

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION FOR THE ETHICAL ROLE: HOW MILITARY ACADEMIES AND MEDICAL  
SCHOOLS SOCIALIZE THEIR PROFESSIONALS INTO THE ETHICAL ROLE AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR  
BUSINESS SCHOOL

By

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## INTRODUCTION

*“...a university, like all other human institutions- like the church, like governments, like philanthropic organizations- is not outside, but inside the general social fabric of a given era. It is not something apart ... (but) on the contrary . . . it is an expression of the age, as well as an influence operating upon both present and future”*

-- The Idea of a Modern University, Abraham Flexner<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally, the formal responsibility of higher education has been to inculcate neophytes with the attitudes, values, and skills associated with the roles for which they are training.<sup>2</sup> Recently, however, professional schools have heightened their awareness of this role.<sup>3</sup> The corporate world has been tainted with scandals following the 2001 disclosure of Enron Corporation's use of illegal accounting procedures. These scandals cost investors billions of dollars. In medicine, the rapport between pharmaceutical companies and the physicians who prescribe their drugs for lucrative incentives has challenged the primacy of the doctor-patient relationship. The abuse and humiliation of Iraqi prisoners of war by an army brigadier general and her soldiers brought into question the U.S. Army's commitment to a strong and clear code of ethics. These lapses highlight the growing importance of the ethical dimension of the professional role and *how* prospective professionals are socialized into this role during formal schooling.

All three of these professions – corporate management, medicine, and the military-- are held to higher ethical standards than nonprofessionals and it is this ethical obligation that helps define these as occupations with professional status.<sup>4</sup> In the medical and military disciplines, unethical conduct can have potentially fatal consequences. Accordingly, medical schools and military academies acknowledge the professional ethical role and make strides to develop this dimension in their students. Relative to these two fields, business has only recently acknowledged the serious nature of unprofessional conduct. At best, some MBA programs have incorporated compulsory ethics courses into the curriculum. Traditional management theories prevailing in all other aspects of the program, however, often contradict the intent of these courses.<sup>5</sup> Though the severity of the consequences of unethical conduct varies, the underlying service orientation of all three professions provides a basis for comparison. The goal of this paper is to examine how two types of professionals are socialized into their ethical role during formal education. Moreover, it seeks to reveal both the inculcation of values and norms in the normative dimension and the implicit ethical training that occurs in the curricular dimension of the United States Military Academy and the University Of Florida College Of Medicine. The implications of the military academy and medical school professional socialization models will suggest a general framework for developing a model for ethical socialization in the MBA programs.

### ***Who is a professional?***

Advanced civilization and certainly an advanced economy, require specialization through the division of labor. Specialization has produced an esteemed class whose superior knowledge and skills surpasses that of laymen, and it has mandated their roles as the lifeblood of society. According to Hughes, these individuals assume professional roles and thereby claim a license to perform certain activities in exchange for compensation. Legal, moral, and intellectual mandates developed to identify and to uphold acceptable modes of behavior in the practice of the profession.<sup>6</sup> On both an individual and collective basis, this class deems what is right for the individual as well as for society with regard to some facet of life. Hughes further asserts that society's acceptance of these opinions legitimizes a profession and those who practice it.<sup>7</sup> Breach of this social contract is profoundly detrimental to society. In this sense, according to Moore and Rosenbloom, the professional is distinguished from laity through the knowledge and skills acquired during a challenging education.<sup>8</sup> The professional is entrusted with resources exclusive to those in the occupation and inaccessible to the general public, and the entrustor expects proper use of these resources.<sup>9</sup> Moore and Rosenbloom claim that professional associations provide

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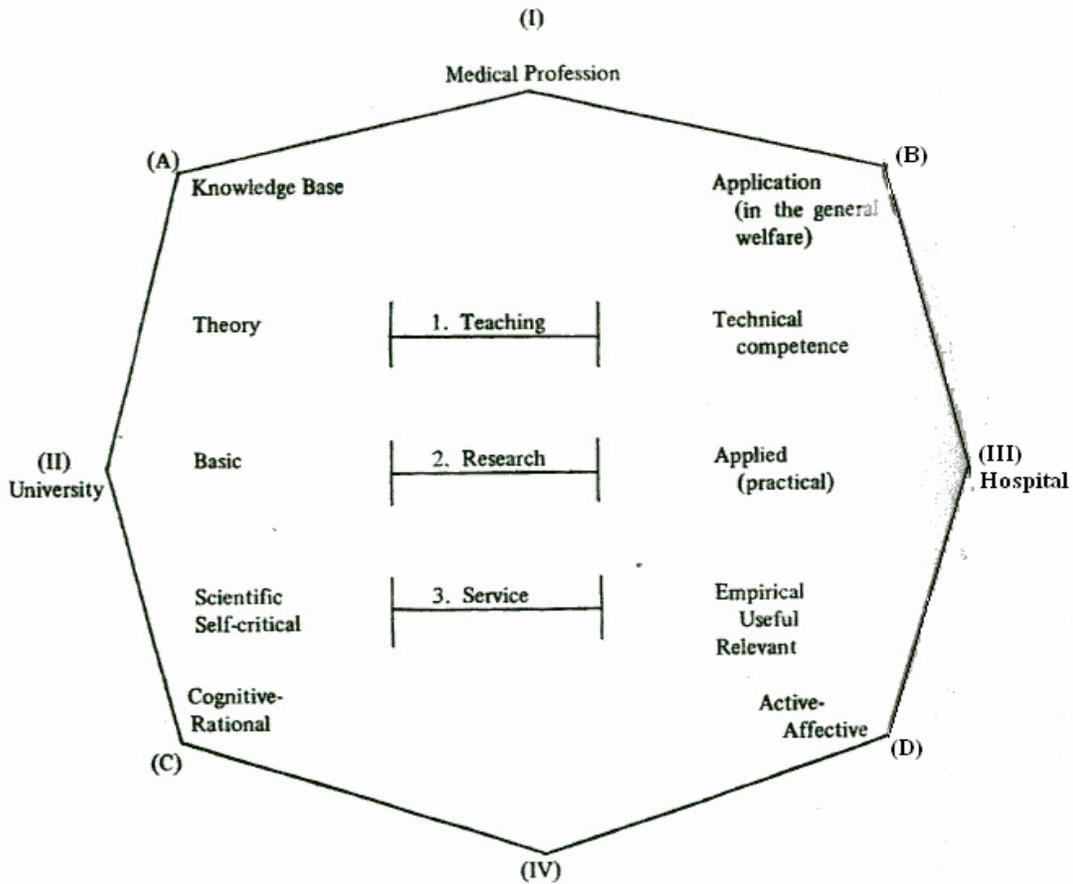
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identification amongst peers. The professional chooses prospective clients by seeking out those whose needs can be met by his area of expertise. Though income is derived from rendering skills to laity, the underlying service orientation demands a strong sense of commitment to the normative expectations of the occupation.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it follows that the ethical role is achieved through a continuing balance of the professional's autonomy and the duty and responsibility to those who are served.

**The University and the Profession**

Samuel Bloom has done pioneer work in analyzing the education of professionals in universities. In his octagon model of "balanced tension", Bloom depicts the medical center as a social system and the central role of the university in the medical profession. He uses this model to distinguish the medical profession from nonprofessional occupations. A generalized version of this framework applies universally to all professions.

**Figure 1. Samuel Bloom's octagon model of "balanced tension"; from *The Medical Center as a Social System***



“It contains an abstract theoretical knowledge base (A) from which applied service for the welfare of the community (B) is derived. All studies of the professions agree that only those occupations which combine the two qualities (A) and (B) in significant measure qualify for professional status as defined in our society.”<sup>11</sup>

The two primary components of a profession appear to lead to varying and often conflicting behavior. In Bloom's model, for example, knowledge forms an axis with the cognitive-rational (C) behavior patterns and service with the active-affective (D) behavior patterns.<sup>12</sup> Professional schools must resolve this conflict by emphasizing both the knowledge and service orientations of the profession and in turn, achieving a balance between the cognitive-rational and active-affective behavior patterns. Ethical role development occurs in the balancing of these two behavioral patterns.

Teaching, research, and service are the three primary functions of the university identified in the model. The university serves as the fundamental institution of the discipline, influencing these three functions in that it ensures that instruction is based on theoretical knowledge, service is offered with competence and without bias, and research is based on explanation rather than exclusively "practical application."<sup>13</sup> Professional schools are responsible for the development of the ethical role primarily in the teaching and service functions.



Finally, and perhaps most relevant to the development of the ethical role is the extent to which neophytes receive social support from others in the institution. This is demonstrated in the serial versus disjunctive tactics and the investiture versus divestiture tactics.<sup>22</sup> According to Tierney and Roads, serial socialization occurs when there is a clearly set structure for education where students are trained by faculty. Wheeler contributes to this definition in his assertion that it is in serial socialization that “the recruit has been preceded by others who have been through the same process and who can teach him about the setting.”<sup>23</sup> In disjunctive socialization, the lack of role models necessitates that newcomers develop their own views of the ethical role. Professional schools that implement an investiture tactic reinforce an individual’s own competencies and existing individual qualities while those who favor the divestiture method are more concerned with “stripping away those personal characteristics seen as incompatible with the organization ethos.”<sup>24</sup>

Referring back to the model from which was first derived the idea of having *structural variables* to support the *situational variables*, Bucher and Stelling provide a set of *situational variables* vital to the effectiveness of the socialization process.<sup>25</sup> These are:

(1) Status Passages – What are the explicit transitional points which indicate where students are in their development of the professional ethical role

(2) Peer Group – Is the organization of peer groups horizontal by cohort or vertical across cohorts; how long does it exist during training; and to what extent does peer to peer learning occur.

(3) Conversion Experience – What opportunities during training provide emotionally intense experience, impacting students’ perspectives on the ethical role; what are the forms and intensity of these experiences and are students aware of the impact immediately or do the realizations take time.

(4) Role Playing – Are opportunities provided for students to be involved in real activities with responsibility in the professional role as opposed to simulated ones; what range of roles are students exposed to; are they central or peripheral; how clearly is the assumption of these roles demonstrated.

(5) Role Models – What kinds of models are provided in the institution; what is the nature of the relationship between neophytes and socializing agents; what actual activities involve students and their role models; with which individuals do students tend to most identify.

(6) Criticism – What cues do students receive regarding their development in the ethical role; in what form do they come and from whom are they given.

## BACKGROUND

### *The United States Military Academy*

Few civilians venture to the United States Military Academy; yet the place compels a sense of admiration from any individual remotely familiar with it. The respect in which it is widely held probably results from the prominent standing of its alumni, who have served the republic for more than two centuries. Within the context of higher education, the Academy is remarkable for its ability to maintain and uphold traditional standards in the face of changing societal and cultural norms influencing its civilian counterparts. West Point’s motto *Duty, Honor, Country* is fully explicated in the official mission of the United States Military Academy, “*To educate, train, and inspire the Corps of Cadets so that each graduate is a commissioned leader of character committed to the values of Duty, Honor, Country; professional growth throughout a career as an officer in the United States Army; and a lifetime of selfless service to the Nation.*”<sup>26</sup>

The success of this mission depends to a large extent upon the types of individuals who are admitted into the Academy.<sup>27</sup> A highly competitive admissions process guarantees a group of cadets who are intellectual and physically able to be educated and socialized into military leaders of character. The profile for the USMA Class of 2008 demonstrates the highly competitive nature of the admissions process. The admissions office initially began with eleven thousand eight hundred and seventy nine applicant files opened- of these, 4,159 possessed the academic and physical aptitude required by West Point and received congressional nominations. From the pool of competitive applicants, only 1,224 were accepted. Of those admitted, 72% were ranked in the top fifth of their high school graduating class. Sixty-six percent had a verbal SAT score of above 600 and 77% scored higher than this on the math portion. The admitted group was comprised of 226 National Merit Scholars, 85 valedictorians, and 795 National Honor Society members. With regards to extracurricular activities, there were 221 boys/girls state delegates, 225 student body presidents, 149 editors of school newspapers, 511 scouting participants- of which 182 were eagle scouts (men) or gold awards (women), 1072 had a varsity letter, and 766 were team captains.<sup>28</sup>

Along with their acceptance letters, each new cadet receives a copy of the book, “*In Search of Ethics: Conversations with Men and Women of Character,*” by Len Marrella which they are encouraged to read.<sup>29</sup> Though the West Point experience explicitly involves cadet development in the academic, military, and physical, there is an implicit moral-ethical development focus underlying each of these three areas. Since 1998, the moral-ethical development has been closely monitored and studied by the Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic, which is charged with ensuring that this underlying focus is properly addressed.

The military and physical aspects begin the summer prior to their freshman year in Cadet Basic Training, more familiarly known to cadets as Beast Barracks. The six and a half-week program is led by the cadre (upperclassmen- juniors and seniors) who are supervised by both U.S. Army officers and non-commissioned officers.<sup>30</sup> From marching in step to obeying orders to

firing weapons, new cadets are fully immersed in the military culture and instructed on the basics of being a soldier. The hierarchical structure of military life at the United States Military Academy soon becomes evident when new cadets are greeted by a group of first class cadets adorned in their summer dress uniform white over gray with an embroidered black shield designating their rank as seniors.<sup>31</sup>

At West Point, freshmen are plebes (though newcomers retain the status of "new cadets" until the completion of Beast Barracks), sophomores are yearlings, juniors are cows, and seniors are firsties.<sup>32</sup> As of 1998, the establishment of the Cadet Leader Development System required that cadets have ranks corresponding to those in the military – plebes as privates, yearlings as corporals, cows as sergeants, and firsties as officers.<sup>33</sup> Cadets are escorted in groups for the entirety of their basic training as they proceed to get haircuts and instructions on marching, saluting, and speaking with minimal voice inflection. On that first day, they undergo their first ceremony, marching into “the Plain,” the site where parades are often held, swearing the following oath and thereby acknowledging verbally their ethical role:

“I \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and bear true allegiance to the National Government; that I will maintain and defend the sovereignty of the United States, paramount to and all allegiance, sovereignty, or fealty I may owe to any State or country whatsoever; and that I will at all times obey the legal orders of my superior officers, and the Uniform Code of Military Justice.”<sup>34</sup>

Throughout Cadet Basic Training, new cadets grapple with the overwhelming amount of tasks that they must learn – from using military equipment to memorizing army tactics, the cadre are learning to master their leadership positions. While squad leaders are charged with the responsibility of ten or so cadets, platoon sergeants are responsible for conveying information from platoon leaders to squad leaders, and for ensuring provision of basic necessities such as food, water, and transportation.<sup>35</sup> In the midst of the demanding military and physical exercises, cadet platoon and squad leaders must administer values education to the new recruits according to the Cadet Basic Training Values Education Guide.<sup>36</sup>

**Figure 3 Table 1 Values Education Training Courses at USMA, Courtesy of the Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic**

	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	Fourth Class
1st Semester VET classes	1-1-P/1-2-R : The Dead Even Rule 1-3-R : Sexual Assault in the Military 1-4-P/1-5-PME : The Foundations of the Professional Military Ethic AD-8 : How to Help a Friend with a Drinking Problem AD11/EO17/ADD IC & EO Rep Meeting	2-1-P / 2-2-A V : Understanding the Concept of Duty 2-3-R : Chain of Command Responsibilities 2-4-A V : Living What We Espouse (Lecture) 2-5-A V : Assessment of the Co Climate AD-5 : Alcohol, Violence and Binge Drinking	3-1-H : Intellectual Integrity 3-2-H : Wherefore Non-Tolerance 3-3-R : Socialization 3-4-R : Current Issues 3-5-H/R : Election of the Company Honor and Respect Reps 3-6-A V : Assessment of the Co. Climate AD-3 : Street and Club Drugs	4-1-R : New Roles, New Rules 4-2-H : Applications of Honorable Living 4-3-H : Honor Investigative System & Process 4-4H : Mock Honor Investigation Hearing 4-5-R : Date Rape Psychodrama 4-6-A V : Assessment of the Company Climate AD-1 : Drug and Alcohol Overview

New cadets are exposed to the academy’s stringent honor code, “A cadet shall not lie, cheat, steal, nor tolerate those who do,” and honor system.<sup>37</sup> Any breach of the honor code by a cadet (including awareness and failure to report- toleration clause) will result in an honor violation. This is followed by a full investigation and hearing before the honor board, comprised of fellow cadet honor representatives. The severity of the violation will likewise determine the severity of the course of action taken against the cadet.<sup>38</sup> In various meeting sessions, platoon and squad leaders discuss the army bedrock values, the tenets of the honor code, and case studies regarding such issues as respect and sexual assault.<sup>39</sup>

While new cadets are undergoing cadet basic training, yearlings (sophomores) are enduring Cadet Field Training at Camp Buckner. There they engage in tactical and combat operations. The cadre's experience in the academy, combined with the experience of officers and NCOs with ethical dilemmas in the Army, are utilized during field training to apply values education to field training in teaching the yearlings such concepts as the laws of war.<sup>40</sup> Simultaneously, through this instruction, yearlings prepare for their role as team leaders charged with the ethical development of plebes in the coming year.<sup>41</sup> First and second class cadres who are not participating in leading CBT and CFT are engaged in summer training sessions in active Army units worldwide where they learn to serve as subordinates under Army officers during real missions.<sup>42</sup>

Summer military training sessions often end in ceremonies commemorating the cadets' completion of yet another stage in their West Point experience. This is especially poignant for second class students (cows) who have passed the two year mark, for cadets admitted to the academy have their tuition fully paid and receive stipends and are allowed to leave without any monetary or military service obligation until the beginning of their third year; after this point, they owe five years of service to the military upon graduation.<sup>43</sup>

The beginning of the academic year, all cadets are assigned to one of the thirty-two companies, which are supervised by an adult officer known as a TAC and led by the cadre.<sup>44</sup> Each returning third class student (yearling) is assigned a plebe to teach basic tasks assigned to plebes. Second class students (cows) are assigned two third class students, two of their peers, and some seniors in their squad. Finally, firsties are often company leaders.<sup>45</sup> The leadership position at all levels entails such tasks as organizing formations and parades, relaying important information to their subsequent companies, doing intramurals, inspecting rooms, and helping with academics.<sup>46</sup>

West Point has a core curriculum of 31 courses, covering a broad range of subjects from engineering to psychology, required of all cadets and further includes the option of specialization in a major, adding the possibility of more coursework.<sup>47</sup> On average, cadets are enrolled in 22 credits each semester of academic coursework in addition to the requirement to participate in an intramural sport and to engage in fifty hours of un-graded values education courses throughout the four year West Point experience. The Academy continues to use the classroom system devised by Sylvanus Thayer, the Father of the Academy. In this tradition, cadets are instructed in groups of fewer than 20 in a room surrounded by blackboards where cadets are expected to stand and demonstrate their academic abilities before their peers and professors.<sup>48</sup>

## DISCUSSION

### *Application of Theoretical Socialization Model*

#### *Structural Variables*

West Point is structured to produce a custodial role orientation in cadet socialization. New cadets arrive and are organized into horizontal cohorts by class. From their initial encounter with the academy through their graduation, cadets are exposed to similar experiences, demonstrating the collective nature of the socialization process. Those who attempt to practice individual socialization are often reprimanded for failure to behave in unity with the group and such continued behavior inevitably will lead to dismissal from the academy.

With regards to Tierney and Roads' definition of the formal and informal socialization tactics, though West Point exhibits elements of both, the formal socialization dominates. Every encounter at the Academy is structured with formally established goals. The requirement to compete in an intramural sport exists to develop a cadet's teamwork skills. Cadets are inundated with 22 academic credit hours and, as plebes, memorization of exorbitant amounts of plebe knowledge. As one former graduate stated, "Its goal was to train the neural network to deal with an overwhelming amount of disjointed information, quickly process that information, categorize it, and make rapid, sound decisions."<sup>49</sup> There is little unstructured teaching and, thus, little room for informal socialization; however, the subjective nature of experiences allows cadets to interpret experiences differently. For instance, while some cadets recognize the significance of plebe year, others regard the required menial tasks as superfluous. Presumably, most of those cadets who decide to remain at the Academy ultimately realize the inherent value in such experiences.

The hierarchical structure of the military academy delineates the sequential and fixed tactics whereby leadership positions are earned by rank and on a fixed timetable. Such tactics apply to the development experiences of the entire corps of cadets. Cadets are aware at all times of the military, physical, and academic requirements necessary to advance to a higher rank.

The leader-development focus of the academy necessitates a serial tactic whereby, according to Wheeler's definition, those who have experienced the same process (cadre) train those who are new to the environment. Furthermore, Tierney and Roads' assertion that the serial tactic requires training by faculty is also met in that army officers and non commissioned officers are often the professors and coaches that train the cadets. The role models and the professional ethic demonstrated by them is clearly evident to new recruits as well as the cadre who are training to be company leaders. There is no place for newcomers to develop their own views on the ethical role, as there would be with disjunctive socialization.

West Point uses both investiture and divestiture tactics. As evidenced in the class of 2008 profile, new cadets admitted into the academy are biased in the sense that USMA admits those who already possess values comparable to their own. A group comprised of predominantly those in the standing of eagle scouts, team captains, and national merit scholars are likely

to demonstrate the potential to be leaders of character with a strong moral-ethical dimension. Thus, the investiture tactic whereby an individual's competencies are reinforced is often the case. Simultaneously, however, through such experiences as adherence to the honor code and punishments for violations, West Point uses the divestiture tactic to identify character flaws and to instill the military organization ethos, further reinforcing the professional ethical role.

Thus, the structural variables of USMA exist to ensure that cadets will become leaders of character according to the academy's vision. They are in place to support the effectiveness of the subsequent situational variables.

### ***Situational Variables***

#### ***Status Passages***

The Values Education Guide administered by the Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic prescribes a passage whereby cadets internalize the cadet honor code "A cadet shall not lie, cheat, steal nor tolerate those who do"— know, adhere, believe, and lead.<sup>50</sup> This passage does not necessarily correspond to plebe, yearling, cow, and firstie ranks nor is it a definite path that all cadets follow; however, it provides a basic framework by which to examine the first situational variable, status passages. Given that the professional ethical role prescribed to cadets is to become leaders of character, the transitional points indicating cadets' development in this role correspond to their ranks. During their first year, as plebes, cadets learn the basics of being in the army, teamwork, priorities, and functioning under stressful conditions. The entire year is focused on self and integrating as part of a team. Essentially, they are learning the subordinate role.<sup>51</sup> Each subsequent year, cadets are granted more authority and responsibility to develop leadership while still maintaining the subordinate role. Yearlings practice one on one leadership with the plebe assigned to them while cows and firsties lead larger groups of cadets while continuing to be subordinate to company leaders as well as army officers.<sup>52</sup>

#### ***Peer Groups***

Use of the second situational variable, the peer group, is important and evident – more so at West Point than in other types of universities and colleges. Each year, cadets enter in horizontal cohorts and remain in this for the duration of their time at the academy. There is a commonly used phrase at West Point known as "cooperate and graduate".<sup>53</sup> Cadets and their peer group have class rankings that determine whether they will receive their choice of station following graduation. Nonetheless, at the Academy, whenever a cadet needs help in any of the three dimensions — academic, military, or physical — others in their peer group will provide this assistance. The professional ethical role is reinforced through peer to peer learning not only through cadets leading by example but also in the honor court, where cadets learn the ramifications of unethical conduct.

#### ***Conversion Experiences***

Cadets are exposed to emotionally intense experiences that are designed to influence their perspectives of the ethical role. For most cadets, the ethical dimension of the leadership role is brought to the forefront during honor proceedings. The experience of serving on, standing before, or observing the honor court at work often serves as a conversion experience, revealing the significance of ethics for a military officer for both the cadet under investigation and the rest of the corps of cadets.

#### ***Role Models***

West Point cadets learn how to be a leader while being subordinate to those in the leadership role. For example, cadet leaders who inspire and motivate their companies serve as positive role models, and sometimes the experience of such a role model serves as a conversion experience for cadet subordinates. The role models include not only cadets in higher ranks, but also army officers (TAC) and noncommissioned officers in the many aspects of the academy. These officers serve as professors of academic courses, as military training instructors, and as coaches for intramural sports. In acknowledging the importance of these role models, West Point frequently briefs all professors (officers) new to the academy environment on the honor code by which cadets are expected to abide. Through all aspects of training, including military training in the CBT and CFT summer programs, the Simon Center administers values education guides for those leading the training programs. The Center requires that training leaders incorporate case studies relevant to the actual military training. Subordinates tend to identify most with those leaders who have an ability to inspire their group rather than those who use unnecessary force and verbal abuse. The failure of a subordinate is considered to reflect a flaw in the leadership.

#### ***Role Playing***

Another situational variable pertinent to the development of the professional ethical role is role playing. From the white on gray uniforms that they are required to wear to the pre-meal formations to the acceptable responses of cadets, which consist of "Yes, sir" "No, sir" "No excuse, sir" and "Sir, I do not understand", the West Point experience entails role playing from R-day (beginning of Cadet Basic Training) to graduation.<sup>54</sup> Though many roles begin as peripheral ones involving such activities as doing laundry, reciting plebe knowledge, and announcing breakfast formation during plebe year (often taught by the yearlings assigned to them as well as squad and company leaders), they assume central roles of leadership with higher ranks.<sup>55</sup> Much of the role playing is simulated until the third and fourth summers when cadets are deployed in active army units; however, as Bucher and Stelling asserted, it is the *perception* of the roles to the cadets more so than their simulated/real

aspect that determines the impact of role playing.

### *Criticism*

Criticism assists in the development of the professional ethical role. At West Point, criticism can be given by anyone – army officers, professors, coaches, and primarily, peers – at any stage. The West Point experience entails routine evaluation in the academic, military, and physical areas. The moral-ethical development, however, occurs through the enforcement of the honor code. The non-tolerance clause of the cadet honor code ensures that an ethical breach by a cadet will be addressed by anyone aware of it, including professors, company leaders, roommates, and classmates.

## **BACKGROUND**

### *The University of Florida College of Medicine*

From the nation's first embryonic tissue transplant procedure for spinal cord repair to the state's first pediatric bone marrow transplant, the Shands University of Florida Health System is renowned for research-based medicine. Yet, a perusal of the setting reveals a more humanistic side. In the atrium of Shands University Hospital lies the healing wall- a collage of decorated tiles adorned with the handwriting and drawings of children from the cancer ward. Only a few floors above is the Maren Reading Room- a room adorned with books, a piano, and artwork, created to foster the artistic side of medical students during the regimented four year experience. Here, the two rules are "no eating" and "no studying." In its balance between the scientific and the humanistic, the University of Florida College of Medicine's primary mission is, "to educate students and physicians in the humanistic, scientific and technical principles of medicine; to provide the environment and faculty to make important biomedical discoveries; and to deliver the highest quality health care to the patients we serve."<sup>56</sup>

Every year, the University of Florida College of Medicine receives more than 2000 applications for the 115 available spaces, making admission highly competitive.<sup>57</sup> Applications are initially downloaded from the American Medical College Application Service (AMCAS) online. Applicants who pass this first screening are then invited to submit a formal application directly to the University Of Florida College Of Medicine along with MCAT (Medical College Assessment Test) scores, undergraduate level transcripts, and letters of recommendation. The secondary applications are reviewed by the Medical Selection Committee Chair. Those who pass this stage subsequently receive an invitation to interview with the Medical Selection Committee, comprised of faculty from basic science and clinical departments, private physicians, and fourth year medical students.<sup>58</sup> The College of Medicine relies not only on objective measures of aptitude, such as MCAT scores and undergraduate college GPA's, but also on more subjective measures such as letters of recommendation, personal statements, and interviews to select candidates who demonstrate the potential for ethical role development. Admissions interviews are conducted on a one on one basis with a faculty member from the Medical Selection Committee and typically last for a few hours. During the interview, candidates are often asked challenging questions in medical ethics involving such matters as end of life issues, abortion, and the pharmaceutical industry.<sup>59</sup> The intent of such queries is to determine the degree to which applicants have thought about such issues as well as to evaluate their level of objectivity in reasoning out both sides of an issue.<sup>60</sup> Candidates' interaction in the interview process often offers some insight as to how they may potentially interact with a patient. Therefore, the interview is critical to determining the ethical qualifications for admission into the medical college.

First year medical students are welcomed to the College of Medicine in an orientation conducted by class officers in the preceding class. During this session, the incoming class delegates a small group to formulate their own statement of ethical ideals. <sup>61</sup>The following is an example of the code of ethics for the University of Florida College Of Medicine Class of 2008:

**Figure 4 UF Med School Class of 2008 Code of Ethics; Courtesy of <http://www.usma.edu>**

**Code of Ethics  
Class of 2008**

We, the University of Florida College of Medicine Class of 2008, establish this **Code of Ethics** to serve as our guiding principles as we pursue our calling to practice the art of medicine. We resolve to maintain a steadfast commitment to:

- Respect the beauty, fragility, and sanctity of life.
- Proceed in all matters with humility, acknowledging our personal limitations and mistakes, seeking guidance when needed, and receiving criticism with an open mind.
- Embrace diversity as it applies to all peoples and ideas.
- Earn the trust of our patients and colleagues by making honesty and integrity utmost priorities in all we do.
- Forge from unique individuals a unified team sustained by collaboration, gratitude, and mutual respect.
- Maintain balance in our personal and professional lives in order to effectively nurture the overall well-being of both patients and loved ones.
- Commit to a life of learning so that we may incorporate novel ideas into medical practice.
- Teach with enthusiasm those who will follow us in the tradition of those who have preceded us.
- Take time to listen to each patient and care for all with an unconditional compassion that stems from our love for humanity.

*"We are not only to stop the bleeding, but also to wipe the tears."*

-Heinrich Schipperges

Throughout the four year experience, the major curricular areas emphasized by the college are competency-based education, performance-based teaching, community training, interactive learning, and the clinical presentation model-120 ways in which patients present their ailments to physicians.<sup>62</sup> Traditionally, the medical school curriculum has been divided into a basic science model for the first two years and a clinical focus during the next two years. Though the University of Florida College Of Medicine has maintained this structure to some degree, certain courses during the first two years are established to bridge the gap between the basic sciences and clinical application.

**Figure 5 Table 2 Course Curriculum for first two years of medical school; <http://www.med.ufl.edu>**

	Fall	Spring	Summer
<b>First Year</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<u>Clinical Human Anatomy</u></li> <li>-Diagnostic Imaging</li> <li>-<u>Essentials of Patient Care I</u></li> <li>-Basic Clinical Skills</li> <li>-<u>Interdisciplinary Family Health</u></li> <li>-Medical Cell &amp; Tissue Biology</li> <li>-Introduction to Clinical Practice</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Medical Neuroscience</li> <li>-Biochemistry &amp; Molecular Biology</li> <li>-<u>Essentials of Patient Care II</u></li> <li>-<u>Human Behavior</u></li> <li>-Principles of Physiology</li> <li>-Medical Aspects of Human Genetics</li> </ul>	
<b>Second Year</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<u>Essentials of Patient Care III</u></li> <li>-<u>Ethical and Legal Issues</u></li> <li>-General &amp; Systematic Pathology</li> <li>-Geriatric Cases</li> <li>-Hematology- - Coagulation</li> <li>-Immunology- POPS</li> <li>-Medical Microbiology &amp; Infectious Diseases</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Evidence Based Medicine</li> <li>-Intro to Clinical Radiology</li> <li>-Oncology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Intro to Clinical Neurology</li> <li>-Medical Pharmacology</li> <li>-<u>Essentials of Patient Care IV</u></li> </ul>

The curriculum for first year medical students is primarily centered on basic science material; however, the ethical dimension is fostered in those few courses that employ a more clinical aspect. During the first semester, students engage in a semester long cadaver dissection in their Clinical Human Anatomy course. They spend many hours of their personal time in addition to class time in the anatomy laboratory, dissecting and attempting to learn every minute detail that may be useful in

some future endeavor to assist a patient who has a problem related to these structures of the body.<sup>63</sup> Testing in medical school is often known for being rigorous with respect to the level of detailed knowledge that is expected of students. The cadaver dissection incorporates many ceremonies. The initial ceremony occurs prior to dissection when students take some time to recognize the grieving that occurred in the loss of the deceased and express gratitude and respect for the sacrifice that was made to contribute to their education. Such formalized appreciation occurs several times during the semester such as when dissection moves from the abdominal cavity to the head/neck area and students are asked to take a moment to acknowledge that the cadaver was a real person. The most formal and elaborate of the rituals occurs at the end of the semester when the bodies are closed up and prepared for cremation. In an atmosphere reminiscent of a funeral service, held in candlelight, formally dressed students are given the opportunity to express their feelings on the experience through poetry, songs, and statements.<sup>64</sup>

In the Interdisciplinary Family Health course, medical students are assigned to interdisciplinary teams of three (from the Colleges of Health Professions, Pharmacy, Dentistry and Medicine) and a community volunteer family to visit two times a semester (for the first two semesters). This experience exposes them to chronic care in which learning occurs over a longer period of time and develops their skills in interviewing patients and taking medical histories. The course also includes group discussions involving 12-15 students and two faculty members.<sup>65</sup>

Each semester for the first two years, students are enrolled in Essentials of Patient Care. The EPC courses incorporate lectures, small group sessions, physical examination practice sessions and standardized patient simulations.<sup>66</sup> The Harrell Professional Development and Assessment Center was established as a facility where medical students can interact with simulated patients- actors trained to exhibit symptoms of certain illnesses. "The basic design of the Harrell Center encompasses a suite of eight patient examination rooms equipped to resemble ambulatory clinic rooms core emergency cubicles, eight adjacent computer carrels, a conference room, a reception area, and an audiovisual center."<sup>67</sup> Here, student interactions with simulated patients are recorded to allow evaluation and feedback. Student grades in these courses are evaluated according to demonstrated competencies in the following areas: 30% patient care, 20% professionalism, 20% medical knowledge, and 30% interpersonal skills and communication. The EPC courses also occur on a small group level (8-10 students) supervised by two faculty members.<sup>68</sup>

The Human Behavior course focuses on psychiatry-related material. Though it is not an interactive course, it still involves ethical role development. Human Behavior allows medical students to explore the emotional aspects of illness in patients. Furthermore, the material learned is tested on the Unit I Board Exam administered after the first two years of medical school, demonstrating that the institution recognizes that the emotional needs of patients are equally as important as the physical.<sup>69</sup>

The development of the professional ethical role is further fostered in medical students during a one month preceptorship in December where students are assigned to clinics throughout North Central Florida. They are exposed to the primary care clinical experience and observe the primacy of the doctor-patient relationship first hand on a daily basis.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to the Essentials of Patient Care series, the second year curriculum also involves the Ethical and Legal Issues course. Students are exposed to the potential ethical dilemmas that may arise when they begin rotations in hospital clerkships in the subsequent year.<sup>71</sup> Though such a course is not intended to alter behavior, its inclusion as a credited tested course demonstrates that the College of Medicine acknowledges the importance of the topic.

In the interim of the second and third year, students at the University Of Florida College Of Medicine take part in the much anticipated white coat ceremony. Though it varies among medical schools, at the University of Florida College of Medicine, medical students receive their white coats after the first two years, when it is presumed they are more experienced and prepared to understand the implications of being identified as a physician. The white coat ceremony mirrors graduation in that it is held in the same auditorium as graduation, families are invited, and students walk across the stage and are adorned in the white coat by the Dean. It is common in many medical schools for students to be given short white coats while practicing physicians wear the traditional long white coats; thereby, distinguishing the student status. Often times, this is often a symbol to patients and house staff in the hospital that those individuals wearing the short coats have lower expectations of them. Thus, when students are expected to know little, they act accordingly. At the University of Florida College of Medicine, however, students are given the long white coats, allowing them to be viewed by patients and house staff as equals to practicing physicians.<sup>72</sup>

During the third and fourth years, the primary training facilities for medical students at the UF College of Medicine is Shand's University Hospital, the VA hospital, and 11 weeks at the Jacksonville campus, providing exposure to a diverse patient population.<sup>73</sup> In the next two years, medical students are fully immersed in their prospective discipline, from administering physical examinations on real patients to taking part in such routine hospital activities as Morbidity and Mortality (M&M) Rounds. These rounds occur after the death of a patient where physicians gather to determine what could have been done differently.<sup>74</sup> Students assess information received from staff, conduct medical duties for residents and interns, serve patients, and are tested by instructors.<sup>75</sup> One sixth of the class (approximately 20 students) is placed in each clerkship – family medicine, neurology, pediatrics, surgery, and psychiatry – which rotate about every six weeks. Third year students are involved in three clerkships, after which they are required to present an ethical issue that they have faced.<sup>76</sup>

With fewer requirements, fourth year students engage in their one required rotation in Emergency Medicine and their choice of a sub-internship in a specialty area where they assume a greater level of responsibility on an intern level.<sup>77</sup> Simultaneously, they prepare for the "The Match" – a national program where residency programs rank students and students

in turn rank the residency programs that most interest them.<sup>78</sup>

In medicine, Alpha Omega Alpha (AOA) is a national medical honor society recognizing those students who demonstrate the highest academic achievement in their class. The University of Florida has a chapter of the Gold's Humanism Society which has developed an AOA for character and leadership. Recognition is determined by peer evaluations and faculty-student evaluations that occur at the end of each of the four years. The College of Medicine underscores the AOA for character in its letter to the residency programs.<sup>79</sup>

## **DISCUSSION**

### ***Application of Theoretical Socialization Model***

#### ***Structural Variables***

The professional ethical role of the physician is essentially achieving a balance between objectivity in dealing with the human body and playing the role of the compassionate physician.<sup>80</sup> As students are admitted and pass through medical school in horizontal cohorts, the College of Medicine employs a collective socialization tactic. The demanding and intense experience of medical school provides a common bond for those in each cohort that lasts for the duration of their training. For instance, medical students in each class develop their own class websites, developing a support network from the onset of medical school until graduation.

The medical school experience has aspects of both formal and informal socialization. The academic courses are structured to establish set goals, but the subjective nature of experiences result in some informal socialization. For instance, the Essentials of Patient Care series during the first two years are in place to ensure that students receive preparation for the third year when they are thrust into the hospital environment and must practice the clinical aspects of medicine. Simultaneously, however, informal socialization occurs due to the intensity of many of the experiences that medical students endure. The cadaver dissection which is formally meant to impart knowledge of the human anatomy during the first year often results in what is deemed distasteful – desensitization to working with the human body.<sup>81</sup>

The manner in which content is delivered in medical school has the underlying sequential and fixed tactics employed. Students are aware of the stages they must proceed through in order to become physicians. First and second year students must gain a thorough knowledge of the basic sciences and pass the Unit I examination (administered by the National Board of Medical Examiners) to proceed to the clinical stage of their training. Similarly, fourth year students must pass the Unit II examinations and apply for residency programs

By Tierney and Roads' definition, the medical school employs serial socialization as students are trained by more experienced faculty. Even as they receive more autonomy each year, student progress is evaluated by physicians. The medical school does not meet Wheeler's criteria in that students in higher cohorts are not often given the task of training incoming students; however, ethical development is fostered in their involvement in the development of the code of ethics during orientation. Students' exposure to physicians in preceptorships during their first year and their exposure to physicians, interns, and residents during the third and fourth years assure that they have role models – an element that is lacking in disjunctive socialization.

As previously noted, the highly competitive nature of the selection process for medical school ensures that the candidates that are admitted possess the proper ethical orientation. Since much of the qualification criteria are quantitative i.e. MCAT scores, college GPA's, it is often through the interview that those trained and experienced in the medical committee sort out the applicants who have the potential to play the role of the compassionate physician, who can place the interests of the patient first. In the medical college, it is far easier to admit morally ethical individuals and develop the ethical dimension (investiture) than to admit those who demand frequent corrective action for character flaws (divestiture).<sup>82</sup> Thus, once admitted into medical school, students own competencies are reinforced (investiture tactic) though the school takes the necessary steps to ensure that they are molded into the appropriate professional ethical role as determined by the college of medicine through the curriculum.

The University Of Florida College of Medicine offers a regimented four year experience and possesses structural variables that produce a custodial role orientation whereby students achieve the professional ethical role prescribed by the college. These structural variables ensure that the situational variables will be effective.

#### ***Situational Variables***

##### ***Status Passages***

First year students are informed of their ethical roles during their orientation when their class must develop its code of ethics. The significance of this exercise lies less in the content of the ethical ideals and more in students' recognition that they have ethical responsibilities distinguishable from other professions.<sup>83</sup> The most striking status passage in medical school occurs in the white coat ceremony. During the first two years, the limited contact with real patients demonstrates that students are in the beginning stages of development. The white coat ceremony is essentially a graduation from the first two years of basic sciences to the clinical aspect. Though initially students are proud to have reached a stage where they have the privilege

of being identified alongside other physicians in the white clinic coat required to be worn as uniform attire, it is the expectations of competency and professionalism wrought by this uniform that is most influential in the socialization process towards the professional ethical role.

### ***Peer Group***

The feedback mechanisms in place in the small group discussions typical of the clinically-focused medical school courses allow for much peer to peer learning. Due to the very regimented and structured nature of the medical school program, peer to peer learning occurs most often within cohorts rather than across.<sup>84</sup> There are some instances including development of the code of ethics and the existence of a Big-Sib Little-Sib program- where incoming medical students are paired with a student from the preceding class to properly orient them to life in the medical school- which demonstrate interaction across cohorts.

### ***Conversion Experiences***

On the whole, medical school is a mentally rigorous and emotionally intense experience. The formal ceremonies at the end of the Clinical Anatomy course are particularly poignant as medical students receive an opportunity to outwardly acknowledge the impact of the experience on their lives. As was the case with one female medical student at the University Of Florida College Of Medicine, she had been distanced from the procedure of dissecting the human cadaver until she noticed nail polish painted on the finger nails of the cadaver, serving as a reminder of the humanistic aspect of medicine.<sup>85</sup> The formal ceremonies at the end of the Clinical Anatomy course are particularly poignant as medical students receive an opportunity to outwardly acknowledge the impact of the experience on their lives. Another conversion experience is the white coat ceremony where medical students both externally and internally acknowledge the physician role and the need to place the interests of the patient first.

### ***Role Models***

At the UF College of Medicine, students are exposed to role models during the preceptorship in their first year where they observe doctor-patient interaction with the clinical physicians to which they are assigned.<sup>86</sup> Most medical students accept the compassionate physician role as a default. In their clerkships, they learn as much from positive role models as from negative ones. For many students, the latter serve as a reminder of the kind of physician they do not hope to become and the type of behavior they choose not to emulate.<sup>87</sup>

### ***Role Playing***

The extent to which medical students have the opportunity to role play is contingent upon the year of medical school they are in. Some of the first and second year clinically-oriented courses such as the Essentials of Patient Care series call for some role playing with simulated patients. The Interdisciplinary Family Health course requires real patient interaction with assigned community families. The opportunities for assuming the physician role increase during the latter two years when they are thrust into the hospital environment. Furthermore, extracurricular activities such as the Equal Access Clinic which provides indigent care for those in the community and is run by medical students from the UF College of Medicine especially provide opportunities to role play.

### ***Criticism***

It is often through socializing agents that students receive criticism. According to students at the medical school, they are often evaluated on six professional competencies. During simulated patient encounters, students receive constructive criticism from faculty members as well as the small peer group regarding their interactions with patients. Furthermore, they are more likely to receive criticism beneficial to the professional ethical role during the third and fourth years from physicians, interns, and residents who observe their behavior during encounters with real patients under a number of varying stressful conditions, more typical of the professional role of a physician. Clerkship evaluations are based on 30% grades and 70% subjective opinion of patients and house staff.<sup>88</sup> The most notable role that criticism plays in the ethical role development is the annual peer evaluation for the AOA for Character and Leadership.

### ***Professional Ethical Socialization Model: MBA Program***

American business schools appear to be in the early stages of defining how to prepare their students for the ethical dimension of their professional role as managers. In 2003, the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business International (AACSB International), a 495 member organization comprised of the nation's top business schools, established a requirement that accredited MBA programs teach students their ethical and legal responsibilities to organizations and society. Many top business schools such as Harvard and Stanford have included an ethics course in their MBA programs.<sup>89</sup> As more business schools design and implement ethics programs, they may find some useful lessons from the models of medical schools and military academies. The following questions are derived from studying the professional socialization models used in the United States Military Academy and the University Of Florida College Of Medicine.

### ***Structural Variables***

- What is the professional ethical role of the manager as determined by the MBA program? Accordingly, what are the norms, values, and attitudes that the school aspires to instill in its students?
- What qualifications should be established as admissions criteria to ensure that those students admitted demonstrate the potential to assume the ethical role?
  - interviewing process
  - admissions essays
  - other
- What measures would ensure that the business school environment fosters the development of the ethical role?
- What structural variables in MBA education influence the ethical role orientation of prospective managers?
- Which aspects of the structure could be changed to improve ethical role orientation?
- What are the common learning experiences of the program and how could they promote an ethical role orientation?
- Does interaction in group settings reinforce the ethical managerial role?
- Is there an individual set of experiences that produces differing responses, resulting in individuals adopting new approaches towards their professional ethical roles?

### ***Situational Variables***

- What aspects of the school environment would support or conflict with students assuming the ethical role?
  - curriculum (prevailing management theories)
  - tolerance of cheating and plagiarism
  - promotion of unprofessional values explicitly or implicitly
- How can students initially become aware of the ethical dimension of their professional role as they progress through the program?
  - orientation
  - curricular and extracurricular activities
  - creating codes of ethics
  - other
- To what extent are professional ethical values reflected in the evaluation of students in various academic activities?
- How should the program handle individual deviation from the proposed ethical managerial role?
- What transitional points or status passages could be used or created to represent a growing ethical role orientation?
- How much of what is learned in the MBA program occurs in peer to peer learning experiences?
- What opportunities might serve as conversion experiences, providing emotionally intense episodes to instill and reinforce the professional ethical role orientation?
  - challenging speakers
  - case studies
  - poignant literature
- Are students exposed to both positive and negative role models? How could the program assist students in distinguishing the two?
- Are there opportunities for role playing and practicing the managerial role?
- How can students receive criticism constructive to the development of their ethical role by faculty and staff and peers?
- Will the faculty support a systematic program for instilling professional ethical values among MBA students?

## **CONCLUSION**

The ethical and legal responsibilities of corporate management to shareholders and others are numerous and often conflicting. Thus the professional ethical role of the manager is not easily defined and socialization to fulfill this role can be a challenging process. Nevertheless, business schools are charged with the responsibility of preparing qualified professionals that can meet the ethical and legal obligations of a managerial position. Socialization for the ethical role in higher education involves inculcation of values and norms in the normative dimension *and* implicit ethical training in the curricular dimension.<sup>90</sup> The military academy and medical school models suggest relevant structural and situational considerations for business school faculty and administrators seeking to foster ethical role development in these two dimensions.

## **FOOTNOTES**

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- <sup>4</sup> LTC David Jones, personal interview, July 29, 2004. corporate management today” *The Economist*. 1-2, 1 [Electronic version] (February 19, 2005).
- <sup>5</sup> “Business schools”, *supra* note 3 at 3.
- <sup>6</sup> Everett Hughes, *Men and Their Work* 78 (1958).
- <sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 79.
- <sup>8</sup> John Weidman, Darla Twale, and Elizabeth Stein, “Socialization of Graduate and Professional Students in Higher Education: A Report of the Association for the Study of Higher Education”<sup>3</sup> (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED457710) (2003)
- <sup>9</sup> Professor Virginia Maurer, personal interview, July 29, 2004.
- <sup>10</sup> Weidman, *et al.*, *supra* note 8 at 3-4.
- <sup>11</sup> Bloom, *supra* note 1 at 444.
- <sup>12</sup> Bloom, *supra* note 1 at 444-445.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> RUE BUCHER. & JOAN G. STELLING, *BECOMING PROFESSIONAL* 21 (1977).
- <sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 21.
- <sup>16</sup> Weidman, *et al.*, *supra* note 8 at 6.
- <sup>17</sup> Gareth Jones, “Socialization Tactics, Self Efficacy, and Newcomers’ Adjustments to Organizations, 29 (2) *The Academy of Management Journal* 262, 263-264 (1986) (Retrieved July 15, 2004, from JSTOR database.
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.* at 264.
- <sup>19</sup> Weidman, *et al.*, *supra* note 8 at 7.
- <sup>20</sup> Jones, *supra* note 17 at 264.
- <sup>21</sup> Weidman, *et al.*, *supra* note 8 at 7.
- <sup>22</sup> Jones, *supra* note 17 at 264.
- <sup>23</sup> Weidman, *et al.*, *supra* note 8 at 8.
- <sup>24</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>25</sup> BUCHER AND STELLING, *supra* note 14 at 21 .
- <sup>26</sup> United States Military Academy, USMA Mission Statement, at <http://www.usma.edu/mission.asp>.
- <sup>27</sup> LTC Dave Jones, personal interview, July 29, 2004 [hereinafter LTC Jones interview].
- <sup>28</sup> University of Florida College of Medicine Admissions Brochure, University of Florida College of Medicine Web Site: <http://www.med.ufl.edu/oea/admiss/brochures/AdmissionsPolicy.pdf> (Retrieved December 14, 2005).
- <sup>29</sup> LTC Jones interview
- <sup>30</sup> ED RUGGERO, *DUTY FIRST: A YEAR IN THE LIFE OF WEST POINT AND THE MAKING OF AMERICAN LEADERS* 10-35, 20 (2001)
- <sup>31</sup> *Id.* at 10.
- <sup>32</sup> LTC Jones interview
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- <sup>34</sup> RUGGERO, *supra* note 30 at 39.
- <sup>35</sup> RUGGERO, *supra* note 30 at 42.
- <sup>36</sup> United States Military Academy Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic, “Cadet Basic Training Values Education Guide” 1-6 (2003).
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- <sup>38</sup> LTC Jones interview
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- <sup>43</sup> LTC Jones interview.
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- <sup>46</sup> Cadet Johnston interview.
- <sup>47</sup> United States Military Academy Admissions Prospectus, at <http://admissions.usma.edu/Prospectus>)

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- <sup>48</sup> LTC Jones interview.
- <sup>49</sup> RUGGERO, *supra* note 30 at 35.
- <sup>50</sup> LTC Jones interview
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> Cadet Johnston interview.
- <sup>53</sup> LTC Jones interview.
- <sup>54</sup> RUGGERO, *supra* note 30 at 11
- <sup>55</sup> Cadet Johnston interview.
- <sup>56</sup> University of Florida College of Medicine Mission Statement at <http://www.med.ufl.edu/oea/>.
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- <sup>58</sup> Dr. William Allen, personal interview, October 30, 2004 [hereinafter Dr. Allen interview]
- <sup>59</sup> Dustin Hegland, University of Florida medical student, personal interview, March 18, 2005 [hereafter Hegland interview].
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- <sup>66</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>67</sup> Rebecca Pauly, "Essentials of Patient Care Syllabus", University Of Florida College of Medicine Web Site: [http://medinfo.ufl.edu/year1/epc/epc\\_1\\_fall\\_2004\\_syllabus.pdf](http://medinfo.ufl.edu/year1/epc/epc_1_fall_2004_syllabus.pdf) (Retrieved November 18, 2004).
- <sup>68</sup> Pauly, *supra* note 66 at 2.
- <sup>69</sup> Hegland interview.
- <sup>70</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>71</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>72</sup> Hegland interview.
- <sup>73</sup> Hegland interview.
- <sup>74</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>75</sup> R. COOMBS, S. MAY AND G. SMALL, INSIDE DOCTORING: STAGES AND OUTCOMES IN THE Professional Development of Physicians 7 (1986)
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- <sup>77</sup> Hegland, interview.
- <sup>78</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
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- <sup>80</sup> R. COE, SOCIOLOGY OF MEDICINE 207 (1970.)
- <sup>81</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>82</sup> Hegland interview.
- <sup>83</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
- <sup>84</sup> Hegland interview.
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- <sup>86</sup> Dr. Allen interview.
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