c

University of Saint Thomas Law Journal
Winter 2008

The Formation of an Ethical Professional Identity in the Peer-Review Professions

Article

*404 FORMATION OF PROFESSIONALISM AND PURPOSE: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE PREPARATION FOR THE PROFESSIONS PROGRAM

Anne Colby, William M. Sullivan [FNa1]

Copyright (c) 2008 University of St. Thomas Law Journal; Anne Colby; William M. Sullivan

I. Introduction

This special issue concerns the formation of ethical professional identity through professional education. The articles ask how education can prepare individuals for various professions to ensure not only their technical competence, but also their commitment to their field's public purposes and ethical standards. Our paper offers suggestions for how to strengthen education for the formation of ethical professional identity in a number of fields and argues that this goal ought to be more central to professional ***405** education than it is now. The paper draws on the Carnegie Foundation's Preparation for the Professions Program, a series of comparative studies of preparation for the clergy, law, engineering, nursing and medicine.

We begin by pointing to the centrality of ethical or public-serving purposes to the very nature of professions and their importance, in principle if not in fact, to professional education. We go on to describe some of the challenges that contemporary contexts of professional work pose to high quality, ethical practice and explore the question of what is needed to prepare students to confront those challenges successfully. We consider what our own research and that of others shows about the qualities individuals need to develop if they are to exhibit sustained commitment to the profession's core aims and how professional education can contribute to those qualities in its students. We conclude by arguing that professionals should not only practice with integrity themselves but also take some responsibility for the future of the profession. In our view, professional educators can more effectively prepare their students for this broader scope of responsibility if they establish alliances with practitioner groups, licensing and accreditation bodies, and other key institutions of their field.

II. The Public Purposes of the Professions

The professional status of an occupation can change as the field professionalizes or de-professionalizes over time and, at any given time, there is some ambiguity about which fields should be considered true professions. Even so, the defining characteristics of professions are generally agreed upon. Professions involve (at least) a commitment to serve the interests of clients and the welfare of society; bodies of specialized knowledge and skill; and procedures through which the professional community provides oversight of entry into the profession and quality in both practice and professional training. [FN1]

As philosopher (co-author) William Sullivan, [FN2] psychologists Howard Gardner and Lee Shulman, [FN3] and others have pointed out, the commitment to serve the public interest sets the terms of the essential compact between the profession and society, providing the basis for the profession's autonomy and public esteem. Although other occupational fields may require high levels of knowledge and skill, they cannot be considered professions unless they are centrally defined as serving some important aspect of the common good. Thus, the relationship between the professions and the general society is inherently ethical at its core.

*406 It is somewhat surprising, then, that formation of an ethical professional identity does not hold an equally central place in the preparation of professionals. In fact, in almost every field of professional education, teaching for profes-

sional purpose and commitment, moral integrity, and ethical conduct is subordinate to teaching for professional knowledge and skill. The professional schools, for a number of reasons, are oriented more strongly to both the values of the higher education system in which they are located and the technical demands of professional practice than to the professions' social ends and civic foundations. In our view, this represents a misalignment between a key institution of the profession--the professional school--and the profession's defining purposes.

III. Preparation for High Quality, Ethical Work in Misaligned Fields

Ideally, the institutions, roles, and other structures of professional fields-- including professional education--should be well aligned with the enduring values, standards and purposes of the profession as well as with individual practitioners' aspirations and the interests of other stakeholders. Psychologists Howard Gardner, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and William Damon investigated a wide range of professions in their Good Work Project, describing a few that are well aligned in this sense, and others that are misaligned. [FN4]

In their 2001 book Good Work, Gardner et al. use genetics to illustrate a field that, at least at the time of their data collection, was authentically well aligned. [FN5] Although they note that the field's alignment was threatened by gathering "storm clouds,"

> [g]enetics emerges at the turn of the millennium as a profession in remarkably good shape. Leaders and mid-level practitioners concur about the primary missions, the most important standards, and the principal personal goals and profiles of responsibilities. They look comfortably into their mirrors and are reassured by the identity they behold. To an extent that can only generate envy among professionals in less favorable environments, genetics appears to be a beautifully aligned enterprise: the aspirations of the practitioners, the values of the domain, the practices of the field, and the desires of the shareholders and stakeholders blend together harmoniously. [FN6]

Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi and Damon contrast genetics with news journalism, which they describe as a misaligned field. In their view, many factors, including an increased push for market share and larger profits, a ***407** perception that the public is not demanding serious news coverage, a technology-driven increase in the pace of journalistic work, and the degradation of newsroom culture through budget cuts and corporate rather than family ownership, have led many journalists to feel that forces of the field have "intruded on their domain's integrity, obstructing their capacity to pursue the mission of good reporting." [FN7]

The authors summarize their conclusion by noting that "[a] professional realm [the persons practicing a particular profession] is healthiest when the values of the culture are in line with those of the domain [the key ideas informing the profession and its ethical code], when the expectations of stakeholders match those of the field, and when domain and field are themselves in sync. When these conditions exist, individual practitioners are free to operate at their best, morale is high, and the professional realm flourishes. We term this a situation of authentic alignment." [FN8]

News journalism is not alone in its misalignment of culture, domain and field. Its state of weakening morale and direction is shared by other professions. As former executive director of the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education, David Leach, has pointed out in his paper in this volume, "the current context in which resident formation occurs does not make the task of fostering medical professionalism easy. Relentless pressures of time and economics, fragmentation of care and the relationships supporting care, increasing external regulation, exciting but disruptive new knowledge and technologies, and above all the broken systems of health care . . . characterize the external environmental context." [FN9]

Sullivan noted that the kind of medical environment Leach is alluding to contributes, in essence, to the de-

professionalization of physicians:

> The advent of the so-called managed care revolution in health care seems to have set in motion a process that attacks many of the core elements that have marked medicine as a profession. Medicine is now regarded as just one element in the health-care industry. Physicians and other health-care professionals are increasingly described as employees to be subjected to managerial scrutiny and discipline, for the sake of product consistency and economic efficiency. [FN10]

In fact, it is all too common for a profession's standards of quality to be compromised and its public purposes sidelined by institutional contexts driven by market concerns, actions meant to protect the guild, institutional callousness, and individual self-interest, cynicism, passivity, and the like. ***408** Professor of higher education Melissa Anderson has described a system of "counter-norms" prevalent in many fields of scientific research that are inimical to responsible science. She believes that these counter-norms result from competitive pressures and other features of contemporary research contexts. [FN11]

Historian Nicholas Steneck has also pointed to the gap between ideals and actual behaviors in the practice of scientific research. Like Leach, he points out the challenge this context presents for the formation of ethical professional identity: "In practice, research is a competitive, demanding, at times ruthless, and not-always-fair profession. This is the side of research students and young researchers too often encounter when they begin their professional careers. The challenge educators face is how to motivate new researchers to strive for the ideal in a world that can be seen as rewarding counter values." [FN12]

These realities point to the fact that educators who want to ensure ethical professional practice in their graduates have to prepare them not only for ethically supportive contexts, but also for contexts that undermine the profession's fundamental purposes and standards. Indeed, the biggest challenge for educators trying to prepare their students for high quality professional practice--work that embodies both deep expertise and sound ethical standards-- arises from the fact that, in many professions today, graduates will be entering fields in which the contexts of work actually undermine the profession's fundamental purposes and its standards of quality and ethical practice. Based on research on professional education that we have conducted over the past ten years, we believe that educators can do a great deal more to prepare students to work effectively and ethically in this broad sense, even in misaligned fields. If the status quo continues unchanged, however, professional schools will not only fail to realize their positive potential but may even contribute to professional work that is compromised.

IV. The Preparation for the Professions Program: Higher Education's Contribution to High Quality Professional Work

Professional work of the highest quality represents an integration of the profession's enduring purposes and standards with high levels of expertise or competence, extending even to creativity and advancement of the field. Over the past ten years, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has studied the educational practices used to prepare lawyers, engineers, clergy, nurses and physicians for high quality work through ***409** a program of comparative studies called the Preparation for the Professions Program (PPP). [FN13] The PPP was designed to achieve a close look at the goals and practices of professional education in these five fields in order to understand their strengths and weaknesses, and to recommend strategies for improving professional preparation. The PPP has conducted extensive inquiry into the curricula, pedagogies and assessment used to support learning in each profession. This research is providing a rare opportunity to develop a common framework for understanding and comparing the different approaches to education in each profession.

Each of the five studies has entailed intensive site visits in a set of professional schools that are chosen to represent

geographic and institutional diversity. In these visits, a research team interviews administrators, faculty and students; conducts focus groups; analyzes course syllabi, accreditation reports and other documents; sits in on classes; and makes other observations outside the classroom.

Our observations revealed a great deal of consistency across different schools within each professional field as well as important differences among the fields. In each field, we were able to describe dominant patterns of educational practice as well as innovations and other variants around those dominant patterns.

Despite notable differences among the five fields of professional education, they share a common set of goals. In recognition of those shared objectives, the PPP has been shaped from the outset by a comparative framework that articulates three universal strands of professional education. These strands are metaphorically designated as three formative apprenticeships, all of which are essential to full preparation for professional work. [FN14] The three apprenticeships are:

> (1) Intellectual training to learn the academic knowledge base and the capacity to think in ways that are important to the profession;

> (2) A skill-based apprenticeship of practice: the craft know-how that marks expert practitioners of the domain; and

> (3) An apprenticeship to the ethical standards, social roles, and responsibilities of the profession, grounded in the profession's fundamental purposes.

These dimensions of professional apprenticeship reflect contending emphases within all professional education, and as such provide a point of comparison across the different fields. The metaphor of a three-fold apprenticeship also forms the basis for a normative analysis, providing a framework against which to evaluate the adequacy of preparation for professional ***410** work. For this reason, the framework has allowed us to describe tensions and shortfalls as well as strengths of professional education in each field.

Although professional education in all fields includes some attention to all three apprenticeships--the knowledge base, the complex skills of practice, and professionalism and ethics--each field frames the central features of the apprenticeships differently, and each uses different strategies for accomplishing them. Each field of professional education also has a distinctive pattern of emphasis among the three apprenticeships as well as different degrees and kinds of integration among them. In some fields, the integration is fairly tight, while in others professional education is decomposed into three quite separate dimensions. In our writing about professional education in the five fields that we studied, we have highlighted creative teaching practices that successfully integrate the three apprenticeships, noting in each case how typical or atypical those integrative teaching strategies are in that field. [FN15]

The importance of the first two apprenticeships is widely acknowledged in professional education. Through the first apprenticeship, students learn the substantive knowledge base and intellectual capacities that are understood to be foundational for credentialing and essential to competent practice in the field. In engineering, for example, the first apprenticeship refers mostly to the engineering sciences and mathematics. In medicine and nursing, the first apprenticeship focuses on the biological sciences, and in law, on substantive knowledge of the law as well as a particular kind of analytical thinking (the so-called "thinking like a lawyer").

The second apprenticeship refers to the ways that novices learn the complex skills of professional practice, the craft expertise of the field. Laboratory and design courses are the primary means of providing training for technical competence in engineering education. Supervised clinical practice and simulations of practice serve this purpose for medical and nursing students. Likewise, in legal education, "lawyering" courses and experience in legal clinics support the development of essential skills such as legal research and writing, interviewing, negotiation, and the like.

Clearly, the apprenticeship of professionalism and purpose, the third apprenticeship, is the one that is most relevant to the theme of this volume, the ethical professional identity. It is this apprenticeship that is meant to capture students' induction into the field's ethical standards and practices, professional sensibilities, appreciation for and commitment to the field's essential social purposes, and sense of professional identity in which those purposes and standards are experienced as core features of what it means to practice that profession.

*411 It would be a mistake, however, to think of the third apprenticeship as separable from the other two. In fact, it is the third apprenticeship that serves as the driving force for integration of professional understanding, craft and purpose. This integration is illustrated vividly in Charles Foster's essay in this volume, which reports on the PPP study of the preparation of clergy. In that essay, Foster discusses a capacity called "the pastoral imagination" as the ultimate integrative goal in that preparation. [FN16]

Framing the overarching educational goal as pastoral imagination emphasizes that intellectual training needs to be completed by--and grounded in--a perspective that links ways of thinking to ways of doing and being in the world. By taking this perspective, the report from that study, Educating Clergy, challenges other forms of professional education to take seriously the interdependence of the cognitive, practice and normative apprenticeships. [FN17]

The idea is that, over time, religious professionals--priests, rabbis, and ministers--need to develop capacities to interpret and to make sense of present events in light of authoritative traditions while adapting those traditions by the very act of giving them a new meaning in the present. Further, they need to develop such interpretive capacities while maintaining good faith with those who have entrusted them with their spiritual well-being, especially at moments of existential crisis, illness, grief and loss. Clergy educators, then, must be adept at fostering students' growth toward a complex and expansive, yet committed and engaged, "imagination," or way of thinking and feeling about the world. In a real sense, it has to be the sense of purpose and identity--the stuff of the third apprenticeship--that takes the lead in organizing learning toward such an inclusive and integrated goal.

The integrative function of the third apprenticeship is evident not only in theological education, but in all true professions. It is the third apprenticeship that draws together and grounds the two most essential features of high quality work--deep expertise and ethical commitment. Codes of ethics in virtually every field include the development and maintenance of expertise as an ethical commitment of professionals. This is a challenging demand, and professionals' capacity to meet it cannot be taken for granted. Professional work is inherently complex, requiring wise judgment under conditions of uncertainty, and its knowledge base is always evolving. For these reasons, formal education can make only a start in preparing students for high quality professional work. Developing and maintaining the necessary expertise requires the capacity to learn from one's own and others' experience, not only immediately after entry to the profession, but also throughout one's career.

*412 V. Beyond Apprenticeship: Aligning the Arc of Professional Development

It is a commonplace, even something of a shibboleth, that the culminating goal of professional education must be the preparation of "life-long learners." At a minimum, this is taken to mean professionals who leave their formal training with the intellectual skills, learned through the first apprenticeship, the capacities to practice acquired through the second apprenticeship, and the motivation, cultivated through the third apprenticeship, to continue developing their expertise throughout their career.

In our study of curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment in five professions, however, we have not seen many educational practices that address this goal in a serious way. Neither does the literature on expertise acquisition give much at-

tention to this question. Studies that have taken up the issue, such as the pioneering work of educational researchers Carl Bereiter and Marlene Scardamalia, [FN18] have shown that it takes curiosity and deep commitment to the profession's aims and methods to propel students onto a path of continuing, self-directed improvement.

One of Bereiter and Scardamalia's less-than-encouraging findings is that many professionals fail to become life-long learners, opting instead to plateau at a fairly routine level of competence and comfort. The authors suggest that many professionals become "experienced non-experts" [FN19] rather than "true experts," with the latter defined as those who continue to deepen and expand their expertise, even pushing the field itself forward in the process.

Since professional fields and the publics they serve benefit greatly from practitioners who go beyond routine competence to real excellence, it is important to understand what motivates those who are committed to continued "effortful reinvestment" in their own expertise. [FN20] Two factors seem essential to this effortful reinvestment. First, a sense of flow [FN21] or intrinsic fascination with and engagement in work that is so intense that at times the individual loses her sense of self and awareness of the passage of time. Second, participation in a field whose norms support, even demand, continued advancement of knowledge. When we consider these factors in relation to the three apprenticeships, the significance of conveying professional purpose, commitment and values through the third apprenticeship is evident.

These findings carry a number of implications for both pre-professional and continuing education. In many professional fields it is commonplace for students to enter their training with a sense of idealism, **413** fascination, even enchantment. [FN22] Too often, the rigors of professional training dissipate this initial energy and passion, and many students never recover it. If professional education is to avoid this dispiriting outcome, each field must find its own ways to "re-enchant" its students with the practices and purposes of the profession. The Carnegie Foundation report on clergy education frames this goal as helping students to "grow out of the naïve, precritical, sentimental . . . piety . . . and into . . . a 'pietism of a higher order . . . .'" [FN23]

In some cases, students seek to enter professional fields for reasons that are extrinsic to the field's purposes and practices. In those cases, educators face the additional challenge of helping students fall in love with a field they had seen only as a means to other ends. Some predominant pedagogies of professional education are ill-suited for igniting initial enchantment or re-enchanting those who have lost the passion that drew them to the field. The capacity for invigorating intrinsic meaning and fascination is not often treated as a criterion for evaluating curriculum, pedagogy or assessment processes, but we are suggesting that if it is, that will contribute in the long run to producing the curious, lifelong learners all professional schools seek to prepare.

As we have said, the challenges of accomplishing these goals are only deepened when graduates leave professional training. The conditions of work in most fields today tend to undermine a sense of purpose and the aspects of the profession's work most likely to provide intrinsic satisfaction. Many professional fields have become more thoroughly market-driven than they used to be, leading practitioners to become disconnected from their love of the field and the purposes that drew them into the field in the first place. Demands for greater productivity in medicine, nursing, law and engineering tend to drain the intrinsic meaning from professional work, often enforcing external, particularly economic, measures of value for standards more directly tied to the professions' particular forms of excellence in practice.

If a key aim is to engage students both intellectually and motivationally in the core issues and growing edge of a profession's work, how is this best done? We believe this is a very important area for future research in professional education. We also believe, however, that a number of developments occurring in the conditions of today's professional practice hamper this goal. Many sectors of the American economy in which professionals work are increasingly characterized by an ethos that prizes flexibility over fidelity. [FN24] The dilemma that emerges poses a growing challenge for all

forms of professional education: how to foster deep commitment to long-***414** term development of expertise and responsibility for the profession's core aims when the conditions of practice, and sometimes conditions for teaching, are poorly aligned with those core aims?

Some risks to high quality work, not only for professionals but also for workers in just about every occupation, are seemingly universal--loss of enthusiasm, low standards of excellence, or placing self-interest ahead of concern for the field's purpose and mission. Some seem to be more profession-specific, since different professional fields confront their own particular array of challenges and vulnerabilities. For example, in his article in this volume, law professor Neil Hamilton points to the American Board of Internal Medicine's (ABIM) articulation of key ethical challenges facing its members, along with reference to some parallels between these challenges and ethical issues facing attorneys. [FN25] The challenges articulated by the ABIM include abuse of power, arrogance and greed, among others. [FN26] These particular vulnerabilities are less applicable to some other fields, such as nursing and teaching, which may be more likely to suffer from burnout, cynicism, and lowering of standards. Likewise, a pursuit of personal distinction that overrides other considerations, unthinking compliance with questionable or misdirected institutional practices, and callousness toward those who depend on one's professional skill are more characteristic of some fields than others.

Despite the particular variations among fields, however, two central themes run through all of the specific vulnerabilities we have noted. The first, which encompasses power, greed and self-aggrandizement, for example, is the elevation of extrinsic rewards to the point where they overwhelm and even actively undermine the ultimate purposes of the profession. The second theme is related--a loss of faith in the profession's capacity to achieve its essential purposes, which is manifested in burnout, callousness, cynicism, satisfaction with mediocre performance, and the like. Both of these, excessive priority given to extrinsic rewards and loss of faith and thus intrinsic motivation, can undermine standards of ethical professional practice.

To complicate the picture even further, great passion or zeal for the mission of the field can also lead to compromised work if the work is not sufficiently grounded in ethical standards. [FN27] This can be avoided only if practitioners understand on a visceral level that those standards are not arbitrary, externally imposed rules--they are intrinsic to the very meaning of quality work in the field.

*415 VI. Five Key Qualities for a Sustainable Professionalism

Our discussion to this point raises a number of questions: What do we know about the factors that protect against the professions' vulnerabilities and support positive ethical behavior and commitment to standards of high quality work, even under challenging circumstances? Is it possible to foster these qualities while individuals are still in training and, if so, how can that be accomplished? Can professional education do anything to prepare its graduates for "good work," even if they will work in misaligned fields?

To answer these questions, we believe that it is important to be clear about the qualities we now know make for a sustainable, life-long growth in professional competence and commitment. Drawing on our own research in the PPP [FN28] and on the findings of the Good Work Project, [FN29] we suggest that there are five key qualities:

     (1) Deep engagement with the profession's public purposes, along with a sense of meaning and satisfaction from one's work that is grounded in or aligned with those purposes.
    (2) Strong professional identity. That is, an identity as a nurse, engineer, physician, lawyer, clergy person, accountant, dentist or other professional, in which the field's mission and standards (integrity and conscientiousness, for example) are essential features of one's conception of the field and the self as a member of that field. [FN30]

(3) Habits of interpretation or salience through which complex situations are understood or framed at least in part in moral terms, that is, in terms of the field's purposes and standards. [FN31]

(4) Habitual patterns of behavioral response to patients, clients, subordinates, authorities, and peers that are well aligned with the profession's standards and ideals rather than with corrosive counter-norms or overriding self-interest. [FN32]

(5) The capacity and inclination to contribute to the ethical quality of the profession and its institutions. This includes a sense of **416** moral agency in relation to morally questionable aspects of the institutional context and the moral imagination and courage to create more constructive institutional structures or practices. [FN33]

VII. The Educational Response: Fostering Professionalism

Can professional education contribute to strengthening these five important qualities? We believe that it can. Professional education can enable students to see the mission or purpose of the profession as the foundation of their work's significance, the source of its intrinsic value, and the ultimate rationale for its standards. Professional education can help students understand the ways in which the field's standards are intrinsic to high quality work. Educators can also try to help their students gain experiences of pleasure, excitement, even enchantment in connection with their work. This is not to imply that the daily practice of any profession consistently evokes these emotions. Rather, the point is that through inspiring models, respected colleagues, esprit de corps, and various reminders of the work's purposes, it is possible to maintain some connection with these intrinsic satisfactions even when the conditions of work make them feel distant from daily life.

The five qualities described above are all features of what we have called the third apprenticeship of professional preparation. This illustrates both the foundational quality of that apprenticeship and also its integrative character, the ways that it serves as organizer, inspiration and benchmark for the other two. In order to have a good chance of sustaining growth in professionalism across the arc of professional development, professional education needs to be aligned with other institutions, such as accrediting and licensing bodies, professional associations and national academies, that will later be referred to as "trustee institutions." To start the process, however, professional education needs to provide a strong and effective third apprenticeship. That means two things: giving importance to the third apprenticeship in actions as well as words, and weaving the third apprenticeship together with the other two.

In Good Work, Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi and Damon point to a "living tradition of standards and practices" [FN34] within a profession as a source of strength for high quality work. They refer to standards such as the values of intellectual integrity and openness in science, and truthfulness and objectivity in journalism. The moral concepts that psychologist Muriel Bebeau refers to in this volume as "intermediate level ethical concepts" [FN35] can appropriately be seen as representing the standards that are intrinsic to high **417** quality work in a particular profession. In dentistry, for example, these include issues like provision of competent care; responsibility for maintaining a positive relationship with one's patients regardless of whether they follow the health professional's advice; respect for patient autonomy; and responsibilities to fellow professionals.

One of the most important formative opportunities available to professional schools is the chance to immerse students for a period of several years in a "living tradition" of standards and practices. To achieve this goal, the field's standards must not only be addressed directly through exposure to codes of ethics and the like, but the standards must also be pervasive in both the classroom and the broader culture of the institution.

Students are inevitably undergoing socialization into the profession throughout the years of their education, for better or worse. In order to ensure that these experiences will support high-quality, ethically-grounded work, professional schools need to look critically and systematically at the many experiences that contribute to students' moral learning and at the values these experiences convey.

Many theological schools are more self-conscious about their reliance on the formative influences of the school's cultural practices and more intentional in shaping those practices than professional schools in other fields. Foster et al. refers to the formative communities of practice as a central mechanism of the third apprenticeship in theological education. [FN36]

Unfortunately, the kind of intentionality with regard to campus culture as a formative mechanism that we see in clergy education is rare in most other professional schools.

VIII. Signature Images

In some fields, a particular image that encapsulates a normative conception of professional identity is referred to over and over, becoming a shorthand representation of the purposes and standards of the profession that is widely shared within the field, even across very different kinds of institutions. Most notable in this regard is the image of the nurse as patient advocate, the patient's "last line of defense" in a complicated and dangerous health care environment. There appears to be broad consensus among nursing educators that this image of the nurse as patient advocate is a powerful distillation of the profession's values, offering a core image around which ethical professional identity can be built.

In an interesting twist on the phenomenon of distilling professional work into a central image, engineering professor Gary Downey urges the field of engineering to rethink the image with which it identifies most ***418** strongly. [FN37] Our own research confirms that that the engineer as a "problem-solver" is a universal, almost reflexive, response to the question, "What is an engineer?" Downey argues that the widely-shared image of the engineer as problem solver does a disservice to the profession. [FN38]

Downey's article in this volume points to the ways in which framing the engineering task as problem solving requires drawing boundaries around the problem, abstracting it from the social, cultural and human contexts of the work, as well as from important aspects of the self as engineer. A problem-solving approach makes "the bulk of one's identity invisible," [FN39] places unnecessary limits on engineering judgment, and makes it hard to work with people who define problems differently.

Downey proposes that the field would be significantly enriched if it could "scale up" an alternative central image--the engineer as problem definer in addition to problem solver. [FN40] He argues that this expanded conception of the profession will help engineers go beyond providing technical support to become leaders who think deeply about what constitutes progress and then contribute to that progress. To make this new image a powerful force in shaping engineering competencies and sensibilities, it will need to become part of the fabric of engineering science and design, based in a broader conception of knowledge and skill, not a marginal add-on to standard curriculum and pedagogy. "The formal recognition of collaborative problem definition with both engineers and non-engineers makes visible engineers' responsibilities to go beyond competently fulfilling assigned tasks in an ethical manner to critically evaluating, and perhaps re-imagining, the larger dimensions of service that are performed by the work." [FN41]

In other fields, the central image of the profession is less clear. One might point to the ideal of zealous advocate on behalf of one's client as a pervasive encapsulation of the legal profession, although legal education's strong academic ori-

entation means that in some sense scholarly ideals may be more salient for many faculty and students than images of practicing lawyers. Insofar as the image of zealous advocate is widely shared, however, it may be at least as limited as the image of engineer as problem solver, in part for similar reasons.

The image of the attorney as zealous advocate points to the client's right to legal representation, respect for the client's autonomy, and the need for the attorney to maintain an appropriate professional distance from the case. But the identity of attorney as zealous advocate also carries risks. It ***419** constrains the goals of legal work and, in extreme cases, it can even be used to justify deviations from ethical practice and disengagement from questions of justice--the attorney as hired gun. Many legal educators recognize these risks, and some have criticized the assumption that this role should be a lawyer's overriding responsibility. In conversations that are reminiscent of Downey's call to "scale up" an enriched image of engineering work, faculty in a recent meeting of law school deans wondered whether the lawyer as "keeper of the democracy" or fiduciary might be more accurate and more elevating ideals on which to build ethical professional identity in their field. [FN42]

IX. From Student to Emerging Professional: The Third Apprenticeship as Bridge

The great task of professional education is to bring aspirants from their initial role as students toward adopting the stance of an emerging practitioner. This is the formative process of professional education. Although students' values and standards cannot help but be shaped by their experiences in professional training, this does not mean that intentional educational strategies for ensuring their ethical-professional growth are well developed. In fact, our research in the PPP reveals that the third apprenticeship is almost always weaker than the other two, and in some fields it is seriously marginalized. Most professional education programs have developed specific pedagogies, curricular content, and methods of assessing the knowledge base and the practical skills that comprise the cognitive and practical apprenticeships, but their embrace of the apprenticeship of purpose and identity is far more ambiguous. Without serious efforts to develop this apprenticeship, however, professional schools cannot fulfill their responsibilities to either the professions or the public they are pledged to serve.

The first challenge is to find ways of representing the importance of ethics, professional identity development and commitment to purpose to students of the profession. This is particularly important if students have had limited experience taking on the role of a member of the profession, or if they are trained in settings that poorly or weakly represent the ethical commitments, professional behaviors, and ideals that the profession hopes to cultivate in students. In addition, defining the core content associated with the third apprenticeship raises questions about the extent to which educators believe that it is legitimate and feasible for them to try to shape the character of their students and, closely related, the willingness of the profession to define specific characteristics that are desirable.

To summarize our findings, we can say that some fields, most notably law and engineering, are driven centrally by the first, intellectual or cognitive,***420** apprenticeship. Law schools provide a notably strong cognitive apprenticeship organized around analytic thinking (thinking like a lawyer) and substantive knowledge of the law. Clinical legal education is abundantly present in law schools, but it is subordinate to training for legal analysis in a number of ways. Although the picture in engineering education is somewhat different from law, the shape of engineering education is also driven very much by the first apprenticeship. Despite moderate attention to engineering design and other aspects of practice, engineering science, with its emphasis on mathematics and technical laboratory work, lies at the heart of education in that field. Learning the complex skills of practice is given much less emphasis than learning the scientific, mathematical and technical grounding of the field.

This ascendancy of the first apprenticeship is not a universal pattern in professional education, however. In nursing

and medical education, despite the importance of the scientific knowledge base, the second apprenticeship, the apprenticeship of skillful practice, is ultimately in the driver's seat. The contrast of law and engineering with nursing and medicine illustrates how important it is to understand the third apprenticeship in the context of the other two. Patterns of emphasis among the three apprenticeships influence the character of each. The status of the apprenticeships in relation to one another affects how important the third apprenticeship is considered to be, how it is understood, and the ways that it is fostered or explicitly taught in professional education. In particular, the third apprenticeship looks quite different in fields for which the first apprenticeship is dominant than in those where the second apprenticeship is a central organizing force.

To say that the first apprenticeship is in command in legal and engineering education means that these two fields of professional education are thoroughly grounded in the values of the academy, which include skepticism, intellectual rigor, and objectivity. Most instruction takes place in classroom settings, far removed from the conditions and experiences of practice. When the values of the academy are ascendant, it is perhaps not surprising that the third apprenticeship tends to be suspect, since it requires engagement rather than distance, and commitment rather than thoroughgoing skepticism. In our engineering and law school site visits, both faculty and students often commented that professional educators are not responsible for shaping students' ethical development, that this enterprise is not entirely legitimate, and that it is no longer feasible to influence the ethical development of students once they are young adults. This means that the third apprenticeship tends to be marginalized when professional education is organized around the values of the academy.

In contrast, the fields that do take the third apprenticeship--the development of ethical professional identity, sense of purpose, and ethical comportment-- seriously in its own terms are those that take teaching for practice seriously, that is, those in which the second apprenticeship plays a ***421** leading role in shaping professional training. Due to the central place of clinical experience in medical and nursing education, there is more of a balance between instruction in the classroom and learning in settings of practice. Indeed, in those fields the context of practice heavily shapes the study of professionalism.

Medicine and nursing are more likely than law and engineering to acknowledge the importance of the third apprenticeship because students and their instructors are actually practicing their profession together in high stakes situations. Faculty and students alike understand the need for novices to learn "skillful ethical comportment," as Patricia Benner, director of the PPP nursing study calls it. [FN43] In addition, for professions in which clinical teaching and learning are central, professional responsibility and identity are enacted in the course of clinical practice rather than learned in the abstract. This kind of learning is very different from the learning that typically takes place in classrooms. Most importantly, when ethical professional practices and standards are enacted over and over in the course of training, students develop habits of heart and mind that shape their approach to their work for years to come. As David Leach explains of medical residencies in his article, "the habits of a lifetime are developed during this period." [FN44]

When the second apprenticeship of professional education is enacted at least partially in settings of actual professional work, as it is in nursing and medical education, another important factor comes into play--students' real responsibility for their patients' outcomes. This is almost universally a powerful formative experience. We asked medical and nursing students about their most memorable learning experiences, and they often mentioned events that brought home in an emotionally compelling way their responsibility for patients' welfare, such as significant mistakes they had made in caring for patients.

This kind of reaction signals a critical turning point in the development of ethical professional identity--the shift from the perspective of a student to that of an emerging professional. When the third apprenticeship is well integrated with the second, this transition is often triggered by the gut-level realization that as a professional you are responsible for other

people's fates. It is hard to fully experience this sense of personal responsibility unless, in fact, other people really are relying on your professional skill at some point during your training, and becoming acutely aware of one's responsibility for others' welfare is an especially vivid way to help students make this transition.

Finally, the emphasis on practice means that professional formation is embodied in nursing and medical education. In both fields, role models are understood to embody professionalism or its absence to a greater or lesser ***422** degree. Students often refer to teacher-clinicians they are inspired by and want to be like and teacher-clinicians they hope they will not be like. It is much less common for law and engineering students to interact with practitioners who can be experienced as models of the kind of professional they might aspire to be or fear becoming. For this reason, we have urged fields that are driven in large part by the first apprenticeship to strengthen significantly their apprenticeships of practice, through both simulated and actual professional practice experience. [FN45]

It is important to acknowledge the ongoing movements to build up the second apprenticeship within legal and engineering education. These movements appear to be gaining momentum, thus opening greater opportunities to integrate the second and third apprenticeships. In clinical legal education, there is a growing recognition that the skills of practice include such ethically charged capacities as problem solving, empathic understanding, and cross-cultural communication. [FN46] Likewise, many engineering schools are placing the teaching of design throughout the four years of undergraduate training, with concerns such as environmental sustainability and global perspectives often integrated with the teaching of design.

First year engineering students at the University of Michigan, for example, take an Introduction to Engineering course, which addresses a wide range of ethical issues. This course is followed by sequences of design courses tailored to various engineering specialties. Students in mechanical engineering take a three-course design sequence in their sophomore, junior, and senior years in which they apply several ethical frameworks, a cost-benefit analysis, and decision-making standards in the areas of technological advancements, economic development, public health, public safety and the environment. In their senior year, these students revisit the same considerations and use them, along with the engineering code of ethics, as a framework for thinking about the industry-sponsored design projects they are carrying out. Students weigh the importance of each criterion and then discuss in a paper the trade-offs they made as they carried out their capstone design projects. This approach illustrates the successful integration of the second and third apprenticeships in engineering education.

Some law faculty are finding ways to keep the analytical and the moral, the procedural and the substantive in active dialogue within the teaching of the first apprenticeship as well. This trend is potentially very important because, as we have seen, the first apprenticeship is so important in legal education, providing the key common experience in the first year. Likewise, in our study of engineering education, we see some faculty who ask students in engineering science (analysis) courses to grapple with trade-***423** offs between values like affordability and safety and impress upon students that ethics can no more be separated from engineering work than gravity can be separated from our physical reality. [FN47] This is consistent with Downey's argument that transforming the central image of the engineer from problem solver to problem definer requires the new conception of professional identity to infuse the teaching of engineering science itself. [FN48] Similarly, Foster's article in this volume provides an elaborated illustration of what it means to teach the intellectual foundations of clergy preparation in ways that are strongly shaped by the integrative goal of pastoral imagination. [FN49]

Whether it is the first or the second apprenticeship that sets the tone for a particular field's process of formation, however, we believe that the critical point is to consistently emphasize the development of professional identity and purpose throughout. The first, and still largely underemphasized, step is to focus all the resources and personnel of the pro-

fessional school on the issue. Such focus should not feel foreign or extraneous to any professional school. To the degree that it does, we have prima facie evidence for just the kind of misalignment between professional education and the needs of the field that the authors of Good Work [FN50] find so devastating for the morale and future of the professions in our society.

X. Trustee Institutions

Professional schools represent a critical gateway that selects and shapes each new wave of entrants to the profession. As such, professional education has significant power to influence the quality and standing of the profession itself. If educators are successful in preparing graduates who will practice their professions with competence and integrity even in contexts that tend to undermine the profession's standards and purposes, they can help prevent the profession from degenerating into technical work for hire, giving up "higher aims" to become "hired hands," as a recent book on business education puts it. [FN51]

In this sense, professional schools have the potential to serve as "'trustee' institution[s]." [FN52] When the work of institutions such as professional schools, accrediting and licensing bodies, national academies, professional associations, and other practitioner groups is grounded in the ideals and standards of the profession, these organizations can act as trustees for the ***424** integrity of the field, buffering it from the effects of market forces, that, if left unchecked, can be destructive to its standards, mission, and ultimately its standing as a profession at all.

David Leach describes the way that the Accreditation Council of Graduate Medical Education (ACGME) has attempted to act as a trustee institution through its accreditation of medical residency programs. [FN53] Leach views professionalism as an attribute of institutional cultures as well as individuals. Accordingly, the ACGME under his leadership as executive director began to monitor and accredit the contexts of residency education as well as more formal aspects of the training residents receive. This aspect of residency programs' accreditation acknowledges that some institutional contexts foster the formation of ethical professional identity while others inhibit it, so programs are held accountable for the quality of the informal formation they provide. This accreditation practice is a useful example of ways that trustee institutions of various kinds can influence the ethical development of new entrants to a profession.

If professional schools aspire to be truly effective trustee institutions, however, they have to abandon the complacency of thinking the field they serve can thrive without their active support of its core purposes and values. They have to do more than prepare students for good work in misaligned fields. Educators must teach students not only to withstand but also to influence the contexts of their work, to take some responsibility for the future of the profession itself. This represents a more activist stance toward professionalism that we saw only rarely in our research.

What might efforts in this direction look like? We get a glimpse of what might be done from some of the more promising developments in graduate medical education, the phase of residency. Perhaps because they feel acutely the negative impact of poorly aligned work contexts, some medical residency programs are attempting to empower their students to "read" the dynamics in their practice contexts and then try to influence those contexts. Under the rubric of "quality improvement" or "systems improvement," students design and carry out projects that increase the quality and efficiency of medical care. At Mayo Medical School, for example, residents work with the Quality Improvement Director and a range of physician and non-physician experts to learn how to design and carry out quality (or systems) improvement projects. Recent projects have focused on ways to reduce iatrogenic (hospital induced) medical problems, to understand better the implications of different choices by the resident for cost to patients and the health care system, and strategies for improving indigent care. In our terms, this kind of project generally takes place at the intersection of the second and third apprenticeship and constitutes a reflection on and response to practice experience.

*425 The effort to help students develop a sense of moral agency in relation to institutional practices can also benefit from integration of the first and third apprenticeships. Here, in other words, is a place where explicit and general understanding of how institutions function and interact becomes essential for making good professional decisions. In fact, embedding the formation of ethical professional identity in practice experience without sufficient reflection and intellectual framing has limitations as well as the advantages we outlined earlier in this article.

In medicine and nursing, for example, important aspects of ethical-professional understanding can get lost when attention is too narrowly focused on relationships with particular patients. Grappling with issues of daily practice may not give students a clear sense of civic professionalism, including the ability to make sense of and take part in deeply consequential questions such as today's debates over health care provision. At a few medical and nursing schools, we heard faculty talk about the importance of conveying a strong understanding of and concern for social justice in health care, but that concern was far from pervasive. Lack of attention to these big picture issues can limit students' development as citizens of their professional communities.

The key change that is required is an expansion of the professional ideal toward inculcating active citizenship in the trustee institutions of the field. The starting point is an intellectual change that has major implications for how the developing professional conceives of identity and purpose. It begins with "debunk[ing] the myth that our institutions are external to ourselves." [FN54] The relationship of individuals to their institutional contexts is a complicated and contested issue. Nevertheless, in a world in which changes in institutional context are now affecting the conditions of practice in all fields, it is a theme that professional education must address to be adequate to our time.

Students in today's professional schools, after all, will spend their professional lives working in complex and critically important social institutions. Carnegie Foundation President Lee Shulman often invokes the observation of sociologist Robert Merton to the effect that while humans create their institutions, those institutions in turn set the range of possibilities for the kind of persons those individuals can become. We believe that, as educators with a concern for ethical conduct, we need to prepare graduates in all fields to have the vision, the will, and the political savvy to create the kinds of institutions that we want to be creating us and future generations.

*426 XI. Conclusion: Leveraging Positive Impact Through Collaboration

One of the best ways that those graduates, as practitioners, can influence their professions is by participating in trustee institutions. The same is true for educators concerned about the vitality of their fields. Changed times may require changed institutions, perhaps even the invention of new ones, as well as collaborations among presently unconnected organizations and groups. Collaboration between practitioner groups and educators can be instrumental in bringing trustee institutions together around a shared agenda. For example, the Florida State Supreme Court's Commission on Professionalism has, with the active support of the Florida Bar Association, begun a new initiative for strengthening legal professionalism. The Commission's mandate is "To promote the fundamental ideals and values of the justice system within the legal system, and to instill those ideals of character, competence, and commitment in all those persons serving therein." [FN55] In pursuit of its aim, the Commission works to strengthen communication and ties between the state's law schools, the practicing bar, and the courts.

Collaboration between professional schools and the organized practitioner community is a potentially powerful asset for reclaiming the formative mission of preparing future professionals. Professional communities are fragile institutions. They depend to a considerable extent upon the willingness and ability of their members to live up to their often demanding codes of conduct that define the terms of the profession's contract with society. Professions rely, that is, on the commitment of their members to the standards and purposes of the profession, and on the willingness of practitioners to keep

working on improving their craft and deepening their immersion in the spirit of the profession. That is why we believe it is important to understand the whole student experience as a formative process, a time of apprenticeship during which the novice starts on the road toward assuming the identity of a competent and dedicated professional.

To be a professional in the full sense is to understand oneself as claimed by a craft and a public purpose in whose service one can use that craft. For that positive trajectory to be maintained beyond professional education, especially in the face of an often hostile climate, the institutions of professional life have to be strong and properly aligned. Realigning education with other trustee institutions of a field is necessary to realize the potential of the formative perspective as we have tried to develop it in this paper. The benefits of serious attention to realignment will go not only to the public or the profession, however. The quality, the prestige, and the integrity of professional education will be enhanced as well. Indeed, the **427** impact that professional education can have on the quality of work in the professions will be greatly magnified if educational institutions take, as a directing purpose, intensified collaboration with other trustee institutions toward stewardship of high quality work in the professions.

[FNa1]. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

[FN1]. Howard Gardner & Lee S. Shulman, The Professions in America Today: Crucial but Fragile, Daedalus, Summer 2005, at 13, 14.

[FN2]. William M. Sullivan, Work and Integrity (2d ed. 2005).

[FN3]. Gardner & Shulman, supra note 1.

[FN4]. Howard Gardner, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi & William Damon, Good Work: When Excellence and Ethics Meet (2001).

[FN5]. Id.

[FN6]. Id. at 90.

[FN7]. Id. at 128.

[FN8]. Id. at 27.

[FN9]. David Leach, Medical Professionalism and the Formation of Residents: A Journey Toward Authenticity, 5 U. St. Thomas L.J. 512 (2008).

[FN10]. William M. Sullivan, Markets vs. Professions: Value Added?, Daedalus, Summer 2005, at 19, 20.

[FN11]. Melissa Anderson et al., Normative Dissonance in Science: Results from a National Survey of U.S. Scientists, J. Empirical Res. on Hum. Res. Ethics, Dec. 2007, at 3, 3-14.

[FN12]. Nicholas Steneck, Fostering Professionalism and Integrity in Research, 5 U. St. Thomas L.J. 522 (2008).

[FN13]. For more information about the PPP, see http:// www.carnegiefoundation.org/general/index.asp?key=30 (last visited Aug. 24, 2008).

[FN14]. Sullivan, supra note 2, at 207-10.

[FN15]. Charles R. Foster, Lisa Dahill, Larry Golemon & Barbara Wang Tolentino, Educating Clergy (2005); William M. Sullivan, Anne Colby, Judith Welch Wegner, Lloyd Bond & Lee S. Shulman, Educating Lawyers (2007); Sheri Sheppard et al., Educating Engineers (forthcoming Dec. 2008).

[FN16]. Charles R. Foster, Identity and Integrity in Clergy Formation, 5 U. St. Thomas L.J. 457, 462 (2008) (citing Foster, Dahill, Golemon & Tolentino, supra note 15, at 22-26).

[FN17]. Foster, Dahill, Golemon & Tolentino, supra note 15.

[FN18]. Carl Bereiter & Marlene Scardamalia, Surpassing Ourselves (1993).

[FN19]. Id. at 11.

[FN20]. Id. at 78.

[FN21]. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience (1990).

[FN22]. Albert Raboteau, Re-enchanting the World: Education, Wisdom, and Imagination, 45 Cross Currents 392, 392-403.

[FN23]. Foster, Dahill, Golemon & Tolentino, supra note 15, at 102.

[FN24]. Sullivan, supra note 2, at 216.

[FN25]. Neil Hamilton, Assessing Professionalism: Measuring Progress in the Formation of an Ethical Professional Identity, 5 U. St. Thomas L.J. 470 (2008).

[FN26]. Id. at 477.

[FN27]. William Damon, Anne Colby, Kendall Bronk & Thomas Ehrlich, Passion & Mastery in Balance: Toward Good Work in the Professions, Daedalus, Summer 2005, at 27, 27-35.

[FN28]. Sullivan, supra note 2; Sullivan, Colby, Wegner, Bond & Shulman, supra note 15; Anne Colby, Elizabeth Beaumont, Thomas Ehrlich & Josh Corngold, Educating for Democracy (2007); Foster, Dahill, Golemon & Tolentino, supra note 15; Sheppard et al., supra note 15; Lee S. Shulman, Signature Pedagogies in the Professions, Daedalus, Summer 2005, 52, 52-59.

[FN29]. Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi & Damon, supra note 4.

[FN30]. Sullivan, supra note 2; James T. Rule & Muriel J. Bebeau, Dentists Who Care: Inspiring Stories of Professional Commitment (2005); Augusto Blasi, Moral Understanding and the Moral Personality: The Process of Moral Integration, in Moral Development: An Introduction 229 (William M. Kurtines & Jacob L. Gewirtz eds., 1995); Anne Colby & William Damon, Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment (1992).

[FN31]. Patricia Benner & M. Sutphen, Educating Nurses (forthcoming 2008); J.R. Rest, Background: Theory and Research, in Moral Development in the Professions: Psychology and Applied Ethics 1 (J. R. Rest & D. Narvaez eds., 1994); Janet S. Walker, Choosing Biases, Using Power and Practicing Resistance: Moral Development in a World Without Cer-

tainty, 43 Hum. Dev. 135-56 (2000).

[FN32]. Benner & Sutphen, supra note 30; Anderson et al., supra note 11.

[FN33]. Leach, supra note 9; Parker J. Palmer, A New Professional: The Aims of Education Revisited, Change: The Mag. of Higher Learning, Nov.-Dec. 2007, at 6; Philip Zimbardo, The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil (2007).

[FN34]. Gardner, Csikszentmihalhi & Damon, supra note 4, at 153.

[FN35]. Muriel J. Bebeau, Promoting Ethical Development and Professionalism: Insights from Educational Research in the Professions, 5 U. of St. Thomas L.J. 366, 389 (2008).

[FN36]. Foster, Dahill, Golemon & Tolentino, supra note 15, at 259.

[FN37]. Gary L. Downey, The Engineering Cultures Syllabus as Formation Narrative: Critical Participation in Engineering Education through Problem Definition, 5 U. of St. Thomas L.J. 428 (2008).

[FN38]. Id. at 432-33.

[FN39]. Id. at 436-37.

[FN40]. Downey, supra note 37.

[FN41]. Id. at 438.

[FN42]. A. Shalleck, The Apprenticeship of Practice (Dec. 7-8, 2007) (paper presented at the Legal Education Conference, Stanford, CA).

[FN43]. Benner & Sutphen, supra note 30.

[FN44]. Leach, supra note 9, at 513.

[FN45]. See Sullivan, Colby, Wegner, Bond & Shulman, supra note 15; Sheppard et al., supra note 15.

[FN46]. Shalleck, supra note 42.

[FN47]. Sheppard et al., supra note 15.

[FN48]. Downey, supra note 37.

[FN49]. Foster, supra note 16, at 462 n.28.

[FN50]. Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi & Damon, supra note 4.

[FN51]. Rakesh Khurana, From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession (2007).

[FN52]. Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi & Damon, supra note 4, at 213.

[FN53]. Leach, supra note 9.

[FN54]. Leach, supra note 9, at 519.

[FN55]. Florida Bar, Supreme Court Commission on Professionalism: Mission Statement (2008), available at http:// www.floridabar.org/tfb/TFBProfess.nsf/0/376813661f52024885256b2f006cce12 (last visited Aug. 24, 2008).
5 U. St. Thomas L.J. 404

END OF DOCUMENT