handle low element interactivity material with almost any form of presentation. In contrast, if intrinsic cognitive load is high because of high element interactivity, adding a high extraneous cognitive load may result in a total load that substantially exceeds cognitive resources, leading to learning failure.

Because of the predilections of the investigators, the goal-free, worked example, split-attention and redundancy effects (discussed above) were all tested using high element interactivity materials with a high intrinsic cognitive load. Associating such materials with high extraneous cognitive load presentation modes may result in overwhelmingly high cognitive loads. As a

consequence, it is to be expected that reducing extraneous cognitive by the various techniques associated with each effect results in substantial performance increments. Nevertheless, the advantages found may be available only with high element interactivity materials. All the effects may disappear using low element interactivity materials because total cognitive load levels may not exceed available capacity."

Application to Instructional Designers and Experimenters

"Instructional designers, in turn, who base their designs on cognitive load theory but whose materials have low element interactivity, may be incorporating design features that have no useful effects. The effects generated by cognitive load theory may apply only to high element interactivity material. As a consequence, the theory may be irrelevant when dealing with low element interactivity materials."