THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Shaping Organizational Reality Through Collaborative Writing

by

Barbara Schneider

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN COMMUNICATIONS STUDIES

CALGARY, ALBERTA

AUGUST, 1993

© Barbara Schneider 1993

ISBN 0-315-88620-X

Canada

Name __Barbara   Schneider__

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

__Speech   Communication__

SUBJECT TERM

|0|4|5|9| **U·M·I**

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS
Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Cinema 0900
Dance 0378
Fine Arts 0357
Information Science 0723
Journalism 0391
Library Science 0399
Mass Communications 0708
Music 0413
Speech Communication 0459
Theater 0465

EDUCATION
General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS
Language
General 0679
Ancient 0289
Linguistics 0290
Modern 0291
Literature
General 0401
Classical 0294
Comparative 0295
Medieval 0297
Modern 0298
African 0316
American 0591
Asian 0305
Canadian (English) 0352
Canadian (French) 0355
English 0593
Germanic 0311
Latin American 0312
Middle Eastern 0315
Romance 0313
Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY
Philosophy 0422
Religion
General 0318
Biblical Studies 0321
Clergy 0319
History of 0320
Philosophy of 0322
Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES
American Studies 0323
Anthropology
Archaeology 0324
Cultural 0326
Physical 0327
Business Administration
General 0310
Accounting 0272
Banking 0770
Management 0454
Marketing 0338
Canadian Studies 0385
Economics
General 0501
Agricultural 0503
Commerce-Business 0505
Finance 0508
History 0509
Labor 0510
Theory 0511
Folklore 0358
Geography 0366
Gerontology 0351
History
General 0578

Ancient 0579
Medieval 0581
Modern 0582
Black 0328
African 0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
Canadian 0334
European 0335
Latin American 0336
Middle Eastern 0333
United States 0337
History of Science 0585
Law 0398
Political Science
General 0615
International Law and
Relations 0616
Public Administration 0617
Recreation 0814
Social Work 0452
Sociology
General 0626
Criminology and Penology ... 0627
Demography 0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
Individual and Family
Studies 0628
Industrial and Labor
Relations 0629
Public and Social Welfare 0630
Social Structure and
Development 0700
Theory and Methods 0344
Transportation 0709
Urban and Regional Planning 0999
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES
Agriculture
General 0473
Agronomy 0285
Animal Culture and
Nutrition 0475
Animal Pathology 0476
Food Science and
Technology 0359
Forestry and Wildlife 0478
Plant Culture 0479
Plant Pathology 0480
Plant Physiology 0817
Range Management 0777
Wood Technology 0746
Biology
General 0306
Anatomy 0287
Biostatistics 0308
Botany 0309
Cell 0379
Ecology 0329
Entomology 0353
Genetics 0369
Limnology 0793
Microbiology 0410
Molecular 0307
Neuroscience 0317
Oceanography 0416
Physiology 0433
Radiation 0821
Veterinary Science 0778
Zoology 0472
Biophysics
General 0786
Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES
Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleoecology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Palynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences
General 0566
Audiology 0300
Chemotherapy 0992
Dentistry 0567
Education 0350
Hospital Management 0769
Human Development 0758
Immunology 0982
Medicine and Surgery 0564
Mental Health 0347
Nursing 0569
Nutrition 0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology .. 0380
Occupational Health and
Therapy 0354
Ophthalmology 0381
Pathology 0571
Pharmacology 0419
Pharmacy 0572
Physical Therapy 0382
Public Health 0573
Radiology 0574
Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
Toxicology 0383
Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES
Pure Sciences
Chemistry
General 0485
Agricultural 0749
Analytical 0486
Biochemistry 0487
Inorganic 0488
Nuclear 0738
Organic 0490
Pharmaceutical 0491
Physical 0494
Polymer 0495
Radiation 0754
Mathematics 0405
Physics
General 0605
Acoustics 0986
Astronomy and
Astrophysics 0606
Atmospheric Science 0608
Atomic 0748
Electronics and Electricity 0607
Elementary Particles and
High Energy 0798
Fluid and Plasma 0759
Molecular 0609
Nuclear 0610
Optics 0752
Radiation 0756
Solid State 0611
Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences
Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984

Engineering
General 0537
Aerospace 0538
Agricultural 0539
Automotive 0540
Biomedical 0541
Chemical 0542
Civil 0543
Electronics and Electrical 0544
Heat and Thermodynamics ... 0348
Hydraulic 0545
Industrial 0546
Marine 0547
Materials Science 0794
Mechanical 0548
Metallurgy 0743
Mining 0551
Nuclear 0552
Packaging 0549
Petroleum 0765
Sanitary and Municipal 0554
System Science 0790
Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY
General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451

♻

Nom _____

Dissertation Abstracts International est organisé en catégories de sujets. Veuillez s.v.p. choisir le sujet qui décrit le mieux votre thèse et inscrivez le code numérique approprié dans l'espace réservé ci-dessous.

SUJET	CODE DE SUJET

□□□□ U·M·I

Catégories par sujets

HUMANITÉS ET SCIENCES SOCIALES

COMMUNICATIONS ET LES ARTS
Architecture 0729
Beaux-arts 0357
Bibliothéconomie 0399
Cinéma 0900
Communication verbale 0459
Communications 0708
Danse 0378
Histoire de l'art 0377
Journalisme 0391
Musique 0413
Sciences de l'information 0723
Théâtre 0465

ÉDUCATION
Généralités 515
Administration 0514
Art 0273
Collèges communautaires 0275
Commerce 0688
Économie domestique 0278
Éducation permanente 0516
Éducation préscolaire 0518
Éducation sanitaire 0680
Enseignement agricole 0517
Enseignement bilingue et
  multiculturel 0282
Enseignement industriel 0521
Enseignement primaire. 0524
Enseignement professionnel 0747
Enseignement religieux 0527
Enseignement secondaire 0533
Enseignement spécial 0529
Enseignement supérieur 0745
Évaluation 0288
Finances 0277
Formation des enseignants 0530
Histoire de l'éducation 0520
Langues et littérature 0279

Lecture 0535
Mathématiques 0280
Musique 0522
Orientation et consultation 0519
Philosophie de l'éducation 0998
Physique 0523
Programmes d'études et
  enseignement 0727
Psychologie 0525
Sciences 0714
Sciences sociales 0534
Sociologie de l'éducation 0340
Technologie 0710

LANGUE, LITTÉRATURE ET LINGUISTIQUE
Langues
  Généralités 0679
  Anciennes 0289
  Linguistique 0290
  Modernes 0291
Littérature
  Généralités 0401
  Anciennes 0294
  Comparée 0295
  Médiévale 0297
  Moderne 0298
  Africaine 0316
  Américaine 0591
  Anglaise 0593
  Asiatique 0305
  Canadienne (Anglaise) 0352
  Canadienne (Française) 0355
  Germanique 0311
  Latino-américaine 0312
  Moyen-orientale 0315
  Romane 0313
  Slave et est-européenne 0314

PHILOSOPHIE, RELIGION ET THÉOLOGIE
Philosophie 0422
Religion
  Généralités 0318
  Clergé 0319
  Études bibliques 0321
  Histoire des religions 0320
  Philosophie de la religion 0322
Théologie 0469

SCIENCES SOCIALES
Anthropologie
  Archéologie 0324
  Culturelle 0326
  Physique 0327
Droit 0398
Économie
  Généralités 0501
  Commerce-Affaires 0505
  Économie agricole 0503
  Économie du travail 0510
  Finances 0508
  Histoire 0509
  Théorie 0511
Études américaines 0323
Études canadiennes 0385
Études féministes 0453
Folklore 0358
Géographie 0366
Gérontologie 0351
Gestion des affaires
  Généralités 0310
  Administration 0454
  Banques 0770
  Comptabilité 0272
  Marketing 0338
Histoire
  Histoire générale 0578

Ancienne 0579
Médiévale 0581
Moderne 0582
Histoire des noirs 0328
Africaine 0331
Canadienne 0334
États-Unis 0337
Européenne 0335
Moyen-orientale 0333
Latino-américaine 0336
Asie, Australie et Océanie 0332
Histoire des sciences 0585
Loisirs 0814
Planification urbaine et
  régionale 0999
Science politique
  Généralités 0615
  Administration publique 0617
  Droit et relations
    internationales 0616
Sociologie
  Généralités 0626
  Aide et bien-être social 0630
  Criminologie et
    établissements
    pénitentiaires 0627
  Démographie 0938
  Études de l' individu et
    de la famille 0628
  Études des relations
    interethniques et
    des relations raciales 0631
  Structure et développement
    social 0700
  Théorie et méthodes. 0344
  Travail et relations
    industrielles 0629
Transports 0709
Travail social 0452

SCIENCES ET INGÉNIERIE

SCIENCES BIOLOGIQUES
Agriculture
  Généralités 0473
  Agronomie. 0285
  Alimentation et technologie
    alimentaire 0359
  Culture 0479
  Élevage et alimentation 0475
  Exploitation des péturages 0777
  Pathologie animale 0476
  Pathologie végétale 0480
  Physiologie végétale 0817
  Sylviculture et faune 0478
  Technologie du bois 0746
Biologie
  Généralités 0306
  Anatomie 0287
  Biologie (Statistiques) 0308
  Biologie moléculaire 0307
  Botanique 0309
  Cellule 0379
  Écologie 0329
  Entomologie 0353
  Génétique 0369
  Limnologie 0793
  Microbiologie 0410
  Neurologie 0317
  Océanographie 0416
  Physiologie 0433
  Radiation 0821
  Science vétérinaire 0778
  Zoologie 0472
Biophysique
  Généralités 0786
  Medicale 0760

SCIENCES DE LA TERRE
Biogéochimie 0425
Géochimie 0996
Géodésie 0370
Géographie physique 0368

Géologie 0372
Géophysique 0373
Hydrologie 0388
Minéralogie 0411
Océanographie physique 0415
Paléobotanique 0345
Paléoécologie 0426
Paléontologie 0418
Paléozoologie 0985
Palynologie 0427

SCIENCES DE LA SANTÉ ET DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT
Économie domestique 0386
Sciences de l'environnement 0768
Sciences de la santé
  Généralités 0566
  Administration des hipitaux .. 0769
  Alimentation et nutrition 0570
  Audiologie 0300
  Chimiothérapie 0992
  Dentisterie 0567
  Développement humain 0758
  Enseignement 0350
  Immunologie 0982
  Loisirs 0575
  Médecine du travail et
    thérapie 0354
  Médecine et chirurgie 0564
  Obstétrique et gynécologie .. 0380
  Ophtalmologie 0381
  Orthophonie 0460
  Pathologie 0571
  Pharmacie 0572
  Pharmacologie 0419
  Physiothérapie 0382
  Radiologie 0574
  Santé mentale 0347
  Santé publique 0573
  Soins infirmiers 0569
  Toxicologie 0383

SCIENCES PHYSIQUES

Sciences Pures
Chimie
  Généralités 0485
  Biochimie 487
  Chimie agricole 0749
  Chimie analytique 0486
  Chimie minérale 0488
  Chimie nucléaire 0738
  Chimie organique 0490
  Chimie pharmaceutique 0491
  Physique 0494
  PolymÇres 0495
  Radiation 0754
Mathématiques 0405
Physique
  Généralités 0605
  Acoustique 0986
  Astronomie et
    astrophysique 0606
  Electronique et électricité 0607
  Fluides et plasma 0759
  Météorologie 0608
  Optique 0752
  Particules (Physique
    nucléaire) 0798
  Physique atomique 0748
  Physique de l'état solide 0611
  Physique moléculaire 0609
  Physique nucléaire 0610
  Radiation 0756
Statistiques 0463

Sciences Appliqués Et Technologie
Informatique 0984
Ingénierie
  Généralités 0537
  Agricole 0539
  Automobile 0540

Biomédicale 0541
Chaleur et ther
  modynamique 0348
Conditionnement
  (Emballage) 0549
Génie aérospatial 0538
Génie chimique 0542
Génie civil 0543
Génie électronique et
  électrique 0544
Génie industriel 0546
Génie mécanique 0548
Génie nucléaire 0552
Ingénierie des systèmes 0790
Mécanique navale 0547
Métallurgie 0743
Science des matériaux 0794
Technique du pétrole 0765
Technique minière 0551
Techniques sanitaires et
  municipales 0554
Technologie hydraulique 0545
Mécanique appliquée 0346
Géotechnologie 0428
Matières plastiques
  (Technologie) 0795
Recherche opérationnelle 0796
Textiles et tissus (Technologie) 0794
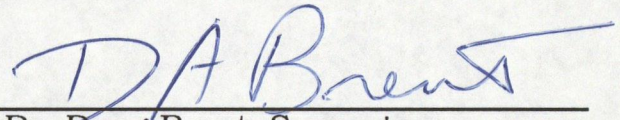
PSYCHOLOGIE
Généralités 0621
Personnalité 0625
Psychobiologie 0349
Psychologie clinique 0622
Psychologie du comportement 0384
Psychologie du développement .. 0620
Psychologie expérimentale 0623
Psychologie industrielle 0624
Psychologie physiologique 0989
Psychologie sociale 0451
Psychométrie 0632
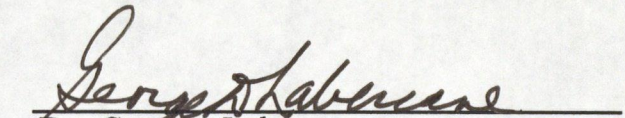
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Shaping Organizational Reality Through Collaborative Writing" submitted by Barbara Schneider in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. Doug Brent, Supervisor,
Faculty of General Stu dies

Dr. Ron Sept,
Graduate Program in
Communications Studies

Dr. George Labercane
Faculty of Education

Sept 2 1993
Date

ii

Abstract

This study explores the relationship of writing to its organizational context through an examination of the collaborative writing processes of the members of the rehabilitation department of a long-term care facility. The study suggests that the talk which takes place during the invention, or planning, stage of collaborative composing provides the link between writing and its organizational context. This talk allows writers to define their goals, understand the constraints of their organizational environment and adapt their discourse for their audience. In addition, the talk allows the writers to create a format for their document and in doing so to create the knowledge essential to achieving their goals. Finally, the process of articulating goals and values during the talk of the invention stage gives writing its power to produce rather than simply reproduce social realities.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Scholars in the field of composition studies have struggled to understand what writing is and what writers really do when they write. A number of theories of writing have developed in an attempt to provide frameworks for understanding what it means to write and what happens when writing takes place. Writing has been regarded variously as a means of recording and communicating information and as a way of thinking and knowing.

In recent years, it has become common among scholars to regard writing as a social process (Bruffee, 1984; Reither, 1985; LeFevre, 1987). Once thought of as an act which originates with an individual who sits down by herself pen in hand to produce a text, writing is now regarded as an activity which originates in the writer's relationships with others. A writer is a social being who interacts with her social world to create a text which will be read by others. As Bruffee says, "Writing is not an inherently private act but is a displaced social act we perform in private for the sake of convenience" (1981, p. 745). Therefore, a full understanding of writing cannot be had without an understanding of its relationship to the social context in which it is being done. Texts are shaped not just by the thoughts of the individual writer but by the relationships and concerns of the community of which the writer is a member.

When writers collaborate, writing becomes not just an inherently social act but an explicitly social act. In recent years collaborative writing, particularly in organizational settings, has become an area of growing research interest. Researchers have drawn on literature from such diverse fields as interpersonal and small group communication, organizational communication, anthropology and philosophy and have examined collaborative writing from a number of different perspectives (Forman, 1991) in order to better understand exactly what writers do when they collaborate. Much of this research focuses on the interpersonal and group processes in which writers are necessarily enmeshed when they collaborate with others (Allen et.al., 1987; Cross, 1990; Weber, 1991). It has explored how the ways in which groups organize themselves, choose a leader, resolve conflicts and make decisions can influence the success of a writing group in fulfilling its rhetorical goals.

Research into collaborative writing is a natural outgrowth of the idea that writing is a social activity. But perhaps the strongest reason to examine collaborative writing is the fact that so much of the writing which is produced at work is the result of some form of collaboration. Researchers such as Lunsford and Ede (1990) and Faigley and Miller (1982) have established that as much as 85% of the writing which takes place in organizations is collaborative. This collaboration can take many forms, from writers carrying out writing tasks under the direction of superiors who comment on or edit their work, to writers

working in teams to complete group writing projects (Lunsford and Ede, 1990).

Whatever form collaborative writing takes, it is much more than simply a way of getting the work of an organization done; it is, rather, a way of producing knowledge in the organization. As writers invent material for their documents and come to a consensus about what should be in their documents, they also come to agree on what the organization is all about and what it means to be a member of that organization. They negotiate their knowledge of the organization as they talk about their documents.

As a social activity, writing cannot be separated from its social contexts. In the composition literature, the concept of the discourse community was developed to describe social context (Bizell, 1982; Bartholomae, 1985). A discourse community is a group of people who share a certain specialized body of knowledge and a way of talking about that knowledge. For example, the employees of a company such as IBM or the members of a club such as the National Firearms Association form discourse communities. Writers within these communities communicate effectively with other members of the community because they know what to talk about and how talk about it. They have the knowledge necessary to take part in the conversation of that community.

The social context of work-place writing is usually the organization. Writers at work cannot write effectively if they do not understand their organizational contexts and adapt their rhetorical

strategies to the demands of the particular situation. The writing they do cannot be understood without an understanding of the ways in which writing is powerfully influenced by the constraints of the organization in which it is done. This has been demonstrated in a number of studies which examine the effects of organizational and extra-organizational influences on both the writing processes and written products of writers in organizations (Odell, 1985; Freed & Broadhead, 1986; McIsaac and Aschauer, 1990).

However, the relationship of writing to its contexts is not a one-way relationship. The activities of writers in turn influence the contexts in which the writing is done. Writers invent and re-invent not only their documents but also the organizational contexts within which they write. Writers are not merely passive recipients of ideas which already exist, influenced only by the demands of their social contexts; they are active participants in the ongoing process of knowledge creation with the power to make individual contributions and in doing so to change their social contexts.

While the idea of a reciprocal relationship between collaborative writing and social contexts has become quite accepted in the literature (e.g. Reither, 1985; Cooper, 1986; Bazerman, 1988; McIssac and Aschauer, 1990; Killingsworth, 1992), only a very few studies (Doheny-Farina, 1986; Paradis, Dobrin and Miller, 1985) have explored how writing actually works to influence its contexts. In particular there has been very little work which has examined how collaborative writing works to produce change in organizations. It is

not hard to understand why researchers have not fully explored how writing shapes organizations. In a well-established organization it is very difficult to see the organizing function of writing. The taken-for-granted nature of communication within an already established organization obscures both the influence of the organization on communicative activities and the power of those activities to influence the organization.

In part, this is because composition researchers have not foregrounded the role of talk in the collaborative writing process, particularly during the invention stage of composing. The planning or invention stage of collaborative writing, deciding on the purpose, content and organization of a piece of writing, often takes place entirely in the realm of talk. Some of the collaborative writing literature has described the talk which takes place during composing (e.g. Doheny-Farina, 1986; Allen et al., 1987; Cross, 1990). However, in general, it has failed to point out that the reciprocal relationships between collaborative business writing, social context and group processes exist because of the talk that takes place when collaborative writers meet to discuss their documents.

To understand the role of talk in organizational settings it is necessary to turn to the organizational and anthropological literatures. Weick (1979), an organizational social psychologist, proposes a model of organizations in which people within the organization "talk the organization over" to make sense of their activities within the organization. It is through this talk that organizations come into

existence and through talk that they continue to exist. Schwarzman (1988), an anthropologist, takes this idea one step further. She says that the fact that this talk happens in meetings between various members of organizations gives it the power to produce and reproduce the social structures of the organization.

The task of writing a collaborative document requires that people meet to engage in focused and directed conversation with others in the organization, conversation that probably would not take place in the same way if there were no writing task at hand. Writing and talk are thus interconnected activities. As people meet to discuss the evolving document, they make sense of what is happening in the organization, they define their relationships with each other, they validate their roles in the organization and they devise rhetorical strategies which are appropriate to the document they are writing and to the culture of the organization. The writing task enables this talk, which allows writers to understand how to write successfully within the constraints of their organizational setting and gives them the opportunity and power to affect that setting.

This thesis, then, attempts to answer the following question: How is writing influenced by its social context and how does writing in turn work to influence that social context? Specifically, what is the role of the talk which takes place during the collaborative writing process, particularly during the invention stage of composing, in the reciprocal relationship between writing and social context?

In attempting to answer this question, I have been very fortunate to be able to observe the work of writers within an organization which was entering a period of change. Because the organization was in a state of flux, was in fact being re-organized, I was able to observe not only the influence of organizational constraints on the collaborative writing process, but also how that process has the potential to influence the organization. Because this is a case study, I can draw definitive conclusions only about what happened in this particular situation. But I believe that this study also points to some general conclusions about the relationship of talk and writing in the collaborative writing process.

Chapter 2 reviews the collaborative writing literature and the relevant organizational theory literature. Chapter 3 presents a summary of my methods. Chapter 4 brings the case study to life. It describes the activities of the members of the rehabilitation department at a long-term care facility (hereafter referred to as the facility) as they collaboratively wrote a proposal to change the delivery of breakfast to residents at the facility. Chapter 5 presents several conclusions drawn from the case study about the role of talk in the collaborative writing process.

Writing a proposal to change the delivery of breakfast sounds like a rather minor writing project to address a fairly minor aspect of life in the facility. In fact, it was a special event in the life of the people who wrote it and had major implications not only for their department but for the facility as a whole. Judging from the literature on

collaborative writing, this particular writing project is probably also atypical of workplace writing in general. I believe that because it was unusual both for these individuals and for workplace writing, my attention was drawn to certain aspects of the relationship between collaborative writing and its social contexts that have not previously been explored in depth. In particular, these factors helped me to see that the talk of the invention stage of composing provides the link between writing and its organizational context. Through talk, writers adapt their discourse to the demands of their organizational constraints and through talk they in turn affect those constraints.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Ideas about what writing is have changed dramatically in the last 50 years. These changes reflect the changes in underlying philosophies about the nature of the world and our knowledge of that world which have influenced many academic disciplines in recent years. Writing has gone from being simply a way of recording and communicating ideas which already exist, to being a mode of thinking, to being a social activity through which communities construct knowledge. Of particular interest to this study is the way in which ideas about the role of invention in the writing process have changed.

Product vs Process

Much of the discussion has centred on what is known as the product/process debate (Berlin, 1982). Proponents of the product approach, also known as the current-traditional approach, focus attention on the final product of writing, emphasizing the correctness of words, sentences and paragraphs. This approach is based on a positivistic view of the world. Positivists take as self evident the existence of a rational world governed by laws which can be discovered by observation and experimentation. Writing is used to pass on knowledge of the world to others using language to recreate the external world in the minds of readers. LeFevre (1987) calls this the "copy theory" of language, in which language is assumed to be "an

analogy for what really exists" (p. 98). As all knowledge can be found outside the observer in the real world, the discovery of ideas, or invention, takes place before writing begins. The writer is merely transcribing this knowledge for the benefit of readers, and invention thus has no role in writing itself.

Scholars seeking to free writers from the constraints imposed by the rules and prescriptions of the product approach turned instead to the developing process approach. This approach reasserts the importance of invention in writing. Proponents of the process view regard writing as a mode of thinking and knowing. They see it as a recursive cognitive activity in which writers discover, or invent, what they want to say through the act of writing and develop appropriate ways to communicate what they have discovered to others. The focus is on the inner processes of the writer creating a piece of writing rather than on the piece of writing itself. Writing is no longer a transcription of reality, but is instead an "individual writer shaping thought through language" (Bazerman, 1980, p. 657).

Some proponents of the process view (e.g. Knoblauch and Brannon, 1984; Elbow, 1973) see writing as an organic and somewhat mystical process, an act of self discovery which allows people to grow through understanding their own experiences and beliefs. Others (e.g. Flower and Hayes, 1981) see it as a series of mental operations which can be identified and described by complex models. Regardless of their particular orientation, proponents of the process view generally see writing as an activity carried out by an individual, isolated writer

who draws on her own resources to produce a written product. Invention is seen as the act of an individual mind working alone to generate ideas and plan and produce a text.

The Social Approach

LeFevre (1987) attributes the wide-spread acceptance of the view that writing is an individual act to a tradition in western thought stemming from Plato's belief that "truth is accessible by . . . individual efforts" (p. 11). The individual is thought to have innate knowledge and mental abilities which are the main sources of invention. She proposes instead a view of writing as a social process in which "individuals interact dialectically with socioculture . . . to generate something" (p. 1). Writers, who are socially influenced beings, use language, a shared symbol system, to build on a foundation of knowledge which already exists. Invention is therefore a social act even when carried out by an individual. As Cooper (1986) says, "language and texts are not simply the means by which individuals communicate information, but are essentially social activities, dependent on social structures and processes not only in their interpretive but also in their constructive phases" (p. 366). Writers are linked to readers, other writers and other writing by the texts they create.

The social view of writing grows out of the social constructivist view of knowledge (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Knowledge is no longer something which exists in the world waiting to be transferred

to a blank page by a willing conduit, but rather something which is created by "communities of like minded peers" (Bruffee, 1976, p. 774). According to Kuhn, a philosopher of science and an important early figure in the development of social constructionism, knowledge is "intrinsically the common property of a group or else nothing at all" (1970, p. 201). Members of communities negotiate and legitimate knowledge in their discourse with one another. Kuhn was referring specifically to scientific knowledge, but his theories have been widened to apply to all knowledge (Bruffee, 1976). Everything we normally regard as external to our selves, such as reality, knowledge and facts, is a construction of a community using a common language (Bruffee, 1976). This view of knowledge presents a serious challenge to the cognitive view of knowledge which assumes that there is a universal foundation or structure upon which individuals build knowledge. The social constructivists assume no such foundation of truth. Rather, knowledge is built as a community achieves consensus that certain beliefs are socially justified.

The implications of social constructionism for theories of writing are many. Writing is no longer the product of an individual mind interacting with the emerging text and directed at an unknown reader. Invention begins not in the individual, but in the writer's relationship with others. Writing is an act of communication between writers and readers who already share knowledge. Writing, therefore, cannot be understood in any meaningful way unless it is examined within its social contexts. As Reither says, "Writing and what writers

do during writing cannot be artificially separated from the social-rhetorical situations in which writing gets done" (1985, p. 621).

Context in writing is not a new concept, but it has generally been articulated as a concern for audience (Barabas, 1990). However, the traditional idea of the audience as a person or group of people who receive a piece of written communication does not take into account the complex reality of social contexts. Audiences are not monolithic blocs of readers, identified by such characteristics as age, education or lifestyle, waiting to be addressed by writers. Rather, they are active members of complex, dynamic social structures of which the writer is also a member (Paré, 1991).

Paré suggests that what is needed is a new metaphor for context, one which "can suggest the rich social dynamics that surround and support texts" (1991, p. 49). He draws on the work of Burke to provide a metaphor, which Burke calls the "unending conversation."

> Imagine you enter a parlor. You come late. When you arrive, others have long preceded you, and they are engaged in a heated discussion, a discussion too heated for them to pause and tell you exactly what it is about. In fact, the discussion had already begun long before any of them had got there, so that no one present is qualified to retrace for you all the steps that had gone before. You listen for a while, until you decide that you have caught the tenor of the argument; then you put in your oar. Someone answers;

you answer him; another comes to your defense; another aligns himself against you . . . . However, the discussion is interminable. The hour grows late, you must depart. And you do depart, with the discussion still vigorously in progress. (1941, p. 110)

Writers are contributing to the "conversation" in everything they write; any particular text is "a moment in an ongoing discussion, an utterance shaped by the relationships, concerns, and procedures of the community" (Paré, 1991, p. 51).

The Discourse Community

Within the social perspective, the concept of the discourse community has developed to describe the social contexts in which writing takes place. A discourse community is a group of people connected by written texts who may or may not also talk to each other. This concept has its roots in the related concepts of the "interpretive community" of literary criticism, which refers to a loosely connected group of people who share a world view or set of values, and the "speech community" of sociolinguistics, which refers to a closely connected group of speakers who live in the same place (Harris, 1989). Faigley (1985) describes the concept of the discourse community thus:

> The key notion is that within a language community, people acquire specialized kinds of discourse competence that enable them to participate in specialized groups.

> Members of discourse communities know what is worth
>
> communicating, how it can be communicated, what other
>
> members of the community are likely to know and believe
>
> to be true about certain subjects, how other members can
>
> be persuaded, and so on. (p. 238)

In short, members of a discourse community know what to talk about and how to talk about it. An academic discipline, the members of which are connected by journals, citations, conferences and E-mail, is perhaps the archetypal example of a discourse community.

The discourse community enables writers to communicate with readers by supplying them with the knowledge needed to write effectively in that community. But at the same time, it also has a constraining effect on writers. As Bartholomae (1985) points out, the discourse community determines not only what writers can do, but also what they cannot do. Reither (1985) says that a contribution will only be accepted as relevant if it coincides with what the community regards as important. The community rewards those who stay within the limits of the agenda it sets and punishes those who do not by excluding them from the community.

Discourse communities are, of course, not as homogeneous and uncomplicated as the foregoing description implies. Much of the literature describes discourse communities as though they were big happy families or as Harris (1989) says, "utopias" which don't exist at all. As anyone who has been a member of a family can testify, families are fraught with conflict, with members jockeying for power and

fighting for recognition, struggling to reach consensus. So too with discourse communities. According to Harris (1989) consensus is not necessary for a community to exist. A certain amount of struggle is normal within a community because "We do not write simply as individuals, but we do not write simply as members of a community either" (p. 19). He points out that individuals do not belong only to one discourse community, and that within any given community there may exist many competing discourses. The struggle between competing discourses offers the possibility of change within discourse communities and suggests, as Killingsworth (1992) points out, that "writers have the power to transform the site of discourse, the community itself" (p. 110).

The Reciprocal Relationship of Writing and Social Contexts

Support for the idea that writers can affect their communities comes from literature in several different areas including social theory and composition theory. The relationship of writing to its contexts is not a one way relationship, with the community simply enabling and constraining writers. Certainly, writers are influenced by the communities within which they write. But the writing they do in turn influences those communities.

Giddens, a social theorist, discusses the relationship between the activities of individuals and the social structures which surround them. He contends (1984) that people are knowledgeable agents; that is, they are social beings who know a great deal about the activities in

which they participate every day. He says that through the intended and unintended consequences of their daily practices they produce and reproduce the structures of social systems. For Giddens, the institutional practices of social systems are revealed in the day-to-day activities of human actors. The activities of individuals are neither determined by the structure of the social system, nor are they the "foundation" on which social structures are built. Rather, "each enters into the constitution of the other" (p. 36). The constraints of the social structure "operate through the active involvement of the agents concerned, not as some force of which they are passive recipients" (p. 289). Thus the activities of individuals are structured by the social system and work to structure that system.

Bazerman (1988) calls on sociologist Robert Merton's view of social structure to make a similar point. Merton's work indicates that "Individuals through perception of situation and available alternatives and in their choices make and remake social structure. Through microdecisions individuals both realize and create social macrostructure" (p. 129). In his study of the development of the genre of the scientific article, Bazerman demonstrates the interrelationship of the writing activities of individual scientists and the social world of science. He says that the scientific article emerged to solve recurring rhetorical problems in writing science and in turn became the context for future scientific writing.

A number of other composition scholars have also commented on the ways in which writing affects social contexts. Reither says that

"Writing is, in fact, one of those processes which, in its use, creates and constitutes its own contexts" (p. 621). Cooper (1986) proposes an ecological model of writing in which "all the characteristics of any individual writer or piece of writing both determine and are determined by the characteristics of all the other writers and writings in the system" (p. 367). Harrison (1987) agrees, pointing out that although environments contain information about how writing is to be done, "writing in organizations is more than just an activity for accomplishing organizational tasks; it may additionally be seen as a discourse process fundamental to the creation of organized activity" (p. 17). Bazerman & Paradis (1991) say "Writing is more than socially embedded; it is socially constructive. Writing structures our relations with others and organizes our perceptions of the world" (p. 3). And Faigley (1985) calls for research which will "study how individual acts of communication (including writing) define and organize social groups" (p. 235).

Writing at Work

Composition scholars interested in exploring the socially constructed nature of writing within discourse communities turned quite naturally to the study of writing in the world of work. The organizations which make up the business world provide well defined and diverse communities in which to study the interrelationship of writers, writing processes and social contexts. Prior to the 1980's, much of the research on writing in business settings was based on the

systems, or information theory, approach (Lipson, 1988; Driskill, 1990). This uses as its foundation the Shannon and Weaver transmission model of communication (Driskill, 1990), which is concerned only with the mechanics of transmitting messages, and not with the meaning of the messages themselves. The sender encodes a message which is then transmitted through a channel to a receiver at the other end who decodes it. As with the current-traditional approach to writing, this is based on a positivistic view of the world in which language can be used to represent and transmit an objective picture of an external reality.

In order to move away from this approach toward an understanding of writing in its organizational context, it is necessary to know something about how organizations function. For this, writing scholars have turned to the literature on organizational communication. The area of that literature most relevant to writing scholars is the organizational culture literature (e.g. Smircich, 1983; Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984; Frost et al., 1985). It has become commonplace to talk of organizations as cultures. The idea that small social groups are cultures in the same way that large social groups are cultures has led to the development of a large and diverse body of research on organizational culture. This research can be grouped into two main schools of thought (Smircich, 1983). First is the "culture variable approach" (p. 342). In this approach, popularized by writers such as Deal and Kennedy (1982), culture is regarded as a variable, something which organizations have. It is a characteristic which can

be manipulated by managers to increase productivity and maximize profits.

The second approach grows out of the realization that people do more in organizations than simply get work done and make profits (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). They also "gossip, joke, knife one another, initiate romantic involvements, cue new employees to ways of doing the least amount of work that still avoids hassles from a supervisor, talk sports, arrange picnics" (p. 116). In this approach culture is regarded as a "root metaphor" (Smircich, 1983) for understanding how people make sense of their experiences. Culture is variously described as a shared system of knowledge and beliefs or as a shared system of symbols and meanings. Organizations, in this view, don't have culture, they are cultures. Culture "provides members with shared interpretations of reality that facilitate their ability to organize" (Kreps, 1990, p. 126). It is this approach which allows the concept of culture to act as "an epistemological device to frame the study of organizations as social phenomenon" (Smircich, 1983, p. 353).

The notion that organizational cultures consist of collective interpretations of events which structure the perceptions of organization members seems analogous to the construct of the discourse community. This similarity has not been lost on writing researchers and this has led to a growing body of research on writing in the workplace which examines the various ways in which writers are influenced by factors in their organizational environments and how the writing they do in turn affects the organization.

Interestingly, although collaboration is not the primary focus of much of the literature on workplace writing which will be surveyed here, much of it in fact deals with collaborative writing (e.g. Odell, 1985; Freed and Broadhead, 1987; Herndl, Fennell & Miller, 1991). Interest in collaborative writing in the workplace seems to have emerged almost by accident as writing researchers noticed that what they were observing was in fact collaborative. This suggests that collaborative writing processes in organizations must be examined if we are to fully understand the interrelationship of writing and social contexts.

Collaborative Writing in the Workplace

A number of surveys have been conducted in the last fifteen years which have looked at just how much time people in various kinds of organizations spend writing. These surveys indicate that not only do people spend a significant portion of their work day writing, but that much of that writing is done collaboratively. Anderson (1985) reviewed a number of surveys conducted in the early 80's and found that college educated people working in professional or technical jobs spend between 20% and 30% of their time at work writing. Between 10% and 30% of that writing is done collaboratively. Faigley and Miller (1982), in their survey of workplace writers, found that college educated people spend almost 30% of their time at work writing. More than 70% of their respondents said they sometimes write collaboratively. In a survey which looked specifically at collaborative

writing in the workplace, Couture and Rymer (1989) found that relatively few (24%) of their respondents said they wrote in collaborative groups; most (81%) said their collaboration consisted of interaction with colleagues and supervisors. A later survey by Lunsford and Ede (1990) found that professionals spend 44% of their time on writing-related activity. The proportion of people who said they sometimes write collaboratively was 87%. Even those who at first told Lunsford and Ede that they write everything alone, later admitted that they collaborated in some way in almost everything they write.

As is clear from the contradictions found by Lunsford and Ede, the definition of the term collaborative writing is problematic at best. Lunsford and Ede (1990) cite at least six definitions which have appeared in the literature; these include writers co-authoring documents, writers consulting with other during various stages of writing and writers working as teams. Allen et al. (1987) offer a definition which includes three features: production of a shared document, interaction between members of the group, and shared decision-making power and responsibility for the document.

A number of scholars, by contrast, have argued that the social perspective leads inevitably to the conclusion that all writing, even when performed by individuals, is inherently collaborative. Bruffee (1984) calls on the work of scholars in a variety of fields (e.g. Rorty, Kuhn, Geertz, Vygotsky) to demonstrate that who we are and what we write are largely functions of our interactions with our community. Reading and writing are not simply social acts, but are collaborative

acts through which we come to understand and contribute to the knowledge created in our communities.

Reither and Vipond suggest that both writing and knowing "are impossible" without collaboration (1989). They identify three ways writers collaborate. The first is explicit coauthoring in which writers actually work together to produce written documents. The second is workshopping in which people other than the writer read and comment on the writing. The third and most important form of collaboration they call knowledge making. Writers collaborate with those who have gone before them in their discourse communities, making meanings not alone, but in relation to others' meanings.

Thralls (1991) also argues that all writing is inherently collaborative, as writers respond to previous utterances and anticipate future contributions to the conversation. She draws on the language theory of Bakhtin to demonstrate that "language is never the purview of the individual only, but always an interaction of the individual with others" (p. 66). The work of any particular writer cannot be separated from a larger communication chain which demands a "collaborative partnership" with others for its existence.

Winsor's (1989) study of an engineer writing a corporate report based on previously written texts confirms that even when writers work alone, their work is collaborative. She concluded that the communal nature of knowledge in the corporation shaped every aspect of the final product. Collaboration was involved in every step of the process, from writing to editing, revising and even formatting.

Although these theorists have convincingly demonstrated that writing is an inherently collaborative act, there is no evidence to suggest that writers should therefore always write with other people. The strongest reason to examine collaborative writing is that, as noted above, much of the writing done in the workplace is overtly collaborative. Although a growing number of researchers are exploring collaborative writing, a more complete understanding of the practices of collaborative groups and the relationships of those practices to organizational contexts can further illuminate the role of writing in organizations. The following survey of the collaborative writing literature is divided into three sections: studies which examine the effects of organizational contexts on writing, studies which examine the effects of writing on organizational contexts and studies which look at the writing processes used in various collaborative writing situations.

Organizational Contexts Affect Writing

A fairly large number of studies examine the various influences on organizational writing. These influences include factors inside the organization, factors in the business and social environment outside the organization, and factors relating to the background and training of various members of the organization.

In one of the first studies to examine how organizational contexts affect writers, Odell and Goswami (1982) examined the writing of employees at a social services agency. They found that the

aspects of the writing style of the participants, such as the use of passives and the lengths of clauses, and varied depending on the department to which the writer belonged. Thus, not only the organization but even the department within the organization had an effect on the writing produced by its members. In addition, they found that even people who did not consider themselves to be "good" writers had a complex tacit understanding of the needs of their audiences and the demands of their purposes and varied a number of features of their writing according to the type of writing they were doing.

In a later study of the writing practices of a group of legislative analysts in a state bureaucracy, Odell (1985) also found a clear link between organizational factors and the writing that was produced. One of his main findings was that writers based their rhetorical choices on their knowledge of shared attitudes and ways of operating within the organization. In addition, he found that the writers' perceptions of their audience were based not so much on actual knowledge of that audience but on what others in the organization thought the audience should be like.

A study by Brown and Herndl (1986) attests to the power of the community to influence the writing of its members. They looked at writing in a number of large corporations in Minnesota and found that even when employees were told that certain stylistic features, such as superfluous nominalizations, were "bad," they continued to fill their prose with these features. Brown and Herndl concluded that these

features were characteristic of corporate writing and were part of the corporate culture. They had become important indicators of belonging in the company. Lower ranking employees or those who were insecure about their status in the company therefore continued to use them in spite of knowing that they were considered incorrect by writing "experts."

In their study of the Three Mile Island and Challenger disasters, Herndl, Fennell and Miller (1991) also looked at the how social structures in an organization influence communication. They concluded that patterns of language use reflect the social structures of organizations. The linguistic behavior of people within organizations is shaped, at least in part, by the group to which they belong. Different subgroups within the organization therefore have different discourse practices. The demands of different discourse communities within the organization can can lead to miscommunication and misunderstanding between groups which has the potential to cause major disasters such as the ones examined in this study.

In her study of writers in a trade association, Alford (1989) also looked at the effects of organizational culture on writing. She describes a situation in which writing was used as a way of achieving consensus on issues facing the association. Documents circulate through the association with writers editing each other's texts to arrive at a document which "best presents the organization's thinking" (p. 149). Writers are influenced by the culture of the

association as they attempt to write with the "collective voice and mind of the membership" (p. 137).

Internal factors are not the only influences on writing in organizations. Miller and Selzer (1985) also found factors arising from the nature of the discipline the writers are working within. They studied engineering reports produced in a research and development company and found that the writers called on ways of thinking and writing specific to the discipline of engineering as well as on constraints imposed by the organizational setting. Carol Lipson (1986) studied the writing of scientists in R&D organizations and found that efforts of the companies to get the scientists to write more like company employees and less like scientists caused strife within the companies. She concluded that the demands of the corporate culture for a particular writing style were in conflict with the demands of the writing style of the scientists' professional culture. The conflicting demands of the different discourse communities to which the scientists belonged led to the failure of the scientists to write effectively for the corporation.

Influences external to an organization can also have effects on the writing done within the organization. Freed and Broadhead (1986) point out that even among companies within the same industry, writing standards and styles will vary considerably because each company constitutes a separate culture or discourse community. While acknowledging the importance of corporate culture, they also conclude that writers' awareness of their company's place in the

larger culture affects the writing done. For example, awareness of the company's niche in a competitive marketplace is reflected in the style and the strategies used by the writers. McIsaac and Aschauer (1990) also note the importance of external pressures on the collaborative proposal writing practices of an engineering company. Increased competition for government contracts forced the company to abandon its ad hoc method of writing proposals. Instead it instituted new methods, such as storyboarding and a special proposal writing centre, to coordinate the writing efforts of its employees.

Linda Driskill (1989) pulls a number of the possible influences on writers in organizations together into a comprehensive model. As her model indicates and as the research surveyed here indicates, corporate culture is only one of many factors which affect an organization's writing environment. Writers, she says, call on a sophisticated understanding of the complex interrelationships of many factors impinging on the organization which "reflects the values of corporate culture, the requirements of organizational structure, the influences of the firm's external environment, and ways of thinking and arguing that derive from the individual's training, education, and professional role" (p. 138).

Writing Influences Organizational Contexts

A number of recent studies have focused on how writing influences its contexts. These studies look at the constructive nature of texts and at how they provide a framework for thinking and acting

within particular discourse communities (e.g. Myers, 1985; McCarthy, 1991, Paradis, 1991). Very few researchers, however, have looked at how this process works in organizational settings. The work that does exist looks at how writing functions in organizations and at how rhetorical activity structures social realities.

Paradis, Dobrin and Miller (1985), in a study of the writing done in a research and development organization, looked at the role that composing can play in the development of an organization. They found that although the employees viewed writing simply as a means of handling information, it actually served a number of social functions within the organization and was crucial to the success of individuals within the organization and to the success of the organization itself. They found that managers used the document cycling process (editing drafts written by junior employees and returning them for revisions) to manage the work of their employees and to initiate them into the company. All employees used it to make others aware of their work, and to extend their networks within the organization. Writing was "a primary means of bringing the activities of different groups and individuals into phase with one another" (p. 305).

Bacon (1990) also looked at how collaborative writing functions in organizations. He says that writing groups help to initiate newcomers to organizations and reinforce the companys' values and goals. They also provide an immediate audience for documents. In addition he says that because the group members together have a much broader base of knowledge than any one individual, the final

product will reflect a more accurate understanding of the needs of the audience and more effective strategies for reaching that audience.

Doheny-Farina (1986) is the one researcher to examine how rhetorical activity can change the social structures of an organization. He conducted research at a newly formed company at which a number of senior employees were collaborating on the writing of a new business plan. Work on the business plan opened the door for a power struggle with the president over control of the company. Through the writing process, conflicting views of the organizational reality were integrated in a way that changed the structure, goals and even the nature of the organization itself. Doheny-Farina re-analyzed this process in two further articles (1991, 1992) about the same company and concluded that deficiencies in the business plan led to the demise of the company some years later. In studying the business plan, he says, "we get a glimpse of the creation of a community. We see the social conversation that sustained and altered (and ultimately destroyed) that community" (1991, p. 330).

Collaborative Writing Processes

Because so much organizational writing is collaborative, an understanding of how collaborative groups actually work is necessary to fully understand the relationship of writing to its organizational contexts. The literature on collaborative writing has begun to call on literature from interpersonal and small group communication to examine the influence of group dynamics, conflict management, group

decision making and leadership on collaborative writing activities. As Weber (1991) points out, it is not enough to simply say that writing is a social process which grows out of writers' relationships with their discourse communities. "Any serious theory of collaborative writing practice must be integrative, taking into account the writing process of the individual and the group" (p. 50).

A number of studies have looked at the activities of writers in various kinds of collaborative situations (e.g. Allen, et al.; Malone, 1991; Cross, 1990). Much of this literature isolates collaborative writing from its social context and examines the internal processes of writing groups. Some studies acknowledge and explore the importance of the particular social context on the activities of the group. However, none of these studies explores the ways in which the activities of collaborative writing groups work to structure organizational contexts.

Several studies have examined the internal workings of collaborative writing groups. In a survey of group writing, Allen, Atkinson, Morgan, Moore and Snow (1987) examined the group processes of 14 writing groups. They concluded that the group functions as a "first-line audience" and that effectively resolved conflict enhances the quality of the final outcome. Malone (1991), in her study of a NASA team formed to carry out a specific writing task, points out that different stages of the collaborative writing process require different skills. She says that for a writing group to function

most effectively, the group must call on the people whose skills are most appropriate at each stage of the writing process.

Couture and Rymer (1991) followed their survey of collaborative writing in the workplace (1989) with case studies of writers interacting with their supervisors. They found that different perceptions of how interaction should function in the composing process and unequal power relations between supervisor and subordinate interfered with the cooperative effort required for effective collaboration.

Feminist theory has also found its way into the literature on how collaborative writing groups work. Lunsford and Ede (1990b) have identified two "modes" of collaboration, the hierarchical and the dialogic. Hierarchical collaborative groups are "linearly structured, driven by highly specific goals, and carried out by people who play clearly assigned roles" (p. 235). Dialogic groups are more loosely structured and the roles of group members can change. Although there is no evidence to suggest that men and women cannot engage in both kinds of collaboration, Lunsford and Ede identify the hierarchical mode as masculine and the dialogic mode as feminine. Lay (1991) argues that collaborators need to call on "a range of collaborative strategies that have traditionally been reserved for either males or females" (p. 83).

A number of studies have also examined the influence of organizational factors on collaborative writing processes. Cross (1990) examined an unsuccessful collaborative project, the writing of a two

page executive letter for an annual report. He identified a number of organizational factors and group processes which led to the failure of the collaborative effort. These included poor management of conflict about the tone and audience for the letter and a hierarchical distribution of power that suppressed differences of opinion. Locker (1991) compared the collaborative writing practices of two writing teams at a state agency, one successful and one unsuccessful. She attributes the success of the second team to a number of factors. The group processes of the the second team were more inclusive and less hierarchical than those of the first team. In addition, the members of the first team were not completely socialized into the culture of the agency and were unwilling to accept the demands of that discourse community, leading to their failure to write effectively for the community.

It is clear from the foregoing review of the literature that although writing researchers are aware of the role that writing can play in an organization and of the reciprocal relationship between collaborative writing processes and organizational contexts, very little is known about how collaborative writing processes actually work to change rather than simply reproduce organizational realities. In particular, very little is known about the role of talk in the collaborative writing process, particularly during the invention stage of composing. This is perhaps not surprising, as the taken-for-granted nature of social interaction works to obscure the importance of that interaction for carrying out daily activities. However, as talk seems to

be an inseparable part of the collaborative writing process, understanding the role of talk is essential to understanding the process itself.

The Role of Talk in Collaborative Writing

A number of researchers mention the role of talk in the collaborative writing process (e.g. Doheny-Farina, 1986; McIsaac and Aschauer, 1990; Couture and Rymer, 1991), but only Spilka (1988) has conducted a study which focuses on the role of what she calls "orality" in the composing of corporate documents. The writers in her study who discussed their writing tasks with others in the corporation were much more successful in analyzing their audiences and adapting their discourse for those audiences than writers who wrote in isolation. She also found that "orality is the primary way people communicate and reach consensus on the ideas and values of the corporate culture" (p. 63). The process of interacting is more influential than the written product in carrying out corporate goals and in negotiating "new constructs of social reality" (p. 63).

Support for the idea that talk plays an important role in the interaction of the composing process with its contexts comes from researchers in organizational theory and anthropology. Weick (1979), an organizational social psychologist, foregrounds the role of talk for sense making in organizations. He contends that organizations do not simply exist; rather they are always in the process of being organized. He proposes an "ecological" model of organizations in which

communication between organization members provides the mechanism through which this continual organizing takes place. It is through talk that the organizing process, which Weick calls enactment, takes place. He says, "How can I know what I think until I see what I say? Organizations . . . talk themselves over and over to find out what they're thinking" (p. 133). People don't simply respond to their cultures. They also participate actively, if unconsciously, in constructing their social realities through the process of enactment. In Weick's view, events are interpreted after they occur. These interpretations then form the basis for future behavior. Organizational culture is thus an ongoing process of reality construction with communication at its centre.

Schwartzman (1988), an anthropologist, also points to the role of talk in creating social contexts, particularly in "constituting and reproducing relations of power and domination" (p. 30). However, she contends that it is not simply talk which enables this process. It is the fact that the talk happens in meetings. Meetings, she says, are not just tools for accomplishing the work of the corporation. Calling on the work of Giddens and other social theorists, she says that meetings are communicative events which are both "constituted and constitutive" social forms. As occasions which connect individuals to the organizations to which they belong, meetings provide the link between practice and structure which allows individuals to produce and reproduce the power relations and the structures of their social contexts. They provide occasions for individuals to make sense of what

they are doing in that context and to negotiate and validate their relationships with each other. Meetings also legitimate talk about change and provide an opportunity for individuals to reconcile the "practices of tradition and change" (p. 43). It is commonly assumed that meetings are "about decisions, policies and problems" (p. 215). In fact, she says, the opposite is true. "Decisions make meetings, and meetings make, remake, and sometimes unmake the organization" (p. 239).

In this paper, I contend that collaborative writing has its power to make and remake organizational contexts because of the talk made possible by the meetings which necessarily occur when people discuss their collaborative documents. In meeting to invent material for a document, writers engage in focused and directed discussion which probably would not occur in quite the same way without the impetus of the writing task. The writing of a document provides the occassion for the talk which does the work of creating change. Although it may not seem so, this talk is necessarily part of the writing process even though it may go on for a long time before a document is produced and range over topics not directly related to the document at hand. Without this talk, and the decisions that result from it, the actual production of a written text cannot proceed. It is through talk that writers conceive, develop and refine the ideas that will go into their document. It is thus an integral part of the invention stage of writing. As LeFevre (1987) says, invention is "a process extending over time, a process both enabled and manifested through talk" (p. 125).

In the report of my research which follows, I will describe a collaborative writing project which took place at a long-term care facility. I will show that the decision to write a proposal collaboratively provided a reason for the members of the rehabilitation department to meet over a period of almost three months. These meetings were not simply the forum within which they wrote the document. They were in fact what provided the members of the department with the opportunity to change the social reality of the organization. The meetings provided them with a legitimate place to talk about change and to develop a consensus about what it could mean for them as individuals and as a department. The meetings also allowed them to redefine their relationships with each other and to validate their roles in the organization. In working together to invent rhetorical strategies for their proposal, they were doing much more than planning and writing a document. They were harnessing the power of the meeting to re-invent the power relations of the organization in a way which would be advantageous to them. They were a group struggling "to constitute structures in order that they [the structures] may become constituting" (Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood, 1980, in Schwartzman, 1988, p. 30).

Chapter 3

Method

In moving from theories about writing to an actual case study, it was clear that a qualitative approach of some kind would be most appropriate for my research. I was interested in exploring how writers are influenced by their organizational contexts. However, I was not interested in cause and effect relationships between specific aspects of the writing and specific aspects of the context. I wanted to explore how people use writing to "assert and sustain a version of reality, [and] articulate and celebrate a sense of identity" (Pauly, 1991, p. 3). In particular, I wanted to observe the activities of writers within their discourse communities in order to better understand how writers negotiate the demands and constraints of those communities to produce effective documents. I was also interested in exploring the role of writing in organizations, both for writers and for organizations, and in understanding the meaning of writing activities for the participants themselves. As Marshall and Rossman (1989) point out, it is not possible to "understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions" (p. 49). It would have been impossible to explore the complex relationships between writing and social context without observing the behavior of writers in their social context.

I was extremely fortunate in finding a site in which to conduct my research at a long-term care facility. Long-term care facilities

provide the most comprehensive care available to elderly people who can no longer care for themselves. This particular institution has space for 180 of the most unwell and fragile elderly, including people suffering from Alzheimer's disease, multiple sclerosis, strokes and other debilitating diseases. These people are chronically rather than actively ill and have no home other than the facility.

The participants in the study were the members of the rehabilitation department of the facility. Under the leadership of one of the senior members of the department, the whole department was engaged in collaboratively writing a proposal to change the delivery of breakfast to the residents of the hospital. Department meetings to discuss the proposal were held over a period of about two and a half months and resulted in the production of a document which was then presented to the administration of the facility.

I decided that entering the situation without specific expectations or a fully formed hypothesis was the best way to come to understand how the people writing within a social framework make sense of that framework. I therefore conducted this study using the grounded theory approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Grounded theory is a qualitative approach in which the researcher constructs theory from the data collected and from the specific social context being studied. The researcher does not begin the research with a fully developed research question and specific hypotheses to confirm or disprove, but rather with a general area for exploration. The research question develops as the research proceeds. Coding and

analysis of the data take place during the collection of data rather than after all the data has been collected. This allows the researcher to modify the data collection procedures as the research question is modified or refined. Any conclusions the researcher draws cannot be predicted in advance but instead are fully grounded in the empirical data the researcher gathers during the course of the research. In addition, any theory that is developed can be easily modified or reformulated in the face of new evidence that may be uncovered during research.

The Research Question

The research question was not fully developed until data gathering and analysis were well underway. I had begun the research with the intention of exploring the relationships between writers and their organizational contexts. I felt fairly certain that I would be able to observe the effects of the context on the writing processes of my subjects. My preliminary question asked how the writers' perceptions of their organizational context influence their writing processes. I was interested in such questions as which factors in the organizational environment influenced the writers most? How much were their writing processes affected by management directives? By other departments within the facility? Did their training predispose them to view the world of the facility in a certain way? What I did not expect was that I would find myself in a situation in which I could also see the potential for the writing process to influence the organizational

context. Midway through the data collection, I rephrased my research question to ask how organizational contexts and writers' processes interact to influence each other.

Preliminary analysis of my data revealed two interesting observations which redirected the focus of the study: most of the time spent on the proposal was spent in the invention stage of writing, and the invention stage took place almost entirely in the realm of talk. It was becoming evident that the talk which took place during this phase of document production provided the writing process with its ability to influence the organizational context. The goal of writing the proposal provided the situation in which this talk took place. In the end my research question focused on the role of the talk which takes place during the invention stage of collaborative document production with particular attention to how that talk works to recreate the social and discursive reality of the organization.

Gaining Access to the Site

I gained access to the site through a senior member of the facility staff who was sympathetic to my request. She offered me a number of possible writing projects in the facility. I chose to study the proposal being written by the rehabilitation department primarily because it was a collaborative writing project and also because it fit into the time I had available to conduct the research.

My contact then introduced me to Bev,[1] the chairperson of the collaborative writing group, who made me feel welcome and introduced me to the rest of the group. The first meeting I attended on October 16 was the third meeting of the writing group. I went with Bev to that meeting and was presented as a graduate student doing research on writing processes for a master's thesis. At that time, I handed consent forms to each person at the meeting and asked them to sign them and return them to me, either then or later.

In retrospect, my entry to the site was handled poorly and had the potential to cause serious problems which could have jeopardized the success of my study. Because the members of the group did not know in advance that I was to be present observing their meetings and because I was present when they were told, they had no opportunity to discuss amongst themselves whether or not they were willing to be involved in my research. As one of the participants said later in an interview, I was presented to them by Bev, the leader of the group, so they went along with my being there, but in fact "no one truly felt the right to choose."

This could have made the participants less than willing to be open with me. I have no evidence that they did not in fact withhold information from me. However, based on what they said to me in the interviews I conducted, I believe that there were no long-term effects from the poor entry. Most of them told me that after their initial

---

[1] To protect identities, all names have been changed.

anxiety about my presence, they realized that I was "neutral" and was not there to take sides or support any particular individual.

Data Gathering

The methods I used to collect data were chosen to suit the research situation I found myself in. In particular, they allowed me to observe my participants in their working environment and to explore the processes and meanings of the events in that environment. The two primary methods I used for data collection were taping all meetings at which the document was discussed and interviewing all the participants.

As talk is an inseparable part of the collaborative writing process, I felt it was important to record as much of that talk as possible. However, it was not practical to try to track down other occasions on which people might be talking about the document (e.g. over coffee or in the hallways), so I confined my data collection to the formal occasions on which it was discussed. The conversations at these meetings were extremely wide ranging, touching on many aspects of life in the facility, some directly relevant to the document at hand, some only indirectly relevant. It might be argued that not all of this talk was directly related to the writing of the proposal, and therefore not relevant in a study of writing. However, it is the contention of this study that the task of writing a document enables a certain kind of focused and directed talk about organizational life, talk which would not happen in quite the same way without the writing

task. All of the talk that happened in these meetings was therefore part of the process of writing the proposal.

I attended and tape-recorded eleven meetings of the rehabilitation department (see Appendix 1). This was all of the meetings at which the proposal was discussed except two which took place before I began my research. Six of these were meetings of the whole department which took place on Friday mornings and usually lasted about an hour and fifteen minutes. The other five were meetings of a small group of three writers. These took place at various times and lasted about two hours. I transcribed all these tapes. I also attended and taped 5 meetings of a related committee in the facility, the Food Services Committee, to gain a better understanding of the context in which the rehabilitation department was writing. These meetings usually lasted about 2 hours. As I was not actually studying the activities of this committee, I took notes from these tapes rather than transcribing them in their entirety. I also attended a meeting of the steering committee of the facility, the audience of the proposal, at which the final draft of the proposal was presented. I was not permitted to tape this meeting, but took extensive notes instead. This proved to be a mistake because, as Bev told me later, the participants at the meeting were quite uncomfortable at the sight of me scribbling furiously at one side of the room.

In the meetings I took the role of silent observer and never at any time attempted to become part of the group. It took some time to establish that I was there as an observer and was not aligned with

anyone in the group. My neutrality was initially threatened by Bev, who went out of her way to make me feel comfortable and to provide me with information which was invaluable to me in gaining an understanding of the social world of the facility. After the first two meetings Bev spent some time alone with me answering my questions about the group and about the situation at the facility. However, I began to feel nervous about whether other members of the group would perceive me as Bev's ally and whether this would affect my relations with them. I therefore decided not to meet again with Bev until my presence in the group as a neutral observer was well established.

After the document was complete, I interviewed all twelve members of the writing group. These interviews took place over a period of about 10 days in the middle of December. I came to the interviews with a prepared list of open-ended questions (see Appendix 2), as suggested by Kirby and McKenna (1989). These covered a range of topics such as how they saw their role in the group, how they had contributed to the proposal, how they felt about writing, how they perceived me and how they felt I had influenced their activities. I conducted the interviews in an unstructured manner, following leads the interviewees introduced and rearranging the order of my questions to suit the flow of the conversation. This allowed me to get at the participants understanding of the situation rather than imposing mine onto them.

When I first approached the members of the group requesting interviews, most were reluctant to be interviewed. However, when I

reduced the amount of time I was asking for from one hour to 45 minutes, several rather nervously agreed to talk to me. Because many of them told me in the interviews that they were not good writers, I attribute their anxiety about being interviewed to nervousness that I might ask questions which would expose their failings as writers or embarrass them in some way. After the first two interviews, word got around the rest of the department that the interview was professionally conducted, not at all threatening and even quite fun (after all, how often does some one actually listen to what you have to say?). The other members of the department were then much more receptive to my request and in the end, all agreed to be interviewed. I taped all the interviews and took extensive notes from the tapes.

I also collected copies of all the drafts of the proposal and copies of the notes the members of the small writing group brought to meetings. I wanted to be able to correlate what I heard in the group discussions with the emerging text and to see how the text changed from one draft to the next. I also collected minutes of the meetings. The minutes of the first two meetings of the group, which I did not attend, were particularly important and useful in helping me to understand what happened during the formation of the group.

In addition, after each session at the facility I wrote field notes recording my observations and my emerging analysis. I organized these according to a scheme suggested by Schatzman and Strauss (1973) in which notes are identified as observational notes (ON), theoretical notes (TN) or methodological notes (MN). Observational

notes are descriptive notes which contain as little interpretation as possible. Theoretical notes allow the researcher to begin developing interpretations and concepts, and methodological notes serve as guidelines or reminders for the research activities as the research develops. I took almost no notes while I was at the facility mainly because I was taping all the meetings and interviews. In retrospect, given the anxiety of the members of the steering committee when I did take notes, this seems to have been a good decision.

Much of the literature dealing with research on writing in organizational settings uses the word "ethnography" to describe the research methodology. Although my research uses ethnographic methods, this study is in no way a full-scale ethnography in which the researcher becomes completely immersed in the life of the community. My only activity in the facility was attending meetings of the group I was studying and of the Food Services Committee. All of these meetings took place in a meeting room near the offices of the rehabilitation department on the first floor of the facility. The only time I saw an area of the facility other than the rehabilitation department was when I attended the meeting of the steering committee of the facility which took place in a room on the fourth floor of the facility. I never at any time saw the participants in my study doing their jobs. With one very brief exception when I walked along a hallway adjacent to the fourth floor ward to attend the steering committee meeting, I never saw any patients in the facility. In addition, the time I spent observing the research site was much less

than is required for a true ethnography. Doheny-Farina and Odell (1985) indicate that a researcher should spend at least six months to a year collecting data. My research was conducted over a period of three months during which I was on the site for between one and five hours about three times a week.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data using the constant comparative method suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in which data analysis begins early in the the data collection phase. I used my field notes to begin to develop ideas about themes, relationships and concepts which emerged as I got to know the situation at the facility. This process was useful to me in two ways. First, it helped me to develop and refine my research question. Second, I was able to use the notes to develop the series of questions I asked during the interviews. I was able to identify the themes I wanted to explore with my participants and pinpoint several gaps in my understanding of specific remarks I had heard during the meetings.

After the data collection was complete, I began the process of formally analyzing my data. I began by reading all my data several times. I then created categories based on the themes in my field notes and on others which developed as my understanding of the data deepened. I went through my data, coded it and filed it according to a system described by Kirby and McKenna (1989) in which the researcher makes multiple copies of the data, cuts up the copies and

places the loose bits of data into manilla folders corresponding to each category.

When the coding and filing were complete, I began to look for relationships between the categories which could lead to the development of some general.conclusions about the writing activities of the rehabilitation department. Some of these had become apparent to me during the coding, but I had not yet developed what Strauss and Corbin (1990) call the "main story," or the central phenomenon of the study. They suggest that a main story is necessary to achieve integration of the data into a single cohesive analysis. My main story did not emerge until quite late in the data analysis, in part because of the nature of qualitative research but also because I did not have a well-defined research question. Once I had my research question, I realized that I also had my main story. In the end, my research question asked about the role of talk in the invention process and this allowed me to develop an analysis which included all significant phenomena I had observed. It also guided the writing of the research report.

Doing Qualitative Research

In order to reduce the possibility that I would introduce bias into the data collection process, I used several data collection methods and compared the information gained from each method with that from the other methods. I used the interviews to confirm or elaborate the preliminary conclusions which emerged from the

transcripts of the meetings. And I correlated the discussions that took place in the groups with the changes which were made to the drafts of the proposal. It would have been ideal to have another observer present at the meetings against whom to test observations and interpretations, but this was not possible in this situation.

I also tried as much as possible to reduce the influence of observer effect. It is, of course, impossible to be present in a situation and not have some effect on it. The presence of the researcher affects the behavior of the subjects and therefore the data she collects. The participants in my study confirmed this in their interviews with me. All the members of the group told me they were aware of the tape recorder perched on the table and several said that they behaved "better" because if it. On several occasions during the meetings when someone said something that was regarded as sensitive, they immediately turned to me for reassurance that the tapes would be heard by no one but me.

The other influence my presence had was to draw attention to the fact that they were engaged in a process. They were rather surprised that anyone would be interested in the process and they had no real idea of what I might be looking at or looking for, but my presence made them more conscious of what they were doing. One of the members also said she felt some pressure to produce the proposal because "if we don't come up with something, she won't have a paper."

I used several techniques to minimize the effect of my presence. I never spoke during meetings, even when addressed directly. On occasion, a member of the group would address a question about some aspect of writing to me, almost as a joke, but I simply shook my head to indicate that I couldn't participate in the meetings. They quite readily accepted this and made it easy for me to hide behind my role as researcher. On two occasions when I arrived early for a meeting I was asked what I was studying. I took these opportunities to indicate that I regarded the members of the group as experts in writing for the world of the facility and that I was there to learn what they already knew. This again allowed me to use the role of researcher to keep from revealing what I was studying or from saying anything else which might influence the behavior in the group. In addition, except for my conversations with Bev, I delayed all my interviews with members of the group until after the final draft of the document was delivered to the steering committee. This meant they had no structured opportunity to ask me about my research until their proposal was complete.

In general, I was fairly successful in remaining an unobtrusive presence at the meetings. I was often treated as though I were not really there. As members of the group came and went, they greeted each other but for the most part said nothing to me. Except as noted above, there were very few occasions on which I actually engaged in any conversation with members of the group. In the interviews, members of the group told me they were surprised and pleased at how

little influence I had had on the workings of the group and at how little trouble it had been to be involved in a research project.

Findings from qualitative research cannot usually be replicated or generalized to other settings. This is certainly true of this study. It cannot be repeated because this group will never again write this proposal. In addition, the details of life change continually and the researcher can never be certain that the behavior observed during one study will be evident in another, even one dealing with the same group of people. However, it was not my intention to produce a study which could be repeated and which would illuminate the writing processes of all collaborative writing groups. Instead, I hoped to gain information about how these particular writers understand the constraints of their organizational context and how those constraints affect the writing they produce. This study is a valid account of the collaborative writing processes of this particular group and sheds some light on how those processes had the potential to influence the social context. The value of this study is that it contributes new insight into the role of talk in collaborative writing and in so doing contributes to the conversation of scholars attempting to understand the experiences of individuals and groups writing in the communities in which they work.

Chapter 4

Writing a Proposal for Change

In writing this report, I have attempted to understand the experiences of the members of the rehabilitation department of a long-term care facility as they wrote a proposal to change the delivery of breakfast to the residents of the facility. It is therefore written from the point of view of the participants in the study and makes no attempt to present an "objective" account of the world of the facility. I have collected and interpreted observational and interview data in an effort to understand how the writing processes of the participants were affected by their organizational setting and how those processes in turn affected the organization. In this account I will first describe the setting as perceived by the participants as they discussed and wrote their proposal, with attention to the fact that different groups within the facility hold very different kinds of knowledge about the facility. I will discuss the philosophical changes taking place in the facility. These changes provide the context for the efforts of my participants to change the way in which their knowledge is perceived in the facility and by doing so to change their position in the hierarchy of the facility. I will then identify the participants in the study and describe their place in the facility. A brief overview of the composing process follows. Then I will discuss in detail the interrelationship of the setting and the composing process with particular attention to goal negotiation and consensus building. Finally I will describe the

specific changes which collaborating to write this proposal brought to the individuals involved, the rehabilitation department and the facility as a whole.

The Setting

The facility is in a transition period initiated by a new administration which was appointed about two years ago. The administration is attempting to change a number of aspects of the world of the facility, one of which is the philosophy by which the facility is run. My participants describe this change as a shift from the medical model to the social model. At present the facility is run on the medical model. Care is delivered by professionals, in this case nurses, who control every aspect of patients' lives and make all the decisions about treatments, procedures and routines. Patients are expected to accept the care offered to them. In an acute-care hospital, this kind of care is designed to cure illness. In a long-term care facility, where curing illness is not a possible outcome, this leads to custodial care in which the daily activities of the patients are dictated by the needs of the people who provide the care rather than those of the people being cared for.

The administration of the facility, influenced by social movements which talk of empowering consumers and by pressure from a huge population of baby-boomers which cannot imagine the indignity of having to live in a situation such as the one at the facility, has come to feel that while this model may or may not be appropriate

for an acute care hospital, it is certainly not appropriate for a long-term care facility. The administration has therefore written a philosophy statement (see Appendix 4) which outlines the direction which it would like the facility to take. The statement talks of an interdisciplinary approach, a home-like environment, high quality of life, client-centred treatment, dignity and consumer choices. In particular the administration is committed to moving from being "organized around the internal facility needs" to being "organized around the internal and external needs of residents." It calls for a team approach with contributions from all departments in the facility to ensure that services are arranged around the needs of residents rather than the needs of the professionals who care for the residents. This climate of change provides the backdrop for the activities of the participants in this study, the members of the rehabilitation department at the facility.

The Setting: The Participants

All the members of the rehabilitation department participated in this study. This department consists of three sub-disciplines: physiotherapy, occupational therapy and recreation therapy. The department has twelve members: a supervisor of physiotherapy who supervises the physiotherapists, a supervisor of occupational therapy who supervises both the occupational therapists and the recreation therapists, two physiotherapists and two physiotherapy aides, one occupational therapist, four recreation therapists and one recreation

therapy aide. Except for the recreation therapy aide and one physiotherapy aide, all are women.[2] Although the therapists in the different disciplines all have offices in the same area in the facility, they do not generally work closely together. Their areas of expertise do not overlap and they provide very different services to the patients.

Physiotherapists help patients maintain what little functioning they have left when they come to the facility. They provide walking and other exercise programs for those patients they think will benefit from such attention. They also provide specific treatments for which nurses are not trained. Occupational therapists provide appropriate seating, such as wheelchairs, and other aids to daily living for patients. They also assess the functioning of patients and recommend ways to enhance their ability to remain as independent as possible. Recreation therapists plan, organize and carry out recreational activities such as special meals, sing-alongs and movie nights for the patients.

The Setting: Two Discourse Communities

Within the facility there are a number of different departments which are involved in patient care. The two which are most relevant to this study are the nursing department and the rehabilitation department. Nurses are responsible for the primary care of patients; this means they see to it that all of the patients' immediate daily needs

---

[2] To protect identities, the pronoun "she" will be used throughout this report to refer to all members of the group.

for food, cleanliness and comfort are met. The job of rehabilitation professionals is to improve quality of life, increase independence and maintain whatever level of skills the patients do have. Although members of these two departments are both in direct contact with patients, they have very different views of how care should be delivered. They have different training and view their roles in the facility very differently. They make up, in fact, two distinct discourse communities with very different ways of making sense of the world of the facility.

Nurses, at least at this facility, are very much in the grip of the medical model. They generally carry out doctors' orders in caring for patients rather than initiating care themselves. Their role as an integral part of the medical care system also contributes to their commitment to the medical model. According to the rehabilitation people, nurses at the facility subscribe to what they unflatteringly call the Florence Nightingale school of nursing. All nursing care must be completed according to prescribed routines within a two hour period in the morning so that patients are up, bathed and groomed, with beds made, "ready" for the day.

Another factor in the nurses' adherence to the medical model is level of training most of them receive. The facility hires relatively few registered nurses (RNs) and instead hires many registered nursing assistants (RNAs) and licenced practical nurses (LPNs) who have much less training than RNs. The LPNs and the RNAs receive much of their

training on the job in the facility, where they are expected to follow the prescribed routines and procedures or face disciplinary action.

Like all health care facilities in Alberta, this facility has experienced budget cuts in the last few years. One of the results has been a reduction in the number of nurses without a corresponding cut in the number of patients who must be looked after. With recent staff cutbacks, nurses think they are overworked and underpaid. They are now in what one of my participants called "survival mode," struggling to get their work done in what they feel are difficult circumstances. To them, any talk of change simply means less staff and more work for the remaining staff. In this circumstance, their routines have become even more important as a way of controlling the amount of work they do. In addition, they are unionized and use the union rules to resist change and retain what little control they feel they do have. These tactics are highly successful. A member of the rehabilitation department complained that nurses shut down the department's activities from 2 to 4 every day just by putting the patients in bed for naps, whether they need them or not.

Rehabilitation professionals, on the other hand, see themselves as very much in tune with the philosophy of the social model. They do not have "work" to complete. Rather they are committed to improving the lives of the people they treat. Most have Bachelor's degrees and see themselves as professionals. They feel that they are trained to assess patients and recommend appropriate treatments. Unlike nurses, they are not used to taking orders from anyone. "No one tells

me what to do" said at least two of my participants (admittedly both relatively senior people).

Whereas nurses tend to do things to and for patients, rehabilitation professionals focus on educating patients about how to restore function and ensuring that patients will do things for themselves. This takes much longer than simply doing everything for the patient, as nurses tend to do. In the view of the rehabilitation people, nurses' rigid adherence to routines and their inflexibility in attending to individual needs of patients leads to what one of my participants called "awesome neglect" of patients. "Our care is distilling down into time," she said, pointing out that the nurses rush to get everything done "on time," but the patients have nowhere to go and nothing to do when they are "ready." Admittedly this was the strongest language used by any of my participants, but they all agreed that simply keeping patients clean and comfortable without taking the needs of individual patients into account amounted to inadequate care.

The relationship of the nursing department to the rehabilitation department is that of a parent to a small child. Nursing holds all the power without realizing that it does and rehabilitation can only kick its heels in frustration. Hospital staffs consist in large part of professionals who are regulated by professional associations which function outside the organization. Mintzberg (1983) suggests that professionals require considerable autonomy in their work, and as a result power rests primarily in the hands of the professionals themselves. Power is therefore distributed widely within organizations such as hospitals.

However, it is not so widely distributed that every member of the hospital and every group within the hospital shares power equally. "Power follows knowledge" says Minzberg (p. 113), and the groups or individuals which have the knowledge most closely associated with the actual business of the organization tend to hold most of the power within the organization.

The actual business of this health care facility is providing round-the-clock nursing care to infirm elderly patients, something to which the work of the rehabilitation department is, by its own admission, peripheral at best. Nurses, therefore, hold most of the cards in this organization. Indeed, the new administrators both had long careers as nurses before moving into administration. However, the members of the rehabilitation department do not consider their work to be peripheral to the administration's stated goal of providing patients with a home-like environment and a high quality of life in their last days. In fact, they see themselves as essential in this area. They feel that the work they do is, in large part, what makes the facility more home-like.

The rehabilitation department's lack of control and power in the facility is also related to the position of the field of rehabilitation within the medical community. Professionalization has come fairly recently for rehabilitation and, until as recently as fifteen years ago, most rehabilitation professionals had only diplomas rather than degrees. It is still regarded as a peripheral part of health care and

seems to have low credibility with the medical establishment, a perception which people in the field are working hard to overcome.

At this facility, the problem of establishing credibility for rehabilitation is compounded by the fact that, in a long-term setting, recreation therapy is generally regarded as the most important rehabilitation discipline because it attends to the social, emotional and spiritual needs of the patients. All of my participants told me that bringing a bit of pleasure to very infirm elderly people who have been torn from their homes and brought to die in the facility is probably more important than trying to make them walk again.

However, the training recreational therapists receive is generally quite different than the training received by members of the other two disciplines. Physiotherapists and occupational therapists receive "medical" training, with courses in anatomy, physiology and other related areas. They are trained to diagnose problems and recommend therapeutic solutions to those problems. They think of themselves as therapists and work hard to establish the "medical" nature of their disciplines. Recreation therapists on the other hand generally have training in a non-medical field, recreation administration, and are often disparagingly referred to as "cruise directors." They do not have the specific medical training which would be needed to make their work therapeutic in the same way that the other therapists feel their work is therapeutic. In addition, recreation therapy is a relative newcomer to the area of rehabilitation. The medical establishment still seems to regard recreation therapy as a poor excuse for a medical

therapy, and certainly the work that recreation therapists do does not fit into a medical model of care. The danger is that this perception will spill over to the other rehabilitation disciplines and further reduce their status in the facility.

The rehabilitation department has also been threatened by recent budget cuts. The administration has looked at every area of the facility for ways to save money by eliminating programs and activities which are not effective. One of these programs was the cardex system. When the cardex system was operating, representatives from the rehabilitation department had meetings with representatives from the nursing and dietary departments to discuss the care of each patient. Notes from these meetings were then recorded on information cards. This system gave rehabilitation direct input into the treatment of patients and a way of communicating with representatives of other groups involved in patient care. The meetings, however, came to be regarded as ineffective because, according to the members of the rehabilitation department, the nurses who came were either very low ranking or had not been in contact with the patients at all. The cancelling of the cardex has made members of the rehabilitation department feel that they have been gradually squeezed out of having direct input into and real impact on the care of patients.

A few months before this study took place, a key member of the department was laid off. Although no one was willing to say so directly, several of my participants hinted that this was only the beginning and that all of rehabilitation might be on the block. The rehabilitation

department is therefore under some pressure to prove its relevance to the facility. It must find a way to show that its presence makes a difference, that it is not the icing on the cake, but an essential ingredient in the care of the elderly. It must prove that its knowledge is as important to the carrying out of the work of the facility as nursing knowledge and that its way of doing things, its way of making sense of the organization, is not only valid, but perhaps one that others should adopt. The philosophical changes proposed by the administration offered the department an opportunity to do just that.

The Setting: Change in the Facility

The organizational culture metaphor offers a way to understand how change can take place within an organization as large as the facility. In the traditional organizational literature, change in an organization is often described as a change in technology or organizational structures (Morgan, 1986). In a health care facility that might mean a change in work routines and work relationships. However, as Morgan points out, being a member of an organization requires knowledge of the cultural practices which allow organizations to operate on a daily basis. He says, "the organization ultimately resides in the heads of the people involved, [therefore] effective organizational change implies cultural change" (p. 138). The character of the organization must change in order for change to take place, and this requires a change in the attitudes, values and beliefs which are held by the members of the organization.

If the organization is thought of as a shared system of meaning rather than a set of structures and routines, then it is possible to see change as the development of a new system of meaning. This new system of meaning develops through communication between members of the organization. People talk to each other to make sense of the complex interactions of events, situations and actions which surround them (Weick, 1979). They adapt their attitudes and values as they achieve a consensus about what the events around them mean. In fact, they construct new knowledge about the changing nature of the organization through discourse.

However, as Kanter, Stein and Jick (1992) point out, managers cannot force organizations to change; they can only encourage it. Culture is always evolving and cannot be manipulated in a mechanistic way. Managers can only hope to influence the evolution of that culture, not control it. Thus, they may initiate change from above, but the change itself must be implemented "on the shop floor." The key to implementing change, then, is not to dictate new behaviors to employees, but to communicate the new values and shape the general direction that events will take, leaving the choice of details to those who will actually experience the change (Morgan, 1986). New behaviors then evolve and develop because employees have had a part in implementing the new values.

The administration of the facility tried to initiate change in exactly this way. It struck three internal committees to begin to examine how the new social philosophy could be implemented in the

facility. One of these committees was the Food Services Committee. The mandate of this committee was to examine how the delivery of food to patients could be improved. On October 22, one of the administrators attended a meeting of this committee. At this meeting, she outlined her commitment to the social philosophy, clearly indicating the values and attitudes she hoped to promote at the facility. However, she also made it clear that the details were entirely up to the committee and that she was willing to consider any suggestions or programs they might come up with to implement these values.

The Food Services Committee consisted of members of a number of different departments within the facility including nurses, dieticians, rehabilitation therapists, a volunteer and a patient. It was chaired by Bev, the supervisor of physiotherapy in the facility. It identified breakfast as the most problematic meal at the facility, with much potential for conflict between nurses and patients. Nurses begin the day by getting more independent patients up and taking them to the dining room. They then attend to those who are less independent. When the nurses return to the dining room to serve breakfast, some patients have been waiting up to 45 minutes to be served. The food, unfortunately, has also been waiting and is cold by the time the patients get it. This situation causes tension between patients and nurses as patients ask nurses to heat up cold coffee and make fresh toast. Nurses, however, say they cannot change their schedules to

reduce the confrontations because they don't have enough staff to be flexible in their routines.

At this point, Bev, who was both the chair of the Food Services Committee and a senior member of the rehabilitation department, saw an opportunity to solve several problems at once. By offering the rehabilitation staff to provide support to nurses at breakfast, she could ease the tension around breakfast, she could improve the lives of the residents and she could show that rehabilitation is essential to the smooth running of the facility. At her direction, the Food Services Committee therefore asked the rehabilitation department to write a proposal outlining how it might be willing to participate in making breakfast less confrontational. This proposal was then to be presented to the administration of the facility as part of a report from the Food Services Committee.

Although the request for a proposal came to the rehabilitation department from the committee as a whole, it was in fact initiated by Bev. It would have been very easy for Bev to throw together a proposal for rehabilitation's participation in improving breakfast. It might have taken her half a day and then she could simply have told the rest of the department what they would be doing at breakfast. However, her goal was not simply to start a new breakfast program. Her real goal, by her own admission, was to give the department a forum, namely breakfast, in which to establish the importance of the department to the facility as a whole and ensure the department's continued existence in the facility. She wanted to gain credibility and recognition

for the department and thereby gain more control over at least the decisions that affect its work and possibly over decisions that affect the work of others.

Bev too was aware that change cannot be imposed from above but must come from those involved in the change. She was not prepared to "drag them kicking and screaming" into change. Rather she wanted to initiate a process which would give each member of the department a stake in the final product. The decision to write the proposal collaboratively was thus a strategic one designed to get "buy in" into the idea of a department-wide breakfast program by having the members of the department articulate their values and goals and think about their role in the facility. She hoped to use the power of the talk associated with the writing process to create a consensus within the department about the ideal philosophy and structure of the facility and about the role that a breakfast program could play in moving the facility toward that philosophy and structure.

The stated desire of the administration to move toward the social philosophy provided an opening for her to use rehabilitation's orientation toward the social philosophy to persuade the administration to allow them to implement a breakfast program. This program would give rehabilitation department members the opportunity to work directly with nurses and, in doing so, communicate with them and "model" how the social philosophy works on a day-to-day basis. Nurses, she hoped, would then be influenced to change how they see the facility and their role in it. In

effect, she hoped to change the discourse communities of both the rehabilitation and the nursing departments through the implementation of this breakfast program. Thus, although the stated goal of the collaborative writing process was to develop a proposal for a breakfast program which could alleviate some of the tensions that currently surround breakfast and make the lives of the patients more tolerable, the implications of the breakfast program went far beyond breakfast and addressed much larger issues. The real goal was to show the administration that rehabilitation knowledge is as important to the carrying out of the work of the facility as nursing knowledge.

An Overview of the Writing Process

The writing group consisted of all 12 members of the rehabilitation department and was chaired by Bev, the physiotherapist who also chaired the Food Services Committee. Most of these people do not write regularly in the course of their jobs. What writing they do takes the form of records of their contact with patients, some assessments of patients, and in the case of recreation therapy some promotion of the activities they have planned. The department rarely meets as a group and had never undertaken a collaborative writing project such as this. Writing this proposal was truly a special event in the life of the rehabilitation department, a fact which contributed to my ability to see the power of collaborative writing to change discourse communities.

The first meeting took place on September 25. At that meeting Bev presented the problem as perceived by the Food Services Committee and asked the group to consider whether and how they would be willing to help to make breakfast less confrontational. She further asked them to develop a structure within which they would be willing to try whatever program they might come up with for a limited period of time.

At the next three meetings, the large group was broken down into small groups of two or three people to envision how the whole program might work and to generate ideas about various aspects of the role they might be willing to take. Each small group was assigned to address itself to a particular issue and to brainstorm ideas pertaining to that issue. She identified the issues using the journalistic 5 Ws and an H: who, what, why, where, when, how. The ideas generated in these groups were recorded and then discussed in the large group.

At the end of the fourth meeting on October 30, one of the participants suggested that perhaps a smaller group should be formed to actually draft the proposal based on the discussion so far and bring it back to the large group for further discussion. The rest of the group agreed and so a smaller group was formed. It consisted of Bev, the supervisor of physiotherapy, who invited Cathy, the supervisor of occupational therapy, to also be part of the group. When Bev asked if anyone else wanted to participate, Monica, a recreation therapist volunteered. The small group therefore contained a representative of each rehabilitation discipline.

Before the next large group meeting on November 13, the small group met three times. At these meetings they reviewed the discussion that had taken place in the large group and tried to decide exactly what should go into the proposal. At the end of the first of these three meetings they each agreed to write up, in some form, one of the possible sections of the proposal. These sections were a description of the current situation, a rationale for the rehabilitation department to present this proposal, and an outline of the form their participation might actually take.

At the second meeting they reviewed each other's work. Bev had brought her section, the current situation, written out, ready for inclusion in a draft. The others brought their sections in point form. As they discussed the outline of the form their participation might actually take they realized that the decisions they wanted to make drew on a number of issues on which they did not have consensus among themselves or in the large group. The most important of these was the problem of how to ensure the success of the program. The most confrontational exchanges of the writing process took place at this meeting.

At the third small group meeting they agreed to present five different options for possible programs to the large group for further discussion. These options were discussed at the next two meetings of the large group on November 13 and November 20. At the second of these meetings Cathy took detailed notes on the discussion and these notes then formed the basis for the proposal itself. On November 24

the small group met again. They reviewed the notes Cathy had taken at the November 20 large group meeting and began to talk through exactly what needed to go into the proposal and what format would accommodate the kinds of information they wanted to include. By the end of the meeting they had roughly determined what to call the various sections of the proposal and had begun draft some of the sections together.

They had planned to meet again on November 26 to finish drafting the document, but Cathy was sick on that day so the meeting was cancelled. Around that time Bev learned that the administration of the facility had scheduled a meeting for December 7 at which she was to present the report of the Food Services Committee of which the rehabilitation department proposal was the centrepiece. Feeling the pressure of this looming deadline and frustrated by the slowness of collaborative drafting, she took all the notes of the large and small group discussions and whipped them together into the first draft of the proposal.

By December 1, Cathy had recovered but Bev was now out of town. So on that day, Cathy and Monica met to edit Bev's draft. The draft they produced was then presented to the large group on December 4. After some discussion, members of the large group suggested a few additional changes which were made right after the meeting. On December 7, Bev presented the third and final draft of the proposal to the administration of the facility.

The whole process took ten weeks. Until the end of the eighth week on November 20, the members of the large group did not see anything written down. What they saw at that point was a summary of possible options for the program, none of which they in the end included in the proposal. The first complete draft did not appear until the end of the ninth week. Revision was done in two sessions in the tenth week, and then the proposal was considered finished by the members of the group. In all, the invention stage of the composing process took nine-tenths of the time spent and the revising, editing and proofreading took only one-tenth of the time.

Members of collaborative writing groups probably do need to spend a lot of time talking to each other during the invention stage in order to produce a successful document (e.g. Locker 1992). However, in relation to the the total amount of time spent on the document, the talking phase was probably proportionally much longer than is typical of writing groups (e.g. Allen, et al. 1988). It was precisely this fact which drew my attention to the importance of the talk which takes place during invention. In the end, the final version of the document suffered because so little time was spent on the final stages of writing. Nevertheless, the main goals of the writing process had been achieved, and the small flaws in the final product hardly seemed important when weighed against the impact that the writing process had on the people involved and potentially on the whole organization.

The Details of the Writing Process

In the following section, I will examine the writing process in more detail. For convenience, I have divided it into the traditional stages of invention, drafting and revising, in spite of the fact that these stages are never so neatly organized in a real writing task. The section on **invention** focuses particularly on how the members of the group negotiated goals to reach consensus. The sections on drafting and revising are necessarily much shorter, as the group spent much less time on these activities. The section on **drafting** discusses how the creation of a format for the proposal enhanced the group's objectives. The section on **revising** examines the reasons for some of the flaws in the final document.

Invention

During the very long invention stage of composing the group accomplished a number of interrelated tasks. These included agreeing to cooperate, negotiating goals, finding strategies to reach those goals, resolving conflicts and reaching a consensus. Although writing is a recursive process (Flower and Hayes, 1981) in which the activities of invention, drafting and revising may occur several times before a document is complete, in this case, drafting could not proceed until the goal negotiation and consensus building of the invention stage were completed.

Invention: Negotiating Goals

While the writers in this group may have arrived at the first meeting with vague ideas of general goals for the proposal they were to write, these goals were not well developed and were the subject of intense negotiation from the very first meeting. Goals continued to emerge several weeks into the process, and as the group discussed strategies to achieve these emerging goals, they continually refined those goals. Gradually, goals and strategies found their final form and the whole picture became clear to all the members of the group. An interrelated network of goals on three different levels finally emerged. For the **individual** members of the group, the goal was to improve the lives of the patients by integrating rehabilitation into their lives. The goal of the group for the **proposal** itself was to gain the opportunity to implement the breakfast program. Their goal for the breakfast **program** was to provide a way for the rehabilitation department to demonstrate what it could do for the facility and secure its future in the facility. In the following section, I will discuss the role that each of these goals played in the writing of this document.

Individual Goals

For the individual members of the group, the most important goals were improving the lives of the patients and maintaining their own identity as rehabilitation professionals. Incorporating these goals into the proposal provided the key to gaining the cooperation and participation of all department members in the writing process. As

Bacon (1990) points out, "cooperation can be requested, begged, modeled, and cajoled—but it cannot usually be required" (p. 5). Participants must choose to cooperate. In this case, all had to agree that writing this proposal was indeed a worthwhile endeavor. It was not something which was part of the normal work of the department. The meetings added something extra to the weekly schedule of activities, and members had to shuffle other commitments or cut short preparation time for other activities in order to attend.

The pressure to cooperate was quite high. Bev had seen her rhetorical moment, her opportunity to use the writing process to effect change within the facility, and was determined that, one way or another, the rehabilitation department would present this proposal to the administration of the facility. As one of the participants put it, "Was I invited to participate, or was I ordered to attend?" Gaining the cooperation of the members of the department was one of the first tasks accomplished during the early stages of goal negotiation. This took place at the second large group meeting on October 2.

The minutes of the first meeting on September 25 indicate that Bev asked the rehabilitation staff if they would be willing to "agree to provide some support to nursing staff" at breakfast time. At the second meeting, Bev was not present so Cathy, the supervisor of occupational therapy, chaired the meeting. At this meeting, the group rephrased the role of the rehabilitation department in breakfast to stress that they would be acting in their professional capacities, providing rehabilitation, rather than simply "helping out" nurses. The minutes of

this meeting no longer mention nurses. Instead the focus is on rehabilitation. The minutes read, "Could rehabilitation staff provide some rehabilitation during the residents' morning routines; to provide an opportunity for the residents to practice/learn/maintain skills in a practical and real environment. . . . rehabilitation's focus would be to benefit the resident." By the third meeting on October 16, this approach was well established. The discussion focused on the benefits their participation at breakfast could bring to the patients and to the rehabilitation department. At the end of the meeting, after they had discussed why they should be involved, one of the therapists said, "It is interesting that you guys never said 'to help nursing.'"

In the current climate in the facility, rehabilitation staff are afraid of being used by nursing staff as simply an "extra pair of hands" so that nurses can get their work done more quickly. Making the benefits to the lives of the patients central drew on the image that rehabilitation people have of themselves: helping professionals dedicated to improving the lives of patients. They were willing to consider the request to participate in writing the proposal, but only if the focus was on using their skills and training in rehabilitation to benefit the patients.

For example, the physiotherapists presently conduct a walking program with patients to encourage them to maintain what little walking ability they have. They were receptive to the idea of walking patients from their rooms to the dining room for breakfast, but only if it was understood that this would take the place of the current

walking program and would be therapeutic in the same way. Therapeutic activities would then be integrated into the daily lives of the patients rather than being added on as they presently are. This might help nurses, which would also be a positive outcome of the program, but that would be a secondary benefit rather than the raison d'etre of their participation in breakfast.

Attending to the goals of the individual members of the group ensured their participation in the writing process and developed enthusiasm for the breakfast program itself. The group was then able to move on to consideration of those goals which would ensure that the program was a success and would bring them the recognition they felt they deserved.

Proposal Goals

The group developed a network of rhetorical goals for the proposal itself. The main goal was, of course, to persuade the administration of the facility to implement the breakfast program. This goal was clear from the beginning, although the strategies to achieve it were not. However, they also wanted to ensure the success of the program as they were not prepared to embark on the program without having some confidence that it would bring them the credit they wanted. Two sub-goals related to ensuring the success of the program, getting others to commit to change and getting others in on the planning of the program, and the strategy for achieving them did not

become completely clear to the group until near the end of the discussions.

In part, successfully persuading the administration to implement the program rested on establishing the rehabilitation department as the appropriate group within the facility to initiate the program. The group hoped to do this by showing how closely the rehabilitation approach to long-term care coincides with the stated aims of the facility's administrators as outlined in the philosophy statement. The members of the rehabilitation department felt that their approach was much closer to the social model than that of any of the other groups which deal directly with patients. "We are nicely dressed, we are always smiling, we have that rehab thinking, we at least say good morning and here's the paper, and what do you think, we treat them as human beings." They also thought that they could lead the way in putting this model into practice and can provide an example which will help the whole organization to move into this model.

The strategy to accomplish this goal was relatively unproblematic and was established early in the discussions. At the third meeting on October 16, the small discussion group assigned to answer the question "why" generated a long list of reasons for rehabilitation to be involved in serving breakfast. In essence, these were ideas about the ways in which their participation would make breakfast more "client-centred," as opposed to the "nurse-centred" way they perceived nurses to do things. These included improving the quality of the meal itself, giving every patient choices about when to

eat and what to eat, and making the meal more home-like and less institutional. At the end of the meeting, Bev pointed out that this was very much in line with the administration's philosophy statement and its desire to move toward client-centred care.

At the next meeting on October 30, the group discussed details of what the program might actually be like, which nursing unit or units they might do it on and what they might actually do. Bev again reminded them that what they were discussing fit in with the administration's philosophy statement. She talked about the recent Food Services Committee meeting to which an administrator had come to outline her commitment to the social philosophy and her willingness to support whatever changes they might recommend to move in that direction. She then pointed out that because of its orientation to the social philosophy, rehabilitation was in a unique position in relation to other groups in the facility. "We are ahead of the pack in coping with change. We can be leaders in bringing change in."

The members of the group were very receptive to this idea. It is very much in tune with the image rehabilitation professionals have of themselves as educators. In part, their role is teaching people how to improve and maintain their functioning. It was easy for them to take this a step further and agree that the rehabilitation department could teach the rest of the facility how to do the social model, that rehabilitation could be the bridge between the medical and the social models. As one of the participants put it, "I envision this roto-tiller coming over the bridge. Here is rehab with its social model coming

with its roto-tiller, chopping at the bridge, over into the medical model. Chop, chop, chop, Seed, seed, seed."

The idea that rehabilitation could lead the rest of the facility into change formed the basis for the "Conclusion" section of the proposal. In this section, the department hooked the idea of the breakfast program into the administration's philosophy statement, established its credibility in writing the proposal by referring to the training and skills of its members, and referred to itself as a leader in bringing change to the facility. This idea also appeared in the introduction to the proposal in a very explicit statement: "To facilitate the changes alluded to in the Steering Committee's Philosophy Statement."

Another element in establishing the credibility of the rehabilitation department in writing this proposal was its plan to measure whether the program did in fact have a beneficial effect on the lives of the patients. In the medical (i.e. scientific) setting of the facility, proving that a treatment results in positive outcomes is essential to being able to continue the treatment. The rehabilitation department spent relatively little time discussing the measurement of outcomes. During the early meetings, when the large group was broken into small groups for discussion, one group was assigned the question "how?" This was interpreted to mean "how will we measure the effects of the program?" The group produced a number of ideas including surveying patients and staff, observing the behavior of patients, and measuring the amount of food eaten and the weight of the patients over a period of time. The large group did not discuss this

issue again, but it came up in the small group meeting on November 24. Cathy reminded them of the "can of worms" of measuring outcomes, and Bev said, "There is no reason rehabilitation cannot get into the same outcome measurement stuff everyone is into." They ran out of time at this meeting and so did not draft a statement about measuring, but Bev incorporated it into the first draft of the proposal as a recommendation that "Resident and staff satisfaction will be measured by a questionnaire . . . changes in independence levels and quality of life of residents should also be measured."

The other important goal of the proposal, ensuring the success of the program, was not discussed at all until the second meeting of the small writing group on November 6. At this meeting, the members of the small writing group tried to assemble all the ideas generated in the large group into a specific plan for the program. They thought that it would take one or two meetings at most to do this and come up with a first draft of the proposal to take back to the large group. However, they found themselves quite unable to produce a draft. This was partly because the large group had not arrived at a consensus about what exactly the program should be like, and partly because the goal of ensuring the success of the program had just emerged. Because this goal emerged in the small group discussion, the large group had not yet had an opportunity to discuss strategies for achieving it. Their ideas about getting others in on the planning of the program in order to get them to commit to change were as yet undeveloped.

The writers in the small group discovered that they were in a kind of Catch 22. They knew that if the program was implemented without changes from other groups in the facility, it would surely fail. On the other hand if they waited to implement the program until other groups were willing to change, the program would certainly never be implemented. This conundrum led, at the second small group meeting on November 6, to the most overt and potentially divisive conflict of the writing process.

According to Allen et al. (1987), conflicts are inevitable in collaborative writing groups. They report that all the writing groups they studied experienced conflicts ranging from minor disagreements over use of particular terms to major conflicts over content. One of their respondents even went so far as to suggest that instead of collaborative writing the process should be called "collaborative fighting" (p. 80). Not only is resolving conflicts essential to successful collaboration, Allen et al. suggest that conflict itself is an important element of the process. Groups which do not allow for the expression of opposing views may make poorer decisions because they lose the advantage of varied perspectives. In addition, Allen et al. found that members of groups may have different tolerances for conflict. They found that "when a group can tolerate some disharmony and work through divergent opinion to reach a consensus, their work is enhanced" (p. 83).

The collaborative writing process of the rehabilitation department confirms both the difficulty and the value of taking

opposing viewpoints into account. The conflict which took place at the third small group meeting made all three members of the group very uncomfortable. However, the resolution of this conflict paved the way for the group to achieve the consensus on goals and strategies they needed to begin drafting the proposal.

Cathy was unwilling to participate in any program that might fail. Quite reasonably, she said, "I don't get involved in anything that I don't think will be successful." Without commitment to the program from nurses, she knew that the danger of sabotage of the program was high. In addition, Cathy was not happy about the way patients were being treated by nurses and was not willing to simply become part of that treatment. On the one hand she acknowledged that this program would involve groups other than just the rehabilitation department and that rehabilitation would be there to "complement" nursing activities. On the other hand, she was not willing to complement "what is already going on up there," by simply helping nurses out. Unless she could be sure that nursing would change, she did not want to implement the program.

Bev, on the other hand, knew that the breakfast program, and all the benefits which the department hoped would come from it, could not take place unless they were willing to "go it alone" to start with. They would not be able to model change for nurses unless the program actually took place. But she could not guarantee that any change would occur. She stuck to her position that rehabilitation could be the leader in bringing change to the facility and would have to be willing to take a

risk to "break the vicious cycle of change" in which every group says it won't change until others do.

In fact, they didn't actually disagree about their goals. They both wanted to ensure the success of the program and they both wanted an opportunity to model for others. However, they did disagree about the best strategy to achieve those goals. In part, the conflict occurred because Bev and Cathy are both senior members of the department and therefore have equal authority. Thus, Cathy was willing to challenge Bev's view of the best strategy to achieve their goals. This conflict was instrumental not only in bringing the issues out into the open, but also, as Allen et al. (1987) predict, in stimulating the creativity of group members to find a solution to integrate two seemingly irreconcilable points of view.

The conflict stimulated Bev to come up with an outline of five possible options for the program which the small group then presented to the large group. Each of the five options presented a general outline of a possible program rather than a specific detailed plan. These options ranged from an "economy" model, in which very little change had to happen in other departments for the program to be successful, to a "cadillac" model, which required major changes in every other department for success. The members of the small writing group thought that it would be a good idea to include at least three possible options in the final proposal to give the administration the feeling that it had some control over the program.

However, as Doheny-Farina (1986) suggests, it is not enough to simply find a creative solution. Resolution of conflict also requires the parties to the conflict to find "areas of shared understanding" (p. 181) and in doing so to alter their own views of the situation. At the meeting on November 15 Bev and Cathy did exactly this. As Bev presented the five options to the group, she also told them about the conflict between herself and Cathy saying, "If rehab goes in totally alone, what is the point?" A few minutes later, Cathy said, "I am coming around to seeing the economy version implemented regardless—the economy version may be what we start with and work up to the cadillac version. It is a gradual process where change will happen gradually or realistically." Thus they were each taking what had been the other's point of view in the conflict, preparing the group to reach a consensus that they would like to have the cadillac version but realistically would probably have to start with something less elaborate and work up to the cadillac.

On November 20 the large group met again to discuss the options. They were agreed that waiting for the kind of changes the cadillac version required would mean putting off the program indefinitely. Because the members of the department had become very excited the about benefits the program would bring to the patients, they were not willing to wait. As one said, "I think we can have a lot of impact (on the lives of patients) with just what's available right now." On the other hand, they were not willing to give up their real goal of a cadillac program in which everyone changes. Although the economy

version did not demand change from other groups in the facility, it was clear to them that even the economy version would surely fail if other groups, particularly nurses but also dieticians and pharmacists, did not change. So they were only willing to implement the economy version on the condition that it was clearly presented as a stepping stone to the cadillac version. One group member said, "If we start with this economy version, in a year and a half we will be at that cadillac version."

It was clear that the economy version was the only practical possibility. However, it required that the individual members of the group give up their desire to have the ideal program immediately. In order to achieve their goal of really changing the cultural conventions of the facility, to which they were strongly committed, they had to be willing to propose something which was "acceptable" (Allen, et al. 1987) to them in the short term and would, they hoped, also be acceptable to their audience. As one person noted, "This is really difficult for me. I find it hard to build a stepping stone to the cadillac when I know I just want to be there anyway."

The final question to be resolved was what the economy version would consist of. One group member suggested that since recreation therapy was already doing breakfast programs in another area of the facility, it would be easy to move these programs up to the nursing units, include more patients, and involve physiotherapy and occupational therapy in running the program. This idea was attractive to the whole group. It meant that the program would be similar to

something they were already familiar with and that immediately increased their level of comfort with the whole idea of the breakfast program. The consensus of the meeting was that they had finally hit on a way to design a program which could begin immediately but also act as a stepping stone to the cadillac. Thus, in finding a tentative solution which was like something which was already accepted as legitimate, both by themselves and by other groups in the facility, they were increasing the likelihood that this new program would also be accepted as a legitimate way to carry out the business of the facility.

Integral to their plan to start with the economy version and work toward the cadillac version was the need to get other groups in the facility to commit to change. However, rehabilitation professionals know from experience with their patients that real change cannot be imposed from above. People will only change if they are convinced that the change is good for them and choose to change. They knew, therefore, that other groups in the facility, especially nurses, would be unreceptive to changes which they had had no part in planning. In fact, they knew that nurses might be much more than simply unreceptive; they had the power to sabotage the program altogether by refusing to cooperate. If the rehabilitation department was to be at all successful in changing how care is delivered, it would have to find a way to get others to agree to change and to do that, it would have to to include the others in the planning process.

Decisions about the level of detail to be included in the proposal reflect the development of the related goals of getting others in on the

planning and getting others to commit to change. In three early meetings, on October 2, 16 and 30, the large group generated mountains of specific details about what the program could look like, where it could take place, who would participate, and what they would actually do. When Bev presented her five options on November 13, members of the group were dismayed to discover that all details they had lovingly generated had somehow disappeared from sight. The discussion which followed gave the first indication of the strategy they eventually settled on to get others in on the planning and through that get them to commit to change. One person suggested that too many details would "sort of be dictatorial to them (nurses)." Another said, "You want to have all the other team players to participate in planning." At the end of the meeting Bev suggested that the proposal should include a recommendation that "team discussion" with nurses and dieticians take place. However, the members of the group were still uncomfortable with what they perceived to be a complete lack of details in the proposed options, so Bev said that she would write up the options and make sure that everyone got a copy to study. They could then add the details they thought necessary or come up with "a totally new version" instead.

At the November 20 meeting Cathy again suggested that they keep their discussion general rather than getting too caught up with specifics because she could see that another committee might be formed to hammer out the specific details of implementation. Someone else agreed that "We don't want to get too specific before we

present it to other departments that are going to be involved." By this time, the members of the group had realized that ensuring the success of the program by getting others in on the planning was more important than making sure every detail they had thought up was included in the proposal. They were ready now to give up much of the specific detail in order to increase the chances of the program succeeding. Although the November 20 meeting consisted mainly of discussion of details of the program, the outcome was a sketchy "conceptual outline" of a possible program rather than a specific plan. It was agreed that this would be followed by a recommendation that another committee with members drawn from the rehabilitation, nursing, dietary, and pharmacy departments be formed to hammer out the specifics of the program.

In struggling to find a way to change the discourse communities of other groups in the facility, particularly nurses, the members of the rehabilitation department found that they themselves would have to be willing to change. They saw that it would not be enough for them alone to negotiate a new vision of the organization. They would have to be willing to include nurses in that process and in doing so might have to change their own vision of the facility. The goal negotiation of the collaborative writing process which they were engaging in, and which was changing their own community, would have to be done again, not just to change nurses, but to bring nursing and rehabilitation knowledge together by finding areas of shared understanding.

Program Goals

The rehabilitation department also had a number of goals it hoped to achieve by implementing the breakfast program. The most important of these goals was securing rehabilitation's future in the facility. Not all members of the department, however, were willing to admit that this was the main goal. Instead they talked about informing others about rehabilitation, modelling for nurses, and promoting communication and a team approach to care.

These goals were all apparent in the discussion from the beginning. However, in the early meetings, most of the discussion focused on how the program could benefit the patients by integrating rehabilitation into their lives. Not until the meeting on November 13 was there any explicit mention of Bev's goal of securing rehabilitation's future in the facility. At this meeting she referred to the fact that rehabilitation no longer has the input into patient care it would like. "Rehab is basically being cut out of the picture and I want us back in." And someone else responded "Your perception is that if we can get up there and show we are useful, prove ourselves, we will be back in?"

Not everyone, however, was as interested in power as Bev. In interviews, most members of the department rejected the word "power" as a description of what they hoped would happen to the perception of the rehabilitation department after the breakfast program was implemented. They used the words "recognition," "appreciation," "credit" and "acknowledgement." One also used the words "communication" and "education." And indeed, in the group

discussions, the word "power" was rarely mentioned. However, all agreed that the department needed to demonstrate that the rehabilitation department is, in the words of one member, "productive, positive, valuable and indispensable" in the facility. The goals they were willing to talk about, informing others about rehabilitation, modelling for nurses, and promoting communication and a team approach to care, formed an interrelated network of sub-goals directed at proving exactly this.

Doing the breakfast program on the units would be what one member of the department called advertising for the department. "We are talking about it being what rehab already practices and how that is an advertisement for who it is we are." At present, except for recreation therapy programs, most rehabilitation activities take place off the nursing units. Nurses working on the units don't get to know the rehabilitation therapists and don't value their expertise because they never see them in action. Working on the units would give rehabilitation a higher profile in the facility and give the therapists a chance to demonstrate the value of their knowledge.

One of the physiotherapists and several of the recreation therapists confirmed that this is an effective, if slow, way to get recognition. One talked about her experiences running a breakfast program for some patients on one of the nursing units. Nurses' attitudes toward rehabilitation did change, although it took a long time. "It has taken a year . . . to make some change. I can sort of see it because I have gone through a little example of it on (one of the

nursing units)." Another described her experiences of having to explain herself to doctors and nurses and educate them about what she could and couldn't do for patients. But having accomplished this, she found the doctors and nurses coming to her for advice about how to deal with certain problems. One of the physiotherapists also noted that if they were more visible on the nursing units they would have a "chance to pick up patients we may not have been aware of." Thus, although she saw the need to gain more recognition for the department, it was tied to her personal reason for being involved in writing the proposal, improving the lives of the patients.

In addition, they would be working with nurses and would have the opportunity to model, or demonstrate, their approach to care. Early in the discussions, the recreation therapists reported that when they run breakfast programs, they don't experience any of the conflicts nurses say they have with patients. Patients are much more likely to feed themselves and behave more independently than they do when nurses are looking after them. This added to the conviction of the members of the rehabilitation department that the attitudes of nurses towards patients was causing patients to deteriorate and become dependent rather than encouraging patients to remain as independent as possible. The breakfast program would give them the opportunity to demonstrate that patients, given the right support and opportunity, could do more for themselves than nurses thought. They were optimistic that this would gradually change the attitudes of nurses to caring for patients and encourage them to be more flexible

in some of their routines. As someone said, "we could pull nursing in, a little at a time." And having once pulled some of the nurses in, "it becomes more and more difficult to opt out when everyone else is buying in."

No comment about modelling for nurses or educating them appeared in the final version of the document, however. Although this was an important goal, their knowledge that their audience of nurses would react negatively to such a comment required that they submerge this goal. At the October 2 meeting, the small group answering the "why" question had said that one reason to do the program was that rehabilitation could "help the residents maintain transfer ability (sic) thus showing nursing what the resident was capable of." At the small group meeting on November 6, Cathy's concern for the impact of such a statement on the administrators (who were nurses) made her decide to leave that out of the proposal. As Monica said "That's almost patronizing. You have to be careful" not to offend nurses by calling their judgement and ability to deal with patients into question. Instead they wrote a rather vague statement that "resident behavior can be dependent on the environment resulting in discrepancies in their performance of activities of daily living."

The final group of goals they hoped the breakfast program would accomplish was to promote the idea of a team approach to care, to encourage communication between the various members of the team and to show themselves as integral members of that team. With the

cancelling of the cardex system, the members of the rehabilitation department felt there was no longer a way for them to have input into the care of patients. As one group member said "we philosophically believe we could have input into nursing, but we have never had input into nursing because they have denied us." This was important to them for two reasons. First, they believed that their approach to patient care could improve the lives of the patients. And second, having more input would give them more power and therefore more security in the facility.

The first step was establishing better communication within the rehabilitation department itself. This they were accomplishing by writing this proposal together. "We are establishing communication links between our disciplines at home before it can happen elsewhere." The next step was communicating with other groups to produce an implementation plan for the breakfast program. This was dealt with in the recommendation for an interdisciplinary committee to be formed to plan the program. At the November 20 meeting, someone pointed out that this would not be enough. "There is going to have to be some communication method with nursing staff," referring to the need for some ongoing method of communication, perhaps something similar to the cardex, between all the groups involved in the breakfast program.

Several people agreed with this statement, but there was no further discussion of this point until the next small group meeting on November 24. At that meeting the group drafted a recommendation

that called for a "mini steering committee on each unit" to ensure adequate communication between all the care givers to address the specific needs of the patients on each unit.

Invention: Achieving Consensus

Bacon (1990) says that collaboration is only effective when "team members achieve a shared vision, a mutual goal, and consensus" (p. 5). Indeed, consensus is necessary not only for successful collaboration but also for the writing process to influence social contexts. The members of the rehabilitation department arrived at a consensus not only for their proposal but also for a vision of a new social reality for the facility, and this is perhaps the most important thing that they accomplished in their discussions.

Most of the members of the group felt that they were part of a consensus and that, in general, they were "in agreement with the principle of what we are trying to do." They said that although they might have written the document differently if they had been working alone, in the end, it represented the discussions that had taken place. However, not everyone was fully committed. One member of the group, the same one who had wondered whether she had been invited or ordered to attend the meetings, said that she felt pushed into something. She felt that she was being asked to take ownership of an idea which she had had no part in creating. "It's the difference between something springing up organically among a group of people, and here's the seed, I want you guys to develop it." She felt she was

being asked to "validate Bev's solution" to a problem she had not been aware of before they started meeting. Although this person did not object to the proposal ("It was something I was willing to let my name be attached to"), and was enthusiastic about the benefits the program would bring to the patients, when asked if the proposal represented a consensus, she said "I still feel vague about it."

Another noted that there was a lot of "silent majority going on." By this she meant that people felt some pressure not to get in the way of the process by voicing objections. She cited as an example the November 13 meeting at which one person cautiously asked for a few more details. When Bev asked if others also wanted more details, it turned out that every person at the meeting was unhappy with the lack of details. Thus it seems that the push for resolution can leave some people out of the consensus.

This writing group probably falls into what Lunsford and Ede (1990) call the dialogic mode of collaboration in which "the process of articulating goals is often as important as the goals themselves and sometimes even more important" (p. 133). Getting the members of the department to articulate values and goals was certainly one of Bev's aims in deciding to ask the whole department to write the proposal. However, as Allen et al. (1987) note, relationships in the writing group are influenced by the hierarchical relationships of group members outside the group. Thus, although Bev tried to run the group in an inclusive way, the fact that the idea of writing the proposal came from Bev and that she had the power to go ahead with the proposal with or

without the rest of the department was never far from the minds of the participants. It made them less willing to speak out or try to advance their ideas. To use her power in that way, however, while it might have resulted in a much more efficient writing process, would have been counter-productive to the larger goal of achieving a consensus on a proposal which could bring recognition to the department. All the benefits of having the members of the department articulate their goals would have been lost. Bev trod a fine line between moving the writing process along as fast as she could and making sure that everyone felt included in the process. The only time that she asserted her authority as the driving force behind the proposal was on the day, when Cathy was sick, that she took all the bits and pieces of notes the small group had generated and turned them into a first draft. It is to her credit that she was able to conduct the group in such a way that most of the members of the department considered themselves to be a part of a consensus.

Although most members of the group attended the meetings fairly regularly, as late as the November 13 meeting of the large group, seven weeks after the first meeting, members of the group were still asking for clarification about why they were writing this proposal at all and where the problem they were trying to solve had originated. On November 13, someone asked "To go back to the beginning, why was the whole committee started?" This sounds as though the process had somehow gone awry, leaving some members of the group feeling left out. In fact, these requests for clarification were an essential part of

the process of achieving consensus. They provided an opportunity for the group to "revisit" issues and review how they had reached the point they had. In this way they were able to summarize the ideas discussed in previous meetings, address any concerns about those ideas and incorporate everyone into the developing consensus. One of the people who asked for clarification summarized this idea. She said, "In playing dumb, I move things forward."

Except for the three highest ranking employees in the group, all the members of the group said that they felt the proposal would carry more weight with the administrators of the facility because it had been written collaboratively. They felt that because each of them had spent time on the proposal and shared responsibility for it, the administration would would see it as a "popular movement." The three higher ranking employees, however, said that the collaborative nature of the project was of no interest to the administrators and would have no effect on how receptive they might be to the proposal. In fact, one of these three said that she thought the administration would be "horrified" if it knew just how much time had gone into the preparation of the proposal.

This reflects the fact that the decision to involve the members of the department in the writing of the proposal was a strategic one, made to ensure the commitment of the whole department to the program rather than for direct rhetorical effect. As one group member said, if one of the administrators were to "hit you in the hallway, everybody would have the same thing to say." The three higher

ranking members saw the potential of the program to improve the lives of patients by changing power relations in the facility, while the other members of the group saw the potential of the program to change the lives of patients by changing the way they did their work. The three higher ranking members of the group also said they thought the end product was a compromise rather than a consensus, an indication of their awareness that the rest of the group had been in some sense corralled into participating in the writing process.

In the end, the proposal was something which everyone in the group was willing to be associated with. The success of this collaborative writing effort can be attributed, in part, to the fact that the goals which were negotiated during the invention stage of composing included not only the larger goals of higher ranking members of the group but also the personal goals of the individual members of the group. As long as the document addressed their personal goals, members of the group did not mind if it also addressed the goals of others in the group. The lower ranking members, in accordance with their professional image of themselves, were committed to participating in a program which might make the lives of the patients better. If the proposal also resulted in changes in the rest of the facility or to the fortunes of the rehabilitation department in the facility as hoped by higher ranking members, that was a good outcome, but secondary. As one said "I truly believe we were doing this because the residents deserve something better."

Drafting

Except for the Current Situation section which Bev drafted on November 5, no other part of the proposal was written until until November 24. Until the decision making and consensus building of the invention stage was completed, the writing could not really begin. In fact, to the group members, the actual writing of the proposal seemed almost incidental to the whole process. The real work had already been done in the discussions. All that was left was to capture the essence of the discussions on paper. Of course, there was much still to be done. In particular, in order to draft the proposal, the small writing group had to create a format which would reflect the discussion that had taken place in the large group.

Proposals are marketing documents. They are used to sell the services or ideas of one group of people to another, either inside the organization or outside. According to Levitt (1983), proposals are metaphors for the products or services being proposed, and, until the services are delivered, act as surrogates for reality. As Pfeiffer (1991) says, proposals, both in house and external, "are crucial to most organizations. Indeed, many companies rely on them . . . for their very survival" (p. 258).

Perhaps because they are such important documents in the life of organizations, and also because they often call for cooperation between members of different departments within an organization, a significant portion of the literature on collaborative writing in business and professional settings deals with proposal writing (e.g. Samson,

1989; Bacon, 1990; McIsaac & Aschauer, 1990; Malone, 1991). And as Samson (1989) points out, successful proposals cannot merely be written; they must be developed as part of a lengthy sales and marketing program, a process which calls for collaboration at all stages to be successful. In this case, the rehabilitation department was marketing itself to the administration by offering services which it hoped would be perceived as essential to the success of the facility in providing high quality care to the elderly.

Most of the members of the rehabilitation department had no previous experience writing proposals. Those that did were not in the small writing group. No one, however, made any attempt to find out what a "real" proposal should look like. Bev thought that the facility had standardized forms which it makes available to employees for use in writing various kinds of documents, but she made no effort to get them. It turned out that the forms for proposals dealt only with proposals for medical research at the facility and would not have been appropriate for the department's proposal. In any case, although there are literally hundreds of easily available books on technical and business writing which give advice on how to write proposals, neither she nor anyone else in the group looked for information about possible formats.

When asked about this, Bev said that she felt that using a prepared format would constrain the group in its search for a really good solution to the breakfast problem. "If you follow somebody else's idea of a format you won't think through what is specific to the

situation." Perhaps more importantly, she felt that using a prescribed format would make the proposal an "official" document and would reduce the degree of commitment the members of the group would have to the document and to the breakfast program itself. This commitment to the breakfast program was essential to the success of the program and also for the success of the proposal. Because the department is in a position of relatively little power and authority within the facility, she felt that the department had to do a delicate balancing act between speaking with enough authority to persuade the administration but not so much that it offended the administration. Bev felt that creating a format would allow the department to develop the necessary commitment to speak with authority but also leave a degree of informality which would make the administration more receptive to the idea they were proposing.

Bev's ideas about format are very much in line with current thinking about the role of genre or form in organizational writing (Bazerman, 1988; Smart, 1993). Genres do not exist outside of social situations simply as forms into which writers pour information. Miller (1984) defines them instead as a kind of social action: "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations" (p. 159). That is, genres are solutions to recurring rhetorical problems and as these solutions become accepted they acquire authority and institutional force. However, genres are not just responses to social or rhetorical situations. They in turn work to create or recreate those situations. A genre emerges as writers in a community develop ways to carry on

their conversation. But each time the genre is used, it changes to suit the rhetorical needs of the writer using it, and in doing so changes the conversation. Genre is central "not just in responding to the emerging regularities of rhetorical universe, but in helping indeed to create that rhetorical universe" (Bazerman, 1988, p. 48).

Even though most members of the group did not know what a "real" proposal should be like, by the time the document was written, all of them felt that it was a proposal. The few who had written proposals before noted the informality, the inconsistency between sections, the lack of specific detail, and the lack of certain sections which are typically found in proposals. Some said that although they hadn't thought about it until I asked, they now thought that a more formal and polished final product might have made a better impression. Almost everyone told me that they had just become tired of working on it and that the final document seemed "good enough" at the time. Despite its deficiencies, everyone in the group felt that this format represented the discussions that had taken place and they accepted the document as a proposal because they had participated in the process which produced it. As one said, "We were talking about writing a proposal, so this had to be a proposal."

Bev's idea of what a proposal should do was to act as a bridge between what is happening now and what should happen in the future. The format should include sections dealing with "what is current, what you think it should be and how you plan on getting there." It was therefore natural for her to think that the proposal should start with a

description of the current situation as perceived by the Food Services Committee. She drafted this section early in the process using material she had put together after the very first meeting of the rehabilitation department to explain the problem to members of the department. This was the only section of the proposal which appeared in anything remotely resembling a draft before the November 24 meeting.

Cathy's ideas about proposal format came from her experience writing assessments. "We do an assessment, we identify a problem, we come up with a treatment, we make recommendations," she said. She saw these steps as corresponding roughly to sections dealing with the current situation, the bulk of the proposal and recommendations. She brought the idea of a proposal summary from another proposal she remembered having read, rather like an abstract at the beginning of an academic paper, to orient readers to the main point of the proposal right at the beginning rather than making them wait until the end.

During the early meetings, the group had addressed itself to various issues using the journalistic five Ws and an H: who, what, why, where, when, how. When the small writing group met to compile the ideas of the large group into the proposal, they used these categories as the basis of the format. "Why," for example became a section establishing rehabilitation's qualifications to propose this breakfast program. "What," "where" and "when" were combined to make up the bulk of the proposal, and "how" became a recommendation to

measure the outcomes of the program to justify continuing it after the trial period.

Cathy also suggested including a section called "Assumptions." She had recently taken a masters level course in which there had been much discussion of the fact that unexamined assumptions can often interfere with successful communication. Textbook versions of proposals make no mention of a section with this name. However it was an essential element in the construction of this proposal. The creation of this section provided them with a way to indicate that although they were proposing to start with an economy version of the program, they expected that other groups were also committed to changing the facility and were willing to participate in ensuring that changes take place. They were able to include a statement to the effect that "All departments are committed to implementing changes as mandated by the Steering Committee Philosophy statement." This was their key strategy for ensuring the success of the program and therefore for succeeding in the larger goals of the group of changing the power structure of the organization.

Thus the format of this particular proposal emerged to address the goals which were negotiated during the discussions of the invention stage of composing. Because they were not confined by a formula for writing proposals, the writers were able to invent the sections they needed and in doing so created the knowledge they needed to achieve their rhetorical goals.

Revising

A number of scholars (e.g. Allen et al., 1987; Louth & Scott, 1989; Bacon, 1990) claim that one of the benefits of collaborative writing is that it results in a better end product. Writers working in teams are assumed to have a broader knowledge base than individuals working alone. Different members of the team may also have particular expertise in different phases of the writing process. In addition, members of a writing group are thought to function as a "first line" audience, helping the group as a whole to focus on the needs of its audience and find the best way to reach that audience. These scholars are referring to every aspect of the document, from content and format to sentence structure and punctuation.

The document written by the rehabilitation department proves that this is not always the case. Certainly a consensus in the rehabilitation department and the strong feeling of all the members of the group that the end product represented them could not have been achieved without collaboration. In addition, the key strategy they developed to insure the success of the program grew out of the discussions. But the text itself suffered because it was written collaboratively. It contained a number of obvious errors which could easily have been corrected. Some of these were quite minor, such as inconsistent punctuation or parentheses that did not close in the right place. Others were somewhat more important. A line of text intended as the first section heading in the proposal somehow drifted up and became part of the title. In another case, after much discussion, the

group agreed to omit the exact number of patients the program would serve so as not to commit themselves to something which they might not be able to deliver. The number nevertheless appeared in the final version. And one small section was omitted entirely from the final version because the typist did not turn the page.

The root of the problem was that no one person was responsible for making sure that every i was dotted and every t crossed. Several times over the course of the small group discussions and at least once during the revising session on December 1, Cathy said that if members of the large group didn't like something they would change it. "This will be edited by the group," she said, when there was a question about how to phrase something. In fact, no one in the large group looked very closely at the proposal. They had received a copy of the draft late in the afternoon the day before the final meeting and most didn't read it until the meeting started.

This confirms the work of Allen et al. (1987) and McIsaac and Aschauer (1990) who both identify the early stages of group writing as the most satisfying to the participants. At the beginning of the process they were asked to envision how the whole world of the facility could change and to imagine how they could contribute to that change. This process was extremely exciting and empowering for the members of the group. For a few short weeks they felt not only that things could improve but also that they could take an active role in making the changes happen. As one member of the group said, "Can't you feel the driving seat? It is so exciting!"

As the the weeks went by and the meetings dragged on, the level of excitement decreased markedly. The members of the group identified several reasons for this. One was that they simply got tired of working on the problem. Rehabilitation people are doers rather than talkers. They were keen to implement the program, but they got tired of meeting to discuss what seemed to be the same old stuff and working endlessly on the same old document. Another was that as they worked out the details of their commitment they realized the much wider implications for themselves individually and for the department as a whole of participating in breakfast. They became a bit anxious about the whole thing and wondered if they might be letting themselves in for something that they were not anticipating. By the time the proposal appeared before them at the end of the tenth week, it was "good enough." The real work had already been done in the group discussions. Making a few changes on some important issues was enough to satisfy their need to feel that they did indeed have a say in the final product.

Another factor affecting the quality of the final product was the desire of the members of the group to remain on good terms with each other. Some issues were important enough to warrant discussion regardless of the effect the discussion might have on relationships; others were not. Several members of the group told me that they were concerned that their comments might be interpreted as "criticism" and so they were reluctant to bring up things which were "not important." An example of something regarded as not important

enough to mention was the inconsistent style of different sections of the proposal: some sections were written in point form and others were written in complete sentences. Another member of the group said that she was more concerned that the proposal go forward (i.e. that the collaboration be successful) than that it contain any specific piece of information, and so was not willing to object when what she regarded as essential information was deleted.

In addition, no one communicated carefully with the overworked typist, who took hand written drafts covered with hand written corrections and tried to turn them into typescript. No one compared the typed version to the hand written version to see that all the changes marked on the page had been incorporated into the typed copy. And no one proofread to make sure that either the writers or the typist hadn't made other inadvertent mistakes.

Revision took place during two meetings, one on December 1 when Cathy and Monica revised Bev's first draft, and one on December 4 when the large group revised the draft Cathy and Monica had produced on December 1. At the first revision session, Cathy and Monica made 60 changes of one sort or another to Bev's draft. Monica was the only person in the small group who knew the "rules" and the lingo of writing. She changed sentences from passive to active voice and reduced the number of nominalizations and clumsy expressions. Most of the 60 changes were relatively minor ones designed to improve sentence structures, reduce wordiness and clarify meanings by eliminating ambiguous expressions. Monica, who was the recreation

therapist in the small group, also wanted the description of the role of recreation therapists to sound more "professional," so she changed it to include more multisyllabic words.

The biggest change made at this meeting was the elimination of a page of Bev's draft which seemed to Cathy and Monica to belong in the Food Services Committee document rather than in the rehabilitation department document. This was the change with the most potential to cause conflict because Bev felt that without that section the proposal did not provide enough background information for readers to fully understand the rationale for the proposal. However, she did not object to the deletion when it was presented to her on December 3, the day before the final large group meeting. She said later that she wanted to ensure that they knew she had respect for their position and to demonstrate that although she was the leader she did not have all the power in the group.

At the large group meeting on December 4, only 10 changes were made to the proposal. The most important of these changes reflected the group's awareness of the impact of language on its audience. Most of the meeting was spent discussing whether or not to use the word "independent," which appeared in two places in the draft of the proposal.

At the large group meeting on November 13, the group had agreed that the economy version of the program would be very similar to smaller breakfast programs which recreation therapists were already running with patients chosen because they are independent.

The word "independent," however, is used quite differently by the different disciplines and by other groups in the facility. For example, one of the patients in the current recreation therapy breakfast program has multiple sclerosis and is unable to do anything for himself. Nevertheless he was in the breakfast program because he was socially adept and made a significant contribution to making the breakfast a pleasant and rewarding social event. Another patient was completely independent in looking after all her physical needs, but because she has dementia, would not eat unless someone she trusts was sitting next to her. The occupational therapists and the physiotherapists were concerned that if patients such as these were identified as "independent," the program would be vulnerable to sabotage by nurses. Nurses would then be able to say, "You say these people are independent, so I don't have to do **anything** for them." Since all the patients require some form of assistance, if nurses didn't do anything for them at meal time, the success of the program would immediately be in jeopardy.

Underlying this discussion was the awareness of members of the group of how their audience might react to the word "independent" and that it could be used to discredit the whole proposal. If the word "independent" was used in the proposal to mean something other than what it usually means to medical people, the credibility of the whole department might go down. The recreation therapists recognized this as a valid objection and did not disagree with the decision to reword the sentences to eliminate it.

Another change made at this meeting concerned the number of patients the program would serve. The draft indicated that the program would initially include 24 patients. However, the members of the group felt they did not know the patients well enough to say exactly how many would actually be in the program to begin with. They agreed to delete the number 24 and not specify how many patients the program would serve. Unfortunately, the person making notes didn't cross out the number 24 on the corrected copy of the draft that was sent to the typist, so it still appeared in the final draft.

The other significant change made on December 3 was the rewording of one of the recommendations to make a much stronger statement about the need for a committee consisting of representatives from other groups in the facility to plan the next stage in the implementation of the program. As this was perhaps their most important recommendation for ensuring the success of the program, there was no disagreement about this change. This goal had been negotiated and agreed upon and so required no further discussion.

Because Bev was sharing her power in the creation of this proposal, she did not want to take responsibility for the final document away from the group. However, it seems that some one person has to take responsibility for ensuring that the final product is as good as possible given the constraints of the situation. A small amount of careful attention to surface problems in the proposal by one person could have improved the final product considerably.

Collaborative Writing Influences Social Context

In this study, I contend that the talk which takes place during collaborative writing processes enables writers to influence their organizational contexts. In this case, although the document itself was far from perfect, the writing process produced important changes not only in the individuals who participated and in the rehabilitation department, but also in the facility as a whole. It is probably fair to say that if this document had been produced by one individual or through an interactive writing process many of these changes would not have occurred. Participation in the group writing process, with the endless discussion during the extremely long invention stage, produced the changes.

At the individual level, a number of changes were evident. Most members of the group described themselves as bad writers. This may or may not be true, but in any case these statements indicate a lack of confidence in their writing abilities. All of the members of the group said that writing collaboratively allowed the group to generate many more ideas than any one individual alone could have generated, and allowed them to hear and integrate different points of view. They felt that because they had had input into the document, they had come up with what one participant called a "more realistic" plan. Writing collaboratively gave them confidence as writers and made them feel that what they were producing was indeed worthwhile.

Individual members of the department also felt empowered by their participation in writing this proposal. Particularly at the

beginning of the process, they were very excited about the idea of initiating change in the organization and about the benefits the changes could bring to the lives of the patients. They were excited by the prospect of having more control over their work and therefore being able to do it better. Thus participating in the collaborative writing process gave them confidence as knowledge makers, as people who had the right to propose new ways of thinking about the organization and to encourage others in the organization to also think about changing the organization.

The department as a whole also experienced a number of changes as a result of the collaborative writing of this proposal. Perhaps the most important change was that some of the barriers that keep the three disciplines apart were removed. Members of the three disciplines do not work together very often, so these meetings gave all the members of the department an opportunity to get to know each other better and to understand the jobs and points of view of the other disciplines. Respect for others increased as they got to know each other better, and they began to feel like a department rather than just three separate but related specialities located in the same area of the facility. They began to feel that they could work as a team to develop common goals for their work in the facility. They developed and reinforced communal perceptions of their individual and common strengths. As they discussed how they could participate in breakfast they also affirmed for each other the validity of the rehabilitation

approach to long-term care and its importance for the future of the facility.

The discussions also helped to initiate two new members of the department. They provided a crash course in how things are done in the department and an opportunity to get to know others in the department quickly. This process would have taken much longer and would not have happened in quite the same way without participation in the writing group, since the department into which they were being initiated was changing because of the writing activity.

The facility also changed in subtle but potentially important ways. The members of the department spent a lot of time thinking not just about doing their own jobs, but also about what the facility was really trying to do altogether. As a group they worked to develop a common vision of how they could best do their own jobs to carry out the business of the organization and improve the lives of the patients. They also strengthened some informal communication links in the facility. Some members of the rehabilitation department also attended the Food Services Committee meetings where they had the opportunity to talk to nurses about their concerns. This made them much more sympathetic to the points of view and needs of nurses, a sympathy which they were able to communicate to their colleagues. In addition, the nurses on that committee began to change their attitudes so that they were slightly more receptive to the ideas of the social model and to the activities of the rehabilitation department.

In all, the collaborative writing of the breakfast proposal was a positive experience which had the potential to change both the participants and the facility. The members of the department came together as a group because everyone in the department felt he or she had been included in the process and had had the opportunity to contribute or object to any part of the proposal. The potential of the collaborative writing process to change the facility resulted because the members of the group had had the opportunity to articulate their values, understand their role in long term care and agree on their goals for the facility. They had worked together to achieve a shared vision for a new social reality within the facility.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Implications

I began this study with the intention of looking at how writers are affected by their organizational contexts. Instead I found myself in a situation in which I could clearly see how the collaborative writing process has the potential to influence organizational contexts. I found that the talk which occurs when people meet to write together provides the link between the writing process and its organizational context. It not only allows writers to effectively adapt their writing to their organizational context but also gives the writing process the power to affect that context.

The Role of Talk in the Composing Process of the Rehabilitation Department

The members of the rehabilitation department sat down together with the goal of writing a proposal to ease the tensions between nurses and patients at breakfast in the facility. However, although all of them were committed to the idea of improving the patients' lives by making breakfast a more pleasant meal, they found that their discussions often had very little to do with breakfast. They discovered that their larger goal was to make some significant changes in the social structure of the facility which would increase their control over the way they do their work. As they negotiated their goals

and achieved a consensus for their document, they were in fact negotiating goals and achieving a consensus for the organization itself.

Three main conclusions about the role of talk in the composing process of the rehabilitation department emerge from this study:

1. The talk of the invention stage of the collaborative writing process allowed the writers to define their goals and adapt their discourse for their audience.

Goals and the strategies to achieve those goals emerged in tandem as the group's understanding of the rhetorical situation developed. The discussion of strategies to achieve the early goals caused the goals to be refined or caused new goals to emerge, for which new strategies were then needed. This continual adaptation and refinement of goals and strategies reflected the growing mutual understanding of their rhetorical situation which developed during the course of the invention stage.

In addition, it seems that goals emerged at different stages of the writing process to solve particular problems associated with those stages. At the beginning of the process, when the group was forming, goals related to the development of the group were most important. As the group established itself and began to develop strategies for the proposal, goals which would allow the proposal to accomplish the department's aims in the organization were most important.

Not until all goals had been negotiated could the writing proceed and the document be completed. The small writing group found itself unable to produce even a very rough first draft until the rhetorical

goals of the proposal and the larger social goals had been negotiated. The talk of the invention stage was essential for the development of a deeper understanding of the rhetorical situation and of strategies for reaching their audience.

2. The form of the proposal emerged from the goal negotiation of the invention stage. In taking a recognized genre, the proposal, and adapting it to their rhetorical goals, they were using form to create the knowledge essential to their goal of restructuring their social environment.

It seems that it was important for the writers to have an idea of a proposal as a document which suggests a change of some kind. This idea functioned as a general guide to the kind of information which should appear in the document. However, the details of proposal format (e.g. which sections should appear and in what order) were not important at all. At the detail level, the writers re-invented the proposal to carry out the goals which were negotiated during the discussions. In calling their document a proposal they invoked the authority of a recognized and accepted genre and created certain expectations in their audience. At the same time, in adapting it to address their own rhetorical needs, they were attempting to change both their own and their readers' social roles and expectations. They were using the power of genre to influence the social context by using it to produce rather than simply reproduce social structures. As Smart (1993) says, they were using genre as a "broad rhetorical strategy

enacted, collectively, by members of a community in order to create knowledge essential to their aims" (p. 1).

3. The process of articulating goals and values during the invention stage of the collaborative writing process allowed the writers to achieve a consensus for a new social reality for the facility and through this to produce rather than simply reproduce the social and power relations of the facility.

Much of the success of the collaborative writing process can be attributed to the fact that the members of the group had enough input into the process and into the document that they felt the ideas came from them rather than being imposed on them. The group spent a disproportionate amount of time in the invention stage articulating and refining goals, and relatively little time in the revision stage refining the text of the document. The effect of the writing process on the writers was as important as and perhaps even more important than the document itself or its impact on its audience.

During the many meetings at which the document was discussed, members of the group negotiated a communal understanding of the world of the facility and of their role in it. They made sense of the organization through meeting to talk about it. They talked about their relationships with other groups within in the facility and acknowledged their relatively low standing in the facility hierarchy. Their discussions validated and reinforced existing social relations and reproduced the existing social structures and power relations of the facility.

At the same time, however, they also discussed and came to agree on how they would like the facility to change. They reinforced their perception of themselves as important contributors to the life of the facility. In doing so, they validated their beliefs about how a long-term institution should operate and about what they would like the culture of the whole organization to become. In meeting to negotiate goals for their document and choose words for their text, they were negotiating a transformation of the cultural conventions and social relations of the organization to gain the power to improve the lives of the patients. Thus they were attempting to produce rather than simply reproduce the power relations of the organization.

Perhaps the most important observation in this case is that this articulating of goals and values and coming to consensus about them would not have happened at all if the department had not had a document to write. Without the writing task, the members of the department would not have agreed to meet regularly and would not have had the opportunity to talk about the facility in such an organized and focused way. The impending rhetorical task drove the discussions, legitimated talk of change in the organization and forced them to consider the impact of that change on the rest of the facility. As they invented the material for their for their document, they were in fact re-inventing the social reality of the facility itself.

In this study, because of time constraints, I was able to look only at the writing of the proposal and not at the success of the document in getting the breakfast program implemented or the impact of the

program on the organization. Thus, I do not know what in fact resulted from the rehabilitation department's proposal and whether it was anything like what they expected. In spite of this, I was able to observe that the collaborative writing process had significant effects on the writers and had the potential to have significant effects on the organization, although those effects, in the long run, may not be quite what the rehabilitation department expected.

Implications for Composition Theory

The reciprocal relationship which exists between writing and its social contexts is accepted by most researchers studying writing today. Many researchers have looked at and much is now understood about the ways in which writers and writing are influenced by factors in the writing environment. Although researchers acknowledge the other half of this reciprocal relationship, very little attention has been devoted to how writing in turn influences its social context.

This study demonstrates that talk provides the link between collaborative writing and its organizational context. A full understanding of the collaborative writing process can not be achieved without an understanding of the role of talk in the process, and an understanding of the interrelationship of talk and writing in the production of a document. When people meet to write a collaborative document, they talk to each other. Through this talk, they negotiate a common understanding of their audience and of their organizational and rhetorical situation. On the basis of this talk, they write a

document which is adapted for that audience and situation, both in form and content. In negotiating their understanding of the organization, they are constructing new knowledge about the organization, and in so doing are changing the organization. Thus the group functions not just as a "first line" audience which helps the writers to write more effective documents, as suggested by several researchers who have examined collaborative writing processes. It serves as a forum within which the writers construct new knowledge about the organization and thus it provides the means for writing to influence organizational context.

Members of collaborative writing groups may arrive at the group with well defined goals and purposes for the document they are to write. However, conceptions of goals, purpose, audience and rhetorical situation will almost certainly vary from individual to individual and may be competing or even incompatible. A document written in a business setting may have as many agendas, as many "jobs" to do, as there are members in the group. The writing activities of the rehabilitation department illustrate the importance of attending to the concerns of the individual members of the group. Dismissing the goals of some members as not relevant to the "real" purpose of a document may reduce the commitment of those members to the collaborative process and therefore jeopardize its ability to produce an effective document. Successful collaboration requires the integration of multiple goals and agendas to produce one document which will

encompass all these agendas, some or many of which may not be apparent in the final document itself.

Thus the key activity which takes place during collaborative invention is not the generating of ideas, important as that may be. The most important element in the invention process is the integration of the ideas which are generated into one document which meets the individual and group goals of all the participants. Negotiation of goals to reach a consensus is thus a necessary part of any successful collaborative writing project. In the course of negotiating a consensus, participants must reach areas of shared understanding. This requires not just that some participants persuade others to adopt their points of view, but that all participants be willing to create new points of view. That is, participants must be willing to create new knowledge together rather than trying to assert the primacy of their own knowledge. It is in the creation of this new knowledge through reaching areas of shared understanding that writers negotiate their knowledge of the organization itself and in doing so change the organization.

This study implies that the collaborative writing process can only be understood in its social context. Isolating collaborative writing from its context, as many studies which focus on the interpersonal and small group processes which occur during collaborative writing have done, does not reveal its true nature or its role in the organizing process. Researchers must understand not just how writing activities are carried out, but also how the discourse community in which the

writing is being done functions and how those writing activities are related to the concerns of the community. Without this understanding, researchers cannot fully understand that collaborative writing is not just a way of accomplishing work in organizations. Rather, collaborative writing provides a reason for meetings to take place and for organization members to talk to each other and through this talk to organize their social environment. To paraphrase Schwartzman, *writing talk is synonymous with organizational action* (1989, p. 215).

Implications for Further Research

This research project was confined to the production of the breakfast proposal by the members of the rehabilitation department. In future studies of this nature, it would contribute much to an understanding of how writing influences organizations to follow a document as it does its job in an organization. It would be useful to know who reads or does not read it, how the document's immediate and secondary audiences respond to it, what actions result from it and how it influences subsequent documents.

In particular, it would be useful to study the talk which surrounds a document as it makes its mark on an organization and to observe the influence of that talk on the organization. In my study it would have been useful to answer the following questions: Did interdisciplinary meetings which the rehabilitation department hoped for take place and was the program which resulted anything like the one the department had in mind? What kinds of changes occurred in

both the nurses and the rehabilitation people as a result of these discussions? Did the program itself, once implemented, achieve any or all of the multiple goals of the rehabilitation department in writing the proposal? Were the long-term cultural or structural changes in the facility, if any, what the rehabilitation department expected?

Answers to these questions would further describe and explain the role of talk in the collaborative writing process and would illuminate more fully the ways in which those processes influence organizations. This research would require the researcher to be immersed in an organization for an extended period of time to be able to explore at length what this study only hints at: the power of writing to transform writers, texts and organizations themselves.

Postscript

The breakfast proposal was presented to the steering committee of the facility on December 7. Although the members of the committee did not read the document at the meeting, they responded favorably to Bev's description of what was in it. One of the two administrators (the one who had attended a meeting of the Food Services Committee) was particularly enthusiastic about the breakfast program and suggested that the facility hold a "town hall meeting" to discuss the idea with all staff members at the facility. She also agreed to initiate talks with the head nurse of the nursing unit on which the rehabilitation department proposed to begin the program.

The town hall meeting never took place. The meetings with the head nurse did occur, but unfortunately, in April, this administrator died. The breakfast program thus lost its strongest advocate in the organization. However, the members of the Food Services Committee felt that the administrator would have wanted the project to go ahead and they saw it as a way to build a lasting memorial to her. They continued to hold meetings, which had developed into team meetings, to plan the details of the program, with the head nurse, staff nurses, and representatives from the rehabilitation, dietary and social work departments attending. These meetings took place somewhat irregularly and were frustrating for Bev, who would have liked to move ahead faster with the program. After much discussion and planning, and with the cooperation of nursing, the breakfast project was

implemented in July. And as Bev said, "It is great to see the light bulbs going on in the nurses' heads as they see that they can participate in planning and how things could change."

Works Cited

Alford, E.M. (1989). The text and the trade association: A story of documents at work. In C.B. Matalene (Ed.),*Worlds of writing: teaching and learning in discourse communities of work.* Manchester, MO: Mcgraw Hill.

Allaire, Y. & Firsirotu, M.E. (1984). Theories of organizational culture. *Organization Studies,* 5(3), 193-226.

Allen, N., Atkinson, D., Morgan, M., Moore, T. & Snow, C. (1987). What experienced collaborators say about collaborative writing. *Iowa State Journal of Business and Technical Writing,* 1, 70-90.

Anderson, P.V. (1985). What survey research tells us about writing at work. In L. Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.),*Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Bacon, T.R. (1990). Collaboration in a pressure cooker. *Bulletin of the Association for Business Communication,* 53(2), 4-8.

Barabas, C. (1990). *Technical writing in a corporate culture: A study of the nature of information.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Bartholomae, D. (1986). Inventing the University. *Journal of Basic Writing,* 5-1, p.4-23.

Bazerman, C. (1980). A relationship between reading and writing: The conversational model. *College English,* 41, 656-661.

Bazerman, C. (1988). *Shaping written knowledge: The genre and activity of the experimental article in science.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bazerman, C & Paradis, J. Eds. (1991). *Textual dynamics of the professions: Historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Berger, P. & Luckman, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality.* London: Penguin.

Berlin, J.A. (1982). Contemporary composition: The major pedagogical theories. *College English,* 44(8), 765-777.

Bizell, P. (1982). Cognition, convention, and certainty. *Pre/Text* 7, 27-56.

Brown, R. & Herndl, C. (1986). An ethnographic study: Job status as reflected in written text. In B. Couture (Ed.), *Functional approaches to writing*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Bruffee, K.A. (1976). Social construction, language and the authority of knowledge: A bibliographic essay. *College English*, 48(8), 773-790.

Bruffee, K.A. (1981). Collaborative learning. *College English*, 43, 745-746.

Bruffee, K.A. (1984). Collaborative learning and the "conversation of mankind." *College English*, 46(7), 635-652.

Burke, K. (1941). *The Philosophy of Literary Form*. New York: Vintage Books.

Cooper, M.M. (1986). The ecology of writing. *College English*, 48(4), 364-375.

Couture, B. & Rymer, J. (1989). Interactive writing on the job: Definitions and implications of "collaboration." In M. Kogen (Ed.), *Writing in the business professions*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Couture, B. & Rymer, J. (1991). Discourse interaction between writer and supervisor: A primary collaboration in workplace writing. In M.M. Lay & W.M. Karis (Eds.), *Collaborative writing in industry: Investigations in theory and practice*. Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Cross, G.A. (1990). A Bahktinian exploration of factors affecting the collaborative writing of an executive letter of an annual report. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 24(2), 173-203.

Deal, T. & Kennedy, A.A. (1982). *Corporate cultures: The rites and rituals of corporate life*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Debs, M.B. (1991). Recent research on collaborative writing in industry. *Technical Communication*, 38(4), 476-484.

Doheny-Farina, S. (1986). Writing in an emerging organization: An ethnographic study. *Written Communication*, 3, 158-185.

Doheny-Farina, S. (1991). Creating a text/creating a company: The role of a text in the rise and decline of a new organization. In C.Bazerman & J. Paradis (Eds.), *Textual dynamics of the professions: Historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Doheny-Farina, S. (1992). *Rhetoric, innovation, technology: Case studies of technical communication in technology transfers.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Doheny-Farina, S. & Odell, L. (1985). Ethnographic research on writing: Assumptions and methodology. In L. Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.),*Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Driskill, L. (1989). Understanding the writing context in organizations. In M. Kogen (Ed.), *Writing in the business professions.* Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Elbow, P. 1973. *Writing without teachers.* London: Oxford University Press.

Faigley, L. (1985). Nonacademic writing: The social perspective. In L.Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.), *Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Faigley, L. & Miller, T.P. (1982). What we learn from writing on the job. *College English,* 44(6), 557-569.

Flower, L. & Hayes, J. (1981). A cognitive process theory of writing. *College Composition and Communication,* 32(4), 365-387.

Forman, J. (1991). Collaborative business writing: A Burkean perspective for future research. *The Journal of Business Communication,* 28(3), 233-257.

Freed, R.C. & Broadhead, G.J. (1987). Discourse communities, sacred texts and institutional norms. *College Composition and Communication,* 38(2), 154-65.

Frost, P.J., Moore, L.F., Louis, M.R., Lundberg, C.C. & Martin, J. (1985). *Organizational Culture,* Newbury Park: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New York: Aldine.

Harris, J. (1989). The idea of community in the study of writing. *College Composition and Communication,* 40(1), 11-22.

Harrison, T. (1987). Frameworks for the study of writing in organizational contexts. *Written Communication,* 4(1), 3-24.

Herndl, C.G., Fennel, B.A. & Miller, C.R. (1991). Understanding failures in organizational discourse: The accident at Three Mile Island and the shuttle Challenger disaster. In C. Bazerman & J. Paradis (Eds.), *Textual dynamics of the professions: Historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Kanter, R.M., Stein, B.A., Jick, T.D. (1992). *The challenge of organizational change: How companies experience it and leaders guide it.* New York: Free Press.

Killingsworth, M.J. (1992). Discourse communities: Local and global. *Rhetoric review,* 11(1), 110-122.

Kirby, S. & McKenna, K. (1989). *Experience research social change: Methods from the margins.* Toronto: Garramond.

Knoblauch, C.H. and Brannon, L. (1984). *Rhetorical traditions and the teaching of writing.* Upper Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Kreps, G. (1990). *Organizational communication: Theory and practice.* New York: Longman.

Kuhn, T.B. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lay, M. (1991). The androgynous collaborator: The impact of gender studies on collaboration. In J. Forman (Ed.), *New visions of collaborative writing.* Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.

LeFevre, K.B. (1987). *Invention as a Social Act.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Levitt, T. (1983). *The marketing imagination.* New York: Free Press.

Lipson, C. (1986). Technical communication: The cultural context. *Technical Writing Teacher,* 13(1), 318-323.

Lipson, C. (1988). A social view of technical writing. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication,* 2(1), 7-20.

Locker, K.O. (1991). What makes a collaborative writing team successful? A case study of lawyers and social workers in a state agency. In J. Forman (Ed.), *New visions of collaborative writing.* Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.

Louth, R. & Scott, A.M. (Eds.). (1989). *Collaborative technical writing: Theory and practice.* Urbana, IL: American Teachers of Technical Writing.

Lunsford, A.A. & Ede, L.S. (1990). *Singular texts/plural authors: Perspectives on collaborative writing.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press.

Malone, E. (1991). Facilitating groups through selective participation: An example of collaboration from NASA. In M.M. Lay & W.M. Karis (Eds.), *Collaborative writing in industry: Investigations in theory and practice.* Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. (1989). *Designing qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McCarthy, L.P. (1991). A psychiatrist using DSM-III: The influence of a charter document in psychiatry. In C. Bazerman & J. Paradis (Eds.), *Textual dynamics of the professions: Historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

McIssac, C.M. & Aschauer, M.A. (1990). Proposal writing at Atherton Jordan, Inc.: An ethnographic study. *Management Communication Quarterly, 3(4),* 527-60.

Miller, C.R. & Selzer, J. (1985). Special topics of argument in engineering reports. In L. Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.), *Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Miller, C.R. (1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 70, 151-167.

Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Structure in fives: Designing effective organizations.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of organization.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Myers, G. (1985). The social construction of two biologist's proposals. *Written Communication, 2,* 246-266.

Odell, L. (985). Beyond the text: Relations between writing and social context. In L.Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.), *Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Odell, L. & Goswami, D. (1982). Writing in a non-academic setting. *Research in the Teaching of English,* 16(3), 201-223.

Pacanowsky, M.E. & O'Donnell-Trujillo, N. (1982). Communication and organizational cultures. *Western Journal of Speech Communication,* 46, 115-130.

Paradis, J. (1991). Text and action: The operator's manual in context and in court. In C. Bazerman & J. Paradis (Eds.), *Textual dynamics of the professions: Historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Paradis, J., Dobrin, D. & Miller, R. (1985). Writing at Exxon Ltd.: Notes on the writing environment of an R&D organization. In L. Odell and D. Goswami (Eds.), *Writing in non-academic settings.* New York: Guilford.

Paré, A. (1991). Ushering "audience" out. *Textual Studies in Canada,* 1(1), 45-64.

Pauly, J.J. (1991). *A beginners guide to doing qualitative research in mass communication.* Journalism Monographs.

Pfeiffer, W. S. (1991). *Technical writing: A practical approach.* New York: Macmillan.

Reither, J.A. (1985). Writing and knowing: Toward redefining the writing process. *College English,* 47-6, 620-628.

Reither, J.A. & Vipond, D. (1989). Writing as collaboration. *College English,* 51(8), 855-867.

Samson, D.C. (1989). Collaborative writing of technical proposals. In R. Louth & A.M. Scott (Eds.), *Collaborative technical writing: Theory and practice.* Urbana, IL: American Teachers of Technical Writing.

Schatzman, L. & Strauss, A. (1973). *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Schwartzman, H.B. (1989). *The meeting: Gatherings in organizations and communities*. New York: Plenum

Smart, G. (1993). Genre as community invention: A central bank's response to its executive's expectations of readers. *Writing in the workplace: New research perspectives*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. (forthcoming)

Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 28, 339-358.

Spilka, R. (1990). Orality and literacy in the workplace: Process- and text-based strategies for multiple audience adaptation. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, 4(1), 44-67.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Thralls, C. (1991). Bakhtin, collaborative partners, and published discourse: A collaborative view of composing. In J. Forman (Ed.), *New visions of collaborative writing*. Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.

Weber, J.R. (1991). The construction of multi-authored texts in one laboratory setting. In M.M. Lay & W.M. Karis (Eds.), *Collaborative writing in industry: Investigations in theory and practice*. Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Weick, K.E. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Winsor, D. (1989). An engineer's writing and the corporate construction of knowledge. *Written Communication*, 6, 270-286.

Appendix 1

Schedule of Meetings

October 16	Rehabilitation department
October 20	Food services committee
October 22	Food services committee
October 30	Rehabilitation department
November 3	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
November 6	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
November 10	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
November 10	Food services committee
November 13	Rehabilitation department
November 20	Rehabilitation department
November 24	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
November 24	Food services committee
December 1	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
December 3	Rehabilitation department, small writing group
December 4	Rehabilitation department
December 7	Facility administration steering committee
December 18	Food services committee

Appendix 2

Interview Questions

Purpose

What do you perceive as the purpose of your document?

Why are you writing it?

What do you hope to achieve?

Communication within organization

Was it important to write this proposal or would a verbal report from
Bev to the steering committee have been enough?

What do you perceive as the role of communication in the
organization?

Why do "We have to show them (nursing) that they need us (rehab)?"

What is the role of rehab department in auxilliary?

What do you think other departments see as the role of the rehab
department in auxilliary?

How essential is rehab in the life of the patients?

Do you think people in other departments agree with you, especially
doctors and nursing administration?

Did your work on this document change your feeling about the place of
rehab in auxilliary?

Relations in the rehabilitation department

The 3 rehab disciplines don't usually work together. How would you
describe relations between the 3 disciplines?

Did this writing project affect (change) your relationships with your colleagues in any way?

What is the scoop on layoffs here?

Nursing admin has its philosophy statement about changing from medical to social model. This is not really new stuff, but it is just being brought in here. Has any change like this been tried before to? How successful was it?

Writing

How much writing do you?

How much of it is collaborative?

Is collaborative writing easier or harder than writing alone?

What was the hardest part?

Most rewarding part?

Every method has pros and cons. What are some of each of writing collaboratively?

Does the fact that the proposal was written collaboratively play any role in the success of the document i.e. that it came from the department rather than from e.g. Bev?.

Could you talk about the group dynamics?

What is your attitude toward writing?

How do you feel about yourself as a writer?

What do you do best as a writer? Worst?

How do you think you contributed to this document?

Have you written other proposals?

How did you know what a proposal should be like?

And how did that affect the outcome, i.e. the document?

What would have made proposal better?

Were there issues that did not get attended to?

What were the contentious issues? e.g. Independence.

Did my presence have any effect?

What was the best aspect of the collaborative writing experience?

What was the worst aspect of the collaborative writing experience?

Appendix 3

Final Draft of Proposal
Food Services Committee
Rehabilitation Proposal
Breakfast Project
Proposal Summary

Draft #2

The   Rehabilitation staff are proposing an
expansion of the existing Recreation Therapy Breakfast
Program. The intentions. of this expansion are two fold:

1. To facilitate the changes alluded to in the Steering
    Committee's   Philosophy Statement - the desire
    to move toward a client centred social model of care.

2. To respond positively and actively to specific issues
    identified by the Food Services Committee.

Current Situation:

The Food Services Committee identified a number of issues
contributing to resident dissatisfaction with the quality of
their meals. The breakfast meal appears to be the most
contentious.

Nursing and Food Services have identified that there is
little flexibility in their current routines. As a result
residents. may wait up to 45 minutes before being served
breakfast. This leads to resident dissatisfaction and
increased demands to nursing staff to make fresh toast,
rewarm coffee, etc.

The Recreation Therapy staff servicing the   floor provide
breakfast programs to specifically selected residents once
weekly - see Appendix 1 for Program Plan. This program
strives to create a more normalized, personalized program
for 6 residents at each session. The meal is prepared in
the Rehabilitation Department kitchen and is generally well
received by those who participate. Rehabilitation and
Nursing staff recognize tht resident behavior can be
dependent on the environment resulting in discrepancies in
their performance of activities of daily living.

Proposal:

The   Rehabilitation staff are proposing to expand
the current Recreation Therapy breakfast program in order
that this enriched, personalized environment may be more
available to all residents on a regular basis. It is
believed that if this ambience can be recreated on the
nursing units, residents can be encouraged to maintain their
maximum level of function and resist adopting dependent
behavior (as nursing staff report). This would leave
nursing staff free to concentrate on those residents who
require more care.

Conceptual Framework:

- This program will be implemented on a trial basis for six months
- Commencement targetted no later than March 1, 1993
- To be implemented on Unit   initially
- To be conducted regularly in the dining room
- To focus on – initially, the participants will be the 24 residents who currently participate in the breakfast program X1 weekly. The other residents requiring more individualized nursing care will. be integrated at a later date.
- To complement current method of breakfast service by providing fresh toast and hot coffee
- To facilitate a more intimate social atmosphere to include seating arrangements
- To continue to provide opportunity for "normal experiences" such as reading newspaper, listening to music, creating a relaxing atmosphere with personalized touches
- To continue to utilize and focus the expertize and particular strengths of Rehabilitation staff:
  - Recreation Therapy to provide opportunities for socialization, stimulation and to experience a normalized environment
  - Physiotherapy to identify physical/strengths/limitations of residents and to maximize their ability by consistently walking people to breakfast, assisting in transfers, encouraging physical independence
  - Occupational Therapy to assess, or reassess, needs of residents in specific areas such as dressing, feeding, and seating. The goal will be to maximize the residents' independence and establish programs compatible with LPN schedules.

The Rehabilitation staff recognize that change cannot be successfully integrated without the cooperation of the total health care team. Residents and staff must incorporate the change into their daily routines. It is apparent that this change is only one of many being proposed within the   The assumptions made by the Rehabilitation staff when developing this framework are as follows:

Assumptions:

- Bulk food services will be implemented
- Flexibility with Food Services Department to accommodate Rehabilitation proposal
- Complaints of vocal patients represent the silent majority
- All departments are committed to implementing changes as mandated by the Steering Committee Philosophy statement

- The needs of   or   floor residents are different and programs will reflect those differences
- There will be positive "spinoffs" and these can be measured
- There will be no detrimental impact on other nursing units
- Scheduling of family conferences and Doctors' Rounds are flexible
- The residents will benefit from the changes implemented in this breakfast project; outcomes can be measured
- There is some money available for project equipment (e.g.) toaster, coffee maker, room dividers, etc.

Conclusion:

Rehabilitation staff recognize the need for change within the delivery of services to residents within the
                The challenge to create an environment that is "home like", not institutional, has been taken seriously. The conceptual framework outlined above is our expression of the desire to be a part of those changes. The Rehabilitation staff believe that we have specific training, specific skills which enable us to be key players in the shift from a medical model to a social model of care.

The following recommendations will enable movement from this conceptual framework to an implementation plan.

Recommendations:

1. Rehabilitation supports bulk food service.

2. Implementation of this project is dependent upon a working committee comprised of Dietary, Nursing, Rehabilitation and Pharmacy.

3. Residents and staff satisfaction will be measured by a questionnaire; the working committee will develop, implement and summarize this survey; changes in independence levels and quality of life of residents should also be measured.

4. Change needs to be communicated, therefore a structure to address change needs to be established (e.g.) a steering committee consisting of members of the treatment team on the nursing unit will identify participants and discuss progress.

JH:mjm
1992-12-02

Appendix 4

Facility Philosophy Statement

PHILOSOPHY AND BELIEFS

We believe that a collaborative interdisciplinary approach can focus care to provide an integrated continuum of services.

Development of special programs and activities that are significant to the residents will assist us to meet consumer expectations and demands. Residents have the right and responsibility of decision making, and must be encouraged to be involved in the planning and organization of their own care. Residents must be encouraged to make choices thereby reinforcing our beliefs that their own lifestyle and wishes are important. We believe that residents have the right to privacy and that we must assist them to maintain their dignity. We believe that families play a significant role in providing for the well-being of the residents. We also believe that it is essential to foster a strong positive image internally as well as externally.

GOAL OF   PLANNING

To create a home like environment for residents which fosters the right to privacy and the maintenance of dignity where residents are encouraged to make choices thereby reinforcing the belief that their lifestyles and wishes are important.

OBJECTIVES

The ·   ·   would:

1.   Move from a functional department structure, organized around the internal hospital needs to a dynamic program orientated structure, organized around the internal and external needs of residents and families.

2.   Integrate departments and services together to achieve an interdisciplinary and a continuum of care for all the residents.

3.   Position the   to adapt and respond appropriately to change and allow the organization to control or investigate the impact of change.

4.   Give continuous undivided attention to the residents and therefore be more sensitive and responsive to the residents' individual and changing needs.

5.   Seek participation of the residents and family members in the planning and organization of the caring services.

6.   Provide an ongoing evaluation and measurement of outcomes so that the collaborative efforts of the interdisciplinary team can be measured.

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Long term care facility should become the home of the residents in the sense that least restrictive environment should be preserved in the way that the independence and personal control of individuals can be promoted.

2. Quality of life is unique to each individual resident. Personal identity, dignity and respect, personal rights and privacy are the essential elements to be maintained in the provision of long term care services.

3. Assessment is a comprehensive and continuous process in which individual needs of the resident is the main focus. The process is believed to be a multidisciplinary effort which includes the participation of residents, families, and other support individuals.

4. The thrust of long term care services and programs that will be required for the resident will be based on the results of a coordinated assessment.

5. Lifestyles, activities, and customs of residents before admission are encouraged to be maintained as long as possible.

6. The resident is the main focus of care services in long term
    care. Services and plans are tailored according to residents'
    needs but not vice versa. Therefore, relevant contributions
    to the needs and care of the residents are important and
    include:

    *   Physician

    *   Nursing

    *   Recreation Therapy

    *   Volunteer Services

    *   Food Services

    *   Physiotherapy

    *   Occupational Therapy

    *   Pharmacy Services

    *   Social Work

    *   Pastoral Care Services

    *   Community Agencies

    *   Family

7. There are no sacred cows involved, and all routines and
    rituals may be examined from time to time to ensure quality
    services.