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Moral Positions and Academic Conduct

Parameters of Tolerance for Ethics Failure

*To what extent are our practices consistent
with the values that we espouse?*

—R. A. Smith

Introduction

This article explores the intersection of ethics and professionalism in academia. Specifically, we examine what it means to be both ethical and professional as an academician. Although we focus primarily upon college and university faculty members, we believe that our observations and conclusions have relevance for the broader range of roles and actors in the academic community.

We begin by addressing the importance of ethics both as a topic and a practice within the academy. We then discuss the nature of good citizenship and professionalism and how these concepts translate into the academic world. Models of the professorate are also offered. We then offer a definition and typology of ethics failure in academia and show how these are linked to professionalism. Finally, we explore the ways in which academic organizations can respond to such failure. The central questions guiding this article are: What does it mean to be a professional academic? What is the nature of moral failure within this profession?

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What can be done about it? In asking and offering answers to these questions, we address a topic that is explored extensively in other organizational sectors, such as government and business, but less so in academia.

This topic is especially timely. As Berube (1996) points out, although public criticism of American higher education is not new, it has reached a fever pitch in the last decade. Corporate America finds troublesome a professional ethic and sense of independence of professionals that makes them resistant to “the bottom line.” Other segments of society are concerned about the rising costs of higher education and the accountability of professors with respect to teaching loads and availability to students (Schuster & Bowen, 1985). The same cultural climate that breeds distrust of tenured faculty as professionals also breeds distrust of politicians, lawyers, journalists, and health care professionals (Berube, 1996).

There is a need to examine how moral learning occurs in organizations, especially how obligations and responsibilities to the public as well as to fellow professionals are learned, and how organizations respond when individual members breach ethical boundaries. Though organizations differ greatly and generalizations about them are therefore complex, it is reasonable to begin to understand ethics failure by constructing a typology of ethics failure in academia.

Moral Nature, Professionalism, and Learning in Academic Organizations

The Nature of a Profession

A profession is defined as an occupation that regulates itself through systematic, required training and collegial discipline; that has a base in technical, specialized knowledge; and that has a service rather than profit orientation, enshrined in a code of ethics (Reader, 1966). Wilson (1942) has suggested six criteria as the framework for a profession: (1) prolonged and specialized training, (2) rigorous standards of licensure, (3) competency tests cannot be simply deduced, (4) absence of contractual terms of work (5) limitation upon the self-interest of the practitioner and an insulation from extraneous matters, (6) positive obligations to the profession and its clientele. But, as Becker (1962) points out, the word “profession” is applied to many groups that wish to flatter themselves, therefore, the word refers more to a social symbol that people attach to some occupations and not to others.

Professions purport to be self-policing. Self-policing is essential, both to prevent regulation by government or other unrelated agencies and to

ensure that members of the profession—those who are in the best position to govern and regulate the profession and whose livelihood depends on the profession—are left with ultimate authority for establishing expectations, evaluating the profession's contributions to society, monitoring the conduct of members and responding to reports of member misconduct in an effort to protect the profession and the constituents it serves.

Faculty in colleges and universities proclaim their commitment to being effective teachers and scholars, to searching for truth, and to working as effective problem solvers (Smith, 1996). Yet, there are gaps between what we say and what we do, as well as in our awareness of these gaps. Although there are broad statements of the ethical responsibilities of faculty (AAUP, 1974), there are no universally recognized set of standards defining appropriate and inappropriate conduct on the part of faculty. The practices of academic freedom and autonomy protect a host of actions and inactions, some of which may not be readily known or observable to others. Efforts to reach a consensus within the academy on topics related to faculty conduct have often met with resistance.

For example, Bennett (1998) describes the difficulty in getting consensus in the academy on post-tenure review (better termed periodic evaluation of senior faculty). A conference on the topic, cosponsored by the American Council on Education (ACE) and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) ended in posturing, polarized rhetoric, and a resistance to open self-examination. The AAUP reported the conference as a victory for the autonomy of the professorate and concluded that no changes were necessary (Wingspread Group on Higher Education, 1993).

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) does not get involved in isolated instances of misconduct on the part of individual faculty members, but becomes involved at the institutional level and reinforces, through censure, what is unacceptable behavior for academic institutions. There are established procedures within academic institutions, involving Ombudsmen, faculty rights and responsibilities committees, and administrative reviews, which concern themselves with individual faculty complaints, grievances, and conflicts.

The Association of American Law Schools (AALS) (1993), as the law teachers' learned society, has promulgated guidelines that address the expectations and obligations of law faculty. It describes this "Statement of Good Practices" as aspirational, thereby relinquishing to the various law schools the opportunity to define the profession through self-policing of member conduct. The refusal to actively self-police contributes to the erosion of the profession, given the lack of consistency in

expectations furthered through uneven policing of conduct at various institutions.

Other professions have experienced the dangers associated with the failure to self-police. Confronted with criticism from the public and federal and state governments as a result of ethics failures associated with the savings and loan scandal of the 1980s, the accounting profession responded with new ethics rules and heightened enforcement by the profession, all in the interest of avoiding further regulation from the Securities and Exchange Commission and state securities departments (Calhoun, Oliverio, & Wolitzer, 1999). Similarly, in recent years the legal profession has enhanced efforts to police lawyer conduct through the use of disciplinary boards (some of which include representation by non-lawyers, but this varies by state). These efforts ensure that member conduct will be monitored and that appropriate action will be taken to protect the public from lawyer misconduct and promote the profession as an institution dedicated to the highest ethical standards (American Bar Association and Bureau of National Affairs, 2000). Some thirty-seven other professions also have codes of professional responsibility (Gorlin, 1990).

Certainly the academy has studied, debated, and written about academic misconduct. Braxton & Bayer (1999) list numerous books and documents available on professional ethics. Some recent works include Tierney (1998a, 1998b), Bird & Dustira (1999), Braxton (1994, 1999). There are also numerous monographs and reports from projects, panels, committees, and workshops offering guidelines for academic conduct, such as the Panel on Scientific Responsibility and the Conduct of Research, 1992; the Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy, 1995; and the American Association for the Advancement of Science Professional Ethics Project (Chalk, Frankel, & Chafer, 1980), but the academy has failed to speak with a unified voice with regard to moral and ethical issues directly affecting higher education. One example involves an autobiography written by a Nobel Peace Prize recipient (Menchu, 1984), that has recently been exposed as a partial fabrication. There has been no statement of condemnation from the profession; rather, individual scholars have weighed in on both sides of the issue (Stoll, 1999; D'Souza, 1991), those siding with the author actually disgracing the profession by suggesting that misrepresentation of scholarly work has some inherent value (Wilson, 1999). A debate has evolved within the profession involving the use of the autobiography as classroom material with the knowledge that it may actually not be accurate.

Professions can also be distinguished from other livelihoods by the oath taken by those who participate as members of a profession. The

oath is an exemplar of professional etiquette and attitude. It reminds the subscriber and the general public that the responsibilities assumed by a new member of the profession are more important than those of more traditional employment and are therefore deserving of ceremonial treatment. In other words, the promise made in the oath taken upon entry into a profession is made to all of society rather than simply to one's employer.

Good Citizenship and Professionalism

It could be argued that academicians should exhibit a higher degree of professionalism and adhere to a more strict code of ethics than other professions. O'Neil (1983) states "a university that teaches and preaches ethical responsibility to others must itself be a model of that very responsibility if it is to maintain credibility and public trust and continue to be regarded as an essential contributor to society's well-being." Smith and Reynolds (1990) have pointed out that there is a broad public consensus that college graduates should be prepared for active participation in the civic life of our communities and nation, a task with implications for nurturing ethical behavior. They emphasize that it is difficult to imagine that a college or university can meet these expectations unless its own affairs are conducted in the highest ethical manner. This should apply to the behavior of colleges and universities as institutions, as well as to individual faculty members, administrators, and staff.

The issues surrounding professionalism and a code of ethics are part of a broader concept of what constitutes good citizenship in academia. Charnov (1987) notes that different institutions may have different definitions of what constitutes good citizenship, so that a new faculty member cannot assume that what was acceptable at one's former institution will be acceptable at another institution. Good citizenship is a product of organizational culture and its psychological structure and members' interpretations of them (Baum, 1991). Ethical boundaries or limits are constantly being tested by members as personal agendas are adjusted to institutional agendas (Welsh, 1994). As Welsh says, "Somewhere within each person is a core, whether we call it conscience, or intuition, or faith, that defines this person in the midst of others" (1994). Similarly, every organization has a "shared reality" that sets certain patterns of behavior and influences members' beliefs about expected behavior. In other words, standards of moral behavior, professionalism, and good citizenship involve the interaction between an organization and its members (Morgan, 1997).

Cooper (1991) notes that citizenship has two dimensions, legal and ethical. Legal citizenship is prescribed and defined in terms of qualifica-

tions, rights, and obligations by constitutions and statutes. Ethical citizenship is much broader and has to do with membership in a community. Ethical citizenship is a role in an organization that is shaped by the values, norms, traditions, and culture of the organization or broader community. For those individuals entering a profession, an additional layer of responsibilities and expectations are imposed. These are explicit in professional codes of ethics, and boundaries exist for what constitutes ethical behavior for members of specific professional groups, for example, medicine and law.

Another way of viewing citizenship is in terms of rights and responsibilities. Citizens have rights that are not available to non-citizens (Graham, 1991). As a result, the substance and distribution of rights are important things to understand about an organization. Marshall (1965) identified three categories of rights: *civil* (legal protection), *political* (participation in decision making), and *social* (adequate level of socioeconomic benefits). Marshall's categorization can be used to analyze organizations as well as societies. Graham (1991) has identified three categories of citizen responsibilities—obedience, loyalty, and participation. She points out that responsible citizenship requires a balance between these three behaviors.

Good citizenship behavior in professional organizations has been viewed as a blend of rights and responsibilities resulting in an employee engaging in behavior that is discretionary, beyond the call of duty, and is not necessarily tied to any formal organizational reward structure. Thus, as Organ (1988) states, "College professors who prep for their courses, teach, do research, and write are not exhibiting organizational citizenship behavior no matter how good their teaching and research is judged by others." These behaviors are the minimum expected for the role of professor. Cooper (1990) sees individual values as the means for maintaining a consistent and corrective ethical continuum in organizations. Integrity ensures a wholeness within ourselves as well as in our relationships with others. Konovsky and Pugh (1994) point out that trust protects citizenship behavior. The fairness of supervisors was found to lead to good employee citizenship behavior. Costigan and his colleagues (1998) similarly found that an employee's perception of the effectiveness of the organization's reward practices, as well as his or her intention to leave the organization, were related to institutional trust. Ball, Trevino, and Sims (1994) and Moorman (1991) report that procedural justice, rather than distributive justice, is associated with positive employee citizenship.

Good citizenship in academia, therefore, means more than going to work everyday and fulfilling one's contractual obligations. Indeed, it

means exhibiting characteristics of what Organ (1988) has termed “the good soldier syndrome” and is characterized by these attributes: altruism, helping, conscientiousness, prosocial behavior, neighborliness, sportsmanship, and civic virtue. Bolino (1999) points out that there may be discrepancies between the organizational citizen image that an individual believes others hold of her and how she wishes to be viewed. Bolino suggests that some “good soldiers” may be good actors.

Being a good citizen and being professional are interrelated behaviors and the terms are often used interchangeably. *Professionalism* is an interactive process that is continually modified by societal forces that impact upon academia. Because professionalism is at once societal, academic, and personal, it is often assessed locally and situationally. This is why it is so difficult to obtain consensus on a code of ethics for academia. In addition, there are conceptual boundaries that outline the limits of professional behavior for professions; there are also personal boundaries that further define acceptable or unacceptable behavior. As Durkheim (1958) pointed out, there are two kinds of rules. The first apply to mankind in general, the second apply to the individual—how each of us relates to our own self, and how each of us relates to other people. Between these two broad rules lies the moral code related to one’s own profession, which Durkheim called professional ethics. The melding of our own ideals and beliefs with the ideals and beliefs of our profession exhibit themselves in the behavior we show to others as “professionalism.”

The ideology of professionalism has several aspects: a profession is believed to be a “calling”, performed because of the intrinsic worth of the endeavor; a profession is guided by an ideal of service to one’s client and to the general good of the community; a profession is a position of *noblesse oblige*; a profession legitimizes high social status; a profession justifies rights to self-regulation and occupational autonomy (Meisenholder, 1983). Thus, professional conduct would be characterized by all of these attributes, or what might be termed “a cut above” what might be expected from a nonprofessional person. Indeed, Slaughter (1994) notes that the “dirty little cases” that were filed over a twenty-year period with the American Association of University Professors arose largely because institutions did not recognize faculty professionalism; that is, faculty were treated as employees rather than professionals.

Here we are concerned with how academics, faculty and administrators, behave. Do they act like professionals in word and deed? As members of a profession, do their actions fit with the status, prestige and privilege attributed to them? What constitutes “ethics failure” on their part and what is the response and consequence, if any, to ethics failure?

The Contract and Professionalism

The National Education Association has on CD-Rom over 500 higher education contracts from two- and four-year colleges (National Education Association 1997a, 1007b). Most of the information is on the structure, process, and rules surrounding peer review. Professionalism or its assessment is not mentioned in these contracts.

The faculty contract does not address the question of professionalism in the academy. Rather, it addresses basic conditions of employment, thereby creating a list of basic expectations more in the nature of work rules. If the contract is the product of collective bargaining, these work rules may be quite detailed. But in all cases, the nature and degree of conduct not addressed by the contract become the concern of all members of the academy if faculty are to be treated as members of a profession. Work rules can be added by an institution to a contract in an effort to fill the void created by the profession's failure to police its own, but they remain only work rules. In other words, rules of professional conduct cannot be imposed on faculty in their capacity as employees; only when they follow from the work of the profession—*independent of employing institutions*—can they be considered standards of a profession. Rules of professional conduct must be imposed by a profession on itself independent of the relationship its members have with employers. It follows, then, that these rules of professional conduct cannot be bargained away in the employment contract setting. Rather, the employment contract addresses employment-specific issues without compromising the more fundamental standards of conduct that every member of the profession observes.

Curiously, the existence of an employment contract—particularly a detailed contract of the sort which results from the collective bargaining process—may actually inhibit the development of standards of professional conduct. Ideally, the contract will address only the most basic issues, thereby ensuring that the relationship is governed by a legally enforceable document. When a more detailed list of rights and responsibilities is added, the need for professional standards appears less compelling. However, the unintended ramifications of detailed contractual provisions may actually provide stronger justification for rules of professional conduct. Inclusion of detailed rules of conduct in a contract may create an unwanted conflict between an institution's work rules and its tenure guidelines (e.g., does the use of a contractual provision requiring office hours authorize termination of a tenured faculty member for failure to maintain office hours?). Further, these contractual provisions may alter the relationship between faculty and administration

by leaving faculty with the impression that their individual sense of professional duty, albeit unwritten and varying from academician to academician, is of little value to the institution.

Finally, consider the effectiveness of standards imposed through an employment contract as work rules. As work rules, they do not command the respect of standards promulgated by a professional organization after thorough study and deliberation. In addition, they lack the effectiveness of standards developed in an inclusive process, particularly if they are, as a practical matter, unenforceable.

The use of collective bargaining may also have an impact on professionalism in higher education. At many institutions, shared governance—a distinguishing feature of higher education that gives it a sense of professionalism—is modified or eliminated by an agreement reached between faculty representatives and the institution through collective bargaining. The detail required in a union contract necessarily eliminates the need for much of the faculty deliberation that would otherwise take place within the shared governance environment. Thus, it may be that the work of faculty within an “organized” faculty is more like employment and less like a profession.

Tenure and Professionalism

The institution of tenure, originally established to protect academic freedom (Brown & Kurland, 1993), is now as much a benefit (providing job security) as it is essential to the unfettered pursuit of knowledge. To the extent that tenure is viewed by those in higher education as job security, it complicates the relationship between the academician and the institution by imposing additional conditions on their contractual relationship (as otherwise defined in the employment contract). As a result, a breach of the employment contract by a tenured faculty member may not result in termination of employment even though it is contemplated by the contract. It is worth noting that this result may be desirable, given the unequal bargaining positions of the parties. Nevertheless, it does hinder the ability of the institution to respond to ethics failures by tenured faculty. Further, it limits the ability of educational institutions to use the employment relationship as an incentive to adhere to accepted standards of conduct.

In the event of an ethics failure resulting from the conduct of a tenured faculty member (termination for cause), both the institution and the tenured faculty become involved. In addition, the AAUP often scrutinizes decisions affecting tenured faculty, given the importance its members place on job security through tenure. The complicated nature

of the process alone limits its use to only the most egregious violations of institutional policy. Thus, many ethics failures will receive only cursory attention, thereby limiting the ability of the institution and its individual members to eliminate future violations of ethics standards.

There is much literature about tenure and accountability, tenure and faculty productivity, the relationship between tenure, productivity, and academic freedom. Yet, in the question posed by Lincoln (1999), "What else needs to be included in the conversation?" no mention is made of faculty behavior or professionalism. Fairweather's (1999) analysis of the notion of the "complete professor" is meant as a faculty member who is strong in teaching *and* research, and possibly service. No mention is made of ethics or professionalism as part of the "completeness" of a productive faculty member.

Legal Education as a Model

The legal profession has struggled with the concepts of ethics and professionalism for many years. The fundamental duties of loyalty and zealous representation encouraged the profession to develop an initial set of ethical standards in the early part of the twentieth century. These rules were revised in the sixties and again in the eighties, both times in an effort to better define the duties owed by lawyers to clients and the justice system. But for the most part these rules were "outside ethics rules," because they dealt only with the lawyer's relationship with outsiders. Only recently has the legal profession begun work on "inside rules" of conduct—rules of professionalism that address the interaction of lawyers with each other, rules that derive from the law *as a profession*.

This focus on ethical conduct that lawyers have so long accepted as both necessary and important may explain the existence of the *Statement of Good Practices by Law Professors in the Discharge of their Ethical and Professional Responsibilities* adopted by the Executive Committee of the Association of American Law Schools in 1989. This set of aspirational goals addresses a law professors' responsibilities owed to students, colleagues, the law school and university and the public as a teacher, a scholar, and a member of the law school, university, and academic communities.

The Non-Contractual Side of Professionalism

How citizenship and professionalism are played out on a daily basis is not specified in the contract. Indeed, many important elements of citizenship and professionalism cannot be reduced to a set of written and binding terms (McCarthy, Ladimer, & Sirefman, 1984). It is within this

non-contractual realm of professionalism that the majority of ethics failure occurs. This is because faculty have more autonomy than most other professionals and, unlike many other professional groups, have no uniform code of ethics. The autonomy of members of the academy to teach and research as they please conditions other aspects of administering the academy. Autonomy is tied directly to the notion of *academic freedom*, where scholars must be permitted to pursue knowledge, unfettered by organizational superiors or agendas. With it comes a self-direction enjoyed by few other professionals. This includes the freedom to set one's own schedule, to control the content and process of one's own work, and to enjoy liberal provisions for leave.

It is reasonable to hold academics to a high moral standard, as they are in a prime position to influence young minds through their modeling and control of information. Faculty also conduct research and through it often influence public opinion and contribute to social constructions of "truth" and morality. Faculty obtain monies from public and private sources to fund research, which may also support the training of future academics. As such there is a great deal of autonomy afforded faculty, as well as a great deal of responsibility to the public, to academia, to the institution, and to the students whom they teach and mentor.

The non-contractual side of professionalism also includes relationships with colleagues and administrators inside the academy. Academics often refer to their membership as a "community of scholars." The community is made up of other faculty, students (especially graduate students), non-university-based scholars, and other individuals who work together to promote and enable the free pursuit of knowledge. Certainly there must be a connection between what each faculty member does and the department, school, and college/university goals. However, there is a great deal of freedom afforded to faculty as to what is taught, when, frequency of offering and class size. For example, a common problem administrators have is that faculty want to teach most of their courses between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m., Monday through Thursday, creating a shortage of classrooms during this time period, scheduling conflicts for students, and limited availability of courses needed for graduation by students who work. Professionalism is not always evident in resolving such problems.

The non-contractual side of professionalism also involves the relationship of the university/college and individual faculty to the outside community (non-academics). Perhaps the example that is best known in this sphere is what is termed "town-gown" relationships, where citizens of the university or college live in and use the resources of the larger community and region. The university or college is often seen by out-

siders as isolated, theoretical, and uninvolved in the issues and concerns of the larger environment. For every positive example of faculty consulting with constituencies outside the university, there are examples of faculty who have difficulty relating to individuals outside the academy, for example, conflicts with individuals in public and private organizations in arranging student internships.

The largest segment of the non-contractual side of professionalism lies with each individual faculty member. The individual ethics of faculty members become known to others in their professional community. To be sure, the majority of faculty are professional in their total behavior; a number of these are "good soldiers." Some faculty, however, never seem to follow institutional rules for travel, creating the need for individual memos to grant permission after the fact for their exceptions. Some never get their book orders for courses to the bookstore in time, resulting in students not having books when courses begin. Some do not keep office hours making it difficult for students to contact them. Some have businesses on the side abusing their contracted hours at the college or university. Still others cancel courses when the class size does not make it financially lucrative to teach the course. Others intentionally demand too much from students, creating a high rate of drops and thus the desired small classes, or a faculty member may grade students without thoroughly reading their papers and exams. All such behaviors contribute to bad will within the local academic community. As Zuckerman (1977) notes, these are deviations from the etiquette of citizenship.

The non-contractual side of professionalism is a challenge to administrators because problems must be dealt with on an individual basis. These problems seem to be generated by the same minority referred to by Bennett (1998) as "difficult people." Usually these individuals are neither good citizens nor professional in their behavior. The greatest obstacle to dealing with abuses in the non-contractual side of professionalism is that there are usually few, if any, consequences for violations. For example, in one university where a faculty member was accused of listing non-existent publications on his vitae, the vice president for academic affairs was reported to have told the dean, "just tell him not to do that anymore." As a result, consequences for unprofessional behavior vary among administrators within an institution and between institutions even within the same university system.

Models of the Academician

Certainly, citizenship and professionalism are not absolutes. They range along a continuum and are subject to change. It is possible,

however, to present types of what might be considered a good citizen and a professional person for purposes of discussion.

Two basic models of the academician are presented here. The models are not mutually exclusive nor complete, but are offered as a mix of idealism and realism about how academics are perceived outside the academy.

Academician as a Character Model

Academics are perceived as scholars, seekers and purveyors of knowledge, with insatiable curiosities about what we do not know and a critical and questioning attitude about what we do know. Academics are experts in information and ways of using information. Their students are often impressionable young people who are searching for careers and models of career types. College students are also often still experimenting with a system of values, beliefs, and moral standards. Academicians are seen as autonomous and mature agents who have a broad view and analytical approach to morality. Many academicians become influential forces in helping students to make critical life choices. In this role, the academic is perceived as highly educated, thoughtful, analytical, tolerant, respectful of diversity; a fiercely independent producer and guardian of “truth” who is combative with the administration when the internal goods of the profession are threatened.

Operating under this model, the academic can be an effective and beloved character guide, who is centrally concerned with his or her role as a shaper of minds and values (Albom, 1997). In this role, the academic operates somewhat like a clergy member or parent, holding a position of trust and respect within the community. Of course, academicians are human, but most students (especially undergraduates) do not see or know about the human side of academia and its members. Students expect faculty to be available to them. Milem and his colleagues (Milem, Berger, & Dey, 2000), in a study of changes in academia over the past twenty years, report a decrease in the time faculty spend interacting with students. These authors emphasize that what we say we value in higher education is teaching, but we reward research and scholarly publication. Thus, students may come to be disappointed when their mentors do not live up to expectations. Moreover, this model of the academic can lead to an elite, patrician approach to education and research and can stifle social voices that do not conform to the values established by the academy.

Yet a decrease in faculty interaction with students cannot all be blamed on the greater rewards given for faculty research. Rupert and Holmes (1997) stress that the growing importance of dual relationships

in higher education and the concerns about the potential for exploitation of students help to keep faculty cautious and at a distance. These authors found that neither professional codes nor institutional policies address faculty-student relationships in a comprehensive manner. Indeed, in a five-year study of classroom incivilities (Boice, 1996) it was found that high levels of classroom incivility corresponded to low levels of student attentiveness and note taking and to low levels of teacher enthusiasm, clarity and organization, and expressions of warmth and approachability. Hence, though student and faculty cultures have changed, students' and faculty's perceptions and expectations of each other have changed little, if at all. The meeting of the two cultures now often makes for a defensive/adversarial relationship. McCabe and Trevino (1997) report from a study of nine state universities, that the context of the classroom can have an impact on student dishonesty. Pulvers and Diekhoff (1999) report that cheaters described their classes as less personalized, less satisfying, and more task-oriented than non-cheaters. Delucci and Smith (1997) suggest that we need to create classroom environments that help students experience ambivalence, anger, and frustration that accompany learning. Faculty, on the other hand, need to become more flexible and adaptive to the different learning styles of a diversified student population and reexamine the sources of their career satisfactions and rewards.

Academician as Research Entrepreneur

There is substantial pressure on academics to obtain grants and contracts to help pay their salaries and to write peer reviewed papers and books to achieve promotion and tenure. There is constant tension between teaching, research, and service in the academy. The distribution of power within this triad varies from institution to institution, but research and scholarly activities are essential for advancement in the majority of colleges and universities. The reputation of academicians is based heavily upon research publications. Research accomplishments carry over into the character model. The research model gives the academician a great deal of autonomy within the bureaucratic structure governing grants and contracts, but tends to downplay the role of character model.

Maintaining the quality and integrity of scientific research is one of the primary responsibilities of scientists. This responsibility stems from the scientists' desire for autonomy in the conduct of their work and from their unique capabilities to evaluate the work of their colleagues. They are expected to be able to distinguish between honest error and reasoned disagreement, on the one hand, and dishonest behavior and improper deviations from accepted scientific standards and practices, on the other hand. Science journals, scientific societies, and research institutions

have undertaken initiatives to monitor scientific research. For example, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* requires authors to produce the data on which their manuscript is based for examination if requested. Some scientific societies have proposed or developed standards of research ethics for their individual members, for example, the Association of American Medical Colleges, and the Association of American Universities have such policies and procedures (Teich & Frankel, 1992).

In addition to falsification, fabrication, and plagiarism, other behaviors, including sexual or other forms of harassment, misuse of funds, gross negligence in a person's professional activities, tampering with the experiments of others or with instrumentation, and violations of government research regulations, are subject to legal and social penalties. The National Science Foundation and Public Health Service require all research institutions that receive public funds to have procedures in place to deal with allegations of unethical practice (Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy, 1995). Yet, not all research carried out by faculty is funded by the government, nor are all incidents of scientific fraud visible (Braxton, 1999). Universities and colleges monitor the ethical conduct of research through institutional review boards and offices of sponsored research.

What is important about these two models is that each involves a choice among competing sets of values; there is no neutral ground in academia (Denhardt, 1993). Boundaries are continually being tested and challenged. On the other hand, much of what we do everyday is "tacit knowing" until some action by someone breaches a boundary. This action can become a failure of ethics, to be dealt with by administrators. Administrators are boundary managers and, as such, seen as "the enemy" by faculty (Bruhn & Lewis, 1992; Bruhn & Chesney, 1995). Hence, autonomy and individualism, which are the cornerstones of academia, are often a challenge to the moral functioning of a group or organization. Deviation from group or organization norms are personalized and often dealt with in an ad hoc manner, because the academy shies away from excessive rules and regulations lest they violate the tenets of academic freedom (Adams & Balfour, 1998).

What Do We Mean by Ethics Failure in Academia?

Having examined the relationship between professionalism, citizenship, and ethics failure in academia, we turn to the question of the nature of ethics failure within academia. Specifically, what do we mean when we say that an ethics failure has occurred within the academy?

At the broadest level, ethics failure can be defined as any act that results in harm to others. One element essential to ethics failure is *intentionality*; the harmful act must generally be done willfully. Thus, John would not be judged morally deficient if the brakes on his car were improperly installed and later gave way, resulting in injury to another driver. John would be morally culpable, on the other hand, if he had been informed that they were defective, and decided not to replace them in order to save money. Knowledge of the wrong, or potentially wrong, act is key here. Moral blame is separate from legal blame. In both of the aforementioned scenarios, John would likely have legal liability for damages (which might be shared by the garage). But moral blame typically rests upon awareness of wrongdoing. Thus, John would clearly be culpable in the second scenario, but not the first. The garage would not be culpable in the second scenario (they had done their duty to inform John of the deficiency), and might not be culpable in the first scenario either. Blame would depend upon the reason for the improper installation—willful negligence, poor training, or an honest mistake. Thus, these scenarios might be interpreted as ethics failure, depending upon the intentions of the actors.

Ethics failure typically depends upon some degree of malice or negligence on the part of mentally competent actors, resulting in harm to (usually innocent) others. Again, volition is the issue. Harm which is in some sense an “act of God” typically does not qualify as ethics failure. Thus, ethics failure may be an act of commission or omission.

Evidence of Individual Faculty Ethics Failure

The U.S. government confirmed forty to one hundred cases of research misconduct between 1980 and 1990 (Panel on Scientific Responsibility and the Conduct of Research, 1992). However this is the tip of an iceberg owing to the different definitions of misconduct between the government and research institutions. Grinnell (1992) has pointed out that deception and deviant practices refer to patterns of behavior rather than to specific events. In most cases it is difficult to draw the line between what is acceptable and what is deceptive or deviant. Zuckerman (1977) observed that the greater the socially induced pressure for deviant behavior, the greater the likelihood that it will be detected.

Anderson (1999) points out that the amount and types of faculty misconduct are unknown because they are hidden, often in direct proportion to their seriousness. Not only is the topic sensitive but it is difficult to find informants. Any attempt to gather data is likely to antagonize the faculty, create suspicion and hostility toward real and imagined pepe-

trators with accusations of intrusions on academic freedom. Although data suggest that faculty members who are told about a case of ethical misconduct are not likely to let the matter slide (Knight & Auster, 1999), data also confirm that faculty are aware that often no action was taken by administrators after they listened to their complaints. An administration that seeks to impose a sanction on a faculty member embarks on a difficult task. The procedural obstacles are substantial, and the process is lengthy and expensive. Yet, there is evidence that some administrators do follow up on faculty members' ethical activism (Knight & Auster, 1999).

But evidence of acts of moral failure may not always be apparent to others, may not be repeated often enough to be considered "an issue," may occur at times and places when there are few people around—for example, on nights or weekends—or may be tolerated, ignored, or dismissed as characteristic of a particular difficult faculty member. Acts of moral failure are usually protected under the umbrella of academic freedom and hidden by the cloak of collegiality when convenient.

Academia is a profession much like public service (Zajac, 1996). Academics have a special role within our society; their work is not driven strictly by profit. Further, many colleges and universities are affiliated with government; nearly three-quarters of college faculty are employed by public institutions. Some faculty are technically employees of state or local government (e.g., state-owned public universities). Moreover, in 1996, governments directed in excess of seventeen billion dollars in research grants and contracts to public and private universities and colleges (*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1999). Thus, we can see that academia has a distinctly public flavor to it.

A Typology of Ethics Failure

Drawing upon the work of Zajac (1996) of ethics failure in public affairs, we have constructed a typology of ethics failure in academia. In general ethics failure has two major components which can be placed along continua. One component is the *origin* of the offense, whether instituted by one or a few persons, on the one hand, or whether committed by an organization or institution, on the other hand. The second component is the *seriousness* of the action. The determination of seriousness includes three subcomponents: (1) whether this was a *first offense or pattern of behavior*, (2) the *type of offense*, and (3) the *impact or consequences* of the offense, namely, does it affect one or a few persons or an entire organization or institution.

Figure 1 illustrates the two basic foci of ethics failure, namely its ori-

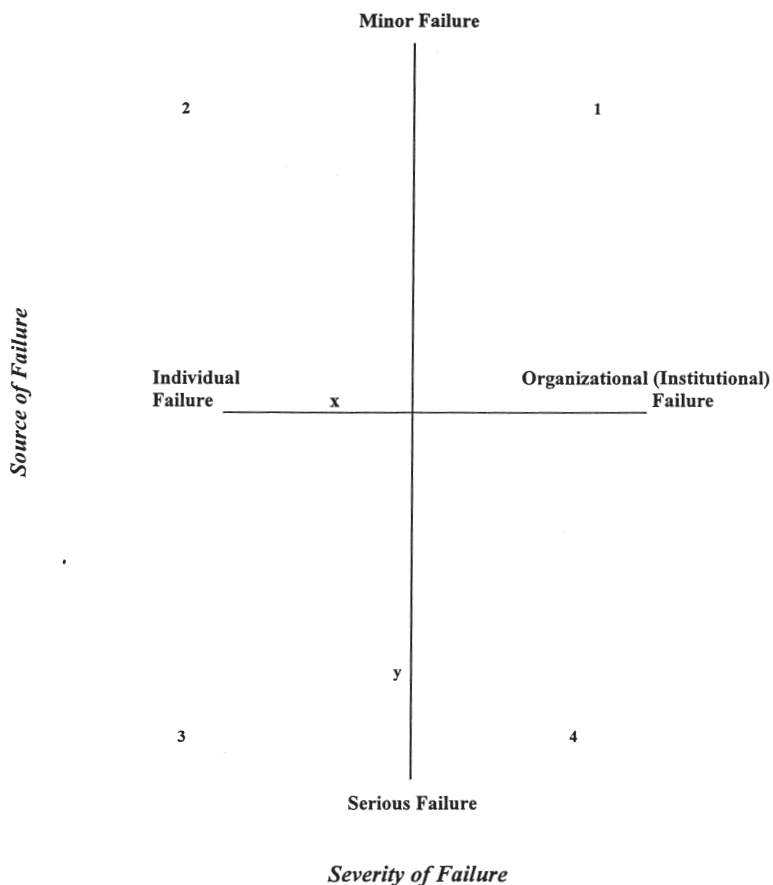


FIG. 1. Typology of Ethics Failure in Academia

gin (axis x) and its seriousness (axis y). Often, ethics failure hovers in grey areas along these axes, where a problem may not be entirely individual or organizational, and where the seriousness of the problem will be subject to debate. Indeed, many ethics failures may best be represented not by points within the field defined by these axes, but rather by lines or curves. Thus, an ethics problem may blend elements of different types of failure, may be perceived as more or less serious by different people, and may implicate various individuals at different levels of culpability.

Two vignettes are offered to illustrate ethics failure in each of the four quadrants of the diagram. The information provided in the vignettes has been abbreviated and altered to preserve confidentiality; therefore the degree of seriousness cannot actually be determined.

Quadrant 1, Organizational Failure, minor

A university had a published and well-publicized policy regarding class cancellations and the reporting of faculty and staff during snow storms. Notification was not sent by university officials to local radio and television stations in a timely manner during a recent snow storm. The media were, therefore, late in broadcasting the notice of a delay in classes and did not announce the information provided by the university about staff reporting times. Hence, some commuting students arrived on campus prior to the media announcement about the delay in class starting times, and a few staff reported at their usual time, whereas others reported as they could. There were many angry students, staff, and faculty.

Quadrant 1, Organizational Failure, minor

A university registrar's office was known for misrecording grades and courses. This was a continual source of irritation for students, many of whom used the internet for registration and following their graduation plan. In a few cases faculty left the university before the final grade in a course was officially recorded. The university claimed that budget cuts had made it necessary to downsize and use temporary staff.

Quadrant 2, Individual Failure, minor

A professor mailed over a hundred personal Christmas cards through the university mail. When the manager of the postal station at the university returned the cards to the faculty member, he seemed surprised that this was not permitted.

Quadrant 2, Individual Failure, minor

Professor Y was from five to forty minutes late for his Spanish classes and did not appear for one class at all. He told the class "I owe you an extra session," which he scheduled during the week following the end of classes, and then he did not appear for the class. At the beginning of the course twenty-five students were present, but by the last week of the course only ten students remained. No evaluations were distributed for the course. Several students complained to the administration about the class. The administrator was surprised stating "our evaluations of Professor Y have been glowing, although many students seem to retake his class." Professor Y was scheduled to teach again the following semester.

Quadrant 3, Individual Failure, serious

Professor X obtained a copy of a confidential letter written by a visiting faculty member to the university administration about alleged sexual discrimination toward her. Having grievances himself against the administration for his own failure to achieve promotion after several attempts, Professor X circulated xerox copies of the letter at a faculty meeting against the appeal of the dean that the matter was being addressed by the administration and that it was not an appropriate agenda item for this meeting. Professor X went into a tirade about how the departed visiting faculty member, a member of the same ethnic minority as himself, was discriminated against. Shortly after this meeting every female faculty member in the university received a copy of the confidential letter in an envelope sent by U.S. mail by an anonymous

sender. A few days thereafter Professor X called university police to report a crack in the windshield of his car that he said was a hate crime. He said that this act reflected the university's negative attitude toward his ethnic group. Police confirmed that a pebble from the road caused the crack in the windshield. The faculty member filed a formal grievance against the university administration stating that he was not promoted because of his ethnicity and religious affiliation and that how the visiting faculty member was treated was merely another example of the repression he was experiencing. The university investigated both the sexual discrimination allegation and the faculty member's complaint about ethnic and religious discrimination and found no basis for either complaint.

Quadrant 3: Individual Failure, serious

Professor A used no constraints in criticizing the competency of a new faculty hire in his department. He made his thoughts and feelings known to students and faculty, in meetings, in hallways, and in postings on bulletin boards. The new faculty hire was from a minority group. Soon other faculty from minority groups at the college began to side with their colleague accusing Professor A of racism. Professor A made it known that he would oppose tenure for the new hire when the time came. Professor A discouraged students from taking the faculty hire's classes, from selecting him as an advisor, encouraged students to evaluate him poorly on their course evaluations and to complain to the college administration about the quality of the faculty hire's courses. When the faculty hire was awarded tenure, Professor A made it known that he received tenure because of his ethnicity. Professor A became more aggressive and organized student meetings where invited administrators were questioned about the faculty hire's retention. The professor openly discouraged prospective students from selecting his department as a major. And he wrote letters to the college community, professional organizations, and community leaders telling about the tenuring of an incompetent faculty member.

Quadrant 4: Organizational Failure, serious

The University of Minnesota—Twin Cities has been placed on four-year probation by the NCAA for academic fraud (Suggs, 2000). A former athletics department secretary said she had completed more than 400 tests and papers for members of the basketball team with the knowledge of the head coach and the academic advisor. In addition, two players were admitted to an interdisciplinary major in order to remain eligible to play. Had they not been athletes, they would not have been admitted. In another incident, the academic advisor intimidated an instructor into giving a player a grade of "incomplete," allowing him to remain eligible. The head coach had given money to members of the team and to the secretary and had paid for a leased car for the academic advisor.

Quadrant 4: Organizational Failure, serious

A report by four Methodist bishops charged that Texas Governor Bill Clements, while chair of Southern Methodist University Board of Trustees, along with at least five other board members, were involved in the decision to continue payments to athletes at S.M.U. after assuring the NCAA that payments had stopped. In addition, they agreed to honor contracts for more

than \$863,000 to insure the silence and cooperation of a former athletic director, a former head football coach, and a former administrative assistant to the athletic director (Frank, 1987; Lederman, 1992).

The vignettes illustrate that ethics failure is a complex individual and organizational phenomenon. Moreover, it operates largely within the realm of *relationships within the academic community*. The academic community is at once the body of individuals working in colleges and universities, as well as the set of assumptions, beliefs and values that contribute to the maintenance of that body. The central relationships are those between faculty and students, faculty and faculty, faculty and administrators, and faculty and the broader academic body. These relationships are of course reciprocal. For example, students have duties toward faculty, as well as toward each other. The same holds for administrators and for all other denizens of the academic community. This reciprocity, though, does not detract from the central role played by faculty as producers and disseminators of knowledge within that community. They establish the standards for relations within the community and model behavior for all members of the community. The civic character of the community rises or falls largely with their observance of the ideals established for the community. Thus, faculty have a status comparable to clergy within the church, physicians within the medical field, or judges within the legal system.

We have shown that ethics failure within academia, as within government, has many facets. Fraud is only the most widely recognized manifestation of such failure. Of greater consequence is the failure that results from dysfunctional and unprofessional relations between members of the academic community. Such failure undermines the values of collegiality, mentorship, and excellence that are central to the academic world. As such, this sort of failure poses the greatest threat to the integrity of the academic profession, and to the pursuit of knowledge.

Although we cannot speculate as to the incidence or prevalence of the behaviors we describe in the vignettes, we can attest to our personal experience in dealing with many of their solutions. Zuckerman (1977) says that deviant behavior in science is an iceberg phenomenon. The examples we offer are the tip of that iceberg.

Responses to Ethics Failure by Academics and Academic Organizations

Organizations experiencing ethics failure are confronted with several options. They can simply ignore the failure and hope that it goes away. With this sort of organizational response, the problem becomes undis-

cussable (Argyris, 1985) and may come to be seen as the normal state of affairs if allowed to persist. A related response is for the organization to actively deny the existence or importance of the failure. Here, the failure *is* discussed, but only so that it can be dismissed. Clearly, neither of these responses will be good for the organization over the long term, because neither provides a real solution to the failure.

Another common organizational response to ethics failure is to assign blame for the failure to one or more individuals, to discipline them, and then to pronounce the problem solved. Although punishment may attend to popular demands for accountability and may be required by law, it does not resolve the underlying causes of the problem. Further, formal punishment in response to ethics failure is problematic, because the behavior in question is often neither illegal nor in violation of any formal organizational code or policy.

Another option available to organizations is professional education, where members of the profession have the opportunity to discuss these failures among themselves and to encourage each other in more responsible patterns of behavior. This sort of education can be facilitated by symposia within universities, by seminars and presentations at conferences, and by integration of professional ethics into the graduate curriculum. The latter may be particularly significant, for it is easier to lay a foundation for responsible behavior than to change patterns that are already established. Although graduate students bring with them existing moral frameworks, it will do no harm to provide guidance on professional ethics in the course of their graduate careers. Such education can be especially critical as a preventive for civic failure. Civic responsibility is difficult to legislate or codify. Rather, it is reflected in a congruence between one's behavior and generally agreed upon standards for a "good society." The importance of maintaining such congruence is perhaps best communicated from one member of a community to another, either formally or informally. Although such communication may be ignored or dismissed, it is essential that it occur.

Perhaps most importantly, universities and colleges can respond to ethics failure with organizational learning strategies designed to identify the causes of the failure and to produce changes in the organization designed to ensure that the failure does not recur. Organizational learning is a comprehensive process of organizational analysis engaged in response to ethics failure (Argyris, 1982; Zajac & Comfort, 1997). The organization identifies the nature and type of the failure, determines its impact and urgency, identifies the causes of the failure, creates and implements a strategy for change based upon the diagnosis, locates resources to facilitate the change, and then monitors and evaluates the out-

come of the entire process. Ideally, such a learning process enables a college or university to produce constructive change that gets to the root of the failure. Learning is also a signal to the broader academic community that an academic organization is serious about resolving its problems and can be the highest manifestation of moral responsibility, professionalism, and good citizenship in academia.

Academia is an important social institution made up of faculty who act as agents of moral influence and guidance for the broader community. Thus, “unique pressures and demands are exerted on the academic community to take actions and make decisions in a distinctly moral manner” (Greenfield, 1987, p. 4). It is imperative that academic organizations develop a culture that is conducive to individual moral responsibility. Organizational culture has a powerful influence on the behavior and decisions of the organization’s members. In this regard, Geertz (1973, p. 44) pointed out that culture often acts as a “set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions – for the governing of behavior.” Similarly, Weber (1995 p. 509) noted that “embodied within the general organizational culture are shared normative values and beliefs regarding rightness and wrongness.” In line with these assertions, Trevino and Nelson (1995, p. 12) indicated that “ethical and unethical behavior in organizations is already being controlled explicitly or implicitly by existing organizational culture.”

Therefore, ethics failure could be a direct outcome of unethical organizational culture. In this context, Garson and Vasu (1994, p. 80) noted that “the more importance attached by organizational culture to ethics, the fewer the ethical lapses.” Given the purpose and mission of academic organizations, it would be absolutely essential for these organizations to maintain a culture which “promote[s] rules of conduct based upon a standard of ethics” (Vaughan, 1992, p. 20). Vaughan added, “If . . . colleges are to serve as an important avenue for promoting ethical behavior, consistent ethical conduct must become a recognized part of their institutional culture” (1992, p. 20). It should be remembered, however, that in some cases ethics failure is a product of an influential subculture within a weak organizational culture. As an example, Trevino and Nelson (1995, p. 199) explained that “departmental subcultures are often stronger than the overall university culture, . . . and behavior is quite different within each subculture.” More specifically, the most pivotal dimension of organizational culture is the ethical work climate (Victor & Cullen, 1988).

Whereas organizational culture involves shared values and beliefs that influence individuals and organizational processes (Schein, 1985), ethical work climate refers to the “shared perceptions of what is ethically

correct behavior and how ethical issues should be handled” (Victor & Cullen, 1987, p. 52). As discussed earlier, the great deal of autonomy granted to academics, who are “exerting so much influence on social choice and welfare” (Bok, 1978) and, hence, the social costs of potential ethics failure, makes the maintenance of an ethical climate that fosters ethical behavior an important concern for colleges and universities. Accordingly, Moriarty (1992, p. 64) asked colleges to develop a clear professional statement “on the importance of ethical values and moral leadership through a code of ethics that would set forth standards for their [members’] behavior.”

It is necessary to remember that ethics failure “may not always be the result of an individual’s quest for personal gain. Rather, unethical behavior may result from what the administrator [or faculty] views as institutionally necessary decisions or interpretations of policy” (Whisnant, 1988, p. 244). Thus, promoting an ethical work climate in colleges and universities is necessary to eliminate sources of the ethical lapses and guide the conduct of their members within a set of acceptable norms.

Moreover, though many colleges and universities have rules and policies governing certain types of failures such as fraud and sexual harassment, it is inconceivable that these rules and policies can address all types of ethics failures. By the same token, the need for ethical standards and norms is widely acknowledged by academics, but “there is little evidence to suggest that these standards are universal or even accepted by much of the academic community” (Vaughan, 1992, p. 9). Reflecting upon the importance of a code of ethics in academia, Kerr (1989, p. 156) concluded that “the academic profession, in fact, may be disintegrating slowly in some aspects of its ethical conduct.” Thus, college and university leaders should play a critical role in institutionalizing ethical values as an integral part of the ethical work climate. As Vaughan (1992, p. 28) succinctly notes:

Once the [university] commits itself to a decision-making process based upon ethical values and applies these values in the general interest of all concerned, the [university] will be well on its way to creating a culture that inculcates these values and that judges its process and products based upon these values.

Costs and Consequences of Ethics Failure for the Academic Community

Certainly, the uniqueness and importance of the moral demands and responsibilities incumbent upon academics stems from the fact that the processes and outcomes of academic institutions impact not only students, administrators, and faculty, but also business communities, gov-

ernments, and the society at large. Hence, the costs of ethics failure in academia can be felt by a wide range of stakeholders. Obviously, ethics failure can result in direct financial losses and burdens for universities and colleges (e.g., embezzlement). Perhaps the most long-term financial costs occur in the form of budget cuts or “adjustments” stemming from public and political ire over revelations of wrongdoing within the university. This is particularly true for public universities that rely heavily on state governments for financial support. Also, financial costs could occur in the form of declining external funding for research and development projects and weakening partnerships with the business and industrial communities. Moreover, ethics failures in academic institutions result in administrative costs, because the concerned faculty and administrators devote their time and effort investigating cases of ethics failures, responding to grievances, and ensuring full compliance with the university’s rules and regulations. Clearly, this cost comes at the expense of promoting excellence in teaching and research.

The most salient and irredeemable cost of ethics failure in academia is the loss of public trust and faith in academic organizations. This type of cost has destructive financial and nonfinancial aspects. First, students, parents, politicians, and the general public develop a poor impression of the university and of faculty who are supposed to be moral agents, as they question their dedication to teaching, research, and public service. The lack of trust and faith in the integrity and dedication of faculty and academic organizations undermines the foundation of any attempts to achieve excellence in teaching and training students. The results will be poorly educated, and perhaps even cynical, students. Further, a poor image of the faculty or department or college may result in poor relations or cooperation within the academic community. In fact, persistent ethics failures and poor image of faculty may also lead to the discouragement of entrepreneurial and research efforts by faculty members. As a result, research projects may be fragmented and below academic expectations in terms of depth and quality. The destruction of faculty reputations, poorly trained students, and shoddy research result in the social marginalization of academia. In addition, the academy comes under extreme public pressure and scrutiny from legislative bodies and other oversight bodies. Persistent ethics failure in academia leads to the erosion of vital sources of “professorial authority,” namely, “academic reputation, . . . the potential for entrepreneurship or command of independent research funds, and position and voice on policy-making bodies” (Middlehurst, 1993, p. 70).

The next step seems to be one of empirically testing the typology of ethics failure discussed here with the aim of exploring and measuring

the types, extent, and tolerance of ethics failure in different institutions and professional groups to determine how it leads to the erosion of professional authority.

Summary

If we view a college or university as a social system of interconnected parts then the effects or costs of ethics failure affect everyone. This involvement may range from gossip and hearsay to being a victim or party to the ethics failure itself.

Ethics failure is a failure of citizenship and professionalism (Cooper, 1991). It speaks directly to the atmosphere of collegiality, mentorship, and excellence that should characterize academia. Ideally, the pursuit of truth should make for trustworthy organizations (Carnevale, 1995).

The victims of ethics failure are most likely students, especially graduate students. Anderson, Louis, and Earle (1994) note that students who have the best opportunity to learn skills needed to conduct research are also the most likely to be exposed to forms of behavior that are contrary to university policy or are illegal. Indeed, students in contact with misconduct in graduate programs are unlikely to report them. This was recently dramatically indicated in the death of a fifth year doctoral student at Harvard University who committed suicide because of "abusive research advisors." He left a note stating, "Professors have too much power over the lives of their graduate students" (Nadis, 1998). At the other extreme of involvement are faculty who fail to post and keep office hours, shorten classes, offer minimal feedback on exams, or behave arrogantly toward students. At either extreme, faculty teach ethics by example in the classroom and in the hallway. Eisenberg (1999) points out that learning how to be scholars and intellectuals is a process initiated in graduate seminars and continued throughout life.

The majority of faculty are dedicated, sincere, hardworking, positive, ethically conscious role models. Knight and Auster (1999) state that many faculty are ethical activists who feel an obligation to intervene to report faculty misconduct. What is needed is not an "ethics police," but a renewal and reemphasis on what it means to be a professional and a good citizen in one's chosen profession.

Recommendations for Reducing the Incidence and Tolerance for Ethics Failure

Donald (1997) writes that faculty are the most thoroughly assessed constituent of postsecondary institutions: They are assessed continually

and in diverse ways for promotion and tenure, for merit, on their teaching, for research grants and peer reviewed publications; they are regularly monitored via annual reports and curriculum vitae. According to Donald, little of the monitoring has rewards attached to it, and the accountability process for faculty is not perceived by them to be a productive way to spend their time. In all of this assessment, professional and public service (which are tied to professionalism) come in a weak third after research and teaching (Hutcheson, 2000).

1. Public service at most universities and colleges means sharing or using one's professional expertise (without extra pay) within the public sphere outside the university, such as providing consultations to state agencies and serving on the boards of social and civic organizations. But faculty who engage in public service are often not recognized or rewarded.

Good citizenship should be its own reward. But colleges and universities should make good citizenship a stated value from the top. There can be seed monies and ways to recognize those faculty who excel as good citizens, publicizing them as role models for emulation. Plaques are hollow rewards, so we propose more appealing incentives for faculty, such as bonuses for exceptional citizenship and monies to facilitate special public service projects.

2. We suggest that good citizenship be an explicit and equal factor in determining promotion and tenure and merit increases. Highly productive researchers and excellent teachers might not be good citizens. Indeed, as Bennett (1998) points out, the "insistent individualism" of academia supports privatism and the isolation of individuals. Outstanding researchers, scholars, and teachers tend to get rewarded irrespective of whether or not they are "difficult persons." We need to change this, and if good citizenship is valued, it needs to be emphasized, reemphasized, and rewarded. Undoubtedly critics will ask, How do you define a good citizen? This is an appropriate question for junior and senior faculty and students to answer.

3. We recommend, as does Tierney (1998a), that faculty performance contracts should be prospective instead of retrospective and that service and citizenship be a part of this contract. How does the faculty member intend to serve her profession, college or university, and community? What characteristics of good citizenship does the faculty member intend to demonstrate to others?

4. We urge that a formal code of citizenship behavior (written norms) be developed for every college and university. Wildavsky (1972) and Ewell (1984) think that participants in an organization should be "self-regarding," that is, members should exhibit a concern for the organiza-

tion's processes and goals. A written code of citizenship behavior would make the tenets of a self-regarding organization explicit. Ideally, such a code should also exist for the profession as a whole.

5. Expectations regarding citizenship behavior should be included in collective bargaining agreements.

6. College and university administrators should hold discussions, formulate specific strategies, and implement changes in the campus environment (involving all constituents) to enhance citizenship and accountability with consequences for poor citizenship.

7. One way of enhancing "collegial professionalism" (Bennett, 1998) is to encourage and support interdisciplinary efforts in teaching, research, and service—that is, to seek ways to connect faculty with each other and faculty to students. As people work together, they get to know each other better as persons and thereby reduce isolation, fragmentation, and disenfranchisement, all of which contribute to ethics failure.

8. The next step seems to be one of empirically testing the typology of ethics failure discussed here with the aim of exploring and measuring the types, extent, and tolerance of ethics failure in different institutions and professional groups to determine how it leads to the erosion of professorial authority.

9. When ethics failure occurs in a university, all members of the institution (and if appropriate, representatives from affected organizations) should be invited to provide input into how the institution can learn from the failure.

10. We strongly endorse Tierney and Bensimon's (1996) recommendation that junior faculty have senior faculty mentors. Although we recognize that not all senior faculty are good role models, we think a mentorship program sends a message to all faculty that modeling and career guidance are valued. We expect that there would be a self-selection process, whereby faculty who would not be good mentors or role models would not choose to participate.

In our opinion, the ways to reduce the incidence and tolerance for ethics failure is not more assessment and evaluation, or white papers, or warnings, or rules, but rather an honest alignment of what we say we believe in with what we do. If the professorate is a true profession, we have, as Wilson (1942) suggested, obligations to the profession and its clientele to be good citizens.

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