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MANAGING: FOSTERING ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, CIVILITY, AND TOLERANCE

Proctors are to watch students actively throughout the examination and be on guard for the following: eyes roving, lips moving, left arm not covering paper, bending down to tie shoe lace or pick up fallen object, blowing nose, yawning or sneezing too loudly, reaching into pocket, crumpling scratch paper into a ball, stretching legs too far out, studying nails or insides of wrists. Impress upon students the importance of high ethical standards: When they cheat they are cheating themselves. If they are caught cheating, the proctor must be blamed for lax supervision.

—Bel Kaufman
Up the Down Staircase (1964, p. 260)

Professors do not just walk into a classroom and teach the students they find there; they must also create and manage that classroom. Even though their top priority is promoting students' learning and achievement, they must also enforce basic principles of academic integrity, civility, and tolerance. When students violate principles pertaining to academic integrity, the professor must intervene with sanctions for the violators and rewards for those who conform. Teaching is also a profoundly interpersonal activity, and so like all interpersonal activities it can be disrupted by conflict, crises, misunderstandings, and antagonisms. Some of these problematic aspects of teaching are inconsequential, but others can significantly disrupt the learning experience unless handled swiftly and carefully.

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Many employees dream of the day when they will be promoted to a management position. Once they gain this lofty post, they expect their days will be far more meaningful, for they'll spend their time directing the activities of the people who work in their unit; they'll be leaders, organizers, resource persons, and motivators. But most new managers are surprised when they discover the host of job duties that comprise their new position. Luthans and his colleagues documented the real work of the manager in various types of organizations: attending meetings, processing paperwork,

resolving conflicts, inspecting facilities, filling in as needed, developing procedures, answering the phone, chewing out workers, politicking, contacting vendors, and so on (Luthans, 1998; Luthans, Hodgetts, & Rosenkrantz, 1988).

New professors, too, expect that 90% of their time will be spent teaching students, but they soon discover that they must also spend a good deal of time managing the details of that teaching: completing paperwork, updating their grade books, keeping up with course correspondence, ordering supplies and textbooks, supervising student workers, monitoring students' compliance with university regulations, reporting burned out lights in the classrooms, and so on. Some of these tasks and issues are mundane, routine ones that are easily and swiftly handled, but others demand as much energy and attention as teaching itself (Emmer & Stough, 2001). The classroom, as a complex interpersonal setting, is governed by implicit and explicit rules of conduct and decorum, and the professor-as-manager must sometimes take steps to make certain students abide by those rules. The professor must also deal with the interpersonal and personal conflicts that inevitably arise when people with varying skills, interests, and motivations join in a shared pursuit. When students are disrespectful, angry, intolerant, or troubled, the teaching psychologist must intervene to help them regain the emotional and behavioral stability they need to succeed in their studies.

MANAGING ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

A college or university, like any complicated social system, is governed by sets of norms that regulate the actions of the individuals in that system. Prescriptive norms define the socially appropriate way to respond in class—the *normal* course of action most people display in the situation —and proscriptive norms describe categories of actions that are prohibited or at least frowned on and so should be avoided if at all possible. For example, some of the prescriptive norms of a college classroom are "Listen to the professor," "Sit in the available chairs," and "Take notes," whereas the proscriptive norms are "Do not ask stupid questions" and "Do not talk on your cell phone in the middle of the lecture."

But norms are not merely base rates that define what is expected; they also include an evaluative component. People who violate norms are not just acting atypically; they are being "bad" and hence open themselves up to condemnation by others. This condemnation can include hostility, pressure to change, negative sanctions, and punishment, but the reaction depends on the importance of the norm, the magnitude of the discrepancy, and the characteristics of the person who violates the norm. If the norm reflects current social standards pertaining to minor aspects of conduct, violations are often overlooked, particularly if a prestigious or powerful

person is doing the violating. But some norms are considered so essential to the integrity of the classroom that their violation will be roundly and quickly condemned (Sabini & Silver, 1978). Such norms comprise the classroom's moral code. They include such norms as "Do not cheat," "Do not plagiarize," "Do not help others cheat," and "Do not abuse library books and other academic materials." Individuals who break moral norms risk severe penalties if their violation is proven, but because the consequences are so severe, in many cases accusers must present evidence that substantiates the charge.

Variations and Violations

Standards of morality pertaining to lying, stealing, or breaking promises apply to all members of the university community. Classrooms have an additional set of standards, however, standards that are designed to guard against students being (a) credited for learning they did not achieve and (b) gaining advantages or privileges that they do not deserve. Every university or college likely has a list of the specific actions that violate these two principles, but most such lists include:

- *Cheating on tests:* Using information from books, notes, other people's tests, other people themselves, or some other source when these materials are not permitted.
- *Plagiarizing:* Presenting another person's words or ideas as one's own by copying verbatim another author's wording, attempting to paraphrase another's work but failing to change the wording sufficiently, or discussing material drawn from another source and failing to cite the origin of the words or ideas.
- *Collusion:* Working with other students on projects that are explicitly defined as individual projects.
- *Falsifications:* Fabricating explanations for missed work or making false claims in an attempt to secure an unfair advantage in a testing situation.

But the number of ways that students can cheat is limited only by their ingenuity, and each day they develop and implement entirely new methods. For example:

- *"Razoring":* Students in classes where grades are based on relative performance destroy reference materials, often by slicing out key pages from books and reserve readings with a razor.
- *Signaling:* Cooperating students send answers back and forth during the exam using a signaling system, such as notes on a shared eraser, hand signals, facial cues, and so on.

- *Creative cribbing:* Instead of using a bit of paper with critical bits of information jotted on it, creative cribbers write codes on the paper covers of notebooks, on their skin (wrists, hands, ankles), on the back pages of the blue books they will use for essay tests, on their clothing (e.g., the bills of caps, shirt cuffs), on food wrappers (e.g., on the inside of a gum wrapper), and on food items themselves (e.g., on a stick of gum, which is then eaten to destroy the evidence).
- *"Headphoning":* Students record audio information about course material (on a cassette, a CD, or MP3 file) and use headphones to listen to the recording during the test.
- *Stealing and switching:* As students pass in an assignment, the perpetrator steals one of the papers printed in a font he can duplicate. He explains after class that he left his paper back in his room, and he needs to just run over and pick it up. He retypes and replaces the cover sheet and turns in the other students' paper as his own.
- *The bomb scare:* Unprepared students call in a bomb threat for the building where the final examination is given. A less dramatic approach: Unprepared students go to class before the professor and write on the board "Due to illness, class and test canceled for today." By the time the professor arrives, many students have already departed, and the test must be rescheduled.
- *The lost test:* The student, sensing failure, asks several questions of the professor during the examination so that the professor will remember that she was in class that day. She then leaves the class without turning in her test, and contacts the professor when grades are posted complaining that her test was lost. She has studied the test thoroughly since the exam date, and willingly takes the test again and aces it.
- *"Ghosting":* A skilled student who is not registered for the class (a "ghost" or "ringer") comes to class on test day and takes the test with another student or lets that student copy his answers.
- *Mourning:* The student claims she must attend the funeral of a family member but will be able to take the examination a few hours after the class does; a friend in the class steals a copy of the test and the mourner studies it before taking it.
- *Scouting:* When quizzes are administered at computers, one student (the scout) quickly completes the test, fails, but gets his score and item-by-item feedback. He passes this information on to the students seated around him. Next time

someone else in the clique becomes the scout so others can get 100s.

- *Claiming disability:* A student requests an adjustment in the testing procedures or a learning situation by claiming a disability that is not substantiated.
- *Hacking:* A student breaks into computer databases and alters records of performance.

These sorts of actions violate a number of principles that most professors hold sacrosanct. Academic dishonesty opposes higher education's fundamental mission, which is the creation of knowledge and the dissemination of knowledge to others. Those who cheat or plagiarize not only fail to expand the scholarly stock of knowledge, but they also fail to even learn what is already known. Such actions also suggest that grades and test scores are all that matter, when in fact it is the learning that matters most. Cheating and plagiarizing are also unfair to the professor and to other students. When students cheat, they increase their individual scores even though they have not achieved the learning that their scores suggest. When grades are based on normative evaluation systems, their cheating unfairly lowers the grades of students who did not cheat. In consequence, students who do not cheat may be tempted to cheat themselves when they see others cheat successfully. Cheating and plagiarism are also specialized cases of a class of behavior that is widely condemned as immoral: the lie. When students cheat and plagiarize they are lying to their professor by claiming "I wrote this," "I answered this question," or "I learned the material you asked me to."

Maintaining Academic Integrity

Surveys of college students, like those described by Davis, Grover, Becker, and McGregor (1992), McCabe, Treviño, and Butterfield (2001), and McCabe and Treviño (1997), indicated that cheating is no rare avis: Three in four students reported having engaged in relatively serious forms of academic dishonesty, such as using crib notes, copying off of someone else's examination, working with others on projects that were supposed be done by individuals only, and plagiarizing. When asked if they cheated in a particular class or during a given semester, 20–30% of the students surveyed reported committing an infraction, and some students reported having cheated repeatedly in the same class throughout the term (Stearns, 2001; Ward & Beck, 1990). Nor is cheating limited to undergraduate students. Wajda-Johnston, Handal, Brawer, and Fabricatore (2001) found that more than half of the graduate students they surveyed admitted plagiarizing (by inadequately paraphrasing the sampled text rather than copying entire sections), and one in four reported working collectively on individual as-

signments. Whitley's (1998) meta-analytic review refined these estimates somewhat by suggesting that men cheat more, as do students whose time is more limited—say by a job or by participation in extracurricular events—and students who are younger. Students who are members of sororities and fraternities also cheat more frequently than other students (McCabe & Bowers, 1996).

Human beings in general, and college students in particular, have a great capacity for moral goodness, but in many educational settings students fail to fulfill that potential. What can be done to encourage more positive forms of behavior and discourage antisocial actions (Davis, 1993; McBurney, 1999; McCabe et al., 2001)?

Clarify and Review What Is Acceptable and Unacceptable

The words *cheating* and *plagiarism* are ominous but indefinite in meaning. Students who tell themselves "I do not cheat" may nonetheless do things that their professor considers cheating only because they did not think their actions fell in the value-laden category of "cheating." Students may not realize that a take-home test should be completed when they are alone if the test's instructions do not explicitly state: "This test must be completed by single individuals, without any discussion, help, or communication from others." They can justifiably claim that the old tests given them by friends are legitimate study aids, for they did not know that the tests were stolen from the classroom by students who skirted the professor's test-security procedures. They may even feel that glancing at another student's test paper is only "checking their own answers" rather than cheating, particularly if they claim that they didn't change their own answers after their visual incursion into their neighbor's test. Students should therefore be given guidelines that turn gray ethical areas to black and white.

Reviews of standards pertaining to plagiarism are particularly useful because psychologists themselves do not always agree on the proper rules of citation and referencing (Roig, 2001). Although most students realize that copying an article out of a journal or purchasing a paper online and turning it in instead of writing their own paper is plagiarism, some do not think that taking a few sentences from someone else's work qualifies as plagiarism. Students are also surprised to learn that even when only the ideas, and not the words, are presented, a reference to the source of the ideas is still required. Students should be referred to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (American Psychological Association, 2001), which explains:

> Psychologists do not claim the words and ideas of another as their own; they give credit where credit is due. Quotation marks should be used to indicate the exact words of another. Each time you paraphrase another author (i.e., summarize a passage or rearrange the order of a

sentence and change some of the words), you will need to credit the source in the text. (p. 349)

In courses with large amounts of writing, the professor may also want to assign an activity that requires students to identify instances of plagiarism, paraphrasing that retains so much of the original phrasing that it remains plagiarism, allowable paraphrasing, and failures to reference the source of ideas. Davis (1993) offered a number of useful activities that can be used to help students learn about plagiarism, as well as suggestions for syllabus sections that define plagiarism clearly. Prescribed behaviors should also be reviewed, if appropriate. Some universities, for example, require that students must report all honor violations, so students in such institutions should be reminded of their responsibilities. They should also be urged to take steps to reduce the possibility of cheating by others by safeguarding their work from theft.

Establish a Code

What is wrong with taking a few answers from another student? Working together on a project that the professor said was to be individual work only? Borrowing the words of another author and using them to make a point in one's own paper? If students are simply given a list of banned behaviors, with no explanation for why these behaviors are untoward, then their compliance may be minimal. Academic integrity experts therefore recommend making cheating a moral issue by developing an honor code or set of academic integrity principles (e.g., McCabe et al., 2001). Whitley and Keith-Spiegel (2001), for example, suggested that an academic integrity policy should specify clearly the

- reasons for the policy by examining the values of the university and arguing that cheating and other forms of academic dishonesty are inconsistent with those values;
- types of behavior that are forbidden;
- responsibilities of all parties, including students, faculty, and administrators;
- procedures that will be followed when a student is suspected of academic dishonesty; and
- penalties that can be imposed for various types of offenses.

Faculty themselves should be familiar with their college or university's ethics policy, if one exists. Although many professors prefer to handle cases of cheating themselves, say by conducting their own investigations and lowering grades if warranted, their institutions' ethics policy may not permit this approach. In many cases such policies explicitly require that all instances of suspected violation be handled formally, using specified procedures, rather than informally by the professor. Faculty, too, are limited

in terms of the severity of the sanction they can impose. Whereas individual faculty members can only fail a student in individual classes, more formal procedures can recommend expulsion of the student from the university.

Encourage the Internalization of Academic Integrity Codes

Evidence has indicated that fewer students cheat on campuses that have a well-conceived honor code, but the codes' impact depends in large part on the extent to which students have accepted the academic values it expresses (Jordan, 2001; McCabe et al., 2001). If students do not personally accept the moral claim of the rules prohibiting cheating or plagiarism, then they will likely look to the situation to define what is right or wrong and will disobey a moral rule if everyone else is doing it, if no one can detect the violation, or if the potential benefits are substantial. Steps should therefore be taken to increase the extent to which students internalize the code:

- Involve students in the discussion and development of a classroom policy. Just as managers have discovered that people are more likely to comply with workplace policies if they had a hand in developing those policies, so professors will find that students will be more likely to endorse and comply with ethical standards if they contribute to the development of the standards.
- Give students the opportunity to endorse, formally, their adherence to the code.
- Encourage the development of mastery goals that focus on learning and development rather than on extrinsic goals such as grades, GPA, and the dean's list (Jordan, 2001).
- Encourage the development of a full range of attitudes and values pertaining to academic integrity. Individuals who are generally opposed to cheating, but who have yet to formulate a position on specific types of cheating (such as cribbing or buying term papers), are more likely to cheat than those who have action-specific attitudes (Homer & Kahle, 1988).
- Increase the accessibility of anticheating attitudes by mentioning them prior to each test and when making assignments. Evidence indicates that individuals sometimes act in ways that are inconsistent with their values only because they act without considering their personal position on the matter (Langer, 1989).

Eliminate Temptations

Milgram (1963, 1974), in his famous obedience studies, found that everyone wilted when pressured. Every single one of the thousand people

he tested obeyed initially by delivering painful shocks to a helpless victim, and 65% were completely obedient. Similarly, studies of cheating have suggested that nearly everyone, if subjected to strong, focused situational pressure that demands cheating, will cheat (Forsyth & Berger, 1982). Given the power of the situation to compel even the best-intentioned student into cheating, testing situations and assignments should be designed so that acting dishonestly is difficult and risky, and acting honestly is simple and easy. When giving a test in class:

- Ask students to sit with an empty seat between them if possible. If necessary, break up clusters of friends or have students sit in assigned seats.
- Reserve one row of a class for students who are tardy, who ask frequent questions, or who engage in suspicious behavior and must be moved.
- In crowded classes, make up at least two versions of the test by reordering the items. Have the versions printed on different colored paper and interleave the tests prior to class so that no student is seated beside another student taking the same test version. As students work, visually inspect each row for adjacent students with same-colored tests and move them if necessary.
- In theater-style classes, count out the number of examinations needed for each row prior to class. When passing out the exams, hold back a question booklet for each empty seat. If a student in the last seat in the row does not get a test, ask the students in the row "to check to make sure they didn't accidentally get two copies."
- In large classes, ask students to display a photo ID when they drop off their test. If very cautious, ask each student to sign an attendance list and their question booklet upon leaving the room.
- If the college honor code does not limit proctoring, observe students carefully as they complete the examination, moving to the rear of the room frequently. In large classes, additional proctors will reduce cheating, particularly during the end of the period when attention is diverted to the collection of the tests.
- Guard exams prior to test day by asking a particular staff member to photocopy them and notify you immediately when they are ready. Lock the exams away or keep them with you before the test day.
- Change the content of the exams as frequently as you can, given time limitations and the need to verify the psycho-

- metric adequacy of items by first using them in testing settings.
- Periodically exchange tests and test banks with professors who teach at other universities.
- Collect all blue books at the start of class and redistribute them at random (Davis, 1993).

When assigning papers, reports, and other written assignments, consider taking some of the following steps:

- Consult with students on their topics rather than allowing them to pick freely the subject of their paper (since their choice might be based on papers available to them from non-personal sources, such as Web sites).
- Explicitly ban the use of papers written for other classes if you do not permit such recycling.
- Change the nature and topics of required exercises and papers routinely so that students are not tempted to use papers written by other students who took the class in a previous term.
- Require students to complete a series of steps as they develop their papers. McBurney (1999), for example, recommended having students submit short paragraphs describing their papers, a list of references they plan to consult, and an outline before turning in their drafts. These stages help students begin their work, and they also create a paper trail that confirms that their work is original.
- Ask students to save early drafts of their papers on a computer disk and to turn in the disk with their final paper.
- Consider letting students work in three-person groups on take-home papers to reduce the temptation to collaborate secretly.

Be Alert to and Investigate Possible Instances of Cheating

Sometimes faculty look the other way when their students cheat (Tabachnick et al., 1991). When Keith-Spiegel, Tabachnick, Whitley, and Washburn (1998) asked them why, most traced their leniency to evidentiary concerns: They did not think they had the proof they needed to make a strong case against the student. Other inhibiting factors, identified through factor analysis, included emotional consequences such as stress and lack of courage, concerns about the amount of time and effort the process would take, fears of retaliation and legal entanglements, and various denials that rationalized not intervening, such as assuming that the student would fail even if he or she were not confronted.

Inaction, however, leaves the cheater's unfairly high grade intact, re-

inforces students' beliefs that they can get away with cheating, and might even instill the implicit norm "cheating is allowable," so professors should:

- Announce, prior to class, that you will be asking people to move during the exam when you see any sign at all of test copying. Note that in many cases the people being asked to move are innocent of copying, but are being moved away from the individual who is suspected of copying.
- During the examination, when observing suspicious behavior, announce to the entire class the reminder about cheating while staring directly at the possible cheater.
- Establish a clear policy pertaining to attendance on exam days and deadlines for papers, and require documentation of students' excuses for missing tests or deadlines (Caron, Whitbourne, & Halgin, 1992).
- Use statistical or computer-based detective methods to detect cheating and plagiarism, if possible, and warn students about these procedures. Bellezza and Bellezza (1995), for example, describe a technique that tests for unlikely coincidences in answer patterns of students, and several computer programs and Web sites (e.g., Scrutiny!) allow instructors to search for statistical evidence of cheating and plagiarism.
- Assemble as much evidence as possible pertaining to the incident. Describe the incident in writing and send a copy of the report to your chair. If proctors witnessed the infraction, have them write and sign a statement describing the incident. Statements can also be obtained from students in the class.
- Respect the suspected student's rights to due process by following your institution's academic integrity guidelines scrupulously. If those codes prohibit you from handling the infraction personally (by giving a cheater a zero on a test), then turn the matter over to the office that handles such matters.

Reduce Pressures That Sustain Cheating

Some students may cheat as a last resort, feeling that it is the only way they can pass the class or test. Indeed, one of the best predictors of cheating is level of preparedness, with unprepared students cheating more than prepared ones. One could therefore eliminate all cheating by giving all students As, but less extreme interventions may be just as effective, such as:

- Make certain that the demands of the course are appropriate for the types of students you are teaching.

- Use clear grading criteria and communicate those criteria clearly to students.
- Test frequently so that students' grades are not based on just one or two major assignments.
- Give students sufficient time to complete their work.
- Accept valid excuses for missed work and absences.
- Consider letting students prepare one page or index card of notes for their use when taking tests.
- Do not let norms that encourage cheating (e.g., "Everybody cheats around here," "The only way to pass this class is to cheat") develop in the classroom. Even students with well-internalized values may cheat if the norms of the situation prevent them from acting on the basis of their values.

Maintain Rapport With Students

McBurney (1999) predicted that a professor who enjoys a sense of rapport and relationship with his or her students—say by acting positively toward them and treating them respectfully—may be rewarded with fewer problems pertaining to cheating in their classes. Stearns (2001), supporting McBurney's suggestion, found that students who admitted cheating in a particular class were also more likely to report less liking and respect for their professor. Although the students who cheated may have derogated their professor after the fact so as to rationalize their untoward actions and reduce their sense of guilt, their negative opinion of their professor may have contributed to their cheating. Students who like and respect their professor, but then cheat in his or her class, could resolve this attitude-behavior inconsistency by derogating the professor, by claiming they had little choice, or telling themselves that their cheating had yielded no negative consequences, but these modes of dissonance resolution require far more cognitive ratiocination than a single behavioral change: not cheating.

Model Integrity and Fairness

Social learning theory, with its emphasis on learning through observation, suggests that professors can influence students by modeling actions and expressing values that are consistent with high standards of academic integrity (Bandura, 1969, 1977). A professor who prepares diligently for classes, develops sound methods for testing students' achievements, treats students and teaching assistants fairly, and enthusiastically supports the academy's emphasis on scholarship provides students with an admirable ideal to emulate. But if students are taught by a professor who seems to be cheating—not by plagiarizing others' words or stealing answers from another student's test but by treating students unfairly, by teaching badly, or by acting inappropriately—then they will likely learn a different lesson.

Professors who want students to obey the rules should obey the rules, too. The ethics of psychologists, when they take on the role of teacher, are discussed briefly in the next section.

The Ethics of Psychologists Who Teach

Academic integrity applies to professors as well as to their students. The university that asks its students to abide by shared rules pertaining to cheating and plagiarism likely also asks the faculty to make certain their actions are consistent with the academy's standards for scholarship, teaching, and service. But psychologists who teach, if they are members of the American Psychological Association, are also bound by that association's *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002). This code sets forth a set of basic ethical principles that define the professional responsibilities of psychologists, in general. The introduction states that psychologists are obligated to "comply with the standards of the APA Ethics Code and to the rules and procedures used to enforce them" and that psychologists should consult with their colleagues or other appropriate authorities when they are "applying the Ethics Code to their professional work." The code's list of principles define the aspirational goals of the psychologist and stress such values as competence, integrity, responsibility, respect and concern for others, and social responsibility. The code also contains a set of enforceable standards of behavior that, if violated, can lead to formal sanctions, including expulsion from the Association. Although the Ethics Code focuses primarily on the complex ethical issues that face therapists, many of its rules and principles are relevant to teaching psychologists. *Principle C: Integrity*, stresses the importance of dealing with others fairly and honestly, and warns against "unwise and unclear commitments." *Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity*, states that psychologists, when teaching, "respect cultural, individual, and role differences . . . and consider these factors when working with members of such groups." The rules themselves offer relatively clear standards for professional conduct in a variety of areas related to teaching, including testing, relationships with students, and competence. Examples include (paraphrased):

- *Conflicts between ethics and organizational demands* (1.03): When the demands of the professors' college or university conflict with this Ethics Code, "psychologists clarify the nature of the conflict, make known their commitment to the Ethics Code, and to the extent feasible, resolve the conflict in a way that permits adherence to the Ethics Code."

- *Informal resolution of ethical violations* (1.04): When possible, teaching psychologists resolve ethical issues involving their colleagues informally, so long as "an informal resolution appears appropriate and the intervention does not violate any confidentiality rights."
- *Reporting ethical violations* (1.05): When necessary, teaching "psychologists take further action" in their attempts to resolve ethical problems, including "referral to state or national committees on professional ethics, to state licensing boards, or to the appropriate institutional authorities."
- *Cooperating with ethics committees* (1.06): Teaching psychologists are obligated to "cooperate in ethics investigations, proceedings, and resulting requirements of the APA," and their failure to do so itself constitutes an ethics violation.
- *Improper complaints* (1.07): "Psychologists do not file or encourage the filing of ethics complaints that are made with reckless disregard for or willful ignorance of facts that would disprove the allegation."
- *Unfair discrimination against complainants and respondents* (1.08): Teaching psychologists "do not deny persons employment, advancement, admissions to academic or other programs, tenure, or promotion, based solely upon their having made or their being the subject of an ethics complaint."
- *Boundaries of competence* (2.01a): Psychologists teach only within the "boundaries of their competence;" they teach in new areas only after first undertaking appropriate study, training, supervision, and consultation from people who are competent in those areas.
- *Maintaining competence* (2.03): Psychologists who teach "undertake ongoing efforts to develop and maintain their competence."
- *Personal problems and conflicts* (2.06b): When teaching psychologists "become aware of personal problems that may interfere with their performing work-related duties adequately, they take appropriate measures."
- *Unfair discrimination* (3.01): Teaching psychologists "do not engage in unfair discrimination based on age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, socioeconomic status, or any basis proscribed by law."
- *Exploitative relationships* (3.08): Teaching psychologists do not exploit their students because they "have supervisory, evaluative, or other authority" over them. (See also Standard 7.07, *Sexual relationships with students and supervisees*.)

- *Maintaining confidentiality* (4.01): "Psychologists have a primary obligation and take reasonable precautions to protect confidential information obtained through or stored in any medium."

- *Minimizing intrusions on privacy* (4.04b): Teaching psychologists discuss confidential information about their students "only for appropriate scientific or professional purposes and only with persons clearly concerned with such matters."

- *Use of confidential information for didactic or other purposes* (4.07): Teaching psychologists do not disclose confidential information about their students in their "writings, lectures, or other public media " unless "the person or organization has consented in writing" or unless "there is legal authorization for doing so."

- *Descriptions of education and training programs* (7.02): Teaching psychologists develop and disseminate accurate descriptions of their educational programs' "content (including participation in required course- or program-related counseling, psychotherapy, experiential groups, consulting projects, or community service), training goals and objectives, stipends and benefits, and requirements that must be met for satisfactory completion of the program."

- *Accuracy and objectivity in teaching* (7.03a, b): "Psychologists take reasonable steps to ensure that course syllabi are accurate regarding the subject matter to be covered, bases for evaluating progress, and the nature of course experiences" and also "present psychological information accurately."

- *Assessing student and supervisee performance* (7.06a, b): Psychologists collect information about the quality of their teaching by using "a timely and specific process for providing feedback to students and supervisees." They also evaluate their students fairly, basing these evaluations on students' "actual performance on relevant and established program requirements."

- *Sexual relationships with students and supervisees* (7.07): Teaching psychologists "do not engage in sexual relationships with students or supervisees . . . over whom" they have "evaluative authority."

- *Plagiarism* (8.11): "Psychologists do not present portions of another's work or data as their own, even if the other work or data source is cited occasionally."

- *Publication credit* (8.12a, c): "Psychologists take responsibility and credit, including authorship credit, only for work they have actually performed or to which they have substantially

contributed. . . . Except under exceptional circumstances, a student is listed as principal author on any multiple-authored article that is substantially based on the student's doctoral dissertation."

- *Test construction* (9.05): Teaching psychologists use "appropriate psychometric procedures and current scientific or professional knowledge for test design, standardization, validation, reduction or elimination of bias, and recommendations for use."

- *Obsolete tests and outdated test results* (9.08a): Psychologists who teach "do not base their assessment or intervention decisions or recommendations on data or test results that are outdated for the current purpose."

Do teaching psychologists agree with, and conform to, the requirements of their ethics code? Tabachnick and her colleagues (1991) examined this question by surveying 482 members of APA who listed an academic department as their address or belonged to Division 2 of APA: Teaching of Psychology. They asked these individuals to rate 63 behaviors listed in Table 6.1 in terms of their ethicality, and to indicate if they performed the identified behavior with any regularity.

Tabachnick et al.'s results suggested that teaching psychologists' ratings coincide with some, but not all, of the APA principles. Sexual harassment, teaching while under the influence of drugs, claiming credit for students' work, falsifying information, accepting a bribe from a textbook publisher, insulting students, expressing racist or antigay beliefs in class, becoming sexually involved with a student, ignoring cheating, using biased grading methods, showing films that have little educational worth, accepting gifts from students, and revealing confidential information to colleagues were all rated as unethical by at least half of the respondents, and these were also the behaviors that they reported rarely, if ever, performing. Many respondents, however, were relatively tolerant of a number of teaching practices that violate APA standards, such as failing to keep up with the field's discoveries, teaching material that they have not yet mastered, teaching when too distressed to be effective, teaching without preparing—and many of the respondents admitted they did such actions on occasion. As regards sexual involvement with students, most respondents felt faculty should not date or have sex with their students, reveal their sexual inclinations to students, or even fantasize about students in sexual ways. Students, by the way, tend to agree with faculty on this matter. Keith-Spiegel, Tabachnick, and Allen (1993) found that a majority (54%) of the students they surveyed thought faculty should not date students and 70% evaluated student–professor sexual relationships negatively.

Faculty–student sexual relationships are controversial ones. These re-

TABLE 6.1
Teaching Psychologists' Judgments and Self-Reports
of Various Types of Behaviors

Behavior	Rating	
	Unethical	Self-report
Making deliberate or repeated sexual comments, gestures, or physical contact that is unwanted by the student	94.6	0.0
Teaching while under the influence of cocaine or other illegal drugs	83.0	0.0
Accepting undeserved authorship on a student's published paper	82.4	0.0
Including false or misleading information when writing a letter of recommendation for a student	81.3	0.4
Accepting for yourself a publisher's monetary rebate for adopting their text	79.7	0.4
Teaching while under the influence of alcohol	79.3	0.6
Insulting, ridiculing, etc., a student in the student's presence	73.4	0.8
Teaching that certain races are intellectually inferior	73.2	0.8
Accepting for your department a publisher's monetary rebate for adopting their text	71.2	1.0
Becoming sexually involved with a student	71.0	1.4
Ignoring strong evidence of cheating	69.3	2.7
Telling a student: "I'm sexually attracted to you"	68.9	0.2
Teaching that homosexuality per se is pathological	64.3	3.3
Allowing a student's "likability" to influence your grading	63.3	9.7
Insulting, ridiculing, etc., a student in the student's absence	61.4	10.4
Using films, etc., to fill class time (and reduce your teaching work) without regard for their educational value	53.5	2.7
Accepting a student's expensive gift	52.3	1.4
Telling colleagues confidential disclosures told to you by a student	52.1	3.3
Assigning unpaid students to carry out work for you which has little educational value for the student	49.4	5.4
Criticizing all theoretical orientations except those you personally prefer	47.5	8.7
Dating a student	45.6	5.1
Privately tutoring students in the department for a fee	45.4	0.0
Using a grading procedure which does not adequately measure what students have learned	45.2	13.9
Taking advantage of a student's offer such as wholesale prices at parents' store	43.8	0.4
Inadequately supervising teaching assistants	43.2	7.9
Giving easy courses or tests to ensure your popularity with students	39.8	3.3
Ignoring unethical behavior by colleagues	36.3	28.8
Using cocaine or other illegal drugs in your personal (nonteaching) life	30.7	7.2

Table continues

TABLE 6.1 (*Continued*)

Behavior	Rating Unethical	Rating Self-report
Teaching where there's no adequate grievance procedures for students	30.5	9.5
Selling unwanted complimentary textbooks to used book vendors	29.7	39.6
Grading on a strict curve regardless of class performance level	28.2	8.1
Teaching content in a nonobjective or incomplete manner	27.6	20.6
Omitting significant information when writing a letter of recommendation for a student	25.7	17.5
Requiring students to use aversive procedures with rats, pigeons, etc.	24.3	5.3
Becoming sexually involved with a student only after he or she has completed your course and the grade has been filed	20.7	3.5
Engaging in sexual fantasies about students	20.3	25.5
Having students be research subjects as part of a course requirement	18.7	39.0
Teaching in buildings which could not accommodate physically challenged students	17.8	35.5
Teaching full time while "moonlighting" at least 20 hours per week	17.2	10.2
Allowing students to drop courses for reasons not officially approved	16.8	16.6
Giving academic credit instead of salary for student assistants	16.0	35.7
Teaching in classes so crowded you couldn't teach effectively	16.0	23.5
Being sexually attracted to a student	15.4	38.5
Failing to update lecture notes when re-teaching a course	14.5	35.6
Using profanity in lectures	14.3	20.3
Engaging in a sexual relationship with another faculty member within your department who is of higher or lower rank than you	14.1	3.1
Selling goods (e.g., your car or books) to a student	12.4	4.7
Teaching material you haven't really mastered	10.8	38.4
Engaging in a sexual relationship with another faculty member within your department who is of the same academic rank as you	10.0	2.6
Teaching in a setting lacking adequate ethnic diversity among the faculty	9.5	64.0
Teaching when too distressed to be effective	8.9	21.1
Teaching a class without adequate preparation that day	8.5	40.8
Using school resources to create a "popular" psychology trade book	7.9	3.1
Encouraging competition among students	6.8	36.1
Lending money to a student	6.6	12.2
Using school resources to prepare a scholarly textbook	5.8	25.0

	Rating	
Behavior	Unethical	Self-report
Hugging a student	5.6	34.6
Asking small favors (e.g., a ride home) from students	5.2	25.9
Helping a student file an ethics complaint against another teacher	5.0	5.6
Accepting a student's inexpensive gift (worth less than $5)	4.8	44.6
Teaching ethics or values to students	3.9	79.5
Accepting a student's invitation to a party	3.1	51.5
Encouraging students to participate in your research projects	2.9	39.7

Note. The entries for the column labeled Unethical indicate the percentage of respondents who indicated the action was "unquestionably not ethical." The entries for the column labeled Self-report indicate the percentage of respondents who reported engaging in the behavior "sometimes," "fairly often," or "very often." Adapted from "Ethics of Teaching: Beliefs and Behaviors of Psychologists as Educators," by B. G. Tabachnick, P. Keith-Spiegel, and K. S. Pope, 1991, *American Psychologist, 46,* pp. 510–511. Copyright 1991 by the American Psychological Association. Adapted with permission.

lationships run the risk of violating any number of APA standards, include those pertaining to sexual harassment, maintaining objectivity in evaluating student's performances, avoiding dual relationships, and the exploitation of those who are in positions of lower status. Such relationships also create ripples of ethical uncertainty within departments and programs, for faculty who are not involved in the relationship but are aware of it must debate the need to discuss this personal, but potentially unethical, behavior with their colleagues. Such relationships can also undermine the primary mission of the professor: to teach. As Kitchener (2000) noted, "if the psychologist removes him- or herself from the role of educator or supervisor in order to avoid the multiple roles, the student is denied the opportunity to have the person as a mentor or instructor" (p. 151).

But even though Tabachnick et al. report a high level of consensus for cases that clearly violate APA standards pertaining to exploitative relationships, they also found that respondents were largely divided on other issues related to sex. Some respondents felt that sexual fantasies about students, sex with colleagues, and sexual relations with former students were completely unethical, but many others felt that they were ethical under many circumstances. This diversity of opinion is to be expected given individual variations in moral thinking, values, and philosophies. Although the Code of Ethics warns against relationships between professor and student for as long as the professor can determine the student's evaluations and outcomes, many psychologists may not feel that such relationships are exploitive. Questions of morality must be discussed and debated, and as the APA Code of Ethics requires, psychologists must be tolerant of cultural and individual differences in attitudes, including those that have

a moral content. Moreover, involvement in the relationships of others violates APA's Principle E, which requires members to respect the privacy, dignity, and autonomy of others.

Faculty must, however, exercise caution and sensitivity in such matters. Psychologists who teach are likely bound by a number of codes of ethics, and these codes' mandates may not converge in a tidy set of dos and don'ts. As professors, some may wish to heed the ethical code of the American Association of University Professors or the Society for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education (Murray, Gillese, Lennon, Mercer, & Robinson, 1996). As psychologists, they may base their actions on the standards set by the American Psychological Association's (2002) Code of Ethics or their state licensing standards. But as employees of their college and university, and as members of the community, they are also bound to act in ways that are consistent with their institution's regulations and their community's standards. Although particular classes of actions, such as sexual relationships with students, may not be inconsistent with one code of ethics, these actions may be condemned by another. The professor who cites the APA Code of Ethics to support his or her actions may quickly discover that the college's administrators base their appraisals on an altogether different code. If local norms condemn certain behaviors, considering them tantamount to moral turpitude, then faculty would be well advised to conduct themselves accordingly. At minimum, any professor who is considering questionable behaviors should discuss the matter with colleagues and supervisors.

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

Movies and television programs often juxtapose scenes from raucous high schools with images of idealized college classrooms. Teachers in high schools are shown struggling with unruly adolescents who talk constantly to friends and show little respect for the teacher. Professors' classrooms, in contrast, are veritable temples of learning, with stylishly dressed students seated in elegantly appointed lecture halls listening respectfully to their teachers' every word. Unfortunately, not all college classes reach Hollywood's high standards. Faculty, particularly when facing large classes, must contend with a variety of classroom incivilities (Boice, 2000): Students arrive late and the leave early. They don't pay much attention during class, preferring instead to banter with friends even after pointed warnings. As attention ebbs at the end of class, the sound of zipping book bags drowns out the lecturer's summary. And of course students read newspapers, answer cell phone calls, and fall asleep. What can professors do to maintain control in their classrooms?

Civility in the Classroom

Carbone (1998) provided case studies of three professors' approaches to classroom management. One professor establishes the norms that pertain to his classroom on the first day of class, and maintains them with zeal throughout the term by publicly embarrassing any rule-breakers. He informs students that if they must leave class early or will be late arriving, then they should not come to class that day. When asked about his approach, he explains, "As an instructor I'm not afraid to act as a policeman and squash that type of behavior" (p. 78). A second professor uses a laissez-faire approach. He pays little attention to attendance, comings and goings, and ignores as best he can side conversations, asking only that people who talk consistently sit at the back of the room. He concludes, "They're paying for it, they're grown-ups. They can come if they want to" (p. 78). A third professor permits students to come late and go early, but requires that they submit a written request for each occurrence. She also intervenes if students talk excessively in class, but rather than publicly questioning them, she asks the offenders to meet her after class.

These professors have very different standards about classroom civility: One expects that students will come to class prepared to learn and creates a uniformly attentive classroom by pressuring inattentive students to either act appropriately or to skip class; one is willing to put up with disruptions to learning to maintain rapport with his students; and one maintains control through an elaborate hall-pass system. Each approach is defensible, but the wide range means that teaching professors must make certain to create the type of classroom norms that they most prefer at the start of the term, and then reinstate these norms whenever students stray too far from the desired standard.

Creating Classroom Norms

Classrooms, as groups, rapidly develop a set of norms that will become powerful determinants of members' actions. If the classroom is set in a university or college where most professors set the same standards for their classes, then the class norms will likely reflect the university's norms. But when diversity is the rule rather than exception, professors should encourage the formation of the types of classroom norms they prefer. Suggestions for professors include the following:

- State the classroom rules clearly in the syllabus and reiterate them as needed.
- Link classroom rules to a more general framework of social and moral principles that provides an overall rationale for the class's procedures. Students can be reminded, for example, that the classroom's highest priority is learning, and that all

other concerns must be set aside during the time spent in the classroom.

- Stress the need for cooperation and teamwork, particularly in larger classes where the actions of a minority can substantially disrupt the quality of the experience for the majority. Remind students of the importance of putting their personal, individual needs aside for the good of the collective.

- Share responsibility for maintaining norms with the students. Remind students they are collectively responsible for maintaining classroom norms, and so attentive students should feel free to tell talkative students to be quiet.

- Compare the classroom to other types of social aggregates, such as audiences, congregations, and mobs. Inform students that the classroom is similar to an audience at a theatrical performance, where patrons can be seated only between acts but different from a movie audience where viewers can come and go as they please.

- Use rituals to start and end each session. For example, begin class each day by standing silently at the lectern until the class quiets or use the same stock opening phrase (e.g., "Good morning scholars!"). End class abruptly, rather than gradually, with a strong summarizing phrase or a ritual closing phrase, such as "And so ends the lesson," or "How time flies."

- Reduce pluralistic ignorance by making the amount of conformity to the preferred standards salient to students. Note, for example, that virtually all the students in the class are happy to comply with norms pertaining to attendance and attention, and stress instead the unexpected and atypicality of noncompliant actions.

- Nip emergent norms in the bud. New norms can pop up in a group at any time, and when these norms are not conducive to learning, they should be eliminated quickly. For example, never tolerate the "there are only 5 minutes left so I'm going to get ready to leave" habit. If students get noisy, stop class, remind them you are aware of the time remaining and that you will end class on time, but that you must have their attention during the class's final minutes so you can complete the day's teaching.

Using Social Influence

Even in classrooms with well-ensconced norms of civility and attendance, students will sometimes slip up and violate established standards. Students must modify their behavior from class to class in order to match

the unique normative demands of each professor's classroom, and if something else requires their attention—such as studying, socializing, or working—then actions appropriate for one classroom may be displayed in a different classroom. In such cases the professor may need to intervene more directly by using informational, normative, or interpersonal influence (Forsyth, 1999). A professor may

- move from the dais and stand close to students who are talking among themselves;
- use the classroom and the students in the classroom frequently as examples of psychological events (e.g., find drowsy students to check for REM, discuss the physiological reactions of students who are acting in amorous ways in class, violate the personal space of students who are talking);
- ask students who are not paying attention simple questions: ones that they can easily answer with a personal opinion or by restating a point just made in class;
- reward students on days when they remain attentive to the very end of class by praising them and thanking them effusively; and
- monitor the classroom carefully and focus attention on students and clusters of students who are not acting appropriately. In extreme cases, subgroups of students who develop their own norms about proper decorum will need to be dismantled by reseating them in different parts of the class.

Controlling Attendance Patterns

Norms pertaining to attendance in classes are particularly varied. Many professors feel that college students should be free to choose when and if they attend class, so they do not take attendance or penalize students for absences. Other professors feel that the classroom experience is so essential to learning that they require students to attend. Required attendance raises a number of logistical problems, particularly in large classes, which can be partially solved by considering the following suggestions offered by Carbone (1998, pp. 80–82) and other veterans of large classes.

- Collect homework as students enter the classroom and accept no papers once class begins.
- Give relatively easy tests during class to create a record of attendance.
- Make a seating chart and have an assistant check it each session.
- Ask students who must leave early or will arrive late to notify you in writing.

TABLE 6.2
Four Basic Ways to Deal With Classroom Conflicts

	Negative	Positive
Active	**Fight:** dominate the situation, stress authority and rules, display anger, apply pressure, permit no discussion of issues, show no concern for students' outcomes	**Cooperate:** share ideas, discuss issues, collaborate in search for a win–win synthesis, negotiate, show high concern for principles and for students' outcomes
Passive	**Avoid:** withdraw, adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude, deny and evade the problem, exit the situation, minimize own losses, show low concern for principles and for students	**Yield:** admit mistakes and make concessions, smooth emotions by giving in, show low concern for principles and high concern for students

- Reward students who leave class early after getting permission by acknowledging their use of appropriate procedures.
- Make each class session so educationally rewarding that students will want to attend.

Modeling Respect

Boice (2000) pointed out that students are not the only ones who sometimes act uncivilly in the classroom. During his observation of hundreds of classes, Boice recorded many instances of faculty treating students coldly, abruptly, or "with unmistakable rudeness and condescension" (p. 84). He concluded that professors are often partners with students in producing incivility, and suggests that faculty can reduce rudeness by remaining positive and approachable.

Managing Conflict

Nearly all classes experience periods of conflict. As the term wears on, networks of likes and dislikes will enfold the students, and tensions will arise as individual students and cliques rival for the professor's blessing. When exams approach, evaluation apprehension will mount, and the postexam class is often one marked by debate and argument even in classes that had previously been remarkably placid. Many classes, too, move into a period of conflict, or "storming," at some point in the semester, often as a result of students' struggle against what they perceive to be the professor's authority (Tuckman, 1965).

Table 6.2 describes passive methods (avoidance and yielding) and active methods (fighting and cooperating) for dealing with such conflicts. The passive methods involve downplaying and minimizing the conflict

(Thomas, 1992; van de Vliert & Euwema, 1994). The professor may, for example, apologize for the conditions that created the conflict and offer to resolve the problem by making the changes the students request: points can be added to grades, assignments that were viewed as too demanding can be dropped, and so on. Alternatively, the professor can simply explain that the issue is obviously a controversial one that is causing strong feelings, and ask students to discuss the matter with him or her privately. In many cases students will not accept such an invitation, so the conflict is effectively avoided. The professor may, however, quash the conflict by citing principles or standards set on the syllabus, invoking privilege, or explaining the nature of classroom power differentials to students. ("If you don't like it, tough." "If you don't agree with this policy, there's the door.") The professor may, however, seek an integrative solution to the problem by discussing the problem with the class, inviting students to express their views—presenting concerns pertaining to the issues and then searching for a solution that satisfies all concerned parties (Fisher & Ury, 1981; Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). Negative methods (avoidance and fighting) tend to be viewed as more disagreeable and unjust, whereas the positive methods (yielding and cooperation) are viewed as more agreeable and fair (Jarboe & Witteman, 1996; van de Vliert & Euwema, 1994). Avoidance, fighting, and yielding are also only temporary solutions, for they quell conflicts at the surface without considering the source. Cooperation, in contrast, is an active, positive method that yields immediate and long-term benefits for the class (Deutsch, 1994; Thomas, 1992).

Most classroom conflicts, once resolved, leave behind little in the way of hard feelings or nagging worries. In rare instances, however, these conflicts can be more intense and more intractable. They can escalate from simple disagreements over the interpretation of an example, vague challenges to authority, deliberately ill-timed and provocative questions, or disputes over a grade into full-fledged arguments and rebellions. The cooperative spirit that a classroom needs to function effectively can be replaced by tensions, hostility, and competitive maneuverings that are so distracting that they interfere with the class's progress toward its learning goals. Such conflicts may require the application of more strategic, and more prudent, conflict management methods, including private meetings with students, clear documentation of the incident, the introduction of third-party mediators, and counseling. Steps to consider include:

- meeting with disaffected students in your office but keep the door open or alert colleagues with nearby offices;
- allowing students to express their concerns and focus on helping them clarify their feelings, thoughts, and position by using basic skills of empathy, reflection, and reframing;
- stating your interpretation of the problem in writing, includ-

ing your preferred resolution to the problem, and deliver this
interpretation to the student in class or through e-mail;

- keeping a file of dated notes pertaining to the incident;
- keeping colleagues informed about the problem and seek their
  input; ask them to mediate, if appropriate; and
- referring the students to your superior, to counseling, or to
  an ombudsperson if available.

In extreme cases, as when a student or group of students disrupts class so
thoroughly that instruction cannot continue, check with your college's ad-
ministrators to determine what options are available to you. Some insti-
tutions, recognizing that other students' right to receive instruction is vi-
olated by the disruptive student, permit professors to expel miscreants from
their classrooms. But if the disruptive student does not obey such an order,
then even more extreme steps must be taken such as adjourning the class
or contacting campus police. In any case, the intervention must be con-
sistent with standards and procedures adopted by your institution. The
intervention must also be lawful. One should not, for example, physically
touch a student to assist him or her in leaving your class.

Managing Diversity

As noted in chapter 1, the "traditional college student" is disappear-
ing. In the 1950s men outnumbered women on college campuses 2 to 1.
In 1987 the numbers of men and women in college were nearly equal, but
by the turn of the century 2 million more women than men were students.
Women began to outnumber men in graduate programs in 1984, and from
1987 to 1997 the number of male full-time graduate students increased by
22%, compared to 68% for female full-time students. During this period
the number of older students increased as well, so that, at present, nearly
20% of college students are ages 25 or older. Members of minority groups
in the United States are also attending colleges in increasing numbers.
These groups, just 16% of the students in 1976, are now more than 27%.
These percentages include 11% African American, 6% Asian and Pacific
Islander, and 10% Hispanic. Another 3% of students on campus are in-
ternational students (National Center for Education Statistics, 1999).

Diverse, multicultural classrooms offer many advantages over homog-
enous ones. Because of psychology's historical roots, the field implicitly
takes a White, male, and Western perspective on psychological issues.
"Even the rat was white," as Guthrie (1997) aptly puts it. This narrow
view can be revised and enlarged when students with different back-
grounds, life experiences, and cultural outlooks offer their interpretations
of psychology's theories and methods. Diversity in groups also tends to
promote creativity and enhance innovative thinking, so any collaborative,

active learning experiences should be particularly dynamic when members bring very different opinions and ideas to the task (Jackson, 1992). A diverse classroom can also become a laboratory for learning about diversity itself. For many students, college will be their first contact with people who differ from them in culture, race, ethnicity, and religion. The diverse classroom gives them the opportunity to interact with people who are outside of their usual circle of friends and family (Triandis, 1995).

Diversity can, however, lead to complexities: conflict over values, disputes over the fairness of traditional procedures, and misunderstandings (Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1995; Moreland, Levine, & Wingert, 1996). Because segregation is still pervasive in most communities, students may be uncomfortable interacting with people who are not "their own kind." Diverse groups are often less cohesive than homogeneous ones, for differences in values, background, and interests create barriers that students cannot cross. In some cases, too, students may be prejudiced, and these attitudes may surface in their comments, actions, and demeanor. When diversity increases, so does the need to monitor relationships among individuals and intervene to correct any problems that arise. As Chism (1999) explained, all students, irrespective of their background, personal or social qualities, and abilities should (a) "feel welcome" in the classroom, (b) "feel that they are being treated as individuals," (c) "feel that they can participate fully," and (d) "feel they are being treated fairly" (p. 221).

Nontraditional Students

Like all "non" categories, nontraditional students are a diverse group themselves, including part-time students returning for a single class each semester, college graduates returning to take more courses, and older students who are restarting their educational careers after a long hiatus. These students are mature adult learners, so their motivations, strengths, and limitations are different from those of the college student fresh out of high school (Graham & Donaldson, 1999; Pratt, 1992). Nontraditional students have already sharpened their self-regulatory skills, so they tend to be responsible, self-directed, goal-oriented learners. They therefore prefer student-centered learning over purely lecture-centered classes and readings of authoritative sources. These individuals' life experiences are often myriad and much more varied than those of the other students in the class, so when discussions turn to such topics as mental illness, interpersonal conflicts, drug use, religion, parenting, management, and values these students are a rich source of insight and examples. They tend, however, to be more concrete, practical learners, and so must learn to tie their own experiences into psychology's theories and perspectives—just as more theoretically oriented instructors must learn to recognize the pedagogical value of sharing students' unique experiences with the class.

Nontraditional students are sometimes rusty when it comes to performing routine academic tasks, so they may initially need to be given more time and support. They may also lack confidence in their abilities and experience the self-consciousness that comes from being different from the average student in the class. In most cases, however, nontraditional students' serious work ethic and problem-solving skills more than compensate for their academic greenness (Allen, 2000).

Ethnic, Gender, and Cultural Diversity

The modern college campus and classroom bring together men and women of varying ages, religions, races, cultures, and lifestyles, and the result is often a vibrant, unique learning experience that profoundly changes students intellectually and attitudinally (Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1991; Newcomb, Koenig, Flacks, & Warwick, 1967). Yet college campuses, once oases in a sea of American prejudice, frequently serve as venues for ethnic, racist, and sexist conflicts. In some cases, students express their prejudices against others openly in class, as when the White racist openly denounces African Americans or the sexist expresses reactionary opinions pertaining to the role of women in contemporary society. In most cases, however, bias is more subtle (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993). Whenever a nontraditional student offers his or her opinion during discussion, the younger students glance at each other and roll their eyes. None of the students in the class speak to the student who is physically challenged and uses a wheelchair. The White students in the class keep to themselves by forming interpersonal networks that exclude all the Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, and African American students.

Instructors should monitor their classes for evidence of intergroup conflict and dispel it as needed by following the recommendations of researchers in the field of prejudice reduction (e.g., Cook, 1985; Devine, 1989; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). First, status differences between students should be minimized by insisting that all members of the class treat one another in respectful ways. Second, when possible, collaborative activities should be used to create informal, personal interaction among students. Third, the professor should respond actively to any instances of intergroup bias because ignoring this problem can be misinterpreted as approval. As Blanchard, Tilly, and Vaughn (1991) discovered, when students believe that their campus tolerates the unfair treatment of others, they are more likely to express racist opinions themselves—to the point of condoning the harassment of people in other racial groups. Fourth, because situations that require cooperative interdependence in the pursuit of common goals tend to reduce prejudice, professors with diverse classes should use noncompetitive grading procedures when possible.

Professors, too, should monitor their own behaviors for evidence of unintentional bias. A prejudiced psychologist is an oxymoron, but biases produced by years of living in a prejudiced society may nonetheless surface when psychologists are interacting with their students. Hall and Sandler (1986), for example, reported that male faculty sometimes treat female students differently than male students (Sandler, 1988). Some make blatantly sexist remarks about women and their role in contemporary society. More frequently, however, classroom sexism takes the form of discounting women rather than singling them out for ridicule, or using patterns of language that exclude them, such as "mankind" or "when the experimenter ran subjects, he . . ." Professors may also treat students differently depending on their ethnicity and race because they themselves are not sufficiently experienced with multicultural environments. Some professors may use dated terms to describe members of a group, thereby unintentionally insulting the members of the group. More likely, however, they will use examples, ideas, stories, and illustrations drawn from their particular social background, so students who share that background feel included but students who do not feel left out. Every example may refer to Johnny or Jill instead of Rafael or Zhakima or Lakeish. Unwarranted generalizations may be offered about activities and interests that are more prevalent in one group rather than another: Rap music may be denounced, inner city neighborhoods called *ghettos*, and social organizations characterized as gangs. Davis (1993) and Allen (2000) offered a number of excellent suggestions for increasing one's sensitivity to issues of diversity in the classroom.

Students With Disabilities

Students with disabilities are also headed off to college in ever-increasing numbers. The innovations in helping students with disabilities are based on changes in federal law that prohibit the exclusion of people with physical and psychological impairments from any postsecondary education programs that receive any form of federal funding. Physical impairments include sensory losses, such as total or partial blindness and deafness, physical conditions that limit mobility (e.g., cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis), and chronic diseases (e.g., diabetes, seizure disorders, AIDS) that will influence students' attentiveness, stamina, classroom behavior, and so on. Mental impairments include learning disabilities (e.g., dyslexia, expressive dysphasia, aural receptive dysphasia), processing impairments caused by injury to the brain (e.g., traumatic brain injury), and some psychological disorders (e.g., depression, schizophrenia, adult attention-deficit disorder).

Institutions that receive federal funds are legally required to facilitate the full participation of students in all aspects of campus life. They cannot, for example, put in place admissions standards that are biased against stu-

dents with disabilities or deny housing to students because of their disability. Psychologists, if teaching at such institutions, are also legally and ethically required to provide to students with disabilities the resources they need to succeed in their courses. Instructors should willingly arrange their classrooms to take into account the special needs of these students, say by providing extra space for any special equipment (calculators, computers, tape recorders) the students may require. They should also permit people who are not registered for the class but who are assisting the student, such as note takers or interpreters, to attend class. Guide animals, too, cannot be excluded. They should also adjust the content of curricula and course content, activities, and testing procedures as necessary for qualified students with disabilities. These modifications are termed "adjustments" or "accommodations," and they can include substitution of courses, elimination of requirements, adjustment in the length and type of examinations, and the substitution of one type of activity or assignment for another.

Faculty should ask students with disabilities to contact them at their earliest convenience to discuss accommodations. My university, for example, asks that all faculty insert the following paragraph in their syllabi for all courses:

> Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 require Virginia Commonwealth University to provide an "academic adjustment" and/or "reasonable accommodation" to any individual who advises us of a physical or mental disability. If you have a physical or mental limitation that requires an academic adjustment or an accommodation, please arrange a meeting with me at your earliest convenience.

Students with disabilities are not obligated, however, to identify themselves to their instructor by any deadline, so in some cases students seek accommodations late in the term.

Most institutions have policies in place that determine how students with disabilities can certify their need, and thereby qualify for accommodations, adjustments, and support services. The institution can, if it deems necessary, refuse to make accommodations in curriculum areas that it considers essential to the program of instruction.

Managing Students' Stress

Stress is a part of every student's daily life. Each day brings an avalanche of minor hassles, including broken down cars, parking tickets, overdue library books, and shortages of cash. Many students are experiencing developmental changes, not to mention significant changes in their connections to their families, roommates, and partners. Then there are the academic stressors: excessive homework, difficult or ambiguous assignments,

classrooms filled with environmental irritants, and overall time pressures (Towbes & Cohen, 1996; J. J. Wright, 1967). Most manage to cope with this stress, but those who do not should be advised, counseled, and referred to treatment if their problems warrant it.

When to Refer a Student for Counseling

Some students, often during class or office hours, will express a self-diagnosis and ask if they should be concerned about their problem. These self-diagnoses spike immediately after a lecture on psychopathology, for more than a few students will become convinced that the list of symptoms of one of the disorders describes them perfectly. Other students may become concerned about their sleep habits, their drinking, the drugs their family doctor prescribes them, their conflicts with roommates, their problems relating to their mother, their intrusive thoughts during exams, and so on.

In some cases the students are overreacting. Not realizing the intensity of the emotions, thoughts, or behaviors that characterize psychological disorders, they mistake their relatively transient disturbances for symptoms of psychological dysfunction. In other instances, however, students report and even display significant disruptions in mood, thought, and action. When talking with the student, the professor may note that their behavior is inappropriate: flat and unchanging, hostile to the point of fury, or depressed and listless. They may also act in odd, atypical ways. Some reveal their anxiety by crying uncontrollably. Others may act erratically in class, asking odd questions and expressing thoughts that you, and other students, find incomprehensible. Their attention to their clothes and appearance may decline noticeably, and they may also show signs of drug abuse. In such circumstances, the professor should help the student seek counseling.

How Should You Refer a Student?

Students often seek out their psychology professor when they become concerned about their mental health, for they often assume that all psychologists are trained therapists who can help them. But teaching psychologists' primary mission is teaching, and they risk becoming involved in a dual-role relationship if they also become a student's therapist. Concerned professors should, instead, use their best judgment to determine if the student's problems are so substantial that he or she would benefit from counseling, and then refer the student to the appropriate campus service agency.

Referral involves more than simply saying, "You should get some help." Rather, the referral should take place in the context of a consultation with the student, during which the professor shows appropriate interest and concern for the student's well-being. During this meeting the professor

should try to gauge the severity of the problem and help the student separate distress caused by academic concerns from distress caused by personal difficulties. If the root cause of the student's problems is academic, then the professor should recommend strategies the student can use to deal with them. If it is personal distress, however, the professor should suggest ways the student can deal with his or her problems. The professor may ask about family or friends, and ask if the student has let them know about the problems. He or she may also want to discuss more formal methods of dealing with the problem, including treatment. These options should be discussed as matter-of-factly as possible. A recommendation to visit a counselor can be normalized by avoiding a medical model mentality that describes the process as *treatment* or the problem as a *disorder*. Moreover, if the students are psychology majors, the referral can be framed as an informal assignment that will give the student "a firsthand look at the way a counseling center operates." Students can be reassured that psychologists themselves turn to counselors whenever they must deal with significant life events, such as divorce, crises in their careers, and so on.

You may need to take additional steps in extreme cases. You may, with the student still in your office, call the counseling center personally and make an appointment for the student. You can also walk the student to the center. Colleagues can also be contacted, as well as the police, if the student threatens suicide or violence. In most cases, however, all students need is a sympathetic listener who is experienced in working with students and their problems.