

Rose

Perspectives on Plagiarism
and Intellectual Property
in a Postmodern World

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editors

Foreword by Andrea Lunsford

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other helpful readers usually appears in the formal acknowledgments. Elaine Maimon suggests teaching students to write acknowledgments or prefatory notes to indicate peer assistance in the composition of their essays, and such encouragement might go a long way to alleviate some of the anxiety students obviously feel. Moreover, we might address the problematic of the student writer as individual, as primary author, and as active group member, by raising questions about autonomous originality and cooperative textual production and about public and private intellectual property. Finally, by examining together the parallel issues of appropriation and attribution for both professional and peer texts, we can help students to see that genuine scholarship always includes both private and public elements of textual production.

The Role of Scholarly Citations in Disciplinary Economies

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In academic discourse, plagiarism and conventional citation practice exist in a reciprocal relationship: successful avoidance of one depends on strategic employment of the other. Because unconventional citation practices expose a would-be scholarly writer to censure and even expulsion from an academic community, explaining the rules and reasons for making references to other texts is a priority for those who initiate newcomers to the community. To provide these explanations, we often rely on metaphor.

In previous work I have explored the possibilities of viewing scholarly citation practices from a religious perspective, metaphorically comparing the scholarly citation to *an act of faith*, a ritual whereby a writer affirms community membership and testifies to his or her acceptance of the shared beliefs of the discourse community ("Citation Rituals in Academic Cultures"). In another essay, I have used the metaphor of the *courtship ritual* to explore the role of citations in building identification among members of a scholarly discourse community ("What's Love Got to Do With It?"). There I argued for adopting a Burkean rhetoric of identification for explaining citation practices, viewing scholarly citation as a courtship ritual designed to enhance a writer's standing in a scholarly discourse community.

The terms of this rhetoric challenge, without completely displacing, the capitalistic economic terms that currently prevail in writing handbook discussions of quotation, paraphrase, and other means of incorporating ideas from one or more texts into another. Economic metaphors are most common in these handbook explanations and in other explanations provided ostensibly for novices (such as plagiarism policies for a college campus or university system) and these metaphors are also frequently used in explanations of regulatory specifications for institutional discursive practices (the *MLA Style Manual*, e.g.).

Though these economic and erotic/religious metaphors might at first glance seem quite disparate, in fact, the etymological connections between

"credit" and "creed" are quite close. In this chapter, I will explore the possibilities of extending the economic metaphor for scholarly citation practice. Using economic metaphors as a lens through which to examine the roles of citation practice in scholarly discourse, I will view citations as contributions to creating and maintaining disciplinary economies of knowledge production and distribution. Many economic metaphors for citation practices are already quite common and familiar. We need look no further than any one of the many available handbooks for student writers to find references to *giving credit* to sources and *acknowledging intellectual indebtedness*, for example. The metaphor of *intellectual property* is an especially pervasive one that takes on a special significance if we view the exchange of ideas as a major function in a disciplinary economy (see Price). If a particular scholar's work is considered to be the "product" of her intellectual labor, and therefore her intellectual property, citations of that work might be viewed as contributions to that scholar's intellectual property. Since "property" has historically referred to real property—land or "real" estate—it is not surprising that the collective knowledge of a discipline is often referred to as a "field" and that other land-related metaphors such as "groundbreaking" and "pioneering" are used to describe scholarly discourse that has significantly increased the size of a discipline's collective property.

An academic discipline's collective effort to lay claim to and work productively in a "field" of inquiry can be read in the way each new text prescribes, circumscribes, or inscribes earlier texts. However, the metaphor of *intellectual capital* may serve us even better than *intellectual property* for an exploration of the ways in which citations of scholarly discourse contribute to the disciplinary economy—both for the individual scholar/investor and for the collective whole. Whereas *intellectual property* is a metaphor suggesting a material reality, the idea embodied in the physical text or product, *intellectual capital* is a metaphor that allows us to explore characteristics of the symbolic action by which that work is valued. The term *intellectual capital* emphasizes the exchange value or symbolic aspects of knowledge rather than its concrete or material instantiations. One way to think about this shift in emphasis might be to consider the difference between the image of the medieval bard's "word hoard" and the late-twentieth-century scholar's "home page." The value of the word hoard was defined in terms of size. The value of the home page is more likely to be defined in terms of its capacity for creating relationships or "links." (That the term "home page" and other terms for electronic discourse still employ spatial, territorial, and geographical metaphors may be an indication of the persistence of the view of knowledge as property.)

Scholarly citations, then, the means by which scholars establish their "credibility" and "give credit," play an important role in the production and circulation of intellectual capital in their disciplinary economies. In the section that follows, I will outline an approach to citation analysis that will allow

for a close examination of the knowledge-making and knowledge-circulating processes of a disciplinary economy.

It is not within the scope of this essay to provide more than the sketchiest of summaries of other citation analysis research. Various disciplines use citation analysis for different reasons. In the library sciences, citation analysis is carried out for the purpose of improving the usefulness of citations and citation indexes as bibliographic research tools.¹ Sociologists of knowledge use citation analysis to evaluate the contribution of cited texts and to understand relations among texts in a given body of literature. In rhetoric and composition studies, citation analysis is used to understand why scholars cite other work and how readers interpret citations.

Only recently has scholarship in citation studies addressed developing a rhetoric of citation practice.² In *Shaping Written Knowledge*, the work most likely to be familiar to readers outside library and information sciences, Charles Bazerman examines the ways citations in scientific articles refer to, invoke, or respond to the context of the already existing literature of a field in order to establish a relationship with that literature. For Bazerman, citation practices are clues to the "cognitive structure" of knowledge in a discipline (166–67).

In "Community Discourse and Discourse Communities: A Grammar, a Rhetoric, and a Symbolic of Scholarly Citations," my coauthors and I view citations as attempts to create a coherence among texts that would otherwise remain isolated and distinct, attempts to negotiate a role in the community discourse, attempts to organize a turn in the disciplinary conversation. I argue here that citations are also a means by which scholarly writers transform their discourse from the "dialectical" conversation among members within a disciplinary community into "ultimate discourse" that represents the discipline as a whole. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke explains that the dialectical leaves competing voices in "jangling relation to one another" whereas the ultimate places competing voices in a "hierarchy, sequence, or evaluative series," fixing a progression or developmental relationship, offering a guiding idea or "unitary principle" behind the diversity of voices (187). Citations establish relations among texts, relationships that organize a field of inquiry, create order, and allow for accountability. Borrowing Kenneth Burke's terminology for examining human motives, I will outline three analytical stages for examining citations of a particular scholarly work: a "grammar of citations," which looks at the *types* of relationships citing texts construct with cited texts; a "rhetoric of citations," which identifies the arguments these constructions of relationship implicitly make for incorporating a particular text into the collective knowledge making and knowledge-circulating processes of a discipline; and a "symbolic of citations," which explores the values assigned to a particular text as part of the collective intellectual capital of a discipline.

First, I will describe a grammar of citations, demonstrating that citations are an obvious means by which writers name relationships between texts and thereby identify and legitimate contributions to a discipline's economy. Briefly, these relationships can be identified by the use or logical appropriateness of particular words we recognize as "transitions"; "and" is implicit in the *coordinate* relationship, "but" in the *opposite* relationship, "for" in the *generative*, "so" in the *consequential*, "or" in the *apposite*, "for example" in the *exemplary*, and temporal order ("first," "second," etc.) in the *sequential* relationship.³ The *iterative* relationship is invoked by the repetition of words or ideas in the form of summary, paraphrase, or direct quotation.⁴ These relationships are created among texts when writers cite other texts within their own texts. The following sampling of citations of Mina Shaughnessy's *Errors and Expectations* (*E&E*) will exemplify how this is done. Each of these eight types of coherence relationships is illustrated in a separate example; but in fact, most citing authors⁵ create a web of connections between their own texts and the texts they cite by asserting a variety of relationships.

Example 1: Sarah Warshauer Freedman creates a *coordinate* relationship between Shaughnessy's text and others in "Outside-In and Inside-Out: Peer Response Groups in Two Ninth-Grade Classes" when she lists them together: (**Bold type** highlights relevant passages.)

[Students] made up and rigidly overapplied rules in ways reminiscent of Rose's (1980, 1984) descriptions of blocked writers and **Shaughnessy's (1977), Bartholomae's (1980), and Perl's (1979)** of basic writers. (101)

By placing *E&E* in a group of texts, Freedman has done more than give evidence of a recognition of some relevant similarity between it and the other texts named; she has established that similarity by creating a category or class to which all listed texts belong (descriptions of basic writers).

Example 2: David Bartholomae creates an *opposite* relationship between citing text and cited text, between his own text and Shaughnessy's text, when, in "The Study of Error," he claims:

This distinction between individual and general systems [of error] is an important one for both teaching and research. **It is not one that Shaughnessy makes.** We don't know whether the categories of error in *Errors and Expectations* hold across a group, and, if so, with what frequency and across a group of what size. (255)

By stating a difference between his own work—in which he does make a distinction between individuals' errors and common errors among groups of individuals—and Shaughnessy's work, Bartholomae has established a relationship between the cited text and the citing text that constructs a role for both in the collective knowledge-making activity of the discipline.

Example 3: A *generative* relationship, Shaughnessy's text as cause and other texts as effects, is suggested by Glynda Hull in "The Editing Process in Writing: A Performance Study of More Skilled and Less Skilled College Writers." Hull lists Shaughnessy with other researcher who identified patterns of error, then goes on to say,

[Error analysis research] gave researchers a new agenda: using errors to understand the development of and constraints on writing ability. Some scholarship on error in the writing of young adults has followed Shaughnessy's lead, taking as its aim to trace errors to their sources, with oral language being a predominant candidate. (9)

Here Hull credits Shaughnessy's work as a cause of later research. Such assertions about cause and effect relations between texts make strong claims for the texts' role in the discipline's economy of knowledge production and circulation.

The other cause-effect relationship, the consequential relationship, is created when the cited text is asserted to be an effect of or result of another text. In the case of *Errors and Expectations*, I have not found any text that constructs Shaughnessy's text as a consequence of an earlier work, though a number of citing texts point to the advent of open admissions at City College of New York as the exigence from which Shaughnessy's study arose,⁶ and, of course Shaughnessy's own footnotes identified others' work on which she built.

Example 4: An *apposite* relationship, the OR relationship between *E&E* and other cited texts, is asserted by Stephen P. Write in "Topical Structure and Writing Quality: Some Possible Text-Based Explanations of Readers' Judgments of Student Writing":

Apart from studies that examine such features as handwriting, two approaches have been taken to help explain qualitative differences in student writing, one focusing on intrasentence features and one focusing on intersentence features. (177)

In this passage, Write identifies four types of research on features of student texts—examinations of handwriting, of error, of intrasentence features, and of intersentence features—establishing *Errors and Expectations'* place within one of these categories before proceeding to elaborate on the category in which he will place his own work (intersentence features) without discounting the value of research in the other categories.

Example 5: The *exemplary* relationship between texts is created when the cited text is posited as an example of a type named by the citing text. This relationship is illustrated in the following passage from Linda Flower's essay "Cognition, Context, and Theory Building":

We need what ethnographers describe as "grounded theory" (Spradley)—a vision that is grounded in specific knowledge about real people writing in significant personal, social, or political situations. This grounding can come from many sources: **from the comparative analysis of student texts** (Bartholomae, Shaughnessy) or of talk at home and in school (Heath), from detailed discourse studies of the reading process, plans, and drafts of writers within specific communities (Bazerman, Myers), or from historical reconstructions of early rhetors in action (Enos). (283)

Here, the connection Flower creates between theory grounded in comparative analyses and Shaughnessy's *E&E* can be made explicit by inserting "FOR EX-AMPLE." Assigning the status of "exemplar" to a work makes the strongest of claims for the value of its contribution to the disciplinary economy.

Example 6: A citer's assertion of a *sequential* relationship can be especially significant. Maxine Hairston suggests a particular narrative for the discipline of composition studies in "The Winds of Change: Thomas Kuhn and the Revolution in the Teaching of Writing" when she writes the following:

[Shaughnessy] was the first to undertake a large-scale research project whose goal was to teach the new students of the seventies to write. Her example, her book, and her repeated calls for new research in composition have undoubtedly been important stimuli in spurring the profession's search for a new paradigm. (22)

Ordering texts chronologically makes very specific claims about their significance to the orderly development of a discipline.

The *iterative* relationship is established when a citing text repeats a unit of the cited text, whether by repeating a term, quoting or paraphrasing a passage, or by summarizing the whole or a part of the cited text. For example, Robert J. Connors and Andrea A. Lunsford quote what several others have also acknowledged as a key insight from *E&E*:

As Mina Shaughnessy put it, errors are "unintentional and unprofitable intrusions upon the consciousness of the reader. . . . They demand energy without giving back any return in meaning" (12). (Connors and Lunsford, 396)

I have illustrated each of these eight types of coherence relationships in separate examples; but in fact, as several of these examples demonstrate, most citing texts create a web of connections between their own texts and the texts they cite by asserting a variety of relationships. This "grammar of coherence" provides a set of possible relationships that members of a scholarly community can posit between texts (their own or others) they wish to introduce into the disciplinary economy. Each of these types of relationships can be examined in terms of the claims they present for a discipline's contribution to

knowledge-production and distribution and for particular texts' participation in those processes.

Coordinative ("and") citations are claims for knowledge-making as an accumulative process. Use of coordinative citations establishes the replicability of knowledge products in a discipline, serving to verify the reliability of the knowledge. Credit accrues to both the citing text and the cited text(s) when they can be linked in the process of accumulation. Oppositional citations value the knowledge-making activities of a disciplinary discourse community as a whole by making a claim for the discipline's capacity for self-critique. A critical practice of evaluating previously produced knowledge effects a kind of quality control at the same time it warrants further knowledge-making work in the field. These oppositional citations accrue credit to the citing text by arguing for valuing new knowledge and revaluing of old.

Generative and consequential citations argue for cause-effect relationships. These citations value the knowledge-making activities of a disciplinary discourse community as a whole by making arguments that the production of the old knowledge has led to further production—the production of new knowledge. Thus it is especially important for scholars in a discipline to identify work that has had a capacity for generating further production of knowledge.

Appositional citations posit particular ways of categorizing the knowledge-making processes or knowledge products of a discipline. By naming categories and placing texts within those categories, appositional citations establish that the field is not chaotic. If order can be imposed on these processes and products, a degree of uniformity and reliability can be assumed. Likewise, exemplary citations implicitly argue that within an area of study or category of texts, one text can stand for all, which can also be understood as a claim to uniformity and reliability.

Sequential citations call attention to the chronological order of appearance of particular texts, thus making an argument for a particular narrative for a line of inquiry. By specifying the sequence of the production of knowledge, naming who is first and constructing a historical ordering makes possible a discipline's claim for ongoing development of knowledge. In addition, sequential citations establish the role of each contributor in the development of collective knowledge.

Iterative citations make arguments that the knowledge products of a discipline are re-producible. Though these citations can never merely repeat the original texts, but rather re-present them, iterative citations effectively re-circulate knowledge products within the disciplinary economy.

Seen from this perspective, plagiarism is intolerable in academic discourse communities not only because it is equivalent to theft of the knowledge product or because it constitutes unauthorized circulation of knowledge, but also because such an inaccuracy threatens to undermine a discipline's claims to orderly, reliable production and distribution of useful, verifiable knowledge.

Comparative analyses of citation practices in different disciplines or within multidisciplinary areas of study can help in understanding the differences in their citation practices and in identifying the knowledge-making values of these scholarly communities. This method of citation analysis, when used to study the citation practice of an individual citing author in a particular text, can aid in understanding the ways in which that text first enters the disciplinary economy. This analytical approach can also be used to understand and evaluate a particular cited text's contribution to a discipline's processes of making and circulating knowledge.

Viewing scholarly citation practice in the metaphorical terms of disciplinary economies of knowledge production and distribution offers some insights with pedagogical implications across the curriculum. As novice members of a disciplinary community, students must learn to be critical in both their writing and reading of citations in scholarly discourse. It might help them to view knowledge as not only something that is made but as something that develops an exchange value within a particular disciplinary economy.

On the one hand, viewing scholarly citation practice in terms of its role in disciplinary economies of knowledge production and distribution also puts the classroom itself in a new light. If the classroom is viewed as an initiation into a knowledge-making discipline, and classroom exercises are seen as initial contributions to the knowledge-making enterprise, it would seem especially important to impose on students the disciplinary standards for accuracy and reliability. If plagiarism and other inaccuracies in published work threaten the whole discipline's claims to reliable production of valuable, usable, worthy knowledge, then plagiarism in the context of the classroom threatens the classroom's claims to be preparing students to participate in reliable, orderly production, distribution, and application of knowledge.

On the other hand, this view of scholarly citation practice as an important element in the processes of knowledge production and distribution may help explain why textbooks and other teaching materials for general education and introductory courses often do not provide conventional scholarly citations. That is, they do not attribute knowledge production to particular scholars or researchers, but present it as the accumulated wealth of the discipline. It may be that at this level, students are deliberately being kept out of the actual processes of knowledge production and allowed to participate in its distribution or circulation in only very constrained ways, thus limiting participation in the disciplinary economy to those who have acquired the necessary expertise.

Using economic metaphors as a lens through which to examine the role of scholarly citation practice prompts some interesting questions about the processes of knowledge-making and knowledge-distribution in academic dis-

ciplines. Do citation practices help to control access to these processes by making arguments for the necessity of specialized knowledge or expertise? Do citation practices inhibit nonexperts' attempts to participate in decision making or policy making regarding the uses to which disciplinary knowledge is put? Do scholarly citations serve the economic interests of the disciplinary communities by legitimating their claims to cognitive monopolies? Perhaps conventions for citing, rather than being rules for "giving credit" for "borrowed ideas," are devices for limiting access to and use of those ideas by unauthorized writers and thinkers.

Notes

1. For a recent review of bibliometric approaches to citation studies, see White and McCain.
2. See Gilbert; Latour; Cozzens, 1998; Small; Swales; and Berkenkotter and Huckin.
3. In his essay "The Grammar of Coherence," W. Ross Winterowd identified seven "structural relationships" that contributed to creating a coherence between parts of a text. Winterowd demonstrated that these relationships exist between sentences in a text, and claimed that they existed between larger units of a text, such as paragraphs or even chapters of a book, as well. I have extended this grammar of coherence to identify the relationships created between discrete texts through the use of citations. I have substituted my own, slightly less jargonistic, terms for Winterowd's original seven: coordinativity (coordinate), obversativity (opposite), causativity (generative), conclusivity (consequential), alternativity (apposite), inclusivity (exemplary), and sequentiality (sequential).
4. *Iterative* is my own term for describing relationships based on repetition (quotation, summary, and paraphrase). Winterowd may have considered iteration an element of lexical coherence or semantic rather than syntactic relationship.
5. For the sake of stylistic simplicity, I refer to "citing authors," although I acknowledge that these authors have not acted autonomously when their texts have been significantly mediated by editors and reviewers by the time they reach published form.
6. Patricia Harkin makes a case for Shaughnessy's work as a resulting from the social situation, arguing that because the situation at CCNY was unique, there were no precedents in the scholarship of the composition, so Shaughnessy synthesized what was available from other fields to make "lore."

those limitations are of questionable legality. This public anxiety, in turn, reinforces a view that the law must be as it is perceived by allowing false protection notices to stand without direct legal challenge. Such challenge is likely to come only from those with profit motives and a team of lawyers, from corporate holders of copyright, who will challenge only creations sufficiently popular to be profitable or sufficiently incisive to be embarrassing. Since profitability is incorporated into the criteria for determining fair use, such challenges are more likely to be decided in favor of megaholders, creating precedent for arguing subsequent cases involving fair use—and, eventually personal use. Intertextual innovations like the collage rant become increasingly risky.

We have already prepared the ground for a postmodern generation's artistic and critical work to be declared illegal or to be perceived as such, making into brute fact the warning that copyright extensions of 1976 and later provide the means to use copyright for censorship (Patterson and Lindberg)—that is, to use copyright for suppressing texts troubling to the economic and proprietary status quo. Those texts of the most apparent value, those which gather a following and thus come to the attention of copyright holders, would be most subject to litigation. If such litigation or the threat of it succeeds in suppressing GenX texts at home in a postmodern world, then we have acquiesced in a generation's being represented in the cultural canon only by its less appealing and less incisive texts. We risk losing the collage rant, one of GenX's most creative modes of civic and artistic literacy. The legally permissible cultural legacy we leave to our grandchildren and great-grandchildren will have been stripped by law or by intimidation of its best and brightest, at the least, of some of its most interesting. We have already set the climate of intimidation (Patterson and Lindberg's "in terror effect") such that some of the most innovative work might never get beyond its creator's mind and certainly not beyond his or her mailbox—in direct contradiction to the constitutional mandate for copyright.

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