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Plagiarism Defined? A multiple case study analysis of institutional definitions

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This multiple case study examines seven institutional documents from universities in four countries (Australia, China, Finland and Germany) with the aim of determining how plagiarism is defined in these institutional contexts. This research expands on previous analyses of university plagiarism policies in the Anglosphere (e.g., Kaktiņš, 2014; Sutherland-Smith, 2011), and particularly the notion that institutional definitions of plagiarism contain “six elements” (Pecorari, 2002). Using the six elements model of plagiarism as a theoretical basis, the documents in this study were analysed using deductive content analysis. The findings of this analysis revealed that the definitions of plagiarism were consistent across the contexts, with all policies containing five of the six elements in their definitions. At two institutions, however, the element of intentionality was not addressed in the definition of plagiarism. Furthermore, the extent of discussion of certain elements of plagiarism (e.g., the need for source acknowledgement), and an emphasis on “good academic practice” across the documents revealed the need for ongoing research that considers how institutions construct official definitions of plagiarism.

Keywords: academic writing, plagiarism, higher education

1 Introduction

Plagiarism in higher education has been a frequent cause for alarm at institutions globally in the last few decades. So-called plagiarism “scandals”, in which university students and staff are accused of plagiarism in their academic writing, have attracted prominent media interest (e.g., Moore, 2019; Sutherland-Smith & Carr, 2005; Weber-Wullf, 2014). Aside from pedagogical interventions, a major response to discoveries of plagiarism has been the institutional revision or implementation of explicit academic misconduct guidelines (Sutherland-Smith, 2008). As such, formal policies and procedures surrounding plagiarism have become almost ubiquitous in higher education (Grigg, 2009; Hu & Sun, 2017).

The formalization and development of institutional policies has led to a renewed focus on the concept of plagiarism, which has long been discussed both as a form of intertextuality, as well as a form of academic misconduct (Shaw & Pecorari, 2019). While a number of studies have investigated how university students and staff understand plagiarism (e.g., Borg, 2009; Gullifer & Tyson, 2010; Löfström & Kupila, 2013; Pecorari & Shaw, 2012; Roig, 2001; Sutherland-

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Smith, 2005a, 2005b), comparatively less attention has been given to the study of how institutions themselves define plagiarism. Considering that these institutional definitions of plagiarism regulate academia, policies and documents defining plagiarism at universities represent an authoritative source in the quest to better understand plagiarism (Pecorari, 2019).

In this paper, I will focus on the question of whether there is a consensus on plagiarism in definitions from four universities. For this purpose, I have selected available academic integrity documents defining plagiarism from four institutions, one each in Australia, China, Finland and Germany. It is beyond the scope of this study to claim to represent country-specific definitions of plagiarism, or to represent the views and practices of students and staff in these contexts, who may well have engaged with the topic of plagiarism outside of the applicable policies in their current institutional contexts. Instead, my aim is to analyse in detail the similarities and differences that exist in these institutional definitions of plagiarism.

In the following, I firstly review previous work on the connections between plagiarism and academic writing, before addressing previous analyses of how plagiarism is defined in higher education. Drawing on these analyses for my theoretical model, I examine definitions of plagiarism in the documents I have selected. Lastly, I conclude with the key findings of my study, as well as the direction future research in this area might take.

2 Defining Plagiarism

2.1 Previous research on plagiarism in academic writing

Research into plagiarism and academic writing has been approached from multiple perspectives, including discussions of authorship (Pennycook, 1996; Scollon, 1995); intertextuality (Chandrasoma, Thompson & Pennycook, 2004; Davis & Morley, 2015; Pecorari & Shaw, 2012; Shi, 2004), academic writing development (Howard, 1995; Li & Casanave, 2012) and source acknowledgment (Hyland, 1999). In the following, I draw on these perspectives to highlight issues relevant to definitions of plagiarism in higher education.

Plagiarism is typically defined as the appropriation of others' work without acknowledgement (Pecorari & Petrić, 2014). Such a definition, however, assumes some absolutes about text ownership, originality and source acknowledgment (see Pennycook, 1996). If plagiarism occurs because the work of others has been misappropriated and used without acknowledgement, there is an underlying assumption that whatever is being plagiarised belongs to a clearly defined author or authors. In fact, the ownership of text, it has been argued, is a relatively new historical development that stems from the tradition of certain European countries and the advent of the printing press (Pennycook, 1996). In literary theory, the concept of sole authorship has long been critiqued. For Barthes (1977, p. 146), the solitary author is a myth, as text is a "multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash". Love (2002) concurs that writing has historically been a highly collaborative process, shaped by external influences as well as the input others give during the writing process. For example, in reference to student writing, Sutherland-Smith (2008) notes that online sources increasingly influence the writing process and final output.

Given the increasing international dominance of English as the language of teaching and research at universities (Jenkins, 2014), a great deal of attention has been given to second language (L2) English academic writers. As language learning relies on memorisation, repetition and mimicry (Pennycook, 1996), and paraphrasing requires strong lexicogrammatical proficiency (Barks & Watts, 2001), it has been posited that L2 writers may inadvertently commit plagiarism. Although it has been suggested that L2 proficiency strongly influences textual borrowing practices (Currie, 1998; Grabe & Zhang, 2013; Keck, 2006), emerging research highlights other factors that impact on writers' textual borrowing, such as subject knowledge and writing experience (Cumming, Lai & Cho, 2016; Keck, 2014; van Weijen, Rijlaarsdam & van den Bergh, 2019). As noted by Wingate & Tribble (2012), academic writing is not "purely linguistic", and presents novice writers of all language backgrounds with the challenge of understanding discipline-specific ways of "reading, reasoning and writing" (p. 481).

In examining the textual practices of novice writers, the concept of "patchwriting" has gained acceptance as an alternative to the accusation of plagiarism. Patchwriting is defined as "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures or plugging in one-for-one synonym substitutes" (Howard, 1992, p. 233). It is further argued that this type of linguistic appropriation, whether by L1 or L2 writers, should be viewed as a positive stage in academic writing development (Chandrasoma, Thompson & Pennycook, 2004; Currie, 1998; Howard, 1995; Ivanič, 1998; Li & Casanave, 2012; Pecorari, 2003). Complicating the issue in source-based writing is the fact that the re-use of phrases in academic writing is explicitly taught as a strategy (e.g., Swales & Feak, 2012), and consequently considered legitimate by some university staff (Davis & Morley, 2015; Pecorari & Shaw, 2012). Though the adaption and re-use of so-called "skeletal" phrases is considered fairly unproblematic (Swales & Feak, 2012, p. 138), re-using too much language or content phrases from a source may be deemed inappropriate (Davis & Morley, 2019). This exemplifies the tightrope that a novice writer must walk when imitating or appropriating from sources in an attempt to develop their academic writing (Ivanič, 1998).

Decisions surrounding source use and acknowledgement additionally relate to the construction of the author as a member of an academic discipline. Firstly, the selection of sources that a writer chooses to acknowledge can establish credibility and demonstrate allegiance to schools of thought (Hyland, 1999). Secondly, disciplinary norms may determine whether well-established ideas or terms have become part of the common domain, thus requiring no citation (Scollon, 1994; Pecorari & Shaw, 2012). Thirdly, the ways in which writers typically refer to sources are influenced by the "epistemological and social conventions of their disciplines" (Hyland, 1999, p. 341). For instance, disciplinary differences can be seen in regard to paraphrasing, reporting verbs and direct quotation (Shi, 2012).

These differences may in turn relate to citation styles, which dictate the formatting of source acknowledgement and are often derived from disciplinary associations (e.g., APA style, commonly used in social sciences, derives from the American Psychological Association). As noted by Williams and Carroll (2009) in their practical guide to referencing and plagiarism, styles of citation are so varied across disciplines, universities, departments and publications as to confuse even experts, let alone novice academic writers. Depending on how plagiarism is defined and interpreted institutionally, poor citation practices can be considered

unintentional plagiarism and lead to punitive outcomes. However, while the use of reference management software and citation style manuals may assist a writer in producing technically accurate citations and references, inadvertent plagiarism may occur if the writer fails to clearly denote their own voice in source-based writing. To avoid unintentional plagiarism, a writer needs to be able to synthesise multiple sources, shifting between their own ideas and those obtained from the cited sources (University of Queensland, n.d.). As a result, it is the process of note-taking, paraphrasing and summarising that is of paramount importance in the development of plagiarism-free writing (Williams & Carroll, 2009).

In short, the concept of plagiarism is strongly connected to three aspects of academic writing. Firstly, historical and philosophical notions of authorship and originality challenge widely held definitions of plagiarism. Secondly, the role of textual borrowing and phrasal re-use is an important consideration as regards plagiarism, particularly in L2 and novice academic writing. Lastly, the practical skills and disciplinary knowledge surrounding source acknowledgement, through which plagiarism can be avoided, presents a challenge for those writing from sources.

2.2 Previous policy analyses

As a backdrop to this study, the following section introduces previous research that has examined how plagiarism is defined in university contexts. Three studies have been selected due to their core focus on definitions of plagiarism stemming from similar institutional contexts, and are integral to the theoretical basis of my own analysis.

In the first analysis of plagiarism policies in higher education, Pecorari (2000, 2001) examined documents provided by 54 universities in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. The primary focus of the analysis was how plagiarism was – if at all – defined in detail in these documents, with additional foci such as the reasons plagiarism was unacceptable, the repercussions for plagiarising, and the complexity of plagiarism in general. Pecorari (2000, 2001) found the definitions of plagiarism within these documents contained some, if not all, of six key elements, and developed this into the following definitional model of plagiarism: “(1) an object (i.e., language, words, text) (2) which has been taken (or borrowed, stolen, etc.) (3) from a particular source (4) by an agent (5) without (adequate) acknowledgement (6) and with or without intention to deceive” (Pecorari, 2002, p.19). Of these elements, the issue of intentionality was addressed the least in the plagiarism definitions present in the documents – in fact, approximately 20% of the documents examined lacked any formal definition of plagiarism (Pecorari, 2001). Whereas descriptions of the punitive consequences for committing plagiarism abounded in the documents, detailed discussion of what constituted plagiarism, and how to avoid it (e.g., citation) was inadequate by comparison, leading Pecorari (2001) to conclude that universities have not equipped students to navigate the complexities of plagiarism and acquire the skills to avoid committing it.

Sutherland-Smith’s (2011) analysis similarly concluded that university policies are disproportionate in their focus on plagiarism as a crime for which punitive measures apply. In her semiotic analysis of discourse of 20 official plagiarism policies – drawn from top-ranked universities in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada – plagiarism was overwhelmingly negatively characterised. Selected elements of plagiarism as categorised by Pecorari

(2002) correspond with Sutherland-Smith's (2011, p. 132) definition findings, and are striking in their legalistic wording. For example, the person committing plagiarism is no longer simply "an agent" (Pecorari, 2002, p. 19), but rather the "offender" or the "accused" (Sutherland-Smith, 2011, p. 132). Material is not merely "taken from" (Pecorari, 2002, p. 19) somewhere, it is "misappropriation" or "theft" (Sutherland-Smith, 2011, p. 130). The discursive language of these policies serves to reinforce the notion that plagiarism is not only socially undesirable, but a clear-cut issue. In summary, the policies examined were better suited to the code of law than the actual teaching and learning atmosphere tertiary institutions purport to provide (Sutherland-Smith, 2011).

Continuing with the premise that tertiary plagiarism policies are usually punitive in nature, Kaktiņš (2014) further added to the analysis of university policies with her investigation of four diverse Australian university plagiarism policies. In this analysis, appraisal theory was applied to the language of the policies and how they defined plagiarism. This method confirmed the punitive discourse of the policies, but also revealed a shift in some institutions' policies towards a pedagogical view of plagiarism and other academic misconduct. This shift was most apparent in the inclusive language used to describe the various actors in the policies. For instance, one policy in particular eschewed divisions between staff and students and instead used the first person plural pronoun "we" to refer to everyone at the university charged with informing themselves about and preserving academic integrity (Kaktiņš, 2014, p. 134). This analysis concluded that a more pedagogical approach to academic integrity policies was emerging, to the extent that becoming well-versed in the conventions of academic writing was described as an essential learning process for all involved in the university community.

In summarising these three previous policy analyses, each study was alike in finding that plagiarism was negatively portrayed in university policies, with a great deal of focus on the consequences of committing plagiarism rather than detailed plagiarism definitions. These studies additionally emphasised the need for a more pedagogical approach to dealing with plagiarism, either through the scope and language of the policies (Kaktiņš, 2014; Sutherland-Smith, 2011), or with reference to how plagiarism is conceptualised (Pecorari, 2001; Sutherland-Smith, 2011).

Given the needs emphasised by these analyses, a further examination of plagiarism definitions is warranted, particularly as it concerns increasingly internationalised universities outside the Anglosphere. In reflecting on his oft-cited work on plagiarism 20 years previously, Pennycook (2016, p.481) concurs that the "language of plagiarism" remains difficult to shift, and as such, educators need to first take stock of how plagiarism is dealt with institutionally. The continuing diversity of university populations due to internationalisation is a strong impetus for students, researchers and teaching staff alike to be well-versed in and to critically reflect on institutional policies, and how these correspond with practices in their own contexts.

3 Data and Methods

3.1 Research questions

Building on previous research that has examined institutional definitions of plagiarism in higher education, the following research questions were formulated:

- a) Are official definitions of plagiarism available at the chosen institutions?
- b) To what extent are the selected definitions of plagiarism consistent across the cases, and what are the main similarities or differences?
- c) To what extent are the definitions helpful for writers in understanding and achieving acceptable academic practices?

3.2 Data

In order to obtain answers to the research questions in this multiple case study (Duff, 2008), a total of seven documents from four universities in four countries – Australia (three documents from the University of Queensland), China (one document from Henan University), Finland (two documents from the University of Jyväskylä) and Germany (one document from the University of Freiburg) – were selected for analysis (see Table 1 in Appendix 1). Given that the outcomes of case study research are often influential in the development of educational policies and practices (Duff, 2014), a case study approach is well-suited to examining institutional definitions of plagiarism, and has been previously utilised in different educational contexts (e.g., Adam, Anderson & Spronken-Smith, 2017; Hu & Sun, 2017; Sutherland-Smith, 2011). Though the data in the present study consists of a small number of documents, combined, these multiple cases further the understanding of how plagiarism is defined in higher education, and can contribute to the development of theory in future analyses of a larger collection of cases.

My search for plagiarism policies and definitions began with general searches of the selected institutions' websites in 2015, using the search terms "plagiarism" and "academic integrity". Policies were easily accessed at three of the four institutions using this method, though not Henan University. I therefore used institutional contacts in China to assist me in obtaining a plagiarism policy from Henan University, which was eventually located online, and verified by a member of staff. As this policy was only issued in Mandarin, a member of teaching staff/translator at Henan University provided me with an unofficial English translation, in which the content and language were further clarified through our joint discussion of the document. The Australian university policy was originally and exceptionally issued in English, and the Finnish and German university policies were issued in these languages respectively, with official English translations provided. The English translations were at the core of my analysis, though I additionally consulted the German-language policy from the University of Freiburg in order to verify my interpretation of the data. The target audience of the selected plagiarism regulations was mainly students (University of Jyväskylä, 2013; University of Jyväskylä Language Centre, n.d.; University of Queensland, 2012, 2014, 2015b), though some documents also targeted university researchers and teachers (Henan University, n.d.; University of Freiburg, 2013).

In addition to my familiarity with the chosen contexts as both a teacher and learner, the targeted countries and institutions met two criteria for inclusion. Firstly, the choice of these countries allowed for an examination of plagiarism definitions outside of the Anglosphere, which with the notable exception of Hu and Sun (2017), has been the primary focus of previous analyses. Secondly, in addition to being well-established research & teaching universities in their respective contexts, the selected institutions are comprehensive rather than specialised, in that they offer undergraduate and postgraduate studies across a variety of disciplines.

I quickly discovered that the documents discussing plagiarism at the target institutions were not necessarily alike in their scope, audience and format, and that several documents defining and discussing plagiarism were available at some institutions, rather than a single policy or document. In these situations, I employed intensity sampling in order to select cases that were “information-rich” but not extreme outliers, additionally considering the overall variety across the collection of cases (Duff, 2008, p. 115). The cases chosen therefore represent both university-wide and department-specific regulations on plagiarism, and some documents include discussion of other aspects of academic misconduct.

3.3 Method

Deductive qualitative content analysis (e.g., Mayring, 2015) was employed as the method of analysis, and started with Pecorari’s (2002) “six elements of plagiarism” in institutional policy definitions. As a comprehensive model, the “six elements of plagiarism” has previously been adopted when studying teacher perceptions of plagiarism higher education (Sutherland-Smith, 2008).

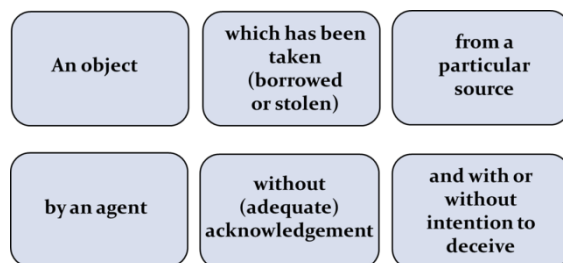


Figure 1. The six elements of plagiarism (Pecorari, 2002).

The documents were initially coded using these six elements as coding categories, before being re-organised into code hierarchies and linked to related codes (see Table 2 in Appendix 1). Analytic memos were then utilised to reflect on the codes and coded text, and linked to relevant literature (see Table 3 in Appendix 1). The analysis was undertaken with the aid of qualitative data analysis computer software (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2018).

4 Findings & Discussion

4.1 The availability of definitions

Although official definitions of plagiarism were found at all of the target institutions, there are two findings of note: Firstly, in contrast to the other institutions, a definition of plagiarism was not easily accessible at Henan University, and it was only through the assistance of university staff that a policy was accessed (HU, n.d.). Secondly, the number and variety of documents available for analysis reflects the fact that institutional documents defining plagiarism are not uniform in genre or scope (see also Table 1 in Appendix). As will be further discussed below, some of the documents defining plagiarism were policies akin to legal documents (e.g., UF, 2013), whereas other documents provided plagiarism definitions in tandem with advice or guidelines (e.g., UQ Website, 2012).

4.2 *The six elements of plagiarism*

4.2.1 **Objects of plagiarism**

Mirroring the findings of Sutherland-Smith (2011), potential objects of plagiarism were specified in some detail in all of the policies examined. As explicitly stated in the JYU policy, “written text” is most often defined as “the target of plagiarism”, but a broad range of objects were mentioned, including:

...content other than shorter or longer written texts may also be plagiarised: a sheet of statistics presenting research results, a measurement result of laboratory work, a piece of programme code, a research idea or notification, a theoretical concept or definition, etc. (JYU, 2013, p.6)

Similarly, UQ made reference to written text that could be plagiarised, such as “...paragraphs, sentences, a single sentence or significant parts of a sentence” (UQ Website, 2012), with a more detailed list of objects found in the main policy document, “...published and unpublished documents, designs, music, sounds, images, photographs, computer codes and ideas gained through working in a group. These ideas, interpretations, words or works may be found in print and/or electronic media” (UQ, 2014, p. 3).

These two policy excerpts in particular suggest a wider understanding of what “text” constitutes, and consequently, what may be the target of plagiarism. The specificity of the object definitions also contributes to a clearer overall definition of plagiarism, though ambiguities still remain. By adding the caveat of “etc.” to the list of objects, it is possible to argue with reference to this policy that almost anything can be construed as the object of plagiarism (JYU, 2013, p.6). Sutherland-Smith (2011) argues that the presence of a non-specific definition allows universities great leeway to interpret what an object constitutes, particularly as technological advances redefine what may be considered objects. As a result, those subject to the policy (typically students) are disadvantaged by potentially “inconsistent if not unfair decisions in terms of plagiarism management across the higher education sector” (Sutherland-Smith, 2011, p.132).

In keeping with more general definitions of objects, both the LC policy and the UF policy refer to “intellectual work” (LC, n.d., para. 1) and “copyright work” (UF, 2013, p.5) as targets of plagiarism, indicating that relevant laws may factor into interpretations of plagiarised objects. For example, two policies note that national copyright law is applicable to academic researchers (HU, n.d.; UF, 2013). These specifications highlight the assumptions of authorship that are present in all of the policies – in order for an object to be the subject of plagiarism, it must be somehow owned.

One way in which ownership may be established, in addition to legal measures such as copyright, is through recognised forms of publication. Digitalisation, for example, has provided other avenues for publication, particularly online publication. The policies of HU (n.d.) and UQ (2014) reflect this by noting that lack of publication, as well as type of publication (digital or print) do not alter whether an object is considered the target of plagiarism. In this respect, a book printed by an international publisher is as much a potential target of plagiarism as a comment posted to an online social media platform.

4.2.2 Taken

Throughout the policies, the most common way of referring to objects being “taken” in an act of plagiarism was simply the use of a form of the verb *take*. However, wordings such as “borrowing”, “copying”, “stealing”, “theft”, “misappropriation/misappropriating” and “misrepresentation/misrepresenting” were also used. The use of some of these terms (e.g., “theft”) adds to negative connotations surrounding the act of plagiarism, as well as the dominant discourse of plagiarism as a crime (Kaktiņš, 2014; Sutherland-Smith, 2011). The most prominent example of this type of language was present in the UF’s definition of plagiarism, described as “the unauthorized exploitation involving usurpation of authorship” (UF, 2013, p.5).

The key word in the UF’s definition, *usurpation*, is formal in register, more often found in the verb form, and is typically associated with notions of seizing positions of political power (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2016; Oxford Dictionaries Online, 2016). Information about the etymology provides better insight into the meaning of usurpation in the policy’s context: From Middle English, to “appropriate a right wrongfully” (Oxford Dictionaries Online, 2016, Origin, para. 1). The additional formality that the use of usurpation provides adds to the overt condemnation of plagiarism as criminal, though essentially this wording is no different in meaning than other wordings for “taken” across the policies.

The definition of plagiarism provided by the UF and the formality of the term *usurpation* do raise the question of how practically useful policy documents are in conveying what plagiarism is to students and others engaged in academic writing at universities. In fact, the accessibility of academic integrity policy language is considered paramount in determining whether stakeholders actually engage with and implement the policy, no matter “how comprehensive or well developed a policy” it may otherwise be (Bretag et al., 2011, p.6).

4.2.3 From a source

As discussed in 4.2.1., the policies examined make specific reference to the source of plagiarised objects being both, “print or digital format (HU, n.d., p.2), as well as “...published and unpublished” (UQ, 2014, p.3). The idea of a source again alludes to the assumption of authorship, be this one person or collaborative authorship. The definition of source is therefore perhaps best exemplified in JYU’s definition, in which the source is “the work of another person” (JYU, 2013, p. 6), with the notion of “work” being open to interpretation, as previously discussed in reference to the objects of plagiarism.

4.2.4 By an agent

Pecorari’s (2002) wording for the instigator of plagiarism at universities – “an agent” (p. 19) is decidedly neutral, yet those committing plagiarism are almost universally referred to as “students” in policy documents, even if these documents do not necessarily target students as their primary audience (Kaktiņš, 2014; Pecorari, 2001; Sutherland-Smith, 2011). The documents examined in this study continued this tendency, though statements within some policies suggest that appropriate academic standards – including the avoidance of plagiarism – are applicable to everyone at the universities in question. The latter occurrence reflects Kaktiņš’s (2014) suggestion that the language of academic conduct

policies has become more inclusive of all operating within the university environment, irrespective of their status as staff or students. Whereas students are typically seen as the perpetrators of plagiarism, and teachers the enforcers of punishment or educators of good academic practice, many policies now refer to a wide range of persons involved in academic writing, in various stages of development (e.g., Kaktiņš, 2014). In my data, for example, the HU policy recognises that, “the rules and regulations apply to all teachers and students, visiting scholars, and teachers in professional development working in the name of HU” (HU, n.d., p.1). Similarly, the UF states that:

- 1) All persons engaged in research at the University of Freiburg as well as students shall be bound to act in accordance with the rules of good academic practice described in § 2. The faculties and research centers are obligated to familiarize their students and junior researchers with the rules of good academic practice and warn them against academic misconduct (UF, 2013, p.1).

Here, the inclusive discourse represented by “all persons engaged in research” suggests what might be construed as a “research community”. Though the statement requiring “faculties and research centers” to educate “students and junior researchers” in the rules of appropriate academic conduct may be interpreted in the stereotypical student/teacher dichotomy previously discussed, the use of the term “junior researchers” suggests that becoming proficient in good academic practice is a process of ongoing learning.

The UQ documents establish similarly inclusive discourses that might be characterised as “academic” or “university” communities, respectively: “It is the University's task to encourage ethical scholarship and to inform students and staff about the institutional standards of academic behaviour expected of them in learning, teaching and research” (UQ Website, 2012). “All University community members share responsibility for maintaining the academic standing of the University” (UQ, 2014, p.1). Despite this inclusivity, UQ addresses student misconduct and staff misconduct in separate policies, though the same definitions of plagiarism are used (e.g., University of Queensland, 2015a).

With regard to the policies of JYU and the LC, both refer specifically and exclusively to students as the perpetrators of plagiarism (and other forms of academic misconduct) and teachers/staff as the enforcers and educators of good academic practice. The divide this creates between students and staff establishes a resounding othering discourse in the policies. Consider the following excerpt as an example of this othering: “Plagiarism or any other academic fraud by a student is not only an offence to the student’s teachers and supervisors but also an offence to the whole University community and the ethical principles the community follows” (JYU, 2013, p.4). Rather than a generalised or neutral agent, e.g. “someone”, the agent is unequivocally “a student”, who offends against acceptable academic practices. Despite the mention of a “University community”, this is not an inclusive discourse. The established student/staff divide positions the student as outside of the University community, to which teachers and supervisors belong.

Furthermore, both policies from the University of Jyväskylä make specific reference to students from different countries or cultural backgrounds¹:

Special attention should be paid to the guidance of international students. The rules of appropriate academic writing are not the same in all cultures, and the rights of a researcher to his/her own study are not always as individual-centred as they are in

Finland. A teacher should describe and discuss with students the operating methods of the Western academic community² (JYU, 2013, p. 7).

The above statement displays several hallmarks of *Culturism* (Holliday, 2005). Firstly, cultural essentialism is established with the notion that studying and conducting research in “Finnish” culture is “individualistic”, whereas this is not the case in other cultures. International students are juxtaposed against domestic (i.e. Finnish) students as cultural Others and it is assumed that international students are in particular need of academic writing support by virtue of their Otherness. Finally, the necessity of teaching the Other the appropriate way of doing things in the “Western academic community” is highlighted. Though perhaps intended as advice to educators, these broad statements do little but reinforce cultural stereotypes in a process known as *reification* (Holliday, 2005). Whether or not these statements about culture contain factual elements is irrelevant, because their legitimacy is already being affirmed through their inclusion in an official policy, which in turn informs educational attitudes and practices at the institution in question.

In summary, however, it appears the majority of the policies examined tend towards inclusive language as regards who commits plagiarism or other types of academic misconduct. As such, if these inclusive statements are taken at face value, the policies appear to be applicable to anyone engaged in academic work at a university. Despite this, students are overwhelmingly the target audiences of the policies in question, and the specific advice contained within them thus principally focuses on “student plagiarism”, reinforcing that students are the primary agents of academic misconduct.

4.2.5 Acknowledgement

Of the policies analysed, those from the University of Jyväskylä were the most detailed in their discussion of the need for source acknowledgement in order to avoid plagiarism (JYU, 2013; LC, n.d.). Furthermore, without specific reference to particular citation styles, these policies specifically state that source acknowledgement must be somewhat detailed in order to be adequate:

A student must clearly refer to any written material he/she has used [...] The student must use a sufficiently clear citation method during writing so that it is clear for the reader which part of the student’s text is borrowed, what is the cited publication or other material, and to which section of the publication or material the citation refers to (often page numbers). If a student uses a direct quotation from a source in his/her text, the cited part must be indicated with quotation marks. (JYU, 2013, p.6)

Notably, in stating that “...translating from one language to another, for example from Finnish to English, does not release you from this obligation to credit the source”, the LC underlines the expectation of source acknowledgement irrespective of the source language (LC, n.d., para. 2).

The UQ policies all similarly emphasise the need for “...appropriate acknowledgement or referencing of the author or source...” (UQ Website, 2012), though conversely provide specific examples of inappropriate source acknowledgement that would be considered plagiarism, e.g., “Direct copying of paragraphs, sentences, a single sentence or significant parts of a sentence with an end reference but without quotation marks around the copied text” (UQ

Website, 2012). Further, HU states that clear source acknowledgement is essential, but gives no examples of how this is to be accomplished.

The UF policy is exceptional in that it makes no explicit mention of source acknowledgement for the purpose of avoiding plagiarism. What is repeatedly emphasised in this policy, however, is that “the rules of good academic practice” must be followed as regards research, and more specifically, academic writing (UF, 2013, p.1). It can only be assumed, therefore, that good academic practice encompasses source acknowledgement in academic writing. The notion of good academic practice represents yet another area of implicit knowledge that is present to some extent in all of the institutional documents, though particularly so in the aforementioned policy. The overall lack of specific, detailed examples of what “good/appropriate/adequate” source acknowledgement entails suggests that such information is considered self-evident, or beyond the scope of academic integrity policies.

Where, therefore, is such information to be found? It appears that detailing the specifics of source acknowledgement are the responsibility of teaching staff at all of the universities examined in this research. The UQ policies (2015b; 2014; 2012) refer the reader to the university’s web-based Academic Integrity Tutorial, which includes references to further sources of support within the university for student writers (e.g., writing courses and library resources). The LC policy provides hyperlinks at the end of its policy to external websites with information about plagiarism and source acknowledgment (LC, n.d.).

In the absence of specific teaching of source acknowledgment during university studies, or referrals to other resources, writers seeking information on referencing and citation may turn to the numerous academic writing books that may be found in university libraries and bookstores. Here, the specifics of source acknowledgement, including detailed examples and explanations of citation styles can be found. The proliferation of such books in Germany (e.g., Behmel, Hartwig & Setzermann, 2001; Franck, 2004; Poenicke, 1988) perhaps reflects the lack of definition of good academic practice in the UF’s policy (UF, 2013).

The lack of detailed information on source acknowledgement in some of the institutional documents examined and the diversion of this discussion to external resources and teaching staff highlights the need for pedagogy for plagiarism. Accordingly, external resources and teaching practices are as important as policies when it comes to understanding how plagiarism is defined in a particular context, be that the culture of higher education in a certain country, or simply one department of a university. This finding corroborates ongoing recommendations in research linking policy and pedagogical interventions to counter plagiarism in higher education (e.g., Shala, Dukagjin & Morganella, 2018).

4.2.6 Intention to deceive

Of the six elements of plagiarism identified by Pecorari (2001), the issue of intentionality was dealt with very differently across universities, if at all. Of the documents examined in this study, only UQ and JYU address intentionality in their definitions of plagiarism, both in some detail.

JYU frames intentional plagiarism as “reprehensible academic fraud” (JYU, 2013, p.9), with UQ similarly referring to intentional plagiarism as “misconduct” (UQ Website, 2012). Unintentional plagiarism, despite remaining unacceptable,

is acknowledged by both universities as a lesser crime. This is particularly evident in the procedures outlined by the JYU policy, as teachers are advised to assess whether plagiarism in a student's work is due to "incompetence" (JYU, 2013, p. 9) rather than the intention to deceive. In such a case, it is recommended that teachers assist students in correcting the work, rather than proceeding directly to punitive measures. Similarly, UQ advises that students rectify unintentional plagiarism, characterised by inadequate or incorrect referencing, because this is "poor academic practice" rather than flagrant plagiarism (UQ Website, 2012). By acknowledging differences between unintentional and intentional plagiarism in their policies, as well as adopting an educative approach, these universities reflect the reality that plagiarism is both difficult to define and subsequently avoid without specific training.

Whereas both universities acknowledge the difficulties of avoiding plagiarism and the need for an educative approach, neither policy reflects the oft-cited need for students to receive explicit and repeated instruction in plagiarism avoidance in order to elude unintentional plagiarism (Pecorari & Petrić, 2014). The question of appropriate pedagogy for plagiarism becomes especially applicable when considering intentionality, as plagiarism that is deemed deliberate may result in harsher consequences. Indeed, the consequences for plagiarism at UQ are directly related to whether the plagiarism, or more generally, academic misconduct, is intentional (UQ, 2014).

Consider here JYU's recommendation that teachers retain and monitor their students' work after pedagogical intervention in cases of unintentional plagiarism (JYU, 2013). Should plagiarism be detected in the student's work again, it should be now considered intentional, as the teacher has already instructed the student "...to follow appropriate principles" (JYU, 2013, p.12). Likewise, UQ policy notes that it is reasonable to consider plagiarism intentional if the accused student has been:

- (i)provided with a detailed and specific definition of what constitutes plagiarism in respect of his or her course or particular piece of work; and
 - (ii) the student signed a declaration in respect of the relevant piece of work that they read and understood the information on plagiarism, and the penalties that may be imposed where an academic offence is committed; and
 - (iii) the student's act of plagiarism is clearly covered by the information on plagiarism which the student received
- (UQ, 2014, p.12)

Though technically supporting pedagogy for plagiarism, the level of intervention discussed in both university policies does not seem truly adequate to inform students about plagiarism. In practice, the UQ policy (2014) requires no more of educators than to hand students a piece of paper defining plagiarism and its consequences at the start of a course, and for students to sign a routine declaration claiming understanding of this information before submitting every piece of work during their university studies. Furthermore, the ready availability of a plagiarism policy does not guarantee that it will be read and understood, as shown by Gullifer and Tyson (2014) in their survey of Australian university students.

The absence of discussion about plagiarism and intentionality in the policies of UF and HU may indicate a number of things, namely that the distinction is irrelevant and that all incidents of plagiarism should result in equally punitive consequences. If this is the case, these policies disregard evidence that plagiarism

can indeed be unintentionally committed. As such, the approach in these policies remains legalistic rather than educative. The lack of discussion surrounding intentionality in these policies perhaps also indicates assumed knowledge about what is “right” or “wrong” in a specific context (see section 4.3 below). This assumed knowledge is perhaps not so hidden when taking into consideration that both policies refer to relevant national copyright laws as the background to their university policies (UF, 2013; HU, n.d.).

4.3 References to academic practices

An additional theme that emerged strongly from the data was that of academic practices. In relation to good academic practice, the data contained frequent references to the role of teachers and researchers informing students about a) what good academic practice is, and b) how to incorporate good academic practice into academic writing, thus avoiding plagiarism.

The policies with the most explicit discussions of good academic practice were those from the institutions in Germany, Finland and Australia. An entire section of the UF policy is dedicated to “The Rules of Good Academic Practice”, no doubt because the phrase “good academic practice” appears nine times in the five-page policy (UF, 2013). This same policy notes that detailing, discussing and disseminating “discipline-specific principles of academic work” is the responsibility of faculties and research centres (UF, 2013, p.1). The policy continues that in general, good academic practice is defined as “working in accordance with accepted rules (*lege artis*)” (UF, 2013, p.1). This definition, and indeed other explanations of the rules of good academic practice in this policy section are open to broad and varied interpretation. If the rules of general good academic practice are to follow the “accepted rules”, what are those accepted rules? The additional information provided here, the term *lege artis*, is defined as, “nach den Regeln der [ärztlichen] Kunst”, or literally, “according to the rules of science”³ (Duden, 1985). The Latin expression, associated particularly with medicine, provides little insight into what the rules of good academic practice are, let alone how it is that these rules are acceptable. In short, the descriptions of good academic practice in this policy raise more questions than answers to the practicalities of plagiarism avoidance through appropriate academic conduct.

By contrast, the policies of JYU and UQ approach the question of appropriate academic practice by specifying what is inappropriate, in some detail. Some of these “bad” academic practices, as they pertain to academic writing, include “padding” academic work with source references that the writer has not truly read (JYU, 2013, p.6), as well as:

- Paraphrasing, summarising or simply rearranging another person's words, ideas, etc. without changing the basic structure and/or meaning of the text;
- Offering an idea or interpretation that is not one's own without identifying whose idea or interpretation it is;
- A ‘cut and paste’ of statements from multiple sources
(UQ Website, 2012, para. 2)

These practices, in the absence of, “appropriate acknowledgement or referencing of the author or source” are deemed examples of plagiarism (UQ Website, para.2). JYU policy expands upon this in its description of “a grey area” between plagiarism and good academic writing” (JYU, 2013, p.7):

...a student may take a paragraph from another work and rewrite it in his/her own words in an essay without adding his/her own ideas, and then report the source appropriately. If a student's essay is only a collection of paragraphs formulated in this manner, it is merely a repetition of other authors' texts written 'in one's own words'. As an academic work, the essay would not substantially differ from what the student would have compiled had he/she used direct quotations in quotation marks one after another. This kind of an essay would hardly meet its general learning targets to develop academic thinking and skills. Often this kind of action indicates disregard for the goals of university studies.

The UQ Website (2012) policy does not explicitly state, unlike the JYU policy, that practices such as a "cut and paste from multiple sources" with source acknowledgement are considered examples of poor (as opposed to outright "bad") academic practice. In this sense, the JYU policy excerpt above excels in the detail it provides when discussing academic practices in writing: It is not merely enough to acknowledge sources adequately through direct quotation, or even paraphrase and acknowledge previous works, without, it is implied, contributing new material. As such, the policy goes beyond defining plagiarism to discuss aspects of originality and academic learning that are expected in this particular context.

The question of good/bad academic practices in writing, and everything that lies in between highlights the role of intertextuality and source acknowledgement in writing, and particularly as it relates to disciplinary writing. Although source acknowledgement appears to be an accepted requirement of academic writing, the amount of detail, let alone the accepted citation style is not always transparent in the policies examined. Although all of the policies are in essence discussing intertextuality when defining plagiarism along the lines of Pecorari's (2002) six elements, by providing the "grey area" example, the JYU policy further defines textual borrowing as an academic practice that transgresses acceptable boundaries and champions the notion of originality above all in academia (JYU, 2013, p. 7). An alternate perspective would view the "grey area" as akin to patchwriting, especially in the case of novice writers.

In reference to teaching good academic practice, the majority of the documents emphasised the need for teaching and research staff to be familiar with and to inform students and novice researchers about good academic practices (HU, n.d.; JYU, 2013; UF, 2013; UQ Guidelines, 2015b; UQ, 2014). However, the policies within these documents contained varying degrees of information as to how this could be implemented on a practical level. For example, at UQ, staff are required to:

- d. set realistic assessment loads and vary assignments and assessment tasks from semester to semester, and design assignments and assessment tasks that encourage original thinking;
 - e. set appropriate conditions for group work and make clear the distinction between group work and individual work.
- (UQ Guidelines, 2015b, p. 1)

Although commitments to educating all about good academic practices are admirable, the lack of detail as to a) what good academic practice constitutes and b) how good academic practice is specifically taught is concerning. Leask (2006) likens the lack of such information, particularly as concerns appropriate academic practice, to playing "an old game with new rules" (p. 190). Without access

to explicit rules, it is difficult, if not impossible to play the game (appropriate academic writing) accurately and well. In the absence of specific instructions, perhaps because these rules are assumed knowledge, writers draw on whatever resources they possess (e.g., past academic writing experiences) in order to keep playing the game. Thus *how* conceptualisations of plagiarism and appropriate academic practices are formed becomes less relevant than the availability and dissemination of explicit instructions as to *what* is appropriate in a particular context at a certain point in time (e.g., within a certain university department this year), and how the defined “good practices” can be achieved by writers.

5 Conclusions

In conclusion, official definitions of plagiarism were found at each of the selected institutions. The documents examined largely corroborated the six elements of plagiarism model (Pecorari, 2002). More specifically, all definitions included detail that corresponded with the first five elements (objects of plagiarism; taken; from a source; by an agent; acknowledgement). It was the sixth element, however, on which the content of the policies diverged: The policies from the University of Freiburg and Henan University were silent on whether plagiarism occurs intentionally or unintentionally. This finding mirrors previous research, in which the issue of intentionality is not always addressed when defining plagiarism, or considered relevant to the definition of plagiarism (e.g., Pecorari, 2001). As distinguishing intention - or not at all - has an impact on whether practices are met with harsher or more lenient consequences, this finding is of importance to both students and staff dealing with plagiarism.

Within the content relating to the six elements definition of plagiarism, some further specific findings must be highlighted. Firstly, specific examples of the “objects of plagiarism” and “source” provided in all definitions suggest well-established institutional understandings of what it is that can be plagiarised and from where these objects come. Furthermore, the content in these elements suggests institutions have incorporated changing notions of text and authorship (e.g., due to evolving publishing practices) into their definitions of plagiarism. Secondly, though mostly geared towards students as the agents of plagiarism, some policies specifically include students as part of a larger academic or university community that are *all* responsible for being aware of and avoiding plagiarism (e.g. HU, n.d.; UF, 2013; UQ, 2014). This finding lends support to Kaktiņš’s (2014) assertion that university plagiarism policies are moving towards a more explicit educative, rather than punitive approach.

The discussions of source acknowledgement (the fifth element) and academic practices in the policies revealed a need to bridge theory (i.e., definitions of plagiarism) and practice (i.e., how to avoid plagiarism). Although some documents give examples of how to avoid plagiarism and bad academic practice through specific referencing and citation techniques, (e.g., JYU, 2013; UQ 2014; UQ Website, 2012), detailed discussion of the practicalities of avoiding plagiarism in academic writing is mostly designated to teaching staff. This is particularly apparent at the University of Freiburg, where the need for source acknowledgement to avoid plagiarism is implied rather than explicitly stated, and the role of staff in conveying this information is heavily emphasised (UF, 2013).

Definitions of plagiarism and related regulations were found at all the institutions targeted, yet there was variation in the accessibility, type and scope of the documents examined. As such, differences in the focus on who commits plagiarism (i.e., the agent) and the amount of discussion dedicated to acknowledgement (i.e., the practicalities of citation and referencing) are not unexpected. Ideally, future analyses would examine a larger corpus of policy documents from target institutions, and group these policies according to type (e.g., general academic integrity policies vs. policies solely focused on plagiarism, university-wide policies vs. discipline-specific policies, policies directed towards students vs. policies directed towards research and teaching staff). Such a categorisation would perhaps better control for the differences and similarities found between cases. The analysis of institutional documents defining plagiarism could also be supplemented by an examination of related national guidelines and laws (e.g., national copyright law), as these likely exert influence over the development of policies in higher education institutions. Lastly, an examination of updated versions of these documents could illustrate the development of how plagiarism is defined within institutions.

In summary, the findings of this multiple case study suggest that the selected universities share a broad consensus on what plagiarism is, yet elements of this consensus diverge, as does the extent to which these elements are explicated in university documents. As a result, detailed individual understandings of what plagiarism constitutes may differ, particularly as concerns the elements of the plagiarism definition and the academic practices surrounding this definition in a particular context. Reflecting on her previous research into institutional definitions of plagiarism, Pecorari (2019) argues that although plagiarism can be robustly defined, dissenting opinions and understandings will persist. For those in higher education, engagement with the specifics of definitions and policies in institutional contexts is essential to further our understanding of plagiarism in academic writing.

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Endnotes

¹ These references to cultural background have been removed from the most current versions of each policy at the University of Jyväskylä.

² Original in italics.

³ My translation. The blanket term “science” is used here to refer to whatever academic discipline one operates in, e.g. medicine, economics, education etc.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Table 1. Sources of plagiarism definitions.

Title of Document (Year)	Document Type	Document Content	Institution (In-text abbreviation)	Country of Origin
Student Integrity and Misconduct – Guidelines (2015b)	University-wide policy for students – interpretative guidelines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guidelines and responsibilities for staff involved in student integrity and misconduct procedures • Guidelines and responsibilities for students involved in student integrity and misconduct procedures 	University of Queensland (UQ Guidelines)	Australia
Student Integrity and Misconduct – Policy (2014)	University-wide policy for students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional commitment to academic integrity • Types of student misconduct (academic, research and general) • Procedures for dealing with student misconduct • Penalties for student misconduct 	University of Queensland (UQ)	Australia
Academic Integrity and Plagiarism (2012)	Plagiarism discussion according to university-wide policy on student advisory website	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional commitment to academic integrity • Examples of writing practices constituting intentional and unintentional plagiarism • Link to institution’s academic integrity tutorial 	University of Queensland (UQ Website)	Australia
Henan University Rules and Regulations on Academic Conduct (No Date)	University-wide policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional commitment to academic integrity • Regulations for scientific research • Academic misconduct • Procedures for dealing with academic misconduct • Penalties for academic misconduct 	Henan University (HU)	China
Code of Conduct for Preventing and Dealing with Academic Fraud and Plagiarism (2013)	University-wide policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional commitment to ethical academic conduct • Research ethics • Academic fraud • Teaching of good academic practice • Plagiarism detection software • Procedures for dealing with academic misconduct • Penalties for academic misconduct 	University of Jyväskylä (JYU)	Finland
Policy on Plagiarism: Language Centre/English Teachers (No Date)	Departmental policy for students participating in English language courses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedures for dealing with plagiarism • Penalties for plagiarism • Links to additional resources about plagiarism 	University of Jyväskylä Language Centre (LC)	Finland
Regulations of the University of Freiburg on Safeguarding Academic Integrity (2013)	University-wide policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional commitment to academic integrity • Good academic practice and its promotion • Academic publishing • Academic misconduct • Procedures for dealing with academic misconduct 	University of Freiburg (UF)	Germany

Table 2. Deductive coding examples.

Document	Code Category	Coded Text
UF, 2013	Object	a copyright work of another person or the significant scientific findings, hypotheses, theories or research methods of others
UQ Website, 2012	Intention to Deceive	Careless or inadequate referencing, or failure to reference (unintentional plagiarism), will be considered "poor academic practice" and a demonstration of carelessness in research and presentation of evidence.

Table 3. Analytic memo examples.

Document	Memo Title	Memo Content
UF, 2013	Lege artis	Accepted rules - according to who? German word - anerkannt According to Wiki "according to the law of art (medicine)" nach den Regeln der [ärztlichen] Kunst (Duden) Is this Latin term then referring to medicine? Western context? Ancient rules?
JYU, 2012	Who is the policy about?	JYU talks about academic community, but only the students are named as the perpetrators of plagiarism, fraud, etc. Teachers, researchers, etc, are positioned (appraised) positively and students negatively as offenders (see Kaktiņš, 2014, p.132). Students (all) are othered

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