

Academic Practices, School Culture and Cheating Behavior



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Preface

In recent years, studies have indicated that there is an alarming increase in cheating behavior among students. In the past, it would have been easy to dismiss these reports as isolated or to look with condescension on a school which had permitted cheating to get so out of control, but not anymore. Newspaper headlines attest to the extensiveness of the problem:

"Students Make The Grade When Subject Is Cheating"
- *Detroit News*, January 23, 1996

"Rise In Cheating Called Response To Fall In Values"
- *USA Today*, August 2, 1995

"Plagiarism Is Rampant, A Survey Finds"
- *New York Times*, April 1, 1990

"4 of 5 Students Admit Cheating"
- Ft. Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel*, October 23, 1993

"Study Says Cheating Has Replaced the 3R's"
- *Chicago Tribune*, November 13, 1992

"Cheating Isn't New, But Now It's A Way Of Life"
- *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1992

"Cheating by Police Alleged on Police Exams"
- *Boston Globe*, April 22, 1989

"Cheating Shocks Pop Warner Nationally"
- *Boston Globe*, October 28, 1990

This study was motivated by my belief that cheating in our schools (and in our society) threatens our social fabric and, consequently, educators must seek to understand the determining factors, and the possible solutions. As well, it was my impression that school honor codes were not deterring cheating among

students. Although honor codes often encompass more extensive behavior, my research became limited to academic cheating, and plagiarism. The wider the definition of honor the more difficult it is to consider the factors which cause and deter the behavior. Consequently, I specifically chose to limit my research to issues of academic integrity.

Initially, I assumed that the decline in student values was the sole reason for the reported rise in cheating behavior. My goal was to contribute to the dialogue on values education, particularly in the private secondary school community. As I set out to understand the causes of cheating and the role which school honor codes played in deterring academic dishonesty, it became apparent from my studies that even though most students believed that cheating was wrong, cheating behavior was often induced by contextual factors. Robert Wicklund, a social psychologist from the University of Texas at Austin, explains that in contrast to my initial assumption, behavior is not always motivated by ethical beliefs:

Psychologists are fond of thinking that humans have internalized a great many of their values and that our behaviors, especially in the moral sphere, are dictated by these internalized values. Psychologists are sometimes right, but at the same time it is easy to point to instances in which values seem to have no bearing on behavior.¹

One of the most compelling studies which influenced my growing perspective was the comprehensive study on cheating behavior among children, conducted by two Yale psychologists, Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May. The Character Education Inquiry gave approximately 10,000 children opportunities to

¹ S. G. West and R.A. Wicklund, "Self-Awareness Theory," in *A Primer of Social Psychological Theories* (California: Brooks/Cole, 1980), 176.

lie, cheat and steal in activities as varied as classroom work, home duties, party games and athletic contests. In spite of the consistency of their self-reported opinions, the inconsistency of the children's responses was striking. This conclusion led Hartshorne and May to develop their theory of "specificity," which posited that honest or dishonest behavior is largely determined by circumstances.²

Diner and Wallbom also sought to test the relationship between stated beliefs and behavior. Each subject was given a test and instructed to stop working after a 5-minute timer bell had rung. The subjects were then left alone. As it was a test of speed, the students could gain an advantage by working beyond the time limit - that is, by cheating. The results gave further evidence that moral beliefs were not strong determinants of moral behavior: 71% of the students who were tested under the standard individual testing procedure cheated.³

I concluded based on these and other studies that moral education was not the sole determinant of ethical behavior in students. Rather, these studies persuaded me that the presence of certain characteristics in a school's community prompts cheating behavior among students, regardless of whether an honor code existed. Nevertheless, an honor code could effectively deter cheating if it interacted with other more positive community traits.⁴

² Walter Mischel, *Personality and Assessment* (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc, 1968), 24.

³ West & Wicklund, 176.

⁴ See W. G. Cambell, *A Comparative Investigation of Students Under An Honor System and a Proctor System in the Same University*, (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press), 1935. Also, R. Canning, "Does An Honor System Reduce Classroom Cheating? An Experimental Answer," *Journal of Experimental Education* 24

This paper seeks to define those characteristics which induce a sub-culture of academic deceit, as well as those attributes which can promote academic integrity. This is not to suggest that cheating is solely a phenomenon of context. Each school must choose those values which it considers most cherished and those values must be taught and reinforced by the interactions, practices, policies, procedures and literature of the community. Finally, in choosing to emphasize the contextual forces at work in cheating behavior, I in no way wish to minimize the student's personal responsibility in choosing to cheat or not to cheat. Ultimately, this is an individual's choice.

Social Factors Influencing Cheating

In the last decade our economy has undergone dramatic changes. "Down-sizing" and economic uncertainties have created a sense of instability. Christopher Lasch observed that "competition (in the business community) now centers, not so much on the desire to excel, as on the struggle to avoid crushing defeat."⁵ These pressures are felt among young people, as well. In a recent article on academic pressure among New York City's private schools, Ralph Gardner observed that:

the grueling (academic) competition has left teenagers, at an age when their idealism and sense of opportunity should be sparkling,

(1956): 291-296. And, J. W. Bowers, *Student Dishonesty and Its Control in College*, (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1964); cited in Donald L. McCabe, "Faculty Responses To Academic Dishonesty: The Influence Of Student Honor Codes," *Research In Higher Education* 34, no. 5, (1993): 649-650.

⁵ Christopher Lasch, *The Minimal Self: Psychic Survival In Troubled Times* (New York: Norton, 1984), 72.

cynical and pessimistic about their future. Rather than rejoicing in the freedom and adventure that college promised even a decade or two ago, they're worried about what's going to happen to them after they graduate.⁶

Academic achievement has become a high stakes competition. Jon S. Katzman, president of Princeton Review, an organization which prepares students to take standardized tests, believes that "ten years ago students were stressed because they wanted to be the winner. Now they are stressed because they don't want to be the loser."⁷

These fears are reflected in the college admission process. Whereas most high school students used to apply to four or five colleges, today most apply to more than ten. While the number of high school students has remained stable, the number of applicants has risen by at least 50% in the last decade.⁸ Presumably, students feel that by applying to more colleges they stand a better chance of being accepted somewhere.

Children of the wealthy bear burdens, as well. In a study on adolescents and alienation done by Raymond Calabrese and John Cochran, it was observed that "affluent adolescents confront intense pressure to succeed, reflect the success image of their parents and maintain an affluent status."⁹ These

⁶ Ralph Gardner, Jr., "Give Me Harvard or Give Me Death," *New York Magazine*, 18 March 1996, 33.

⁷ "Record Number of Applicants Are Reported by the Top Colleges," *New York Times*, 18 February 1996.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Raymond L. Calabrese and John T. Cochran, "The Relationship Of Alienation To Cheating Among A Sample Of American Adolescents," *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 23, no. 2 (Winter 1990): 65.

privileged young people believe that they must choose occupations which befit their social status and they must earn an income which enables them to maintain a lifestyle equivalent to their parents'. At times, they doubt whether these expectations take into account their own interests and desires. These pressures make the affluent adolescent susceptible to feelings of alienation, a desire to withdraw from anxiety producing expectations.¹⁰

The potential for alienation increases when the adolescent runs the risk of failure at an important undertaking. When this occurs, the child begins to consider alternative means by which to succeed. In studies done in each decade over the last thirty years, "fear of failure" and "parents demanding good grades" were consistently scored by students among the top five reasons for cheating.¹¹ Cheating is an example of a type of "anti-social" behavior which affluent adolescents may pursue in an attempt to please their parents and maintain the "success image."

Interestingly, students often perceive the school to be an accomplice in the message that "success" is the preferred value. Situated as they are in the marketplace and vulnerable to the winds of consumerism, independent schools market themselves to families who are willing to pay the high-priced tuition. Consequently, independent schools feel the need to fulfill the expectations of their wealthy constituents. One mother whose daughter was attending a well-regarded independent school said, "Once you're in a (secondary) school

¹⁰ Ibid., 65, 66.

¹¹ Fred Schab, "Schooling Without Learning: Thirty Years of Cheating in High School," *Adolescence* 26, no.104 (Winter 1991): 840

that has a reputation, you have a high expectation." And the father added, "They should be able to get (my daughter) into any institution in the world."¹²

Schools inevitably reflect the values of their constituents. Often without being aware of it, a school can perpetuate a success-is-the-highest-value mentality. In a dramatic illustration of the product of such a value, one student at a highly regarded secondary school in a wealthy suburb vividly described his feelings in an anonymous letter to a local newspaper:

. . . priding itself on being a great prep school, they have created a hellish atmosphere. The past year three to five students have tried to kill themselves and at least four students (that I know of) were institutionalized for mental problems. . . Most of these problems were due to unbearable pressure. This pressure is evident in many facets of the school. What people do for good grades is unbelievable. Obviously, there is much cheating at (school name). As an aware student, I approximate that 95% of the students will cheat without guilt whenever they need something. This habit is something that is taught to them by the school, not dissuaded at all . . .¹³

Are schools unconsciously promulgating the notion that a student's worth is synonymous with achievement? Calabrese and Cochran, the authors of the alienation study, believe that private schools unintentionally promote an ethic which might not be consistent with their stated values:

In this study, it is ironic that those students who were more prone to cheat attend a private religious school whose stated mission is to provide a value structure that clearly delineates right from wrong. It

¹² Gardner, 33.

¹³ Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Just Community Approach to Moral Education in Theory and Practice," in *Moral Education: Theory and Application*, ed. Marvin Berkowitz and Fritz Oser (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum Associates, 1985), 61.

would appear that private religious schools need to come to grips with their mission.¹⁴

Curricular Factors Influencing Cheating Behavior

Educators must consider whether the school curriculum contains characteristics which promote cheating behavior. Many teachers, for example, feel that it is necessary to "cover" all the important topics in their discipline. Often this results in a rapid-fire survey of dates, facts, people, and events.¹⁵ Too much material is covered in too short a time. No doubt, the motives for covering everything of importance are worthy. Howard Gardner has said, "We would all like, as Renaissance men and women, to know everything, or at least believe in the potential of knowing everything, but that ideal is clearly not possible anymore."¹⁶ Attempting to cover everything of importance has little lasting effect; the facts are quickly forgotten and the material often seems irrelevant.

In a study of 6,000 students from 31 colleges and universities, respondents indicated that Business and Engineering courses had the highest rates of cheating. The reasons given by students were the objective (fact-based) nature of the tests and the "bottom-line mentality."¹⁷ Jacqueline Grennon-Brooks sees a correlation between cheating and this type of curriculum:

¹⁴Calabrese and Cochran, 70.

¹⁵ Grant Wiggins, "The Futility of Trying To Teach Everything Of Importance." *Educational Leadership* (Alexandria, VA:ASCD, November 1989): 44 - 59.

¹⁶ Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 10.

¹⁷ Reported by Donald McCabe during a "National Teleconference Addressing Issues of Academic Dishonesty" from Bowling Green State University (29 September 1995).

. . . schools have somehow subordinated the formation of concepts and the building of ideas to high-stakes games of 'right' and 'wrong' answers that produce winners and losers. The system itself gives students the message that it's better to be 'right' than to have interesting ideas. Faced with this sort of pressure, many students - 97% by their own acknowledgment, more than most people in our community expected - choose to copy. We're not condoning cheating, but we do think it's important for educators to explore the dynamics of a system that places so much emphasis on 'rightness' and 'wrongness'.¹⁸

In addition to the propensity to emphasize coverage, the educational system is prone to evaluate students by comparison. Class ranking, national and local percentile rankings on standardized test scores, curve grading, grade point averages, valedictorian and salutatorian are all measures of performance based on competition. Certainly, competition is part of the academic system, but are schools unnecessarily promoting comparisons between students? That the education system selects and sorts is obvious, but many school practices exacerbate student competition and thus promote cheating.

On 29 June 1992 the *Wall Street Journal* published a troubling account of threats, accusations, strife and anger among students, parents, teachers and administrators at Taylor Allderdice High School, one of the finest secondary schools in an affluent suburb of Pittsburgh. The account was a chronicle of a community's rage over student cheating and a school's unconscious promotion of cheating behavior. In the course of the investigation, five seniors described cheating they had witnessed in their various courses:

- **Accounting:** Students paid money for other students' homework.

¹⁸ Jacqueline Grennon-Brooks and Martin G. Brooks, *The Case For The Constructivist Classroom* (Alexandria, VA: ASCD, 1993), 67.

- **Chemistry 1:** Students programmed multiple-choice answers into their calculators and passed them on to students in the next class.
- **Chemistry 1 PSP** (Pittsburgh Scholars Program): Students would pass notes with the answers in class and students in later periods would have cheat sheets with the answers.
- **French 3:** Students who take make-ups in class easily received the answers from other students.
- **Geometry:** Students would tell each other the answers to the problems while taking the test.
- **Physics 1:** Since the tests were "open book," students would copy the answers into their books and give the material to later classes.
- **Spanish 2:** Students would have their books open during the test.
- **US History AP:** When the teacher came late to a test, students ran up to the desk and copied answers from the answer sheet.
- Labs, reports, test and notes from other years were readily sold.¹⁹

Students at Taylor Allderdice High School spoke of the intensely competitive atmosphere. Some of this competition was the result of familial expectations. However, both the existence and absence of specific school policies fostered a climate which allowed the cheating to percolate. An example of this was the bi-annual posting of class ranks and grade point averages which were carried out to the fourth decimal point. According to the teachers at Taylor

¹⁹ Gary Putka, "A Cheating Epidemic At A Top High School Teaches Sad Lessons," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 June 1992, A:1.

Allderdice, "For many students, grades, class rank, and other totems became more sought after than learning."²⁰

In his book, *No Contest*, Alfie Kohn refers to the American propensity to see "abuses," such as cheating, as an individual's problem, rather than to consider "structural explanations for problems."²¹ Kohn believes that a "structural imperative to beat others, invites the use of any means available." Arthur Combs expressed a similar sentiment when he said that, "although it begins with the laudable aim of encouraging production, competition quickly breaks down to the struggle to win at any price."²²

Although American culture is by nature highly competitive and individualized, it is possible to alleviate excess competition among students in our schools. Some schools have done this by refocusing the educational process away from ranking and on to learning. Approximately ten years ago, TheodoreSizer, the former Head of Phillips Andover Academy, began a movement among secondary schools called the Coalition For Essential Schools. In a democracy, says Sizer, all citizens must be able to use their minds well and must be able to function thoughtfully. To get students to be thoughtful citizens is one of the primary goals of the Coalition. The following are some of the common characteristics which define the Coalition For Essential Schools:

- The Essential school should focus on helping adolescents learn to use their minds. The school curriculum should not attempt to be comprehensive.

²⁰ Putka. A4. 1.

²¹ Alfie Kohn, *No Contest: The Case Against Competition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1986), 161.

²² Arthur W. Combs, *Myths In Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1979), 167. cited in Kohn, 162.

- The aphorism "less is more" should dominate. The school's goals should be simple: that each student master a limited number of skills and areas of knowledge.
- The school's goals should apply to all students, although the means to these goals will vary as those students themselves vary.
- Teaching and learning should be personalized to the maximum feasible extent.
- The governing practical metaphor of the school should be the student as worker, rather than the more familiar metaphor of teacher as deliverer of instructional services. The prominent pedagogy will be coaching to provoke students to learn and thus teach themselves.
- The diploma should be awarded upon successful demonstration of mastery for graduation - an "exhibition." This exhibition by the student will demonstrate his or her grasp of the central skills and knowledge of the school's program. The diploma is awarded when earned.
- The tone of the school should stress values of unanxious expectation.²³

When recently asked about cheating behavior among students in Coalition Schools, Dr. Sizer answered, "It's impossible."²⁴ Although he was referring primarily to the fact that students could not cheat because they are required to demonstrate their learning, other characteristics of the Coalition's curriculum are deterrents to cheating, as well. Built upon the characteristics of "unanxious expectation," "less is more," "personalized learning," and "the student

²³ Theodore R. Sizer, "Diverse Practice, Shared Ideas: The Essential School," in *Reorganizing For Learning: Toward the 21st Century*, ed. Herbert J. Walberg and John Lane (Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals. 1984).

²⁴ I asked Dr. Sizer this question when he visited Teachers College on 26 February 1996.

as worker," the Coalition's approach also takes away the motive to cheat. Students in Coalition Schools report a much higher motivation in their school work, a clear understanding of the relevance of the material studied, and a close accountability for learning by their teachers.

Although there are fine independent schools among the membership rolls of the Coalition, not all independent schools will wish to adopt all the characteristics of the Coalition Schools. Nevertheless, independent schools can learn a great deal from the Coalition's approach to teaching and learning. Independent schools could be less teacher-centered, for example. Giving students more opportunities to explore their interests and work cooperatively in group research teams are just a couple of the methods worth pursuing. As well, who can say whether allowing students to interact more thoroughly with fewer concepts, works of literature or periods of history is less intellectually rigorous than surveying a wide breadth of material superficially? Having students demonstrate their comprehension of the material in a variety of expressions is no less valid than continually measuring students' performance with pencil and paper tests. And lastly, when traditionally fragmented disciplines are joined together in co-curricular courses or interdisciplinary courses, students begin to see the connections between events in history, facts, concepts, and movements. Seeing connections is more cognitively engaging, which makes students less tempted to look for academic shortcuts. This makes the learning experience that much more effective and relevant.

In addition to considering the characteristics of the Coalition's curriculum, schools can conceive of ways of addressing the excess competition which exists in American schools. In one of the few studies done on cheating behavior in a cross-cultural setting, Ellis Evans, Delores Craig and Gerd Mietzel determine that

German students attending Gymnasium indicate significantly less cheating behavior than United States and Costa Rican students.²⁵ The authors conclude that:

If a more cooperative orientation to academics exists in Gymnasium schools, coupled with an evaluation system not as strongly driven by comparative achievement standards (as curve grading), we should expect the cheating behavior to be less salient than, say, in typical American classrooms where students compete more individually for grades.²⁶

Collaboration encourages cooperation, and cooperation not only teaches important social skills, but also deters competitiveness, which is known to be one of the most commonly cited causes of cheating.

The Urban School of San Francisco, a coeducational secondary school of 230 students, has taken the concern about the unhealthiness of student competition seriously. Grades at the Urban School are recorded and transcripts maintained for purposes of college admissions, but students and parents do not see them. Instead, they receive narrative evaluations every six weeks. The school calendar is divided into three 12-week trimesters. The mission is to "ignite a passion for learning and to inspire students to become self-motivated, enthusiastic participants in their education." The Urban School does not believe that grades provide a good source of long-term motivation for learning. The competition between students for grades, the School believes, diminishes interest in learning itself. Finally, the Urban School does not give any awards or

²⁵ Ellis D. Evans, Delores Craig, and Gerd Mietzel, "Adolescents' Cognitions and Attributions for Academic Cheating: A Cross National Study," A paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (Seattle, WA, 18 - 20 April 1991). ERIC Reproduction Document: ED335612.

²⁶ Ibid., 22.

prizes during the year or at graduation and does not have an honor roll. "Although a compromise, our grading policy is effective and does reduce the level of academic competition between students," says Mark Salskind, a teacher at the Urban School. "We make every effort to get students engaged in what they are learning for authentic reasons."²⁷

Generally, schools are reluctant to consider change, especially when students seem to be graduating to well-regarded colleges. Sometimes, however, when it is obvious that a problem exists, schools will consider adaptations. Today, there are alarming statistics regarding student willingness to engage in self-centered and unethical behavior. For the student, most cheating begins in high school, and continues or increases in college. Moreover, the cheating behavior continues into the graduate's professional career. For example, it was recently learned that most business executives are willing to commit fraud in order to advance their own careers.²⁸ Schools must act to halt this downward ethical spiral. One way to do this is to consider adaptations in teaching methods which would make use of more student-centered learning, cooperative studies, alternative forms of assessment, and applications of knowledge. Complemented with the traditional approaches to teaching long embraced by independent schools, these alterations will thwart cheating behavior and may even enhance the learning process.

Defining Academic Integrity

²⁷I wish to thank Mark Salskind for informing me about the Urban School of San Francisco's policies over the ISED List Serve.

²⁸Dawn Blalock, "For Many Executives, Ethics Appears To Be Write Off," *Wall Street Journal*, 26 March 1996, C1.

Academic integrity is ethical behavior most visibly expressed by respecting the value of words, thoughts, images and ideas; as well, it includes an understanding of the principles of ownership with respect to words, thoughts, and ideas. Schools are places where ideas and creativity are highly valued. Words and symbols are the means by which these processes are expressed. Dean Kathleen Deignan, associate dean of students at Princeton University, made this point while visiting one independent school. "Just as money is the stock and trade of the investor or entrepreneur, so words are the stock and trade of the educator. They are not something to be taken lightly."²⁹

We express the sacredness of words and symbols when we emphasize the study of great works of art, history, literature, mathematics, religion and science. Harold Bloom's book, *The Western Canon*, underscored this point when it borrowed the theological term "canon" to highlight the significance of notable western literature.³⁰ Historically, the Christian church has referred to the Canon exclusively as that corpus of works which has been believed to be Divinely inspired, otherwise known as *Scripture*.

In order to respect works of literature and assign ownership to them, the wisdom of the ages has handed down to us an assumed code of ethics and a system of notations and citations. Unfortunately, many students are ignorant of the guidelines pertaining to academic integrity and even when they do understand they attribute differing values to their importance. In "*Student*

²⁹ Daniel R. Heishman, "Is There Anything More Important Than Honor?" *St. Alban's Bulletin* (Spring 1995), 18.

³⁰ Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Javonovich, 1994).

Cheating In High School: A Case of Moral Reasoning vs. 'Fuzzy Logic', " a study by Rose McLaughlin and Steven Ross, students were asked to identify the seriousness of different types of academic dishonesty. The number 5 equals most serious and 0 equals not serious.³¹

	Behavior	Serious
1	Copying someone else's homework or term paper	3.9
2	Copying during an exam	3.6
3	Looking at notes during a test	3.3
4	Writing a report for someone	3.3
5	Allowing another student to copy an answer	3.2
6	Arranging to give or receive answers by signals	3.1
7	Finding a copy of an exam in the trash and memorizing the answers	2.9
8	Asking someone for a test answer	2.8
9	Giving someone a test answer	2.8
10	Getting answers from someone who has already taken the test	2.4
11	Allowing someone to copy homework	2.1
12	Using old test papers as a study guide	1.8
13	Copying an answer left by mistake on the chalkboard	1.6
14	Using old test papers that the teacher provides as a study guide	1.5
15	Using memory devices, not written, as an aid to answer test questions	1.5
16	Studying notes taken by someone else	1.4

Although it is difficult to discern a pattern in these scores, the most important conclusion of the study was the discovery that generally the less serious a behavior was judged by students, the more likely they were to view it as acceptable and the more commonly they engaged in it.³²

³¹ Rose D. McLaughlin and Steven M. Rose, "Student Cheating in High School: A Case of Moral Reasoning vs. 'Fuzzy Logic'," in *The High School Journal* (February/March 1989), 100.

³² *Ibid.*, 97.

Ellis Evans and Delores Craig also uncovered student misunderstandings about cheating behavior. For example, "student exchange of test information" (between periods) and "intentional absence from a scheduled test without a legitimate reason" were not considered inappropriate. It was also learned that plagiarism was widely misunderstood among students. Paraphrasing another author's work without any type of crediting was not identified by many students as a form of academic dishonesty.³³ This data points to the need for more education on the definitions of cheating, a systematic training about the mechanics of referencing and explanations as to why the different types of cheating are wrong.

In Florida, a high school teacher came to the conclusion that her students were unable to tell right from wrong with regards to a variety of academic integrity issues. Almost half the students surveyed, for example, believed that it was not wrong to let a friend copy homework. Forty-six percent of the students said it is okay to copy when a test is too difficult. Forty-seven percent said it is okay to copy when a test is unfair.³⁴ Consequently, as part of her graduate work in education, Gaye Mouritzen developed a twelve-week teaching unit that used literature to teach moral lessons and an extensive lessons on the mechanics of writing a research paper. In her account of the program, Mouritzen wrote:

For an English course, it was obvious that one area to be considered was plagiarism. In the particular work setting it was felt that often the students did not accomplish what was expected because they did not know how to proceed, and someone

³³ Evans and Craig, 47 - 48.

³⁴ Gaye S. Mouritzen, "Increasing Understanding of Right and Wrong in Relation to Cheating Through the Curriculum of High School English," 1992: Practicum I Report, Nova University, Ed.D. Program in Child and Youth Studies.

assumed they did. The writer felt that was true in the composition of reports; lack of knowledge in procedures, as well as in rules of authorship, easily leads to plagiarism.³⁵

We cannot assume that students understand plagiarism or even the proper use of citations, quotations, and paraphrasing. The process of digesting a variety of readings and synthesizing material into one's own thoughts and words without paraphrasing the author is a higher order cognitive skill which even educators find challenging.

Educators must include lessons on the mechanics of academic integrity in their curriculums. Students should be required to own a copy of a reliable age-appropriate reference guide, such as Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual For Writers* or the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. There are other reference books which might be more age-appropriate to the secondary school student. Mouritzen used a paper published by Mary Anne Saunders entitled "The Fail-Safe Micro Research Paper,"³⁶ which she claimed served as a "tour guide" for her students leading them through the process one step at a time.

Janice Newton, a teacher at York University, has also given a considerable amount of thought to the problems which students face in writing:

When I first required my students to buy the *MLA Handbook*, I discovered many had no idea how to use it. Several students took the text book approach - starting on page one, hoping as they read to find the answer they were looking for. . . Now I require them to bring it to class and I explain how to use the index, how the

³⁵ Ibid., 30

³⁶ Mary Anne Saunders, *The Fail-Safe Micro Research Paper*. Washington D.C.: Washington Area Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1986, (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED274202). Also see Roberta H. Markman, Peter Markman and Marie L. Waddell, *10 Steps In Writing the Research Paper* (New York: Barron's Educational Services, Inc. 1989); cited in Mouritzen.

different sections work, and highlight the most useful sections so they can readily find what they need.³⁷

Having closely monitored students and discussed academic violations with them, Newton believes that plagiarism has some common causes: sloppy research methods, reliance on inappropriate reference guides, misunderstanding of the logic and rules of referencing and weak essay writing skills."³⁸ Like Gaye Mouritzen, Janice Newton has built instruction in these areas into her curriculum.

Of course it is difficult to devote a great deal of time and energy to teaching the mechanics of academic integrity without also explaining the ethics of academic integrity. Teachers can not assume that students know or accept these ethics. They must present a reasoned explanation as to why cheating and plagiarism are harmful. It deprives the student of the opportunity for intellectual growth. It spoils the student-teacher relationship. It is unfair to others who do not cheat. In *Educating For Character*, Thomas Lickona defines five reasons why cheating is wrong:

- It will ultimately lower your self-respect, because you can never be proud of anything you got by cheating.
- Cheating is a lie, because it deceives other people into thinking you know more than you do.
- Cheating violates the teacher's trust that you will do your own work. Furthermore, it undermines the whole trust relationship between the teacher and his or her class.
- Cheating is unfair to all people who aren't cheating.

³⁷ Janice Newton, "Plagiarism and the Challenge of Essay Writing: Learning From Our Students," Department of Political Science, York University.

³⁸ Ibid.

- If you cheat in school now, you'll find it easier to cheat in other situations later in life - perhaps even in your closest personal relationships.³⁹

Another way to make known to students the reality of academic integrity is to expose them to the consequences of violating this principle. For example: Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware was forced to withdraw as a Presidential candidate when he plagiarized portions of a speech; a high school student who hired another student to take his SAT test was indicted on charges of criminal perjury;⁴⁰ the career of Bruno Bettelheim, a pioneer in treating mentally disturbed children, was marred when it was alleged that he copied portions of another scholar's work;⁴¹ despite his pleas that his errors were "inadvertent," the *Chicago Sun-Times* dismissed a columnist when it was learned that he plagiarized two stories.⁴²

In the past, instruction in the mechanics and ethics of academic integrity has been taught out of necessity, as a means to an end, usually as an appendage to an annual term paper. Today, however, nothing short of a long-term cross-curriculum strategy to teach principles and practices of academic integrity will suffice.

³⁹ Thomas Lickona, *Educating For Character: How Our Schools Can Teach Respect and Responsibility*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1991), 77.

⁴⁰ "Cheating On College Entrance Test Leads To Criminal Perjury," *New York Times*, 20 June 1992, A11.

⁴¹ "Bettelheim Accused of Plagiarism," *Washington Post*, 7 February 1991. B10.

⁴² "Sun-Times Cuts Columnist on Plagiarism Accusation," *Wall Street Journal*, 13 June 1990, B6.

Peer Influence In Establishing Community Values

In seeking to influence adolescents, the greatest challenge is the sub-culture which often binds teenagers in a code of secrecy; some have referred to this as "the student code." In the Evans and Craig study, for example, most students indicated that they rarely complain to peers who cheat and they almost never report other students who they have witnessed cheating.⁴³ Schab's thirty year study of cheating behavior revealed not only a small percentage of adolescents who expressed a willingness to report cheating, but also a declining willingness to report cheating:⁴⁴

	1969	1979	1989
Would you report a friend you saw cheating?	12.4%	7.9%	4.3%
Would you report a person not your friend?	20.8%	20.8%	16.9%

One theory of social psychology which demonstrates the profound influence of peers in molding adolescent social behavior is social learning theory.⁴⁵ Building on social learning theory, Ronald Akers has developed a theory of deviant behavior which illustrates that rather than being influenced by the "threat of formal punishment from conventional society," the deviant draws

⁴³ Evans and Craig, 49.

⁴⁴ Schab, 843.

⁴⁵ Rolf E. Muuss, "Social Learning Theory's Contribution to an Understanding of Adolescence," in *Theories of Adolescence*, 5th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1988), 279 - 299.

his/her support from a "primary group."⁴⁶ In other words, when they cheat, students have no difficulty finding support for their behavior. It is easily rationalized as acceptable. In fact, statistics indicate that cheating in schools is not deviant, it is normative. It is the non-cheater who is in the minority.

Consequently, the greatest challenge posed to schools in attempting to deter cheating is inspiring student loyalty to the school community. The most effective means of inspiring loyalty is by giving students a stake in shaping the community. Professor Donald McCabe of Rutgers University found similar sentiments expressed by students at a conference on academic integrity. Their comments suggested that "the real key to building and sustaining an atmosphere of student integrity on any campus may be involving all members of the campus community - students, faculty, and administration."⁴⁷ These notions of involvement are not new. Writing in 1916, John Dewey said a democratic society "must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social change without introducing disorder." ⁴⁸

Built upon Dewey's notions of school democracy,⁴⁹ Lawrence Kohlberg has written extensively and applied these principles in his "Just Community"

⁴⁶ Ronald L. Akers, *Deviant Behavior A Social Learning Approach* 3rd ed., (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1985); cited in James W. Michaels and Terance D. Miethe, "Applying Theories of Deviance to Academic Cheating," *Social Science Quarterly* 70, no. 4, (December 1989), 872-873.

⁴⁷ McCabe, 656.

⁴⁸ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, (New York: Macmillan Free, 1966), 115; cited in Michael W. Apple and James A. Beane, eds., *Democratic School*, (Alexandria, VA: ASCD, 1995), v.

⁴⁹ Dewey, 82 - 83; cited in Kohlberg, 38-39.

schools. Kohlberg's idea was to nurture shared ownership by involving students in the definition of and enforcement of community values. In such a school, the teacher serves as an "advocate for what (they) hope is the right answer" in addressing moral dilemmas. But, most importantly, everyone in the school seeks to put the good of the community ahead of personal interests.⁵⁰

In reading Kohlberg's accounts of the Scarsdale Alternative School and the Cambridge Cluster School, one is struck by the adolescent urge to *belong*. When given the opportunity to be involved, the school community becomes very important and students are willing to put aside other allegiances for the good of the group. Much of this resulted from the value which the school placed in the students' contributions. From the start, students understood that they were responsible for the community's well-being, just as much as the faculty or administration.

At the Scarsdale Alternative School, students discussed the problem of cheating. This followed two incidents of cheating which had come before "the fairness committee." The committee's recommendation was to hold an open school discussion on cheating. In the discussion, students had no difficulty understanding that cheating hurt their community by destroying the trust of their teachers. Also, students expressed the impact which cheating behavior was having among the students:

It really bothers me to have cheating going on because its intruding on my rights. If there's cheating, for the people who do work hard it makes them seem like they're not working hard because others are copying papers and get the same grades and do nothing. If there was a rule which said we realize cheating is wrong, and it's your

⁵⁰ Ibid., 61.

obligation not to cheat, it would make everyone feel the obligation.⁵¹

Following the discussion there was almost universal opposition to cheating within the school community. The events which occurred at the Scarsdale Alternative School were paralleled at the Cambridge Cluster School. In this case, however, teacher and student advocacy played an important role in developing a "collective norm" against cheating.

No doubt, schools will differ in the degrees to which they feel comfortable involving students in the process of establishing a code of ethics. At Saint Andrew's School in Florida, for example, two student leaders advocated an Honor Code. As it was established, the student Honor Board was given the role of writing the By-laws, selecting new Honor Board members and promoting and enforcing the honor code.

Placed in the context of a discussion about honor codes, what all this says is that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to establish an honor code, or any effort to deter cheating for that matter, if students are not permitted to play a role in developing the solution. Evans and Craig speak of the weight of the communities attitudes in determining the potential success of an Honor Code.

"Intuitively, beliefs about the efficacy of strategies to reduce or prevent cheating may predispose success or failure. For example, if students believe that an honor system to promote academic honesty 'won't work,' chances for success of the system introduced by their teachers may be jeopardized from the outset."⁵²

⁵¹ Ibid., 64.

⁵² Evans and Craig, 51.

Dr. Gary Pavela, the director of judicial programs at the University of Maryland and the past president of the National Center for Academic Integrity, fully supports the notion of student participation in formulating an Honor Code:

Such balancing and sharing of authority is premised upon the assumption that control of academic dishonesty will not be accomplished by threat of punishment alone. Ultimately, the most effective deterrent will be a commitment to academic integrity within the student peer group. Only by giving students genuine responsibility in a collaborative effort with faculty and staff can such a commitment be fostered and maintained.⁵³

Trusting students to participate in the establishment, promotion and enforcement of community values is a difficult challenge. Traditionally, schools have been hierarchical with students being at the bottom of the triangle. But educators are realizing that when trusted and when given an opportunity to participate in the vision of the school, students have a great deal to contribute. Moreover, this participation has had other positive consequences. Namely, the adolescent desire to belong has results in expressions of loyalty to the school, rather than the sub-group. The more of this type of loyalty which we can inspire, the less cheating behavior we will see.

The Teacher and Academic Integrity

By their attitudes and actions, teachers will affect cheating behavior in their classrooms. This was the conclusion of the Evans and Craig study, which

⁵³ Gary Pavela, "Code of Academic Integrity," in *Academic Integrity and Student Development: Legal Issues and Policy Perspectives*, William Kibler and others in The Higher Administration Series, ed. Donald D. Gehring and D. Parker Young College (Administrations Publications, 1988), 69.

evaluated the attitudes and perceptions of students and teachers about cheating behavior. Teachers and students agreed that teachers who were vague in explaining the relevance and/or purpose of learning can unknowingly promote cheating behavior.⁵⁴ When students have no idea why they are studying the things they are studying, or the topic is perceived as inapplicable to their lives, students will interpret the exercise as a waste of time. Consequently, they will look for shortcuts. In addition, students and teachers agreed that the number of grading opportunities offered in a course can affect cheating. When students were evaluated based on only one or two exams, there was a higher likelihood of cheating.

The study also revealed differences in student and teacher perception with regard to the importance of "teacher characteristics" in affecting cheating behavior among students. Students believed that teachers who were "unfriendly, boring or dull and have high expectations are more likely to encounter classroom cheating."⁵⁵ Teachers, on the other hand, did not recognize such personality characteristics as having an impact on cheating behavior. Finally, students also expressed that teachers who require students to be accountable for their knowledge and apply their learning to real-life situations actually discouraged cheating.

As part of the study teachers and students were asked to identify classroom management techniques which would, in their opinion, reduce

⁵⁴ Ellis Evans and Delores Craig, "Teacher and Student Perceptions of Academic Cheating in Middle and Senior High Schools," in *Journal of Educational Research* 84, n.1, (September/October 1990), 49.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

cheating behavior. The following is a list of the characteristics most often identified:

- Course syllabi which define expectations and course objectives
- Utilization of daily lesson plans with stated objectives
- Some assessment by methods other than test and quiz
- Elucidating the relevance of the lesson
- Teacher communication with students in academic difficulty
- Recreating tests each time the course is taught
- Providing ample advance notice and exact coverage of exams
- Seating assignments
- Close teacher supervision during tests
- Alternating test forms with scrambled number items
- Use of different but equivalent make-up tests⁵⁶

Regarding the role of teachers in the detection of cheating, there is some evidence in the Evans and Craig study that teachers do not take the problem of cheating as seriously as students. One theory to explain this disparity is the possibility that students exaggerate the cheating problem. This is unlikely, however, because all studies indicate that more than half of secondary school students have cheated and numerous studies project that more than three-fourths of secondary school students have cheated. For example, in 1993 *Who's Who Among High School Students* conducted one of the largest polls of adolescent leaders and high achievers ever undertaken.⁵⁷ Of the 5,000 students selected, 1,957 responded. All students surveyed had A or B averages and 98% planned to attend college. Paul Krouse, the director of *Who's Who Among High School Students*, reported, "Cheating is pervasive among the nation's top high

⁵⁶ Ibid., 49.

⁵⁷ "24th Annual Survey of High Achievers," *Who's Who Among American High School Students*, (Educational Communications, Lake Forest, IL, 1993).

school students. The results indicated that nearly 80% admitted to some form of dishonesty, such as copying someone else's homework or cheating on an exam."⁵⁸ Of the private school students, nearly 60% indicated that in their schools cheating is either "fairly common" or "everybody does it." Therefore, it would be difficult to conclude that student respondents are exaggerating the cheating problem.

Although it would be unfair to generalize about teachers' realizations of the seriousness of the cheating problem from one study, it must be pointed out that teacher vigilance is crucial in controlling cheating. If teachers do not realize the seriousness of the cheating problem, they will not be as attentive as they need to be in order to thwart cheating. In addition, they might not be as keen to adopt practices or policies which could effectively thwart cheating, such as the ones listed above.

McCabe's study of nearly 800 college professors at 16 different institutions located throughout the United States indicated that college professors were reluctant to report cheating incidents.⁵⁹ Of course, this might not be true of independent school teachers, who are more legally protected and face less threatening circumstances than teachers in public high schools and colleges. Nevertheless, at any level of education, to suspect a student of cheating is to be potentially drawn into a process which, at best, is awkward.

Nevertheless, studies in deterrence theory indicate that as the risk of getting caught rises, the amount of cheating declines.⁶⁰ A study entitled "Fear

⁵⁸ "4 of 5 Students Admit Cheating," *Sun-Sentinel*, (Ft. Lauderdale, FL), 20 October 1993, 5a.

⁵⁹ McCabe, 653-654.

⁶⁰ Jack Gibbs, *Crime, Punishment and Deterrence* (Amsterdam: Elsevier. 1975);

and the Student Cheater," conducted by Tittle and Rowe, revealed that too much trust and familiarity in a classroom environment could lead to higher levels of cheating. The most salient factor in reducing cheating in this study was the fear of getting caught and punished.⁶¹

Unfortunately, cheating is becoming so sophisticated that it is difficult to detect. In a newsgroup discussion on the Internet sponsored by one of the largest manufacturers of hand-held calculators, students were sharing ideas on the best ways to cheat using current hand-held technology. The following is the text from one of the entries:

Concerning teachers clearing memory before test, just write a memory clearing simulation program. I had a bunch of formulas I needed for an Algebra test stored in a program. The I wrote a program that would simulate almost every function after [2ND] [MEM]. I even had a blinking cursor. The only problem I had was with Page Up and Page Down and having two menus at the bottom of the screen. When the teacher started around the room clearing memories, I went ahead and executed my program, doing a fake total memory clear. When she came around, she saw the memory cleared, defaults set screen, and went on to the next person. What a dumbass.⁶²

It is no secret that young people, in general, are more technologically sophisticated than most adults. As technology plays more of a role in cheating, teachers will have more difficult detecting it. At Taylor Allderdice High School, where cheating ran rampant, some teachers reported being "demoralized" by

cited in Michaels and Miethe, 871.

⁶¹ C.R. Tittle and A.R. Rowe, "Fear and the Student Cheater," *Change*. 6 (3), 1974. 47 - 48; cited in William Kibler and Brent Paterson, "Strategies to Prevent Academic Dishonesty," in Kibler, 23.

⁶² Reported over the ISED List Serve, 5 February 1995 by Wayne Murrah.

cheating, others referred to being "deceived on a scam level." The newly appointed co-principal made a difficult admission when he said, "What's happened in the past is that we've allowed these kids to outsmart us, and that's not acceptable."⁶³

There can be a silver lining in the dark cloud of cheating, that is, if we view it as an expression of a deeper problem. Although the motives for cheating are complex, one cause may have something to do with the way we teach. Looked at from a different perspective, can we be witnessing a type of protest movement? Could it be that students are asking for new and different approaches to teaching and learning? If the primary motive in education is to challenge the student to think, to develop habits of mind which place inquiry as the highest educational priority, perhaps we are not "educating" in the most effective manner.

One school which has revamped teaching and learning is Central Park East Secondary School (CPESS) in New York City. At CPESS the entire curriculum revolves around five essential questions: Whose viewpoint is being described? What evidence is there? How is this connected to other things? What are the alternatives? And, how is this relevant? The school's founder, Deborah Meier, speaks of developing habits of skepticism and empathy in the student.⁶⁴

Other educators have written extensively on our understanding of student learning. Grant Wiggins has exposed some of the problems with traditional methods of student assessment. Wiggins challenges teachers to practice assessment, which is more closely aligned with the essential questions of the

⁶³ Putka, A4.

⁶⁴ This was said during her visit to the Klingenstein Center on 1 February 1995.

course.⁶⁵ Heidi Hayes Jacobs' work on interdisciplinary curriculum challenges teachers to find the connections between the normally fragmented disciplines. Interdisciplinary curriculum challenges us to utilize more diverse forms of assessing student knowledge, such as the production of a video, a photographic essay, a book of poetry, a published article or editorial, a speech or debate, a series of diagrams, the construction of a model, etc.⁶⁶

Another example of educational reform is the "Standards" developed by the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), which enable students to make the connections between content and real-world dilemmas. Karen Dee Michalowicz, the Upper School Mathematics Chair at Langley School, utilizes the math standards in her classroom. Her response to the crafty student who tricked his Algebra teacher by programming his calculator was as follows:

I can't help but believe that a student who is so capable in using technology, as evidence in the posting above, couldn't ace an Algebra test. Also, I find when I prepare a test with calculator use, I emphasize the problem solving aspect, not the calculation. Those real world applications which we are encouraged by Standards to employ in our classes actually defeat the need to cheat in classes, or don't provide the opportunity to cheat.⁶⁷

It is not the intent of this paper to introduce or review the various educational reform movements. However, independent school teachers can revitalize the classroom experience in such a way that students will see the

⁶⁵ Grant Wiggins, "A True Test: Toward More Authentic and Equitable Assessment," *Phi Delta Kappan* (May 1989): 703 - 713.

⁶⁶ taken from the notes of TY4824, Interdisciplinary Curriculum: Design and Implementation, a course given at Teachers College by Heidi Hayes Jacobs.

⁶⁷ ISED List Serve - 5 February 1995.

relevance and importance of their learning and the self-defeating nature of cheating.

The role of teachers in the discipline process is also an important topic. In many schools teachers are encouraged to deal with cheating incidents on their own and many teachers enjoy this autonomy. However, it is also problematic in that it leads to inconsistent enforcement and students might not have the opportunity to defend themselves before an impartial judge. Clearly, this is the advantage of a formal school procedure so common to honor codes. Although the teacher relinquishes some autonomy, the whole community benefits from the sense of fairness.

A McCabe study learned that teachers at colleges with honor codes were almost two times more likely to report suspected incidents of cheating than at schools without honor codes. There is a positive correlation between faculty belief in the honor code's processes and their higher willingness to report.⁶⁸ When teachers believe in the system, they are much more likely to use the system. Conversely, when teachers doubt the judiciousness of the system or the effectiveness of the process, they tend to take matters into their own hands or ignore the incident altogether. Again, although this study was conducted among college professors, the logic of the conclusions are such that it is difficult to imagine that the principle doesn't hold for secondary school teachers as well.

In order to enhance student responsibility, faculty are often excluded from serving on school Honor Boards. I believe there should be faculty representation on the Honor Board. There are some risks, however. Faculty can dominate discussions in a student-faculty committee and alienate student members. A

⁶⁸ McCabe, 654.

faculty presence can also change the perceptions of an Honor Board among students. However, the advantages of a faculty presence outweighs the disadvantages: one, faculty have a great deal of wisdom and experience from which the Board would benefit; two, that both faculty and students are victims in a distrustful community is obvious; three, faculty must deal with the academic ramifications of a Board's decision in the classroom; if there is no faculty representation on the honor board this could lead to divisiveness in the community; and, finally, students, faculty and administration are collaborators in establishing a quality of life in the school.

Teachers play a crucial role in the prevention, detection and punishment of cheating. Classroom management, teaching methodology, teacher vigilance, and enforcement are all crucial factors. Although it was not my intention to speculate on the role of the teacher in inspiring moral behavior, it is difficult not to mention it. Anecdotally, we have all heard hundreds of students speak of the moral impact which various teachers have had on their lives. To speak of the potential impact of teachers as only being in management and methodology is to do a disservice to the teaching profession. Adolescents are inspired by the integrity of their teachers and they intuitively know when a teacher has integrity.

The School Ethos and Academic Integrity

In her book, *The Good High School*, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot has observed that "good schools" have an ideological core.⁶⁹ This means that there are a few core values which have become embodied in the ethos of the school.

⁶⁹ Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, *The Good High School: Portraits of Character and Culture*, (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 322.

These core values are verbally reinforced and consciously or unconsciously they influence behavior and policies at the school. For example, it was reported that in the spring of 1992 an accrediting team arrived to Roxbury Latin in Boston. In the course of the school's evaluation, 27 students from grades 7 through 12 were asked, what do you think is Roxbury Latin's philosophy of education? The student responses were remarkable consistent: the School is most concerned about what type of people we are becoming. Apparently, this was the message which the Headmaster delivered each year on Opening Day to the new students. Moreover, somehow this message became repeatedly affirmed throughout their careers at Roxbury Latin.⁷⁰ Roxbury Latin is an example of a core ethic becoming embodied in the life of a school.

As I have implied throughout the course of this paper, academic integrity cannot be viewed solely as a program or policy which is limited to a set of disciplinary guidelines or a set of procedures which are practiced when a violation occurs. Although academic integrity was previously defined specifically as practices and ethics which pertain exclusively to respecting the words, images, ideas, and thoughts of others, the notion of academic integrity can also be viewed in a wider context as a community ethic. From this perspective academic integrity becomes synonymous with honor. Within the context of a community, honor is a virtue which permeates all practices, interactions, assumptions, and interpersonal relationships in the school.

Presuming that honor is part of a school's ideological core, a school would seek to be honorable in all its practices, policies and interactions. This commitment to honor would result in a community-wide self-analysis . Questions

⁷⁰ Kevin Ryan, "Mining The Values In The Curriculum," *Educational Leadership* 51, no.3, (Alexandria VA: ASCD, November 1993): 18.

such as: Are all members of the community afforded equal respect? Are salary structures equitable? Are assignments of financial aid fair? Are stated grading policies practiced? Are students judged by standards which the adults adhere to? Are mistakes admitted, and corrected? would define this probing process of inquiry. In essence I am referring to what has become known as "the hidden curriculum," those unspoken and unpublished behaviors, sometimes unrealized, which a community practices. To adopt an honor code is to be willing to identify and critique the community's assumptions, ethic and behaviors.

If we wish to instill in our students a commitment to academic integrity, we are faced with a challenging task which will require all community members to examine their own lives as well as the institution's behavior. To view a traditional honor code as a panacea to the problem of cheating is to underestimate the causes of cheating behavior. The causes are complex and multifaceted and we will never completely eradicate all cheating behavior. We stand a better chance of influencing our community when we approach the problem from different directions. I have suggested a review of academic policies which might aggravate competition. I have referred to various educational reform movements which seem to be inspiring a genuine student desire to learn. I have named numerous classroom techniques which thwart cheating. However, these practices will sound empty and hollow if a school is not willing to be honorable to the core.

Revisiting Moral Education

At the outset I referred to the fact that the primary focus of my research was directed at contextual factors which influence cheating behavior. However,

before educators can move ahead with confidence and certitude in addressing cheating behavior, and before we can stand up to its pervasiveness, we must recommit ourselves to the instruction of ethics. For the past few decades schools have manifested a reluctance to guide and direct. This is a wholly new phenomenon. As far back as recorded history will take us, teachers were viewed as moral guides. Instruction was viewed largely as a means to influence character. Only recently has education excluded moral instruction and emphasized cognition.⁷¹ Much of this transformation came as a result of a growing belief in the centrality of the individual.

The roots of this mentality are legion, but it came to prominence in American culture during the 1960's. In curriculum form, its most visible symbol was the "Situation Ethics" or "Values Clarification" movement.⁷² Shedding the shackles of authoritarianism, teachers, administrators and schools (albeit our society) developed an "I have no right to tell you what's right or wrong" ethic. This "value neutral" approach became a conscious and subconscious force in the classroom and on the campus

In their chapter entitled "Finding Oneself," the authors of the national best-seller, *Habits of the Heart*, reason through the implications of a moral order where each individual determines her/his own ethic.

If the self is defined by its ability to choose its own values, on what grounds are those choices made? One's own idiosyncratic preferences are their own justification. Now, if selves are defined by their preferences, but those preferences are arbitrary, then each self constitutes its own moral universe, and there is finally no way

⁷¹ Paul Vitz, Professor of Psychology at New York University, reminded me of this in a telephone conversation on 31 March 1996.

⁷² Lickona, 7 - 12.

to reconcile conflicting claims about what is good. In the absence of any objectifiable criteria of right and wrong, good or evil, the self and its feelings become our only moral guide. What kind of world is inhabited by this self, perpetually in progress, yet without any fixed moral end?⁷³

As this ethic permeated our culture and especially our schools, students began to comprehend its implications. Christopher Lasch, in his last book before his untimely death, entitled *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, observed that young people now "resent the ethical demands of 'society' as infringements on their personal freedom. They believe that their rights as individuals includes their right to 'create their own values'."⁷⁴ Michael Josephson, the founder and director of the Josephson Institute on Ethics, fears that "we're harvesting a generation of nuclear inspectors, auto mechanics, and politicians who will do what it takes to get what they want."⁷⁵

As we are confronted with the facts of our current social problems and as we face the dismal prospects of a more troubled future, we are becoming painfully aware that some behavior is right and some is wrong. Derek Bok, the former president of Harvard, believes that "there are certain fundamental principles that are not a matter of debate."⁷⁶

⁷³ Robert N. Bellah, et al. *Habits of the Heart*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 75-76.

⁷⁴ Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, (New York: Norton, 1995), 180.

⁷⁵ Marilyn Alias, "Crusading to Head Off the Coming Ethics Crisis," *USA Today*, 19 May 1993. 7D.

⁷⁶ Roger Rosenblatt, "Teaching Johnny To Be Good," *New York Times Magazine*, Sec. 6, 30 April 1995, 41.

Recently there has been the resurgence of educational curriculums which assume that virtues such as honesty, responsibility, courtesy, respect, patience, kindness and others must be taught. Without a commitment to these common decencies, our society seems defenseless against ambition, greed, and selfishness.

James Madison, one of the chief framers of the American Constitution, once asked, "Can a people incapable of self-government in private life prove capable of it in public life? If they cannot practice self-government over their private passions, how will they practice it over the institutions of the Republic?"⁷⁷ Dr. Michael Novak, in accepting the 1994 Templeton Prize for Progress In Religion, expressed a similar sentiment:

There cannot be a free society among citizens who habitually lie, who malingers, who cheat, who do not meet their responsibilities, who cannot be counted on, who shirk difficulties, who flout the law - or who prefer to live as serfs or slaves, content in their dependency, so long as they are fed and entertained.⁷⁸

As many of the foundational institutions of our society, such as church and family, become threatened, the challenge of moral education falls upon schools. This calls for teachers to renew their vision as moral educators. Centuries ago, Desiderius Erasmus wrote eloquently of the high calling of schools and teachers:

To be a schoolmaster is next to being a king. Do you count it lowly employment to imbue the minds of the young with the . . . best of literature, and to return them to their country honest and virtuous

⁷⁷ Michael Novak, "Awakening From Nihilism," *First Things* 45, (August/September 1994): 21.

⁷⁸ Novak, 21.

(people)? In the opinion of fools, it is a humble task, but in fact it is the noblest of occupations.⁷⁹

We educators face many challenges in our work. Ours is a most difficult profession which seems not to be valued as it once might have been. Of course, we must be supported by our schools and we must work in schools which reflect our priorities. But, we cannot leave young people to find their own answers. They look to us for wisdom - skill in living. This is challenging and it calls us to constantly reflect on our own lives and behavior. Teaching is for the stout-hearted and mighty in spirit. There are professions which offer more tangible rewards. Teaching is more than a profession, however; it is a vocation. It is a vocation because it requires not only a skill to be mastered, and a knowledge of our discipline, but also an ethical life which inspires in young people a desire to live life well.

⁷⁹ Bruce Lockerbie, *A Passion For Learning: The History of Christian Thought on Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1994),134.

Illustrations of (Possible) Cheating Behavior⁸⁰

1. Coughing or using hand signals;
2. Concealing notes on clothing, hands, caps, shoes or in pockets;
3. Writing in blue books prior to exams;
4. Writing information on the blackboard, desks or keeping notes on the floor;
5. Obtaining copies of a test in advance;
6. Passing information concerning specific questions or answers from an earlier class to a later class;
7. Leaving information in the restroom;
8. Exchanging exams so that neighbors have identical test forms;
9. Having a substitute take a test and providing false identification for the substitute;
10. Fabricating data for lab or clinical assignments;
11. Changing a graded paper or answer sheet and requesting that it be graded;
12. Failing to turn in a test and later suggesting that the faculty member has lost it;
13. Stealing another student's graded test and affixing one's own name to it;
14. Submitting computer programs written by another person;
15. Recording two answers, one on one test form, one on another answer sheet;
16. Marking an answer sheet to enable another student to see the answer;
17. Putting large circles around two adjacent answers and claiming to have had the correct answer;
18. Stealing an exam or other assignment for transmission to someone in another section, or for placement in a test file;
19. Using a programmable calculator to store test information or otherwise passing information using electronic devices;
20. Taking another student's computer assignment printout from a computer lab;
21. Destroying library material to gain academic advancement;
22. Transferring a computer file from one person's account to another; or
23. Transmitting posted answers to exam to student in testing area via pager or radio transmitter.

⁸⁰ One of the most comprehensive and up to date list of *cheating* behavior was published by The University of Texas. (see Appendix 1) The guide has identified 23 different types of behavior which could be construed as cheating: Student Discipline For Scholastic Dishonesty, *A Guide For Administrators, Faculty, and Hearing Officers*. The University Texas System. July 1991. cited in Ralph D. Mawdsley, *Academic Misconduct: Cheating and Plagiarism*, (Topeka, Kansas: NOLPE, 1994), 9-10.

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