Process Pedagogy and Its Legacy

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THE PROCESS REVOLUTION: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

I taught my first course—Freshman English—as a graduate student pursuing an MA in creative writing. It was 1978. At that time, the nascent field of Composition Studies was developing its own disciplinarity, marked especially by the creation of the earliest doctoral programs in Composition Studies. But the course that the well-meaning administrators asked us TAs to teach was, like most such courses across the United States, based on principles that had developed much earlier, in the 1950s. And methodologically, it had evolved from some of the earliest expository writing programs, which had their genesis at Harvard at the end of the nineteenth century (see Brereton).

I was both thrilled and terrified. My students were just a few years behind me, and although I struggled to convince myself of my own authority, they still saw me as someone credentialed enough to assign them papers, tell them about various elements of prose, and grade them fairly, based on my undergraduate major in English and the several years of academic writing and reading experience I had on them. If the students passed the first-semester composition course, they would then enroll in a series of instructor-designed minicourses that focused on some topically relevant stories and short novels. Toward the end of the fall semester, my peers looked forward gleefully to creating and teaching their spring minicourses, as if they were being released from calisthenics to go play outside.

The required book in the first-semester course was Sheridan Baker's *The Complete Stylist*, first published in 1972. In this bestselling text, students learned how to create essays based on a keyhole structure: an introduction that funneled into a thesis statement, three paragraphs supporting the thesis, each with a topic sentence, and a conclusion that recapitulated the thesis. Typically, I lectured for about forty-five minutes using the board and handouts (which helped to take the twenty-five pairs of indifferent eyes off me) and saved a few minutes at the end to explain what the students were supposed to do next. My "assign-and-collect" approach yielded the dreaded semi-weekly burden of covering piles of typewritten

papers with corrections and explanations—yes, in red ink (Anson, "Beginnings"). In spite of this retrograde pedagogy, many of my students accepted their fate in my course with dignity and even came to think I was doing a good job. They were newly in college, uncritically surrendering to its rites of passage and happy to be away from home. And just as they learned how to survive, so did I—by creating some of my own handouts (on a ditto machine), grading faster, and gaining a little more confidence lecturing to the class about various principles of good writing, including a regular focus on style and grammar.

Around this time, some young faculty I'd come to know invited me to their monthly reading group. They'd been taking up various books and articles in an emerging research area, "Composition," that they predicted would blossom into a major field of inquiry. When I shared this news with my friends in the creative writing program, they cried foul. To them, "researching" writing was like carving up a beautiful creature to see how it worked. Writing was a mystery, a talent to be honed but, if you didn't already have the creative mojo, not really learned or taught. Even so, I was curious, and I signed on.

The next reading selection was Janet Emig's *The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders*, a slim monograph published by the National Council of Teachers of English, an organization I'd barely heard of. As soon as I dug into its pages, I was intrigued. Here was a scholar who showed how little we really knew about what people *do* when they write. Then, through interviews and an innovative "composing aloud" method, she painstakingly mined the experiences of a few developing writers to figure out what really happened as they used, and tried to improve, this astonishingly complex and miraculous technology of communicating through little marks on a page.

As our group progressed, I was exposed to a couple of other early writing researchers and theorists. But because I was closing in on the MA, my introduction to this emerging scholarship was really just a passing glance. Meanwhile, without anything to guide my teaching beyond *The Complete Stylist* and chit-chat with fellow TAs, I saw little connection between this new work and my classroom. I was also realizing that no matter how well I lectured about thesis statements and the passive voice or marked up students' papers, the method itself was intellectually bankrupt. My students didn't improve much, and I saw almost no signs of creativity or engagement in the work I asked them to do. In some ways, I wasn't cultivating their interest in writing but killing it.

But I was already hooked, and was soon accepted into a PhD program in Composition Studies at Indiana University, where I was awarded a TAship and assigned to teach first-year writing. The program's director, Michael Flanigan, invited each new TA to meet with him before the orientation program to discuss what sort of course they imagined they would teach. I showed up with a textbook I'd found on the shelves of the reading room—a collection of essays grouped into various modes (narration, exposition, argument) and patterns (cause/effect, description, comparison/contrast). Surely this would be an improvement over *The Complete Stylist;* after all, it had lively readings that I (naively) thought would engage my students, like E. B. White's "Once More to the Lake" and Bruce Catton's "A Study in Contrasts," a comparison of Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant.

Flanigan patiently listened to my plan, and then gently pushed me to elaborate. What would the students do in class, he asked. Well, we would discuss the essays and look for ways the students could use the patterns in their own writing. Would the students work on their essays in class? Probably not, because there wouldn't be time. What would they write about? Oh, they could do essays like those we would read—a comparison/contrast of two grandparents, a description of a favorite place. Would they revise their drafts? Well, if they were smart, yes, at home. What would I do to get them started thinking about their topics? I hesitated. I could assign an outline. Would they talk to each other about their plans? Probably not, so they wouldn't take each other's ideas. How would I know what they were really doing as writers? I hesitated again, wondering why that mattered. And then suddenly Emig's monograph came to mind: how her student subjects composed, the strategies they used or didn't use or had mis-learned.

Not long after the meeting, I had rethought the models-and-patterns approach. In fact, I'd junked it. Then followed a couple of days of TA orientation when we all wrote—a lot—and spent time discussing, revising, and presenting our writing, and reading articles and book chapters on the teaching of writing. The experience was stimulating, but by design it also made us feel vulnerable. The leaders asked us to reflect on the relationship between our experiences and those of our soon-to-be-enrolled undergraduates. Writing was hard, especially knowing it would be shared. Peer response, at first uncomfortable, offered raw feedback that unraveled our certainty and led to lots of new thinking and copious revision. "Skill" and prior experience seemed to fail us as we struggled to find the right words, organize our ideas, and produce something that other readers would find interesting, amusing, or informative. We realized that if we were wrestling this much with relatively simple narratives, our students would need far more than lectures on the thesis, practice recognizing cause/effect, or corrections in the margins of their papers if they were to become more self-aware, competent, and confident writers.

Something was happening to me. As I read more of the literature and designed my course, I came to realize that I was being transformed by the *process movement*. Much later, I would encounter the stories of writing teachers across the country, from the grade school to college, who had similar experiences. They wrote or spoke about how the process movement was liberating, even *revolutionary* (Tobin, "Introduction" 4; Knoeller), utterly upending what they had been doing. Some even confessed to feeling guilty about "ruining" generations of previous students. Even as a young, relatively inexperienced teacher, I too was going through a kind of metamorphosis. My approach to teaching and learning—not just of writing, but everything—would never be the same.

THE PARADIGM SHIFT

I chronicle these early experiences to show how writing pedagogy at the time was evolving but also conflicted—about the content, focus, and goals of composition

Those and many other concerns continue to drive the field to this day. In this respect, it is important to recognize the dangers of essentializing the development of the process movement or creating what Nelms calls a "heroes and villains" narrative. Much previous commentary dichotomizes pre-process and process as if the latter suddenly appeared as a new item on the shelf with no traces of what it replaced. But those who implemented it often did so erratically or without fully understanding its principles, and many others remained uninformed about it and went on with business as usual—sometimes with continued success.

In practice, process pedagogy admits to considerable diversity. From a theoretical perspective, however, we can identify assumptions that intentionally contrasted with, and replaced, the generalized pedagogy that was prevalent at the time and had at least some consistent history across higher education (but see Gold). What preceded process has come to be known as the "current-traditional paradigm" (a term coined by Young, "Paradigms"; see also Adams and Adams; Berlin, "Writing" 58)—*traditional* because it was based on a long history of product-focused instruction; *current* because that focus still persists among those who have ignored the field or deliberately resisted what it has said about the acquisition of writing ability; *paradigmatic* because it was based on a worldview of writing against which process pedagogy represented a seismic shift (Hairston). Descriptions of the current-traditional paradigm mirror what I had been doing in my first teaching assignment, including

> an emphasis on the written product rather than the composing process; a reduction of discourse to "the modes" . . . ; formulaic notions of arrangement (e.g., the five-paragraph theme); an inflated concern with usage and style; the assignment of topics for compositions; no discussion of drafting and little, if any, of revision; the assignment of weekly or even daily "themes"; and a focus on grammatical and mechanical correctness—and often even neatness—during evaluation of written products. (Nelms 359)

Drawing on these characteristics, Figure 1 offers a generalized set of distinctions between the assumptions of process pedagogy and what it supplanted. Of course, the very dichotomies in Figure 1, presented as generalized features and not instantiations in specific classrooms, provided the intellectual space for further debate and scholarship (see Connors, *Composition-Rhetoric*).

Perhaps the most common defining characteristic of the new paradigm was a shift from a focus on the *product* of writing to its *process*. Traditionally, teaching assumed that students need rules of discourse based on the qualities of final, polished (and often professional) texts. Good writing is correct, well organized, and stylistically appealing. Because students' writing usually falls short of these attributes, instruction aimed to provide the "missing information." Lectures on grammar, punctuation, usage, and style filled the gaps. Students were supposed to apply these principles to their own writing of essays whose subjects were usually prescribed by the teacher. Learning took place mostly by trial and error; marginal and end comments, accompanied by a grade, were the main (or only) form of individualized

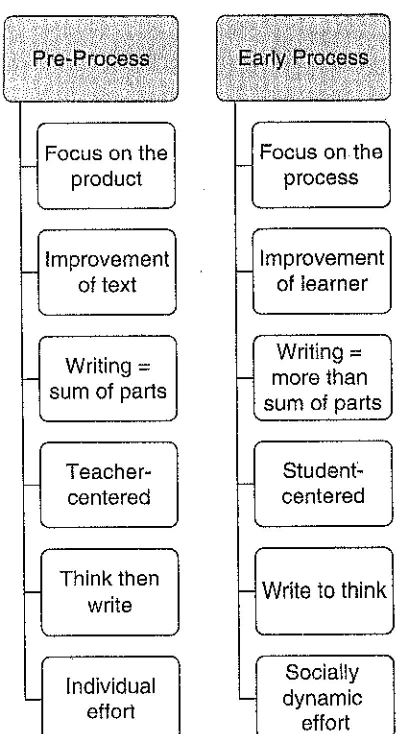

Figure 13.1 Key Distinctions

their own time, usually without support. Because most faculty who taught composition were trained as literary scholars, first-year composition was often a course in writing about literature—that is, finished, artfully written texts (see Lindemann, "Freshman Composition," and New Media Pedagogy in this volume). Teachers also might take apart nonfiction readings to reveal certain features of common modes such as narration, exposition, and argumentation (see Connors, "Rise"). The concept of genre that would later play an important role in composition scholarship remained the province of literary theorists. Professional essays, which came to be called "models," were supposed to show students how to write by example (Flanigan).

Nothing more clearly articulates this first distinction than Donald Murray's 1972 article "Teach Writing as a Process, Not Product." An award-winning journalist before joining the professoriate, Murray became one of the most ardent and influential advocates of the early process movement:

> What is the process we should teach? It is the process of discovery through language. It is the process of exploration of what we know and what we feel about what we know through language. It is the process of using language to learn about our world, to evaluate what we learn about our world, to communicate what we learn about our world. (2)

For Murray, the writing process can be divided into three distinct stages, *prewriting*, *writing*, and *rewriting*. The most time (85%) is spent in prewriting, which yields a first draft (see also Rohman). Then, rewriting reconsiders the draft through th lenses of subject, form, and audience—"it is researching, rethinking, redesigning rewriting—and finally, line-by-line editing, the demanding, satisfying process c making each word right" (3).

Focusing on these stages leads naturally, Murray argued, to several principle: The text of the course should be the student's own text; the student finds his or he own subject and language; multiple drafts are allowed to encourage the act of dis covery; mechanics are relegated to the end of the process; students need plenty o time to refine their papers; and there are no rules or absolutes. In its historica context, process resisted the imposition of norms, regulations, and conventions; i was "decidedly antiestablishment, antiauthoritarian, anti-inauthenticity" (Tobin "Process" 4; Marshall; Newkirk). For some process scholars, conventional teachin led to dull, uninspired academic writing, which Ken Macrorie called "Engfish,' while process teaching focused on creativity, imagination, and the development o an authentic voice (*Telling*). Elbow's *Writing with Power* was all about "letting go,' freeing oneself from the constraints that lead to lifeless, voiceless prose. Personal journal writing spread quickly across composition curricula and into the K-12 context (Platt; Progoff). Macrorie's book *Uptaught* almost bitterly critiqued the conventional composition classroom for its academic "enslavement," rejecting, as one reviewer put it, cycles of "prescriptions and proscriptions," "inevitable exercises," and "assignments on impersonal subjects" (Baron 9).

Perhaps because it could be seen as a set of neutral procedures for all writing, process pedagogy broadened beyond the emphasis on expression and authentic voice, and soon it was applied to other purposes, genres, and writers' relationships to their texts. Eventually, scholars contested expressivism itself as a major goal of the introductory writing course, and lively debates ensued, especially between Peter Elbow and David Bartholomae (see Bartholomae, "Writing," and Elbow, "Being," and a series of interchanges in the same issue; see also Feminist Pedagogies in this volume).

An obvious consequence of a new focus on students' processes was to shift the orientation of learning away from expectations for a final text and toward developing the knowledge and abilities needed to produce it. Articles such as Richard Larson's "Process or Product: The Evaluation of Teaching or the Evaluation of Learning?" asked about the locus of instructional attention. Muriel Harris's work helped to make evaluation "formative"—as a tool to be used during the process and not just at its end, a hallmark of the "independent writer" ("Evaluation" 83). Instructional guides introduced teachers to methods of analyzing students' learning and mapping their progress by considering more than the final texts they produced (Murray, *Writer*; Lindeman, *Rhetoric*). It was no longer sufficient to identify error in students' writing but to figure out what caused it (Kroll and Schafer). In *Errors and Expectations*, a book historically central to the development of basic writing programs (see Basic Writing Pedagogy in this volume), Mina Shaughnessy shared the struggles of underprepared students who were entering newly open-admissions universities. Meeting this instructional challenge required the teacher to stop "guarding the tower" and "dive in," becoming "a student of new disciplines

and of . . . students themselves in order to perceive both their difficulties and their incipient excellence" ("Diving In" 238). The struggles associated with composing, such as writer's block, now became fertile ground for analysis and support (Rose). As scholarship eventually broadened into the realm of writing centers, Stephen North famously quipped that "our job is to produce better writers, not better writing" ("Idea" 438). It would take many more years for the standardized assessment of writing to catch up to this principle, however, and even today, "testing" students' writing abilities usually means evaluating a timed essay written in a controlled setting, in one draft, based on a prompt the writer has not yet thought about (see Anson, "Closed," and Yancey). The current SAT writing test, taken in twenty-five minutes, now offers the most universally recognized example, while new methods such as portfolio assessment provide more authentic contexts for gauging student achievement.

A corollary of the product/process distinction was a movement away from viewing writing as the sum of its linguistic parts (words, syntax, semantics), an orientation that had affinities with New Critical literary theory and structural linguistics. Instead, writing was to be seen as the "manifestation of complex and interpenetrating cognitive, social, and cultural processes reflecting the literate meaning making of writers" (Sperling 243). Instructionally, this resulted in a shift from the teacher as giver of knowledge to the student as active participant in the creation of knowledge (and writing). Lectures were replaced with individual writing, small-group "workshopping," and discussion. Because instruction now focused on students as writers, the teacher took on the persona of facilitator or "coach." Peter Elbow's highly influential book, *Writing without Teachers*, came to be associated with the "student-centered classroom," a concept paralleled in the more general literature on teaching and learning.

No history of process pedagogy is complete without an acknowledgment of the major contributions of classical and contemporary rhetoric to its development. And no aspect of the process movement opened the door wider to the principles of classical rhetoric than the focus on prewriting—that is, on "invention" or the discovery of ideas (see Lauer, *Invention in Rhetoric*, for a full account). This focus owes strongly to the remnants of the classical five-part rhetorical canons of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. As process was developing its own momentum, a number of scholars trained in classical rhetoric (re)introduced concepts such as *topoi*, or categories of relationships among ideas, that could help students to discover what to write. Richard Larson ("Discovery" and "Invention") and Richard Young showed how classical questioning techniques could lead to new ideas. Ross Winterowd, among others, helped to popularize the "New Rhetoric" by creating instructional methods from heuristic schemes such as Kenneth Burke's pentad. Several doctoral theses by scholars who would become household names in the emerging field (e.g., Lauer, *Contemporary;* Odell) focused on the process of invention. Other principles from classical rhetoric helped students to create effective arguments (see Lunsford, "Aristotelian Rhetoric" and "Aristotelian vs. Rogerian"), and textbooks quickly followed. For its part, Elbow's *Writing without Teachers* reinforced a principle at the heart of the process movement and ripe for the use of invention strategies: Writers don't figure out what they want to say and then write it; they write in order to figure out what they want to say, and "end up somewhere different from where [they] started" (15). Soon teachers everywhere were creating invention strategies to help students explore and expand their ideas—trees, bubble maps, cluster diagrams, spider webs, sets of questions, and "freewriting"—writing quickly without stopping.

If writers and readers participate in a socially rich "transaction" through texts (Purves and Beach), then facilitating that transaction would help novice writers and their readers to negotiate their understandings and develop proficiency. To build audience awareness into the process, teachers introduced peer-group conferencing sessions (Bruffee, "Brooklyn," "Practical," and "Conversation"; Flanigan and Menendez; Hardaway; Hawkins), which also advanced one of the most important elements of the writing process: *revision* (see Horning and Becker for a full account). Process classrooms took on the characteristics of busy workshops, with students often working in pairs and small groups to brainstorm ideas together or provide feedback on drafts. Soon peer response for individual writers' papers extended into pedagogies involving papers collaboratively written by several students (see Collaborative Writing, Print to Digital in this volume). A new and eventually intense focus on the nature of teacher commentary on students' papers encouraged response to students' drafts in progress (Anson, "What Good Is It?").

As this brief sketch has shown, the assumptions guiding the teaching of composition within the process approach represented an important shift in priorities, attitudes, and the use of class time. But, like any complex movement involving the relationship of theory and practice in socially dynamic situations, process pedagogy didn't develop from a single source of knowledge or among a single group of actors. Instead, it thrived in an environment that cultivated the growth of diverse ideas and approaches from various sources.

DIGGING DEEPER

The process movement was founded on theories about the way people write and should learn to write. But those theories didn't show up ready-made. They were formulated, shaped, and reshaped by constant classroom and curricular experimentation, various kinds of empirical research (see North, *Making;* Massey and Gebhardt), popular textbook authors, and organizational influences.

The Influence of Research

The shift toward process pedagogy is often associated with the development of composition studies as a discipline (see Nystrand, Greene, and Wiemelt for a brief history). For some scholars, Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Shoers' *Research in Written Composition* (1963) launched the field by synthesizing existing studies and claiming that there were at least twenty-seven important writing issues about which there was little or no research, a point reinforced by West in 1967, who wrote that "research in written composition remains in a kind of pre-scientific era" (159). For others, the field has its roots in a famous conference at Dartmouth in

1966 that brought together literacy experts from the United States and the United Kingdom to ask serious questions about the development of writing abilities. In addition to Emig's study, a substantial British research project by James Britton and colleagues, *The Development of Writing Abilities (11–18)*, is also given credit for inspiring further thinking and investigation, especially across the span of students' development. Much of this activity came in the wake of increasing public concerns about students' writing.

Whatever its driving source, the process movement soon generated intense interest in the empirical investigation of writing.[1] Curiosity about the composing process fit well with the cognitivist orientation that was also dominating work in educational psychology. Many early studies focused on the behaviors of novice writers. Important studies by Perl, Matsuhashi, Daiute, and other researchers meticulously taxonomized writers' composing processes and examined their pauses and planning behaviors. Nancy Sommers compared the revision strategies of students and more accomplished adult writers. Sommers' work also prefigured other comparative research, including a series of studies by Linda Flower, with co-author and cognitive psychologist John Hayes, that led to the creation of a highly influential cognitive-process model of writing. Using composing-aloud protocols, Flower and Hayes's studies provided evidence of a more constructivist view of writing: a complex series of strategic rhetorical and linguistic processes involving planning, monitoring, and reconsidering text while it's being produced. Although the model was critiqued and refined, it became emblematic of process-based research in its sophisticated scientific representation of what goes into composing.

As this kind of writer-focused research mushroomed, other areas of inquiry also thrived—the assessment of writing, writers' awareness of their audiences, the nature of peer response in small revision groups, the effects of certain experimental interventions, how teachers responded to students' essays, and what happened when students wrote with (early) word processors. By the mid-1980s, so much research had accumulated that a meta-analysis was possible, namely Hillocks' *Research on Written Composition*, which focused mostly on different instructional methods. Eventually, cognitively based and traditionally empirical research gave way to many more contextually sensitive studies, a focus on diverse student populations (and then academic and professional contexts), a more strongly social and cultural orientation, and an interest in richly descriptive and ethnographic explorations (see Smagorinsky for a synthesis).

The Influence of Organizations and Curricular and Instructional Development

As research on individual writers provided a clearer picture of composing, classroom-based studies tested their findings or revealed hidden complexities that looped

[1] "Scholarship" in composition encompasses a wide range of approaches and methodologies: historiography, text analysis, case studies, descriptive and ethnographic studies, interpretive studies, controlled experiments, and the like. I am focusing here primarily on investigations of writers and what they do when they write, which are often most strongly associated with the process movement.

back to modify theory and raise new questions for investigation. But most teachers of composition were not leaning heavily on the results of empirical research; instead, they were informed by practitioner-based advocacy if and when it came to them.

Entire programs, organizations, and curricula, on the other hand, wielded the power to create broader change. The Conference on College Composition and Communication, founded in 1949 under the umbrella of the older National Council of Teachers of English, became the clearinghouse for the exchange of research, theory, and pedagogy as the process movement developed in higher education. Established in 1976, the Council of Writing Program Administrators grew out of a grassroots effort to help colleges and universities improve their curricula (see McLeod). Now a substantial national organization with a journal and an annual conference, the CWPA clearly influenced the spread of process pedagogy and its implementation in institutions across the country, where millions of students enroll in first-year composition courses. At the campus level, the influence of preparation programs for graduate teaching assistants and other newly hired instructors was, as my personal history suggests, significant. As the TAs finished their degrees and took faculty positions elsewhere, they exported their pedagogies (see Anson and Rutz). Graduate programs in Composition Studies produced future administrators eagerly sought by institutions that had no experts in the field and wanted fresh approaches to their undergraduate curricula. The National Writing Project, which eventually focused predominantly on teachers in the K-12 environment, played a central role through many rich, localized experiences in reorienting classroom teachers to new ideas about fostering written literacy in young people. Faculty in colleges of education became fast friends with those directing or teaching in first-year composition programs, resulting in many productive collaborations. Meanwhile, other allied organizations, such as the American Educational Research Association, the Rhetoric Society of America, and the American Association for Higher Education, also provided support.

The Influence of Scholar-Practitioners

Also informing the development of the process movement were "scholar-practitioners." These were individuals who expressed a deep interest in how they wrote and spent time reflecting on their own experiences as well as what they observed in others, particularly their students. Most held academic positions, but some also had experience as professional writers.

In addition to the work of Elbow, Murray, and Macrorie, William Coles's influential *The Plural I: The Teaching of Writing* took readers on a journey through an alternative composition pedagogy based on the author's own classroom experiences (see Keith, "Plural," for a contemporaneous review). James Moffett's wide-ranging work, but most influentially his *Teaching the Universe of Discourse*, advocated for "noisy," student-centered writing classrooms. In addition, scholars such as James Kinneavy (*A Theory of Discourse*) and Frank D'Angelo ("Generative" and *Conceptual*) contributed new perspectives that encouraged further classroom adaptation. In most cases, the work of scholar-practitioners was not based on empirical

research. For example, when Peter Elbow described his now-famous "freewriting" strategy by arguing that "trying to write well for most people means constantly stopping, pondering, and searching for better words," and that to write well one should stop trying to write well (*Writing without Teachers* 25), he was relying on intuition and a lot of experience, not on any sort of systematic investigation of whether such a method led to positive results. Of course, a career teaching writing brings its own "evidence," but as powerful as it may be from the lips or pens of charismatic and believable experts, testimony alone is insufficient for universal and sustained acceptance.

A substantial part of the published scholarship on process pedagogy, then, explained and theoretically justified classroom techniques and ways of working with students or offered theoretical perspectives amenable to application. This literature, sometimes dismissed as lacking the rigor of formal research, nevertheless helped to build the foundation of the discipline of Composition Studies, especially in the way it stimulated empirical investigation to answer critics' doubts about the effectiveness of specific practices.

The Influence of Textbooks

Motivated by profit, the textbook industry contributes to both the stasis and the advancement of the field's pedagogy. If a publisher knows there is a market for an existing approach, it will continue to develop books advocating that approach or market older books in new, minimally revised editions—creating stagnation. If more progressive educators want newer approaches, the publisher will sign authors to create books that support those approaches. Put into the hands of other administrators and teachers who may be unfamiliar with their innovations, these books begin dropping the seeds of change. Because publishing is based on demand, the array of books available for composition courses always reflects the wide diversity of the field itself, from its oldest and most conservative approaches all the way to its cutting edge.

Before the process movement, composition textbooks were rather limited. Handbooks, the purveyors of information about grammar and style, could be counted on one hand (see Connors, "Handbooks"). The most popular was the *Harbrace College Handbook*, written by John C. Hodges and adopted extensively across the United States. (It is now in its 18th edition and barely recognizable next to its progenitor.) Without much competition, Hodges was able to endow the library building at the University of Tennessee in the 1960s with a bequest of three-fourths of all the future royalties from sales of the book (Clark and Gervin). Today, every publisher in the college English and composition market has at least one handbook, and most publishers have several in multiple forms, all competing against each other.

As the process movement evolved, the textbook market began differentiating itself into categories: *handbooks* continued to provide conventional information about grammar and style; *rhetorics* offered practical strategies for writing, usually supported by particular theories; and *readers* provided compilations of

the publication of new books in all three categories continued to expand and diversify, the rhetorics saw the greatest innovation throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Meanwhile, as theory and research exploded, the expanding textbook market continued to distill and translate that scholarship, influencing later adopters of the new material.

A review of those many contributions is far beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few references will illustrate their diversity. Peter Elbow's influential books have already been mentioned, their focus on authenticity and freedom from constraint contrasting dramatically with formulaic approaches. In the vein of Elbow, Macrorie's *Telling Writing* strongly critiqued the kind of prose that students often produced in traditional expository writing classes—prose that was lifeless, disingenuous, artificial, pretentious, flabby, or generalized. William Coles's *Composing: Writing as a Self-Creating Process*, attacked clichéd writing and emphasized students' self-expression. Donald Murray, who for years resisted assigning or writing textbooks for students (preferring to focus on their own writing), eventually published *Write to Learn* in the early 1980s. This popular text epitomized process pedagogy by leading students through stages of writing (invention, drafting, revising, editing), illustrated by Murray's own process of writing an autobiographical essay about his grandmother. Anne Berthoff's text, *Forming, Thinking, Writing*, drew on the work of I. A. Richards, Paulo Friere, Kenneth Burke, and other theorists in an eclectic, phenomenological approach that characterized writing as dialectical, imaginative, and transformational. In the midst of the emphasis on process, Berthoff critiqued all approaches that turned students into discursive robots and stripped writing of its deeply symbolic, critical, and discovery-based nature (see Keith, "Berthoff," for a contemporaneous review). Edward P. J. Corbett's *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*, first published in 1965, enjoyed continued success as process-minded teachers adopted its methods. Linguistically based approaches to invention such as tagmemics were the focus of Young, Becker, and Pike's *Rhetoric: Discovery and Change*, a textbook so conceptually sophisticated that it became more popular in graduate courses in composition theory than first-year writing courses (see Brent for a further analysis). These were among dozens of new books flooding the market, some of them by noted scholars and others by unknown classroom teachers who were actively experimenting with new ideas and strategies.

PUSH-BACK: POST-PROCESS

Early critiques of process pedagogy did not aim to replace the theory but to enhance and refine it. After all, it's hard to argue against the idea that to develop stronger writers we should intervene in and support the activity of writing itself, any more than we could argue against coaches' work with their athletes or violin makers' tutelage of their apprentices. Rather, concerns arose about the essentialized nature of the writing process as a generalized set of complex cognitive, linguistic, ideational, and interpersonal activities relying on prior experience with

A clear example of process pedagogy's limitations can be seen in the way theory and research lost their complexity on the way to the classroom. Eager to translate process theory into workable classroom strategies, many teachers created easily digestible schemes that helped to structure their syllabi. Among the most ubiquitous was the "process wheel," a visual representation of the stages discussed earlier (with arrows connecting "prewriting," "writing," "revising," and "presenting"). The model suggested that writers pass through the stages of writing in a relatively lockstep way. Challenged by researchers such as Nancy Sommers and Sondra Perl, the linear or "one-directional wheel" model soon gave way to a more sophisticated version that included arrows pointing both forward and backward or between the stages, which made the circle *recursive*: a writer can, for example, go back to brainstorming after realizing there's a serious problem with a draft during the revision process. Or, as the writer drafts, she can find herself inventing and revising at the same time. But the convenience of the discrete stages for structuring classroom instruction and activities held great sway, trickling down into grade school. A day or two could be spent on invention as students worked in groups to create tree diagrams or bubble charts of ideas, and then the next few days could be spent working on drafting, such as writing introductory paragraphs, and then on revising. Many scholars consequently objected to the mindless translation of what the field was learning.

Perhaps more important, scholars began contesting already entrenched assumptions about composing, especially in the context of different populations of learners. For example, research had established that novice writers don't revise effectively and that good writing requires copious revision. In "Composing Processes of One-Draft and Multi-Draft Writers," Muriel Harris showed that writers behave differently depending on a host of factors and that these differences are not necessarily tied to the quality of performance. Harris's study is a good example of the way that the field itself was progressing, as researchers contested existing assumptions, complicated established views of composing, and conducted studies that contradicted earlier findings. Broader ideological changes were also under way, especially in the context of what scholars have called the "social turn": a new emphasis on social and cultural issues that had been dormant in the strongly cognitivist, even laboratory-like early process research.

For Trimbur, the social turn was synonymous with a movement toward a "post-process" stage in the field's development. As Matsuda describes it, "the use of the term 'post-process' to denote the social view of writing reduced process to expressive and cognitive theories and pedagogies, while the social theories of composition became a separate category. This rhetorical move made the process movement even more vulnerable in the already shifting landscape of composition studies" (73). Several scholars, including Matsuda, have pointed out that post-process was not really another paradigm shift but a loose, undifferentiated set of assumptions and theories that pushed back, sometimes gently, sometimes more strongly, against the process movement—suggesting not so much a rift in the field as a period of major development. The clearest distinctions are based on what process was lacking up to the start of the 1990s: sensitivity to the cultural, social, ideological, public, situated, and interactive dimensions of writing. Noting how little was written about post-process in almost fifteen years since Trimbur had coined the term in 1994, Heard suggested that the term *post-process* had "become muddled and insignificant—confused with general classification signaling merely a next phase in composition history" (285). At the core of post-process, he continued, is the assumption that "communication is paralogic—unpredictable and uncodifiable—and that composition must find ways to reflect this idea in theory and practice" (285). Coming at a time when even process research was still highly unsettled and inconclusive, it is easy to see how such critiques could threaten the pedagogical foundations of strongly process-based classrooms (for fuller accounts of the post-process movement, see Matsuda; Heard; and Kent). But without a clearly theorized *replacement* for attention to students' writing processes, that part of instruction remained constant even while the focus and content of courses delved into cultural, political, and civic realms (see Ede).

One recent development that appears to reconcile process and post-process theories is a pedagogy called "writing about writing" (Downs and Wardle, "Teaching"). A WaW course "explicitly recognizes the impossibility of teaching a universal academic discourse and rejects that as a goal for first-year composition. It seeks instead to improve students' understanding of writing, rhetoric, language, and literacy in a course that is topically oriented to reading and writing as scholarly inquiry and that encourages more realistic conceptions of writing" (552). Instead of introducing students to particular methods, the course engages them in an interrogation of writing and literacy that helps to bring to the surface tacitly held beliefs and unexamined practices. Rather than "translating" scholarship in the field, it brings it into the classroom for discussion and application—so that "learning about writing [can] change students' conceptions of, approaches to, and processes of writing by putting content, form, and process in harmony rather than constant tension" (Downs and Wardle, "Reimagining").

THE LEGACY OF PROCESS

It is important for anyone not fully acquainted with the history of the process movement to realize that we've just finished the quick tour—the one that gives a few brief photo ops of the most recognizable intellectual monuments. A complete account would take at least a book-length journey, and even then it would have to bypass many interesting studies, debates, and other artifacts that more accurately show the complexities and nuances of the movement. And even then, much other information is buried deep in the annals of the field's development and is the stuff of historiography—or, as Nelms points out, was primarily oral and therefore dissipated into the ether of its moment. Readers interested in a slower experience with more stops along the way are well advised to put the process movement into a broader perspective and read histories of the entire field of Composition Studies (e.g., Berlin, "Rhetoric," Crowley, or Murphy), or work through all the chapters in the present volume.

In spite of extensive development and refinement, process pedagogy was bound to be challenged by new generations of scholars who represent emerging

ideologies of education and inquiry. Monikers like "post-process" suggest a rejection of an existing system, which is replaced with a new set of assumptions and methods in much the same way that process displaced its own predecessor. But the core of process pedagogy remains. Hardly a well-informed composition program exists whose curriculum, teacher-development program, and daily routines do not engage students in the activities of writing and help them to become more conscious of themselves as writers and the strategies they use to produce text. *Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing*, a document recently developed by three major writing and literacy organizations, describes the "rhetorical and twenty-first century skills as well as habits of mind and experiences that are critical for college success" (1). Among these are "writing processes—multiple strategies to approach and undertake writing and research" (1). A random scan of almost any composition program's Web presence quickly shows the centrality of process in the curriculum. Technologically rich writing courses in which students create multimedia productions are at least as dependent on process pedagogy as conventional paper-driven courses, adding elements of design, choice of medium, and the skills of technological manipulation.

At base, process pedagogy is designed to help students *engage* in their writing, to develop self-efficacy, confidence, and strategies for meeting the challenges of multiple writing situations. These goals, like the methods that help to achieve them, are now deep in the discipline's bones, and are the lifeblood of its praxis.

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Researched Writing

Rebecca Moore Howard
Sandra Jamieson

> Even at a time when the traditional "research" essay (e.g., write ten pages on censorship using ten sources) is fizzling out—thank goodness—those of us who teach composition still acknowledge that research skills are important.
>
> —Jackie Grutsch McKinney

In 2007, the website *StudentHacks.org* published "How to Write a Great Term Paper in One Evening," a stunning (yet sincere) parody of process theory. The purpose of this Web page is to teach students to construct a quick simulacrum of research. The unidentified writer declares procrastination to be his or her norm and then reorders the usual research process so that fellow procrastinators can start the paper the night before deadline and finish it in just over ten hours. To do this, one *begins* the research process with a thesis statement, followed by drafting a "killer introduction" and then "defend[ing] your thesis"—all in ninety minutes. *Then* procrastinators are urged to conduct their research—for no more than two hours. The writer's rationale? "This is the part that most people wast [sic] time. . . ."

From this student's perspective, researched writing is a meaningless activity, simply a hoop through which students must jump. The writer of "How to Write a Great Term Paper in One Evening" endeavors to protect peers from wasting time in the jump.

We begin our chapter with this anecdote as a way of highlighting the powerful conflicts in assigning and mentoring researched writing. These conflicts are evident in Ford's 1995 edited collection: Many of the contributors identify the research paper as a troubled genre, and then proceed to offer solutions to the problem. Our own research—we are the principal researchers in the Citation Project, a multi-institution research project responding to educators' concerns about plagiarism and the teaching of writing—contributes to the critiques. It is hard to look at the results of Citation Project research and imagine that the assigning of traditional research papers can be sustained in first-year writing (FYW) courses.