Measuring professional identity formation early in medical school


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ABSTRACT
Aim: To assess the feasibility and utility of measuring baseline professional identity formation (PIF) in a theory-based professionalism curriculum for early medical students.
Methods: All 132 entering students completed the professional identity essay (PIE) and the defining issues test (DIT2). Students received score reports with individualized narrative feedback and wrote a structured reflection after a large-group session in which the PIF construct was reviewed. Analysis of PIES resulted in assignment of a full or transitional PIF stage (1–5). The DIT2 score reflects the proportion of the time students used universal ethical principles to justify a response to 6 moral dilemma cases. Students’ reflections were content analyzed.
Results: PIF scores were distributed across stage 2/3, stage 3, stage 3/4, and stage 4. No student scores were in stages 1, 2, 4/5, or 5. The mean DIT2 score was 53% (range 9.7–76.5%); the correlation between PIF stage and DIT score was ρ = 0.18 (p = 0.03). Students who took an analytic approach to the data and demonstrated both awareness that they are novices and anticipation of continued PIF tended to respond more positively to the feedback.
Conclusions: These PIF scores distributed similarly to novice students in other professions. Developmental-theory based PIF and moral reasoning measures are related. Students reflected on these measures in meaningful ways suggesting utility of measuring PIF scores in medical education.

Introduction
In 2010, the Carnegie Foundation recommended the use of an explicit evidence-based approach to understanding the formation of an ethical medical professional identity (Cooke et al. 2010), which has been defined as a "... representation of self, achieved in stages over time during which the characteristics, values, and norms of the medical profession are internalized" (Cruess et al. 2014). If professional identity formation (PIF) can be reliably and meaningfully measured as a developmental construct, we will be better able to study what contributes to that development as well as understand how to explicitly support trainees’ mastery towards medical professionalism. Utilizing a strategy reported by Bebeau et al., we have explored the use of PIF and moral reasoning measures in professionalism remediation to effectively anchor trainees’ self-assessment and help them set aspirational goals for their PIF with satisfying results (Bebeau & Faber-Langendoen 2014). We seek to ascertain baseline PIF measures to establish if these are valid for use as part of a program of professionalism curriculum and assessment to guide PIF for all students (van der Vleuten & Schuwirth 2005). We intend to re-assess these students at multiple points in medical school to evaluate if these measures reflect progression of PIF and related moral reasoning in our learners.

Medical students are becoming physicians. The ways in which they form their professional identity along with multiple other identities matters to their present and future well-being and relationships (Monrouxe 2010). This is both, a dynamic personal as well as a complex interpersonal and socio-cultural, highly subjective developmental process. Some theorists posit that early on, in young adults, PIF is a largely externally defined process reinforced in the application process to medical school, which is highly competitive and emphasizes personal achievement. This pressure,

Practice points
- A developmental theory-grounded, essay-based measure of PIF is feasible and acceptable as part of a medical professionalism curriculum.
- Kegan PIF stage scores of entering medical students distribute similarly to peer groups in other professional training settings and correlate with a validated measure of moral reasoning.
- Early medical students find receiving feedback on these measures structures their self-reflection on professional identity formation.
- More work needs to be done to establish how these PIF measures should be used in monitoring training progress, shaping professional development and predicting success, and need for remediation.

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* Supplemental data for this article can be accessed here.
young adults seeking entrée into the profession to focus on achievements that are externally defined and individually focused. Medical educators have the important task of guiding these students from early stages in PIF and moral reasoning toward the advanced stages needed to become effective, altruistic physicians, and social justice oriented (Jarvis-Selinger et al. 2012).

Since the 1970s, educators have developed curricular experiences to expose students to issues of professionalism and promote knowledge of ethical principles, the development of humanistic attitudes, and skills of moral reasoning upon which a medical professional identity is formed (Stern & Papadakis 2006). The recent focus on PIF as a starting point for, and central theme of, medical education addresses the concern that professionalism education often has been seen as a superficial effort consisting of “lists of values and behaviors” that can be generated by students with insufficient depth of thought and commitment (Wyman et al. 2014). Rich, longitudinal, multi-method curricula are being implemented to encourage the development of a hardy, resilient medical professional identity (Goldie 2012; Holden et al. 2015), but benchmark measures are not yet available.

The movement to emphasize PIF in medical and other professional schools stems in part from the work of moral psychologists who studied the gap between “knowing and doing,” noting that the individuals may profess strong beliefs in acting according to the values of a profession, but behaviors alone are insufficient to ensure behaviors if they are not deeply rooted in one’s identity (Blasi 1980, 2004). Because we were seeking to measure PIF over time, we have chosen a framework stemming from the work of constructive developmental theorist Robert Kegan, who proposed that identity development is a life-long process of integrating cognitive, social, and emotional capacities which begins before entering professional school and continues throughout professional life (Kegan 1982; Bebeau 2006). Scholars in professional education have built on the theory and methods from lifespan developmental psychology to develop increasingly reliable, valid, and feasible measures of PIF (Eigel 1998; Forsythe et al. 2002; Rule & Bebeau 2005; Bartone et al. 2007; Bebeau 2008; Monson et al. 2008; Monson & Hamilton 2010; Bebeau & Monson 2012).

The professional identity essay (PIE) elicits a respondent's conceptualization of a professional role in society and measures the stages of Kegan's theory adapted for use in professional education (See Table 1) (Kegan 1982). Students write brief narrative responses to seven prompts (Table 2), which are the basis for assigning an overall Kegan stage score to that document by a highly trained expert. The PIE has been validated in cohorts of dental, law and MBA students, and military officer trainees among others (Bebeau & Lewis 2003; Bebeau & Monson 2012). The PIE primarily has been deployed as a formative method to engage students in learning accurate self-assessment and in developing actionable plans for improvement. While the approach is promising, few studies reevaluate PIF measured by the PIE in students as they progress through and beyond training. In a content analysis of dental student identity essays, Monson, Roehrich, and Bebeau found that dental students at stage 3-4 (representing 37 percent of a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Kegan stages: the four broad levels of mental complexity relevant for professional education.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Instrumental Mind (Stage 2) is characterized by external definitions of self, a predominance of &quot;either-or&quot; thinking, limited perspective taking ability, and an emphasis on the mastery of technical skills. This stage is characteristic of adolescence and early adulthood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition (Stage 2/3) involves increased ability to have perspective, to learn organizational norms from others, and to emphasize mastery beyond technical skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Socialized Mind (Stage 3) is characterized by increased social perspective taking ability among allies or one's in-group members. Understanding and expectations of the professional role are externalized, shaped by interpersonal relationships, observing others, and following the norms and status quo within organizations without question. Some adolescents and most adults are in this stage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition (Stage 3/4) is characterized by a greater understanding of one self in the professional role and greater awareness of choices in dealing with influences that work against a professional's integrity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Self-Authoring Mind (Stage 4) involves the ability &quot;to step back&quot; and see the professional role from a higher vantage point. Understanding and expectations of the professional role are externalized, shaped by interpersonal relationships, observing others, and following the norms and status quo within organizations without question. Some adolescents and most adults are in this stage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transition (Stage 4/5) is characterized by a greater understanding of one self in the professional role and greater understanding of choices in dealing with influences that work against a professional's integrity.</td>
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Table 2. The PIE instructions and prompts (modified for use in medicine).

Directions: This essay explores how you understand the meaning of professionalism at this point in your development and how that relates to the formation of an ethical professional identity. Research suggests that the meaning of professionalism and one’s identity with the profession evolves throughout one’s career. Respond as fully as you can to each of the questions. The purpose is to engage you in self-assessment, reflection and goal setting...

Please answer these questions as fully as you can in 1 hour. Write at least a paragraph for each question.

1. What does being a member of the medical profession mean to you? How did you come to this understanding?
2. What do you expect of yourself as you work towards becoming a full-fledged physician?
3. What will the profession expect of you?
4. What conflicts do you experience or expect to experience between your responsibility to yourself and others that is, patients, family, and profession? How do you resolve them?
5. What would be the worst thing for you if you failed to live up to the expectations you have set for yourself?
6. What would be the worst thing for you if you failed to live up to the expectations of your patients?
7. What would be the worst thing for you if you failed to live up to what society expects of physicians? How did you come to this understanding?
8. What do you think of a physician as an exemplar of professionalism?
9. Reflect on your experiences in medical school or in the community that have been critical in fostering change in your understanding of what it means to be a professional — to be a physician...
Moral reasoning

Moral dilemmas in medicine typically do not have a single right answer. Mature professionals tend to respond to such dilemmas based on ethical or professional principles, rather than personal interest or narrowly defined rules (Rest 1986, 1994; Beauchamp & Childress 2001). Of concern is the finding that research using highly validated measures of moral reasoning and related capacities that suggests that medical training blunts sensitivity to moral dilemmas and slows the expected age and education-based growth in moral reasoning (Selt et al. 1993; Patenaude et al. 2003; Bebeau & Faber-Langendoen 2014; Murrell 2014). The defining issues test (DiT2) measures the types of moral arguments an individual finds persuasive when confronted with a moral problem and therefore is a measure of moral judgment—a necessary but not sufficient component of moral behavior (Bebeau 2002). The DiT2 presents a series of written cases of moral dilemmas and asks respondents to choose an action from a list, and then to rank a set of justification statements as to how important each statement was in their choice. Justifications for actions tend to cluster in three general moral schemas based on: protecting personal interests (PI), upholding rules and maintaining norms (MN), and applying universal ethical principles (often referred to as “post-conventional thinking” and measured as N2 scores). Scores across cases reveal the pattern of each individual’s relative preference for each schema (PI, MN, N2) (Rest 1986, 1994). The DiT2 has been extensively validated and is highly resistant to social desirability bias (Rest et al. 1999). Given that both PIF and moral development theoretical frameworks have a shared basis in constructivist developmental theories (e.g. Piaget, Kohlberg), we would expect them to be correlated.

Methods

All 132 entering medical students (class of 2019) completed a PIF and DiT2 electronically. All but two were enrolled in our IRB approved research registry, allowing us to utilize educational data for purposes of research (Gillespie et al. 2016).

Curricular context

A decade ago, along with many medical schools, we implemented a case-based and student-led professionalism curriculum spanning our four-year curriculum (Horlick et al. 2009) and an online portfolio to promote learners’ professional development (Kalet et al. 2007). In 2015, (class of 2019), we introduced PIF during orientation, using the framework of Cruss (Cruss et al. 2014) and Bebeau (Bebeau & Faber-Langendoen 2014). To facilitate self-awareness students completed both the PIF and the DiT2. On average, students completed both instruments within an hour. Three-weeks later, students received a detailed, individualized, six-page narrative feedback report from an expert (VM) (See Supplementary Appendix). During a large-group debriefing session, the concepts of PIF were reviewed and students wrote portfolio reflections to the following prompts: “Now that you have received your feedback, write your first impressions of your PIF and DiT2 information – What surprised you? What “rings true”? What information is helpful to you?”

Scoring and data analysis

Professional identity essay scoring

PIEs were scored by a lifespan, developmental educational psychologist (VM) with expertise in measurement of moral capacities in professional education (Lahey et al. 1988; Bebeau & Monson 2012). Each student was assigned a Kegan PIF stage score in an individualized report with narrative feedback to each student. Five months later, the primary rater (VM) re-rated and a second trained rater rated 12 randomly selected PIEs (10%) to establish reliability (inter-rater ICC 0.83, 95% CI [0.57–0.96], intra-rater ICC 0.85, 95% CI [0.50–0.93]).

Defining issues test scoring

The Center for the Study of Ethical Development at the University of Alabama (Development) scored DiT2s using established algorithms and provided metrics of students’ preferred moral schema (personal interest), maintaining norms, post conventional (N2). For simplicity in this paper we report only the N2 score, which reflects the proportion of time students applied a social contract orientation or universal principles approach to the cases.

Quantitative

We analyzed de-identified data from consenting students (N = 130). Kegan PIF stages were categorized by stages and half stages (transitional), the N2 score is reported as a percentage and range. Spearman’s and Pearson’s correlation coefficient between Kegan PIF stages and N2 scores were similar. To further explore the relationship among these measures, we dichotomized the Kegan PIF Stages into low (2.5 and 3) and high (3.5 and 4) and conducted a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) looking for significant differences in N2 Scores.

Qualitative

A directed and summative content analysis of students’ reflections was conducted by two readers (SY, RC) (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). The first reader (SY) defined a set of thematic categories and subcategories (Table 3) which were then grouped into three clusters: positive responses (student reported feeling positive about the exercise, or feeling positive about the journey ahead of them in medical school), neutral responses (student discussed metrics, had an analytic approach to their data), and negative responses (students reported disappointment with their feedback, or reported feeling negative or confused about the exercise). After a training set (30) during which two readers (SY, RC) discussed disagreements to resolve discrepancies, they each independently applied the code categories to each student’s reflections. Table 3 shows the frequency for the 9 of 17 response categories that showed adequate inter-rater reliability
Table 3. Content analysis: themes, subthemes, rater agreement, frequency, and example de-identified quotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme category</th>
<th>Exemplar quote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>I can view it as a kind of road map with a goal for where I want to go in my professional development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The feedback they received (ratings and narrative): matched their self-perception (39%) did not match and student was negative or disappointed (18%) did not match and was pleasant surprise (12%) did not match and response was neither positive nor negative (28%)</td>
<td>I am pleased with the results showing that I had internalized the importance of compassion. This is something I value highly in myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Affective response to the exercise: positive/negative (21%/curious/confused (8%)</td>
<td>I was surprised that there are aspects of my own way of thinking that I do not notice. I think that it was helpful to get a third party perspective on my own self-conceptualization of my professional identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thoughts about their upcoming journey through medical school positive thoughts/concerned thoughts (5%)</td>
<td>I am curious as to how I can move from stage 4 to stage 5 in my personal professional identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Recognition of self as novice (34%)</td>
<td>This information was complementary and a positive exercise to see where I am at with my professional identity and development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Described a plan for the future, to move beyond current PIF stage (73%)</td>
<td>Knowing where I am in my professional identity stage is super helpful, just so I can be aware of how I should be approaching my medical school career at this point and to keep stepping back and remaining reflective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Questions about metrics of the instruments: response to cases versus actual behavioral response how to use the Information issues of validity</td>
<td>It is also helpful to know where the median lies in order to compare myself to my peers and know that we are all at the stage we need to be, considering we have just embarked or the journey that is the practice of medicine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. General mental/emotional state of student: reader concerned by tone of reflection</td>
<td>Regarding transitioning to Stage 4 the report resonates a lot on what I have been thinking of as the next step of my growth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Analytical approach to feedback data</td>
<td>I hope to someday achieve supreme court levels of post conventional reasoning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Coding agreement Kappa >0.3, % of 130 student reflections coded into these categories.

(Cohen’s kappa >0.300) (Landis & Koch 1977). The remaining categories were useful for descriptive purposes and hypothesis generation.

Results

Complete PIF and DIT data were available for 129/130 (99%) consenting students. This class is 57% women; average age is 23 (range 18–34, SD 1.7). Kegan PIF stage scores distributed as follows: stage 1: 0 (0%), 2: 0 (0%), 2–3: 16 (12%), 3: 59 (45%), 3–4: 49 (37%) 4: 6 (4%), 4–5: 0 (0%), 5: 0 (0%). The mean DIT2 N2 score was 54 (range 9.7–76.5) indicating a strong preference for post conventional moral reasoning (N2) relative to maintaining norms and personal interests justifications for their moral reasoning. The correlation between N2 score and Kegan PIF stage was ρ = 0.18 (ρ = 0.03). The mean DIT N2 differed by Kegan PIF stages (early, 52.0 (SD = 11.8) vs. late, 56.0 (SD = 11.1) (ρ = 0.046).

Content analysis of student reflective writing on PIF stage and DIT score report

Table 3 lists identified themes. Of the 130 students, 117 (90%) reported positive reactions to the PIF curriculum. Mixed negative reactions (28/130, 21%, not mutually exclusive) included confusion, concern about future training, or dissatisfaction with the gap between their self-perception and the results. Very few reported only negative reactions. Students who described an analytic approach to evaluating their feedback tended not to report negative reactions, even when they were surprised by the feedback.

Reflective writing that explicitly included a discussion of the Kegan PIF stage or DIT data tended not to include negative affect. About half of the students demonstrated analytic or reflective processing of feedback, citing, and interpreting their scores (N = 70/130; 53%). Of these students, 59 (84%) were coded as having only positive or neutral comments, while 11 (16%) students reported some negative affect, (e.g. confusion or disappointment that results did not match how they saw themselves). Even students with initial negative affect about their results tended to have positive plans for their development. Only 28 (21%) students expressed negative affect. Of these, 23 (82%) were initially disappointed when results did not match how they saw themselves, but reported being committed to professional identity development.

Students who explicitly referred to themselves as novices tended not to express negative affect. Of the 44 students (34%) who identified as novices, only 5 of them had negative affect (11%) compared with 26% (23/87) of those not identifying as novices.
Most of the cohort did not question the validity of the metrics (118/130, 90%). The 10% of students who did, described how the results did not match their self-perception.

**Discussion**

If we accept that PIF should be a foundational goal of medical education, then we must understand its development and seek measurements that are valid both for formative and summative assessment purposes (Cooke et al. 2010; Cruess et al. 2016). We found that it was feasible to provide each student with a PIF stage, their preferred moral reasoning schema and individualized feedback. This approach is acceptable and intriguing to our students and potentially has utility as an approach to competency-based professionalism curricula.

The distribution of the Kegan PIF stages among our students is similar to that of other age-comparable professional students (Bebeau & Monson 2012). Fully-developed professional identity is signalled by the shift from other- to self-defined identity (stage 3–4) (Bebeau 2008). While not strictly age-dependent, this shift most often takes place at the age of early- to mid-30s – which is after residency training for most North American physicians. So we must take a long-term view of PIF in physicians. Many adults in the general population do not develop beyond the Kegan stages of adolescence (stage 2, 13%) or early adulthood (stage 3, 46%) and less than 1% achieve stage 5 (Kegan & Lahey 2009). However, it is arguable that physicians must reach higher levels than the average adult to honor our social contract. In studies of moral identity, those at later-stages of PIF are more likely to focus on service to others, less likely to articulately concern their self-interest, be perceived as more effective by peers (Kegan & Lahey 2016), and less vulnerable to the disconnect between what is taught and what is actually practiced – known as the hidden curriculum (Kegan & Lahey 2016).

*Is this a valid evidence-based way to guide PIF for medical trainees?* As we have described, there is theory that supports the interpretation of Kegan PIF stages and DIT scores as we have used them. We measured PIF with acceptable inter- and intra-rater reliability. The student reflections provided support for response process validity, with clear evidence they understood the constructs (Cook & Beckman 2006). Measured concurrently, PIF scores and DIT2 N2 are correlated, as we would expect. Since there are developmental frameworks that measure different but related developmental constructs. It is yet to be seen if this measures individual development over time, changes in response to interventions, or predicts the need for remediation or disciplinary actions.

In general, our students were activated by the exercise and intrigued to learn about their baseline PIF. Those with an analytical approach to their PIF feedback and an awareness of themselves as novices tended to have emotionally positive responses, including anticipation of acquiring mastery. Personalized PIF stage data expanded the conversation beyond a focus on lapses in professionalism into a conversation about a mastery approach to the development of professional “wisdom” (Rees, 2005; McGaghie 2015).

Thought leaders argue that linear staged models of adult development are too simplistic (Rees 2005, and we agree. We do not anticipate that PIF in medical students proceeds in a smooth, predictable, linear manner and fully anticipate it will be shown to have individualized paths and be context sensitive. But, it is not yet known, and therefore why we are pursuing this work. We combined a relatively objective psychometric in the positivist tradition, the DIT2, with a measure based on qualitative data scored by a skilled rater, the PIF. We hope this allows us to go beyond the “surface” understanding obtained by checklists of values, personality traits, or behaviors in understanding medical professionalism.

The disappointment of a small number of students receiving earlier than expected PIF stage scores may reflect their perception that this is a flaw rather than stage in life-long growth. This stance can interfere with learning (Blackwell et al. 2007). Since medical students are selected based on their individual accomplishments, it is appropriate for them to enter medical school focused on personal achievement. However, they must move on to commit to the principles and values of the medical profession as defined by our social contract. This means a commitment to addressing the complexities of being a member of the community of practice (Hafferty & Levinson 2008; Levinson et al. 2014). A learning culture in which students seek feedback and engage in dialog about their professional development enables the needed shift in mindset for students who feel their identity is only reflected in perfect or near perfect achievements. Physicians capable of such introspection are needed to lead change in the culture of medical practice from competitive to cooperative (Hafferty & Castellani 2010), because such a culture is associated with improved outcomes for both the health of patients and organizations’ ability to thrive in an increasingly competitive marketplace (Brennan & Monson 2014).

This preliminary experience of one medical school is based on one measurement episode, without individualized coaching beyond the written report. Expansion of this approach is currently limited by the small number of faculty mentors with sufficient understanding of PIF framework and its use in coaching students. While many scholars are exploring medical professional identity formation as highly complex, culturally, and socially constructed (Stern & Papadakis 2005; Monrouxe 2010; Golden 2012; Jarvis-Selinger et al. 2012; Eppich et al. 2016; Helmich et al. 2016), we choose to take the post-positivist view that a synthetic measurement, even when not perfect, would have a meaningful and valuable contribution to our understanding and promotion of healthy PIF. While this approach has limitations it will allow us, in a limited way, to explore quantitatively how admissions data, in particular multiple mini interview scores, evidence of community service, and prior clinical roles, correlate with Kegan PIF stage scores and how, in turn, this is reflected in performance in medical school. In collaboration with other schools, we hope to determine how to best give students updates on their PIF as their training progresses, and to determine how students may use this information in actively shaping their professional development, describe PIF’s developmental course and its ability to predict success and need for remediation.
Conclusions
Traditionally, teaching about medical professionalism is focused on virtues, character "traits", and expected behaviors. Over several decades, we have deconstructed the behavioral manifestations of professionalism and created measurable competencies (Irby & Hamstra 2016). A strong capacity for moral reasoning and commitment to professional values makes medical trainees less susceptible to situational factors (e.g., fatigue, ambiguity, emotional stress), which may cause lapses in professionalism. By adding a psychological development framework to character and behavior perspectives, we can better understand professional identity and professionalism and, more importantly, how the students themselves can influence the process of being able to "think, act, and feel like a physician" (Crue SS et al., 2014).

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Ethical approval
This work was reviewed as part of the IRB approved research registry, allowing us to utilize educational data for purposes of research.

Disclosure statement
The authors reports no conflicts of interest. The authors alone are responsible for the content and writing of the article.

Glossary
Professional Identity Formation: Medical professional identity formation (PIF) is both a process of personal development and a social construction and has long been claimed to be the fundamental goal of the learning process in medical education (Cooke et al. 2010). In 1957, Merton stated that the task of medical education is to provide the medical trainee "with a professional identity so that he comes to think, act, and feel like a physician" (as quoted by Crue SS et al. 2016, italics theirs). It has been further defined as an ongoing, self-reflexive process aimed at developing habits of "thinking, feeling and acting" that allow learners to be compassionate and socially responsible physicians (Cooke 2010 quoting Ware and Castelini 2000). A staged, developmental framework for PIF has been applied in health professions education (Bebeau & Faber-Langendoen 2014). There is an enthusiastic dialog in the medical education literature about whether PIF can be measured. And it was recently proposed that we add PIF to the tip of Miller’s Pyramid for the assessment of clinical competence and performance (Crue SS et al. 2016).

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Previous presentations
Day One of Medical School: Welcome to Evidence-Based Professional Identity Formation, NEGEA April 28-30, 2016, Providence, RI, Short Communication.

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