UNCOVERING PLAGIARISM IN ACADEMIC WRITING: DEVELOPING AUTHORIAL VOICE WITHIN MULTIVOICED TEXT

THESIS

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

Plagiarism is a modern Western construct which arose with the introduction of copyright laws in the eighteenth century. Before this time, there was little sense of artistic "ownership". Since then, the ideas of "originality" in writing as well as the "autonomous text" have been highly valued.

In the theoretical section of this dissertation I deal with plagiarism and referencing from three perspectives. After looking at problems of definition of plagiarism, I turn to the first perspective, the historical development of the notions of plagiarism and originality. Alongside this I discuss the notions of "autonomous text" and "decontextualized" language, and attempt to show that these concepts are problematic, and that language is intensely social at the levels of discourses, genres, and the word. The second angle is a snapshot of present-day writing genres, and how they deal with documentation in different ways. The third point of focus is on the development of the student writer, on whom present-day genres of academic writing, and the historically constructed notions of plagiarism converge. Here I centre on the development of the undergraduate student as a writer, and some of the things that may be happening when a student is seen to be plagiarizing. Some of these are the "alienness" of academic discourses, the hybridization of discourses, the need to "try on" academic discourses, the lack of authority of the student writer and her relationship to the authority of the sources, and the way in which languages are learned and reproduced in chunks. I look finally at what the meaning of authorship might be in an intensely social view of language, and at the complexity of developing authorial voice in writing.

The dissertation is located in a postpositivist paradigm, and seeks to interpret as well as being oriented towards praxis. The research took place within the Political Studies Department at the University of Cape Town. The study included a discourse analysis of the departmental handbook, as well as analysis of academic essays, at the first year and third year level, which were selected for having problems with referencing, or having plagiarized. A few were selected for good referencing. Students who had written these essays, and tutors and lecturers who had marked them, were then interviewed.

In the analysis I explore differing understandings of the role of referencing in the academic essay, what negative and positive consequences the practice of referencing and the monitoring of plagiarism have, with regard to authority and voice in student

writing, what might be happening when students are thought to be plagiarizing, and what difficulties are experienced by students in developing an authorial voice when using multiple sources.

The study found that there are a range of underlying causes for plagiarism in student writing, which indicate that plagiarism is more a problem of academic literacy than academic dishonesty. It also found that marking practices in detecting plagiarism may sometimes be based on problematic assumptions about the amount of background knowledge and independent ideas which students bring to their writing.

I conclude by putting forward a pedagogy for plagiarism and referencing, which is based on

1) the negotiation of shared meaning around the concept of plagiarism, including an examination of assumptions linked to this concept in its monitoring and enforcement, leading to the development of written policy and guidelines emerging from this shared understanding.

2) The development of an academic literacy programme within the curriculum, with attention to the complexities of developing authorial voice whilst constructing a text based on the texts of others, with a focus on authors, which moves students towards an understanding of how knowledge is constructed.

1. INTRODUCTION

Plagiarism is a complex, contested concept, and in student academic writing it may be the surface manifestation of complex learning difficulties which relate to the educational environment, the nature of academic discourse and the nature of language.

Underlying the concept of plagiarism is the basic premise that meaning is made by the individual, using the system of language at his or her disposal. The words and ideas thus originated then belong to the individual who first thought of them, or who first used these words in a particular way. New understandings, that language and cognition are fundamentally social and cultural, contest the idea of "original thought" or "original language". Scollon (1995:25) writes:

> ...it is difficult if not impossible to maintain that any clear understanding is ever possible of just who might stand in the role of the private authorial self.

In this study, however, I shall attempt to show that although the concept of authorship is under attack in postmodern thought, along with the notion of agency, there *is* in any writing an *agent, an authorial presence.* The presence of authorial voice in academic writing is particularly difficult for the student writer to accomplish when constructing an essay based on multiple texts.

I shall show that plagiarism is an elusive concept, difficult to define, meaning different things in different contexts and for different textual genres. My principal interest in this research is to understand what plagiarism means in the context of academic writing, and to explore what may be happening when a student writer is thought to be plagiarising. My primary aim, with the help of a theoretical framework and with the insights gained from interviewing students and staff and analysing writing, is to understand plagiarism differently. My secondary aim is to find ways of communicating this new understanding to those who teach others how to become writers of academic discourse. Part of achieving the latter aim will be to begin developing a pedagogy for plagiarism and referencing, to which I shall turn in the final chapter.

The Context: the Social Practice of Language in Academic Development

This research was completed as part of my brief as a Language Research and Development Officer in the Academic Development Programme (ADP) at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Within this context, we have encountered great difficulty with the skill of referencing in academic writing in our teaching of English for Academic Purposes, and in the experience of the Writing Centre. For several years we have realised that there is much more to referencing than just understanding the technical details of how to write the author's name, when to write the page number and how to present a complete bibliography in an academic essay. We have understood referencing as the superficial manifestation of a much deeper, elemental feature of academic writing, which is the analysis of and selection from sources, and subsequent integration and synthesis of knowledge and ideas into a coherent whole. A colleague of mine, Lucia Thesen, upon whose research this study builds, has pointed to a further need for research into referencing, and she has this to say about it:

> [Referencing is a] technique with a deceptively simple linguistic form, which is deeply linked to the most fundamental aspect of academic literacy, that is, the construction of ideas on other texts, signalled through the naming of the author. (1994:30-31)

As Academic Support has moved to a focus on Academic Development (AD) over the last few years, meaning a shift from working with historically disadvantaged students only to working with mainstream staff in restructuring curricula as well, we have encountered frustration with students' difficulty with referencing, and concern with the prevalence of plagiarism. Generally referencing has been seen as little other than a technical problem to which students need to apply their minds, whilst students (and teachers of academic literacy) find it a difficult problem to grapple with. A statement in a letter to a UCT newspaper, the Monday Paper, responding to an article written by myself and Cathy Hutchings (1995, see Appendix 1) typifies some of the thinking about plagiarism:

> From the outset I must declare an interest in the subject of plagiarism as I frequently encounter it when having to mark undergraduate work. My position is clear, any piece of work that is not properly referenced will result in the student being penalised. I will not sanction the deliberate theft of another person's intellectual property. It is nothing short of outrageous to suggest that the protocols against plagiarism are merely part of some academic game. The suggestion that a student becomes so immersed in the subject that he/she is unable to differentiate between his/her own ideas and those gained from research is worthy of nothing but derision. Just as inflation is the scourge

of a country's economy, so is plagiarism the scourge of academic life. (Letter to Monday Paper, Aug. 21-28, 1995)

There is no sense in this letter that plagiarism could be anything other than "deliberate theft of another person's intellectual property." I think that this study will show that plagiarism in the undergraduate years is not so much a matter of "deliberate theft", though this of course occurs, but is rather a complex problem of student learning. Plagiarism is a "naturalized" concept which seems unquestioned by those who enforce its discipline. Referencing is also a "naturalized" skill, so central to academic writing that much of its complexity is never made explicit.

Discourse and reflexivity: Writing honest but guilty text

Given such an articulation of postmodern textual practice, this text that I have created feels more traditional than not, no radical departure from the tradition that it interrogates. As but one example, it clearly does not break with a profusion of references and footnotes in its creation of textual authority. I have, however, attended to what Derrida (1978) speaks of as "writing under erasure". What this means to me is that to write "postmodern" is to write paradoxically aware of one's complicity in that which one critiques. (Lather, 1991:10)

The way in which a research project is written up is part of its methodology. My "complicity" in what I shall critique in this dissertation is perhaps even deeper than Patti Lather's "no radical departure from the tradition that it interrogates". While writing academic discourse, I will be critiquing it. While investigating the multivoiced text, I shall be writing one. While attempting to deconstruct such notions as "plagiarism", I shall often feel like a thief. Crucially, I am intensely aware of the extent to which my meaning is a construction of the meanings of many others: those I read, those I live with, study with, work with, and those who have participated in this research project. Some of them I am able to acknowledge, and some not. Some of my words I do not know the origin of, but they have never been only "mine". Like Lather, I see some way out of this dilemma of critique/collaboration by trying to be as self-consciously reflexive as possible of my stances and positions.

The way in which I choose to write up this research project is to remain within a recognizable discourse of language in education, and yet to attempt to break out of some of its constraints. The principal way in which I shall do this is to use metaphor, in order to open up my thinking to the thoughts of others. I shall make conscious use of metaphor throughout this dissertation, (and unconscious, as we all do) particularly in chapters 2 and 3. Lakoff and Johnson (1980)

argue convincingly that metaphors, often unperceived as metaphor, actually shape perception, thought and action. They demonstrate, for instance, how the metaphor of "argument as war" structures how we think about argument, with expressions such as "attack" and "defend". They posit a different culture where argument might be understood as dance (4), a metaphor which I shall use extensively, though differently, in chapter 2. Bowers and Flinders (1990) discuss the use of metaphor in the classroom, seeing one function as being providing schemas for understanding, but maintaining also that "a more critically aware and imaginative aspect of metaphorical thinking can lead to substituting new schemata as a basis for interpretation" (34). The word metaphor comes from the Greek "metaphora" meaning "to carry over" (Bowers and Flinders: 34). It allows us to carry over and apply one schematic frame to another, and this requires imagination and opens up to multiple interpretations through symbol. I wish to respect the notions of discourse which are developed in the next chapter, as fundamentally social and contextual, by encouraging the reader to reinterpret and recontextualize what I write. I begin in the next chapter with a theoretical framework for understanding plagiarism.

2. UNDERSTANDING PLAGIARISM IN ACADEMIC WRITING: ORIGINALITY, GENRES AND DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter I shall argue that the concept of plagiarism itself is constructed and relative, and is becoming increasingly problematic with new understandings of discourses and texts.

I shall discuss plagiarism and referencing from three perspectives. After looking at problems of definition of plagiarism, I will turn to the first perspective, the development of the notion of plagiarism across time, from its earliest usage to the present. Alongside this I will discuss the concepts of "autonomous text" and "decontextualized" language, and try to show that these notions are problematic, and that language is intensely social, at the level of discourses, genres, and the word. The second angle is a snapshot of present-day writing genres, and how they deal with documentation in different ways. My purpose in presenting the first two perspectives is to denaturalize the notion of plagiarism by relativizing it. It is also to put forward understandings of language which run counter to the grand narratives of "originality" and "autonomy" in writing. The third point of focus is the development of the student writer, on whom present-day genres of academic writing, and the historically constructed notions of plagiarism converge. Here the discussion centres on the development of the undergraduate student as a writer, and some of the things that may be happening when a student is seen to be plagiarizing. I have divided these processes of development into five sections, though they may run parallel with one another, and they may interact with one another. These are the "alienness" of academic discourses, the hybridization of discourses, the need to "try on" academic discourses, the lack of authority of the student writer and her relationship to the authority of the sources, and the way in which languages are learned and reproduced in chunks. I shall look finally at what the meaning of authorship might be in an intensely social view of language, and at the complexity of developing authorial voice in writing.

Throughout this chapter I shall use the metaphor of dance in various ways, as a unifying concept, as a way of opening up my thinking to my readers, to illustrate some of the important concepts of the dissertation, and to legitimate elements of an /other kind of discourse in academic writing; I hope to write a dance and not a battle. I am very aware that metaphorical meanings are culturally based (Bock and Winberg, 1993), nevertheless I think the fact that

dance means different things to different readers is part of the symbolic openness, and part of the power, of metaphor.

In the sections following, I view my context through the lens of theories of discourse and genre, arguing that control of powerful discourses and the genres in which they are expressed is a crucial means of access.

The tacit nature of discourses: *tribal dances*

Academic discourses are deeply yet often unconsciously understood by those who practice them daily. Ballard and Clanchy (1988) throw some light on the disjunctures, as represented by the letter quoted in chapter 1, between academics and their students. They conceive of academic literacy anthropologically, seeing academic disciplines as "cultures" where there is a fundamental link between "the culture of knowledge and the language by which it is maintained and expressed" (7). The academics in a discipline, as full members of this culture, have a set of cultural understandings and codes, which the academics themselves know intimately but mostly unconsciously, and therefore seldom make explicit to students. Compounding this situation, is Rose's concept of the "myth of transience" where the writing problem is seen as something transient which will go away "if we can just do x or y" and then "higher education will be able to return to its real work" (Rose, 1985:355). This is a myth: academic literacy can only be achieved by engaging with the discipline, and writing is intimately related to disciplinary inquiry. Thus we need to understand a discipline as a culture with its own set of rules and behaviours, which is learnt best within the culture. Writing is an integral part of the way in which the culture is expressed, developed and maintained. This leads us to an understanding of why unless the codes are explicitly taught, historically excluded students are at greater risk: their distance from the cultures which they seek to enter is further than that of their advantaged peers.

Using the word "culture" is one way of describing how institutions and social groupings have particular social meanings and ideologies which are expressed in language in systematic ways. Following Kress (1985), I prefer to call these systematic ways of speaking or writing "discourses."

Discourse and access: *dancers in the wings*

Kress defines discourses as

systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. ... A discourse ...provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions. (1985:7)

In Kress's definition, with phrases such as "values of an institution", "provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions", it is clear that discourses are ideologically based, and linked to power. Access to a privileged position in society requires that one acquires the privileged discourses of society. These are linked to social goods, and are unevenly distributed (Gee, 1990). Gee expresses the interrelationship between access and discourse as follows: He defines a person's "primary Discourse" (with a capital D) as that "which is developed in the primary process of enculturation" (151), and secondary Discourses, as those which are developed outside of the home, in the church or the school, for example. For those whose primary Discourses are congruent to the Discourses of power, there are easier transitions, and easier access to social goods. For those whose primary Discourses are distant from the Discourses of power, the latter act as gatekeepers, and deny those who do not speak them access to social goods.

Academic discourse, like any other, is a social practice. In terms of success at the university, written academic discourse is extremely important, as it is most often the way in which students (and academics) are judged and evaluated. Academic discourse becomes a gatekeeper, denying access to social goods to those who do not succeed. In a post-apartheid South Africa, an increasing proportion of our students come from poor educational backgrounds. Their primary discourses may be very different from that of the school, and these discourses may be very different from that of the university. Failure to make the transitions successfully is a real possibility. Fairclough's (1992) understanding of discourse is a dialectical one: discourses are both constitutive and transformative of social practice. Human agency contributes to the struggles around discourse change. The extent to which these students are able to control academic discourse will partially determine the extent to which they can challenge it, and force it to open up to previously marginalized discourses, allowing different discourses in. Kress (1994) describes Australian art of the twentieth century as distinctive and innovative:

it is the result of human intellectual and artistic work in the face of the challenge of the initial shock of incomprehension and the impossibility of understanding. It is the innovation as the result of human work in the face of stark differences. .....The work done by humans in their effort to understand, interpret and represent their environment has remade the people themselves, in the process of that work. (2)

Although Academic Development work focuses on access to dominant discourses, I like to think that the long-term goal is to empower students to reshape and remake those discourses. There is a risk in learning to dance too well to the tune of the dominant discourses, that you will be "colonized" by that discourse (Gee, 1990), and not act to change it. Coming on-stage is the first step, dancing the dominant discourses the second, and dancing a different dance the next, which may or may not follow.

Access and explicitness in genre theory: *taking the learner backstage*

Genres are "conventionalised forms of texts", which "derive from and encode the functions, purposes and meanings of social occasions" (Kress, 1985:19). Discourses and genres overlap, but Kress distinguishes usefully between them: discourses have to do with larger social institutions, and carry their meanings, whilst genres refer to social events or occasions and the forms of text these occasions demand. So for example the institution of psychology has resulted in psychological discourse. This institution has its own social occasions organized into genres such as the psychotherapeutic interview, the conference paper, the workshop. A text will be determined both by the *discourse* of psychology, and by the particular *genre* demanded by the social occasion. The text which I am presenting now is informed by the discourses of Applied Language Studies, Academic Development, and Education, but its genre is that of a dissertation, a genre which has a particular function in society. This genre can and does carry other discourses.

Genre theorists such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) criticize progressivist educational ideas. Although progressivism usually refers to whole language practitioners, Cope and Kalantzis place both critical pedagogy theorists such as Aronowitz and Giroux, as well as Ellsworth (1989) with this group, although her work is a strong critique of the former. Cope and Kalantzis, saying that these theorists are part of "this latest version of progressivism" (1993: 5) deride the postmodernist notion of "difference", interpreting these theorists as arguing that "(t)here is no superior Western canon any more, only different literary and cultural traditions.....The notion that there might be a 'standard' of correct English was only ever sheer prejudice" (1993:5). Cope and Kalantzis's interpretation of these theorists can be contested, but the point they wish to make is that there *is* a powerful standard, there *is* a Western canon, there are powerful genres "that count" (Martin, 1993: 116), and we ignore them to the detriment of those who do not "naturally" have access to these genres. Cope and Kalantzis, together with Delpit (1988), argue against progressivist notions such as "process writing" and "voice", which emphasize individual creativity and "difference" and simply further disadvantage those who are marginalized. The genre theorists, in general, make a plea for explicit teaching of powerful genres of writing, because without this, the control of these

genres remains available only to those who are "born" to them by virtue of the social milieus in which they live.

Ways have to be found of making visible to learners not steeped in them, the patterns and designs of written academic genres. This must include the process, as well as the product of the genre itself. In order to understand a ballet and how it is made, you have to go backstage and watch the dancers limbering up in their legwarmers, rubbing resin into their shoes so that they don't slip, banging their pointe shoes violently on the floor to soften them so that they don't make a loud noise on stage. You need to see the corns and calluses on a dancer's feet and know the physical pain and exhaustion of her art. You need to see how their lipstick and false eyelashes are applied. You need to go to classes and watch the hours of work at the barre. Here you find the process, not just the product. Exposing students to the messy sides of academic discourse genres, letting them in on the process, as well as explicitly talking about the forms and functions of the genre, the role of a particular dance in a particular community, will help them to begin at least to understand the dance, though they may not choose to dance it.

Freedman and Medway (1994) sound a note of warning about the teaching of genres: when one teaches a certain genre, for example the genre of scientific report-writing, in a school, it becomes a new genre, that of writing science in the school, with a different purpose, function and audience. Similarly, the academic essay, whilst mimicking the genre of the research article, has a different function and audience. This does not mean it has no educational value; it does mean that the limits of explicit teaching of genres outside of the actual contexts where those genres occur, need to be understood. Because genres are social forms intimately tied up-with social processes, as Kress (1985) shows us, they remain

> to an irreducible degree, a matter of 'local knowledge' (Geertz 1983), that is only incompletely available to outside analysis. (Freedman and Medway, 1994:13)

However, if we think about the genres of undergraduate academic writing, such as the report or the essay as genres of their own, which are not only mimicking the "real" genres such as the research article or report, we begin to ask questions about the educational role and specific functions of that particular genre. Then we are able to teach its shape, its process and its functions more explicitly.

Definitions of plagiarism: *Dance of the seven veils?*

What is plagiarism? I gathered the following definitions of the word *plagiarize* from various dictionaries:

Webster's New World dictionary: to take (ideas, writings, etc.) from (another) and pass them off as one's own.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English: take and use somebody else's ideas, words, etc. as if they were one's own.

Concise Oxford Dictionary: 1. take and use (the thoughts, writings, inventions etc. of another person) as one's own. 2. pass off the thoughts etc. of another person as one's own. [L *plagiarus*, kidnapper]

Collins English Dictionary: to appropriate (ideas, passages, etc.) from (another work or author). From Latin *plagiarus* plunderer, from *plagium* kidnapping.

The first two definitions and the second Oxford definition, centre on the idea of plagiarism as *fraud*, as using the ideas of others *as if* they are one's own. The first definition of the Concise Oxford dictionary modifies this slightly, saying "take and use as one's own". Here there is less sense of misrepresentation, simply of appropriation of ideas. These definitions seem to see plagiarism as possible in many forms: of thoughts, words, inventions. The Collins definition is quite different. The sense of intentional misrepresentation is much weaker, and with the words *work* and *author*, it seems to be possible only in print of some kind.

Plagiarism is however usually understood as "intention to deceive", but as the Collins definition shows, even this has come under dispute. The American Historical Association (AHA) has recently modified its definition of plagiarism, and taken out all references to "intention to deceive" (Mooney, 1992). This is because scholars usually defend themselves from charges of plagiarism by saying that it was unintentional, and the new policy is an attempt to get scholars to take seriously the checking of their sources against their own writing. This however, is an unusual understanding of plagiarism, arising out of a number of cases in which plagiarism was alleged but the AHA was unable to prove it.

So whether plagiarism relates only to print, or whether it also pertains say for oral speeches, or design ideas, is opaque. Whether it means intention to deceive, or simply appropriation of ideas and words without acknowledgement, is also disputed. The etymology of the word *is* however clear: the derivation from the Latin word meaning "kidnap" or "plunder" is indicative of how since its first usage in this way it has been regarded as being a criminal activity - parallel to stealing other people's offspring! Imitation is an important part of the learning process. Plagiarism "criminalizes" imitation. This is why the concept needs unpacking.

The notion of authorship has been questioned by postmodern theorists such as Barthes, Derrida, and Foucault (Bannet, 1989) and Volosinov/Bakhtin. In a world of rapid advances in communication technology, profound changes in the way we interact and communicate with each other are occurring, changes whose consequences for authorship are yet to be understood. Old laws of copyright are not adequate to deal with the exchanges of information possible on electronic networks, and global conference networking. The concept of plagiarism may have to undergo substantial transformation.

Scollon (1994) sees academic writing today as in the process of moving away from the old forms of attribution which served academic writing in modern times. He sees technological advances such as ERIC files of abstracts and references as making it possible for writers of academic discourse "to get by without making any attempt to return to original sources" (43). Not only this, but because these files may be secondary or tertiary constructions, (e.g. an ERIC listing may contain an abstract reduced from an abstract from conference proceedings, of which only limited copies were printed) it may be difficult to locate the original. The sheer volume of writing available also makes getting through them in the original form an impossible task. He also perceives a current development towards a more oral and electronic system of referencing, through conference and email chatting.

Another interesting problem which Scollon (1994) poses is that of the idea which gains so much currency that it no longer is referenced to its original source. He gives the example of Hymes' theory of communicative competence, which he says most students of today will most likely have come across in a publication later than 1972 when it was originally mentioned, and probably not in a publication by Hymes. He also makes the point that we do not mention the Enlightenment and then reference Kant. Failure to make such a reference is not counted as plagiarism. The dividing line between what is common knowledge, and what are ideas attributable to first sources is difficult to discern. Whilst perhaps not so difficult for academics who know the field, this is a real difficulty which students encounter in much of the writing which I have looked at in researching referencing.

What plagiarism is, then, is by no means easily defined, and it is important to trace the origins of the concept in order to show how it has arisen, and why its definition, whilst always indistinct, is now, I believe, becoming even more so. Pennycook (1994) writes:

> ...authorship and intellectual property grew as concepts within European modernism, were not part of a premodern European world, and may not be part of a postmodern world. (280)

The Concepts of Plagiarism, Originality and Autonomous Text

The Origins of "Originality" in written discourses

I do not think that in dance the notion of originality has ever been as strong as it is in written literature and other forms of writing. Perhaps this is because forms of notation, i.e. choreology, writing the moves down, is a fairly recent development, and only used by large formal companies. The concept of plagiarism did not exist until the Enlightenment, and is bound up with notions of copyright. Scollon (1995) traces its origins to the thinking of Kant, in his book "Science of Right" published in 1788. Rogers (1982), traces its origins in England to the Copyright Act in 1710. Mallon (1989), whose book on plagiarism gives a wandering yet thorough overview of the development of the concept, writes the following:

> Originality - not just innocence of plagiarism but the making of something really and truly new - set itself down as a cardinal literary virtue sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century and has never since gotten up. (24)

Before this time, and before the time of the commercial utilization of printed material, there was no sense of artistic "ownership". On the contrary, before the eighteenth century, one finds the text which displays its lineage through clearly identifiable use of the texts of others, unacknowledged. The reader who is able to identify the uses and transformations of known texts enters into a bond of erudition with the author (Randall, 1991). In the Romantic period, there was a glorification of the individual and the authentic artistic imagination as a source of truth. Today still, in many forms of literature, particularly poetry, and in art and architecture, there are references (without acknowledgement) to previous famous works. Harold Bloom, (1982:) maintains that "good poems, novels and essays are webs of allusion, sometimes consciously and voluntarily so, but perhaps to a greater degree without design" (413). Bloom's only problem with "plagiarism" seems to be that "great writers only should be plagiarized. To copy second-rate authors indeed is immoral" (413). T.S. Eliot, whose own work was full of allusions to the work of others, makes the point that good poets make what they borrow into "something better, or at least different" and that the more conscious the borrowing is, the more acceptable (in Mallon, 1989: 26). Mellers (1982), uses music as an example of art which used to be "common property", saying that composers such as Handel drew on the work of others as a "common heritage" (414), transforming and enriching this heritage. He argues that "originality became ...the pearl that was certainly not without a price". Sutherland (1982) also laments the loss of communal artistic wealth, by saying that copyright has had a "freezing effect", which resulted in Benjamin Walter's paradox "the novel marks the end of story-telling" (in Sutherland, 1982: 414). So generally, borrowing is a tradition in literature, and more than a

tradition: literature feeds on what has gone before, new work is formed out of old, but the present-day existence of copyright laws and the ethics of plagiarism effectively allow only borrowing with overt acknowledgement, a practice which the conventions of some genres of writing do not encourage. Recognition of borrowings can be seen as an elitist exercise; however borrowing and transforming can be seen as a sharing of communal resources.

Foucault (1984) adds an interesting observation to the historical progression of literature from something communally owned to something "originated" and owned by an author. He too sees this progression in literature, but sees a reverse progression in science, where the truth value of scientific texts of the Middle Ages, on cosmology or medicines, say, was dependent on the authority of the author, such as Hippocrates or Pliny. He sees a reversal then occurring in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, when

> Scientific discourses began to be received for themselves, in the anonymity of an established or always redemonstrable truth; their membership in a systematic ensemble, and not the reference to the individual who produced them, stood as their guarantee. (1984: 109)

This is an important point when considering the effect of the genre of a text on the conventions of referencing: the discourses of science, like the discourses of business, are more corporately owned, it seems. I will deal with this when discussing the second perspective, that of the differing notions of plagiarism and documentation across different genres. I would now like to turn to a concept which runs parallel to that of "originality", the concept of the autonomous text.

"Autonomous" text, context and intertextuality

Notions of "autonomous text" and "decontextualized" language are to be found in many educational constructions of what the written academic text should try to achieve. Theorists such as Cummins and Swain (1986) have been highly influential, certainly in the Academic Development field, in trying to account for the apparent gap between bilingual students' oral proficiency in their second language and their academic achievement when studying in their second language. In their interpretation of the interrelationship between language proficiency and academic achievement, academic language is seen as "context reduced", meaning that "shared reality cannot be assumed, and thus linguistic messages must be elaborated precisely and explicitly so that the risk of misinterpretation is minimized" (1986:153). They give the example of writing or reading an academic article as being one of the most "context-reduced communicative behaviours" and therefore the most difficult for a speaker of another language.

The notion of academic writing being "context-reduced" is not a useful one; it seems rather that the difficulty of academic language lies more in its very *embeddedness* in a context, and the lack of embeddedness of the novice writer. Much of the meaning of the intricate hand movements in classical Indian dance is lost to the observer who is outside its context. To aim at writing a text that stands alone has little meaning: a text can only mean within a context. The notion of *explicitness* in writing, however, is still a useful educational concept.

Geisler (1994) traces the historical development of what she terms "the cultural ideal of the autonomous text" (1994:4) culminating in Olson's 1977 coinage of the term "autonomous text", meaning that "meaning was assumed to be represented explicitly and.... *autonomously* in the text itself" (Geisler, 1994:5). Cazden (1992), in an article entitled "The Myth of Autonomous Text" argues strongly against Olson's (in Cazden, 1992) understanding of autonomous text, where there is a development historically and educationally towards "increasing explicitness, with language increasingly able to stand as an unambiguous or autonomous representation of meaning." (In Cazden, 1992:142). Cazden counters as follows:

> What is said or written is only explicit with reference to, and in relation to, what is unsaid and unwritten but presupposed about an audience, about a particular interpretive community. (1992:148)

She further develops her argument by discussing the notion of intertextuality, which she says "inheres in all writing" and so "the notion of autonomous text is just plain wrong"(148). She concedes that written texts are decontextualized, in that the contextual clues available to those communicating directly with each other, which would be present in an oral communication, are absent. But she sees the written text as "massively contextualized with respect to contexts in the mind - contextualized first in the mind of the writer, and then recontextualized in the minds of readers" (Cazden, 1992:148). Recontextualization also means transformation. Fairclough (1992) writes of "intertextual chains" in which texts are transformed when they are incorporated into, and become, part of other texts. A traditional African dance becomes another text altogether when performed on the mines as a tourist attraction. Or the advert for a watch which shows a dancer executing a "precision movement". And so also the ways in which people use sources in writing transform those sources, give them new meanings.

What is the ideological basis of a notion of "decontextualized" or "autonomous" text? Scollon (1995) deconstructs the taken-for-granted understanding of texts as commercial products, authored by an individual, as well as the understanding of how communication operates, which underlie plagiarism. He writes of a "Utilitarian Discourse System" (25), based in the economy and ideology of the European Enlightenment, which

places a high value on individual autonomy, rationality...Along with these go a now familiar group of characteristics, often inaccurately attributed to literacy, of analysis, originality, decontextualization, and objectivity. (Scollon, 1995: 25)

So originality and autonomy as values, are based on an ideology which tends towards individualism and competition, rather than community and cooperation, independence rather than interdependence, analysis rather than synthesis, commodification rather than intrinsic value. Referencing one's sources in academic writing, however, may be seen as running counter to the above: it is both a form of access to verification, as well as a sharing of resources with readers.

Part of Cazden's "massive contextualization" lies at the level of the genre, part of it at the level of the word. I shall first deal with the word, in particular with Bakhtin's view of the social nature of the meanings of words.

Bakhtin and the social nature of language: *steps danced by many feet*

Bakhtin's work gives us the sense of language which teems with those who speak it, who have spoken it, and those who will hear or speak it. For Bakhtin, words are alive, alive with meanings and voices and dialogues, language is crowded with the meanings of the past, the present and the future. The voices which social languages contain serve as the rich source of creativity for the writer's own voice, without them, his "prose nuances...do not sound" (1981:278). The word is internally dialogic: it is shaped by the "already uttered", other "alien" words, and by the answer which it anticipates. In other words, the responses which are anticipated actually shape the meaning of the word, either resisting or supporting its sense, and "enriching the discourse". Thus even at the level of the word, language is richly social. He writes:

> As a result of the work done by all these stratifying forces in language, there are no "neutral" words and forms - words and forms that can belong to "no one"; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. ...All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones (generic, tendentious, individualistic) are inevitable in the word. (1981:293)

The question, for my research, which flows out of this intensely social view of language is one of "who owns meaning?", asked by Holquist (1981, in Wertsch, 1991). The response to this ranges from the view of individual authors or speakers creating their own meaning out of a neutral system of language, a viewpoint which would concur with the "cultural ideal" of "autonomous" text, to the response which Kress has, which is simply that "no writers have their own words" (1985:45). Perhaps no writers have their own words, but they have particular ways of working with those words which are their own. At this point I shall do a soft shoe shuffle from the dance metaphor, into another: I like Holquist's (in Wertsch, 1991:68) metaphor of "renting" meaning, where words are borrowed from and given back to the community, and sound within the voices of that community.

For the new student, newly entering the academic discourses, and having to start using the discourses in assignments, there is no other way than to be a squatter, to live in the discourses of academia without owning them, maybe using a student loan to be paid off at a later stage, or maybe not paying the rent at all, as at this stage s/he will not know how to give meaning back to the community. Giving back may come, but renting at this stage is essential. We all rent meaning: those of us who know the community well, know where and how to pay the rent. Some of us may come from a culture of non-payment to those who have colonized academic discourse, may feel uncomfortable in the landlord's spaces, and may choose never to pay the rent.

Having explored the social nature of the word, I now turn to genre, which is by definition a social concept, and examine how different genres deal with documentation and referencing, and what plagiarism means in different contexts.

Plagiarism and Referencing across Genres

Genres: *different moves to different tunes*

Using a genre approach, Jameson (1993) provides important insights into what constitutes plagiarism in different textual genres. She takes different genres, such as the novel, the news article, speeches and the business report, and shows how variable the notion of plagiarism is across these contexts, writing that

> what would constitute culpable plagiarism in one context might constitute proper use of sources in another context depending on the group whose expectations defined "misappropriation". (20)

I shall use her examples at some length, because I think they are instructive:

She describes, for instance, the process of a consulting firm doing an assignment for a client. Using multiple sources, including a nameless "boilerplate" written ten years before, lifting extensive passages from previous filed reports, adding their own ideas, they write a report which involves the work of at least twenty people, and no author is credited. The work belongs to the corporation. Similarly, the annual report of the Academic Development Programme at UCT is written by many individuals - there is a set of questions which goes out to all staff members, the Language Development group of which I am a member collaboratively writes its own, this gets summarized and incorporated into one written mainly by support staff, though the assumption may be that the directorate has authored it. It is modelled on and takes substantial sections from previous reports, and nobody gets credited.

The genre of the newspaper article involves different forms of documentation. Although plagiarism may be alleged if there has been word-for-word copying from unacknowledged sources, generally the genre "neither requires nor permits citations, endnotes, bibliographies, or other textual indicators" (Jameson, 1993: 23). The speech, too, does not give much opportunity for acknowledgment, and it is not normally expected. A speech ghostwriter never needs to be credited, although she or he may be the real "originator" of the actual speech. The very word "ghostwriter" signals the invisibility of the real author.

The novel is also interesting in that again, there is no way of crediting a source within a novel, other than with a dedication or a footnote. The genre does not permit it. As Jameson puts it:

> Novels as a genre do not include word-for word or closely paraphrased passages from other works. Such passages must simply be eliminated; they cannot be documented. (23)

She points out that although historical information may be used in a novel, which obviously comes from somewhere, it does not need to be documented, whereas in an academic history it would need to be.

Another interesting insight from Jameson comes in her observation that even within academia, and within a discipline, genres differ regarding sourcing: the academic textbook needs to be in the author's own words, but it does not usually need to be documented with the same thoroughness that a scholarly journal article might require. It is my own observation that the amount and kind of documentation required differs widely across journals in my own field. A

glance at the average article from TESOL Quarterly, (many references) and that of ELT Journal (sometimes virtually no references) will confirm this.

Devitt (1991) reports on fascinating research on intertextuality in the field of tax accountancy. She shows how text-based the profession is, relying on a fairly small set of authoritative tax publications (such as Tax Court decisions or tax legislation). Such texts are continually quoted and referred to in all memos and correspondence that tax professionals use. Very often the exact section of an authoritative text is referred to in brackets, e.g. IRC sect 923 (3) (c), and sometimes its content is paraphrased, but mostly it is quoted word for word, to maintain accuracy. This word-for-word quotation is unmarked by quotation marks. Writing of interviews with tax accountants, Devitt says,

> Although some of the experts seemed self-conscious about the potential "plagiarism" and several seemed unaware that they used unmarked quotation, most easily argued their rhetorical need for unmarked quotation. While choosing quotation for accuracy, ...the writers often responded to the rhetorical situation of a lay audience by leaving the quotation unmarked. (349)

In other words, the accountant believes that the lay audience prefers what they think is the accountant's interpretation of the tax publication, but the accountant prefers the accuracy of the original text itself, so the quotation is left unmarked.

Genre-based research such as Devitt's has great potential for bringing to light such intricate social functions of referencing or "plagiarizing". Such research also points to the gap between the academy and the workplace: of what value are the genres of academic writing beyond the academy? It is clear from the above discussion, that kinds of documentation vary from genre to genre, but nowhere are the requirements for thorough documentation more stringent than in the genres of academic writing, although these differ across disciplines. In the light of the very different writing demands in the workplace, and thinking about the university as an educational institution, we need to think carefully about a writing pedagogy that seems to cater mainly to the small percentage of students who will continue to postgraduate work. Thinking about the university in terms of production of knowledge, it is clear that it requires its own genres and has its own very valid functions. We need to think about why we have these stringent requirements in academic writing, why these genres have developed in this way, what the role of referencing is in academic writing, both in knowledge production terms and in educational terms. Once we have clarified this for ourselves, we will be in a better position to make it explicit to our students. I shall return to the role and functions of referencing in academic writing in chapter 5.

The development of the writer

I shall now turn to the third way of looking at plagiarism and referencing, which focuses on the development of the student writer, and in particular how referencing and plagiarism relate to that development. The problems that I want to discuss here may occur at all stages of writing development, and interact with one another, i.e. they are not ordered stages of development. However I have divided them into different sections, which discuss the stage when academic discourse is "alien", the stage of "trying on" academic discourse, the problem of hybridization of different discourses, the problem of illegitimate and legitimate language and how that plays itself out in undergraduate writing, the role of the learning of chunks of language in second language acquisition, and the very complex process of developing authorial voice in writing.

Alien words: *dancing upon nothing*

When a dancer is learning a new routine, and new steps, there is a stage at which performing those steps means getting methodically from one step to the next. She cannot put her self into it, she has to think too hard about what comes next. The dance feels outside of her, alien. All her energy goes into learning and just remembering what to do next. After a while the steps become more automatic, she begins to feel in control, and she may begin to feel confident enough to put in her own variations, she begins to relax and to really dance.

Beginning to "own" the words, appropriating them for one's own purposes, is a difficult process. For some, words resist being owned and made anew, they "sound foreign in the mouth of the one who has appropriated them and now speaks them" (Bakhtin, 1981:294). This is an apt description, to me, of the struggles of new writers of academic discourse. Bakhtin continues:

> [the words] cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it; it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker. Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated - overpopulated - with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (1981:294)

The inarticulateness of the novice writer is not surprising when s/he is required to write using a "foreign language" which is not yet owned by the student: the response may be simply to use the words of others, to ventriloquize, but without a speaking voice, without modification.

Wertsch (1991) sees Bakhtinian ventriloquism, i.e. "the process whereby one voice speaks through another voice or voice type in a social language" (Wertsch, 1991:59) as *one of the fundamental processes of development*" (1991:127, my italics). The key is, however, for the speaking, authorial voice to truly speak, albeit through the voices of others. This is what is so difficult for the novice writer of academic discourse (or for any writer) - it is the control of the voices so that the authorial voice speaks through them, it is "forcing" language to "submit to one's own intentions and accents" which is the fundamental struggle of writing. When the student's own voice is not present, as it may not be if the student is conceptually and socially extremely removed from the discourse, the result is "voiceless" writing, where the writer's alienation is so profound that the voices of the sources used are not animated by the authorial voice. The dance is soulless and stilted.

This stage of alienation from academic discourse is beautifully described by a native Alaskan student, Martha Demientieff, in Cazden (1992). Beginning an assignment for a course on classroom discourse, she writes:

> As I began work on this assignment, I thought of the name of the course and thought I had to use the word "discourse". The word felt like an intruder in my mind displacing my word "talk". I could not organize my thoughts around it. It was like a pebble thrown into a still pond disturbing the smooth water. It makes all the other words in my mind out of sync. When I realized that I was using too much time agonizing over how to write the paper, I sat down and tried to analyze my problem. I realized that in time I will own the word and feel comfortable using it, but until that time my own words were legitimate. Contrary to some views that exposure to the dominant culture gives one an advantage in learning, in my opinion it is the ownership of words that gives one confidence. I must want the word, enjoy the word and use the word to own it. When the new word becomes synonymous in my head as well as externally, then I can think with it. (In Cazden, 1992: 190)

The realisation that Demientieff has, that her own words are "legitimate" until such time as she truly "owns" the words of the academic discourse, is one that not all students come to. If you know that "discourse" can mean "talk", you are already on your way to "owning" the word, because it is beginning to connect to your own semantic landscape, though it may put it "out of sync". New students may struggle to make any connections at all, and that is when they are unable to use their own words, because their conceptual and social distance from the discourse is too profound; the shoes are vacant.

"Trying on" the discourse: *stepping into the shoes*

I imagine that Demientieff's next stage will be to try out the word "discourse" one day, to see how it feels and fits. The new student has to put on those dancing shoes, and they may feel very silly at first. The only beginning he or she may feel able to make, is to copy very closely and deliberately the movements of another. It may look like plagiarism.

Writing of a particular at-risk nursing student whose writing was a patchwork of copied bits of text, Hull and Rose (1990) put forward the notion that it is important for the student to "try on" the discourse of a profession or an academic discourse, in order to eventually "own" the discourse fully. For this particular student, the words were "alien" in the way that Bakhtin describes, and the only way she could try to make them her own, was to imitate them with a few changes. Not only was she "trying on" another language, in this way, but also another persona. They write that

> A fundamental social and psychological reality about discourse, oral or written, is that human beings continually appropriate each other's language to establish group membership, to grow, and to define themselves in new ways. (1990:242)

"Trying on" academic discourse is one way of understanding plagiarism when considering a student's entrance into academic discourse.

Hybridization of discourses: *toyi-toyis and tutus*

We have all seen white students trying to do the toyi-toyi. It doesn't look quite right. The toyi-toyiers who know how, move their backs and shoulders with wonderful looseness and flexibility. Those who are learning keep their backs and torsos very stiff and all the movement is in the legs and arms. They're clearly self-conscious, uncomfortable and awkward, and this also hinders their movement. The classically trained dancer might have even more difficulty in loosening up that back - years of training have taught her to hold it stiff, shoulders down, butt tight. I would like to use Bakhtin's concept of hybridization to explain the mixing of new and old discourses, and how this may result in "plagiarism", to discuss another stage of development in a student's writing. This may run parallel to the "alienation" and "trying on" stages.

Bakhtin's term "hybridization" means "the mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance" (1981: 358). He uses this notion to unravel the different "social languages" (close to what Gee means by discourse) used by a writer in any text. These may be

unconscious or intentional. "Social languages", or discourses, interpenetrate and mingle; Bakhtin seems to see them as doing battle with one another.

Similarly, for Kress (1985), discourses are not monolithic and impenetrable, they exist not in isolation but sometimes in opposition to or different from many other discourses, and they are dynamic and shifting. Kress believes that where some discourses are more powerful than others, they act as "colonizers", tending to flatten and harmonize differences and discontinuities by "making that which is social seem natural and that which is problematic seem _obvious" (1985: 11). The individual carries traces of past and present discourses, indicative of the social positions that individual has taken up. In academic writing, then, traces of these different discourses are manifested in student's writing, until a "harmonizing" of these differences take place, and academic writing becomes as "natural" as it is to the lecturer steeped in the practice of his or her discipline. The torso loosens up.

In Angelil-Carter and Thesen (1993), Thesen uses biographical sketches and analyses of student writing to uncover "different literacy practices" (20).[1] She demonstrates how traces of students' other literacy practices, such as informal, oral discourse, the discourse of the political organization, and Biblical discourse intermingle, "cut across" and conflict with the academic discourse that they are learning in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (19). This mixing of literacies within academic writing are forms of unintentional hybridization. When we get a new student learning how to write in a discipline, therefore, what may manifest in their writing is unsuccessful, conflictual hybridization of prior school (or other) discourses and new academic ones.

Such hybrids should not always be seen as negative and conflictual. Courage (1993) points to the way in which a prior discourse can provide access to academic discourses. He compares two students, both from "marginalized groups" (484-5). One has been a lay preacher, and is able to utilize features of this discourse, such as a "sense of form, a strategic deliberateness, and an ability to imagine substantially different versions of a text" (487), and this prior training makes the transition to academic discourse easier.

The losses suffered in smoothing out hybridized writing, in creating seamless uniform textures should be recognized. The "harmonizing" that Kress (1985) speaks of is problematic, not necessarily a desirable goal. Harmony may mean colonization, as Kress indicates, and results in losses for both colonizer and colonized. In an interesting ethnographic study, Chiseri-

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[1] Recchio (1991) conducts an analysis similar to Thesen's using Bakhtin's understandings of intersecting discourses.

Strater (1991) follows closely the "public and private discourse" of two students, (one male and one female) examining the interaction of the public (within the university institution) and the private discourses. She concludes that the curricula of the academy do not successfully utilize the rich potential of the private literacies of these students, and also shows how female students are denied access to the discourses of some disciplines, which she sees as patriarchal and not valuing women's "ways of being in the world" (Geertz, in Chiseri-Strater, 1991:141). Here it seems that the private discourses are not permitted to enter the academy, and only interfere in problematic ways; the enriching potential is lost.

What could plagiarism mean in the context of hybridization? Moder and Halleck (1995) explore cultural differences in attitudes to the text, writing that in cultures "founded on Confucian values, memorization and imitation are the mark of an educated person" (16). Memorizing and copying classical texts are the way that children in the People's Republic of China learn to write. Scholars also quote these texts verbatim because educated people will recognize the quote, and there is no need to cite sources. Respect for the text means faithful imitation, rather than presuming to write it differently from the original. When students accustomed to discourses such as these enter Western academic institutions, quoting the sages from memory is seen as plagiarism.

In our context, the student who is plagiarizing may simply be making use of the modes of textual construction which she or he knew at school, which usually meant copying or at best closely paraphrasing an authoritative textbook. (See appendix 2 for an analysis of students' prior writing experiences, and chapter 4 for a discussion of this). He or she is mixing this with an attempt at academic writing by sprinkling references throughout the text. Not only the prior mode of textual construction comes into play here, but also the previous understanding of the nature of knowledge, which is likely to be that knowledge is a set of facts out there to be learned. To be asked to synthesize, or compare and contrast different readings, to construct an argument in relation to texts, makes little sense when you understand that what you read is fact. Who wrote what is of little importance when all of it is the truth.

Hybridization of discourses is one explanation, therefore, of what the "plagiarizing" student may be doing. Bakhtin's notion of authoritative discourses, which will be elaborated in the section below, is important here too: the old authoritative discourses of the school, or of the church, of those other "fathers" have to be discarded, the old costumes cleared out, and in that ongoing process strange hybrids may occur.

An interesting example of plagiarism which may be explained in terms of hybridization is the famous case of Martin Luther King. Miller (1993) uses King's story to exhort his readers to

reconsider the definitions of plagiarism. Not only did King plagiarize in his doctoral dissertation, and other graduate essays, but also in many of his famous speeches he used the words of others, unacknowledged. King, as a preacher and as an African American, was the bearer of a "highly oral religious culture that treated songs and sermons as shared wealth, not private property" (A60). Miller sees his plagiarism in his academic work as a difficulty in "negotiating the boundaries between oral and print traditions" (1993:A60).

Illegitimate and legitimate language: *wearing a mask to the ball*

Bourdieu[2] (1991), building on Austin's theory of speech acts, has a concept of "legitimate" or "authorized" language. He understands that you do not find power within the actual linguistic manifestations of a speech act: power comes from outside. He writes:

> By trying to understand the power of linguistic manifestations linguistically, by looking in language for the principle underlying the logic and effectiveness of the language of institution, one forgets that authority comes to language from outside, a fact concretely exemplified by the skeptron that, in Homer, is passed to the orator who is about to speak. Language at most represents this authority, manifests and symbolizes it. (1991:109)

Bourdieu understands that the power to speak is granted, it comes from outside, and it is not granted to all. A communicative event only takes place when the speaker is *recognized* as a legitimate speaker, and is not an "impostor". This recognition is granted under the conditions which "define legitimate usage", one of which is:

> an utterance must be spoken by the person legitimately authorized to do so. (1991:113)

The white toyi-toyiers, dancing what is essentially a war dance, did not always seem legitimate. Novice writers of academic discourse are not yet "legitimate", they are "impostors" in the sense that they are often required to write within what seems to be the genre of the research or journal article and yet they have no real authority, and their audience is their tutor, and not a community of political scientists. Bartholomae (1985:134) writes of students having to "invent the university" every time they write, in that students are expected to write in the discourses of the disciplines before they are legitimate speakers of the language

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[2]Peirce (1995) uses Bourdieu (1991) to show how power relationships construct the second language learner's right to speak and to be heard. I first drew on and extended her use of Bourdieu's "legitimate discourse" in Angelil-Carter (1994b). These ideas are used and further extended here.

of the discipline. The result is that they invariably simply have to imitate the discourses of the disciplines until such time as they have actually learned to write them, until such time as they are no longer "impostors", and are no longer "inventing". As Bartholomae puts it:

> [The student]...has to invent the university by assembling and mimicking its language while finding some compromise between idiosyncrasy, a personal history, on the one hand, and the requirements of convention, the history of a discipline, on the other. He must learn to speak our language. Or he must dare to speak it or to carry-off the bluff, since speaking and writing will most certainly be required long before the skill is "learned". (1985:134)

One of the masks which is part of "our language" that the student has to don to varying degrees is that of disinterested displayer of factual knowledge. Swales (1990) through the work of Shapin, carefully reconstructs the process whereby the art of scientific discourse developed into one of "deceiving the reader into thinking that there is no rhetoric, ...and that the facts are indeed speaking for themselves" (112). But of course it is all about rhetoric, and careful construction of argumentation. The disguise of the author behind this "voiceless" factual construction (as manifested in the distaste for the personal pronoun "I" in much academic discourse) is not easy: from a background of mainly expressive writing in English at school, and little writing in other subjects, the student launches into writing which is truly voiceless, in other words, the stance of the author to the "facts" presented is not discernible - there is no authorial presence animating the words.

Womack (1993) thoughtfully reflects on the development of the academic essay, uncovering similar ambivalences and pretences inherent in this form of writing. He argues that the essay is historically the "literary sign of functional innocence" (46), which when used for assessment forces the student to adopt a role of "free disinterestedness" in a highly functional competitive context. Another contradiction is the expectation of the production of independent thinking together with the demand that all assertions be supported by evidence, and that arguments must be balanced. To use Womack's words: "- in short, that the expression of independence of mind be thoroughly permeated by signs of conformity to an academic code of practice." (46)

Womack sees plagiarism as "the inevitable stress signal of this tension" (46), where the pretence induced by the genre shifts minutely to the pretence of literally adopting the words of others, not only a role. The essay forces the student into impostor mode: pretending to know the university, pretending to be disinterested, pretending to be independent, pretending to be in control.

All these tensions and pretences inherent in academic writing are exacerbated by the problem of prior authoritative discourses which conflict with the new authoritative discourses. Bakhtin's understanding of authority in discourses is one in which we encounter the authoritative word

> ...with its authority already fused to it. The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already *acknowledged* in the past. It is a *prior* discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. It is given (it sounds) in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact. (1981:342)

Authoritative discourse comes into conflict with "internally persuasive" discourse, which is "half ours and half someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981:345) and with which there is much more possibility for creativity and flexibility than with authoritative discourse, which "permits no play with its borders" (343). Authoritative discourse "cannot be represented - it is only transmitted" (344). (This is the way I feel about Bakhtin at the moment, as the number of quotes indicates!)

Bakhtin sees authoritative and internally persuasive discourses as interacting forces, so that the "ideological becoming" of an individual is a process which consists of a struggle between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. In other words, the relationship between these two types of discourses, is not unconnected with Bartholomae's ideas of finding a compromise between a personal history and the history of a discipline, an old authority and a new.

I suggest that the student, on entering the university, encounters apparently immutable authoritative discourses, with their authority (of lecturers, key theorists) "fused" to them, and because of their location in a "distanced zone", "hierarchically higher" than their more familiar, internally persuasive discourses, is able only to transmit these, rather than represent them. Later on in their academic development, for some, these discourses *become* more internally persuasive, and a process of making one's own meaning with them, of "playing with the borders", of representing them in one's own words, becomes possible. Although for Bakhtin authoritative discourses are fixed, and cannot be transformed, but only overturned, my interpretation is that for the new student, the discourses of academia *seem* fixed and rigid, and may not be tampered with, although of course they are in reality extremely dynamic. They not only, in their authority, may not be tampered with, but the student, because of her/his *distance* from these authoritative discourses, and because of the power of prior authoritative

discourses, which have not yet been discarded, is not *able* to manipulate, transform or make them her/his own. The skeptron of academia, i.e. control of these powerful discourses, is still out of reach, and the internally persuasive discourses, the persona of the student, are in transition.

The last approach to plagiarism in student writing which I would like to consider is of particular importance when considering the student who is learning in a second or third language. This is the notion of formulaic speech.

The role of Formulaic Language in Second Language Acquisition: *learning combinations of steps*

A new dance is learnt piece by piece, maybe two or four bars at a time. Each section is repeated several times, and later the whole thing will be put together. One section may be repeated later in the dance, or in another dance, with other costumes and music. So it is with learning a language.

Weinert (1995), in a useful overview of formulaic language, writes that definitions of formulaic language are

> generally expressed in terms of processes, and refer to multi-word or multi-form strings which are produced or recalled as a whole chunk, much like an individual lexical item, rather than being generated from individual lexical items/forms with linguistic rules. (182)

Weinert shows that there is much evidence to suggest that at all levels of language learning, from beginner to advanced level, chunks of language are learned and reproduced word for word. Ellis (1985) notes that formulaic language is also present in the speech of native speakers as well as learners of an additional language. Weinert cites evidence of formulaic language being used as communicative, productive and learning strategies. She argues that language is a "formulaic-creative continuum" (198), with a complex relationship between "formulaic language and rules, between memory and analysis".

When we require paraphrase from a student, how different from the original a paraphrase must be to be acceptable, is not clear. When one is learning the language formulaicly, how is one able to put it fully into one's "own words"? Paraphrase is significantly more difficult for the student not writing in their own language, because they have fewer alternative constructions

and more restricted lexicon available to them, and because words are stored in memory and accessed by the learner in chunks.

In addition to these difficulties, in our emphasis on analysis and originality, we undervalue the role of memory in learning. Pennycook (1994) points out the assumptions inherent in the deprecation of "rote-learning" strategies by Western academics in China. This is a familiar tune in South Africa. Memory plays a vital role in all learning, not least the learning of another language, and the production of learned chunks of language in a piece of academic writing may be an unconscious or conscious learning strategy, and not plagiarism.

Developing authorial voice: *breathing life into the dance*

Scollon (1995), in an authoritative analysis of plagiarism and ideology, with reference to intercultural discourse, analyses powerful taken-for-granted concepts of communication such as the Sender-Message-Receiver formula. He focuses on the person as communicator, citing what he calls "eight problems in constructing 'the author' " (6). I shall deal with only a few here. He uses Goffman's (1974, in Scollon, 1995) *Frame Analysis,* in which he defines three different aspects of the production of communication, called the *animator,* the *author* and the *principal.* The animator is "the talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity...the individual active in the role of utterance production" (Goffman in Scollon, 1995:6). This may not be the author. The author, in Goffman's definition, is "(s)omeone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded" (In Scollon, 1995:7). However, the author may not take responsibility for these words: the person who does so is the principal. Scollon demonstrates effectively that very seldom are the roles of animator, principal and author unified in one person. For instance, this dissertation is being authored by me, with the feedback and help of some of my colleagues, yet some of the responsibility for it, the principalship, will be taken by my supervisor, as well as (perhaps) some suggestions for actual wording (authoring). If it were published, reviewers may also suggest changes in authoring, the editors/publishers would take on some of the principalship (the act of publication takes on some responsibility for the quality of the publication) and its final animation would rest with the desktop publishing staff employed by the publishers. Using dance to illustrate, the author would be the choreographer, the principal the director, and the animators the dancers.

Interesting in this framework is how, in academic writing, the question of authorship of sources cited, and the stance to the views cited (the principalship) are signalled. When considering student learning, this is of significance for both reading and writing: in reading for detecting the voices and the author's stance to the voice present in a reading. Quotation marks

and references establish authorship, but principalship is established through what Goffman calls "laminator verbs" such as "maintains", "shows", "on the contrary" (In Scollon, 1995:7). These stances are very subtly indicated through choice of words ("maintains" has a different stance from "demonstrates"), so for someone reading in a language which is not their own, the principalship will not be easy to detect. Similarly, in writing, the subtle control of other texts and authors, and the writer's stance towards them, indicating author and principal for the reader, is a highly complex task.

Scollon also uses Goffman's notions of changing "footing" and enactment of social roles in order to illustrate the multivoicedness of text. He cites the psychological anthropologist Francis Hsu, who argues that "the Chinese concept of the person, in contrast to the Western concept, includes the intimate social relationships of the family" (In Scollon, 1995:14). Scollon argues that this notion of "interdependent selves" adds to the difficulty of identifying a single "author".

Foucault (1984), who himself cites the work of great philosophers with nothing other than a name, and never seems to cite any modern authors, sees the emergence of authors as closely related to the time when authors could be punished, when ownership and copyright benefited and limited the actions of authors. He reverses the traditional idea of the author, who is normally seen as "the genial creator of a work in which he deposits, with infinite wealth and generosity, an inexhaustible world of significations" (1984:118). Foucault rejects this, maintaining that the author carries the societal function of limiting meaning, excluding and selecting, shutting out the terrifying proliferation of meaning of today. He predicts a time when the author functions will disappear, and

> all discourses would then develop in the anonymity of a murmur. We would no longer hear the questions that have been rehashed for so long: Who really spoke? Is it really he and not someone else? With what authenticity or originality? And what part of his deepest self did he express in his discourse? Instead, there would be other questions, like these: What are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who can assume these various subject functions? And behind all these questions, we would hear hardly anything but the stirring of an indifference: What difference does it make who is speaking? (1984:119)

I believe that it does make a difference who is speaking. Foucault himself is one to whose words and authorship we are not indifferent. Foucault was an agent whose tools of analysis have enabled many to look at the nature of the subject and the way it is constituted in a new

way. His meanings were new, original, though his work must have been shaped by, and contained, many discourses and many other authors. Giddens (1987) finds poststructuralist thought fundamentally lacking a theory of human agency, and regarding the notion of the author, he writes

> Writing is sometimes portrayed as though texts wrote themselves; the relegation of the author to the role of a shadowy adjunct to writing is manifestly unsatisfactory. We can accept the significance of the theme of the decentring of the subject, and therefore the need to construct what an author is. But we shall have no proper grasp of the process of writing unless we manage to recombine satisfactorily the elements that have been decentred. (211)

The notion of authorship is in flux. Concepts of originality, of ownership of meaning and wording are complex and not adequately dealt with in much of our thinking about plagiarism, and our dealing with it in the academic context. But the author is not "dead". The author is alive, wriggling around in the complex contexts of the voices of others, and in the intersecting orchestras of power, but nevertheless making meaning from and in these voices.

Bakhtin knows that there is such a thing as an authorial presence, an agency within writing, that plays with, speaks to and within the voices of others. It is unsuccessful, incoherent writing that does not have this authorial presence. In a novice academic essay the voice of the author may not sound, and this has to do, as I have tried to show, with questions of the authority of the voices of others, and the lack of authority of the writer, the complicated masks and costumes of the genres of academic writing which are not made explicit, the alien nature of the discourses of academia, the hybridization of new and old discourses, and the formulaic nature in which language is learned and reproduced.

The voicelessness of novice academic writing may also have to do with an obsession with an avoidance of plagiarism, for instance, as Thesen (1994) has found, the student may overuse reporting clauses such as "he says", "he went on to say", in order to scrupulously separate out what is his and what is the source. The penalties of plagiarism force a consciousness of borrowing and owing, which may be experienced as paralysing. Thus in the pursuit of scrupulous avoidance of plagiarism, the authorial voice may be lost in a multiplicity of attributions to others. This does not have to be, but gaining authority in academic writing means learning how to use the voices of others to develop one's own.

One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse (Bakhtin, 1981:348).

The choreographer chooses from what she knows from others: music, forms of dance, steps, costumes, lighting, dancers. The more forms of dance she controls, and the more exposure to and learning of movement techniques, the more sophisticated her dancers, the more choice she has. In the perfect execution, the dancers carry out the vision of the choreographer, but they are each shaped by their own histories: where they have danced, who they have trained with, who they are. The choreographer has to know these dancers, take their individual attributes into account and work with them to create a whole, and know the discourses of the audience as well. It is an intricate, complex task. So it is with authors and words.

3. METHODOLOGY

Once an intrepid sailor, first mate, set out on a voyage in a fishing trawler. The boat moved through backwashes and sometimes frighteningly still waters, and one or two near capsizes. It sometimes felt rudderless; the crew mutinied often, and the first mate often felt inexperienced in navigation and wondered if she should be doing something else with her life. Sometimes it cruised joyfully, when the wind conditions were favourable, and the crew caught nourishing, plump, colourful fish. Sometimes the catch was bad, the fish inedible, and they were thrown back into the sea. Several times the boat had to return to shore, to repair the nets, to take on provisions and reset the course. Sometimes, the first mate would take the helm at night, for long lonely hours, interrupted only by endless cups of coffee to keep her awake. At these times the voyage would seem endless. She couldn't wait to get there.

In this chapter I shall attempt firstly to locate the research within a postpositivist paradigm, moving on to a discussion of discourses and meaning in research as a social practice. Whilst being critical of positivist notions of objectivity and validity, I attempt to set out alternative understandings of these concepts, more suited to a postpositivist paradigm. I then move on to the data collection methods, discussing the interview as a principal method of data collection in some depth. Finally I describe the actual research process, including feedback and initial dissemination. I begin with a mooring for the boat: a location within a paradigm.

Putting down moorings

Examining the ropes: Paradigm Lost?

There is some value in attempting to locate this research within a paradigm, with a caution about the concept of paradigms. The word *paradigm* comes from Thomas Kuhn's 1962 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and refers to conceptual frameworks which dominate a discipline. A "paradigm shift" occurs when there are internal tensions within a discipline, and professionals within it change allegiance to a new emerging framework (Lather, 1991; Janse van Rensburg, 1994). Lather (1991:107) argues that Kuhnian frameworks assume that

language simply reflects reality, and that in addition, they de-emphasize the political choices which lie behind methodologies and theories. She also maintains that they "diminish the play of multiple emergent knowledges vying for legitimacy" (1991:107). In other words, by attempting to identify paradigms and slot theories or research methods and techniques into them, we deny the contested, plural, partial nature of knowledge. Caputo (in Lather, 1991:108) has coined the term "post-paradigmatic diaspora" for the postmodern research world. Whilst conceptual frames such as Kuhnian "paradigms" help us to make meaning, they cannot accurately contain the somewhat messy processes of real construction of knowledge. In other words, the sand beneath the mooring is ever-shifting, the currents playing at it continuously.

Van Manen (1990:27) sees the term *methodology* as referring to the "philosophical framework, the fundamental assumptions and characteristics of a human science perspective." It includes the epistemology, and "the theory behind the method" (1990:27-28). Burgess avoids direct confrontation with epistemologies and philosophies, defining "methodology" as "the systematic and logical study of the general principles guiding an investigation" (1985:3). Guba and Lincoln's (1989) understanding is closer to Van Manen's: For them, methodology is

> the overall strategy for resolving the complex set of choices of options available to the inquirer. Far from being merely a matter of making selections among methods, methodology involves the researcher utterly - from unconscious worldview to enactment of that worldview via the inquiry process. (1989:183)

It seems then, that it is likely that a methodology, as a set of guiding principles stemming from a theory of knowledge, or a world view, will be aligned with a paradigm. It is the buoy chained to the mooring, visible from the surface. In other words, a positivist methodology will not be possible within a postpositivist paradigm. This is Guba and Lincoln's view, as well as Vulliamy's, though he states it more tentatively (1990:12). *Methods* are research tools or techniques, such as discourse analysis or the interview. Between method and paradigm, or method and methodology, the crossover is possible, so that one might use a quantitative method, such as the survey, within a qualitative methodology, such as a case study. The research crew use winches and sails which may be fitted to another vessel moored elsewhere.

Dropping the mooring: Research as praxis in a postpositivist paradigm

Neutral or "innocent" inquiry is virtually impossible to achieve. All forms of inquiry are culture-bound constructions, and the natural sciences have also begun to recognize this. This does not mean that positivist inquiry is of no value; what it does mean is that it has to

recognize its limitations and its stance of neutrality as a useful pretence. Guba and Lincoln (1989:64) write:

> Inquiry can produce findings only about how things and actions are *constructed* by human beings.

It is thus not possible to do value free research, and the recognition of this is the essence of the postpositivist paradigm: knowledge is a value-laden construction. It is here I place my mooring. Within this paradigm, there are a range of methodologies, and I have found the following table, reproduced from Lather (1991:7) useful. She explains that it is grounded in Habermas's (1971) thesis of the three categories underlying knowledge claims: prediction, understanding and emancipation. To this Lather has added the "deconstruct" column:

Postpositivist Inquiry

Predict	Understand	Emancipate	Deconstruct
positivism	interpretive	critical	poststructural
	naturalistic	neo-Marxist	postmodern
	constructivist	feminist	post-paradigmatic
	phenomenological	praxis-oriented	diaspora
	hermeneutic	educative	
		Freirian participatory	
		action research	

(Reproduced from Lather, 1991: 7)

This project has elements of all three postpositivist columns: I hope to *understand* plagiarism, through *interpreting* how others *construct* and *interpret* it in their essays, in their marking and in their handbooks. In addition, although I hesitate to call this research "emancipatory", it has elements of this column, in that its concern is for allowing access to academic literacy for traditionally disadvantaged students. It intends to be *critical* of the social practices of academic literacy, in order to uncover whose interests they serve, and who is excluded by them. It also intends to be *educative* and *praxis-oriented*. The requirements of the Marxian concept of praxis, according to Lather, are "theory both relevant to the world and nurtured by actions in it, and an action component in its own theorizing process that grows out of practical political grounding" (1991:11,12). Thus by making the outcome of this project a workshop on plagiarism which will hopefully be used widely in the university, as well as writing articles for

institutional newspapers, there is political action as a real component. I also hope to encourage self-reflection and deeper understanding on the part of the researched through my work with them. My hesitation with the "emancipatory" column is reinforced, however, by the knowledge of my own complicity in what I critique, my own vested interests in my position at the institution which I seek to change through my actions. I am both insider and outsider here, and this is a useful but constraining position to hold as a researcher, as it gives me both insights and understanding of the context, yet I am deeply immersed in what I study, and therefore hold many taken-for-granted beliefs which I will attempt to question, but some will be elusive to me as an insider. Some distaste for this column stems from a wariness of the totalizing discourses of "grand narratives" such as liberatory critical pedagogy, which has been so devastatingly unpacked from a postmodern perspective by Elizabeth Ellsworth (1989). Further resistance to some of the elements of this column also lies in the assumptions of a better world to which the researcher or "emancipator" is party, while the researched holds a "false consciousness". I wish to take a more humble stance, not hoping to break down "false consciousness", but rather to "create an enabling context to question taken-for-granted beliefs and the authority culture has over us" (Lather: 1991:61) for myself as well as the researched.

Much of the resistance to emancipatory research to which I refer above is informed by the fourth column. I am fascinated by the power of the theories and methods emerging from those seeking to "deconstruct". I think that the deconstructive tools of poststructuralism and postmodernism can be harnessed in the service of the "emancipate" column. But postmodernism adds a new slant to our understanding of knowledge and meaning, and of the multiple, fluctuating, contradictory and partial nature of knowledge. I have some scepticism of the paralysing effect of postmodernist relativism, and so prefer to acknowledge the provisional and tentative nature of my interpretations, yet take a stand.

Crosscurrents and Anchors

Crosscurrents: Discourses and Meaning in research

> Paulhan states that the word's sense is complex, fluid, and constantly changing. To some extent, it is unique for each consciousness and for a single consciousness in varied circumstances. In this respect, the word's sense is inexhaustible. The word acquires its sense in the phrase. The phrase itself, however, acquires its sense only in the context of the paragraph, the paragraph in the context of the book, and the book in the context of the author's collected works. Ultimately, the word's real sense is determined by everything in consciousness which is related to what the word expresses. According to Paulhan, the sense of the Earth is the solar system, the sense

of the solar system is the Milky Way, and the sense of the Milky Way.....We never know the complete sense of anything, including that of a given word. The word is an inexhaustible source of new problems. Its sense is never complete. Ultimately, the sense of a word depends on one's understanding of the world as a whole and on the internal structure of personality. (Vygotsky, 1987: 276)

These words of Vygotsky, though written in the earlier part of the twentieth century, anticipate poststructuralist theory, where "the plurality of language and the impossibility of fixing meaning once and for all are basic principles of poststructuralism" (Weedon, 1987:85). All research (even experimental research) involves language and the construction of meaning through language. From the discussions around the research proposal, the reading of the literature, the data collection and analysis, be it of interviews, observation or documentation, through to the final writing up of the research, meaning is made through language. The way in which I shall try to make meaning in this research project, is constrained and contained by the many discourses to which I belong and which belong to me. The Collins English Dictionary traces the origins of the word "discourse" to the Latin "discurrere" meaning "to run different ways". I like this derivation, as it evokes the sense of the individual subject being a "site of struggle" where "discourses, located as they are in social institutions and processes, are continually competing with each other for the allegiance of individual agents" (Weedon, 1987: 97). The discourses which "run different ways" through me are multiple and often contradictory (Ellsworth, 1989; Weedon, 1987). For the moment, like Fairclough (1992), I am using the term *discourse* to mean language use as social practice, or practices. Discourses are constitutive of the individual subject, and therefore reproduce themselves, but are also open to change through individual agency, and through the subject's contact with other discourses. Discourses are always tied to ideologies and power (Fairclough, 1992; Gee, 1990), as discussed in chapter 2.

Research, too, is a social practice, and never free of values, investment, ideology. It is significant that "research" means "search again", because a researcher, or different researchers, may return to the data over and over again, applying different readings, using different discourses, and emerging with different interpretations. And yet this does not give the researcher licence to cast out notions such as "objectivity" and "validity" in research, but rather to seek new meanings for these words, which strip them of notions of the "value-free" positivist discourse from which the words derive. "Re-search" means making use of various forms of triangulation, so that different kinds of data are being used, different methods of data collection and analysis, and "findings" are being looked at from all angles, so constantly being "sought again", in order to obtain as rich, valid and "objective" a picture as possible. What

could "objectivity" mean in a constructivist, postmodern world, where knowledge is seen as constructed, interpreted, and never immutable?

Some anchors: "Objectivity" and Validity

"Objectivity". Using the metaphor of Baron von Muenchhausen, the romantic adventurer who got caught in a European swamp, and pulled himself and his horse out by his own hair, Adri Smaling (1990: 162) conceptualizes "Muenchhausen objectivity" as a "contrafactual, regulative principle", in other words, "objectivity" is an unattainable goal which should still be pursued. He sees "objectivity" as "letting the object speak" and "doing justice to the object of study", where the researcher's personal experience is "not just seen as a possible threat to objectivity, but as an instrument: objectivity is an intelligent learned use of our subjectivity, not an escape from it" (1990:157). He does not see objectivity as unbiased detachment, rather as "an attitude that rests upon involvement and purity of interest" (1990:157). Objectivity, as in "doing justice to the object of study" requires the researcher to "dialectically and dynamically" balance letting the object speak, and avoiding distortion. Thus, while "objectivity" in the positivist sense is seen as impossible, and subjectivity seen as the positive use of the experience, knowledge and social skills of the subject in doing research, objectivity is nevertheless an unobtainable goal which can help avoid distortion, and allow the object to speak.

Validity. Lather (1991), looking for validity criteria which serve praxis-oriented research, comes up with four reconceptions of validity: Firstly, *triangulation* is seen as a way of establishing data trustworthiness. This could be using multiple sources of data, multiple methods, and multiple theoretical frames. In this research project I use interviews with all levels of the academic community: lecturers, tutors, and students, as well as documents such as handbooks and essays. In addition, I make use of discourse analysis of a written text, which will be discussed in Chapter 4, as well as a theory-generating method of analysis of interview and essay data, which will be outlined later in this chapter.

Lather uses the concept of *construct validity* to provide a framework for questioning the relationship of the research process to its theoretical framework. Where the research data is altering a priori theory, or the researcher's preconceptions, this must be consciously and honestly confronted. She writes,

> Building emancipatory social theory requires a ceaseless confrontation with and respect for the experiences of people in their daily lives to guard against theoretical imposition. (1991:67)

She then takes a new look at *face validity,* saying that where there is face validity there will be recognition by readers, and it is achieved by recycling the emerging constructions and conclusions back to at least some of the research participants. This too I hope to do in this research project, as it not only strengthens the research considerably, it also takes at least some of the stakeholders' "claims, concerns and issues" into account (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:50). Guba and Lincoln's rather utopian view of evaluation research requires that the research outcome be an entirely joint construction, a continual "hermeneutic, dialectic" circle of consensus building. In the end this is not pragmatic, and not often possible, and the final result can never really be an entirely joint construction. However some way of finding out to what extent the researched find that the research findings have face validity, some form of "member checking" (Guba and Lincoln in Lather, 1991:68) is essential. Lather's fourth notion is that of *catalytic validity* which evaluates the extent to which the research process has a transformatory, energizing impact. She argues that this impact needs to be consciously channeled for maximum positive effect. In setting out to develop and run workshops on plagiarism for academic staff, and in using various fora for dissemination of the findings, I hope the research will have catalytic validity, that the boat will leave a lasting wake. It will not be possible to evaluate this within the scope of this dissertation.

Casting the net: the Collection of Data

The primary data for this research project have been essays, selected by markers as being problematic in some way regarding referencing, including evidence of plagiarism, as well as a small selection of well-referenced essays. The next source of data was interviews with students, tutors and staff; students who had written interesting essays, and tutors and staff who had marked them. One staff member was interviewed because I thought his views on referencing and plagiarism would be interesting. In addition, a discourse analysis of a section of the departmental handbook was conducted. Other sources of data were the course readers and prescribed readings from which the students were drawing their sources in their essays. In the case of one student, called here Tshediso, whom I interviewed over a year, and with whom you will become familiar in chapter 4, I collected and examined all his writing over his first year, including tutorial assignments, in two subjects: Political Studies and Psychology.

I shall briefly discuss the method of discourse analysis used on the handbook in chapter 4. As a major form of data collection in the human sciences, and as a major method to be used in this research, I think the interview deserves special attention in this chapter.

The Interview as Discourse

As Silverman (1993) suggests, I have approached the interview in two ways: mindful of form and mindful of content. In other words, I have tried to be aware of the interview as discourse, the construction of interaction between the participants, as well as what the interviewees actually say. In doing so, I am seeing the interview as a text constructed between two participants, but as a meaningful one, with value in what is said as well as how it is said. Although my intention has not been to spend much time doing close linguistic analysis of sections of interview discourse, I have continually tried to reflect upon what was "going on" in the interviews, in terms of the interpersonal relations at play.

Before returning to the interviews which took place as part of this study, I shall look briefly at some of the weaknesses of the standardized interview, and the strengths of the in-depth, unstructured interview, in order to justify the latter as my own preferred mode of interviewing. I shall also look at the importance of a consideration of power relations in the interview.

Discourse in the standardized and semi-structured interview

Mishler (1986) carefully analyses what happens in the standardized "scientific" interview and its analysis, showing that meaning is lost by stripping it of context in order to attain neutrality. He shows the gulf that exists between everyday talk and the standardized interview, where the interview is seen as "verbal behaviour" rather than a "linguistic event" (10-11). Oakley, whose work is discussed in Mishler (1986:30,31), says that an impossible contradiction exists between the need for "rapport" between interviewer and interviewee, and the need for comparability between standardized interviews, and that "personal involvement is more than dangerous bias - it is the condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives" (in Mishler, 1986: 31). It is not my intention to go further into the inadequacies of the standardized interview. My intention is simply to highlight the interview as talk between two human beings, between whom complex power relations exist and shift, and where maximum involvement will produce maximum opening up.

The researcher is always caught in the net with the research participants. Mishler (1986) shows how the discourse of any interview is constructed jointly by interviewers and respondents. Respondents interpret questions differently, and the interviewer and interviewee work hard at establishing shared meaning. Mishler also demonstrates how during the actual interview, the interviewee quickly picks up the appropriate length of response and the kind of question and answer that is valued, and acts accordingly. Similarly Fairclough (1992:138-149), building on Mishler (1984, in Fairclough), contrasting a "standard" and an "alternative"

type of medical interview, shows how the interview content can be completely different with a different approach taken by the interviewer, and how the interviewee quickly learns the "correct" form of response. The way in which the net is cast is crucial in determining the catch.

In order to highlight the differences in approach and effect of the standardized and semi-structured interview, as well as other important considerations such as power relations which pertain to both kinds of interview, I would like to take a brief look at my own recent experience of two very different interviews with doctors. In some senses, the medical interview is not unlike a research interview. The doctor's aim is to elicit information, in order to understand, in order to be able to use his/her knowledge to diagnose and then treat. Although there is no "diagnosis", in praxis-oriented research, the researcher also aims to understand, uses her knowledge to analyse, and attempts to use the findings to transform praxis. In the interviews in question, I was being interviewed, an instructive reversal of roles for any researcher. In the first, the doctor (a gynaecological specialist, male, in his fifties, interviewing me at his very busy practice) read out a list of questions from a card, and instructed me to answer only if my response was in the affirmative. None of his questions, except for the first, "why are you here?" allowed an open-ended response, and all were to do only with physical indications. The result was that the doctor gleaned very little information from me, I felt controlled and voiceless, his analysis was ineffective, and he was unable to make a diagnosis. The second interview was with a woman doctor who worked from her home. She took a wide-ranging patient history, which included questions indicating a much more holistic view of the self, and she followed up on and commented on what I said. The interview was more like an informative chat. I felt able to ask questions at any stage. This doctor spent more time with me, but her procedure for diagnosis was effective, and I came away from the interview feeling like a person and not just a "patient" patient (as in "enduring trying circumstances" as well as passively "*receiving* medical care"). Her interview would be called "semi-structured, in-depth" in the research literature.

What do these two differing approaches to finding out information illustrate which has relevance to research interviews? Firstly, the **power relations** at work in the interview matter. The doctor in the first interview exercised what Fairclough (1992) calls "interactional control" by driving the turn-taking system, being the one to ask the questions. He also exercised topic control, as all the questions were closed questions for answering "yes" (or not answering if the answer was "no"!). The doctor's gender/age/superior medical knowledge status allowed him to do this. Secondly, the **mode of questioning** is of importance to the research context: The first doctor's set of questions was standardized (as was clear from the card), which enabled him to use standard medical knowledge, and compare with previous experience. However the

doctor did not find out sufficient information: his "research method" was ineffective. He did not "allow the object to speak" (Smaling, 1990). He was not sufficiently respectful of the patient's own knowledge of her body; he had a preconceived set of assumptions and categories into which the patient had to be moulded. The second interview had some of the same power relations at work, in that the doctor also had superior medical knowledge, and largely controlled the interaction, but it differed in that she followed up on information, she allowed changes in topic where I saw them to be relevant, and her questions were open and encouraged me to speak. She also allowed a great deal of access to her medical knowledge through answering my questions. In this way the power differentials were lowered, and flowing from this, more information was available to both doctor and patient.

Thus certain power differentials within an interview exist, by virtue of status/race/gender/age/knowledge relations. Paxton, Garraway and Murray (1994), discussing interviews with students which took place in the same institutional context as this research, write the following:

> To some extent the possibility of using contending discourses, such as that of critique, were closed off to them through the power relations inherent in their position in the university, and made manifest in the interview situation. (84)

However there are ways of lowering the power differentials, as Fairclough's analysis and my own experience of medical interviews show. These can be planned for, but they may also happen unexpectedly within the interview. I have shown elsewhere (Angelil-Carter, 1994b) that power relations within a single interview can change with a change of topic, and that such a shift has much to do with the wider political and social context in which the interview takes place. In a close analysis which I did of an initial interview with a student, it is evident that the power relations shifted quite dramatically when I discovered a while into the interview that he had been a political prisoner. The effect that this shift had on the interview itself was especially evident in the length of answers which the interviewee gave to my questions (from a few lines of my transcript to answers of one-third to three-quarters of a page).

The above considerations of the interview as a mode of data collection led me to the following choices for the present research: The form that my interviews took was that of the semi-structured, in-depth interview. Although the questions were prepared beforehand, they were only a shell. I probed, followed up on answers, went back to earlier answers, summarized and reflected back to the interviewees what I thought they were saying. Thus an interview with 12 prepared questions often took one and a half hours.

The interviews which I conducted had three different kinds of power relations at the outset, by virtue of the status of the interviewees within the institution, as I interviewed students, tutors and staff members of mixed gender and race. I have tried in the analysis in chapter 4, therefore, to be aware of the power relations at work, and how these can affect what is said in the interview. It was also essential, especially with an investigation into something as sensitive as plagiarism, to try to lower the power differentials, and to set students and tutors at ease, by means of a statement of "solidarity". I did this by means of a statement at the beginning of the interview giving my view that I believe that learning how to control multiple voices in a text is complex, and I wanted to find out whether students struggle with it, and how students learn to do it. I hoped that this would clear the air of any suspicion of monitoring of plagiarism, and do something to level out the inherent power relations between a lecturer/researcher and student at my institution. Beginning the interview with questions about the student's life story helped to lower the power differentials, because the student is the one who knows about her life, here she has much to tell, though she may feel she knows little about academia. I also tried to allow the student some control of the interaction, because I believe that this way the student talks more, and the researcher finds out more. The power relations were somewhat different when I was interviewing staff, most of whom are more senior to me, some of them male. I have found in the past and experienced again in the present research project, that the difficulty here is not "allowing the object to speak" (Smaling, 1990), but rather maintaining some control of the interview, so that the material needed is covered.

Where I found the power relations most difficult to negotiate was in interviewing tutors. Their status is somewhere between student and peer. They are taking on a mentoring and teaching role, usually with very little training, and they are very much learners themselves. Even with highly skilled, articulate tutors, I found the power relations difficult. As they reflected and talked through an essay, a sensitive tutor sometimes became very aware of the weaknesses in their teaching and feedback. This could quickly slide into a positioning of me as critic, or as teacher of teachers, rather than of "naive" researcher. Students, on the other hand, were fairly easy to put at ease, by means of the statement of solidarity, and a general chat, as expressed above. The power differentials were accepted, they had a lot to tell me about their struggles to come to grips with academic literacy, pleased that someone was willing to listen. Tutors, however, are usually selected for their academic ability, and are often confident and articulate students who believe they know how to play the academic game. The assumption is that they know it all already, because they have been selected to teach it, but of course they cannot know it all, and often became aware of this during the interview. Like newly licensed drivers, their constructions of how to drive are fragile, yet they might feel very confident and secure in them. Just as a near car accident might, their own reflections in the interview sometimes made them aware of the fragility of the construction, and I think, left them feeling very vulnerable.

When this happens in an interview, rather than in another learning situation, the tape recorder and researcher may seem to be powerful witnesses of that vulnerability.

A final comment on the interviews: I was able to develop a relationship of trust over a long time with Tshediso, whom I interviewed over a year, and his interview data was richest. I was also able to follow his developmental trajectory in a way that was not possible with the other students.

Setting a course: preparations and negotiations

The research took place in three phases: the first phase was conducted in 1994, as a kind of pilot project, focusing on the writing and experiences of one student, whose writing was examined, and who was interviewed at intervals over a year. As this data is particularly rich, and as it shows the student's development over the year, it is woven into the other data in chapter 4. The second and third phases took place in 1995, and incorporated more students, tutors and staff. The second phase focused on the third year level, and the third on the first year level.

Taking the winds into account: other stakeholders

The ADP: As I am employed to do Language Research and Development for the Academic Development Programme at the University of Cape Town, it was essential that this research be negotiated around the needs of the ADP unit, and the broad aims of Academic Development. Therefore the research proposal (several versions of it) formed the document around which much negotiation took place, mainly with the ADP itself.

The Ethics Committee: At UCT there is an ethics committee to which one must apply if one wishes to conduct research using students. I applied to this committee, who saw the research proposal, the interview questions, and a covering letter indicating the steps taken as regards asking permission of students and so on (See appendix 4). The committee approved the project.

The Political Studies Department.
  1) **Staff:** After talking informally to several staff members, both in the ADP and the Political Studies department, I held a seminar to which members of both departments were invited, in order to test out my proposal and obtain feedback. Only one member of the Politics department was able to attend. However I was able to discuss my project individually with

several members of the staff of this department, all of whom were very concerned about the issue of plagiarism and referencing, and keen to be of assistance.

2) **Students:** Asking permission from the lecturers concerned, I attended a lecture of both the first year and the third year students, and in a five minute presentation informed them of the research project. I told them that I might be analysing their essays, and asking them for interviews. I further asked them to indicate on their essays when they handed them in, if they did not want to participate in the project.

Setting sail: the research process

Pilot phase: Early in 1994, I attended an essay marking workshop in the Political Studies department, and one of the essays discussed there was very interesting in terms of the way the student had incorporated his sources, and the way in which the essay had been marked. I asked this student (called Tshediso in this study) to come to an interview. Over the year, he brought me all his tutorial assignments and essays in his two writing subjects: Political Studies and Psychology. I also asked him to note down in a journal any thoughts or difficulties he was experiencing with referencing over the year. This he then showed me, and I questioned him about this in interviews. He was interviewed 4 times over the year, and I interviewed both his Psychology and his Political Studies tutors.

Third year phase: At the third year level, in 1995, the research participants were drawn from a Political Studies one semester course run by one lecturer and her tutor, an Honours student. The lecturer was a staff member with whom I had previously had contact concerning another research project, and she was also someone whom I knew was extremely concerned about the issues of plagiarism and referencing. I asked her and her tutor to each select from a set of essays about 5 students who had either plagiarized, or were struggling with referencing, and 1 student who was very competent at controlling multiple voices and indicating who was "speaking" for the reader. (See Appendix 5 for essay information). I analysed the essays they selected for me, looking for interesting referencing problems and interesting feedback, and selected 6 students to interview. In fact I received 11 essays marked by the tutor, and seven from the lecturer.

I tried to gain some context about the essay by attending a tutorial in which the essay would be discussed. In fact this tutorial never took place, as not enough students turned up. When I heard that before they began marking, the lecturer and tutor would be meeting to discuss their marking criteria, I asked if I could attend that meeting. I was made very welcome, but immediately realised that my presence was changing the focus of the meeting entirely. Instead of discussing a marking procedure, they had extracted some student essays where referencing

was problematic, and were wanting to get my feedback on it. I went along with this, and possibly helped to clarify for them what kind of thing I was looking for. However I did not gain much information about the essay. It was at this meeting that the lecturer said to me "Shelley I don't know what plagiarism is anymore". I record this to show the effect of the research process on the research and its participants.

First year phase: The first year level process in 1995 was similar to the third year phase described above, except that I worked with three tutors, each of whom selected about 5 essays, and two staff members, one of whom marked essays and one who had set the essay question though he did not mark any essays. With the help of the former staff member, I selected the tutors with whom I wished to work. Here I was able to attend a meeting in which the essay was discussed. From this meeting I was able to obtain a sense of the marking criteria of the essay. There was also some discussion regarding referencing, emerging from questions from the tutors. I interviewed both staff members and in the end selected only one of the three tutors to interview. 9 students were interviewed at this level.

The interviews

The interview questions were carefully thought out with the assistance of colleagues in ADP and the research supervisor. (See appendix 6 for interview schedule).

Each student interview included:
1. An autobiographical element, in order to trace important aspects of the participants' background which had influenced their writing and their approach to referencing.
2. A section which asked general questions about the role of referencing in academic writing.
3. General questions about the student's essay.
4. Specific questions about sections of the essay, particularly where the marker had indicated referencing problems.

Each tutor and staff interview included:
1. An autobiographical element, as above.
2. A section of wide-ranging questions on referencing and plagiarism, and the link between scholarship and citation.
3. The interviewee was given a set of extracts from letters to the Council Chronicle, June 1994) about plagiarism, and asked to locate themselves in the debate. (See Appendix 7)
4. Specific questions regarding particular essays they had marked, and particular requests for referencing in these essays.

Interviewing and reflecting: Each interview, whilst covering some of the same ground in the middle part of the interview, was entirely different, as they were in-depth, semi-structured interviews, as described in the section "The Interview as Discourse" above. After each interview, I noted down in my research journal what I had found most interesting about each interview. These reflections I found very important when going back to the interviews for analysis. Sometimes, according to how questions had worked, I modified the questions, or added a question which had not been included previously. For instance, after a few interviews with students, I realised how important it was to ask them about their reading and note-taking technique, as this seemed to be closely related to their problems with referencing.

At each level, I first interviewed students, and then tutors and staff. This was because I wanted to be able to reflect back to staff some of what the students were saying in their interviews. I also transcribed the student interviews before going into tutor and staff interviews, so that my perceptions of what students had said were as accurate as possible.

Transcribing: With the help of an assistant, I transcribed the interviews quite fully. Usually I summarized the initial part of the interview, in which autobiographical questions were asked, and then more fully as the interview progressed, with as accurate a representation as I could. As I would not be doing a discourse analysis on the interviews, I did not consider it necessary to indicate hesitations and excessive rephrasing, or overlaps and interruptions. Where I found it significant, I did indicate a pause or a laugh, or excessive hesitation. I did not transcribe at all one or two interviews, which I felt had not elicited anything interesting which I would want to use in the analysis.

Analysis

Essays: I analysed 18 third year and 23 first year essays, selected for me by tutors and lecturers who had marked them. They were selected for plagiarism, for problems with referencing, and a few for excellent referencing. I noted within the essay copy my own reflections or questions which I wanted to ask the student or the marker, and pasted onto each essay a note with a summary of what I thought might be happening in the essay, and an "interest value" percentage: interesting in terms of referencing, or in terms of feedback on referencing, to help me select for interview purposes later on. I was looking for evidence of student misunderstandings of referencing, struggles with paraphrase, overuse of quotations or idiosyncratic references to people the student had known or spoken to. I was also looking for feedback which was helpful or unhelpful in terms of developing an understanding of how and when to reference. In feedback, I was interested in where the marker had not required references, and why this might be so. I looked for instances where referencing of what seemed

to be common knowledge or what Bazerman (1995) calls "deep sources" had been required by the marker. I was curious, too, when I found inconsistencies within one person's marking, and across markers on the same course. In some cases I referred to the original sources from which the students had drawn, to compare their writing with the texts on which it was based. The essays, then, formed the basis for the selection of interviewees and for part of the questions in the interviews.

Interviews: I went through all the transcripts, dividing them into students, tutors and staff. For each group I did a newsprint mapping exercise, writing down the words of the interviewees which captured the essence of their viewpoints, and allowing themes and categories to emerge through this process. I used the theoretical framework which I had developed after the interviews, and in writing chapter 2, as a starting point for these categories, but new categories and considerations emerged during the analysis. All through this process, and the subsequent writing of the analysis, I was moving between essay and interview data of the student and that of her marker, to see what the "fit" was across these sources of data. Where the "fit" was not good, I tried to explore why, and in so doing I was open to new themes, categories and new questions emerging from the data. This method was derived from my reading of van Manen (1990), Ely et al (1991) and Silverman (1993), but adapted to suit the constraints and needs of this project.

Feedback

I sent a letter to all the research participants, students, tutors and staff, (Appendix 8) telling them what had emerged from the project, and offering them the opportunity of reading and commenting on anything which had been written. In addition, I collaborated with the Writing Centre and Political Studies staff in planning and delivering a workshop on plagiarism and referencing in the Political Studies department. In this workshop I presented some of the theoretical explorations of this research, and used some of the essay and interview data to generate discussion. In addition to this workshop, a short report will be sent to members of the department.

Dissemination: Articles for Monday Paper and CSD Bulletin.

After holding a workshop with consultants in the Writing Centre, one of the Writing Centre coordinators, Suellen Shay, suggested that I and one of the consultants should write a piece for the UCT Monday Paper, which is a free weekly newspaper for staff, read also by some students. In order to generate debate, Cathy Hutchings and I first wrote an article, drawing on this and Writing Centre research, which painted scenarios and raised questions (Appendix 1).

This article generated a great deal of discussion and debate, and led to some letters sent to the Monday Paper in reply, some e-mail messages, and many corridor discussions. After the debate had run for a while, we wrote a second article, this time stating our position on plagiarism and our suggestions for what might underlie "plagiarism" (Appendix 3). There was evidence of this article being practically useful to tutors and staff, in the way that it turned up in workshops. The Editor of the Human Sciences Research Council's CSD Bulletin saw this article in the Monday Paper, and asked if she could use it in their bulletin. This was slightly edited then, and published in the September 1995 edition of the CSD Bulletin (Appendix 9). A paper which was drawn from Chapter 2 of this dissertation was also presented at the Kenton Education Conference in Grahamstown in October.

All of these instances of feedback and dissemination, and in particular the responses to them, had a profound impact on my own thinking about the topic under study, and sometimes rocked the boat in a most unnerving way. However when it straightened out, I had a better idea of my destination.

4. ANALYSIS: A MULTIVOICED TEXT

The analysis presented here represents my selection and interpretation of relevant data from many essays and interviews, with students and staff. As discussed in Chapter 3, using Lather's (1991) framework, the methodology used in this research project is postpositivist, interpretive, praxis-oriented, making use of some deconstructive methods. The analysis seeks to probe deeply into the issues of plagiarism, and students' struggles around referencing in academic writing, and to provide a triangulated grid, a set of perspectives from the vantage points of students, lecturers, and tutors. This grid is supplemented by a discourse analysis of the departmental handbook, as a text which represents a particular point of communication between staff and students, often mediated by tutors. A central voice is, of course, my own, in what I as interviewer chose to focus on in interviews, in what I have selected from the data to present in this chapter, and in the way in which I have structured it and commented upon it. By triangulating different sources of data, and by giving all the research participants the opportunity to read and comment on this interpretation, in an attempt at "member-checking", and by myself being open to revisions in my a priori thinking throughout the project, I hope that the data can be considered "objective" in Smaling's (1990) sense of "letting the object speak", and "doing justice to the object of study" (157), as discussed in Chapter 3. I have also fed back some of the research findings to the Political Studies department in the form of a workshop and a report. I realise in reflecting on my selection of data, that it is the voices of students that I have been most concerned to represent; it is their experiences with the practices of academic literacy that are least understood, I think, and need to be heard. It is also their experiences and struggles that to me are most revealing of the difficulties inherent in academic writing, and their words which bring to light old difficulties and raise new ones for academics to think about. However all of the interviews with staff as well as the workshop, and the feedback that I received from colleagues all over the institution on the articles which I and Cathy Hutchings wrote, raised new questions and new ways of thinking about the research problems for me. Although these voices may not be directly reflected in this chapter, they were extremely formative in my own thinking. As I write, therefore, I think of my audience as the Higher Education academic who is most embedded in the practices of academic literacy, and see myself as interpreter of a small corner of student experience, focused however, to refract onto wider academic literacy practices.

I begin with a brief discourse analysis of the first year departmental handbook, and the section on referencing and plagiarism. (There is no discussion on this subject in the third year handbook). I shall draw on Fairclough's method of discourse analysis, as I have used it previously (Angelil-Carter, 1994b) and found it to be a thorough, powerful method, which is very clearly set out in Fairclough (1992). The categories I have used are drawn from his framework. I shall briefly discuss the overall functions and purpose of the handbook as a discourse practice, the conditions of its production and consumption, and the link which it forms in an intertextual chain, and then turn to the sections on plagiarism and referencing, and examine coherence and metaphor in the actual wording. In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I shall make some alternative suggestions for what might be pedagogically useful to include in a handbook. The first of Fairclough's (1992) categories which I shall discuss then, is that of the overall discourse practice of the handbook.

The Departmental Handbook: a Focus on Plagiarism and Referencing

Discourse Practice

The discourse practice refers to the wider social practice of the discourse under analysis, its particular social function or role. A handbook is essentially an introduction for the student into the department and the curriculum, at best it gives explicit instructions to the apprentice to the discipline on some of the codes and conventions of the discipline, as well as presenting an overview of the course, deadlines for essays, etc. The handbook's genre is that of the university departmental handbook, and it acts as mediator/communicator between department and students. In the absence of other kinds of mediation, it may be for students the only means of finding out about referencing conventions in the department, and what constitutes plagiarism.

The Conditions of Discourse Practice

Here one needs to examine the "social practices of text production and consumption associated with the type of discourse the sample represents" (Fairclough, 1992:233). In terms of production, it is interesting to consider Goffman's "animator, principal and author" divisions, discussed in chapter 2 (Goffman in Scollon, 1995:6). There are no authors mentioned anywhere in the handbook, and as far as I understand it, the handbook is a very collaborative effort, consisting of revisions of old handbooks, borrowings from other departments' handbooks, and inputs from a number of different staff members. It is thus difficult to establish authorship. The animator would be the person who finally puts this piece of work into print, and this would be one of the support staff. Who the principal is, i.e. who

takes responsibility for the whole, however, is not clear in a reading of the handbook as it stands, although from my knowledge of the department I would say that it is the first year curriculum administrator. In terms of consumption, it is my belief through my interviews with students that unless they are specifically referred to the handbook in various fora, they might perhaps read through it once, and then put it aside. The handbook has to be effectively mediated in order to be comprehended, firstly, and in order to be acted upon.

Intertextual Chains

This denotes how a discourse sample is distributed, and from which texts it is transformed or into which it transforms itself. Interesting to note here is that the section on essay guidelines, of which this extract is a part, has been partly "borrowed" from another department, which is acknowledged at the end of the handbook. It is not clear which parts have been used. The goal of the section on referencing is, I presume, that it be translated into effective referencing in the essays of students, and avoidance of plagiarism. My interviews with students indicate that many of them read the handbook only cursorily, and that if they do, they do not find it adequate in explaining when to reference, and how to indicate which is their voice and which are those of the sources. Two of the students whom I interviewed who had written good essays, however, said that they learnt how to reference through using the handbook. This says something about the motivation of these students, but perhaps also about to whom the handbook communicates, and to whom it does not. I now move on to some of the actual wording of the extract below:

```
1   *   PLAGIARISM means that another writer's words and/or
    opinions have been used without being acknowledged. This
    occurs when someone else's work has been copied word for
    word, or in a slightly altered form, and there are no
5   quotation marks and/or references to show that these words
    have been borrowed. Plagiarism also occurs when the ideas of
    another writer have been used but this has not been
    indicated in references. It is regarded as a VERY SERIOUS
    OFFENCE.


    REFERENCES:

10  In preparing your work you are relying heavily on writing
    and research by others. Yet your paper must be your own work
    and you may not present the ideas and data of others as if
    they are your own. The solution is to acknowledge
    scrupulously whatever sources you have used.

15
    This is a moral issue: honest authors do not present others'
    information and words as though they are their own. To do so
    is to commit the form of intellectual theft known as
    plagiarism, a serious offence which could possibly lead to
    exclusion from the university. In your reading you will
20  become acquainted with various conventions for references,
    or different ways of acknowledgement by authors of their use
    of others' information and words.

    The departmental rules on this matter are the following:

    1.   Acknowledge your use of the ideas and information of
25  others by placing a reference at the end of the appropriate
    phrase, sentence, collection of sentences, or paragraph.
    Stated differently, when you use the ideas and information
    of others, but express these in your own words, you must use
    reference. To paraphrase something does not make it your own
    work, and you are obliged to acknowledge your source.
```

Coherence

According to Fairclough, one of the questions to consider here is "how ambivalent is the text for particular interpreters, and consequently how much inferential work is needed?" (1992:233). As a reader, I am somewhat uneasy with lines 1 to 6. This is the first half of what seems to be a definition of plagiarism: "Plagiarism means that another writer's words and/or opinions have been used without being acknowledged. This occurs when someone else's work has been copied word for word, or in a slightly altered form, and there are no quotation marks and/or references to show that these <u>words</u> have been borrowed." The first uncertainty comes with the word "slightly". This seems to imply that if the words are *considerably* altered without referencing then it is not plagiarism, so that skilful paraphrase without acknowledgement would be acceptable. The next ambivalence comes with the use of "and/or" in line 5. Clearly in the case of close copying of another writer's words, there should be quotation marks **and** references. However by inserting "or", there seems to be a possibility that one might have a situation where quotation marks are needed, but no references. In fact, there are situations where references are needed without quotation marks, but this is not when actual words have been borrowed. This sentence is clearly referring to the use of actual words, as is indicated by the underlining of *words* in line 5. The use of the word "or" confuses. A definition needs to be carefully thought out and stated in a manner that enables new students and students whose home language is not English to understand. It is interesting that there is no mention here of the usual definition of plagiarism as the *intention to deceive,* as discussed in chapter 2.

Metaphor

Under this heading I would like first to examine the metaphor of "borrow" used in line 6. "Borrow" means to obtain something on loan from somebody else, with the intention of giving it back to the lender. The word can, however, be somewhat loosely used, as a politeness strategy, when there is no expectation of returning an item which is of little value. The metaphor is often used in connection with plagiarism. It is less weighty than the metaphor of theft, which is also used frequently in this connection, and is to be found here in line 17. Borrowing implies permission to take, whilst theft connotes taking without permission. Neither is appropriate to plagiarism, because when appropriating ideas or words from others we are not depriving them of their words or thoughts, as the thief (or borrower, temporarily) deprives us of our property. The borrower of words and ideas has no way or intention of giving them back. The use of the word "offence" (lines 9 and 18) extends the criminal metaphor inherent in the idea of theft. The bold type of "VERY SERIOUS OFFENCE" in lines 8-9, and the warning of the possible punishment for plagiarism of exclusion from the

university (line 19), send an intimidating message to the student reader, as does the statement in line 15 that "this is a moral issue: honest authors do not present others' information and words as though they are their own." There are many difficulties here, merely in those words "present others' information and words as though they are their own". These are the difficulties of the first year student for whom most information about the discipline is not their own, they are the difficulties of paraphrase, and the use of discipline-specific terms or phrases, and the problem of the second language learner who is using memory to reproduce language formulaicly, as discussed in chapter 2. All of these problems will be brought out by the essay and interview data. In the assertion that this is a moral issue is the shamefulness of the deed of plagiarism, and the lack of honesty of the offender: plagiarism as fraud. Once again, as in the letter to the Monday Paper reproduced in chapter 1, there is no sense that the problem of plagiarism could be anything other than wilful fraud.

The handbook, then, projects plagiarism as an undisputed, deceitful and immoral act, although it acknowledges in lines 10 to 14, in that little word "yet", the contradiction in "relying heavily on writing and research by others" and "the paper must be your own work". It also gives a range of examples of how to acknowledge sources, to which I shall return in chapter 5, when I make some suggestions for an alternative approach to plagiarism and referencing which might be included in a departmental handbook.

As stated in chapter 1, it is my intention to show in this research that plagiarism is a disputed concept, and that many instances of "plagiarism" in student academic writing are not instances of intentional "dishonesty", "theft" or "immorality", but problems of academic literacy. I now move on to the interview and essay data, which I believe will demonstrate this quite clearly. I would like to use this data in order to answer the following questions:

1. How do students, tutors and staff understand the role of referencing in academic writing?
2. What consequences do the practice of referencing, and the monitoring of plagiarism, have with regard to authority and voice in student writing?
3. What might be happening when students are thought to be plagiarizing?
4. What are the difficulties experienced in developing an authorial voice when using multiple sources?

The first question attempts firstly to explore the differences across lecturers and tutors in how the role of referencing is understood. It also attempts to explore the way in which students perceive this role, and how this confirms or contradicts what staff members believe its role to be. From an exploration of the role of referencing, the analysis moves to what is actually happening, in terms of student authority and voice, around the practice of referencing, and

what the negative and positive consequences of its enforcement and its focus may be. The third question explores in practice the question which is extensively explored in theory in chapter 2, and attempts to support the theory through the words and writing of the students. The exploration tries to provide an alternative explanation for "plagiarism", which has little to do with the immorality and dishonesty with which it is associated in the handbook. The final section attempts to examine an oft-neglected side of the use of multiple voices in texts, and that is how the author inserts herself into the writing, in an authoritative way, and signals her stance in relation to the writers she has used to support her argument. I hope to show that referencing, and the elements of academic practice that underlie it, play a central role in academic writing, but that this role is underestimated, and might be put to much greater use in the curriculum than the negative role that is often presently assigned to it.

You will notice that the students have names (not their own) and I have told a little of their life stories. I am conscious that these brief summaries tell us very little about their identities: there is much left out, and identity is never single or fixed, but always multiple and in flux, so these portraits are of necessity flawed. However I want to give the reader just a flavour of who the students are. Unfortunately I have not felt it possible to tell the histories of staff members, fascinating as they are. An understanding of something of their lives helped me to understand their approach to writing, but I felt it would make them too easily identifiable - some of them being public figures - if I included this in the analysis. Likewise with the tutors: I do not want anything they have said to work against them in any way, and they may well be heading for academic careers in the department in which they were tutoring. I begin, then, with the question of how the role of referencing in academic writing is understood.

1. How do students, tutors and staff understand the role of referencing in academic writing?

> *"not to steal the words"*
> *"they might be impressed"*
> *"purely gymnastic"*
> *"teachers replicating themselves in their students"*
> *"about crediting, about line of argument and identifying line of argument, tradition."*

Students overwhelmingly understand that the role of referencing is one of display of coverage of the readings, of indicating for the tutor that you have read the required readings, or perhaps read more than the required readings. Some of them, in addition, understand it to be a matter of accreditation of source, and in particular they think its role is the avoidance of plagiarism.

Mangalisu is a first year student whose secondary education was severely disrupted due to his role in the self defence units (SDUs) on the East Rand in the two years prior to the 1994 elections. His essay was selected because large sections of it seemed to have been plagiarized,

and for him the role of referencing is the avoidance of plagiarism, the need to credit, and display of knowledge:

S. What is the role of referencing in the academic essay? Why is it required?
M. In my view?
S. Ja, in your view.
M. Okay. I think it's to make sure that, eh as they told us, not to steal the words from other academics again, because we have to acknowledge that.
S. Okay what do you mean by steal the words from - where does that come from? You said somebody told you that? Who told you that?
M. Yes. In the document they gave us, the red booklet, in the first semester in Political Studies, which says that quite categorically that you may not steal the words of other academics again - we have to acknowledge the sources. Which I think is a good thing. You cannot expect the other person writing a book - without acknowledging those words.
S. So if you take the words of somebody else without acknowledging then you're stealing in some way?
M. Yes.
S. So you've got to avoid that. Why else do you think it's required?
M. The referencing? Oh to show - it indicates that you have read much books, and you give perhaps the impression, that you've consulted as many books as possible. Yes and I think that that also does encourage you at some point to read more books.
S. The referencing? The fact that you have to reference encourages you to read. Just explain how that works?
M. Yes because - eh if some, if you're writing an essay therefore, ne? that will enrich the knowledge that you have, that will show also the deep understanding of the essay that you're writing, it will reflect your strength that you have read many books and also you've understood those books of which you are reading there.

After checking whether I want **his** view (does this mean that his view contradicts what he has been told about its role?), the first thing that Mangalisu mentions is the avoidance of plagiarism. He understands the use of the words of others without acknowledgement as theft, a metaphor he relates directly back to the Political Studies handbook. He agrees with this policy and does not question the notion of plagiarism as a criminal activity. His second reason is to "show that you have read much books" and, a subtle shift, to "give perhaps *the impression* that you've consulted as many books as possible." Thus referencing as display of readings covered becomes referencing as containing the possibility of *false display* of readings covered, a shift which lies in the word "impression". He also relates referencing to understanding, saying, "that will enrich the knowledge that you have, that will show also the deep understanding of the essay that you're writing, it will reflect your strength that you have read many books and also you've understood those books of which you are reading there." So Mangalisu seems to move quite directly from referencing as display of coverage, to display of understanding. The important thing for the moment is not whether referencing can display understanding, but how Mangalisu understands its role, as both display of coverage and display of understanding. Mangalisu's need to impress, his awareness of his lack of authority in

the discourse, and of the authority of the sources, leads him to plagiarism. (Mangalisu is the one student whom I suspected of plagiarism in the real sense, of deliberate deception, of all the students that I interviewed.)

Emma is a British student who is doing a third year course in the Political Studies department, as part of the post-graduate Diploma in African Studies. She has an undergraduate degree from Cambridge. She went to a private girls' school in London, and a sixth form college for A-levels. She read history for three years. She came to South Africa to fill in time while her Cambridge supervisor was on sabbatical, and because she loves Third World studies. She is most enthusiastic about her studies, and very knowledgeable about her field. She has kept a diary for the last four years which notes international events in the media, and which she used when writing her essay ("when I noticed that practically every country in Africa was wising up for democracy, I seemed to be literally the only person in England that noticed these things, you know, so I started writing them down so that I'd know that I wasn't the one who was completely insane"). Her essay was not selected for referencing problems by the marker; it was given to me with the remark that it was the best essay seen thus far, and did I want to have a look at it. It turned out to be one of the most interesting in terms of referencing, and I asked Emma to come to an interview. Emma claimed never to have heard about referencing until she came to the University of Cape Town, as it was never an issue at Cambridge. She too sees the role of referencing as avoidance of plagiarism, and for verification purposes:

S. What do you think the role of referencing is in an academic essay?
E. I suppose in part it's to stop you plagiarizing, so that when you write down someone's idea at least you know and the person who's marking it knows that that's where you originally got it from.
S. Was that an issue at Cambridge? Plagiarism?
E. Heavens no not at all.
....
S. Anything else about the role of referencing?
E. Must be useful for them in some way, since they want you to put down the page number, damn nuisance, so it must be useful for them to see if you've grasped the idea or mangled it.

Emma seems to see the usefulness of referencing chiefly as making the monitoring/policing role of the marker easier, referencing stops you from plagiarizing, so that you and the marker know where you got the idea from. Although she seems to see some usefulness for the writer in this first part, in the second answer the use of "them" marks an oppositional stance: she is distancing herself from any notion of usefulness, it's a "damn nuisance", and the only reason she can see for why the page number is required, is that it must be so that the marker can check the accuracy of your interpretation.

Tshediso[3] is the student who was interviewed over a period of a year. He is a mature first year student who matriculated in 1986. He lived in Botswana for eighteen months, and when he returned began organizing underground structures for the ANC. He was arrested and tried, where he conducted his own defence, and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. In prison he studied through UNISA, and became the prison librarian and the chairperson of the recreation committee. He was granted indemnity and released from prison in 1991. Tshediso has this to say about the role of referencing in academic writing:

T. Well, I think, in a way it's to acknowledge somebody else's work because if you don't reference then it means you are using somebody else's, his ideas as if they are your own.
S. Okay.
T. And I think it gives even, it gives more impetus to your paper, it would show that you have used the other source, you did not rely on what you know.
S. So you think that for somebody reading it, when they see the referencing they know that you -
T. They might be impressed...
S. They might be impressed.

There are many other instances of students' understanding of referencing as avoidance of plagiarism, referencing as a means of monitoring or policing, and particularly referencing as display, in the interview data. The handbook endorses the negative view of referencing as avoidance of plagiarism, when it states: "The solution is to acknowledge scrupulously whatever sources you have used. This is a moral issue: honest authors do not present others' information and words as though they are their own. To do so is to commit the form of intellectual theft known as plagiarism." The message that students seem to be receiving is either that referencing has the negative role of an avoidance of plagiarism and a means of monitoring students' reading, or that the role of referencing is to demonstrate to the marker that you have read, and how much you have read, and even, in Mangalisu's case, the depth of understanding of what you have read. Taking this to its logical conclusion, a student may easily believe that the more you reference, the more you've covered, and the better your marks will be. This is the conclusion that my next respondent, Lindiwe, mistakenly came to.

Lindiwe is a first year student who went to a previously "Coloured" school for a while, but left because of transport problems and because she struggled with Afrikaans there. She matriculated at a relatively good Western Cape township school. At UCT she is not involved in anything other than her studies. She hopes to have a career in Public Administration. Lindiwe has written an essay which is full of long quotes and very closely paraphrased pieces from the readings. When I asked her why this was so, she said,

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[3] I am indebted to my colleague Tim Hughes for some of the details of Tshediso's story. Hughes also interviewed Tshediso, for other purposes, and this is reported in Bond, Hughes and Shay (1994).

L. Like my tutor usually says if you didn't reference, she is not going to mark your essays. Or else if you didn't reference, she's going to deduct 10% before she marks. So I just tell myself ooo! I've got to reference, I've got no choice.

This emphasis led Lindiwe to believe that the more she referenced, and the more closely she drew from the readings, the better her essay would be:

L. I think that as this was my first essay to write, so I felt that I should include in my essay more references, so that, I thought it was the only way to attract the marker.
S. Why did you feel that?
L. Because as she was explaining referencing to us, it seemed to me the most important thing, the most important thing when you are writing an essay. So I felt that I should give references, and I should use all those readings that she gave us.
S. So you felt the more you showed that you've read and the more you reference-
L. The more I'm going to get good marks.

None of the messages that the students are getting, it seems to me, are particularly sound pedagogical reasons for referencing. If there are important pedagogical reasons for referencing, and I shall argue in the concluding chapter that there are, then these are not being made explicit to students, or if they are, then students have not found them convincing. One student such as this is Mandisi.

Mandisi, a third year student, was educated in a fairly well-resourced Catholic school in the Orange Free State. His father is a senator in the present government, and Mandisi himself has done a great deal of public speaking in various public fora. His essay was given to me by the lecturer with the remark that the essay was brilliant, and any academic would be proud of having done this analysis herself, but there were no references. At the end of his essay the marker wrote: "This is an excellent exposition and why oh why is it not properly referenced. Please resubmit with proper referencing so that I can give you the 80% you certainly should have. By not referencing you strip it of its academic value and you lose its value both for yourself and the audience i.e. myself as reader".

Mandisi came across in the interview as clearly knowledgeable and articulate, but resistant to certain aspects of academia, and one of them is referencing.

M . The thing is that I have a problem also with that idea, this whole preoccupation with referencing .....
S. You see it as a preoccupation?
M. I see it as something that is required.
S. What's your problem with it?

M. To some extent, it's like - you know this method - in Afrikaans poetry they use this intertextual method, which says that you as an individual are a text, so to me you are a product of differing forces, in fact you-

S. So you're saying that you're a product of different forces acting on you as a text?

M. [inaudible] so it's actually interactional - your environment, elements in your being are text. The interaction of extrinsic and intrinsic factors constitute you as a text.

S. So now relate this to referencing.

M. Referencing to some extent denies this, because I have to refer. And some of the things I cannot, I know that I use other people's ....I cannot be able to go back and point out from what source I got it.

S. You cannot point out... And why not?

M. Because some - they may have been informal discussions, like a person's point or something, you don't know the page, you don't know the name of the author. ...

S. In that case would you be taking that idea and holding it in your memory?

M. Yes. You won't write it down but you remember it.

He quoted Freire, saying there is a continuum of education for liberation to education for enslavement. He saw referencing as part of a "conditioning of attitude" to take a certain place in society, and spoke of the system of ideas as commodities, for profit. He has never thought it important to reference, and says that in the courses he has done it has never been emphasized. The following discussion exemplifies his approach:

S. When you're writing essays do you find referencing easy or difficult?

M. I have never paid particular attention to this. In '92 I bought a book on punctuation and referencing by Visser, I think it's a standard document.

S. On referencing? Punctuation and referencing?

M. Yes - punctuation and referencing. I was doing English 1 at the time and they recommended it. But I never really used it - I tried but there was no stimulus to try to use it to reference.

S. Okay why?

M. I don't know, I bought it but I really didn't use it.

S. So you just never regarded referencing-

M. As important, as that important. Although I see it's important, but to me there was no stimulus. So I tend to regard this referencing as a byproduct, something you must do at the end. That is unfortunate although I do, I do acknowledge that it's important. But most of the time I do it at the end and you find that at the end there's not much time, not enough time to do it properly.

Although he seems to feel some pressure to acknowledge the importance of referencing, it is clear from what he says and how he behaves, (referencing only at the end, never paying attention to the book he bought) and by what he says ("it's a byproduct", "there was no stimulus to try to use it", "I have never paid particular attention to this") that he regards it as trivial. His essay bears this out: he obviously has no sense of how to reference; on the few occasions where he does so, it is technically completely incorrect.

Mandisi has either chosen deliberately to ignore referencing, because he finds it insignificant, it has never been emphasized in his courses, and because it is part of a wider system of education to which he is resistant, or its value has never been explained to him in a way that makes it seem important enough to take some trouble over. His marker, S3, in discussing his essay, says:

S3....they come to UCT, they come to do a course, they do a course in Politics, the University of Cape Town regards me capable of developing, of offering a course, if they wish to run a counter to my course, please give themselves a credit and do so with pleasure. We can then have a competition, we can then see whose going to get the creditation. I mean this is not about a licence to teach. And I'm more than happy to engage in a debate or discussion through the vehicle of essays with him. Read my material and tell me why you think your stuff is better.
S. Okay, if he was to put that -locate it within your material - then you would be happy.
S3. And I would like him to reference the stuff. Because he's not sucking it out of his thumb.
S. And if he's getting it from, I mean this is what he told me, he said, it's discussions outside in political fora...
S3. Well then, I want to know, then I want - Well he needs to be paying attention. He must say, I went to an SACP meeting in May 19 - what I'm saying is if he is going to regard these things as contributing to his education, he needs to become like Emma, but instead of the radio, he needs to be writing these things down and have a record of it. He's then able to say to me, 25th June 1994, SACP discussion Mowbray, Bongo Bongo said da da da, the debate raged around these issues, this has immediate bearing on this essay.

So this staff member is insistent that all information needs to be sourced, to the extent of the political discussion held in an SACP meeting. I believe from looking at the way that this person marks, that S3 wishes to inculcate scholarly habits, and would not, in fact, insist that every single piece of information be referenced. What she is looking for, rather, is that the student has covered her readings, and she would then permit outside knowledge to be linked to that. However it seems that in her interactions with students, this is not made clear. In a desire to develop in her students scholarly methods of recording information, the lecturer seems to be denying the possibility of independent, outside knowledge which can legitimately be included in an essay without referencing. This she seems to find threatening in this particular student, and to feel that her control is lost when outside sources are used ("we can have a competition, we can see then who's going to get creditation", "this is not about a licence to teach").

Rose, a tutor marking essays for the third year course, puts the problem well:

R. I mean people are saying intellectual theft all these things, you must be honest when you're writing your academic papers, I mean I think that people who are teaching students should be honest about the problems in defining things - not saying you're so ignorant that you don't know the facts. And be honest about the fact that things are disputed and if people

are going to set guidelines then um then it should be done - I mean being able to spell out the guidelines. I think that one of the reasons why the guidelines aren't spelt out, is that there isn't a common understanding of what the guidelines mean, and then people get very confused.

So Rose is saying that issues of referencing and plagiarism are not clear cut at all, and rather than pretend that they are, it would be more valuable to acknowledge the difficulties, and spell them out in guidelines. She puts her finger on the problem when she says that "there isn't a common understanding of what the guidelines mean", and here I take her to mean amongst staff. Another staff member, when thinking about why students find referencing difficult, concurs with this viewpoint:

S1: Why do they have problems? Students have problems because we actually don't teach it, we give written instructions, but we don't teach, we don't go through examples, we don't rationalise why, we say it's courtesy, we don't touch our hats, anymore, we don't touch our forelocks, we don't do that anymore, that was courtesy, no longer required, so we haven't yet articulated to students in a way that makes sense to them, why it's important. And I think the reason is because we haven't thought enough about it ourselves, it's an area we are not sure of, and it's much easier to just set up the rules, if you do, you do, if you don't you get punished. So we haven't done enough work, so in other words, we're at fault, it is as simple as that.

It seems clear, then, that the logic of referencing, the rationale of referencing, remains opaque to students, partly because it has not been "articulated to students in a way that makes sense to them, why it's important." This staff member thinks that courtesy, "touching our forelocks" is no longer a convincing reason for referencing, and sees the reason why the rationale given to students does not go further than this as lying in the staff's lack of reflection about that rationale. Both this staff member, and another, S2, question the value of referencing at the undergraduate level:

S2 ...so there are purposes where references are essential, I mean I would say, that it is perfectly reasonable to require referencing as per the Harvard method, or any other acceptable scholarly method, footnoting, at post-graduate level, I mean there is a reasonable presumption that at post-graduate level, people are participating in, or beginning to participate in, as it were, the debates that take place in the international community of scholars and that particular discipline. But, at undergraduate level, certainly, at first year level, and certainly with the classes that I've got, the value that it has is purely, as I say, gymnastic.
S. It's a training.
S2. Ja, but not a very good one, I mean not a terribly useful one, I mean they might as well learn lists of prime numbers.

S2 sees a marked difference in the need for referencing at the undergraduate and postgraduate level. In tracing the reasons for why it is insisted upon in undergraduate writing he says:

S2: Now how it got into undergraduate curriculă has to do with the view that it was part of preparing undergraduates to be scholars...because teachers imagine that they are actually trying to replicate themselves in their students, whereas, most undergraduates that I teach are not going to become academics. There is another view which I've never heard articulated, but I suspect is unconscious and may have merit, and that is, referencing is to writing as playing scales is to playing the piano.
S. Just practice.
S2. Well, I mean, there is value in learning certain mechanical skills, I mean, I don't take the view that everything has to be spontaneous and colourful, and so on and so on, I mean, I think, it's a kind of intellectual gymnastics or academic gymnastics, which is of no value in itself. But is a kind of mind toughening, and, like most exercises, painful. So, I can see a point under that heading, in making students reference, and it's more or less the only reason I actually tolerate the insistence on referencing.

So generally S2 does not see any pedagogic value for referencing at undergraduate level, other than in behavioural, habit-forming terms. In other words, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that both S1 and S2 are unable to make explicit to students the rationale for referencing at the undergraduate level, because they themselves are sceptical of its usefulness at that level. S2 sees it as important that students work with texts and other people's ideas, but he separates referencing from this work, as the following extract indicates:

S2. It is also a very easy thing to fudge, so students can make a bad essay look quite impressive, simply by learning the art of designing a bibliography and the Harvard referencing. But it can be an essay which has no thought, and I say, the real skills are to learn first of all how to read somebody else's ideas, and how to present them clearly and fairly, and then how to comment upon them independently. That seems to me what is by far the most useful career skill we can offer them, because that is a skill you need, whatever job you do, certainly whatever job you're doing, in the so-called age of information.

At various points in the interview, S2 mentions that he regards *"the business of referencing as the major disincentive to doing academic writing"*, most of it as *"either showing off or padding"*, as *"a modern bureaucratic fad this, it is a fetish, it is a fetish which is engaged in to substitute thinking"*, and nothing more than *"academic good manners."* It is not surprising, therefore, that with what could be almost be described as a contempt for referencing, or in the case of S1, the scepticism of its value at undergraduate level, that students will see it as only display of coverage, avoidance of plagiarism, or accreditation for reasons of "academic good manners", and nothing more.

S3 has a very different viewpoint. S3's instruction to students regarding citation on the essay information sheet (see appendix 5) was: "Any student citing less than 5 readings will have their essay returned unmarked but noted for DP purposes." In an interview, she said the following:

S. What is scholarship and how does it relate to citation?
S3. About crediting, about line of argument and identifying line of argument, tradition, I don't know how else to put it to you. It's intellectual tradition. It's the kind of thing I don't do it anymore that I used to do with students, where I would say to them, let's take the Liberals writing in 1930's and let's take the Marxist writings in 1930's, what are the positions they're holding, let's move to the 1970's when both the Liberals and Marxists understood the complexity of the interaction between class and race, so let's see that a synthesis is emerging, okay, where both class and race are being taken up, but they are understood in different ways in terms of framework.
S. So it's about location in traditions.
S3. And for you to understand how you make breakthroughs. So that things that are polar opposites, because there is a big debate and people draw the lines sharply, okay, only the time as you have more and more studies done, will come together, I presume it's my last... and that's a synthesis, I don't use those words you know, but from that synthesis is going to emerge new contradictions and new scripts, so that if we look at the post Cold War period and say this is the defeat of the Marxist or Socialist tradition, my argument is it will re-emerge in a different way, but it is true that the liberal argument wipe out in a particular moment in time.
S. So what is scholarship then?
S3. It's identifying all that, it's participating in that, it's about forging new ways of thinking about the world, it's about deepening your knowledge, your analytical capacity.

So S3 relates citation to creditation, but also to participating in debates, and understanding how intellectual traditions merge and differ, and how new ones emerge

It is clear then, that there is a distinct divergence between the way that S2 and S1 on the one hand, and S3 on the other, think about referencing, although the former do see its role differently at the postgraduate level. In the way that S3 speaks, it is clear that she tries to have her students understand that intellectual traditions move and change and interact with one another, and through citation students can locate thinkers and writers within these traditions. There is a gap between the way that S3 marks essays and the way she speaks, which will become clearer later. I have a sense, through meetings with S3, and in the way that she marked essays before the interviews, that S3's thinking about referencing had always been that it is a fairly technical skill, and a display of how much reading the student had done, and she had not, in fact, made the direct link between intellectual debates and citation before the research process began. This would go some way towards explaining the reasons for the difference in the interview and the essay data. It also helps to explain why the links she made in the interview are not evident in what her students say about referencing, though there may

be many other reasons for this, a principle one being that it was simply not discussed during the lectures.

So referencing is seen by students as playing the roles of avoidance of plagiarism and for monitoring of how sources are used, as display of coverage and display of understanding, as part of the general "conditioning" that education performs. By staff it is seen as a purely gymnastic though not very useful training, not appropriate at undergraduate level. For one staff member, however, for whom it also seems to be a form of control, it is crucial to an understanding of the contexts of theories and debates.

Having looked at the divergent views on the role of referencing in academic writing, I move now to the consequences of its practice, including the monitoring of plagiarism, with regard to authority and voice, as discussed in chapter 2, in student writing.

2. What consequences do the practice of referencing, and the monitoring of plagiarism, have with regard to authority and voice in student writing?

Negative consequences

"taking their authority away";
"somehow it is assumed that whatever you know that is tangible and constructive you must have read it somewhere. It is impossible that you might have heard it or you might have thought it on your own".
"maybe I was thinking it's not common knowledge to him"

Here I would like to explore what the practice of referencing and the monitoring of plagiarism as practices actually do, both in a positive and a negative sense. I begin with some of the negatives, starting with Tshediso:

T. And one other thing, sometimes you do find ideas in somebody else's work whilst you already have known about these things so why should I reference - I've known it before I read about it.

...

S. How do you know it?

T. Well - I would categorize that as common knowledge, so those are things that you get when you speak to people in some cases you hear on the radio - on the news, and on the TV - you read in the newspaper, you won't even remember at some stages on which magazine did I find this.

S. So what do you do then in those cases now when you feel that it is your own - common knowledge as you say.

T. I present, I present it as mine.

S. You do?

T. I present it as mine, because for example I cannot reference my friend.

S. If you wanted to reference your friend, I mean when you have used your friend's words or ideas -
T. No I wouldn't know because if for example we are having a verbal exchange I would be giving ideas and he would be teaching in some as well so it's an interaction and I wouldn't know at the end of the day who said this and who said this.
S. Okay, so then you - what you do is present it as yours, now is that acceptable? Do you find that tutors accept that, the markers of your essay?
T. I, I think that when they mark they concentrate on the prescribed works that is when they see something I think they look again on the prescribed work - is this thing mentioned?
....Normally what I've done - what I've started doing now is to use the prescribed works only, that's what I've attempted to do particularly with my latest essays in Pols.
S. Do you use the prescribed works only?
T. I'm trying to do so because when you come up with your own examples and your own ideas then it is assumed that you are plagiarizing - simply because there is no referencing. Somehow it is assumed that whatever you know that is tangible and constructive you must have read it somewhere. It is impossible that you might have heard it or you might have thought it on your own.

So Tshediso's response to the way his own knowledge, and his use of outside sources has been discounted, is to shut out what he knows, and to stick with the prescribed readings only. He points out that the printed word is privileged ("it is impossible that you might have heard it"), and that independent thought is not expected ("it is impossible that you might have thought it on your own").

The role of prior knowledge in constructivist learning theory is well established: it is crucial that the learner's present understanding is taken into account and incorporated into the new learning. As Tshediso's words imply, the practice of referencing is perhaps working against learning, in shutting out prior knowledge, and even encouraging students not to seek knowledge which is outside of the prescribed reading list - a direction which I think few academics would want their students to take. (Tshediso's decision on this is in fact born out in his subsequent essays, where he did in fact incorporate only the prescribed readings, and limited his "unreferenceable" examples, though he did incorporate one that I noticed, and was not asked to reference it, perhaps a reflection of his developing authority as an academic writer.)

With regard to the privileging of the printed word - this is an interesting aspect to referencing in the age of information explosion through computer technology and the media. It is my belief that we have not yet begun to know how to deal adequately with the kinds of information that students now have access to, beyond their course readings. One tutor, Lyn, emphasizes referencing a great deal in her tutorials and feedback to students. So much so that her students came up with references for the lecture notes, their history teachers, and Lyn herself. When I told Lyn about a student who was asked to reference examples he had

gathered from the media to illustrate his argument, she stated categorically that he should have used other examples that he could have documented in some way by going to the library and finding printed documentation. Later on in the interview she elaborates:

L. I think it goes back to the whole thing that I said about, don't use the example if you can't empirically reference it. It's safer for us to tell them that, we kind of cover our backs, so to speak in a sense, otherwise we get into like hazy, murky waters, and what one tutor may accept, another tutor may not accept. Students do compare, we may think they don't, but they actually do.
S. So, how would you, [ask her to reference] if she had an oral source, which this is clearly?
L. I would say steer away from oral sources and concentrate on hard, substantial, documented evidence.

So Lyn's advice to students is to reference everything, but when they come up with examples from the media or their lecture notes, and reference them, she does not see this as empirical evidence. They are here to read, and should keep other sources of information out of their essays.

However, the task of this particular discipline (Political Studies) in relation to the world that students come from is a particularly difficult one. Many students come to the discipline highly politicized, with particular tools of analysis engendered in the resistance structures of the apartheid era. Lecturers struggle to inculcate new ways of seeing, new academic tools of analysis in these students. It seems that disciplining students to refer to the readings of the field in their writing is one way of bringing students into an academic world, and this can be at the cost of their authority. (One lecturer, during a workshop on referencing, remarked that referencing could be used to bring a student who "smacks of rectitude" into line.) S1 reflects on this problem with insight:

S1: I think that we need to rethink referencing across the board, because we are encountering students and we need to be sensitive to these students and offer them the space in fact, to go out and write their thoughts, their thinking on a particular issue, we almost doubt the capacity of students these days to think independently, in fact there is almost a conspiracy against students that they have the capacity to think, and this may stem from questions of language, it may be purely racist, I don't know. I suspect it's a whole lot of things. I think it's a degree, obviously, of intellectual elitism, as well.... They come in far more confident into this university, than the 5 or 6 weeks afterwards, they come in helluva confident, they come in very sanguine about what they're doing, they come in with ideas. Okay, it's a whole lot of things, but I would suspect that if you asked students to write, if you like, a political biography or autobiography in week 1, it would be far more rich, unique, significant, really significant, profound, than if we asked them to do the same exercise in the third or fourth quarter. I think that we actually start to numb them intellectually.
S. So what has referencing got to do with that?
S1. Referencing, what we do is we take their authority away, I think. We devalidate them, we say to them, hold on, there are real authorities out there and you need to come to grips with,

there are great thinkers, there are profound thinkers, there are thinkers who are better than you, there are more intelligent creatures out there, and what you've got to do, is you've got to engage with these great thinkers and learn from them, ...but implicitly, we are saying, you don't qualify as a thinker, you don't qualify as an intellect, you don't qualify as somebody whom we really take seriously, I mean until you've engaged with the lights of the discipline.

The difficult problem, and one which would not seem important to some of the staff, seems to be how to nurture the authority that some students come with, whilst apprenticing them to the discourse of the discipline and the academy. Part of the difficulty of this discipline is that many of the black students have experienced the oppression of the old South African political system in a way that most of their lecturers have only theorized about. They feel they know it with a depth of understanding that for other groups is not possible. It is my sense that whilst all learning involves disequilibrium, a stripping away of the old authorities, the academy needs to allow space for a reaching back into the old, for the use of prior discourses as resources for the learner and for enrichment of the discourses of the academy. So the first impact of the practice of referencing, or rather an obsession with this practice, and with the policing of plagiarism, is that students' other sources of knowledge are shut out. The student's own authority is reigned in, stripped down. Some of this seems to be a necessary process in learning new ways of learning, but some of it seems a shutting out of student's own means of making sense of new knowledge, as well as anything that is not part of the Western canon. Pennycook (1994) has a forthright view on this:

> A further dimension of this relates to the way in which academic disciplines operate as guardians of knowledge. Rather than some liberal and optimistic view of academic communication whereby knowledge is negotiated and we view ourselves as engaged in an academic conversation, we need to consider the power relationships of academic institutions and the ways in which disciplinary knowledge is as much exclusionary as it is inclusionary. There is not a sharing of intellectual property but rather a withholding of property rights. Disillusioned by such academic conservatism, students become aware that they are not really being encouraged to display their own knowledge or write with originality, but rather are being required to regurgitate set canons of academic knowledge "in their own words". In this context, plagiarism might then be seen as a justifiably cynical form of resistance. Alternatively, it might be a sign of giving up in the struggle to claim an academic voice..." (281-282)

Another alarming conclusion that must be drawn is that where a student does take the initiative and use outside sources, s/he is in danger of being accused of plagiarism. This in fact happened to Tshediso in a Psychology essay, where he had used a source he had known from his previous studies with UNISA to develop a definition, duly referenced the source, but was suspected of plagiarism when in fact it was his own work. How a lecturer picks up plagiarism

is a delicate business requiring experience and judgement, and needing a considered, consistent response. S1 describes this process, and illustrates using Mangalisu's essay (extract below). Mangalisu's essay was given 0, and handed back to him with the comment, "I believe this to be extensive plagiarism. I invite you to demonstrate to me that I'm wrong".

Economic liberalism is the use of the Market For carrying out three major tasks of an economy — investment, production and distribution. The Market is a decentralized system. Unlike the edict economy a market economy has many independent Centers of decision — Firms that produce goods and services and individuals who consume them. But each operates according to certain rules. And all these rules involve the assertion of maximal self-interest, defined as profit. The market has the virtues of harmony and efficiency. The Market has been called a "System of perfect liberty." Private ownership is well grounded in liberal states. Reference?

Conversely, economic liberalism nurtures political freedom. In theory it is possible for a society whose economy is run by edict to grant its citizens a full panoply of political rights. In practice this is unlikely. The governments of such societies have immense authority. The power to plan and supervise all economic activity is enormous, and it would be difficult to deny to a government vested with such power broad authority over political life as well.

S. ...what it was about the essay, that made you think that it was plagiarized.
S1. Well, starting with the second page, is that we see certain material that doesn't come out of our course, okay, that's the first thing that I start to see, it's stuff that we haven't covered. So I start to say, okay, maybe the student is doing economics, there is a book that deals with the economic dimension of Liberalism.
S. Is that something that happens quite often?
S1. More than not.
S. Would you say that students are deliberately drawing on things from other, not only drawing on, plagiarising from other courses, from their readings, because they know that you don't have access to that.
S1. I've seen it. I've seen it and I've noticed it. (Reads through essay.) Right there are some constructions here which are, they give glimpses of quite sophisticated authority.
S. Such as?

S1. Let's have a look. And in the middle of this paragraph, Economic Liberalism. Now Economic Liberalism is a term that you use in one particular book that I know was recommended by other tutors, and it's one which was not recommended in mainstream of the course that was taken... Now if you look at things like "all these rules, all these rules involve the assertion of maximum self interest, defined as profit. The market has the virtues of harmony and efficiency, the market has been called a system of perfect liberty. Private ownership is well grounded in liberal states", now true true, and this is probably about as good as you get in terms of synthesizing, sorry the words, the constructions are used are probably, it is regarded as being the sort of stuff you would expect to see in a text book anyway. It is pretty sophisticated, it assumes an awful lot and the connection between Economic Liberalism and Political Liberalism is a very sophisticated one. It is clear, but it is still sophisticated. So I sort of notice things popping out at me, saying wow, this is sophisticated, this is a student I didn't have in the first semester, I picked this student up in the second semester, along the way, so I'm not entirely sure about this student anyway.

There are several things of note about this interview extract. S1 is describing a careful process of judgement, echoed by other lecturers and tutors, which takes place when deciding whether a student is plagiarizing. Key factors which are taken into account are sophistication of language and sophistication of ideas. The marker uses his or her knowledge about the student to make judgements about the appropriate level of sophistication for this student. The conclusions at which the marker arrives may be fairly accurate, however there are several possibilities that are not taken into account: The student's written language may be more sophisticated than their spoken language displayed in tutorials; the student may simply be reserved during tutorials but have fairly sophisticated ideas; if the marker does not know the book concerned, and does not check up on it, then it is possible that the student is paraphrasing and not plagiarizing; the student may be working with someone else whose English is better, or whose mother tongue is English, and using them as a language editor, a process which might be pedagogically useful. In addition, the marker is immediately suspicious of any ideas which are not covered in the course (*"we see certain material that doesn't come out of our course, okay, that's the first thing that I start to see, it's stuff that we haven't covered."*). So when Tshediso concludes that the only way around this problem is to stick to the prescribed readings, he has a valid point.

The issue that concerns me is that students writing in a language that is not their first are more vulnerable to false assumptions about the kind of language that they are capable of, and perhaps also the kinds of ideas they are expected to produce. The slide into racist assumptions, for which students (understandably) have sensitive antennae, is an easy shift, as S1 has noted. Pennycook (1994) points out this danger in the context of Hong Kong:

> Plagiarism may also be viewed as a result of the unclear relationship between originality in thought and originality in words in the academic domain. We need to be

very cautious here of acting prejudicially against students, especially students who are not writing in their first language, because we assume their knowledge and linguistic skills are not sufficient to have produced a particular idea or phrase. (282)

Tshediso, for example, is not the ordinary first year student: he is a mature student, quite articulate in his second language, who had used English in prison so that his warders and fellow-prisoners would "feel the weight" of his educated status. Tshediso had been successful in his UNISA studies, and had used English in all his correspondence from prison, was involved in political structures, and rather knowledgeable about international events in the media. These are the kinds of factors that were not taken into account when making judgements about sophistication in language and ideas, particularly in his Psychology essay, mentioned above, where he was suspected of plagiarism because of the sophistication of his definition of sexual harassment which the essay required students to develop, and for which he had made use of a legal source known to him through his UNISA studies. In order to further demonstrate these problematic assumptions, I have extracted a section from Tshediso's second Political Studies essay:

However it is by means of party presentation that the people can effect a permanent change in the political arena, voice their grievances, question or forward proposals, nature of the policies, the method and leaders of the temporary majority parties. This way, a situation of give and take is created, with the parliament being the area of that process. Karl Marx also acknowledges power of the civil society in the effectiveness of the parties. In Brazil and Argentina, the trade unions, who were subordinate to the state despite their enormous influence, had to hand it to the parties to negotiate on their behalf. In Uroguay it was the parties who paved the way to democracy by negotiating with the regime. It is when democracy is in place that the parties have to show their commitment to the ideology, in their choice of whether they shall be transparent and always be with the people and reconcile with their aspirations or they would

I discussed this part of the essay with his tutor, Claire, after I had told her a little of Tshediso's history, about which she had seemed surprised, and the following interchange occurred:

S. I was wondering about why you asked for a reference here.
C. Okay. Ja, maybe that actually wasn't necessary, I think, perhaps I'd asked for a reference, because he'd said Karl Marx, he hadn't said Marxist thought, or something, and I might have been wanting to know where...
S. Oh, so it wasn't a reference for the Brazil and Argentina examples...
C. No, because I would have put that at the end.
S. Okay.
C. I would have put it there, or maybe there.
S. Ja, okay, so you wouldn't have wanted him to reference his example?
C. Ja, but again, I mean that's common knowledge too, so.
S. It's tricky.
C. Maybe I wasn't giving him enough credit, because I suppose at first year level, and with his first essay, I didn't realise how, you know, what the level of his political knowledge was and I may have not, maybe I didn't give him the benefit of the doubt, maybe I was thinking it was not common knowledge to him.

The remark "maybe I was thinking it was not common knowledge to him" sums up, I think, the problematic nature of such assumptions in a university which is trying to integrate students from vastly different educational and cultural backgrounds. Apart from an awareness of such assumptions, appropriate policies for dealing with such instances, of course, can be developed. In fact what the marker in Mangalisu's case (S1) did, was to leave the way open for his assumptions to be shown to be incorrect: He asked Mangalisu to demonstrate to him that he had not plagiarized. In fact Mangalisu took up this invitation, and had his mark raised to 55%, after he explained that he had thought that if he acknowledged the authors in the bibliography, then he would not be plagiarizing. The irony here, is that I suspected in the interview with him that Mangalisu, in his need to impress, had in fact knowingly reproduced the words of others without acknowledgement. However this same marker did not give another student, Nothando, the benefit of the doubt.

Nothando is a first-year student whose primary school education in the Eastern Cape consisted of moving from township to rural schools and back to avoid boycotts in schools. She is studying mainly commercial subjects, and Political Studies is the only subject with extensive writing. Her other subjects are Statistics, Economics, and Accounting. She passed all these subjects well in June, and for Statistics achieved 90%. (There is no June exam in Political Studies, and in this subject she had only written the one essay with which this research is concerned.) She had not been required to enroll for English for Academic Purposes, because she had written the Proficiency Test in English for Educational Purposes (PTEEP), and achieved a mark high enough for her to be perceived as not "at risk." She is clearly a talented student, conscientious enough to be attending supplementary tutorials in two

subjects, yet in terms of developing writing skills she is falling through the cracks of the system, mainly because, I think, she did not do the EAP course in which the writing process is emphasized.

Nothando's essay has large chunks taken from the key text for this part of the course. At this point I would simply like to comment on the response which she received from the same person who marked Mangalisu's essay. He also gave her 0, and wrote, "This is plagiarism, please read the handbook." Nothando was not given the benefit of the doubt, she told me that she was mortified by this comment ("I was so embarrassed I was so weak"), and did not have the courage to talk to the marker about the problems in the essay, so her mark remained 0. During the interview with S1, who had marked her essay, he seemed only then to notice the inconsistency in his approach, and says the following:

S1. I'm interested to my own response to this, though, rather that...
S. Yes, I need to ask you that.
S1. I think this, my response to Mangalisu's was more - I can see that I responded to him by acknowledging that he could see, probably, clearly had no conceptual difficulty, and with some order of difficulty that had gone out and tried to find other texts. It took me longer, obviously to identify the problems, and I realised with Mangalisu, that the message to him was that this can be solved quite quickly, but we need to talk about it. Well, with .... I thought my first response was "hold on, there's no referencing here, there's nothing here, you're giving me something, you know this is now May, but you're giving me something and you're saying to me this is an essay, and I'm saying, in my responses, this is not an essay." And there is kind of an angry dismissive response, "This is plagiarism, read the handbook," what good is this, you know, who's going to learn from this and clearly, reading the handbook is not good enough for anybody. I think, in a sense, well, gosh how do you explain it, different responses... let me look at it more objectively, this is the wrong message.

So S1 is critical of his own response. In thinking through his response, he thinks that he seemed to be giving up on Nothando, dismissing her entirely - her effort was not worth the response given to Mangalisu. In the absence of policy guidelines for markers of essays, it is inevitable that inconsistencies such as these will arise, across markers and within one marker's work. It is not possible nor pragmatic to check up on all sources used by students. It is possible here, that issues of gender came into play, and I shall return to this in the concluding chapter.

At this point I would like to contrast the assumptions made above with different kinds of assumptions: where a student is thought to have authority, and is therefore not asked to reference all their sources of knowledge. The first I would like to mention only briefly.

Laura is a high-flying first-year student who spent one and a half years at a United World College (UWC) in Singapore, where she received a varied and progressive education which included involvement in international development institutions, youth conferences and so on. She says that writing an essay at the UWC was not too different from what she experiences at UCT. Her tutor, Lyn, showed me Laura's essay because she achieved an exceptionally high mark in her group (95%). Although she has clearly gone out of her way to obtain interesting examples to demonstrate her argument, going so far as quoting from the Court Reporter which she obtained in the Law Library, she does not reference very frequently, and is not asked to. Clearly this student has done more than the required reading, and this is perhaps why she is not always asked to reference. I suspect it has more to do with the assumptions that Lyn is making about this student's authority. The most obvious example of this comes at the end of Laura's essay:

Francois Mitterand, the now ex- prime minister of France once said to a reporter from the Express, (1993) that it is the established liberal democratic institutions, although necessary, that tend to abuse their power and become oppressive, and it is these that we should fear, liberty is fragile he said, and needs protection, as has become evident in this essay. I conclude therefore by saying that in practice, the institutions of a liberal democracy have fallen short of the expectations of the liberal democratic theory and thus of the public at large.

When I asked Lyn why she generally did not require Laura to reference much, she said:

L. But as far as I was concerned, it was her first essay, and I obviously knew where this was all coming from. I was just so impressed that she's gone and read this book, I said, jeez, this is wonderful. And in her subsequent essay, she's read Thatcher's book, she's read Kissinger's book for her next essay, I mean, you know and maybe it kind of glazes me over and I don't kind of deal with the nitty gritties well enough.
S. Well, you probably don't have to. But I want to ask you the same kind of question for this. She actually quotes, fairly closely in detail, without a reference.
L. The Express, ja. I think that was also leeway allowed by me, which maybe shouldn't have been. Or maybe I wasn't consistent enough. ...Ja, I don't actually know if she quoted The Express in her bibliography [looks at bibliography] - she didn't.
S. And in fact she told me that it was a translation, because The Express is French and her mother has these things lying around, and so she translated. I said, "Which are Mitterand's

actual words?" And she said, "It's a translation," which is also tricky, in terms of what you do with referencing.
L. I think, in terms of that, I let a lot of it go as general knowledge, which maybe I shouldn't do, just because I don't want to stifle their use of like sources that we wouldn't usually use, or the use of their own knowledge, of general knowledge of politics. A lot of students come to me and say, I didn't do history at school, I don't know general knowledge, which is so wrong, they do, they have so much general knowledge ....

The question to ask here is whose general knowledge counts? Does Laura's count more than Tshediso's? The words, "I obviously knew where all this was coming from" are interesting. Though on the surface it is a reference to a knowledge of the sources Laura had used (although in fact she had not known all of them), subconsciously it may be a reference to a shared culture from which Lyn and Laura come. The same person who wants "empirical" (meaning written sources?) documentation for all sources, who says students should not use any examples that they cannot find documentation for, has allowed Laura to get away with little referencing, and enthuses here in talking about Laura's essay about how much general knowledge students have, and how she wouldn't want to "stifle their use of sources that we wouldn't usually use". Again it may be a question of an establishment of authority in writing in an essay, which Laura is able to do with ease, and which is far more difficult for the second language learner, or the learner not already steeped in the culture of academia, to establish. To be fair to Lyn, she does not frequently pick students out in her marking for their lack of referencing, although she emphasizes it in the interview with me, and in her tutorials, and she goes so far as to check the references of every sixth essay she reads. What she tells students does not seem to be the same as what she enforces, seeming rather to accept their work as long as it is technically well-referenced and has a reasonable bibliography.

A similar case which illustrates differences in assumptions about particular students is Emma's, the third year student who obtained a high mark on her essay, and whose essay was not referred to me as having problems with referencing, rather that it was the best essay marked thus far. The following is the first part of Emma's essay, which I have reproduced, because of the poor quality of the copy. I have retained her original punctuation, and inserted the marker's exact feedback.

Extract A:

Outline and discuss the explanations for the persistence of civilian rule and/ or the emergence of authoritarian regimes, and the emergence of military rule in the Third World.

The 'Third World" for all its political, economic, historical, physical and human diversity, has in common a strong propensity towards military intervention. Military coups have become the "institutionalised method for changing governments in postcolonial Africa"(Jenkins and Kposowa, 1992:27). - with the armed forces of Asia, Latin America and the Middle East not far behind when it comes to seizing power. A variety of historians have produced explanations as to why control of the government should so often have been transferred irregularly through the use of force rather than through the democratic procedures that most Third World states were bequeathed by the departing colonialists, or through the personal choice of the outgoing (usually dying) civilian dictator. Explanations for the minority of cases where civilian rule persisted, uninterrupted by the military jackboot, seem to rely more on the absence of coup-provoking factors than on any positive factors of civilian regimes.

Foremost among explanations for military intervention is the weakness - the political underdevelopment of the Third World state. In Africa in particular, the European invaders were thrown out (or 'persuaded' to leave) so fast that newly independent countries found themselves with new, rootless, and shaky political institutions in India and parts of the Caribbean, a long period of colonial tutelage led to the formation of an indigenous professional class which monopolised the post-independence leadership and perpetuated civilian, even democratic rule. But in Africa, whatever its rhetoric, the West made no sustained preparation for independence. Often, its actions seemed designed to prevent any hope of persistent civilian rule - France's eight-year war to "keep Algeria French"; Portugal's abrupt departure, without even holding elections from Angola, Spain's invitation to Morocco and Mauritania to invade the Western Sahara as it pulled out. Even when workable political institutions were set up, they were "alien, hierarchical and imposed".

Extract B:

Military rule has emerged in an enormous number of countries, (in the 23 years after 1960, the Third World had over 76 coups) and with an enormous variety of purposes (and pretexts). The simplest explanation is human nature: virtually everyone thinks they can run the government "better than the idiots in power - and, as Mao points out, power comes from the barrel of a gun; armies have the ability to turn their dreams into reality. Seizing the banks,

> *ports, radio and TV stations, and government offices is a relatively simple matter (transforming the country - or just ruling it - is another matter, but military rule usually begins with even more ludicrously optimistic hopes (at least on the army's part) than democratic rule.) Small countries like Togo and Sierra Leone are especially easy to take over. Personal ambition and the perceived interests of the army rank high as reasons for the rude interruption of civilian rule: but there are others. Armies can be genuinely revolutionary - as in Egypt, Libya and Iraq, where they overthrew kings and landlords, redistributed land and nationalized industry.*

Emma does a number of things which, comparing her feedback to that of other students in the same course, would require referencing. For example she writes, "a variety of historians" without mentioning any names. She mentions a great number of historical processes, including reference to specific countries, which she does not source at all. She makes assertions, such as "Virtually everyone thinks that they can run the country 'better than the idiots in power," for which she opens but does not close quotation marks, and does not reference what seems in fact to be her assertion. She quotes Mao directly without reference, she quotes statistics (76 coups after 1960) with no reference. Emma obtained 85% for her essay, and apart from a few comments in other sections of the essay asking for page numbers or references, usually where Emma had made a technical error, there is no comment overall on her referencing, just the remark "Excellent essay".

I believe that this student is well known to the marker, and writes with authority. She is clearly knowledgeable, and is not expected to back up her argument in the way that a less authoritative student might be. When I asked the marker, S3, who you will remember related citation to intellectual traditions and debates, to talk about these sections of the essay, we had the following exchange:

S. And what I was interested in is the fact that you don't actually ask her for many references there.
S3. No, one reference. I presume I see that as the introduction and I don't tend to be fussy in the introduction.
...
S. "In the 23 years after 1960, the Third World had over 76 coups," and she didn't reference that.
S3. Okay, that doesn't worry me.
S. Now why doesn't it worry you?
S3. Okay, because I think it's the kind of generalized information you kind of pick up from anywhere.
S. Okay, all right.

S3. I mean if it was of such major significance, that we were doing an analysis of coups, you know what I mean, then I might have a different opinion of it, but it's a kind of generalized statement. Half the world is made up of democracy.
S. Is it not, also, that you know Emma, and you know that she doesn't suck these things out of her thumb? Is it something to do with that?
S3. I don't think so, I'm not sure, if some students wrote that to me, I mean it would be in a context, let's put it this way. If I thought there was a whole lot of unreferenced stuff, by the time I get to 76 coups, I might well, sort of blow my top and sort of say, where the hell is the reference for that. But if it is generally referenced then I'm not going to get upset about that, so I think the context of referencing is probably quite important.

My reading of what S3 is saying, is that as long as there is sufficient referencing here and there, if it is "generally referenced" she is not going to be too particular about locating knowledge. She does not seem here or in the way she marked the essay, to be looking for scrupulous accreditation, or evidence of a knowledge of intellectual traditions and how they interact. When it comes to marking then, all she seems to require is that the student demonstrates coverage of the course readings. S3 is a lecturer who maintains that referencing is "absolutely central to academic writing", saying "how do we debate different ideas, different theories, if we don't know that they're coming out of different contexts?". She is also the only one of my respondents, who in answer to the interview question "Does a writer with more authority reference more or less?" answered that a writer with more authority references more. However it seems here, although S3 does not accept this in the interview extract, that Emma has established her authority, in her writing and in the context of the course, and offers the reader what my colleague Rob Moore has called a "lubricated journey" through her essay, unsnagged by linguistic problems, and is therefore not required to reference all her sources, and is certainly not accused of plagiarism.

By way of contrast to Emma, the extracts over the page from another third year student's essay, Veronica, provides a different picture. Veronica calls herself Mauritian, although she was born in Malawi to Mauritian parents. She understands patois but doesn't speak it, and speaks some Chichewa. She is doing a degree in Public Administration, having completed A-levels in Malawi. She had no problem initially at university, recalls getting high marks, but now seems to be less successful. Her essay was selected by her tutor, Rose, with a note to me saying, "Poor referencing, no location of ideas, no sense of opposing views in a nuanced manner."

Extract A:

However, Dependency theory loses my support where it implies that
the people afflicted with "immiseration" have merely accepted this
fate. The theory perceives peasants as an amorphous group when
they should be perceived as resilient and resourceful in their
survival strategies, and in their adaptation to whatever their
circumstances dictate. *fine, but this is only an assertion:
you need to substantiate your opinion
with theoretical arguments / case study
evidence*

Extract B:

Cotton, according to Daniel Faber was responsible for most of the dama
-ge, being a crop prone to attracting pests. Therefore to combat this
large amounts of DDT pesticide was used. Larger amounts had to
be used as pests became more resistant to it. This toxic chemical
was sprayed on fields over unprotected laborers. A consequence of
this was that the land, water, air and people of the region were
poisoned. These pesticides used were banned from their countries of
origin but somehow manifested themselves in 3rd world countries
as Cammack argues "The priority given to rapid growth has bred a
relative lack of concern for environmental consequences: the
emphasis upon export earnings has prompted the wholesale
despoliation of existing natural resources..... and, ironically, the
sustained success in achieving sustained growth has meant that
the process of destruction has continued relentlessly, on a number
of fronts over a considerable amount of time" (Cammack, 1993:289.

The focus is meant to be the causes of dev. policies.
Another important consequence of the "development" policy of 3rd
world countries is 'the increase in the power of the state and its
militarization." (Leftwich, 1983:187) It is quite a common occurrence
in 3rd World countries that more of the budget expenditure is spent on
defence than on welfare, health and education. Perhaps this can
be explained by the fact that they are under constant threat from
within as well as externally. This is especially so in areas where
political culture has been characterized by instability.

My purpose for including these extracts is to show how very different the requirements of this marker are in terms of referencing. Emma and Veronica are doing the same course, but have chosen two different essay options, and have two different markers. Veronica's essay was marked by Rose, an Honours student who herself references almost every sentence when she writes, and says this about her own writing:

R. Every sentence that I make, unless it's a linking sentence, of ideas, I reference.... I think that I would say that in most of my writing there are two different types of sentences, one which reports ideas, perspectives, that sort of thing, and one which makes connections between things that I've already written down, so I may put down a whole lot of things, a perspective, a counter-perspective and then have my own linking sentence which wouldn't be referenced.

Rose might simply be more thorough than S3 in requiring references to sources, however the messages that Emma and Veronica are getting through their feedback are very different. In addition, Rose's comment "Fine, but this is only an assertion: you need to substantiate your opinion with theoretical arguments/case study evidence" is the only comment that I saw in all the essays which I analysed (18 third year and 23 first year) which actually gave a reason for why it is necessary to reference at a particular point in an essay.

I think that this data demonstrates the inconsistencies within one marker's work, and across markers of the same essay around the practice of referencing, and in their approaches to plagiarism, and demonstrates some of the negative consequences of an overemphasis on referencing and the monitoring of plagiarism, in terms of the assumptions made. It also shows that a writer with authority is apparently expected to reference less than one who does not have authority. I will return to explore the nature of that authority in the fourth section of this chapter. I would now like to turn to some of the more positive consequences of the practice of referencing.

Positive consequences

"Lambo, immediately when I think of him, I identify with the holistic approach"
"they're going to see the kind of overall academic picture"
"I'm able now to adopt a critical stance...I must mention my opponent"

Here I wish to examine Tshediso's development over the year. From being highly resistant and critical of the practice of referencing, he began to use it far more successfully in his writing, and began to develop confidence in his use of it as a tool. The following extract, from the last interview of the year, describes his view of the process:

T. Well before I got used to it, what would happen was when I was reading as a preparation for an assignment or an essay, I would read maybe four readings, and then in my mind I would compile them into one whole, to make a coherent and logical argument, and then I write maybe four or eight pages, as one whole thing. So if I had to mention say Leftwich, immediately my logical flow is interrupted, and then I had to continue, mention somebody else.

S. It was probably quite difficult because you had put those aside, and it was all in your mind, and you didn't know quite where anything was coming from?

T. Exactly.

S. And now?

T. I try to incorporate the authors.

S. How do you do that?

T. For example in this last Psychology essay, for Lambo, immediately when I think of him, I identify with the holistic approach, so immediately when I write about the holistic approach, then I'm bound to mention him, because he's part of it.

Referencing has taught Tshediso to attach names to approaches or concepts, it has taught him a different way of thinking about things, perhaps a different conception of how knowledge is constructed. He has now learnt to locate authors within frameworks of ideas, Lambo with the holistic approach; the focus on referencing has helped him to obtain a wider picture of the context within which he writes. His tutor, Claire, reflecting on the role of referencing, says,

C....and realising that the knowledge is all linked together too, but if they are consistent with the footnotes, if they take note, if they actually notice referencing in the articles they're reading, they'll realise that sources that are being quoted there are sources that they have read themselves, and that are perhaps mentioned in other courses that they've done and they're going to see the kind of overall academic picture, not seeing it as such a fragmented thing.

The next extract from S3's interview continues her thinking on referencing as a manifestation of whether the student is conscious of traditions of thought:

S3. I think that what is very hard for people to come to terms with is their way they think about the world comes out of different traditions, okay. ...There are thought forms, there are constructions, or how you think about the world....And it's about hierarchy, it's about higher and lower, it's about better and worse, it's about constant judgement and ranking. ...Okay, so one of things I like students to be conscious of is where do these ideas come from and they can't know where these ideas come from, if they don't reference them Because if they don't reference them, then they are not able to understand, ... they don't get to distinguish different, well it's not true. ...It's not their lack of referencing that doesn't allow them to distinguish different arguments. But if they had a consciousness that this is an author, and this is what the author is saying, then when they come to another author, and that author is saying something completely different, if they could hold that information in their mind, my view is that they will start developing over time, a structure or pattern of thought, these are a collection of views, they belong to Mills, I mean just take it right down the line, these other

views come from a Marxist tradition, this is what they share in common and this is where they are different.
S. So the problem is manifested in the referencing, or the lack of it, rather than that being the problem.
S3. No, I agree with you. It's manifested, and it's part of a training which has to start very early, because, it is for me the essence of Social Science. How do we debate different ideas, different theories, if we don't know that we're coming out of different contexts.

In this view, then, the practice of referencing encourages students to recognize that knowledge and ideas are constructed, that they belong to certain traditions, schools of thought, they are written by authors within a context. What Tshediso is beginning to do, and it seems to be happening through a consciousness of referencing, is placing people and ideas. He is beginning to get glimpses of the "overall academic picture", and beginning to get a sense of different authors and theories "coming out of different contexts", he is beginning to identify the intellectual traditions. Tshediso, it seems, has not gained this consciousness through what he has been taught on the course. Part of his awareness comes from thinking about referencing through this research process, and through the journal in which I asked him to write about his difficulties with referencing. Tshediso continues in the interview to reflect on his new approach to writing, and here I think he is particularly insightful about his reading and writing processes:

S. So what are you doing in your process of writing that's different now, that enables you to reflect which source you're using in your writing? What are you doing now, so that the referencing is no longer intrusive?
T. Oh I think basically it was because when I read, when I was preparing you know, the best method for me to understand the given subject was to be subjective, to be part of it. Now when I reproduce it, then I reproduce it as if it is mine, it is one whole thing.
S. So you tried to become part of it, it became yours. Now what do you do?
T. Now I become subjective, I get involved to understand it, but now if I have to reproduce it, I read it again, and become objective, like a spectator. I'm able now to adopt a critical stance, so I think it is the best thing for me now, because I have in fact now [inaudible] this person says this, so now I'm going to attack his views, so it's easy, I must mention my opponent, so and so is saying this, so and so is saying this, and then somebody else is saying no this is not proper, it's supposed to be this way, so automatically referencing is dragged in.
S. So you're saying now that the referencing is enabling you in a way, to be more critical, to stand back?
T. Ja I would agree with that. (Pause and laughter). It's maybe because I have developed to that stage. Or maybe I have been in fact dragged to that stage, because now I know that what I have to say, in comparison to what I have read, what I've read in fact carries more weight, it carries more weight. What I read carries more weight so I must reference.

I think that Tshediso makes a very useful distinction between the "subjectivity" and involvement needed to understand what he is reading, and the "objectivity" required in academic writing. He is learning, understanding, through involvement of himself in the

readings. He is finding that because he references, he is better able to stand out of his writing, adopt a "critical stance". It is not possible to be critical of ideas if they are "facts" that belong to all. If they are constructions of particular authors, if the "opponent" can be mentioned, then they can be set up for "attack". Tshediso is finding that he has to "get involved" to understand the readings, and then withdraw into "spectator mode" in order to write. This is his particular way of operating which helps him to move into the readings, and out of the writing. He is still resistant, still resentful of the lack of recognition of his independence of ideas: "I know that what I have to say, in comparison to what I have read, what I've read in fact carries more weight, it carries more weight. What I read carries more weight, so I must reference." Tshediso is learning the discourses of the academy, and in so doing, giving up some of the old authoritative discourses of his past. He has accepted that what he reads "carries more weight" than what he has to say, and there are gains and losses, which I have discussed in chapter 2, through Kress's theory of "harmonization" of discourses, in that acceptance of his own lack of authority, for the purposes of success in the academy.

The data suggests then, that the consequences of the requirement of referencing and the monitoring of plagiarism, are both negative and positive. The absence of debate, policies and guidelines on the "hazy, murky waters" that Lyn speaks of lead to a situation where in practice students are left very confused about how to write, how much of their background knowledge or outside reading it is permissible to bring in, and how to do this. Inconsistencies in marking practices with regard to dealing with "plagiarism", and how much and what kind of feedback is necessary emerge clearly in the data. Also evident is that students who are seen to write with authority, are not required to reference as thoroughly. It is apparent, too, that assumptions about that authority or the lack of it are made somewhat problematically, through looking at sophistication of language and sophistication of ideas, and that speakers of English as an additional language are at a disadvantage as far as such assumptions are concerned.

On the positive side, it seems that a sustained focus on referencing, as occurred through the research process with Tshediso, can lead to a new understanding of the construction of knowledge, and can move the learner from a position of seeing knowledge as an indeterminate mass of information, to a position where he or she is able to locate authors within debates, and throw one perspective up against another in a critical manner.

I move on now to the third question, which attempts to explain what may be happening when a student is deemed to have plagiarized by the marker of an essay.

3. What might be happening when students are thought to be plagiarizing?

This section investigates some of the reasons why first year students "plagiarize", or are thought to be plagiarizing. I shall not deal here with the frequently reported misconception that if the writer acknowledges something in the bibliography, then they do not need to reference in the text. Moreover, I shall concentrate on the "word-for-word" form of plagiarism, rather than plagiarism of ideas, as the latter is very difficult to enforce, (as its omission from copyright law indicates). Tshediso highlights the problem for the first year student when he says,

T...Before coming to UCT, I knew nothing of what liberal democracy is. So whatever I know, I got it from the lectures and maybe from Collins. Now if I'm asked to discuss liberal democracy, now whose work is it? If I'm going to use Collins do I after each and every sentence say "Collins" and then write another sentence?... So just randomly I put Collins.

In other words, Tshediso is saying that everything he knows about liberal democracy comes from what he has learnt in his first year course, which implies that each sentence would need to be referenced. It seems too that most markers, though they understand plagiarism to include the use of the ideas of others without acknowledgement, are generally fairly lenient when this occurs in student essays. They are annoyed far more by word-for-word copying, whether acknowledged or not. This is thus my area of focus in this section.

"Trying on" the discourse

"You take a book and read it, and you get some skills of writing"

Bulelwa matriculated in a small village in the Transkei, which she had never left until she came to UCT. She wants to do a degree in Public Administration. She had very little conversation in English at school; she only really heard English in the Maths class (because her teacher was Ghanaian) and the English class. She described English at her school as "not a very medium language" because the teacher "often turns the language to the Xhosa language". She studied the Bible by correspondence for three years, posting off assignments to King William's Town, and getting responses. She also spent 2 years after school as a part-time secretary for an irrigation scheme, where she had to do work requiring basic literacy skills, such as marking absentees, accounting for crops of cabbages, and so on. She still reads the Bible regularly, and goes to church, but besides this has no other activities at UCT as "it's too difficult to cope with my work, so I neglected everything." She is now talking more English because she shares a room in residence with a Tswana-speaking woman, so they communicate in English. When I telephoned Bulelwa to ask her to come for an interview, she did not seem to understand me; when I said I wanted to talk about her essay, she thought I wanted her to write an essay in my

office. I later approached her through the EAP lecturer who taught her on the EAP course. She seemed fairly relaxed during the interview, although it was sometimes obvious that expressing herself in English required effort and concentration.

Towards the end of the year, Bulelwa was still producing essays which were perilously close to the sources: her EAP lecturer showed me her first draft of her final EAP essay, where the tutor had written, "The essay has total plagiarism, i.e. you write straight from the article, and do not alter words." The following is an extract from her interview, where she is talking about the role of referencing.

S. Anything else? Why we reference?
B. Okay I mean tutors want to see the, want to develop your skills in, by by looking to someone's work.
S. Yes - how do you mean?
B. I mean
S. They want to develop your skills...
B. By by looking to someone's work in a way that you take a book and and read it, and then you, you get some skills of writing. Of collecting, of collecting your information, and the, the style.
S. So by reading, you get writing skills, is that what you're saying?
B. Yes.
S. Explain to me a little bit more about that? If you read an article, what are you learning about writing skills?
B. Okay, you, you learn what must come first, and then what comes first and then, and and and the the information which is not useful, you can see that from from the style of an author.
S. Okay so from reading, you're gaining information, or skills about writing in terms of what must come first, what information is not useful, and so on. What else are you learning?
B. Oh, from the reading?
S. Mmm. It's interesting what you say, I'm just interested in what you're saying, because you're saying that actually from the reading you're learning something about how to write yourself. Anything else there that you feel you're learning from reading? You said something about style. What do you mean by style?
B. The way he describes things.
S. Yes? For instance? (Silence). The way an author describes things? (Silence).You mean the words that they use?
B. Mm, the words that they use.

It seems to me that Bulelwa, difficult as it is for her to articulate it, is using the text that she reads as a very necessary learning scaffold, to help her to write. She is modelling her writing on what she reads in terms of structure ("what comes first"); selection of important information, ("the information which is not useful", although how the text itself can help one to discard information in the text itself which is "not useful," is not clear); and the "way the author describes things" which seems to mean the actual words used. She also seems to be using "EAP-speak", language about writing which she has picked up on the English for

Academic Purposes course. (This was pointed out to me by Lucia Thesen, who teaches on this course, and read a draft of this chapter). Bulelwa needs to step into the shoes of the author in order to write.

Legitimate language, understandings of knowledge construction, and the role of formulaic language

"sometimes it loses its sense when I use his words"
"Consociatinism - I would prefer them to call it power-sharing."

A later discussion on Bulelwa's reading and note-taking process confirms her dependency on the text, and emphasizes her lack of confidence in her own language, the feeling that her own understanding is far inferior to that of the authority, the text itself:

S. Okay, so you take notes using the words of the author, and when you're writing you paraphrase?
B. Yes
S. Why do you do that?
B. When I'm taking notes? Ja I, I want to understand what was he saying.
S. And you feel that if you put it in your own words?
B. If I wanted to - okay I can say I, I, by paraphrasing it I don't want to to plagiarize.
...By using words, his words, I mean I lose lots of marks because sometimes I usually forget to write his name and then sometimes it it loses its sense, when I use his words. I mean the sense of what I'm trying to explain.
S. It loses its sense when you use his words? How do you mean?
B. Let's say, as I've taken the notes, ne? I paraphrase most of this. So if I want something to be clearer, sometimes I use his words sometimes I use mine. So that I mean by that I'm trying to, it depends the way I've explained it.
S. So you feel that if you use somebody else's words sometimes, it's clearer?
B. Yes sometimes - it depends what I'm saying.

This interview probably would have revealed far more if it had been conducted in Xhosa, but I shall do my best within the constraints of her difficulties with English to interpret her words. This rather confusing discussion nevertheless reconstructs Bulelwa's reasons for using the writer's words when she takes notes, in an intriguing way. Initially she is quite clear: she wants to "understand what was he saying", and so she takes notes using the author's words. She is implying that if she puts it in her own words, then when she goes back to those notes, she will not understand what the author was originally getting at: she does not trust her own interpretation, her own paraphrase of the original. When writing, she paraphrases, so that she will not be plagiarizing ("by paraphrasing it I don't want to plagiarize"), yet she realises that "sometimes I use his words, sometimes I use mine", and that if it is in somebody else's words it is sometimes clearer. This is not a matter of trying to impress by sophisticated language, as in Mangalisu's case, it is simply a matter of a lack of confidence in the adequacy and legitimacy of her own means of expression in writing, and in her own understanding of the original text.

She is aware that this becomes plagiarism, and tries to avoid it, but at the same time seems unable to do anything other than use the author's words, mixed with her own. This is further confirmed when we are discussing her actual essay:

S. How close is your paraphrase? How much do you change it, or do you just change a few words?
B. No I used to change the whole, I mean I used to look at synonyms of the words.
S. Yes. That's how you do it, your paraphrase? You look at synonyms? How do you get the synonyms?
B. Some I get from dictionary.
S. So you get some synonyms and then you just put the synonyms in to change it.
B. Mm.

Although she says that she changes the whole (and this is probably a defensive answer to a question that might have seemed accusatory), she then says that the way she does it is to look up synonyms in the dictionary. This must be a tedious, time-consuming process which she cannot sustain throughout an essay. Through the use of synonyms then, she is changing some of the lexicon, but probably little of the syntax of sentences, and thus the language used is still very close to the original. This is where the writer of English as a second or third language is at a substantial disadvantage: the elegant paraphrase is beyond their reach, and very difficult to sustain through an eight-page piece of writing.

Lindiwe, the student who over-references "to attract the marker", has a different strategy, but with similar underlying reasons. She manages to avoid being accused of plagiarism, by (usually) acknowledging the authors, but some of her paragraphs consist almost entirely of a (referenced) quotation from a reading. The extract from her essay on the following page illustrates a quotation side by side with what seems to be a very close paraphrase, or the author's exact words, which represents the entire paragraph:

Now democracy and liberal are combined together to form Liberal Democracy. These are not too different concepts as they both has to do with freedom but in democracy freedom has to be in some certain extent. "For Lenin Democracy is a form of the state one of its varieties ... The libereral state is the dictartorship of the bourgeoisie, but because of its democracy representative character "it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens" (Duncan 1983: 88).

It thus points to a future in which the ideals associated with democracy could be manifested through the removal of restrictions that the wider social context imposed. (Duncan 1983: 88).

Lindiwe is talking about the reasons for her use of long quotations from Duncan, shown above, in the extract below:

L. Another thing, for me I think it's it's very difficult like to put something in my own words. I find it difficult.
S. Why?
L. Because sometimes I felt that if I put it in my own words then it's not going to give the same meaning as the author's. I've found that.
S. Mm. So you're afraid you might distort the meaning if you put it into your own words?
L. Mm.
S. Okay right so in the last paragraph when you write Duncan there - ja the bottom paragraph, would you say these are Duncan's words or your words?
L. I think I omitted some of the words.

It seems that Lindiwe has a similar underlying problem to that of Bulelwa: she is afraid that if she uses her own words when writing (Bulelwa when note-taking) she will not represent the author's meaning clearly enough. Bulelwa writes notes which contain the author's original

words, and then transfers them with a few synonyms into her essay. Lindiwe simply takes large chunks of the author's original words, and places them in her essay in quotation marks. She talks in other parts of the interview of the words of the author being well-written and "clear to understand". Because the words of the authorities "cannot be represented, only transmitted" as Bakhtin (1981:344) writes (see chapter 2 for discussion), Lindiwe uses them directly and does not try to (or cannot) interpret them or work with them in any way. When she does not quote directly, then she "omitted some of the words" - her paraphrase simply leaves out some of the words of the original. It is also clear that Lindiwe's conceptual distance from the texts she reads is vast. Describing the difficulty she has in working with sources, she says:

S. Now when you've been writing essays have you found referencing easy or difficult?
L. It's difficult. It's difficult because sometimes like you like sometimes you you found something in that particular book, ne? then you don't know like how to summarize like sometimes like a paragraph, you don't know how to like make it short, and to, you don't know which part are you going to leave and which are you going to put in, and you don't know how to reference that particular thing.
S. Okay - just explain to me a bit more. So you find, if you find a passage in a book, you don't know how to condense it.
L. Ja to make it short.
S. So what do you do then?
L. Sometimes you think of putting the first sentence in, you don't think about what about the following sentences, maybe they are more important than the first one you are putting in.

It seems that Lindiwe has no way of knowing what is important in what she is taking from the texts. She does not know how to summarize, or select ("you don't know which part are you going to leave and which are you going to put in") so she simply puts in the first sentence which seems remotely relevant. Elsewhere in the interview, when I ask her how she found the readings, she replies:

L. They were also difficult because maybe you read this reading and compare this to the other ones - I find it difficult to compare, between both readings. How am I going to take this and leave this out... the other thing that is difficult is the terms used in the readings. Every time I see this term I've got to go to the dictionary and look, it takes time.

So here Lindiwe seems to be expressing a difficulty in comprehending the texts she reads, both in terms of the lexicon used, in terms of selection of relevant information, and particularly in comparing readings (she mentioned the difficulty of comparing readings several times in the interview). Selection, summarization and comparison are difficult skills, requiring a high order of comprehension. Lindiwe's difficulty also seems to be in seeing texts as the constructions of authors, which can be compared and debated. She sees them as sources of facts and information, and therefore it is difficult to compare: two authors may be presenting the same

set of facts, or completely different sets of facts. A sense of texts as presenting perspectives or arguments, which can be critically weighed up against one another, is missing. Nothando reveals a similar problem when she says:

N. So like I have to go to - there are a variety of textbooks to go to, and they are sort of talking about the same thing, but they are, their titles are not the same, but ....in them there is the same information.
S. This is in Political Studies?
N. Ja. There is the same information, but - I find it difficult to - (pause)
S. It's difficult to express yourself? (Pause) Okay so you're saying that if you go to the Political Studies courses, there's a variety of textbooks with the same information, but - what's the but?
N. But there are articles - their topics they are not the same, like you go to International Affairs, and International Politics say, International Relations, but inside the textbook there is the same information, like you see that they are talking about nearly the same things.
S. So what you're saying you're struggling with is, let's try to clarify this, there are textbooks where the titles are not the same but inside there's similar information, so why is that confusing or difficult?
N. I find that in my essay I'm sort of repeating the same things, like I have to go to various textbooks, now when I'm writing I'm sort of repeating the things so I couldn't reach the length of the essay.
S. So you haven't found all that much information
N. Because everything is the same.

Nothando is not detecting or looking for authorial stance, perspective or argument in the texts she reads. It is unlikely that all the texts she reads are "talking about nearly the same things", but as she seems to be looking for facts, not arguments or perspectives, then to her it seems the same.

To return to the problem of comprehension of readings, it seems that the minimum requirement for lecturers when marking a student essay are signals that the student has understood what they have read, and these signals may be found in the nature of the paraphrase, and in whether a student is able to illustrate by example. When I asked them how close a paraphrase is acceptable in an essay, S1 and S2 had similar answers:

S1: Well, I mean, it changes, and our expectations change, obviously, from first year onwards, but at the minimum, Shelley, I think that I look for, or the one technique that I recognize and understand is when a student, at the minimum, can step outside of the material, and illustrate by example, give an example of what the author is saying. If they're unable at that point to paraphrase excessively, I want them to be able to illustrate to me that they understand what that general point means by illustration. So, it's a way, so the minimum I look for is that.....There is a general point of looking for, do you understand this material, I mean is there an understanding there, can you take this material and work with it and can you make the connections? What you're left with, with a sort of cut and paste, is this

uncertainty, of not knowing whether the student has understood the material, that's the problem. In a sense, we're asking for the students to demonstrate that understanding.

So for S1 it is important that there is some demonstration of understanding, and the one that he finds most telling is whether the student is able to illustrate by example. This is an interesting point, seeing that tutors sometimes do not want students to draw examples from their own knowledge, but rather expect them to reference whatever examples they use. So here the tutor, in insisting on rigorous referencing, is making it difficult for the student to demonstrate understanding through illustration, though of course it is possible, if the student has a written, referenceable source at hand. S2 also looks for understanding:

S. How close a paraphrase is acceptable?
S2: That is an extraordinarily difficult question, it is a matter of judgement. The criterion I would be interested in is essentially, is this student showing evidence of having understood what is said or are they merely parroting? ....You find it in the context and usually the parroters will give themselves away because they paraphrase parts of the chapter or book, whatever it may be, which actually doesn't have very much to do with the argument they're making. Whereas, if it clearly fits in precisely as part of a continuous and cogent argument, then I would take the view they've understood. But, as I say, it is a matter of judgement and I'm sure I make mistakes, I mean, we're not dealing with an exact science here, as you know. And even if we were, it is not a science that we have the resources to practice.

In contrast, Lyn, the tutor who emphasizes referencing, has this to say:

L. Obviously, it cannot be word for word, also, if the words kind of got long and odious, and he used quite sort of theoretical terminology, I don't actually know how to phrase this, and I would prefer it, for example, if you talked about, consociationism, I would prefer them to call it power sharing.
S. Okay. What is that word you used?
L. Consociationism, it is kind of a model, which is basically power-sharing, I'd rather that they found their own words, not for every single word, that would be unreasonable and it would be really stupid, but if they wrote 3 or 4 sentences, well, let's put it like this, if they wrote 2 sentences, straight from Peter Collins, I would have a problem with that. One sentence? - I don't know, there is a fine line. I would maybe indicate under the paragraph, and maybe say to them, try to use more of your own language or vocabulary, or something like that. Also, it makes more sense for them, it would be easier for them, in terms of argumentation to deal with it, if they know what they're talking about.

It is interesting that Lyn talks about theoretical terminology, and picks a discipline-specific word to illustrate her point. It seems to me that theoretical terminology, words which have particular meanings for within particular disciplinary contexts, and are known in those contexts, are particularly difficult to substitute; even if one finds it in a dictionary, it may not be used in the same way in the literature of the discipline. If a student comes across such a word in a reading, and it is not explained to them, and if there is no equivalent word to be

found in a dictionary, then the safest would be to use that particular word. The student may guess that it means something close to power-sharing, but it may have a more specific meaning, and therefore it would be more appropriate to retain that particular word. Also, perhaps this particular word is one amongst many that the student is encountering which is entirely new. She is learning that word as part of a semantic field, and may reproduce it formulaicly, within a chunk of words, perhaps, as part of her learning the discourse of politics, as well as the English language.

Overall, it seems that the lecturers I interviewed are fairly tolerant of some word-for-word rendition at first year level, as long as there is some understanding demonstrated. Tutors seem to be a little less tolerant, perhaps because the experience and judgement called for in evaluating comprehension, referred to by S1 and S2, is lacking.

Hybridization of discourses

Although this is not a quantitative study, and the students interviewed are certainly not a representative sample, I have included in appendix 2 a brief analysis and explanation of the writing which students had done in their prior education, in order to demonstrate that the kind of writing that students are encountering at university is generally entirely new. I make no claims as to the generalizability of these tables; however some distinct patterns emerged, which I think are significant. It is clear that the students whom I interviewed had very little previous experience in writing from multiple sources. Their dominant experience was in descriptive or narrative composition, (called "creative" writing in the tables), and where "factual" writing is required, it seemed to be simply a matter of composing from one source, the textbook. Only those who achieved high marks in their essays (Emma and Laura) reported any experience of writing from multiple sources, with the exception of Mangalisu. I think that it follows logically from these prior educational experiences in writing, that students will encounter enormous difficulty in the genres of the academic essay, where they are expected to integrate multiple sources, and underlying that, to have some understanding of knowledge as constructed, with multiple viewpoints and perspectives being possible.

In addition to this, several of the black students interviewed mentioned their religious experience: Nothando had been the secretary of her Youth Guild for two years, Bulelwa studied the Bible by correspondence for three years, still reads it regularly, and attends church. Busisiwe was also the Youth Secretary for her church. Mangalisu, too, was a regular churchgoer. I mention this because I would like to suggest that the study and respect for religious texts, such as the Bible or the Koran, reinforced by the notion of the school textbook as authority, may lead to a particularly entrenched notion of the text as fact, which may

conflict fundamentally with the academic essay, where texts are to be compared and contrasted, discussed and challenged, criticized and evaluated.

The skill of referencing rests on an underlying ability to synthesize multiple sources into a coherent whole. The problem of plagiarism may arise from a situation where the student learning a new discourse is unable to do anything other than use the words of the texts she is reading in her writing, as a way of "trying on" the discourse. It may arise where the student's lack of confidence in her reading and her ability to paraphrase leads to an overdependence on text. The reproduction of discipline-specific terms may be appropriate, and the reproduction of chunks of language that the learner has stored in her memory may be evidence of a normal language learning process, rather than plagiarism. Underlying "plagiarism" may also be the experience of the text as a set of facts, or as authoritative Book to be respected through faithful imitation.

The final question examines the nature of authorial voice, and how students struggle with placing themselves in their writing, when using multiple texts.

4. What are the difficulties experienced in developing an authorial voice when using multiple sources?

In this section I would like to explore some of the difficulties inherent in the development of an authorial voice in academic writing, some of the hindrances that students experience, in particular how the use of sources and feedback on referencing can inhibit this development in important ways. Detecting the voice of the author when reading a text, which itself is using multiple sources, is as challenging as constructing one's essay in such a way that one's own authorial voice comes through. Sensitivity to authorial voice, detecting authorial stance, is difficult for any reader who does not know the context of writing, and in particular does not fully control the language they are reading, because shifts in authorial stance may be very subtle, indicated by Goffman's (1974, in Scollon, 1995) laminator verbs, as discussed in Chapter 2, or other subtle constructions. The problem that students experience in reading in this regard may manifest in their writing. Tshediso's first essay shows clear evidence of this:

Liberal democratic practices diverge from those specified in its theory. In "Democratic Liberalism in South Africa", Dr Welsh (1987) says there is "evidence of a perverse unwillingness to strip away the veils that hide and mystify the class relations of a developing capitalist system fundamentally oriented to the goal of capital accumulation".

I would not have picked it up, and nor did his own tutor, but the Head Tutor, after a marking workshop in which he had seen Tshediso's essay, explained to me that in the passage which Tshediso had quoted from Welsh, the author was summarizing a revisionist critique of capitalism, behind which Welsh as author did not stand. Tshediso read it and quoted it as Welsh's viewpoint.

Lindiwe talks about this difficulty with regard to referencing in the following way:

L. Sometimes, in a book, ne? like they author is writing about someone else, another author's ideas, then you dunno how to put that in.
S. What would you do if you wanted to do that? I know you say you're finding it difficult, but what would you do?
L. I think I usually write the author who writes the whole book, like saying that if it's Giddens, if Giddens is talking about another author, maybe that author is Marx, so I dunno which one to put in, so I just put Giddens and put the date and page number.

So for Lindiwe and Tshediso the solution is simply to portray an author's discussion of another author, as the work of the author they are reading. Lindiwe seems aware of the problem in this, whilst Tshediso did not detect the authorial stance in the Welsh text. Again I think this can be traced to a lack of understanding of the way in which academic texts are constructed on prior texts, how this is indicated through referencing, and the difficulty for the second language speaker of detecting authorial stance in the writing.

In addition, academic writing often avoids the use of "I", so that authorial voice may be particularly difficult to detect. "I would like to argue that" is often replaced by "It is argued that", for example. For someone who is not familiar with this kind of discourse, **who** is talking here is opaque, especially where other voices are being discussed. Where this is discouraged in academic writing, the task of the student in showing where the voice of another author ends, and their own begins, is made more complicated. Lindiwe's tutor, Lyn, did not like the use of "I" - I came across many instances in her marking where she had crossed this out, or circled it as she does in Lindiwe's essay reproduced on the next page:

According to the dictionary of modern politics, Liberal Democracy is described as something which is what most developed Western nations would claim to practise. It is stated that it actually a combination of two values which do not necessarily go together logically. As far as the democracy aspects is concerned liberal democracy is a form of representative democracy. What I am trying to show here is that these two concepts that is liberal and democracy are two controversial concepts which can be argued for and against.

Lindiwe talks about this section of her essay:

S. Top of page 3, you've got "According to the dictionary of modern politics". Now which part of this paragraph comes from that dictionary?
L. (Reads. Pause). I think it's from "liberal democracy" to "practice". Then the following sentences I just wrote it myself.
S. Okay and when you say "it is stated"?
L. Okay, ja I took it from the dictionary, then I put it in my own words.
S. Okay. Um-
L. Another thing that I can't understand is that I said "As far as".... then I said what I'm trying to show, then Lyn commented there, that I shouldn't use "I". She did in the tutorial commented about when someone is writing an essay she can't use the first person. I can't get it, I really can't....So what am I supposed to write, like when I want to give my ideas, my own views?

Faced with Lyn's disapproval of "I", compounded by her difficulty in representing the voice of the dictionary, where she used "it is stated", Lindiwe does not know how to bring in her own voice, and indicate this for the reader, in contrast with what has gone before. There are ways of doing this without the use of I, but it would certainly make Lindiwe's task easier if "I" were permitted.

Tshediso struggled with this problem throughout the year. When his first Politics essay was returned to him with the comment, "Try not to use very descriptive language which is inappropriate in an academic context (but retain originality!)" his confusion is evident in the following discussion:

S. So it's fascinating, because you have a very strong sense of the need for writing to have a soul, and clearly you tried to do that in your essay, to have some "soul". Now how does one do that, and be academic?

T. Ja! That's the most difficult thing. Because when I read a comment of the person who marked my paper, and I was advised, I wonder whether it's an advice or a comment, that my language is too descriptive, they said it is too descriptive, for academic purposes, and at the same time, in fact I'm being encouraged to be original. I think that is - it's a contrast.

S. Mm. So what are you going to do about that?

T. To retain originality and yet at the same time discard the methods I use, I think it's going to be very difficult, it's going to be very difficult. Then I might have to write something - I must present a dead paper now. And but if - this is an academic paper, if it is required of me to do so, then I'll make a gallant attempt - to present a dead paper.

So at this stage of his writing development Tshediso seems to feel that there is no way that he can retain some authorial "life" in his academic writing. However, by the end of the year, when he wrote a Psychology essay for which he obtained a mark of 72%, he felt very differently, though he still experienced some problems. He told me that he had realised that referencing was going to be very important in this particular essay, and so had looked through his course reader to see if there was a reading with lots of references that he could use as a model. He did not find one, so he used as a model a paper which I had written, using data from an interview with him, and which I had given to him to read and comment on. (Angelil-Carter, 1994b). We were discussing an entry to his journal on referencing in the following interview extract:

S. Your entry that says "I'm beginning to like this referencing because it gives my essay a sophisticated academic touch." Could you explain how the referencing does that?

T. Okay for example in fact I'll again use the Psychology essay. It's complicated for starters to compile different ideas into one whole. And then out of that you produce an argument, and at the same time you keep on mentioning this person says this and you give the date, this person says this, you give the date, and so on, but at the end they are saying the very same things. It shows that you are using different readings, they did not in fact directly say those things, you have in fact idealized, or extracted from the reading relevant information that is going to agree with what you are saying.

S. And that's you then, coming through.

T. Yes exactly. After writing my essay, reading it through, I was impressed even myself that I've used different readings, four readings, maybe like in one paragraph, putting it into one whole - yeah, it looked very good.

Tshediso is now able to produce an argument, integrating several readings into a coherent whole which supports his argument. He is also aware that in rerepresenting the sources, he is transforming them ("they did not in fact directly say those things, you have in fact idealized, or extracted from the reading relevant information that is going to agree with what you are saying"). I do not believe that he is misrepresenting these sources, he is simply aware of the transformation which occurs in any intertextual rerepresentation. We continued as follows:

S. Why does it look good?
T. That is going to be difficult for me to explain, but I know that it looks good. I'll make an example with your paper that you compiled and then showed to me. I read it several times okay - in the beginning I did not understand it, but now, because I said this is another reading, this is a different reading, and so forth. I first ignored the referencing, and tried to understand the subject, the whole thing, the crux, and then it just sort of fell into place. Now then I read it with the referencing inclusive, and immediately what jumped to mind is "So these are different readings, completely different readings, but now they've been compiled into one whole thing that makes sense. Okay there is in fact evidence of a difference, like an author might not agree exactly with the next one, but there is a commonality between." So I think it was a challenge for me. .... In fact, at the beginning, when I was preparing for the essay, each and every reading, it was like on its own, it was just on its own, it had a different concept from the others that followed. But now I knew that I had to construct, argue one whole argument out of this, to integrate them. So once I viewed the results, I realised that I'd done it, it had that sophisticated look, like I'm saying, here it's this, so and so is saying this, Lambo is saying this, those were totally different readings, but now they just flowed into one whole thing. ... But the most important thing is we had lots of readings and we've been told that none of the authors say exactly, I agree with this and this, they're just ordinary readings, and I have to reference, and I knew that if I could master referencing very well, then it would go a long way. So I went over our tutorial reader, to find maybe one single author, who has made many references but who's dealing with one issue, and there were not very many. And then, then I took your paper. Then I went to it and I said okay this is in fact a discussion about one whole thing, but many references, and in some instances you quoted, and I looked at how you, why did you have to quote here, and I went through it over and over, over it again, in fact it took me a week, the last essay took me a week to compile, and after that I knew how to do it. ..I knew I was going to do well with the referencing, in fact my whole argument depended on good referencing. Because I had to show that so many authors agree with this view, and they are giving examples that this will work, and this way and this way, because if I don't reference my argument - the more I displayed that so many authors agree with this, the better was my argument, to give it more substance. What I mean by saying that my argument hinged on good referencing, - it showed that many people were on this side.

I was intrigued by the way that Tshediso had used my paper (which was in fact completed as an assignment for the M.Ed. ESL course) as a model for his own writing. It brought home to me the fact that what students normally see as models for their own academic writing, are a different genre from the academic essay required for curriculum purposes (could it be that the threat of possible plagiarism of essays discourages staff from providing model essays?) It also highlighted the lack of mediation of how to write academic essays, and within that how to

integrate and reference multiple sources, other than some feedback on essays, the occasional mention of referencing in tutorials, and the handbook entry. This was further borne out by the fact that none of the third year students, and certainly none of the first year students, even those who had referenced well, and only one of the tutors, expressed anything of the understanding of the role of referencing that Tshediso was articulating by the end of the year. I understood, therefore, that the research feedback process, together with the reflection on writing taking place in the interviews and by means of the journal on referencing, had had a powerful impact on Tshediso's learning. In talking about this with Tshediso, at the end of the final interview, we had the following exchange:

S. So it raised your awareness?

T. Exactly, and such was not the case in the beginning. In fact I merely concentrated on the substances of the subject, the content. I did not think referencing was important, I just thought it was one of those requirements one can comply with if one wishes. I did not see any significance in it at all. In fact I perceived it as, it was sort of a hindrance. But now, after talking about it, I began to understand its nature, its significance, the purpose it's supposed to serve, and the most important thing, that it can be done. I never believed for one second that I could be able to write a lively paper that I'll be proud and satisfied with which would include referencing, and I think I've done it with this Psychology paper.

So Tshediso has found a way of being "lively" and academic at the same time. He has also begun to understand the "nature", "significance" and "purpose" of referencing, the surface of which this research project has begun to scratch.

In the concluding chapter, I shall summarize the analysis findings and discuss the beginnings of a pedagogy for plagiarism and referencing.

CONCLUSION: A PEDAGOGY FOR PLAGIARISM AND REFERENCING

In this conclusion I shall summarize some of the findings of this exploration into plagiarism and the practice of referencing, and attempt to begin to develop a pedagogy for dealing with the problem of plagiarism and the appropriate documentation of sources within the curriculum.

I have attempted to deconstruct the notion of plagiarism, to uncover it as an ill-defined concept, its definition further obscured by differences in what constitutes plagiarism across genres. Beneath the veils of the concept itself, lie problems which result from the undirected manner in which plagiarism is detected and sanctioned. Mabizela (1994) and Thesen (1994) report that the students whom they interviewed expressed an unwarranted fear of plagiarism. Mabizela states that plagiarism "has become a monster to these students". He writes that "Perhaps warning regarding plagiarism was over-emphasised by the lecturing staff while, on the other hand, they fail to teach students how to acquire the skill of writing an essay/assignment" (34). So also beneath the veils lie the problems of academic literacy, and the following have emerged in this study in relation to problems with referencing: a lack of understanding of the role of referencing, difficulties with understanding and reshaping texts, lack of understanding of how knowledge is constructed, the need to imitate in the early stages of learning a new discourse, the academic essay as an unknown and untaught genre of writing, and the complexity of controlling multiple voices within a text while allowing a writer's voice to be heard. These are difficulties experienced by all students. Also evident in relation to plagiarism is the difficulty that English Second Language students have in using their own words in paraphrase, and the fact that all language is learnt and reproduced in chunks or formulas, so that phrases which are reproduced word-for-word, or only slightly altered, may be a necessary part of the language learning process.

Thus there are a range of underlying causes for plagiarism in student writing, few of which seem to be intention to deceive, and this research has deliberately not dealt with intentionally fraudulent plagiarism in any way. It is my belief, confirmed through this research project, that plagiarism is much more a problem of academic literacy than academic dishonesty, although the latter of course exists.

Having deconstructed notions of plagiarism in chapter 2, and raised questions about what is happening around the practice of referencing and the way it is enforced in chapter 4, my first thesis in this conclusion is that far from being simply technical and peripheral, what one lecturer described as "a modern bureaucratic fad", the practice of referencing is a fundamental part of academic discourse. *Knowing who said what* is essential to a deep understanding of Social Science, an understanding of knowledge as constructed, debated and contested. My second thesis is that plagiarism should be viewed as primarily a developmental problem. Following from these two arguments is the third: the practice of referencing, and the deeper understandings of knowledge construction that it represents, should be given a serious place in the curriculum. In order for this to happen, the following need to take place:

1) The negotiation of shared meaning around the concept of plagiarism, including an examination of assumptions linked to this concept in its monitoring and enforcement, leading to the development of written policy and guidelines emerging from this shared understanding.

2) The development of an academic literacy programme within the curriculum, including attention to referencing. This means attention to the complexities of developing authorial voice whilst constructing a text based on the texts of others, while at the same time using a focus on authors to move students towards an understanding of how knowledge is constructed.

I shall begin therefore, with the negotiation of shared meaning and the development of policy, as a starting point for curricular intervention.

Negotiating Shared Meaning and Developing Policy

Understanding the role of referencing

The study shows that there are conflicting understandings about the role of referencing in the undergraduate curriculum, between students and staff, and amongst staff themselves. Some staff see little sense in it at the undergraduate level, and in the case of the one lecturer who did see an important role for it, most of the students on this lecturer's course who were interviewed did not seem to have an understanding of this role, and were far from convinced of its significance. Genre theorists such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) and Kress (1985), and from a slightly different framework, Delpit (1988), make a plea for the explicit teaching of powerful written genres, of which the academic essay is one, as this is crucial to access and success for those who have been marginalized. In order to teach the genre explicitly, those who teach need to bring to the surface their sometimes unconscious understanding of the genre, and examine why they approach it in the way that they do. At best this is a process

which happens jointly amongst staff within a department, so that emerging from discussions around genre, policy and coherent teaching approaches may be developed. Within this framework, then, what the role of referencing is in the undergraduate essay needs to be discussed and debated amongst staff. Part of this debate is also the question which was raised in chapter 2, and that is a consideration of the fit between the curriculum and the predicted kind of workplace that Social Science students enter. This of course cannot be approached simplistically, not only because it is not possible to predict fully the kinds of genres that students will use in the workplace, but also because the academic essay is also a pedagogic genre, a tool for learning. However, as most students do not proceed to postgraduate studies, adequate preparation for economic empowerment in the world outside the institution is a foundational consideration of the whole curriculum.

Once some understanding has been reached between staff, it can then be explicitly communicated to students. Approaching the problem of plagiarism and referencing from the framework of genre, as Jameson (1993) and Devitt (1991) do, is a useful way of penetrating the role and social function of documentation. If students are presented with a variety of kinds of documentation, such as in the novel, the speech, the newspaper article and the academic essay, and asked to think about why each is different, and the functions that each has in society, they might come to an understanding of referencing as taking part in the academic conversation, as locating intellectual traditions and schools of thought, and authors within them, and begin to think of themselves as authors who are part of that conversation. Copyright could also be explored in this way. Interesting would be a discussion of how there is no copyright in ideas, although plagiarism can mean the use of ideas without acknowledgement, and why this distinction exists. Crucial to an understanding of the role of referencing is an understanding of how knowledge is constructed, and how texts are authored, and I shall return to this later. The next step is development of written definitions, policies and models for inclusion in the handbook.

Handbook definitions, policies and models

I would like to make some practical suggestions, emerging from what I have learnt through this study, of what might be included in a section on plagiarism and referencing in a departmental handbook, using the Political Studies first year handbook as a springboard for my suggestions. In a general discussion about academic dishonesty as a student development issue, Kibler (1993) stresses the importance of the development of clearly written policy, which should include "definitions of academic dishonesty, examples of behaviours that constitute infractions, a description of the process followed when alleged violations occur, and a description of the sanctions usually imposed" (263). The departmental handbook, for the

time being, is likely to remain the first and for some students, the only place where they will receive guidelines, policies and definitions on plagiarism and references, and thus is an important pedagogical interface.

Firstly, it seems to me to be crucial that a clear definition of what constitutes plagiarism is set out in the handbook. Central to definitional problems, as was brought out in chapter 2, is whether plagiarism occurs only when there is deliberate intention to deceive, or whether it also occurs simply with unintentional use of the words or ideas of others without acknowledgement. This is an important difference in definition, and a decision needs to be made on which definition is pedagogically appropriate at the undergraduate level, as there are important implications for how plagiarism is handled by markers. Another definitional problem emerged in the workshop on plagiarism and referencing held with the Political Studies department, when there was disagreement about the use of the **ideas** of others without acknowledgement, especially ideas presented in lectures, and whether this constituted plagiarism at first year level. Again, it is important that there is clarity on this issue, and that a clear statement is made about this in the handbook. I think that it may be important to indicate to students in a written policy that some areas are grey ones, and give them some pointers on what to do with such problems as: what constitutes common knowledge; what to do with Bazerman's (1995:357) "deep sources" of knowledge; (i.e. "those ideas and information that you came across long before you began work on the essay in question" which "...may be so far in the back of your memory that there is no way to identify which writers helped shape your thinking with respect to your current project"); whether it is appropriate to use ideas presented by the lecturer, if and how these should be acknowledged, especially where the lecture notes are written up and published for student use; and what to do with ideas developed orally, in conjunction with others, particularly where the "origins" of these ideas are not clear.

Secondly, it is essential that there is a clear policy guideline for markers on an appropriate response when plagiarism is suspected. I do not think that it is practical that every source used should be checked. I do think, however, that a clear message of disapproval in a low mark can be given, but with a route opened to the student to consult with the marker, and to be given the opportunity to rewrite the essay. Even where there is intentional dishonesty in the form of plagiarism (and I believe this research indicates that this is not the principle form of "plagiarism"), it is important that the opportunity be given to the student to discuss the ethical implications of his or her behaviour. Kibler (1993) reports on several studies which indicate that fear of failure and incompetence may result in dishonest behaviour, and advises against simply giving a failing grade to such students, as "the practice does not serve as a deterrent for students already in jeopardy of failing" (264). Where it is an academic literacy problem of the

kind demonstrated in chapter 4, it is even more important that the student be given the opportunity to consult with the marker about the problems in the essay. Students should be encouraged to move towards a development of their own voice in academic writing, and I shall return to this later.

The third consideration is the way in which appropriate referencing is illustrated in a departmental handbook. The Political Studies handbook, like many others, gives a series of examples of how to reference, with a general rule preceding the example, e.g.

*References **usually** include page numbers and **must** include page numbers when the reference is to a direct citation. This can be either:*
a) How the Africans experienced the negation of their historical process and the distortion of their classes is described by Rodney (1972:246)
OR:
b) Expropriations, taxation, corvees and paternalist control were conscious instruments of policy that created the needed labour force. (Murray, 1962:121)
<p align="center">(Introduction to Politics, 1995, first semester handbook, p. 24).</p>

I think it is extremely important to give examples, and this example is one of a range of illustrations of referencing. I would like, however, to propose an alternative, more contextualized way of demonstrating referencing. I think it might be helpful to include extracts from for example two original sources on the same topic, with an acceptable paraphrased synthesis of the two, to show how they can be woven together with appropriate signals, and with the writer's own connections made between the two. All the different kinds of examples as portrayed in the existing handbook may be demonstrated in this way, but within continuous discourse, so that there is a demonstration not only of how to signal the voices of others, but also how to signal one's own voice in an appropriate way, and within a meaningful context. Following this synthesis, it would be useful to include an explanation for each reference - **why** it is appropriate to reference at each point - and where there are a few sentences with no references, the reasons for this should also be explained. In this way, the problem of what constitutes common knowledge could be brought in, as could ways of bringing in one's own ideas and linking them to those of the sources, as well as the question of what constitutes acceptable paraphrase. It might also be important to include some technical terms which cannot easily be substituted in a paraphrase. A useful addition for second language students might be to include in the first synthesis several different examples of phrases which introduce authors (such as "according to", "the position taken by"), link sources together ("X concurs with this view, but takes it further), and signal the writer's own voice ("I wish to argue", "It seems that") and so on. These could then be drawn to the attention of the student reader by

extracting and listing them under the three categories which I have mentioned (signaling other authors, linking sources, introducing one's own viewpoint). There also needs to be some explanation of authorial stance, e.g. how to express tentative agreement, neutrality, etc. These are all ways of "animating" the voices of others, as discussed in chapter 2, so that the student as agent "lives" within the sources s/he uses. I shall consider this further later.

As a contrast, another synthesis of the same two sources could then be modelled, with inappropriate paraphrase and referencing, or lack of referencing, overuse of quotation, etc., with some explanation again on why these examples are inappropriate. I shall consider the pedagogical usefulness of providing good and poor models for discussion with students in the second part of this conclusion.

I have a final comment on the rule given in the example from the handbook presented above, which states that "references usually include page numbers". Several students interviewed in this study had problems with this rule, especially where a general reference is made to an entire reading. I think that if such a rule is to be enforced, students should be told what the exceptions to this are (the word "usually" implies that sometimes it is not necessary to give the page number), and also what the rationale is for this ruling.

The suggestions given above, of definition, policy and contextualized examples could serve as an important reference point for tutors in discussions about referencing and plagiarism, and in their marking, and as an important reference point for students while writing assignments and essays. I wish to emphasize that such definition, policy and examples require discussion and mediation, as placing them in the handbook will not be enough, and further examples of problematic and appropriate referencing or its absence need to be developed from students' own writing and discussed in an ongoing manner with students within the curriculum. I also wish to suggest that ways of promoting usage of the handbook be considered. The handbook is often a rather boring document; this does not have to be. The use of interesting design and layout, an introduction which gives pointers to what the handbook can do for the student, and some light relief in the form of cartoons, etc., would make the document more accessible and interesting. It also needs to be referred to and used within lectures and tutorials, so that students begin to see its usefulness.

The next section deals with an area where assumptions need to be examined, and policy developed.

The consequences of problematic assumptions about background knowledge and language ability

The study indicates that the way in which the practice of referencing is enforced by some markers of essays, can rest on problematic assumptions about the amount of background knowledge which students bring, what Bazerman (1995) calls "deep sources". Related to this, markers' practices in detecting plagiarism rely on judging sophistication of language and sophistication of ideas, and where a student is a speaker of another language, expectations of what constitutes sophisticated language or ideas for that student may be lower. This may generally not lead to incorrect assumptions, but the possibility is there, and evident in the research in the cases of Tshediso and Mangalisu, who for complex reasons, are not seen as legitimate users of "deep sources" or outside sources, in the way that Laura and Emma are. In Bourdieu's (1991) terms, Tshediso and Mangalisu have not been "authorized" to speak, they are seen as "impostors". Again for complex reasons, Mangalisu is given the benefit of the doubt regarding suspected plagiarism, and may demonstrate his legitimacy, while Nothando is denied this opportunity.

The "shutting out" of student background knowledge in their writing, mainly by tutors, who require students to reference "deep sources", has important implications within constructivist learning theory, and within writing as learning theory. There seems to little doubt that writing plays a crucial role in helping students learn (Langer and Applebee, 1987). When students are not able to integrate what they know already with what they are learning in their writing, when they are denied their means of making sense of what they are learning through bringing themselves and what they know to the writing, we may in fact be hindering their learning processes. Not being allowed to bring his subjectivity to his writing, Tshediso constructed a split between reading and writing, which he described as "I become subjective, I get involved to understand it, but now if I have to reproduce it, I read it again, and become objective, like a spectator." This worked for him because he had realised that "what I have to say, in comparison to what I have read, what I've read in fact carries more weight". Tshediso's movement in acquiring academic discourse meant a loss of some of the old authorities, as well as a deep struggle to maintain a sense of himself in his writing.

Constructivist learning theory (Ausubel, 1968; Novak and Gowin, 1984) stresses the importance of access to background knowledge for the learner, in order for new knowledge to be built into the old framework. Vygotsky's (1987) theories of language and concept development clarify how concepts change and develop through mediation, and that it is crucial

for the learner to be able to work with their present understandings in order for these to develop further.

In addition to this disallowing (in some cases) of student background knowledge and its implications for limitations on learning, another consequence of false assumptions about students may be suspicion of plagiarism where students have used a source unknown to the marker, leading to a catch-22[4] situation, where although students are explicitly encouraged to go beyond the prescribed reading, if they do so, they may be suspected of plagiarism. This is not to say that the deceitful student might not wilfully attempt such a ruse, but where a marker suspects but is unable to prove plagiarism, the possibility exists that the student has used and documented the unknown source appropriately. Again the student whose first language is not English is more vulnerable than others to such incorrect assumptions, and the consequence of such an experience may be to remain scrupulously within the limits of the prescribed readings. It is not my intention to criticize the often very careful processes of judgement undertaken by markers of essays in evaluating the misuse of sources: I am aware of how delicate a process it is. My intention is simply to posit the possibilities and consequences of incorrect assumptions which have been evident in this research. To return to the words of Pennycook (1994), working in the context of Hong Kong, with Chinese students studying at Western, English medium universities, who warns:

> We need to be very cautious here of acting prejudicially against students, especially students who are not writing in their first language, because we assume their knowledge and linguistic skills are not sufficient to have produced a particular idea or phrase. (282)

The problem of incorrect assumptions is exacerbated when there is no clear policy about checking of outside sources, and where this is not possible, of how to deal with suspected plagiarism. The research showed the inconsistencies within one marker's approach to plagiarism, which is inevitable in the absence of policy and discussion of policy. Also evident is substantial differences across markers in the thoroughness of referencing they require, and in what they want documented, and what would be acceptable as common knowledge. It emerges in the research that this can be due to two factors: firstly, a difference in the way that markers approach referencing, and secondly, the individual authority of the student, so that where a student writes with authority, she or he is expected to reference less thoroughly than the one who writes with less authority. It follows from this, once again, that clear definitions and policies need to be developed, written and discussed with tutors and students. It also

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[4]One of the examiners of this dissertation, Hilary Janks, pointed out that no-one would now think to source the phrase "catch-22".

follows that further research needs to be undertaken into what exactly constitutes authority in writing, and how this authority is established. With a clearer understanding of what authority in writing means, we might have a pedagogical starting point (and end point) for writing in the curriculum. I shall return to the nature of this authority in the last part of this conclusion.

Having dealt with what might be called "preconditions" within the curriculum, I move on now to the second section of this conclusion, in which a developmental approach to referencing as a problem of academic literacy is set out.

Plagiarism and referencing within an academic literacy framework

The academic essay as an unfamiliar genre

The simple analysis of students' past writing experiences presented in appendix 2 shows clearly how writing from multiple sources is an entirely new activity for almost all the students interviewed, let alone referencing those sources, of which all the students had had no experience whatsoever. The dominant writing experience which these students had (and as the group included students from all kinds of educational backgrounds, it seems reasonable to conclude that this is the general experience) seems to be the narrative or descriptive composition, while a few have used one authoritative textbook in order to write an essay. This means that many students have had very little experience of working with a text and putting it into their own words. One student actually mentioned that in writing "factual" essays at school you would fail if you did not reproduce the book as is. So it is partly a matter of simply not knowing how to do it, not knowing how to put together the genre of the academic essay in an appropriate way, because the genre has never been taught. Not only in its form but its functions as well.

Several students in this study also reported significant relationships to religious texts. It is evident, therefore, that the prior literacy practices of these students do not support the discourses of the academic essay. A fundamental element of this, and an important source of referencing problems, is the comprehension of and approach to texts. I shall deal with the comprehension first, and then move on to the approach to texts, though the two are interrelated.

Although I did not focus on the data regarding reading and note-taking in chapter 4, I would like to touch on it here. Many of the students who referenced inappropriately were simply using highlighters or underlining on the original texts as they read, and taking no notes. Alternatively they used the authors' words in their notes because they distrusted their own

ability to represent those authors accurately. Those who presented well-referenced, well-synthesized essays took notes which reshaped the original text entirely, and indicated the sources in the notes. Reshaping the original is a high order skill requiring excellent comprehension of the original text, and also the complex skills of paraphrase and summary. The very act of reshaping leads to comprehension, which is what lecturers who mark look for (as reported in chapter 4): the student who displays understanding through the use of examples and their own words. This suggests firstly, that careful selection of course readings needs to be made, not only for content but also for comprehensibility, and secondly, that many students need a great deal of instruction and practice in comprehension strategies, paraphrase and summary techniques. Particularly useful in comprehension and summary is the use of concept or cognitive mapping, because of the necessity for reshaping and categorizing while summarizing, and because it can form a diagrammatic synthesis of what has been read (Angelil-Carter, 1994c). Opportunities for learning these skills need to be built into the curriculum.

To turn now briefly to the approach to text. Here lies a complex cluster of problems of relationship to text, of an approach to learning inculcated in the schools, of a rigid notion of knowledge as a set of facts to be absorbed. Referencing interacts with these underlying contextual problems: referencing difficulties may be manifestations of these problems, while a focus on the fundamentals of referencing may make positive contextual and conceptual shifts in the minds of learners, as was evident in Tshediso's development over the year. I shall discuss this further when considering the question of what constitutes authority in writing.

The next section deals with a different order of problem, where the linguistic and conceptual resources are not available to the student, and he or she has no choice but to lean on the text.

Learning language and academic discourse by imitation

The novice writer of academic discourse, particularly the second language speaker, such as Bulelwa, may need to cling closely to the original texts, because she has little linguistic resources at this stage for successful paraphrase, and because she is learning by imitation. As Pennycook (1994) explains, "we need to understand plagiarism in the context of language learning, which is necessarily a process of assimilating and reusing chunks of language" (282).

The use of formulaic language, therefore, is an essential part of any language learning process, both for the first and second language speaker (Weinert, 1995; Ellis, 1985). In addition, language is intensely social, as I attempted to establish in Chapter 2 through the theories of Bakhtin (1981) and Kress (1985), amongst others. Of necessity we all learn and take language

from those around us, and all texts are deeply contextualized in the discipline to which the novice writer is apprenticed. At the level of entrance into academia, learning a new discourse requires "trying on" that discourse: stepping into the shoes of the authors. Hull and Rose (1990) discuss a nursing student, Tanya, who copies her source texts, changing words here and there, "then if some parts from there I change a little bit, they know I'm not really that kind of student that would copy". Bulelwa too, was conscious of plagiarism, saying that "by paraphrasing I don't want to plagiarize". However she was unable to do anything more than "look at synonyms of the words", using the dictionary, a strategy which is not sustainable throughout an eight page essay. Hull and Rose conclude that what Tanya needed was "a freewheeling pedagogy of imitation, one that encourages her to try on the language of essays like the nurse's case study", with a gradual introduction of coherence markers and signals of the use of the words of the text (242). Lindiwe, on the other hand, knew the signals that need to be used to indicate quotations, but her strategy was to overuse quotation, as "it's very difficult to put something in my own words, then it's not going to give the same meaning as the author's". I think here of Bakhtin's description of how words "put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker" and "sound foreign in the mouth of the one who has appropriated them and now speaks them" (1981:294). The words within the discourse are too socially and conceptually distanced from the writer for her to reshape them in any way. Such students need time to absorb and acquire the new discourses of the academy, as well as constructive pedagogical interventions that focus on explicit comprehension strategies, paraphrase and summary, and legitimate ways of representing their own and the voices of others.

Tshediso's effective use of my own assignment which I had given him to read as a model for his own writing and use of sources, leads me to a simple conclusion: Students need to see and discuss models of good essays and how sources are used within them, as well as poor essays which demonstrate inappropriate referencing strategies or plagiarism. Charney and Carlson (1995), in an experimental study to determine the impact of supplying writing models on students' writing of research texts, found that the group given models produced writing that was better organized, at the level of the sentence, paragraph, and overall structure, and conclude that model texts "are a rich resource that may prove useful to writers in different ways at different stages of their development" (116). They also found that providing students with good, moderate and poor models may help students to develop a sense of effective and ineffective kinds of writing, and so increase their own effectiveness in writing. How to use a model needs to be part of a discussion of model texts, and giving students models of perhaps a previous, already completed essay for discussion, will help to avoid the problem of inappropriate use of models. Another possibility is making copies of the best essay available to

students for scrutiny. Again, if this essay is known to markers, it will be difficult for students in the following year, even if the topic stays the same, to use it inappropriately.

Having looked at the ways in which students learn through imitation, I turn now to a consideration of how they can be assisted in moving away from a tight dependence on voices of others, to a situation where they begin to write with themselves as author/agent animating the voices of others.

Developing authorial voice

Writing about "strains and strategies" in Political Science rhetoric, using an analysis of articles published in the American Political Science Review, Bazerman (1988) reports on the emphasis in this journal, on embedding the writing in an established body of literature. References are usually contained in an extensive opening review of the literature, sometimes comprising as much as half the article, and the contribution of the author(s) is often a methodological one, rather than "empirical" discovery (284). He argues that the author thus has a very active role in "constructing ideas and collecting data as well as to claim credit for the research process and results" (287), and that this can be seen in the language in the use of the first person "I" or "we". (This is interesting considering that this study has found instances of active disapproval of the use of the first person.) However in striving for empirical claims, Bazerman maintains that there is a tension in the writing between "truth" claims and authorial vision. In this way the rhetoric of Political Science lies somewhere in between that of natural science and Political Philosophy. Although I am not sufficiently knowledgeable about how close the field of Political Studies in South Africa would be to that of Political Science discussed by Bazerman, and there is certain to be wide variety across journals, two important questions are raised here: What precisely is the role of the author in a Political Studies essay? and how important is the display of knowledge of an established body of literature? I suspect that the answer to the second question is Very Important. And that the answer to the first is not clear. As I have noted in chapter 2, the genre of the professional journal article is different from that of the undergraduate essay; however some of the tensions of the article at this level must filter down into the essay assignment.

Not often noticed in the emphasis on representing the voices of others, then, is the problem of how to represent one's own voice amongst the voices of the authorities. The study has highlighted this problem for me in two ways: not only is it a problem of representation of Bazerman's (1995: 357) "deep sources", i.e. how to legitimately represent previously stored knowledge, as well as independent ideas, but also of how to develop the subtle writing skills, discussed in Scollon (1995) which are needed to indicate for the reader when it is the voice of

the author speaking, and the authorial relationship to what is being reported. Not only is the authorial stance of the writer in the readings given to students difficult to detect for the second language learner, a difficulty which emerges in referencing problems in the essay, but also it seems to be exceedingly difficult for students to clearly indicate where the voices of others end and their own begins, if their own is present at all, or in Bakhtinian terms, how the authorial voice speaks through the language of others. Where there is no authorial voice present, the writing is uninhabited. Although the novice writer may need to silently occupy the abodes of other writers for a while, at first simply absorbing the surroundings, it is important that they gradually begin to *live* within those abodes, that the reader of their writing has a sense of the occupant, because a sense of the occupant will also enhance the sense of the rooms that she or he occupies. In other words, an authorial voice animates the voices of others, and makes for a coherent, well-argued essay. Tshediso, despairing of ever doing this, saw his task after receiving feedback on his first essay as having to make a "gallant attempt to write a dead essay", but felt an enormous satisfaction with his final Psychology essay which he felt was a "lively" paper which integrated the voices of many other writers. Tshediso, as author, began to move around in the academic abode of the discipline, to speak through the voices of others.

A further implication of the difficulty of detecting voices within reading is the importance of prescribing of "original" sources for students to read, rather than prescribing theorists interpreting major theorists (such as X on Vygotsky). Allowing students to read the original sources will give them a sense of the first explication of the theories which so many have since interpreted, and they may then be better able to recognize the authorial stances of these interpretations in their further reading. This suggestion needs to be weighed up against the criterion of comprehensibility of text discussed above.

Another implication is that we need to consider whether prescribing a textbook is a useful way of getting students to understand the multivoiced nature of texts, and how knowledge is constructed and contested. Textbooks often contain far fewer references than journal articles, and tend to "mute" and "flatten" the voices of the sources from which they are drawn.

Referencing, authority and critical thinking

I mentioned earlier that further research needs to be undertaken into what exactly constitutes authority in writing, and how this authority is established, within the text, as well as outside of it. I expect that this has to do with fluent language ability, an ease with the concepts and discourses of the discipline, and how the student projects herself or himself in tutorials, lectures and seminars. It also has to do with the wider society. In our still racially defined context, sharp lines have been drawn historically between groups of people and the kinds of

educational provision made for them. I have not really touched on gender and class in this study; however it is fairly striking, and worth pointing out, that most of the students struggling deeply with academic discourse that I interviewed were women from township or rural backgrounds. Also striking is that it was Nothando, and not Mangalisu, who was not given the benefit of the doubt by S1, the marker of their essays. The women who were succeeding, such as Emma and Laura, were of privileged class and background. I do not wish readers to conclude from this that academic literacy problems relate only to certain groups of students. Although the depth of struggle is perhaps more evident in those from disadvantaged schooling, and whose mothertongue is not English, and my concern is primarily with access to and success in the academy for these students, the academic essay is a new genre to almost all students, and any pedagogical provision that is made within the curriculum will have benefits for all students.

In our still divided context, however, it may be that in Bourdieu's (1991) terms, authority is granted more easily to certain students, by those in positions of power, and withheld from others.[5] This may have a far-reaching impact: Mabizela (1994) notes how "the impact of apartheid education can...be expressed in terms of different levels of confidence among different social groups. With particular reference to the field of education, black students are less confident about their knowledge and skills than their white counterparts" (24). I suspect that in an historically white university, this problem is even more pronounced than in Mabizela's context of the University of the Western Cape. Race/gender inequities in authority play themselves out in women and black students' lack of confidence in their own words and voices, and their overdependence on their sources.[6] Similarly, I believe that overreferencing may also be a sign of a lack of authority. It is at this point that it can become, as one lecturer termed it "a fetish which is engaged in to substitute thinking". This insecurity was evident in the way that some tutors and lecturers talked about their own writing, and in the way that the tutors in particular marked. It was evident too in the students' writing, for instance in Lindiwe's overuse of quotation.

In a fascinating study of what constitutes authority in reading and writing, Penrose and Geisler (1994) studied the writing processes and products on the same topic, of two writers, one a first year student, the other completing his doctoral work in philosophy. Their study led them

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[5] The recent case in the media of alleged plagiarism by the Vice-Chancellor of Fort Hare, Prof. Mzamane, and the struggles happening at present at the University of the Witwatersrand, over the alleged inaccurate curriculum vitae of the newly appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Makgoba, vividly demonstrate the contestation occuring at the moment around claims to authority.

[6] The problem of lack of confidence leading to plagiarism has been discussed by Leibowitz (1994a, 1995).

to "four epistemological premises", which the doctoral student seemed to hold, but not the first year student:

> *Texts are authored,*
> *authors present knowledge in the form of claims,*
> *knowledge claims can conflict,*
> *knowledge claims can be tested.* (507)

The first year student, Janet, did not reflect any of the authors in her draft of her essay, and her note cards were labeled by topic rather than author, in contrast to the author-headed notes of the doctoral student. She saw "the corpus of articles as a single definitive source rather than as a set of multiple voices in conversation" (509). For her, all the texts contained "truths" and she saw her task as searching for facts. Where texts conflicted she was presented with a dilemma, choosing as a solution to report on only the position with which she agreed. She also saw no role for herself in her writing, deliberately avoided inserting herself in any way, trying instead to present an "objective" report of what she had read. Penrose and Geisler argue for

> the role of rhetorical knowledge in the development of authority. In order for Janet to take authority in this or any other situation, she needs to believe there is authority to spare, that there is room for many voices. She needs to understand the development of knowledge as a communal and continual process (517).

They suggest more interactive models of education where a rhetorical perspective is "enacted" (517), where students come to understand writers' processes and contexts in meaningful ways. They report on Greene (in Penrose and Geisler, 1994) who asks students to examine referencing practices and other discourse conventions in order to understand modes of disciplinary enquiry, and to begin to use these strategies themselves.

The study suggests that when a student focuses on referencing, in this case through Tshediso's reflection on referencing in interview discussions and journal writing, and begins to use it effectively, their understanding of the overall context of the discipline in which they are writing is enhanced. By this I mean their understanding of how knowledge is constructed, of the contexts of texts, and how they interrelate. Understanding how to locate knowledge through a location of authors within traditions and approaches, develops through a focus on and understanding of the role of referencing. I would not claim that the focus on referencing is the only way in to such understandings, as probably the new understandings of knowledge construction are developing simultaneously through multiple processes, but I do believe that a deep understanding of the underlying rationale for referencing can lead to an understanding of

how academic research is constructed upon the texts of others, of how authors are placed within the field, of how debate within the Social Sciences takes place. The ability to adopt a critical stance, rather than present a set of "truths" from the sources, may also develop through an understanding of sources as authored constructions which can be challenged and debated, especially with the support of other authorities in the field. (As Tshediso put it, if he wants to "attack the views" of an author he needs to "name" his "opponent"). A deep understanding of referencing practices is a way in to all of Penrose and Geisler's epistemological premises: Referencing foregrounds authors, their claims and constructions, and how these conflict and are contested: it is a powerful way of helping to disestablish notions of received, absolute knowledge, and of developing a critical voice in students.

In conclusion, then, a pedagogy for plagiarism and referencing needs to begin with negotiation of shared meaning around the intricate problems of definition of plagiarism, in the context of the intensely social nature of language and cognition. It needs to move through the development of policy and demonstration materials as a reference point for practice and mediation within the curriculum. Finally, as the acquisition of academic discourses is not supported by students' prior literacy practices or approaches to knowledge, and such acquisition can of necessity only occur within the academy, an appropriate pedagogy needs to approach plagiarism and referencing constructively, and developmentally, as a way in to an understanding of the nature of academic discourse and the construction of knowledge.

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APPENDIX 1

Plagiarism: academic theft or academic skill?

SHELLEY ANGELIL-CARTER, ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AND CATHY HUTCHINGS, WRITING CENTRE

The following vignettes are adapted from real situations, which are drawn from research presently under way in the Academic Development Programme (ADP) and the Writing Centre. In order to initiate dialogue on the issue of plagiarism, we would like to get some responses from staff and students to the questions emerging from the examples below. ADP, together with the Writing Centre, is developing a workshop on referencing and plagiarism which we would like to adapt for use in specific departments who express interest.

Research demands anonymity for the participants; therefore the sources of the information gathered below, mainly through interviews, have not been acknowledged.

• Student A is a third year student in a Social Sciences department. He has written an essay which his lecturer describes as a brilliant analysis, but with hardly any references to his course. The few references which are mentioned are incorrectly cited. His essay is returned with no mark, and he is asked to rewrite indicating his sources.

When interviewed, the student says his information comes from all over: from political discussions held in his home, in his organisation, from lectures, books, tutorials and readings. He sees himself as text, the locus of the synthesis of all his reading and discussions: how is he to reference all his sources? His sources have been truly processed and assimilated, and he is unable to separate them out into specific readings.

He is highly resistant to academia, yet knows very well how to play its game. He also says he always writes essays this way, but his lecturers have never before been concerned about whether he acknowledges his sources. He has also never bothered to refer to departmental handbooks and what they say about referencing.

• Lecturer A says as she progressed through university she simply became "more and more skilled at 'plagiarising'": she feels that all texts are intertextual, and anything we write is steeped with the meanings of others, and not all of this can be acknowledged.

Is it always possible to locate meaning, to find its origins? How seriously do we/should we take the need to acknowledge sources? Is dealing with referencing in the departmental handbook sufficient?

• Student B is a first year student writing his first essay in a Social Sciences department. His essay is pedestrian, with few citations. The tutor has written "REF?" all over the margins of his paper. The essay question required him to incorporate international examples to demonstrate his argument, and some of these come from the media or other source which he has not acknowledged. In an interview he says these examples are common knowledge, and he does not know how to reference them.

• Student C has written the same essay. The essay is good and written with authority. She, too, has often failed to reference her international examples. However, in many instances the same tutor has not commented on this or asked her to source her information.

When is an idea or information common knowledge? Does an essay with more authority require less scrupulous referencing? Why?

• Student D is in his first year, writing an essay in a Social Science discipline. He believes the essay topic requires a legal definition, as it is a very controversial issue, and one in which he wishes to take a contentious line. He therefore goes to a legal text which he knows, and which is not prescribed, and develops a definition using this source, a definition which is, in fact, his own. He references his source scrupulously. His tutor, because she does not know the source, doubts that the work is his own, and takes off 15%. The student protests, the tutor asks a friend who is studying law to look at the essay, and the mark is raised. The student decides never again to use sources which are not on the prescribed list.

Is there a policy for tutors regarding the use of outside sources? Do referencing conventions and the way that essays are marked discourage using sources which are not prescribed?

• Student E, from a Science department, comes to the Writing Centre for help with his assignment. He has lifted texts without acknowledgement, but is not at all concerned with the consultant's stress on the need for referencing. He says he has always got away with it before, and would not worry about it in the future.

• Student F, a mature, postgraduate student consults regularly with the Writing Centre. Despite that the consultant almost always points out the fact that she is not acknowledging her sources, she continues to neglect her references.

Does the need for citation vary from department to department? Why are students at postgraduate level still not acknowledging their sources? How important is it?

• Student G, a PhD student for whom English is not a first language, plagiarises several pages of a thesis paper with a few (unsuccessful) attempts at paraphrasing. It is evident that this has been done due to his not understanding the highly complex sections of the book which he has copied.

Why do students plagiarise? Is it because they do not understand the text? Is is because the text to them represents facts which should not be corrupted? How do students learn when and how to reference?

• Lecturer B feels plagiarism is a despicable form of cheating: whether there is intention to deceive, or it is simply a matter of careless scholarship, is immaterial. The fact is that when somebody writes something which she or he passes off as their own, and it turns out that it is not their own, then respect for that person is considerably diminished.

UCT's 1995 booklet on general rules for students simply states:

"In any examination, test or in respect of the completion and/or submission of any other form of academic assessment, a student shall refrain from dishonest conduct. Dishonest conduct includes plagiarism or submission of the work of a person other than the student who is being examined." (RCS 2.4)

What is the line between careless scholarship and intention to deceive? Which is plagiarism? How do we define plagiarism?

We would welcome your response to some of these questions.

APPENDIX 2

PREVIOUS EDUCATIONAL WRITING EXPERIENCE

The tables below represent an analysis of the previous educational writing experiences of the students interviewed, taken from interview data. They were responding to the question "What kinds of writing did you do at school?" If they mentioned only creative writing in English, I would ask, "And what about your other subjects?" If they mentioned something like "factual writing", I would ask them how many sources they had been required to use.

FIRST YEAR STUDENTS:

Name	Education	"Factual" Writing one textbook	"Factual" Writing > 1 source	Comprehension	Letters	"Creative"
Mangalisu	(ex)DET Franciscan Matric project	√	√		√	√
Lindiwe	(ex)DET	√				√
Bulelwa	Transkei	√		√		√
Nothando	(ex)DET			√		√
Busisiwe	(ex)DET	√				√
Tshediso	(ex)DET					√
Cathy	(ex)CED	√		√		√
Laura	United World Colleges		√	√ (+lit. analysis)		

Noticeable in this table is the emphasis on "creative" writing, (by which most students seemed to mean narrative or descriptive compositions) mentioned by all except Laura, who was educated partly at the United World Colleges (UWC) in Singapore. She is referring to this part of her education in this table. She is also one of only two who worked with more than one source when writing. She said that writing at UWC was not much different from what she had to do at university, with a great deal of analysis and comparison, and that this was very different from what had been required of her at her previous CED school. Laura received 95% for her essay. The other person who had some experience of writing from multiple sources is Mangalisu, who attended a matric project run by Franciscans on the East Rand, and where apparently the teacher motivated students by giving them prizes for the best writing. None of

the students interviewed had ever been expected to do anything like acknowledge their sources. Five of the students wrote essays using only one textbook as a source: the textbook was the authoritative body of facts. Several spoke of how the factual essay in history or biology was written in preparation for the examination where it would be reproduced.

The reports of the third year students form a rather similar pattern, despite the differences in educational background:

THIRD YEAR STUDENTS:

Name	Education	"Factual" Writing one textbook	"Factual" Writing > 1 source	Comprehension	Letters	"Creative"
Carol	(ex)House of Represent-atives					√
Veronica	A-levels Malawi	√				√
Emma	A-levels England Cambridge B.A.	√	√	√		√
Mandisi	Catholic School O.F.S.					√
Sandy	Model C					√
Themba	(ex)DET	√				√

Writing done at school/previous ed. institution

Once again, "creative" writing is the dominant form of writing in the schools attended by these students. Even the two students who did A-levels did not mention any writing from more than one source. The only experience of this is Emma's at Cambridge University where, as she said, she was never asked to reference. Themba went so far as to say that the factual writing had to come from the prescribed textbook -"nothing else, otherwise you'll fail". Themba was one of two who mentioned writing in another language, i.e. Xhosa, which he described as "more analytical" than in English, where for instance a Xhosa proverb would be used as a stimulus for a piece of writing. Sandy also mentioned "creative" writing in Afrikaans. A few students wrote poetry or personal essays or diaries, and Emma kept her diary of international political events.

APPENDIX 3
SECOND MONDAY PAPER ARTICLE

TOPIC **Plagiarism Uncovered**

The purpose of the article on plagiarism which was published in the *Monday Paper* of August 28–September 4 was essentially to initiate debate around an issue about which there appears to be much concern but little discussion.

It is because academics feel so strongly about plagiarism, and because students struggle so with referencing, that we have sought to open up debate about the issue. If, as Weir said in his response, plagiarism is "the scourge of academic life", we need to ask ourselves why it is so pervasive, and what we can do about it.

We wish to address the problem by focusing on student learning, but before we do so, we would like to discuss some of the problems of definition which have emerged, as it is in the interests of all that clear definitions and policies are debated and developed amongst academics, and then effectively mediated to tutors and students.

DIFFERENT TRADITIONS

It is interesting to note that plagiarism is a modern Western construct which arose with the introduction of copyright laws in the eighteenth century in England. Some of the most important literature we have read about plagiarism and learning has arisen from people thinking about it in contexts where students from different traditions, and speaking different languages, are encountering Western academic discourse and having to learn its rules.

Some communities, it seems, have a profoundly different relationship to sources: texts may be seen as authorities which are to be respected and so reproduced as accurately as possible; oral traditions may belong to a community for continuation and transformation, rather than to an individual.

However, within our academic tradition today, the ways in which we write demand that we acknowledge our sources scrupulously, and it is the difficulty that students experience with this that we would like to explore. The process of clarifying what constitutes plagiarism has

SHELLEY ANGELIL-CARTER, ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AND KATHY HUTCHINGS. WRITING CENTRE

been usefully begun with David Brooks's contribution in the form of a definition. However, as the recent debate in the media about the Mzamane case suggests, the issue is not as clear as he indicates.

LEGAL AND ETHICAL TERMS

Firstly, it is necessary to distinguish between plagiarism in legal and in ethical terms: plagiarism overlaps with copyright, but is not the same thing. Copyright infringement can refer only to the actual words used (there is no copyright in ideas) whilst plagiarism can mean the use of other people's ideas without acknowledgement.

Brooks writes, 'Plagiarism is the intentional passing off of another's work as one's own. It is a form of intellectual theft. What distinguishes plagiarism from careless scholarship is the guilty intention.' Weir, in his response, also calls plagiarism "deliberate theft of another person's intellectual property".

INAPPROPRIATE

The metaphor of theft, it seems to us, is not an appropriate one, though it is widely used: When appropriating ideas or words from others we are not depriving them of their words or thoughts, as the thief deprives us of our property, though copyright does exist to protect the livelihood of writers.

It is the earlier part of Brooks's definition which is more appropriate: the distaste we feel about plagiarism has to do with fraud and imposture, and the implication that the writer has plagiarised another's work because their own is deficient.

When Shakespeare or Handel appropriated the work of others without acknowledgement and made it into something greater there was no sense of fraud, because they were artists in their own right. They also lived in a different time.

Mzamane too probably did not intend to deceive, and he too is an artist in his own right,

but he lives in a different time and straddles the contexts of literature and academia.

So the central idea here is fraud, not theft. There needs to be clear signalling of the use of the work of others in order for fraud not to be alleged.

Brooks identifies the "guilty intention" as distinguishing plagiarism from sloppy scholarship; this is usually how plagiarism is defined. However, the American Historical Association has recently rewritten its policy on plagiarism, and taken out all references to "intention to deceive" (Mooney, 1992). This is because scholars usually defend themselves from charges of plagiarism by saying that it was unintentional, and the new policy is an attempt to get scholars to take seriously the checking of their sources against their own writing.

CONFUSION ABOUT REFERENCING

Our experience and research in the Writing Centre has shown us that there is widespread confusion about referencing among students, across faculties and disciplines, and across all levels, both undergraduate and postgraduate, and among first language speakers as well as speakers of English as a second or third language.

It is a pervasive problem in the institution and it is clearly a matter of great concern to academics. Interestingly, none of the responses to the initial article picked up on any of the questions we posed which address student learning, i.e. 'Why do students plagiarise?', 'Why are students at postgraduate level still not acknowledging their sources?', 'How do students learn when and how to reference?' and 'Is dealing with referencing in the departmental handbook sufficient?'

ROTE LEARNING AND CRAMMING

Our experience suggests that the problem is complex—not simply a matter of wilful flout-

ing of straightforward rules. Our research is still very much in process, but we will attempt to sketch some of the dimensions of this complexity.

Many of our students have educational backgrounds that emphasized rote learning and cramming: they have been told to read books (usually one authoritative textbook per subject) and reproduce facts rather than concern themselves with different perspectives and different voices on an issue.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE IS LACKING

They usually bring to university a skimpy practice record in the skills of independent observation and recording, problem-solving on the basis of the different sources of information available, or structured argumentation. They have been rewarded for reproduction rather than for synthesis and interpretation of multiple sources. The notion of a critical perspective of one's own, as distinct from those in an authoritative text, may be an entirely foreign one.

Writing Centre consultants regularly come across sentences or passages in student assignments that are obviously copied directly from their readings and not acknowledged. In pursuing this with students, we have often found that they suffer from a lack of confidence in expressing their own opinions in written academic form. This is, we believe, the most common reason for their having plagiarised: their sources say it better or more impressively.

This problem is compounded when a student is writing in a language which is not his or her own. Second Language Acquisition research points to the way in which an additional language is learnt: it is often learnt in chunks, which are then reproduced.

This has led some to suggest that in the early stages of learning, reproduction is a necessary stage in the learning process, both of a second language and of an academic discourse, a kind of 'trying on' of academic discourse (Pennycook, 1994, Hull and Rose, 1990).

anticipation of the response . students should have got .rough this stage before arriving at university, our reply: our students are almost all novices to the forms of academic writing required in their disciplines when they come to university; language development and concept development are inter-related, ongoing processes which continue throughout an academic career; writing is a crucial part of this learning process.

COPY WHOLE EXTRACTS

Another part of the complex problem of language lies within the reading and note-taking process: many students do not have the ability to take summarized, reshaped notes, and simply copy whole extracts, especially from sections which are conceptually difficult.

Some have told us that if they do not use the words of the author in their notes, then when they go back to the notes, they no longer understand them clearly. In other words, they are more comfortable knowing that their words represent the original text as it is, not distorted by their own efforts. Returning to their notes when writing, they no longer know which are their own words and which are the words of the author.

They also seem to see referencing as something that is done right at the end of the writing of the essay, so that they omit to note down names and dates of authors and page numbers when reading and note-taking, and are unable to locate their sources when it comes to writing the essay.

We have also found students plagiarising because they have a less than confident grasp of their readings. Their conceptual distance from the content of the reading may be so profound, at they are simply unable to do the reshaping of the text which makes it their own, and therefore can do little other than reproduce it, at best in the fashion that Brooks (after Howes) calls 'varicopying', where synonyms replace words at intervals. Also, it seems to be very difficult for a student to untangle the different voices present in a text they are reading. When Giddens is discussing Foucault, when is it Foucault and when Giddens, and how do I write what I want to about the one or the other and show which is my voice and which Foucault and which Giddens?

A common perception seems

to be that if sources are acknowledged in the list of references they do not have to be acknowledged within the essay. The bibliography is seen as a list of sources consulted and not as a list of references cited in the text.

One student told us that she had not placed a reference she had used within the essay in her bibliography because this text had not really influenced her. She felt that only texts which had really had an impact on her thinking deserved a place in the bibliography. Many students also place sources in the bibliography which they do not directly refer to in the text, and there seems to be wide variation in markers' attitudes to this practice.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Quite striking is the apparent diversity of departmental approaches to referencing. The issue of referencing has seemingly been of little concern to a number of students seen in the Writing Centre, even at postgraduate level, and we've come across some students who claim not to know what 'referencing' is.

It seems that in some disciplines it is not emphasized, and this adds to the general confusion experienced by students.

Many students we have spoken to have said that they do not find departmental handbooks to be sufficiently clear on referencing. Some handbooks give little other than an inadequate definition of plagiarism, (along the lines of it being an academic crime and severely punishable), followed by guidelines as to the layout of references, but few that we have seen have attempted to explain the role and logic of referencing, let alone begin to explain the very subtle ways

of handling multiple voices in a text, which academics do so well themselves, but pass on less easily to their students.

CONSTRUCTIVE FEEDBACK

A crucial way of mediating the rules to students is through explicit discussion and demonstration, and also through feedback on assignments. The feedback we have seen seldom goes beyond 'ref?' written at various points in the margin. Paxton's (1995) research has shown that in the most effective feedback the markers 'communicate to the writers what it is that is valued in writing in their discipline and make the rules of academic writing, and more specifically, the writing of the discipline, explicit, so that students can become competent writers in the discipline'(197). In the case of citation problems, why a reference is required at that particular point in the essay needs to be made explicit.

Referencing is not a natural ability, it is an important, but nonetheless, constructed aspect of academic practice which needs to be effectively communicated to new initiates. Pennycook (1994), writing about the experience of the University of Hong Kong, where students are learning in a language which is not their own, and within a Western academic tradition, writes the following: 'Plagiarism needs to be understood relative to the context of the concept (Western academic concepts of authorship, knowledge, and ownership), the context of the students (their cultural and educational backgrounds), the context of the institution (the demands of English-medium institutions in a colonial con-

text), the context of the specific tasks required (assumptions about background knowledge and language ability), and the context of the actual use and "misuse" of text (the merits and demerits of the actual case of textual use)' (278).

In summary, if we take the definition of plagiarism as intention to deceive, it is our experience in the Writing Centre that very few cases of student writing which are seen as plagiarized, and dealt with accordingly, involve fraud or guilty intention.

This does not mean that no penalties should be imposed. It does mean that because referencing is central to academic writing, there is a need for a systematic pedagogy within the curriculum which addresses student writing, and within this, the appropriate use and acknowledgement of sources.

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APPENDIX 4
LETTER TO UCT'S ETHICS COMMITTEE

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Academic Development Programme

Leslie Social Sciences Building · 12 University Avenue
Postal Address · Private Bag · Rondebosch 7700
Telephone: (021) 650-2251/2
Fax No.: (021) 650-3793

13 March 1995

Jenny Brown
The Research Ethics Committee
R.219
Bremner

Research project on Plagiarism and Referencing in Academic Writing

As can be seen in the attached research proposal, I shall
shortly be conducting a research project which involves
interviewing students and staff in the Political Studies
department and the Writing Centre, as well as discourse
analyses of the former's handbooks.

This project has been negotiated with senior members of the
Political Studies department, (Mr Britt MacLaughlin and Ms
Mary Simons) and has their permission. I have also
introduced the project to the first batch of students (the
third year group) and let them know that I shall be looking
at their first essays of the year, in order to select
students who have difficulty with referencing. They have
been asked to indicate on their assignments if they do not
wish to participate. I shall proceed in a similar way with
the first year students next month. I have presented a
seminar to Writing Centre staff, and they are keen to
participate.

The research findings will be fed back into the department
in the form of a workshop, as indicated in the proposal.

I have enclosed the research proposal for your perusal, as
well as an outline of the interview schedule. As the
interviews will be in-depth and semi-structured, and partly
based on the students' essays and their tutors' feedback, I
can only provide a rough guide to the kind of questions
which will be asked.

The research project has been approved by the Rhodes
University Research Committee, and is being guided by my
supervisor for the M.Ed ESL degree from Rhodes, Ms Sarah
Murray, and more informally by the ADP coordinator for Arts
and Social Sciences, Ms Nadia Hartman. I hope that the
procedures I have followed as outlined above meet with your
approval.

Yours faithfully

Shelley Angelil-Carter

APPENDIX 5

ESSAY INFORMATION

THIRD YEAR INFORMATION SHEET

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES
POL 329F: THIRD WORLD POLITICS
1995

ESSAY TITLE NO.1
&
ESSAY BIBLIOGRAPHY

ESSAY I RECOMMENDED SUBMISSION DATE THURSDAY 30th MARCH 15h00

The box will be cleared at 15h00 and all essays submitted subsequently will be penalised according to the formula in the 1995 Departmental Handbook.

Refer to (1) section on How To Write Essays in the Departmental Handbook: 7 - 19; (2) lecture notes and (3) tutorial notes on how to prepare for the essay and POL329F HANDBOOK.

NOTE BENE

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Any student citing less than 5 readings will have their essay returned unmarked but noted for dp purposes.

ESSAY TITLE NO. 1.

EITHER: DEVELOPMENT: THE DEBATE OVER WHAT IT IS; WHO GAINS AND WHO LOSES FROM IT IN THE THIRD WORLD.

Critically discuss the view that "Events have taken the course they have, very often, because of the commitment on the part of Third World leaders to *patterns of development* which have tightened their links with the international market, with little regard to issues of social justice or sustainability:. (Cammack et al, 1993: 321). NTENANCE AND SOMETIMES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACIES".

[NOTE: The above essay title may be interpreted in the following ways

(1) as a theoretical essay in which the writer illustrates his/her discussion with other theoretical writings and case studies (where appropriate).

(2) Analysis of a particular country in which the above quotation applies. Clearly illustrate your analysis with case study material.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Readings for WEEK I, 2, 5 & 6 and nb the recommended additional readings. Page 8 - 10 and 11 - 13 in THIRD WORLD POLITICS HANDBOOK.

OR

OUTLINE and DISCUSS THE EXPLAINATIONS OF THE PERSISTENCE OF CIVILIAN RULE and the EMERGENCE OF MILITARY RULE and AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES IN THE THIRD WORLD.

[NOTE: The above essay title may be interpreted in the following ways

    (1) as a theoretical essay in which the writer illustrates his/her discussion with other theoretical writings and case studies (where appropriate).

    (2) as a theoreticaly essay in which the writer illustrates his/her discussion by comparing three case studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Readings for WEEK 1, 2, 5 & 6 and nb the recommended additional readings. Page 8 - 10 and 13 - 15 in THIRD WORLD POLITICS HANDBOOK.

February 1995

FIRST YEAR ESSAY INFORMATION

ESSAY TOPIC

IN PRACTICE THE INSTITUTIONS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY FAIL TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE THE IDEALS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY. ANALYSE AND EVALUATE THIS CLAIM.

GUIDELINES

1. WHAT DO YOU TAKE TO BE THE PRINCIPAL IDEALS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY?

2. WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTIC INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETIES COMMITTED TO LIBERAL DEMOCRACY?

3. SHOW THAT YOU UNDERSTAND WHY SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT THESE INSTITUTIONS DO SUCCESSFULLY PROTECT AND PROMOTE LIBERAL VALUES.

4. SHOW THAT YOU UNDERSTAND WHY OTHER PEOPLE THINK THAT THESE INSTITUTIONS INADEQUATELY PROTECT AND PROMOTE LIBERAL VALUES.

REMEMBER THAT YOU WILL GET CREDIT FOR SHOWING THAT YOU HAVE READ MORE WIDELY THAN "IDEOLOGY AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM" AND PROFESSOR WELSH'S TYPED NOTES.

DUE DATE: MONDAY 15 MAY 12H00.

APPENDIX 6
OUTLINE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-structured Interview Schedule: Referencing and
Plagiarism in Academic Discourse

Not all of the following questions will be asked to all
interviewees, and new questions may be brought in as the
research proceeds and new questions arise.

Type of question to be asked, with follow-up questions:

Interviews with students:

1. Autobiographical information:

Where did you go to school?
Have you come straight from school to university?
What is your home language?
What subjects are you studying?

2. General questions:

What does writing mean to you personally?

How did you find writing at school?

What kinds of writing did you do at school?

How do you find writing at university?
[How have you found the transition from writing at school to
writing at university?]

What do you think the role of referencing is in the academic
essay? Why is it required?

When writing essays, do you find referencing easy or
difficult? What do you find difficult about referencing?
Why?

Is referencing in Political Studies different from
referencing in other courses? In what way? Do these
difference affect your approach to writing in any way? In
what way?

How are you learning how to reference?

When you read, how do you take notes?

3. Specific questions based on students' essays:

For example:

What do you feel about this particular essay? What was the
easiest thing about writing it? What was the most difficult
thing about writing it?

How did you find the readings? Did it affect your writing?

If you think back to when you were writing this section,
what texts were you drawing on?

Your tutor indicated here that you should acknowledge your sources. What were your sources, and why didn't you acknowledge them?] Perhaps rather take student's text, and original text, and ask them to describe what they were doing.

Why did you feel you had to reference the same source so many times in one paragraph?

Interviews with Political Studies staff (lecturers and tutors)

1. Biographical questions related to education and writing

2. General questions such as:

How do you define plagiarism? When is a student plagiarizing?

Is there a difference between plagiarizing and not referencing properly? What is that difference?

Are referencing conventions central to academic writing? Why?

What is scholarship and how does it relate to citation?

Does a writer with authority need to reference more or less?

Why do you think students plagiarize?

What is your approach to students who plagiarize? Why?

What are your expectations of the first year student, and do these differ in any way from your expectations of the third year student?

Do you think referencing is a difficult skill for students to acquire, and if so why?

Does it seem to be more difficult for some than for others? Who? Why?

How did you, as a writer, learn to control multiple voices in a text, and indicate for the reader whose these voices are, and when your own is coming through?

Do you think that depending on what stage of development the writer is at, from undergraduate through to leader in a field, that there are different expectations in terms of referencing?

Do ideas within the academic context, at some point, become common knowledge? What is that point?

I worked with a student who wrote an essay on democracy, and pulled in international examples, such as Ireland and the Waco incident, which were essentially general knowledge from the media. The tutor wanted him to reference his sources here. What should the tutor and the student do in this case?

Another example - the reverse scenario: first year students often say that all the ideas they have about Political Studies are from their lectures or their course books - so they tend to reference each paragraph. What should they do in this case?

What should students do when an idea is from their lecture notes?

In your department, is referencing explained to students? How is this done?

Are students encouraged to use sources which are not on the reading list? If they do so, is there any policy regarding plagiarism in this case?

If a student uses a source which is not on the recommended reading list, and the marker suspects plagiarism, what

3. Specific questions relating to students' essays:

For example:

This essay was selected as one with a problem with plagiarism. Where did you see this problem?

You've commented here that the student had not indicated her sources. Why did you feel that at this point she needed to do so?

What do you do when you suspect that parts of an essay have been plagiarized? What did you do in this case?

4. Staff will be given some extracts from letters to a language teachers' magazine (Council Chronicle) on plagiarism, which show a wide range of opinions on the matter, and asked to locate themselves in this range. This will then be used as a stimulus for further discussion on plagiarism.

APPENDIX 7

Quotations from NCTE Chronicle, June 1994:

1. Plagiarism as a "criminal offence":

[Plagiarism] has always been the stealing and passing off as one's own the ideas or words of another. Sloppy scholarship may be the cause of plagiarism, but it definitely is not plagiarism. Likewise, the lack of an intent to plagiarize does not cancel or excuse the act itself.....I am surprised that there can be a controversy about this matter unless persons are so untaught/ignorant that they do not know the facts. (Gray)

2. Plagiarism as an ethical issue:

As a college composition teacher my goal is to teach students academic honesty.... What is plagiarism if not 'incredibly poor scholarship'? When doctors and lawyers practice poor medicine and law, they are subject to malpractice suits. Scholarship should be subject to the same kind of ethical standards. (Sullivan)

3. An issue of commerce:

Inherent in the concept of plagiarism is the notion that people can own words and ideas, that they, in fact, can become commodities that can be possessed, bought and sold.....the debate over plagiarism is not so much a debate over *ethics* as it is *commerce*, of which I see at least two problems: first, the ones who control the commerce of language (primarily male publishers) also control the ways we use it; and second, the commodification of language separates us writers, students, teachers, and scholars from each other....The criminal and commercial notions of plagiarism that my students bring with them to the university are so deeply ingrained that they are hesitant to collaborate on papers, share and make knowledge communally, or challenge authority. ....At a time when language theorists are saying that we should be moving away from institutions that seek to homogenize and privatize language, we need to reevaluate the ideologies behind using 'someone else's' words. (Wood)

4. An issue of reading comprehension:

Many college freshmen do not read well enough to perform the tasks required by research. For example, they are not able to translate what they read into their own language....In the current milieu, where our young people read even less, there seems to be ample reason to believe that cautious criticism toward

plagiarism....ought to continue. Indeed, until students develop basic taxonomic skills like comprehension and interpretation, concern over higher-order errors seems misplaced. (Gribbin)

5. A problem of lack of clarity in lecturers' notions of academic discourse and citation:

The basis for the misunderstanding may be our own fudged notions of what we mean by 'independent' research, what constitutes 'common knowledge' and what are appropriate sources for students doing research.....the first problem for students is not what to document but acceptance of the fact that one needs to document. The media apparently leave the impression that knowledge is free as well as common. (Cermak)

6. A problem which varies from context to context:

The issue of fair attribution is not simple or stable; it differs from discipline to discipline and it changes as students move from high school to college to graduate school to a profession.... ..But when I tell students that what needs to be attributed varies from context to context and from point to point in their careers, I have no really good answer to the question, inevitably raised, about how to figure out where you are in that progression and whether your teacher or supervisor thinks you are at the same place. (Bergmann)

7. A problem of "common knowledge" and "truth":

....The problem is even more complicated, however, when the issue of 'truth' is raised. In most fields, common knowledge is compressed into textbooks and purveyed as 'truth' at least as far as the student can see... in turn, students expect textbooks to tell them what they need to know, and they expect to be evaluated on their ability to *repeat* that information as accurately as possible. (Bergmann)

APPENDIX 8
FEEDBACK LETTER TO RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

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13 November 1995.

Dear Research Participants,
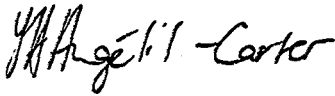
Referencing and Plagiarism Research Project

I would like to thank all of you who gave up your time to come to interviews and talk to me about referencing, and who allowed me to examine your essays. I would also like to thank those of the staff who gave up some of their lecture time to allow me to talk to students, and who participated in workshops. The research project has so far led to the following:

1. Two articles written by myself and Cathy Hutchings in the UCT Monday Paper, (Vol 14, no 24, and vol. 14 no 28, 1995) one opening a debate, which was followed up by letters from staff, and the second putting forward an alternative viewpoint on plagiarism. The second article will be published in the CSD Bulletin shortly.

2. A workshop with Writing Centre staff on referencing and plagiarism.

3. A paper delivered at the Kenton Education conference in Grahamstown in October 1995, which puts forward a theoretical framework, and covers the literature on referencing and plagiarism.

4. A workshop with Political Studies staff on plagiarism and referencing.

5. A half-thesis for the degree of Masters in Education in English Second Language teaching in Grahamstown, which will consist of the following, and which will be completed at the end of November 1995:
   a. Introductory chapter
   b. Chapter setting out a theoretical framework from which the paper mentioned in 3 above was drawn.
   c. Chapter on the methodology used.
   d. Chapter setting out an analysis of the data drawn from essays and interviews with staff and students.
   e. Final chapter discussing findings and conclusions.

A short report will be drawn up which summarizes the most important findings of the project. This will however only be completed in mid-December. If you would like to receive a copy of any of the above, or of the forthcoming report, please let me know, and I will arrange it for you. If you would like your written comments on any of these to be incorporated into an appendix in the actual dissertation, I must receive these by December 31, 1995. Any other forms of feedback would also be welcomed.

Thanks once again for your participation. My intention is to assist the Writing Centre with further departmental workshops with tutors and staff in other departments, and to produce a booklet on referencing which can be adapted by departments. I also intend to continue researching this area, and I hope I will enjoy your further support and interest. Thanks once again for your interest and participation.

Yours sincerely

Shelley Angelil-Carter

APPENDIX 9

CSD BULLETIN ARTICLE

ACADEMIC ADDENDA

PLAGIARISM UNCOVERED*

Shelley Angelil-Carter,
Academic Development Programme,
UCT
Cathy Hutchings,
Writing Centre, UCT

Why is plagiarism so pervasive, and what can be done about it?
We will address the problem by focusing on student learning, but before we do so, we would like to discuss some of the problems of definition which have emerged.

It is interesting to note that plagiarism is a modern Western construct which arose with the introduction of copyright laws in the 18th century in England. Some of the most important literature on plagiarism and learning has arisen from people thinking about it in contexts where students from different traditions, and speaking different languages, are encountering Western academic discourse and having to learn its rules. Some communities, it seems, have a profoundly different relationship to sources: texts may be seen as authorities which are to be respected and so reproduced as accurately as possible; oral traditions may belong to a community for continuation and transformation, rather than to an individual. However, within our academic tradition today, the ways in which we write demand that we acknowledge our sources scrupulously.

LEGALITY AND ETHICS

As the recent debate in the media about the Mzamane case suggests, the issue is not always clear. First, it is necessary to distinguish between plagiarism in legal and in ethical terms: plagiarism overlaps with copyright, but is not the same thing. Copyright infringement can refer only to the actual words used (there is no copyright in ideas) whilst plagiarism can mean the use of other people's ideas without acknowledgement.

Definitions of plagiarism usually include the intention to deceive: using someone else's words or ideas as one's own. It is often described as intellectual 'theft'. The metaphor of theft, it seems to us, is not an appropriate one, though it is widely used. When appropriating ideas or words from others we are not depriving them of their words or thoughts, as the thief deprives us of our property, though copyright does exist to protect the livelihood of writers.

The distaste we feel about plagiarism has to do with fraud and imposture, and the implication that a writer has plagiarised another's work because his/her own is deficient. When Shakespeare or Handel appropriated the work of others without acknowledgement and made it into something greater there was no sense of fraud, because they were artists in their own right. They also lived in a different time. Mzamane too probably did not intend to deceive, and he too is an artist in his own right, but he lives in a different time and straddles the contexts of literature and academia. So the central idea here is fraud, not theft. There needs to be clear signalling of the use of the work of others in order for fraud not to be alleged.

The American Historical Association has recently rewritten its policy on plagiarism, and taken out all references to 'intention to deceive' (Mooney, 1992). This is because scholars usually defend themselves from charges of plagiarism by saying that it was unintentional, and the new policy is an attempt to get scholars to take seriously the checking of their sources against their own writing.

CONFUSION

Experience and research have shown us that there is widespread confusion about referencing amongst students, across faculties and disciplines, and across all levels, both undergraduate and post-graduate, and amongst first language speakers as well as speakers of English as a second or third language. It is a

pervasive problem and it is clearly a matter of great concern to academics. The problem is complex – not simply a matter of wilful flouting of straightforward rules. Our research is still in process, but we will attempt to sketch some of the dimensions of this complexity.

Many students have educational backgrounds that emphasized rote learning and cramming: they have been told to read books (usually one authoritative textbook per subject) and reproduce facts rather than concern themselves with different perspectives and different voices on an issue. They usually bring to university a skimpy practice record in the skills of independent observation and recording, problem-solving on the basis of the different sources of information available, or structured argumentation. They have been rewarded for reproduction rather than for synthesis and interpretation of multiple sources. The notion of a critical perspective of one's own, as distinct from those in an authoritative text, may be an entirely foreign one.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE

We regularly come across sentences or passages in student assignments that are obviously copied directly from a student's readings and not acknowledged. In pursuing this with students, we have often found that they suffer from a lack of confidence in expressing their own opinions in written academic form. This is, we believe, the most common reason for their having plagiarised: their sources say it better or more impressively.

This problem is compounded when a student is writing in a language which is not his or her own. Second Language Acquisition research points to the way in which an additional language is learnt: it is often learnt in chunks, that are then reproduced. This has led some to suggest that in the early stages of learning, reproduction is a necessary stage in the learning process, both of a second language and of an academic discourse, a kind

of 'trying on' of academic discourse (Pennycook, 1994, Hull and Rose, 1990). In anticipation of the response that students should have got through this stage before arriving at university, our reply: our students are almost all novices to the forms of academic writing required in their disciplines when they come to university; language development and concept development are inter-related, ongoing processes which continue throughout an academic career; writing is a crucial part of this learning process.

CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

Another part of the complex problem of language lies within the reading and note-taking process: many students do not have the ability to take summarized, reshaped notes, and simply copy whole extracts, especially from sections which are conceptually difficult. Some have told us that if they do not use the words of the author in their notes, then when they go back to the notes, they no longer understand them clearly. In other words, they are more comfortable knowing that their notes represent the original text as it is, not distorted by their own efforts. Returning to their notes when writing, they no longer know which are their own words and which the words of the author. They also seem to see referencing as something that is done right at the end of the writing of the essay, so they omit to note down names and dates of authors and page numbers when reading and note-taking, and are unable to locate their sources when it comes to writing an essay.

We have also found students plagiarising because they have a less than confident grasp of their readings. Their conceptual distance from the content of the reading may be so profound, that they are simply unable to do the reshaping of the text which makes it their own, and can do little other than reproduce it. Also, it seems to be difficult for a student to untangle the different voices present in a text.

When Giddens is discussing Foucault, when is it Foucault and when Giddens, and how do I write what I want to about the one or the other and show which is my voice and which Foucault and which Giddens?

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A common perception seems to be that if sources are acknowledged in the list of references they do not have to be acknowledged within the essay. The bibliography is seen as a list of sources consulted and not as a list of references cited in the text. One student told us that she had not placed a reference she had used within the essay in her bibliography because this text had not really influenced her. She felt that only texts which had really had an impact on her thinking deserved a place in the bibliography. Many students also place sources in the bibliography which they do not directly refer to in the text, and there seems to be wide variation in markers' attitudes to this practice.

NO CONSISTENCY

Quite striking is the apparent diversity of departmental approaches to referencing. The issue of referencing has seemingly been of little concern to a number of students, even at post-graduate level, and we have come across some students who claim not to know what 'referencing' is. It seems that in some disciplines it is not emphasized, and this adds to the general confusion experienced by students. This may be because of the requirements of different genres of writing in different disciplines, however these difference are not, it seems, always made clear to students.

Many students have indicated that they do not find departmental handbooks to be sufficiently clear on referencing. Some handbooks give little other than an inadequate definition of plagiarism, (along the lines of it being an academic crime and severely punishable), followed by guidelines as to the layout of references, but few that we have seen

have attempted to explain the role and logic of referencing, let alone begin to explain the very subtle ways of handling multiple voices in a text, which academics do so well themselves, but pass on less easily to their students. A crucial way of mediating the rules to students is through explicit discussion and demonstration, and also through feedback on assignments. The feedback we have seen seldom goes beyond 'ref?' written at various points in the margin.

Paxton's (1995) research has shown that in the most effective feedback the markers 'communicate to the writers what it is that is valued in writing in their discipline and make the rules of academic writing, and more specifically, the writing of the discipline, explicit, so that students can become competent writers in the discipline'(197). In the case of citation problems, why a reference is required at that particular point in the essay needs to be made explicit.

HELP FROM LECTURERS

Referencing is not a natural ability, it is an important, but nonetheless, constructed aspect of academic practice which needs to be effectively communicated to new initiates. Pennycook (1994), writing about the experience of the University of Hong Kong, where students are learning in a language which is not their own, and within a Western academic tradition, writes the following:

Plagiarism needs to be understood relative to the context of the concept (Western academic concepts of authorship, knowledge, and ownership), the context of the students (their cultural and educational backgrounds), the context of the institution (the demands of English-medium institutions in a colonial context), the context of the specific tasks required (assumptions about background knowledge and language ability), and the context of the actual use and "misuse" of text (the merits and demerits of the actual case of textual use) (278).

ACADEMIC ADDENDA

PLAGIARISM UNCOVERED

If we take the definition of plagiarism as intention to deceive, few cases of student writing which are seen as plagiarized, and dealt with accordingly, involve fraud or guilty intention. This does not mean that no penalties should be imposed. It does mean that because referencing is central to academic writing, there is a need for a systematic pedagogy within the curriculum that addresses student writing, and within this, an appropriate use and acknowledgement of sources.

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