
Theses and Dissertations

Spring 2014

Career trajectories among lawyers : the evolving role of social capital

Kenneth Jan-Michael Sanchagrin
University of Iowa

Copyright 2014 Kenneth Sanchagrin

This dissertation is available at Iowa Research Online: <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/4744>

Recommended Citation

Sanchagrin, Kenneth Jan-Michael. "Career trajectories among lawyers : the evolving role of social capital." PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) thesis, University of Iowa, 2014.
<http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/4744>.

Follow this and additional works at: <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd>



Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

CAREER TRAJECTORIES AMONG LAWYERS: THE EVOLVING ROLE OF
SOCIAL CAPITAL

by

Kenneth Jan-Michael Sanchagrin

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Sociology
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2014

Thesis Supervisors: Associate Professor Anthony Paik
Assistant Professor Freda Lynn

Copyright by

KENNETH JAN-MICHAEL SANCHAGRIN

2014

All Rights Reserved

Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Kenneth Jan-Michael Sanchagrin

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Sociology at the May 2014 graduation.

Thesis Committee: _____
Anthony Paik, Thesis Supervisor

Freda Lynn, Thesis Supervisor

Steven Boutcher

Karen Heimer

Kevin Leicht

To Jamie

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without numerous sources of assistance this project would not have been possible. First, I feel very fortunate to have worked with such dedicated thesis committee members. Specifically, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude and thanks to my major advisor, Anthony Paik, for all the time that he has spent working with me on this and our many other projects. Without his assistance, training, and mentoring, I would not be in the position that I am today. I would also like to thank my co-chair, Freda Lynn, for providing valuable assistance regarding the theoretical development of this project and for her willingness to help me during times of transition. Further, Karen Heimer also deserves and has my sincerest gratitude as she has provided support, mentoring, and guidance above and beyond that which is required of a dissertation committee member. Finally, I would like to thank Kevin Leicht and Steven Boutcher for serving on my thesis committee and for providing valuable insights regarding the development of my research.

Second, I need to acknowledge Anthony Paik, Mary Noonan, and the American Bar Foundation for providing access to the *After the JD: A Longitudinal Study of Careers in Transition* data. Without this rich dataset, my thesis project would not have been possible. Third, Deans John Keller and Dan Berkowitz at the University of Iowa Graduate College provided generous support toward the completion of this project via the Ballard-Seashore Dissertation Year Fellowship. Finally, I would like to thank the Department of Sociology at the University of Iowa and all of the mentors, friends, and supporters I have in the Department and across the University of Iowa community.

ABSTRACT

Although lawyers as a group represent some of the wealthiest and most politically powerful professionals in the United States, within the profession there is a significant amount of inequality. Our understanding of the sources of inequality among attorneys, however, remains limited. This project seeks to address this limitation by investigating how human, cultural, and social capital, along with demographic characteristics, are associated with the development of inequality among a cohort of recent law school graduates as they proceed through the first decade of legal practice. Specifically, using a dataset entitled *After the JD: A Longitudinal Study of Careers in Transition*, this project examines the relationships between recently minted lawyers' various forms of capital and positive career outcomes during three time periods: the law school-to-work transition, the first two years of legal practice, and the time period where private law firm associates compete to become partners. Findings indicate that each form of capital plays important roles throughout the first decade of practice. During the law school-to-work transition, interpersonal and organizational connections, along with human capital in the form of educational credentials, are associated with gaining employment in prestigious, high paying private law firms. Similarly, during the first few years of practice, connections formed with peers, professional groups, mentors, supervisors, and employers contribute to satisfying work environments. The models show, however, that access to these professional connections, depend on the gender, race, and sexual orientation of the individual lawyers in question, and that, in general, minority groups are at a disadvantage when it comes to the formation and maintenance of these types of professional ties. Finally, the findings also demonstrate that human, social, and cultural capital remain important predictors of career success during the transition to partnership in private firms.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Sources of Inequality within the Legal Profession	2
Research Question	7
II. DATA	10
After the JD: A Longitudinal Study of Careers in Transition	10
The Study and Sample Construction	10
Data Found in the <i>After the JD</i> Study	12
Potential Data Limitations	13
III. THE LAW SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION	16
Introduction.....	16
Background.....	17
Theories of Transition: Credentials and Networks.....	18
Credentials and Networks during the Law School-to-Work Transition.....	20
Methods	24
Measures.....	24
Model.....	28
Results.....	29
Discussion and Conclusion.....	41
IV. THE INTERSECTIONALITY OF SOCIAL ISOLATION	49
Introduction.....	49
Background.....	50
Professional Social Capital among Attorneys	52
The Intersection of Gender and Race	54
Social Capital, Isolation, and Intersectionality.....	55
Methods	56
Measures.....	58
Results.....	62
Discussion and Conclusion.....	94
V. GENDER, RACE, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND PARTNERSHIP.....	100
Introduction.....	100
Background.....	101
Which Associates Become Partners?	101
The Role of Social Capital, Gender, and Race for Promotion	104
Methods	107

Samples.....	107
Measures.....	108
Models	114
Results.....	115
Discussion and Conclusion.....	137
VI. CONCLUSION.....	144
REFERENCES	152

LIST OF TABLES

Table	
2.1 Method of Administration of the After the JD Survey at Wave I.....	13
3.1 Unweighted Descriptive Statistics.....	25
3.2. Mean Importance of Interpersonal Ties by First Employing Organization.....	29
3.3 Types of Organizational Memberships by First Employing Organization.....	31
3.4 Multiple Logistic Regression of Job Type with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	33
4.1 Unweighted Descriptive Statistics.....	57
4.2 Mean Measures of Colleague/Peer Relationships and Professional Group Memberships by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race.....	63
4.3 Proportion of Respondents Reporting Informal and Formal Mentoring Relationships by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race.....	64
4.4 Mean Measures of Perceived Discrimination and Workplace Recognition by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race.....	66
4.5 Linear Regression of Colleague/Peer Relationships with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	68
4.6 Linear Regression of Professional Group Memberships with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	71
4.7 Logistic Regression of Informal Mentoring with Survey Corrected Standard Errors.	74
4.8 Negative Binomial Regression of Perceived Discrimination with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	77
4.9 Logistic Regression of Formal Mentoring with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	82
4.10 Linear Regression of Workplace Recognition with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	85
4.11 Linear Regressions of Career Satisfaction with Survey Corrected Standard Errors.	88
4.12 Linear Regressions of Organizational Commitment with Survey Corrected Standard Errors.	91
5.1 Unweighted Descriptive Statistics.....	109

5.2	Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	120
5.3.	Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes by Gender and Race with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	122
5.4	Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes with Survey Corrected Standard Errors.	128
5.5	Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes by Gender and Race with Survey Corrected Standard Errors	130

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

3.1	Predicted Probabilities of Legal Sector Employment among Male Law Review Members	39
3.2	Predicted Probabilities of Legal Sector Employment among Male Political Advocacy Group Members	41
4.1	Predicted Counts of Types of Discrimination by Race and Gender	80
4.2	Predicted Counts of Types of Discrimination by LGBT Status and Gender	81
5.1	Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Gender and Race	116
5.2	Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Friend/Business Ties and Moot Court Membership	117
5.3	Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Public Interest and Political Advocacy Group Membership	118
5.4	Predicted Probabilities of Partnership by Race and Law School Organization Memberships	126
5.5	Predicted Probabilities of Partnership by Gender and Professional Group Memberships	133
5.6	Predicted Probabilities of Partnership by Race and Importance of Alumni Ties after Law School	135

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Lawyers occupy an exalted position within the occupational hierarchy of the United States. Compared to other occupations and professions, attorneys are respected for their social standing as well as for the cultural, economic, and political influence they wield (Abel 1991). This, in part, is evidenced by the significant growth within the profession over the past forty years, and by the fact that lawyers earn some of the highest salaries in this country. Indeed, even compared to their counterparts in other countries, American lawyers are among the wealthiest and most politically powerful (*ibid.*). Within the legal profession, however, there is a great deal of variation in the distribution of wealth, status, and political, cultural, and economic power. Beginning in the 1970s, for example, a long established pattern of increasing wage equality among lawyers unexpectedly reversed as the income distribution in the law began to become skewed toward a small group of high earners (Abel 1991; Heinz et al. 2005; Rosen 1992; Sander and Williams 1989). At the same time, the development of fissures in the structure of the bar itself regarding compensation, access to prestigious practice settings, career mobility, and the types of clients served, led scholars to declare that the legal community had become divided into two hemispheres (Heinz, Nelson, Sandefur, and Laumann 2005).

While a significant amount of research has examined the consequences of this division, focusing on decreasing professional solidarity among lawyers and the possible reduction in quality legal services for underserved individuals and groups, less work has been devoted to investigating the processes and mechanisms driving this growth in inequality. The aim of this dissertation, therefore, is to investigate the factors, processes, and mechanisms that lead to inequality among cohorts of lawyers. To accomplish this goal, a cohort of lawyers will be examined at three points during the first decade of legal practice: the law school-to-work transition, the early years of practice, and the partnership decision. At each point, empirical models will be used to assess the roles that these

attorneys' different types of capital and demographic factors play in the successful navigation of the legal career and in the establishment of inequality within the profession.

**Sources of Inequality
within the Legal Profession**

During the past few decades, the legal profession experienced numerous changes to its overall structure and demographic makeup that have been cited as possible sources of the unequal distribution of rewards among lawyers. During this time, for example, women and racial/ethnic minorities have entered the profession in large numbers after being effectively barred from legal practice until the mid-twentieth century (for a review, see Kay and Gorman 2008). At the same time, divisions between different sectors of legal practice have deepened. Private law firms, for example, have grown in size and their members have become ever more specialized (Baker and Parkin 2006; Leicht and Fennell 2001; Kronman 1995; Nelson 1988). Despite the overall growth in the size of private firms, however, the share of lawyers working in private practice has shrunk recently as the proportion of individuals holding a law degree working on the peripheries of the profession has grown (Abel 1991). Each of these factors—the demographic makeup of new entrants to the bar and the distribution of resources within different practice areas—serve as important sources of distinction among attorneys.

One of the most commonly studied and cited sources of inequality within the legal profession is the gap that exists between male and female lawyers. Although women have been members of the bar since the 1860s, it was not until the 1970s that they gained entrance to the profession in large numbers (Kay and Gorman 2008). Despite gaining entry during this time, for many years female attorneys were openly discriminated against (Epstein 1983). They worked, for example, in low status legal sectors and specialties, they were routinely paid less, denied access to partnerships, and were rarely found in the judiciary (Kay and Gorman 2008; Kanter 1978; Martin and Jurik 1996). Unfortunately, while improvements have been made and discrimination has become less open and

explicit, research shows that women still face an upward battle, as they earn, on average, 52 to 64 percent of what their male counterparts earn, and because they are still overrepresented in less prestigious legal sectors and practice areas and underrepresented in the partnership ranks (Kay and Gorman 2008).

Similarly, race, ethnicity, and ethno-religious identity have long been sources of inequality as well. African Americans, for example, make up approximately 5 percent of associates in high status corporate law firms, yet they make up less than 1 percent of partners (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, and Nelson 2010; Sander 2006). Hispanic lawyers, while constituting a similar proportion of private firm associates, fare no better. In all, white male attorneys, it has been found, make up more than 80 percent of partners at large law firms, which means over three-quarters of the most highly respected, highest paying positions in the law are not occupied by females or non-white minorities. Similarly, for most of its professional history, the law was almost exclusively the province of native-born, white Protestant males, which meant that there was little room for ethno-religious minorities (Abel 1991; Heinz and Laumann 1994).

Beyond demographic factors, the legal sector and organization where an attorney is employed is also closely tied to their position in the professional status hierarchy, as an attorney's place of employment is strongly tied to income, occupational status, professional autonomy, and access to the most prestigious clients, practice areas, and extra-legal resources (Heinz and Laumann 1994; Heinz et al. 2005; Leicht & Fennell 2001). Further, according to Heinz and Laumann (1994) and Heinz et al. (2005), lawyers' employing organizations and the clients they serve can form the basis of the division of the legal profession into two distinct hemispheres. Lawyers employed by large private law firms, for example, are often considered to be of the highest status because they garner the highest financial rewards found within the legal sector while engaging in the most "professionally pure" legal work for prestigious clients in highly respected practice areas (Heinz et al. 2005; Sandefur 2001). Most commonly found on the lower end of the

spectrum are lawyers working for small private firms (including solo practitioners), the government, and in the public interest, as these attorneys typically have lower average salaries (Heinz et al. 2005: 100) and work with individual and/or indigent clients on legal matters of lower prestige¹ (Heinz et al. 2005: 95), such as personal injury, criminal law, divorce, and family law, among others. Finally, lawyers working in business are the hardest to classify. This is due to the fact that while attorneys working for businesses earn relatively high incomes and work in prestigious practice areas, they are often considered by some to be employed outside of the “profession” and have long been seen in a negative light (although this has been changing in recent decades) (Smigel 1964).²

Finally, divisions found within the legal profession have long been attributed to the different types and amount a capital law students and attorneys possess. Differences in human capital, or individuals’ natural cognitive abilities and credentials are commonly cited as sources of inequality, especially within the legal profession. In essence, the human capital argument can be expressed by a simple assumption: employees are rewarded in accordance with their qualifications and productivity. Galanter and Palay (1996), for example, trace the importance of educational credentials within the legal profession back to the beginning of the twentieth century and demonstrate how qualifications such as law school prestige, class rank, and grades have long been the most important factors contributed by gatekeepers governing entry into high prestige legal

¹ While there are difference that exist between lawyers working at different levels of government, in an analysis of practice area prestige found in different legal sectors, Heinz et al. (2005:95) reported similar practice area prestige scores for lawyers working for local, state, and federal government agencies. Further, at both waves of data collection the prestige of government work (regardless of level) was more closely aligned with lawyers working for small private firms and public interest organizations (see fig. 4.2).

² Classification systems inherently invite criticisms because they attempt to look at different legal sectors in black-and-white terms despite the fact that jobs are not always easy to classify. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important comparison is between employment in a large firm versus employment in all other legal organizations. Fortunately for this analyses presented herein, this is the most clear cut division found within the legal profession. While there may be discrepancies when trying to rank small firms, medium firms, government work, employment by public interest organizations, and business, there is little doubt that each of these types of employers are lower in the status hierarchy than large firms.

practice (see also Dinovitzer et al. 2004; Hull and Nelson 2000; Wilkins, Dinovitzer, and Barta 2007).

The historical reliance on human capital as the sole or primary determinant of labor market success, however, has seen a decline in recent decades. Indeed, Bourdieu (1986:242) argues that “it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely the one recognized by economic theory.” Studies of social phenomena, therefore, should focus on other forms of capital, including cultural capital along with social capital, which “inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons” (Coleman 1990:302). Thus, according to sociologists, to adequately account for the processes that drive the creation of inequality within markets, it is necessary to not only account for the individual characteristics of persons found within those markets, but also on the social connections that exist between those individuals, other people, organizations, and institutions.

The argument that social capital should be considered in analyses of labor markets is also supported by the empirical research. Social capital, in fact, has been tied to career trajectories in many ways, as it can both facilitate and constrain careers at various stages and points in time. Studies of social capital often point to two forms of interpersonal ties in studies of labor markets: bonding and bridging ties. Bonding ties, on the one hand, are those close connections individuals have with other people in their focal networks (Coleman 1988, 1990), while bridging ties are weaker and connect individuals to acquaintances and groups found outside of those focal networks (Burt 1992, 2004; Granovetter 1973; 1974). What is consequential about these ties is the fact that bonding ties provide access to redundant information about job openings and opportunities, while bridging ties provide access to many unique sources of information. Thus, research has shown that individuals who rely on bonding ties fare worse on the job market and even

once they obtain a job compared to those who have wide-ranging networks full of bridging ties (Burt 1992, 2004; Granovetter 1973, 1974).

Second, beyond the strength or weakness of ties, the identities of network connections can also be consequential. Network connections can provide individuals with important resources throughout their careers. In the early stages, ties with powerful network connections could allow job seekers to leverage their connections' influence, reputation, or status in ways that could assist in their job search (see Lin 2001). Additionally, once a job is procured, connections of this type could be beneficial to employees as they seek to climb the career ladder because they can provide sponsorship and mentoring benefits (Dreher and Ash 1990; Kay and Hagan 2003). Finally, they can also be beneficial when it comes to securing promotions because connections with high status individuals—particularly those at an individual's employer—provide opportunities for decision-makers and sponsors to observe employees and the quality of their work (Kay and Hagan 1999).

Third, network ties can also be important sources of social support. Professionals who are closely connected with their peers and colleagues, mentors, or with their employers or supervisors, have been found to be happier, more productive, and more committed to their employers compared to individuals who are more isolated. Additionally, connections formed with outside groups in furtherance of one's professional goals has also been shown to be connected with improved career outcomes, including promotion chances (Kay and Hagan 1999).

Finally, connections with organizations are also important aspects of individuals' social capital. On the one hand, they can be sources of bonding or bridging ties with its individual members. But in addition to these connections, organizations can be sources of social capital in their own right. Small (2009), for example, has found that valuable resources can be accessed via organizational memberships, like alumni and membership lists. Organizational memberships, however, also can act as signals of individuals'

cultural capital, and thus can be used by members to broadcast information to outsiders regarding their identities, values, and skills (Paik 2013; Paik and Woodley 2012; Rivera 2011). The memberships that job seekers hold and list on their resumes, for example, can send important pieces of information to potential employers that job seekers otherwise could not communicate. Similarly, these types of ties can be used to indicate something about an individual's identity, qualities, or cultural disposition, which may be beneficial at the beginning of the career and beyond (Rivera 2011, 2012).

In all, inequality could be traced back to a number of sources. Given the historical barriers to entry into the legal profession, research has long focused on demographic factors and the role played by young lawyers' human capital. In recent decades, however, cultural and social capital has also been included in analyses of this kind, although the types and forms examined have yet to include the myriad of connections found within the wider sociological literature. Additionally, while studies examining lawyers commonly has focused on demographic factors, investigations into the differential distribution or effectiveness of network connections has yet to proliferate within the research. This is especially true for non-white attorneys and for attorneys of other seldom studied status groups, such as attorneys who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transsexual.

Research Question

Building on the foregoing, the central research question addressed by this dissertation is, broadly conceived: How do different forms of capital contribute to the development of inequality throughout the first decade of the legal career? To answer this question, this project focuses on the interrelationship between the different types of capital—human, cultural, and social—briefly discussed above and the demographic factors that have historically formed the basis of differentiation among attorneys. While much scholarship examining the legal profession has done the same, this dissertation seeks to build on and extend past research by focusing on aspects of cultural and social capital that are ignored or underdeveloped in the current literature while examining how

women, non-whites, and LGBT lawyers develop and benefit from social capital. Accordingly, each of the three empirical chapters that follow examine how social capital, human capital, and demographic factors contribute to the formation and growth of inequality among a nationally representative cohort of attorneys who were admitted to practice in the year 2000.

The first empirical analyses, presented in Chapter III, examines the law school-to-work transition. This is an especially consequential time in a young lawyer's career, as the legal sector where they find their first job is highly predictive of future career trajectories (Heinz et al. 2005). The primary factors examined in the analyses presented in this chapter are respondents' law school social capital, with a specific focus on how their interpersonal connections and ties to organizations formed during law school both help and hinder the ability to find employment in high status legal sectors. Law school graduates, for example, could use their interpersonal ties as sources of potential job openings and opportunities. Similarly, they could use the connections made through their organizational memberships while looking for jobs. Or, alternatively, their connections could demonstrate something about their cultural capital by acting as signals to potential employers.

The second empirical investigation presented in Chapter IV concerns the development of professional social capital both inside and outside of the workplace and the consequences that different amounts of professional social capital have on career satisfaction and organizational commitment. Once newly minted lawyers make the transition into the working world, they begin to form ties with peers and colleagues while, at the same time, joining professional organizations and forming professional relationships with mentors, supervisors, and the organizations for whom they work. Professional social capital, however, is not distributed evenly across all groups, as women as well as racial/ethnic minorities often find it more difficult than to form and maintain network connections (Kay and Gorman 2008; Payne-Pikus et al. 2010). The

extant research, however, has yet to examine how the intersection of different minority categories affects the creation and maintenance of professional social capital and the consequences that social capital's differential distribution has for a career in law. Finally, the research presented in Chapter IV also provides one of the first empirical analyses of lawyers who identify as LGBT.

The final group of analyses presented in Chapter V investigates the ascent to partnership among attorneys employed in private law firms. These analyses draw on each of the various forms of social capital examined in the previous two chapters to examine how these lawyers' entire social capital profile affects the odds of becoming a partner, which, it is commonly known, is one of the most crucial distinctions held by an individual in the practice of law (Kay and Hagan 1999). Further in addition to exploring the salience of the different forms of social capital, this chapter again focuses on differences between members of historically underrepresented status groups, like women and non-white attorneys.

CHAPTER II DATA

After the JD: A Longitudinal Study of Careers in Transition

The Study and Sample Construction

The empirical research presented in the following three chapters relies on data drawn from *After the JD: A Longitudinal Study of Careers in Transition*, a nationally representative sample of individuals who became lawyers in the year 2000. These data were and are currently being collected by the American Bar Foundation with the support of the National Association of Law Placement (NALP) Foundation and the Open Society Institute of the Soros Foundation in an effort to explore the consequences of the evolving nature of the legal profession given the effects of the changes brought by economic shifts in the United States, the entry of previously excluded groups into the profession in large numbers (e.g., racial and ethnic minorities, women, etc.), and the escalation of law student debt (Dinovitzer et al. 2004). As such, the key goal of this project is to understand how careers in the law develop and evolve over time, along with the factors that play a role in career success as a lawyer.

The *After the JD* study sought to sample approximately 10 percent of all lawyers admitted to practice law in the year 2000 in the United States. Sampling for *After the JD* was a two-stage process, which began with the selection of eighteen primary sampling units (PSU) divided by region and the size of the new lawyer population present in each area. Each PSU was either a metropolitan area, a portion of a single state outside of a metropolitan area, or an entire state, which provided for the inclusion of legal markets that ranged from major markets with greater than 2,000 newly entering attorneys (e.g., Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and Washington), to large markets with between 750 and 2,000 new entrants (e.g., Atlanta, Boston, Houston, Minneapolis, and San Francisco), and numerous smaller markets (e.g., Connecticut, Indiana, Oklahoma, Oregon,

Tennessee, Utah, St. Louis, Missouri, the metropolitan Newark, New Jersey area, and the metropolitan Miami, Florida area).

After the PSUs were selected, samples of lawyers admitted to the bar in the year 2000 were drawn in a manner that would allow for the generalization of the sample to the national population of legal professionals from this cohort. In addition, to ensure adequate coverage of lawyers who belonged to minority groups, a minority oversample ($n = 1,465$) was included, which brought the overall sample size to 9,192. For all analyses included in this dissertation, a combination of the national sample and the minority oversample are used. To properly weight the observations, the joint selection weights adjusted for nonresponse were used. These weights makes it possible to make national estimates using both the national and minority samples while adjusting for nonresponse.

Data collection for wave one began in May of 2002. Approximately 20 percent of the sample was deemed to be ineligible. While these ineligible individuals were admitted to the bar in the year 2000, they turned out to be established attorneys who were either moving to a new jurisdiction or obtaining an additional bar membership in a new state. Further, an additional 20 percent of the sample could not be located (Dinovitzer & Garth 2007). Respondents were mailed questionnaires soliciting information about their current jobs, work histories, law school performance, and family and demographic backgrounds. To minimize non-responsiveness, staff then followed up by telephone and web, using a shortened survey when non-responders were reached. In total, of the eligible respondents who were located, the response rate was 71 percent, which resulted in 4,538 cases.

Wave two was initiated five years later in May of 2007. The staff sought to locate the entire original study sample, even if those individuals had not been located or surveyed in 2000 at wave one, and only excluded those who either did not graduate from law school during the prescribed period and/or those who failed to gain entry to the bar in the year 2000. Through the use of mail, telephone, and web surveys, 3,705 eligible respondents completed the survey, a 70.4 percent response for the Wave I respondents.

When eligible cases from both waves are combined, these two surveys result in a 2,890 observations. A third wave was drawn in 2010, although these data have yet to be released by the American Bar Foundation. Finally, at each wave, weights were included so that the data in each sample could be used to make nationally representative estimates.

Data Found in the *After the JD* Study

The data that resulted from this project contains a wealth of valuable information on the sampled attorneys, much of which is used in the chapters that follow. The majority of the survey concerned the gathering of information related to respondents' current jobs and their work histories. Specifically, respondents were asked detailed questions about their current employers at the time the survey was administered. This included information regarding the legal sector in which they were employed, the type of position held, their salaries, hours worked, the types of legal matters/issues respondents handled, and a significant number of questions regarding respondents' experiences on the job (e.g., their access to different forms of social capital, their satisfaction with different aspects of their jobs, the responsibilities they currently held, etc.). In addition to their current positions, they were also asked to provide their full job histories prior to the beginning of each wave. Included in these histories were the start and end dates of employment, the type of employing organization, and the position held.

Beyond the information solicited from respondents regarding their employment, the survey also gathered data on their experiences prior to joining the legal profession and their background demographics. This included information about respondents' undergraduate and law school credentials and experiences. Respondents, for example, were asked to specify the tools that they used while looking for their first jobs after law school (e.g., connections with family, friends, or alumni; their law school placement office; an on-campus interview, etc.). Respondents were also asked about the features of the organizations where they first found employment so that they could specify their employment motivations after graduation. With regards to demographics, respondents'

were asked to provide information about their family backgrounds, religious preferences, and political beliefs, as well as basic information about their gender, race, sexual orientation, marital and parental status, and age.

Potential Data Limitations

**Table 2.1. Method of Administration of the
After the JD Survey at Wave I (N=4,358)**

Variable	Freq.	Pct.
Mail	2,609	57.5%
Phone	1,917	42.2%
Web	12	0.3%

Before moving onto the empirical analyses presented in the three chapters that follow, however, is it important to note a few areas of concern found in the After the JD survey. First, and perhaps most importantly, the manner in which the survey was fielded partially determined the availability of certain data used in the analyses that follow. As noted above, when respondents failed to respond by mail, the survey team attempted to locate those individuals by phone. Importantly, respondents who were contacted via phone were given a shortened version of the survey that omitted numerous questions, including those designed to gather information on mentoring, relationships with superiors, and religious beliefs, to name a few.³ Table 2.1 contains the frequencies and percentages of respondents who were interviewed using each technique at Wave I.

³ Other questions not included in the telephone portion of the survey included: the number of hours worked, information on clients served, the number of legal matters handled by respondents, respondents' work

As shown in Table 2.1, approximately 60 percent of the sampled lawyers responded to the mail portion of the survey or took the web version of the survey, which means that information regarding several important measures of social capital, including mentoring and others, are limited to those individuals. The primary limitation attributable to the manner in which the data was collected is the fact that there is the potential for bias attributable to selection effects. It is impossible to know, for example, what the differences are between the respondents who completed the mail questionnaire versus those who completed the shortened telephone survey. Second, on a practical level, for a number of the analyses that follow, only the mail portion of the survey was used, which resulted in the loss of over 40 percent of the survey respondents in those analytical samples before other missing data were dropped.

Second, several items found in the *After the JD* survey contained a substantial amount of missing data. Chief among them were several measure of human capital often used when analyzing job market success. Law school class rank, for example, had missing data for 58.33 percent of the sample. Grade point average suffered from missing data issues as well, though not to the degree of class rank, as 22.06 percent of data are missing for this measure. Due to the limitations posed by the nature of these human capital measures, in the models that follow grade point average is used. This variable was constructed in a manner that so that the missing cases would not be excluded from the analysis; specifically, grade point average is a categorical measure with the following categories: 1 (“A average”), 2 (“B-plus average”), 3 (“B average”), 4 (“B-minus average or below”), and 5 (“Missing”). Similarly, a few other measures also suffered from a significant amount of missing data. Respondents’ salaries, for example, had 14.21 percent

responsibilities, respondents’ relationships with their superiors, opinions about aspects of work that could be improved, the gender/racial composition of the workplace, mentoring, satisfaction with compensation schemes, leaves of absences, temporary clerkships, characteristics of first employers that drew respondents to work for them, aspects of respondents’ qualities that were attractive on the job market, information about undergraduate credentials, military service, part time status during law school, information on additional graduate degrees, satisfaction with different aspects of law school, background information on respondents’ mothers and fathers, information about respondents’ spouses, and respondents’ religious preferences.

missing data, and a measure of the number of hours respondents worked in the past week had 17.25 percent missing data (even after accounting for respondents who were on vacation). Due to the missing data found in these measures, these variables were not used in any of the analyses.

CHAPTER III THE LAW SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION

Introduction

An important point that nearly all new lawyers will face in their careers is the transition from law school into the legal labor market. Indeed, it is during this time that the foundations of their future careers are laid as they come to occupy career trajectories that will prove consequential for years to come (DiPrete and Eirich 2006; see also Dinovitzer 2011; Hagan 1990; Hull and Nelson 2000; Kay and Hagan 1998; Rivera 2011). As such, this period has received considerable attention in the literature as a predictor of future occupational success. Specifically, research has shown that the results of this transition—often represented by the sector of the legal profession where a recent graduate first finds employment—are closely tied to later career trajectories in income and occupational status, as well as access to the most prestigious clients, practice areas, and extra-legal resources (Heinz and Laumann 1994; Heinz et al. 2005; Leicht and Fennell 2001).

The factors that contribute to the successful navigation of this transition, however, have yet to be examined in detail and remain underdeveloped theoretically. At present, research examining the law school-to-work transition focuses primarily on the traditional notions of capital, pointing to the importance of educational credentials when sorting into different legal jobs (e.g., Wilkins et al. 2007). Other factors, like social capital, are either ignored or investigated in limited forms that are unable to account for the different roles that social connections can play on the labor market. Further, prior research often relies on data obtained from a single geographic area, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the legal market as a whole, as many of the markers of career success depend on the municipal or regional market in which a lawyer is embedded (Dinovitzer, Reichman, and Sterling 2009; Uzzi and Lancaster 2004; see also Wilkins et al. 2007).

The analyses presented in this chapter aim to build on and extend the prior research to address these issues directly. First, it focuses exclusively on the law school-to-work transition by examining the factors that affect the most important marker of both early and future career success: the type of legal organization where young law graduates first find employment (see Heinz et al. 2005). Second, the analyses presented herein expand upon prior research by examining several types of social capital that have yet to be included in studies of this kind. Finally, the research presented in this chapter utilizes a nationally representative, regionally clustered sample of a cohort of young lawyers which can provide estimates that are generalizable to the overall legal labor market while simultaneously accounting for regional differences in career outcomes.

Background

A significant amount of research has examined career outcomes within the legal profession. Some have focused on the profession as a whole, finding that inequality among lawyers has grown since the 1960s in such a way that the bar has become increasingly divided between elite and non-elite attorneys (Heinz and Laumann 1994; Heinz et al. 2005). Others have focused on specific outcomes during the middle stages of attorneys' careers and found, for example, that there is an unequal division among attorneys with regards to income (Rosen 1992; Sander and Williams 1989), access to prestigious clients, practice areas, and extra-legal resources (Heinz and Laumann 1994; Heinz et al. 2005; Leicht and Fennell 2001), and opportunities for promotion (Kay and Hagan 1999).

What is less well developed, however, is theoretical and empirical research into the law school-to-work transition. This omission is important, because to study and understand the unequal distribution of resources within a profession—which is essentially the study of career trajectories—it is necessary to start at the beginning of the career, where differences in employment sector, salaries, access to resources, and growth potential are first established. Indeed, research shows that it is common for the “rich to

get richer” as resources flow to those who demonstrate promise early on, which, in turn, facilitates future work and success through a feedback process (Merton 1973a, b; see also DiPrete and Eirich 2006). Thus, even small differences during the school-to-work transition can have long-term consequences over time as the distance between groups of workers on divergent career trajectories becomes increasingly magnified.

Theories of Transition: Credentials and Networks

Two theoretical orientations within the sociological and economic literatures offer explanations for how the school-to-work transition functions and shed light on the factors that contribute to the ability of new lawyers to gain employment in high or low status legal sectors. Allocation theories of labor market stratification argue that hiring decisions are made in response to signals communicated by candidates’ credentials (Collins 1979; Kingston et al. 2003). Credentials such as high grades, an elite education, or even demographics like gender and race, for example, could be viewed by employers as signals of intelligence, drive, and as markers of potential future productivity based on past experiences with employees with similar qualifications (Rosenbaum et al. 1990; Spence 1974). In fact, educational credentials have been shown to be especially important at the outset of careers (Bills 1988). Credentials could also be used to identify cultural, class-based dispositions, which classify certain applicants as the “right sort” of employee for a job (Kingston et al. 2003: 55; *see also* Bourdieu 1977; Collins 1979). An elite education, for example, could be used to identify applicants with the cultural disposition, nature, or temperament necessary to interact with certain types of clients, rather than merely as an indication of a candidate’s potential productivity.

Network theories, alternatively, focus primarily on job candidates and how the social capital they possess affects the job search process. Similar to employers, prospective employees also seek information during the transition from school to work, although they are most often in search of job leads and openings. Interpersonal ties can serve as conduits for this information, as different types of connections can govern its

diffusion through networks of individuals. Bonding ties, for example, are known to provide access to limited, often redundant information on employment opportunities (Granovetter 1973, 1974), while bridging ties act as links to unique information and opportunities found outside of focal networks (Burt 1992, 2004). Ties can also communicate information regarding candidates' future productivity to employers. In what is often referred to as temporal embeddedness, it is argued that past dealings and experiences can act as signals regarding the quality of a candidate, which allows a potential employer to decide whether an offer of employment would be in the best interests of the firm while also ensuring that the candidate puts forth his or her best efforts (Buskers 1998; Van Emmerik 2006).

Network connections also provide access to resources that can offer valuable assistance to job candidates on the market. Ties to powerful or high status network connections, for example, could provide access to the resources possessed by those actors, including their wealth, political influence, and reputation (Lin 2001; Lin et al. 1981a, b). Connections with organizations can have a positive effect as well, as ties to an organization itself—not just the ties to its individual members—can have important impacts on the establishment and growth of inequality. Being embedded in an organization, for example, may provide access to resources like alumni lists, while acting as bridges to other organizations or to individuals with whom members have had no previous contact (Small 2009).

Social ties, particularly those to organizations, can also serve an additional role. Drawing on the signaling perspective, connections to organizations can be viewed as signals of quality, especially where membership in a given organization involves significant investments or costs (Paik 2013). For example, some parents send their children to elite, often exorbitantly expensive private preschools even though enrollment at any number of schools is likely to result in the acquisition of the skills necessary for future educational success. According to Paik (2013), attending an expensive, elite school

is a cost-worthy signal that will facilitate the successful progression through later life stages. When applied to later educational stages such as college or law school, this means that the benefit of a prestigious university lies not just in the lessons that will be learned, the human capital obtained, and the network connections gained, but also in what it will signal to outsiders (*see also* Rivera 2011).

Credentials and Networks during the

Law School-to-Work Transition

When analyzing the factors associated with finding employment in different types of legal organizations, a significant amount of research demonstrates the importance of credentials. Galanter and Palay (1996) trace the emphasis on educational background as far back as the 1940s, when the most prestigious private firms followed the Cravath system of hiring and promotion, which, at the outset of the career, focused on hiring only the most accomplished law school graduates from elite universities. A variant of this hiring practice is still dominant today in many private law firms, as most strongly emphasize educational credentials during the hiring process, which can include candidates' grade point averages and the prestige or rank of their law schools. (Dinovitzer et al. 2004; Hull and Nelson 2000; Wilkins et al. 2007). The primary differences in the contemporary market are that employers are willing to hire from a wider group of national or regional law schools and that deficiencies in law school rank can be addressed with high grades.

The role that social capital plays during the law school-to-work transition, however, has not received as much attention among scholars of the legal profession. This gap in the research is concerning because social resources are particularly important in markets where candidates possess qualifications that are so similar to one another that differentiation is difficult (Kay and Hagan 1998; *see also* Bourdieu 1986). Further, this gap is also concerning given the significant evidence regarding the importance of social connections found in studies examining the other stages of the legal career (Dinovitzer

2006; Dinovitzer and Garth 2007; Dinovitzer and Hagan 2006; Dinovitzer et al. 2009; Dixon and Seron 1995) and in research outside of the legal profession.

To gain insight into how different types of social capital operate during the law school-to-work transition, it is necessary to look at research examining later stages of the legal career as well as research found outside of the legal profession. Tie strength, for example, has yet to be examined for its effect on the law school-to-work transition. The only study that has considered tie strength, in fact, is a study of career mobility among Canadian Jewish lawyers. In this study, Dinovitzer (2006) found that while attorneys who were closely bonded with others in their ethnic networks were satisfied with their careers, they also tended to work in less prestigious legal sectors and as solo practitioners. This finding provides some evidence that bonding ties are associated with negative outcomes, although, it should be noted that this outcome may be attributable to the fact that non-Christian lawyers have long occupied lower status positions in the bar (Heinz and Laumann 1994). It is, however, consistent with research found in the wider network literature regarding tie strength, which, when considered together, suggests the following:

H3.1. New lawyers who rely on bonding ties during the job search process will be more likely to find employment in low status legal organizations while new lawyers who rely on bridging ties during the job search process will be more likely to find employment in high status legal organizations.

Research examining the importance of ties to high status network connections, however, is more common. Often termed cultural capital, numerous studies, including two examining the law school-to-work transition, have included these types of measures, which range from the presence of lawyers in respondents' families to the educational background of respondents' parents. Perhaps the most relevant of these studies found that having a lawyer in the family was not associated with working in large private firms (Hull and Nelson 2000; Wilkins et al. 2007) or higher earnings (Hull and Nelson 2000) at the outset of the legal career. Additionally, in studies of later stages of the legal career,

research has also failed to demonstrate a connection between the education level of respondents' parents and mid-career indicators of success, including income (Dixon and Seron 1995; *but see* Dinovitzer 2011), increased career satisfaction (Dinovitzer and Garth 2007), and the likelihood of becoming a partner in a private firm (Hull and Nelson 2000; Kay and Hagan 1998, 1999).

Finally, similar to bonding and bridging ties, research has yet to fully consider the role that organizational connections play during the school-to-work transition. Fortunately, research examining other points in the legal career does consider the importance of connections to organizations and provides some guidance regarding their effects. Dinovitzer and Hagan (2006), for example, found that membership in a wide array of professional organizations acted to mitigate the damaging effects of geographic mobility on income. Similarly, other studies have found that the number of professional association memberships was associated with the increased likelihood of attaining partnership status in private law firms or its equivalent in other types of organizations (Kay and Hagan 1998, 1999; see also Heinz et al. 2001). Further, while not considered from the network perspective, past research indicates that membership in prestigious legal organizations, like the law review, is associated with working in large firms (Wilkins et al. 2007). When this research is combined with Small's (2009) organizational embeddedness approach, the following prediction can be made:

H3.2: Lawyers who were members of student organizations in law school will be more likely to find employment in high status organizations.

While past research into the legal profession has demonstrated the basic importance of organizational ties, however, it has yet to identify why memberships are associated with positive career outcomes. In law school, students have a wide array of organizations at their fingertips that could provide access to resources that may prove useful during the job search in the way hypothesized by Small (2009). Organizational memberships, however, could also be useful as signals (Paik 2013). First, the type of

organization that a student is a member of could act as a signal to employers regarding a candidate's quality. Membership on the law review, for example, could be viewed as a signal of a candidate's intelligence or drive. On the other hand, memberships could signal that an individual is dedicated to working in certain legal sectors or on certain types of legal issues. Job candidates who were members of political advocacy groups or public interest societies, for example, could be seen as more desirable in the eyes of government or public interest employers because they have already demonstrated their commitment to issues similar to those they will face in practice. This suggests the following:

H3.3. The types of student organizations to which recent graduates belonged during law school will be significant factors in the prediction of the legal organization where new lawyers find employment.

An individual's position within a student organization could also be used as a signal. Compared to rank-and-file members, law students who work in leadership positions undertake responsibilities that are likely to be costly in terms of time that could be dedicated to other pursuits. Thus, following Paik (2013), leadership positions in a variety of organizations could signal that these individuals are true representations of the qualities attributed to these groups, which, in turn, would make them even more suitable for employment compared to rank-and-file members. For example, it is difficult for employers to know the degree to which an individual contributed as a member of a law journal, a political advocacy group, or the moot court. If an applicant, however, is a leader of one of those organizations, the uncertainty surrounding the level of their participation or contribution and the degree to which they embody the qualities of that organization is reduced. Therefore, the following is proposed:

H3.4. New lawyers who occupied leadership positions in student organizations during law school will be more likely to find prestigious employment after graduation.

In sum, this chapter builds on and extends the prior research by examining several types of social capital that have yet to be studied during the law school-to-work transition using a nationally representative cohort of recent law school graduates. Specifically, this research is the first to examine tie strength and whether ties to student organizations play a significant role while law students and recent graduates navigate the transition into the job market. In addition, the analyses presented in this chapter are also the first to consider how ties to organizations and other credentials work by investigating whether and how they act as signals to employers. Finally, the relevance of these factors will be considered while controlling for other important determinants of market success, including academic credentials and demographic controls.

Methods

Eligibility for the analytic sample examined in this chapter was based on two criteria: first, respondents must have provided valid responses to questions about their first legal jobs,⁴ and second, respondents must have possessed valid sampling weights. The resulting sample (n=3,317) excluded 347 cases (9.5%) due to missing data. Table 3.1 provides descriptive statistics for the variables used in the models that follow.

Measures

Dependent Measure

Respondents were asked to provide a significant amount of information about their work histories in the AJD survey. Using the responses to these questions, a six-category measure was constructed representing a range of organizations commonly found in the marketplace for legal services. The resulting measure consisted of the following categories: 1 (“small firms,” which is any private law practice with fewer than 20 attorneys, including solo practitioners); 2 (“medium firms,” which consists of private law practices with between 20 and 150 lawyers); 3 (“large firms,” which consists of private

⁴ Less than 5 percent of the sample failed to provide information regarding their first jobs.

law practices with over 150 lawyers; 4 (“government and public interest organizations, which includes attorneys employed by local, state, and the federal government—including the judiciary, as well as public interest employers and nonprofit legal organizations”); and 5 (“business organizations,” which consists of both in-house

Table 3.1. Unweighted Descriptive Statistics (N=3,317)

Variables	Mean	SD	Variables	Mean	SD
<i>Interpersonal Ties</i>			<i>Credentials</i>		
Family Ties	2.10	(2.14)	School Rank		
Friend/Bus Ties	2.64	(2.36)	Top 10	10.1%	
Alumni Ties	1.89	(1.83)	Top 20	12.8%	
			Top 100	46.5%	
			Tier 2	30.6%	
<i>Organizational Ties</i>			GPA		
Law Review			A Avg	20.7%	
Nonmember	79.8%		B+ Avg	21.7%	
Member	8.4%		B Avg	33.7%	
Leader	11.7%		B- or		
Law Journal			Below	6.3%	
Nonmember	75.8%		Missing	17.6%	
Member	11.0%				
Leader	13.2%				
			<i>Demographics</i>		
Moot Court			Lawyers in		
Nonmember	63.8%		Fam	62.9%	
Member	28.8%		Summer Emp	39.5%	
Leader	7.4%		Part Time	18.4%	
Pol Advoc Group			Internship	8.3%	
Nonmember	87.4%		Parent's Educ	15.08	(2.43)
Member	8.6%		Female	48.4%	
Leader	4.0%		Race		
Pub Int Group			White	70.8%	
Nonmember	78.8%		Black	8.2%	
Member	16.4%		Hispanic	8.0%	
Leader	4.8%		Asian	8.8%	
			Other	4.3%	
			Age	29.05	(5.43)

attorneys and non-practicing lawyers working in other capacities in business settings).

Independent Measures

Interpersonal Ties. Several measures were used to represent the different types of social capital discussed above. Bonding and bridging ties were operationalized using responses to the following question: “How important were each of the following in helping you obtain your first job (or current job if this is your first job) after law school ...?” Three possible response categories were used: ties with family members, friends and/or business associates, and law school alumni or alumni networks. Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each connection from 1 (not important at all) to 7 (extremely important). For each category, respondents could indicate that a specific tie was “not applicable” during their job search; these respondents were assigned a value of 0.⁵ For these analyses, bonding ties are represented by two measures: the importance of family and friend/business ties. *Bridging ties* are operationalized by using the measure assessing the importance of alumni ties.

Organizational ties. Membership in several student organizations during law school was assessed using responses to the following question: “Indicate whether or not you participated in any of the following activities during law school, and, if you did, at what level.” Respondents could indicate that they either did not participate in a listed activity, that they were members of a given group, or that they held a leadership role in a group. Using these questions, memberships on five student organizations were included in this analysis: the *law review*, other specialty *law journals*, the *moot court*, *political advocacy groups*, and *public interest groups*. For each variable, membership could have occurred at any point during respondents’ time in law school.⁶

⁵ The percentage of respondents who reported that each of these ties were “not applicable” were as follows: family ties: 9.5 percent; friend/business ties: 7.81 percent; and alumni ties: 8.41 percent.

⁶ Unfortunately, these questions did not specify the requirements for membership in these organizations or, in the case of political advocacy groups and public interest groups, what specific types of groups fell into these categories. For example, it is not known whether moot court membership included only members of

Credentials. Law school rank was constructed using the *U.S. News and World Report* ranking of the respondents' law schools in 2003 provided in the AJD data. The *U.S. News* ranking system is broken down into four tiers, and law schools found the top tiers are ranked numerically while the schools found in the lower tiers are unranked within their grouping. The two lowest tiers were combined with unaccredited law schools into a single category while the upper tiers were divided according to numerical ranking. For this study, graduates of foreign law schools were excluded because the survey did not provide information necessary to assign them to appropriate ranks. Thus, the resulting measure of *law school rank* consisted of the following: 1 ("Top 10"), 2 ("Top 20"), 3 ("Top 100"), and 4 ("tier two and below"). *Grade point average* was constructed by categorizing respondents' overall averages at graduation on a four point scale: 1 ("A average"), 2 ("B-plus average"), 3 ("B average"), 4 ("B-minus average or below"), and 5 ("Missing"). The final category was included due to the significant amount of missing data on respondents' grade point averages, which accounted for approximately one fifth of the sample.

Demographics and Controls. First, three variables measuring whether respondents worked or interned for legal organizations during law school were constructed using the same question described in the section on interpersonal ties: "How important were each of the following in helping you obtain your first job (or current job if this is your first job) after law school" Each of these variables were converted to binary measures: whether respondents worked for a legal organization during any of the summers during law school, worked for a legal organization during the school year, or worked as an intern at any time during law school. Specifically, those respondents who responded that working during the summer, during the school year, or as an intern was "not applicable" during their job search were coded as 0 as it is assumed that these individuals did not participate

law schools' traveling competition teams or any and all students who took classes in an attempt to gain membership on the moot court.

in any of these activities. Alternatively, the other respondents who rated the importance of these activities at any level were coded as 1, as it is assumed that they did, in some capacity, work for legal organizations during their time in law school even if they viewed this work as relatively unimportant during their job search. Second, to operationalize parents' education a scale was constructed measuring the combined education level of respondents' parents in years of schooling (with a range of 8 to 18 years).

Third, research examining the legal profession has identified several demographic factors as important determinants of labor market success, including gender (Dinovitzer 2011; Dinovitzer et al. 2009; Hagan 1990; Hull and Nelson 2000), race (Dinovitzer et al. 2009; Hull and Nelson 2000; Wilkins et al. 2007), and age (Dinovitzer et al. 2009; Wilkins et al. 2007). Measures for each of these factors are included in the analyses. *Gender* is a binary measure that differentiates between males and females. *Race/Ethnicity* is a five-item categorical measure with the following categories: 1 ("White"), 2 ("Black"), 3 ("Hispanic"), 4 ("Asian"), and 5 ("Other"). *Age* represents how old the respondent was when he or she graduated from law school and is measured on a continuous scale with a range of 20 to 59. In addition, a binary variable assessing whether respondents' have *lawyers in their family* was constructed. For this measure, respondents who reported that their mother (or female guardian), father (or male guardian), sibling(s), grandparent(s), or "other relative(s)" were lawyers received a value of 1, while individuals who indicated that they had no lawyer relatives were coded as 0.

Model

Given the nature of the dependent variable, multinomial logistic regression is used to obtain estimates of the effects of the different factors outlined above. The multinomial logistic model is akin to simultaneously estimating standard binary logistic models comparing each of the categories found in the dependent variable to one another (Long 1997). The primary benefit to the multinomial approach compared to estimating separate binary logistic models for each comparison is the increased efficiency gained by using a

single model. Further, through the use of the log odds coefficients that result from the single model, it is easy to calculate comparisons for all of the other potential combinations of nominal outcomes. Specifically, to calculate a comparison for practice setting m versus practice setting n for a specific independent variable x_i , the following formula was used:

$$\Omega_{m|n}(x_i) = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\exp(x_i\beta_n)}$$

Eq. 1

In this model, employment in a “large firm” is the reference category. Finally, the sampling weights included with the AJD data along with the measure of geography were used to obtain survey corrected standard errors.

Results

Table 3.2. Mean Importance of Interpersonal Ties by First Employing Organization (N=3,317)

Organization Type	<i>Bridging Ties</i>		<i>Bonding Ties</i>					
	Alumni Ties		Family Ties		χ^2	Friend/Bus Ties		
	Mean	(SE)	Mean	(SE)		Mean	(SE)	χ^2
Small Firm	1.85	(0.07)	2.58	(0.14)	***	2.73	(0.12)	***
Medium Firm	2.09	(0.11)	2.09	(0.14)		2.59	(0.12)	***
Large Firm	2.05	(0.08)	1.82	(0.08)		2.11	(0.08)	
Gov/Pub Int	1.67	(0.11)	2.22	(0.11)	**	3.02	(0.10)	***
Business	1.70	(0.14)	2.01	(0.14)		3.19	(0.19)	***

NOTE: The Wald χ^2 tests compare family ties and friend/business ties to alumni ties.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

Prior to estimating the full multinomial models, bivariate associations are examined to investigate the relationships between each of the seven different measures of social capital used by respondents and the legal organizations where they first found employment. First, Table 3.2 reports the mean importance of bonding and bridging ties during the job search process and compares the use of these ties for each outcome. These comparisons make it possible to see which types of interpersonal ties are associated with finding employment in different legal sectors. First, Table 3.2 shows that respondents who found employment in small firms rated their bonding ties, both in the form of ties with family and ties with friends/business associates, as more important than their bridging ties. In fact, compared to alumni ties, the mean rating of family ties is more than 39 percent higher, while the mean rating for friend/business ties is more than 47 percent higher. Similarly, respondents who found work in medium firms, government/public interest organizations, and business, all rated at least one type of bonding tie as more important than alumni ties during the job search process. This provides significant support for the prediction made regarding bonding ties in Hypothesis 3.1, as these types of network connections are more strongly associated with employment in lower status legal sectors. The clear pattern reported for bonding ties, however, does not extend to bridging ties, as there is no evidence that bridging ties are more important than bonding ties for those respondents who worked in large firms. Thus, taken together, Table 3.2 provides support for the notion that bonding ties may be barriers to securing high status employment, while providing little support for the notion that bridging ties are associated with higher status outcomes.

Table 3.3 examines the association between organizational memberships and employment in different legal sectors. For each organization, this table displays the percentage of rank and file members and leaders found in each type of employing organization. The results presented in Table 3.3 provide significant support for Hypothesis 3.3, which predicts that labor market success depends on specific

Table 3.3. Types of Organizational Memberships by First Employing Organization (N=3,317)

Organization Type	Law Review		Law Journal		Moot Court		Political Advoc		Public Interest	
	Mem	Lead	Mem	Lead	Mem	Lead	Mem	Lead	Mem	Lead
Small Firm	31%	20%	22%	21%	34%	29%	29%	23%	24%	33%
Medium Firm	16%	20%	15%	15%	15%	22%	13%	11%	13%	9%
Large Firm	37%	43%	39%	36%	23%	24%	19%	15%	27%	11%
Gov/Pub Int	13%	12%	18%	22%	21%	21%	33%	45%	30%	41%
Business	4%	5%	6%	7%	8%	4%	6%	7%	5%	6%
Pearson χ^2	17.10	***	15.13	***	1.59		7.60	***	6.57	***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

organizational memberships. Law review members, for example, were most likely to be employed by either large law firms or small law firms, as nearly 70 percent of all respondents who were rank and file members were found in one of these two sectors. Similarly, political advocacy group members were most likely to be found working for small firms or for a government/public interest organization.

Table 3.3 also provides support for Hypothesis 3.4, which predicted that leaders of student organizations may see greater benefits on the job market compared to other rank-and-file members. Almost half of all respondents who indicated that they held leadership positions as law review members found employment in large private firms. Similarly, nearly half of all respondents who were leaders of political advocacy groups found employment in government/public interest organizations.

To further test the relationships revealed in the bivariate analyses, multinomial logistic regression was used to investigate the role of social capital during the school-to-work transition while also including measures of law school credentials and other controls. Table 3.4 reports the findings of this analysis, which compares employment in small and medium private firms, government or public interest organizations, or business with the base category, which was working in a large private law firm.

Consistent with the preliminary results reported in Table 3.2 and Hypothesis 3.1, reliance on bonding ties during the school-to-work transition was associated with the increased likelihood of working in lower status legal organizations after controlling for respondents' credentials and demographic characteristics. Specifically, compared to working in a large private firm, for each one unit increase in the importance of family ties, the likelihood of working in a small firm increases by 11 percent ($1.11=e^{0.11}$). Similarly, compared to working in a large firm, each one unit increase in the importance of friend/business ties is associated with a 9 percent ($1.09; e^{0.09}$) increase in the likelihood of working in the government or public interest, and a 14 percent ($1.14; e^{0.13}$) increase in the likelihood of working in the business sector. This pattern is interesting given the fact

Table 3.4. Multiple Logistic Regression of Job Type with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=3,317)

Variables	Small Firm		Medium Firm		Gov/Public Int		Business	
	Log Odds	(SE)	Log Odds	(SE)	Log Odds	(SE)	Log Odds	(SE)
<i>Interpersonal Ties</i>								
Family Ties	0.11	*** (.03)	0.01	(.04)	0.02	(.02)	-0.02	(.04)
Friend/Bus Ties	0.03	(.03)	0.06	(.03)	0.09	* (.04)	0.13	** (.04)
Alumni Ties	-0.02	(.04)	0.01	(.04)	-0.13	** (.04)	-0.06	(.05)
<i>Org Ties</i>								
Law Review								
Member	-0.57	* (.25)	-0.54	* (.24)	-0.92	*** (.19)	-1.27	** (.47)
Leader	-1.03	*** (.21)	-0.39	* (.19)	-1.13	*** (.23)	-0.89	* (.48)
Law Journal								
Member	-0.50	** (.18)	-0.30	(.18)	-0.46	* (.20)	-0.40	(.26)
Leader	-0.68	*** (.16)	-0.40	* (.21)	-0.40	* (.19)	-0.37	(.28)
Moot Court								
Member	0.18	(.16)	0.10	(.23)	0.00	(.17)	-0.01	(.24)
Leader	0.24	(.22)	0.56	* (.26)	0.12	(.16)	-0.41	(.37)
Pol Advoc								
Member	0.05	(.28)	0.18	(.25)	0.44	(.28)	-0.29	(.39)
Leader	0.21	(.31)	0.38	(.41)	1.18	*** (.30)	0.52	(.51)
Public Int								
Member	-0.16	(.22)	-0.11	(.15)	0.31	(.22)	-0.36	(.37)
Leader	1.44	*** (.34)	0.51	(.49)	1.81	*** (.40)	0.96	* (.41)
<i>Credentials</i>								
School Rank								

Table 3.4 Continued

Top 20	0.38		(.42)	0.73	*	(.30)	0.25		(.37)	0.18		(.48)
Top 21-100	1.44	***	(.23)	1.47	***	(.23)	0.97	***	(.17)	1.14	***	(.32)
Tier 2	2.31	***	(.29)	1.73	***	(.23)	1.40	***	(.28)	1.92	***	(.49)
GPA (A Avg)												
B+ Avg	0.59	*	(.28)	0.31	*	(.17)	0.50	*	(.21)	1.38	***	(.30)
B Avg	1.96	***	(.22)	1.18	***	(.24)	1.79	***	(.27)	2.70	***	(.23)
B- or Below	2.55	***	(.67)	1.35	*	(.62)	2.61	***	(.73)	3.30	***	(.62)
Missing	1.13	***	(.22)	0.55	*	(.24)	0.66	*	(.30)	1.61	***	(.18)
<u>Demographics and Controls</u>												
Lawyers in Fam	0.12		(.13)	0.20		(.15)	-0.01		(.14)	0.36	*	(.17)
Summer Emp	-1.69	***	(.14)	-0.45	*	(.18)	-2.33	***	(.16)	-2.00	***	(.27)
Part Time Emp	1.39	***	(.18)	0.49	*	(.26)	1.14	**	(.32)	1.34	***	(.27)
Internship	0.14		(.31)	-0.14		(.43)	1.85	***	(.37)	0.45		(.44)
Parent's Educ	-0.05	*	(.02)	-0.03		(.02)	-0.02		(.03)	0.00		(.04)
Female	0.00		(.13)	-0.26	*	(.14)	0.20	*	(.10)	-0.10		(.17)
Race (White)												
Black	-1.02	***	(.25)	-0.08		(.25)	0.24		(.20)	-0.11		(.29)
Hispanic	-0.39		(.24)	0.09		(.26)	0.09		(.21)	-0.75	*	(.30)
Asian	0.02		(.32)	-0.29		(.26)	0.08		(.27)	0.32		(.21)
Other	-0.31		(.31)	-0.71		(.50)	-0.29		(.45)	-0.84		(.62)
Age	0.04	**	(.01)	0.00		(.02)	0.04	**	(.01)	0.06	***	(.02)
Constant	-1.97	**	(.62)	-1.46		(.95)	-1.98	*	(.85)	-4.83	***	(1.14)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

that the model also controls for whether respondents reported that they had lawyers in their families, because the inclusion of this control addresses the possibility that the effect of bonding ties could be tied to new lawyers gaining employment in family firms. To further test this possibility, a supplemental model was estimated including an interaction between family ties and whether respondents had lawyers in their families. This model reported the same results as those found in Table 3.4.

Also consistent with Table 3.2, the results for bridging ties indicate that connections of this kind are associated with a reduced likelihood of working in the government or public interest compared to working for a large law firm. In this case, as the importance of alumni ties increase by one point, the odds of working in the public sector decrease by 12 percent ($0.88; e^{-0.13}$). For the other comparisons, however, there was no statistically significant relationship. In all, therefore, the analysis in Table 3.4 provides evidence similar to that found in the bivariate analyses, which finds relatively consistent support for the conclusion that bonding ties are associated with finding employment in lower status legal organizations and qualified support for the conclusion that bridging ties are associated with finding employment in higher status legal organizations.

Table 3.4 also demonstrates the importance of organizational ties during the school-to-work transition. First, the multinomial results show that ties to organizations are not associated with high status career outcomes in and of themselves. Rather, memberships in specific student organizations are associated with employment in specific legal sectors. Being on the law review—whether as a rank and file member or editor/manager—is negatively associated with the likelihood of working for a small or medium private firm, for a government or public interest organization, or in business. For example, compared to working for a large private firm, rank-and-file law review members see their odds of employment in a small firm fall by 43 percent ($0.57; e^{-0.57}$), medium firm by 42 percent ($0.58; e^{-0.54}$), government or public interest by 60 percent

(0.40; $e^{-0.92}$), and business by 72 percent (0.28; $e^{-1.27}$). Alternatively, past members of political advocacy groups were more likely to find work in government or public interest organizations, as political advocacy group leaders saw their odds of working in the public sector increase by over 225 percent (3.27; $e^{1.18}$). Further, this pattern becomes even clearer when using Equation 1 to calculate other comparisons, as public advocacy group membership is positively associated with working for government or a public interest organization compared to the other outcomes (available upon request).

Table 3.4 also shows, however, that membership is not, in and of itself, always enough. Indeed, there is significant support for the argument that candidates holding leadership positions fare better than rank-and-file members of law school organizations. First, this can be seen in the fact that while there is a statistically significant difference between being a non-member and being a leader for several measures of organizational membership, there is no significant difference between nonmembers and rank-and-file group members. For example, while leaders of public interest groups see their odds of working in government or for a public interest organization increase by a factor of six (6.13; $e^{1.81}$; $p < .001$), there is no statistically significant difference between common members of these groups and nonmembers for this outcome. This provides support for Hypothesis 3.5 regarding the importance of leadership positions on the legal labor market.

The results of the multinomial regression shown in Table 3.4 also indicate that credentials play a centrally important role during the law school-to-work transition. For nearly all comparisons, declining law school rank is associated with the huge increases in the odds of working for lower status organizations. Graduates of top 100 law schools, for example, see the odds of working for the government or a public interest organization increase by 163 percent (2.63; $e^{0.97}$) compared graduates of law schools ranked in the top 10. The effect is even more pronounced for graduates of law schools ranked in the second tier or below. For example, while graduates of top 100 schools see the odds of working

for a small firm versus a large firm increase by over 300 percent ($4.23; e^{1.44}$), graduates of schools ranked in the second tier or below see their odds of working in a small firm increase by a factor of ten ($10.12; e^{2.31}$). A very similar, strong pattern can be seen for law school grades as well. Compared to graduates with an “A” average in law school, young lawyers with a “B+” average see the odds of working in the public sector increase by 65 percent ($1.65; e^{0.50}$), while graduates with a “B” or “B-minus” average see their odds increase by over 500 or 1300 percent, respectively ($6.00; e^{1.79}$; $13.64; e^{2.61}$). In all, the results shown in Table 3.4 are quite clear when it comes to the effect of law school credentials: as law school rank and/or grades decline, access to high status legal work becomes increasingly restricted.

A few demographic factors and controls found in Table 3.4 are also of note. First, the model shows that employment during law school, whether in the form of summer work, part-time employment during the school year, or internships, plays an important role in the tracking process. Working during summers, which most likely represents participating as a summer associate in a private firm for most respondents, was negatively related to working in legal organizations outside of large firms. Part-time work, on the other hand, was positively related to working in small firms, the public sector, or in business, while working as an intern was strongly related to working in the public sector. Second, while the model reveals that connections with family and friends play an important role in the tracking of young law students into their first jobs, whether respondents’ had family members who were lawyers had little to no effect on the outcomes outside of finding employment in business. Third, age was also a relevant predictor: for each one year increase in respondents’ ages, the odds of working for a small private firm or in the public sector increased by almost 4 percent ($1.04; e^{0.04}$), while the odds of working in business increased by a little over 6 percent ($1.06; e^{0.06}$).

Finally, and interestingly, the multinomial model reveals that new black lawyers are much less likely to work in smaller firms compared to their white counterparts while

Hispanic lawyers are less likely to be found in business. In fact, the odds of working in a small firm are reduced by 64 percent compared to working in a large firm (OR=0.36; $e^{-1.02}$) for black lawyers. When the other calculations are made comparing small firms using Equation 1, a similar pattern is apparent. The odds that a new black lawyer will find employment in a small firm is reduced by 61 percent compared to working in a medium firm (0.39; $e^{-0.94}$; $p < .01$), 72 percent compared to working for the government (OR=0.28; $e^{-1.26}$; $p < .000$), and 60 percent compared to working in business (OR=0.40; $e^{-0.91}$; $p < .05$). This suggests that new black attorneys are least likely to find employment in small firms with 20 or fewer lawyers, even after controlling for their social capital, credentials, and other characteristics.

While the models presented in Table 3.4 provide evidence regarding the importance of organizational membership during the school-to-work transition, it is difficult to determine whether this effect can be attributed to the resources that membership brings to new lawyers or whether participating in these organizations is seen as a useful signal on the job market. Further, thus far, the models have been unable to specify whether, if organizational membership represents a useful job market signal, it communicates something about candidates' underlying human capital or whether it demonstrates something else.

If the positive benefits of organizational memberships are attributable to the resources gained by members or the fact that these memberships simply represent candidates' credentials, then they would be expected to be associated with increased probabilities of employment in nearly all cases. For example, if law review membership is simply a credential representing underlying human capital such as intelligence or ability (e.g., Wilkins et al. 2007), then it would be logical to expect membership in this group to boost a candidate's chances of employment, whether in business, government,

or other areas. To investigate this possibility, predicted probabilities for law review membership were calculated, the results of which are displayed in Figure 3.1.⁷

The first pattern that becomes apparent is that, being an editor or leader⁸ on the law review is associated with an increased probability of working in a large or medium

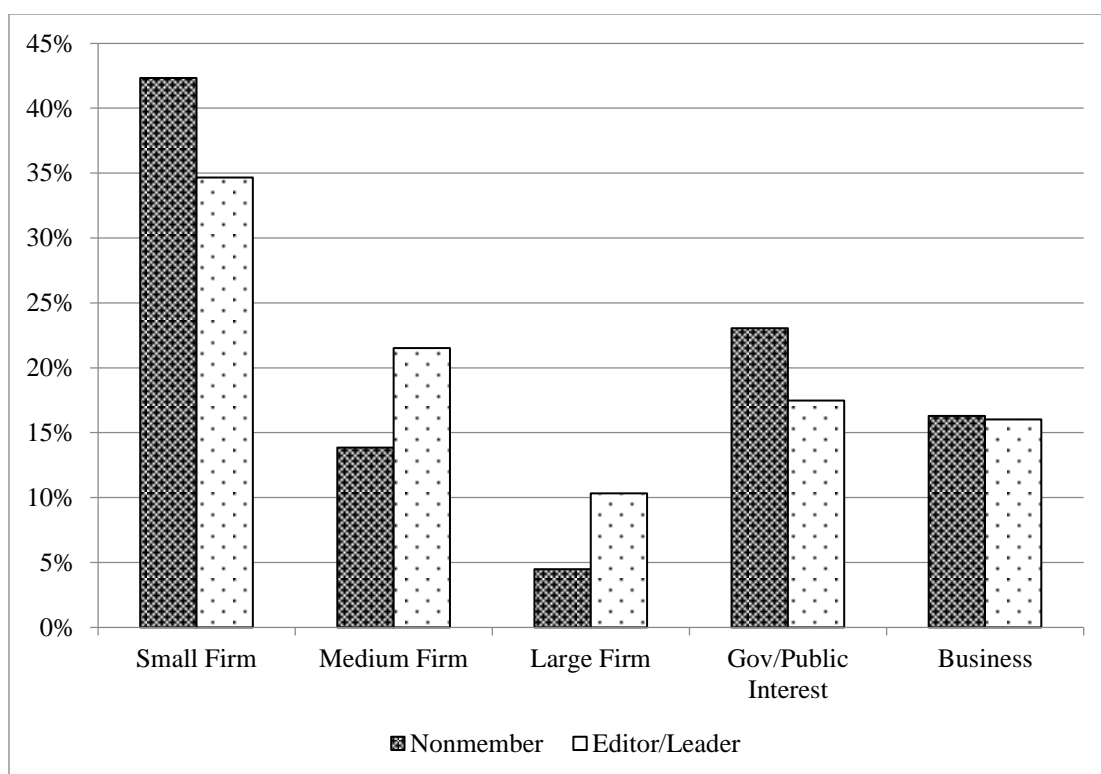


Figure 3.1. Predicted Probabilities of Legal Sector Employment among Male Law Review Members

⁷ Predicted probabilities were calculated for males and females. Among these two groups, the general patterns were substantively similar (results available).

⁸ Predicted probabilities were also calculated for rank-and-file law review members. The results of these calculations, however, were not statistically different than those for nonmembers (using the Delta method to calculate confidence intervals at the .05 level).

private law firm. When it comes to working in a small firm, for the government or in a public interest organization, or in business, however, Figure 3.1 demonstrates that there is either a negative relationship or no relationship between being on the law review and these outcomes.⁹ This general pattern holds regardless of grade point average or law school rank. Thus, while being a leader on the law review is strongly related to improved chances of securing employment in higher status legal organizations, it does not have the same effect among lower status employers. This provides evidence favoring the notion that law review membership does not simply reflect accumulated human capital. Rather, being a member of this organization indicates something else about the job candidate—something that makes them more appropriate for employment in medium and especially large firms.

To investigate the role played by organizational memberships further, predicted probabilities were calculated for members of political advocacy groups. While law review membership does not have a positive effect on the ability to secure employment in the public sector, Figure 3.2 demonstrates that being a member of a political advocacy group does. In fact, the chance of working for the government or a public interest organization grows from 23 to 41 percent. Other outcomes, alternatively, are either less likely or there is no statistically significant relationship present. Again, this general pattern holds at all levels of grade-point-average or law school rank. Thus, there is support for the notion that membership in a political advocacy organization during law school says something about a candidate—something about their identity beyond their standard credentials. When taken together, therefore, the results in Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that organizational memberships a likely a signal of some kind, although it is likely that it does not simply represent underlying human capital.

⁹ These outcomes were tested using different combinations of respondents' other credentials. Thus, while the average respondent reported that they earned a "B" grade point average and attended a Top 100 law school, these general relationships also hold among respondents with either higher or lower grade point averages and/or higher or lower law school prestige (results available).

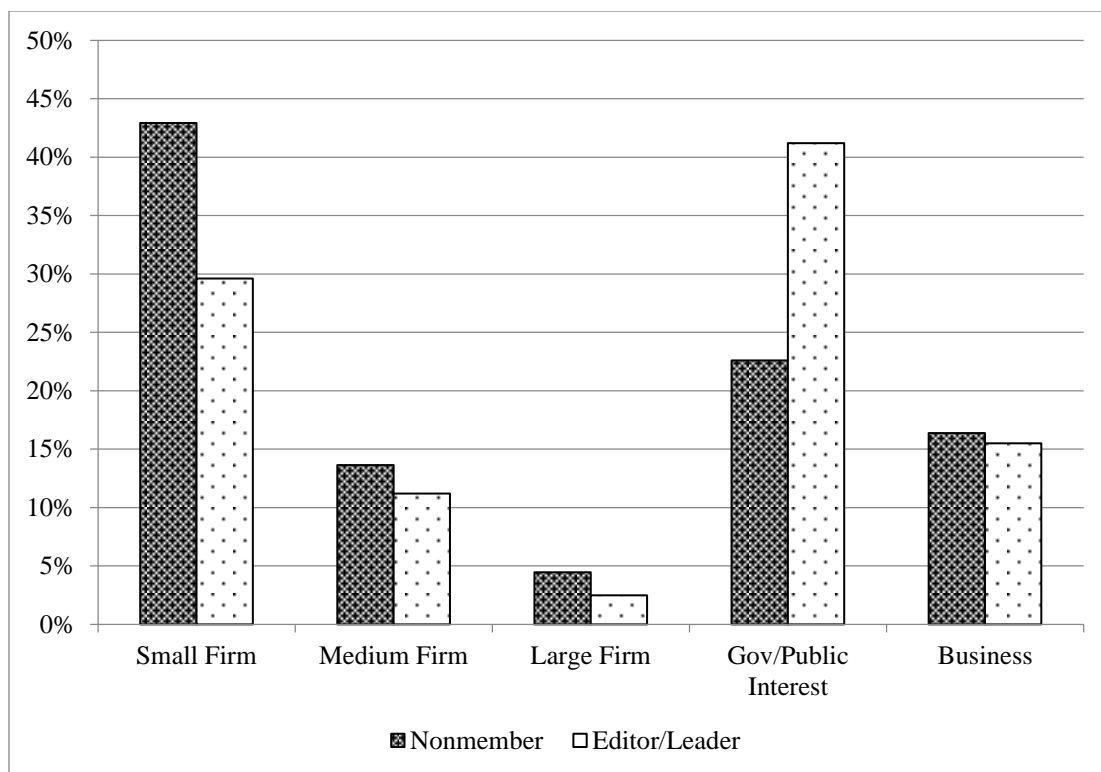


Figure 3.2. Predicted Probabilities of Legal Sector Employment among Male Political Advocacy Group Members

Discussion and Conclusion

This study contributes to the legal professions literature by examining how several previously untested types of social capital affect a nationally representative cohort of new lawyers as they make the transition into the working world. The results demonstrate that new lawyers' social capital is multivalent in nature and that different types of social connections can have very different effects on the ability to gain employment in high status legal organizations. In fact, while some types of connections can have constraining effects on job seekers seeking high status employment, others can have a significant positive effect. In all, the models demonstrate that a new lawyer's

toolkit of different types of social capital plays an important role in determining the legal sector where he or she will begin their legal career.

Substantively, if a recent graduate's goal is to work for the highest status legal organizations—large law firms—the models demonstrate the several factors play an essential role. First, consistent with Hypothesis 3.1, lawyers employed by large firms typically do not rely on close ties with family and friends during the job search process. Rather, it appears that close bonding ties are more strongly associated with working in lower status sectors, such as smaller private firms, for the government, or in business. This finding follows the prevailing research, which reports that reliance on close ties to family and friends can have a constraining effect on job market outcomes (Granovetter 1973; 1974). Granovetter's work, however, is primarily concerned with the ability to get a job, not necessarily a high status job. Plus, the primary factor driving the constraining effect of bonding ties, according to his argument, is the fact that bonding ties limit access to information on a wide variety of job openings, not that they necessarily limit job seekers to certain types of openings. It is somewhat curious, therefore, that connections to family and/or friend/business ties had such a significant effect on the process that sorts new lawyers as they enter the job market.

There are specific aspects of the law school-to-work transition, however, that could explain why bonding ties have a negative effect on the ability to secure high status work. As discussed briefly above, access to jobs in prestigious firms is often restricted by the fact that most large firms hire new associates after they have worked as a summer associate during law school. It could be that the use of close ties to family and friends during the school-to-work transition is more common among students who are unable to secure these summer associate positions. Thus, the negative effect on access to large firm jobs could be attributable to a selection process. Further, this relationship could also result from the constraining effect of bonding ties magnifying the difficulties that lower achieving students have on the job market. Put simply, it possible these students first find

that they are unable to secure a summer associate position, and then are further hurt by their reliance on family and friends during the job search.

What was particularly interesting was the lack of a connection between the use of close ties and whether respondents had lawyers in their families. As shown in the results, the negative effect for bonding ties was present even when controlling for the presence of other attorneys in respondents' families. Further, in supplementary models, there was no significant effect for an interaction between these two measures. This indicates that respondents relying on bonding ties are not simply asking their lawyer relatives for help or being taken on by relatives into small family firms.

As for bridging ties, the models demonstrated that connections with alumni were more useful to job seekers looking for employment in private firms of all kinds. It was only among respondents who eventually found employment in government or the public interest, in fact, that alumni ties had a negative effect. Again, like bonding ties, this finding was both consistent and inconsistent with the prevailing research. While both Granovetter (1973, 1974) and Burt (1992, 2004) argue that bridging ties are associated with positive labor market outcomes, the results presented here seem to suggest that these types of ties were more strongly associated with working in different legal sectors, not necessarily finding high or low status employment. This may be attributable to the bureaucratic structures of the types of organizations that the model found were positively associated with the use of bridging ties. While it may be easy for alumni to secure interviews for soon-to-be or recent graduates from their alma maters in private firms or in private businesses, for example, it may be much more difficult to do so for government jobs, which may be subject to stricter, more meritocratic or formal hiring procedures.

Ties with organizations during law school were also found to play an important role during the school-to-work transition among new lawyers. The results were most consistent with Hypotheses 3.3 and 3.4, which, unlike previous findings in the legal literature, predicted that the positive effects stemming from memberships in legal

organizations were conditioned both on the type of organization in question and the position held within that organization. These connections alone, while suggestive, failed to shed much light on the mechanism involved. First, the positive effects could reflect the importance of credentials as markers of underlying skills or future productivity (Spence 1974). Alternatively, membership in these organizations could act as signals reflecting other underlying, desirable characteristics (Bourdieu 1977; Collins 1979; Paik and Woodley 2012). Finally, the effects could be attributable to resources that membership in these organizations makes available to law students (Small 2009).

Fortunately, the models and predicted probabilities did provide some guidance with regards to this question. The results demonstrated that law review members were more likely to work for large private firms. Membership in these groups, however, also had a negative effect on the likelihood of working in the government/public sector and in business, even when law school rank and grades were held constant. This pattern is quite consistent with the signaling argument and it lends support to the notion that the signals being sent by organizational membership are not necessarily related to the potential for future productivity. Specifically, if membership in these organizations—particularly law review and/or law journal—was an indicator of quality or productivity, then it would be reasonable to expect that in all cases students with these signals would see positive returns on the job market. The data, however, do not bear this out. In fact, it appears that as much as being a law review member communicates that a given candidate is the “right sort” for a job in a large firm, it may also communicate that a candidate is “not the right sort” for a job in the public interest sector or in business (Kingston et al. 2003: 55; *see also* Bourdieu 1977; Collins 1979). This makes intuitive sense when the tasks assigned to law review members or editors are compared with those of new associates at large law firms. If a candidate has demonstrated that he or she is detailed oriented and has the ability to engage in legal research on often arcane legal questions through work

performed on the law review, for example, then that candidate is likely to be highly suited for a job at a large firm where skills of that nature are valued.

The findings regarding membership in political advocacy groups also support the existence of a signaling process that does not necessarily reflect the potential productivity of a new hire. The fact that membership in these types of organizations was only connected to the increased likelihood of working in the public sector suggests that government and public interest employers may use these types of memberships as signals regarding the dedication of potential candidates to "cause" lawyering. Indeed, viewing organizational membership as a signal of "suitability" seems quite plausible given the past history of membership in political and ideological organizations in law school being used as a screening device by employers at different levels, including in the United States Justice Department (Lichtblau 2008).

In addition to the general support for a signaling argument, there is also support for the notion of costly strategic embedding (Paik 2013). In nearly all cases, as shown in both the multinomial models and the predicted probabilities, the strongest effects for organizational capital was found for group leaders. Indeed, in many cases, there was no statistically significant difference between nonmembers of a particular group and rank-and-file members. This suggests that signals may be more trustworthy when they are accompanied by some sort of cost or investment on the part of the individual offering the signal. While any law student can join a political advocacy group, for example, only a small number become involved at the leadership level. Thus, by focusing on leaders, potential employers are able to be more confident that they have found an individual who embodies the mission, skills, or abilities attributed to membership in a given group, and not a candidate who merely sought to "pad" his or her resume.

This study, therefore, provides evidence of the existence of an important tool that can be leveraged by law students who desire to find work in different legal sectors. While resumes and cover letters can provide indications of the interests that candidates possess

when applying for jobs, these memberships can help demonstrate their legitimacy. Indeed, they provide a way for candidates to avoid “cheap talk” when selling themselves to employers. If large law firms want detail-oriented attorneys who are able to tolerate repetitive, difficult work involving significant amounts of legal research, then it would behoove them to look at law review members. Alternatively, if a public interest organization wants an attorney who will be dedicated to cause lawyering while accepting the lower pay that often accompanies such assignments, using organizational memberships as evidence of a candidate’s willingness would be a rational way to differentiate between otherwise equal candidates. Students, therefore, can use these outward symbols to improve their attractiveness to employers while on the job market

Beyond social capital, the results of the models reconfirmed the significance of credentials. Consistent with past research, this study reported that young lawyers’ grades and the rank of the law school they attended were significant predictors of the type of legal organization where they first found employment. This result, unlike those discussed above for organizational membership, falls more closely in line with the classical signaling perspective whereby the possession of certain credentials are taken as indicators of the future productivity and overall expected quality of a job candidate (e.g., Spence 1974).

The results also demonstrated the importance of gaining entrance into career tracks at even earlier stages of the legal career. Indeed, having certain types of employment during law school was a very important predictor of the legal sector where respondents found their first jobs. This could reflect the fact that these respondents gained relevant experience during law school that corresponded with certain types of employers. Alternatively, certain types of experience—such as working as a summer associate during law school for a private firm—may in many cases be a prerequisite for full employment later. Finally, these outcomes could reflect the fact that bringing in law students to work

before graduation gives legal employers the opportunity to gain information regarding their potential employee's abilities, thus making it easier to make hiring decisions.

There are a few potential limitations in this study. First, there was a substantial amount of missing data in the measure assessing respondents' grade point averages. This is noteworthy given the importance of law school grades as a predictor of labor market success and given the fact that in many instances, the models indicated that those respondents with missing values were significantly different than the base category used in the analysis. This concern notwithstanding, however, it is important to note that this variable behaved in ways that were consistent with past research. While the amount of missing data is regrettable, therefore, it did not appear to affect the overall outcome. Second, some of the questions on which several measures were based were very general in nature. For example, it is impossible to differentiate between an individual who participated on the moot court for a semester versus a longer period of time.

The research presented in this study also points to the possibility of future research. Perhaps most importantly, more could be done to specify the exact mechanism driving the positive effects of certain types of organizational memberships. This could be accomplished in two ways. First, to gauge the ways in which memberships are viewed by employers, longitudinal data could be used to examine how these factors affect the legal career over time (see Ishida et al. 2007). Second, qualitative data could be gathered from advanced law students and new attorneys to gauge how organizational memberships are perceived to affect the job search process. In this case, research could address whether organizations served as gateways to employment opportunities, or whether memberships were viewed merely as lines on resumes. Second, the somewhat perplexing effect of parents' education could be investigated further as well, especially because the findings here seem to run counter to the prevailing trends in the current research examining the legal profession.

In sum, the present study builds on prior research examining the legal profession by investigating the role that several previously untested types of social capital played in the law school-to-work transition among a nationally representative cohort of newly minted attorneys. The findings demonstrated that young lawyers' social capital is multifaceted, and that in some cases social capital was associated with an increased likelihood of working for high status legal organizations while in other cases network connections were associated with less desirable results. Further, the findings reported in this study also lend significant support to the notion that signaling plays an essential role on the legal job market. In all, this study extends prior research in the legal professions literature by offering the most complete analysis of the school-to-work transition to date, and by offering theoretical explanations for the mechanisms involved during this time period.

CHAPTER IV THE INTERSECTIONALITY OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Introduction

While the share of women and racial/ethnic minorities found within the legal profession has grown significantly over the past half century, a persistent and significant gap between these groups and their white male counterparts still exists. Indeed, according to numerous objective and subjective metrics, members of historically underrepresented groups struggle throughout their careers in law. Female attorneys earn lower salaries, in many instances report lower levels of career satisfaction (Kay and Gorman 2008), and are less likely to be promoted to partner in private firms (Kay and Hagan 2009; Payne-Pikus et al. 2010). Similarly, the percentage of African American associates who become partners in private law firms is so low that it has often been called the “racial paradox” (Sander 2006; *see also* Payne-Pikus et al. 2010). Thus, while minority groups have made significant gains in recent decades with regards to entry into the legal profession, when it comes to the career rewards commonly afforded to lawyers, they continue to lag behind.

One factor that plays an important role in the structuring of the legal career and in career outcomes is social capital (Dinovitzer 2006; Dinovitzer and Garth 2007; Dinovitzer and Hagan 2006; Dinovitzer et al. 2009; Dixon & Seron 1995; Kay and Gorman 1998). It appears, however, that access to social capital varies by gender and race/ethnicity, including connections with superiors, mentors, peers and colleagues, and professional organizations. A number of studies, for example, demonstrate that white male attorneys have a much easier time forming relationships with mentors compared to both women and racial/ethnic minorities (Ensher and Murphy 1997; Noe 1988; Ragins and McFarlin 1990; *contra* Wallace 2001). Others have found that African American lawyers, in particular, are often shut out of informal interactions with superiors, which limits their ability to form meaningful relationships with the individuals who can provide career guidance and evaluate them for promotions (Payne-Pikus et al. 2010). This, in

effect, indicates that minority group members are more likely to experience higher levels of professional isolation, which is associated with several negative career outcomes.

While several studies in the empirical research have examined the differential distribution of social capital, other issues remain that will be addressed in this chapter. First, the majority of the current scholarship focuses on one or two dimensions of social capital and thus is unable to fully account for the ways that gender and race/ethnicity affects the myriad types of social connections that new professionals must create and maintain to ensure career success. Second, the current empirical research has yet to examine professional social capital while accounting for the intersection between race and gender. Finally, current scholarship has focused primarily on differences between male and female lawyers to the near exclusion of non-white attorneys and to the complete exclusion of attorneys who are not heterosexual. The analyses in this chapter address each of these issues by examining six aspects of professional isolation with an eye toward the manner in which membership in multiple status groups based on gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation combines to affect the experiences of legal professionals.

Background

Among professionals, social capital plays an important role in structuring careers and by contributing to future productivity, the likelihood of career success, and career satisfaction. These connections are made with a host of individuals and organizations, including peers and colleagues, employers, supervisors, and professional groups. Because of the breadth of these ties, professional social capital is often broken down along two dimensions in the empirical research (Marshall, Michaels, and Mulki 2007; Mulki et al. 2008). The first focuses primarily on the informal professional relationships that exist between individuals and their colleagues or peers. It ranges, for example, from the camaraderie that colleagues feel with one another and the quality of casual interactions and friendships found within the workplace (Mulki et al. 2008) to informal mentoring

relationships and the level of involvement an individual has within their profession as a whole.

The second dimension, alternatively, primarily considers the formal aspects of employees' relationships with their employers found at multiple organizational levels. On the broadest level, workplace social capital encompasses employees' perceptions of their relationships with their employing organizations, including the amount of work-based support flowing to employees from the organizations themselves, as well as the degree to which employees feel connected to their employers and recognized for their contributions (Marshall et al. 2007). On a more proximal level, this dimension also considers the strength of the connections that exist between employees and their supervisors. This includes the quality of the supervisor-employee relationship along with the degree to which supervisors provide mentoring support, consider employees for important assignments, and recognize the value and productivity of individual employees.

These connections and ties are essential to professionals because they are important sources of trust, support, and motivation. Among individual employees, having strong informal and formal connections both inside and outside the workplace is associated with increased trust (Kay and Hagan 2003; Smith and Calasanti 2005). When an employee trusts his or her coworkers, for example, anxiety decreases while productivity and the ability to set and meet complex goals improves (Beehr et al. 2000; Jex and Thomas 2003; Mulki et al. 2008). Similarly, employees who feel that their supervisors are trustworthy and recognize the contributions those employees make at work report increased feelings of empowerment and reduced workplace-based stress. Due, in part, to these effects, employees who have strong support networks consisting of multiple types of ties are more satisfied at work (Podolny and Barron 1997), more committed to their employing organizations, and more productive (Griffin, Patterson, and West 2001; Rhoades and Eisenberger 2002).

While social connections bring many benefits to professionals, access to those connections is far from universal. Indeed, research indicates that the ability to form and maintain network ties varies by both gender and race (Smith and Calasanti 2005). It has been shown, for example, that networking strategies utilized by white men often do not work for women or racial and ethnic minorities (Ibarra 1992). Similarly, research has also shown that interactions with colleagues do not bring the same career or social psychological benefits for women or racial and ethnic minorities as it does for their white male counterparts (Ibarra 1992, 1995).

The differential distribution of network connections among professionals in the workplace is often traced to two sources. First, given the tendency to form friendships and informal working relationships with other individuals based on similarities, members of minority groups (particularly those who are numerical minorities) often find it difficult to create strong connections with their coworkers and supervisors (Ibarra 1993). Second, institutional isolation among minority groups may result where members of such groups are viewed as lacking the skills, knowledge, and cultural disposition espoused by dominant groups that are necessary for success in a given field (Smith and Calasanti 2005). In this case, due to stereotypes, members of minority groups are never fully accepted in the workplace regardless of their actual abilities. The result is that minority group members are often excluded from both informal interactions as well as the inner-circles tasked with decision-making responsibilities.

Professional Social Capital among Attorneys

Scholars examining the legal profession have long considered the differential distribution of social capital—especially with regards to women. Indeed, as recently as fifty years ago, employment as an attorney was effectively limited to Protestant white males, as women and racial/ethnic minorities did not begin to gain access to the profession until the early 1970s (Abel 1991; Kay and Gorman 1999). Further, while these historically underrepresented groups have gained access to the bar, research has

demonstrated that there are still a number of structural constraints in place that have limited their career advancement as attorneys.

A number of studies demonstrate that female attorneys have a more difficult time creating and maintaining professional network connections. This begins as early as law school, as female law students are more likely to report that they feel alienated while pursuing their legal education (Homer and Schwartz 1989; Weiss and Melling 1988; *contra* Krauskopf 1994). Further, once they transition into the working world women have been found to have less well developed social capital compared to their male counterparts, in that they participate in fewer professional activities, report fewer professional memberships, represent a narrower group of clients (Kay and Hagan 1998), and interact with superiors less frequently (Dinovitzer et al. 2009). Similarly, research demonstrates that women often have difficult times finding high quality mentoring relationships (Ensher and Murphy 1997; Noe 1988; Ragins and McFarlin 1990; *contra* Wallace 2001). Finally, women also suffer from institutional discrimination in the legal world, as they suffer from negative stereotypes regarding their career commitment (Epstein 1981) and are often subject to harassment from colleagues (Kay, Masuch, and Curry 2004).

Although there is less research examining the social capital of racial and ethnic minorities, there is evidence that they face similar challenges in legal practice. In a study of large law firms, for example, Payne-Pikus et al. (2010) found that African American and Hispanic attorneys who experience discrimination or who are denied desirable assignments report lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. African American lawyers also face barriers to the formation of mentor relationships (Wilkins and Gulati 1996). Thus, similar to females, it appears that racial and ethnic minorities are more likely find it difficult to form and maintain network ties, which, in turn, leads to a higher likelihood of reduced professional network ties and increased social isolation.

The Intersection of Gender and Race

While the extant research considers the differential distribution of social capital among lawyers of different genders and races within the legal profession, current studies do not account for the notion that different group statuses may interact with one another. Indeed, as argued by multiracial feminist approaches, analyses of gender, race, or sexual orientation that do not consider how those statuses intersect with one another are necessarily incomplete. This is because individuals are theorized to be an amalgamation of their status group memberships (Browne and Misra 2003). Cultural beliefs, assumptions, and practices associated with a given individual's gender, therefore, are linked to the beliefs, assumptions, and practices associated with their race and/or their sexual orientation (Ferdman 1999). Importantly, it is through this unique combination that individuals can experience both disadvantage and privilege (Weber 2001).

Within the intersectionality literature, while theorists agree that statuses interact with one another, there is a lack of agreement regarding the precise way that this occurs. Some theorists, for example, argue that group statuses combine with one another in a way that creates multiple jeopardies for certain groups. Heterosexual African American women, for example, suffer from the disadvantages of being both African American and a woman, yet they benefit from their heterosexual status. Homosexual White males, alternatively, benefit from being a White male, yet are disadvantaged because of their sexual orientation. This is common approach that most studies within and outside the intersectionality literature has taken, because it represents a simple, additive approach to status group membership where the positive or negative effects of each status can be combined together to create an overall profile for a given group of individuals.

Others, however, argue against the use of additive models of intersectionality. Browne and Misra (2003:487), for example, argue that intersectionality cannot be modeled by merely included statistical "controls" for different statuses because membership in these groups "are not independent analytic categories that can simply be

added together” (Browne and Misra 2003:487). Rather, the intersection of different group statuses may be much more complex than the additive model would predict. Further, in some instances, the additive model may lead to predictions that are not in line with the empirical research. Sidanius and Pratto (2001), for example, question the multiple jeopardy approach by pointing out that African American males, not necessarily females, have historically been the target of the greatest amount of racial discrimination.

Social Capital, Isolation, and Intersectionality

Taken together, research regarding the differential distribution of social capital and social isolation has received a lot of attention in the legal professions literature. There are, however, several areas that warrant further investigation. First, as outlined above, investigations into the different experiences that minority lawyers have as members of the legal profession should account for the fact that group statuses may interact with one another in ways that can create new classes of advantage and disadvantage. Second, within the extant literature, the common approach has been to only examine certain aspects of professional social capital. Studies, for example, will center on mentoring relationships, perceived discrimination, or some other single form of professional social capital. By focusing on single dimensions, however, this common approach does not account for the other aspects of social connectedness among professionals outlined above that may ameliorate or exacerbate existing inequalities.

Finally, while the empirical literature has devoted a significant amount of scholarship to studies of minority and female attorneys, non-heterosexual attorneys have received little-to-no attention. Given the history of discrimination and the continuing issues that non-heterosexual individuals face within the United States, however, it is reasonable to expect that attorneys who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered (LGBT) may be subject to the same barriers that other similarly situated groups have and continue to face. For example, similar to the experiences of female attorneys, it is possible that the norms and techniques surrounding professional

networking that work so effectively for white males may not work as effectively for LGBT-identified males.

To address these issues, this study will first examine the differential distribution of social capital among lawyers of different genders, races/ethnicities, and sexual orientations by examining six separate types of professional connections: relationships with colleagues/peers, professional group memberships, informal mentoring relationships, perceived workplace discrimination, formal workplace mentoring relationships, and the degree to which respondents feel recognized for their work. Second, this chapter takes an approach that assesses the intersection of race, gender, and sexual orientation for each of the six types of professional social capital. In addition, it also presents models that draw on the additive, multiple jeopardy approach as well as a multiplicative approach to examining intersectionality. Finally, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the relationship between professional social capital and two wider career outcomes: career satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Methods

The analyses presented in this chapter are based on the mail portion of the first wave of the *After the JD* survey. As outlined in greater detail in the second chapter, the Wave I¹⁰ mail portion solicited detailed information on mentoring relationships from 2,609 respondents. Given the focus on these types of relationships as one of the important aspects of professional social capital, therefore, this portion of the sample is used for the present analyses. After accounting for missing data, the final analytical sample for this chapter is 2,160 (17 percent missing).¹¹ Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 4.1.

¹⁰ Analyses are conducted solely on data from Wave I because a longitudinal analysis would result in high levels of missing data. A model, for example, examining the relationship between dependent variables drawn from Wave II and independent variables drawn from Wave I results in 50.5 percent missing data (N=1,350). A model examining the effect of professional isolation at Wave I on career satisfaction and organizational commitment at Wave II (while also controlling for career satisfaction and organization commitment at Wave I via a lagged measure) would result in 51.5 percent missing data (N=1,323).

¹¹ 45 percent of the missing data is for the two dependent variables measuring satisfaction: career satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Table 4.1. Unweighted Descriptive Statistics

Variables	<i>Male (N=1,075)</i>		<i>Female (N=1,085)</i>		Sig
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Relationship with Peers	4.70	(1.51)	4.50	(1.64)	
Prof. Groups	3.25	(1.58)	3.56	(1.78)	***
Informal Mentoring	65.3%		69.7%		*
Perceived Discrim	0.24	(0.61)	0.64	(0.94)	**
Formal Mentoring	23.4%		22.9%		
Workplace Recognition	5.49	(1.45)	5.52	(1.54)	**
Race					***
White	76.7%		67.9%		
African American	4.6%		11.1%		
Hispanic	7.4%		8.2%		
Asian	7.0%		9.8%		
Other	4.4%		3.0%		
LGBT	4.3%		2.9%		*
GPA					**
A Avg	21.7%		22.1%		
B+ Avg	23.2%		21.9%		
B Avg	36.5%		35.6%		
B- or Below	8.7%		5.9%		
Missing	10.0%		14.5%		
School Rank					
Top 10	8.8%		9.1%		
Top 20	12.2%		13.4%		
Top 100	47.4%		45.5%		
Tier 2	31.5%		32.0%		
Workplace Setting					***
Small Firm	30.2%		24.9%		
Medium Firm	15.3%		13.8%		
Large Firm	22.8%		21.9%		
Gov/Public Interest	21.2%		30.3%		
Business	10.5%		9.0%		
Job Change	36.7%		32.7%		*
Religion (Protestant)					
Protestant	30.8%		28.2%		
Catholic	26.9%		28.7%		
Jewish	7.3%		5.9%		
Other	13.4%		13.1%		
None	21.7%		24.1%		

Table 4.1 Continued

Married	63.0%		51.4%		***
Parent	31.9%		19.3%		***
Age	32.19	(5.92)	31.30	(5.63)	***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

Measures

Dependent Measures

The first group of dependent measures consists of six types of professional social capital. The first dimension, informal professional relationships, includes three variables measuring colleague/peer relationships, professional group memberships, and informal mentoring. The first measure, *colleague/peer relationships*, is based on responses to the following question: “How satisfied are you with [your] relationships with [your] colleagues at your current position?” Respondents indicated the degree to which they were satisfied with these relationships by choosing from seven possible responses, which ranged from 1 (“Highly Dissatisfied”) to 7 (“Highly Satisfied”).

The second measure, *professional group memberships*, is a variable representing the number of organizations to which each respondent belongs. Respondents were asked: “Indicate whether and to what level you have participated in the following organizations,” and provided a list of sixteen possible organizations from which to choose. To construct the measure for these analyses, nine of the sixteen possible categories were used, including: political advocacy group, law school alumni/ae associations, the American Bar Association, state or local bar associations, substantive sections of bar associations, gender-based organizations, race/ethnicity-based organizations, community/civic organizations, or service organizations (e.g., Kiwanis,

Rotary).¹² For each possible response, both rank-and-file members and officers were combined into a single binary measure of membership, which were then added together to form a nine-item count variable.

Third, a variable measuring *informal mentoring* was created. Respondents were asked the following: “This question is about possible assistance and support you may have received or be receiving at your job. For each of the listed aspects of your job, enter the number of the one or two most important source(s) of help to you, in the order of their importance.” The aspects provided by the question were: (i) acquiring technical aspects of the job; (ii) learning firm/office protocols; (iii) devising specific strategies for achieving your career goals; (iv) receiving support and encouragement in stressful times; (v) getting informal feedback on your performance; (vi) gaining valuable networking opportunities; and (vii) having a personal advocate within the firm. Survey respondents could then match any of the following sources of support to the job aspects listed above: formal training program, firm/office designated mentor, informal mentors at your firm or office, your immediate supervisor, colleagues at other firms/offices, non-lawyer colleagues, friends and family, peers, self-taught, and “other.” Using the resulting matrix of responses, a binary measure of informal mentoring was created. Respondents received a value of 1 for this measure if they indicated that “informal mentors at your firm or office” assisted in any of the seven job aspects; otherwise, they received a value of 0.¹³

Formal professional social capital. The second aspect of professional social capital is operationalized through the use of three variables. First, *perceived*

¹² The organizations that are not included in this measure were: political party membership, PTA or other school organizations, undergraduate alumni/ae associations, charitable organizations, religious organizations, private clubs/athletic clubs, and organized sports leagues.

¹³ The informal mentor measure is quite conservative given the fact that several of the other sources of job assistance could also act in a capacity as an informal mentor (e.g., peers, colleagues at other firms/offices, etc.). This approach was taken, however, to ensure that this measure accurately reflected the respondents’ designations of who was or was not considered to be an informal mentor. In other words, while a respondents’ colleagues could provide informal mentoring in some form or another, the fact that the respondent did not designate the colleague as such was seen as meaningful. This is also the rationale for the construction of the “formal mentoring” variable below.

discrimination is a variable that measures the number of different types of discrimination an attorney reported experiencing at his or her place of employment. Respondents were asked: “Has any of the following ever happened to you in your place of work by virtue of your race, religion, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation: (i) experienced demeaning comments or other types of harassment, (ii) missed out on a desirable assignment, or (iii) had a client request someone other than you to handle a matter, or experienced one of more other forms of discrimination?” The resulting measure is a three item count of the number of affirmative answers to these questions with the following categories: 0 (“None”), 1 (“One form”), 2 (“Two Forms”), and 3 (“Three or More Forms”).¹⁴

Second, *formal mentoring* was constructed similar to the informal mentoring variable described above. In this case, however, respondents were assigned a value of 1 if they indicated that they had received assistance from a “firm/office designated mentor” in any of the seven job aspects provided. Finally, *workplace recognition* was a seven item scale constructed using the responses to two questions: “How satisfied are you with [the] recognition you receive for your work at your current position” and “How satisfied are you with [the] opportunities for advancement at your current position?” Respondents could specify their satisfaction using responses ranging from 1 (“Highly Dissatisfied”) to 7 (“Highly Satisfied”). These two variables were then combined to form a single summated scale ($\alpha=.72$).

Satisfaction. The second group of dependent variables consists of two measures of satisfaction, which are examined to determine how the five measures of workplace isolation affect lawyers’ perceptions of their careers in the law. The first variable, *career satisfaction*, is a five item measure constructed from responses to the following question: “How satisfied are you with your decision to become a lawyer?” The possible responses

¹⁴ The original measure was a four-item variable. The fourth category, however, which indicated that an individual had experienced all four of the possible forms of discriminatory isolation, was too small (N=16, 0.74 percent of the total) and was collapsed into the third category.

ranged from 1 (“Extremely Dissatisfied”) to 5 (“Extremely Satisfied”). The second variable, *organizational commitment*, is a five item measure constructed from the following question: “If the decision were up to you, approximately how much longer would you like to stay at your current employer?” In response, the sampled lawyers could indicate one of the following: 1 (“I am already looking for another position”), 2 (“less than one year”), 3 (“1-2 years”), 4 (“3-5 years”), or 5 (“More than 5 years”).

Independent Variables

In the first set of models examining which groups of attorneys experience the various forms of professional isolation, there were three independent variables of interest: gender, race, and LGBT status. Both *gender* and *race* were constructed in the manner described previously in Chapter 3. *LGBT status* is a binary variable based on responses to the following question: “Are you gay, lesbian, transgendered, or bisexual?”

Several controls were also included in the analyses. *Grade point average*, *workplace setting*, *law school rank*, and *age* were constructed in the manner described in Chapter III. *Job change* is a binary variable measuring whether respondents changed jobs prior to the survey. Respondents were asked whether their current jobs as of Wave I were the only jobs they had held since passing the bar; those who responded in the affirmative were given a value of “0” because they had not changed jobs prior to the Wave I interview, while individuals who had held other jobs were given a value of 1. *Religious affiliation* is a categorical variable based on respondents’ answers to the following question: “What is your religious preference or affiliation?” The possible categories for this measure included: 1 (“Protestant Christian”), 2 (“Roman Catholic”), 3 (“Jewish”), 4 (“Other,” which included Muslim respondents), and 5 (“None”). *Married* is a binary variable constructed using the following question: “What is your marital status?” Respondents could choose from: never married or never in a domestic partnership; married (first time); remarried after divorce, annulment or being widowed; domestic partnership; divorced or separated; or widowed. For the measure used in this chapter,

individuals who were currently married were given a value of 1, while individuals who were never married/in a domestic partnership, divorced or separated, and those who were widowed were given a value of 0. Finally, a binary variable was created to measure whether respondents were *parents* at the time of the survey. Respondents were asked “How many children live with you for a significant part of the year?” Those who indicated any number of children were given a value of 1 while those who indicated that no children lived with them were given a value of 0.

Results

Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 present an initial exploration of the relationships between respondents’ informal professional capital, workplace social capital, and their gender, sexual orientation, and race. For each type of social capital, there are three panels: one examining differences found in the whole sample, and the others broken down by gender so that the intersection between the different status characteristics can be explored. Table 4.2 presents results for colleague/peer relationships and professional group memberships. For both of these measures of informal social capital, a few comparisons are of note. First, when it came to rating their peer relationships, LGBT respondents and Asian respondents reported that they were not as close to their work colleagues. When broken down by gender, alternatively, it appears that female LGBT respondents were the only group reporting lower ratings for peer relationships that were statistically significant.

For professional group memberships, female and African Americans attorneys both reported that they were members of more organizations, on average, compared to their white male peers when overall group differences were examined. The difference for African Americans, in fact, was quite large, as they are members, on average, of nearly one more group than their white colleagues. Interestingly, when the comparisons are broken down by gender it becomes clear that the difference reported for African Americans overall can actually be attributed to the fact that African American males

Table 4.2. Mean Measures of Colleague/Peer Relationships and Professional Group Memberships by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race

Variable	<i>Colleague/Peer Relationships</i>						<i>Professional Group Memberships</i>											
	Overall			Male			Female			Overall			Male			Female		
	Prop	(SE)	χ^2	Prop	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2
<i>Gender</i>																		
Male	5.53	(0.05)								3.27	(0.06)							
Female	5.58	(0.06)								3.52	(0.06)	**						
<i>LGBT</i>																		
No	5.57	(0.04)		5.54	(0.05)		5.60	(0.06)		3.38	(0.04)		3.26	(0.06)		3.51	(0.06)	
Yes	5.01	(0.24)	*	5.20	(0.31)		4.77	(0.35)	*	3.71	(0.24)		3.51	(0.35)		3.98	(0.30)	
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>																		
White	5.57	(0.04)		5.54	(0.05)		5.60	(0.06)		3.34	(0.05)		3.22	(0.06)		3.47	(0.07)	
African Am	5.38	(0.13)		5.44	(0.20)		5.35	(0.17)		4.07	(0.21)	***	4.42	(0.37)	**	3.92	(0.25)	
Hispanic	5.61	(0.13)		5.68	(0.18)		5.55	(0.18)		3.28	(0.15)		3.38	(0.18)		3.20	(0.22)	
Asian	5.27	(0.15)	*	5.30	(0.22)		5.24	(0.19)		3.44	(0.16)		3.19	(0.22)		3.62	(0.22)	
Other	5.67	(0.19)		5.40	(0.22)		6.06	(0.31)		3.76	(0.26)		3.45	(0.29)		4.20	(0.46)	
N	2,160			1,075			1,085			2,160			1,075			1,085		

NOTES: Statistical significance calculated using the Wald χ^2 tests with survey weights. For Race/Ethnicity, all comparisons made using "White" as the reference category.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

Table 4.3. Proportion of Respondents Reporting Informal and Formal Mentoring Relationships by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race

Variable	<i>Informal Mentoring</i>			<i>Formal Mentoring</i>				
	Overall		Male	Female	Overall		Male	Female
	Prop	χ^2	Prop	χ^2	Mean	χ^2	Mean	χ^2
<i>Gender</i>								
Male	62.9%					22.5%		
Female	67.7%					23.4%		
<i>LGBT</i>								
No	65.3%		63.1%		67.6%		23.1%	
Yes	64.5%		59.0%		71.7%		17.2%	
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>								
White	65.0%		63.5%		66.6%		23.9%	
African Am	63.6%		53.8%		68.0%		18.1%	
Hispanic	63.1%		51.1%		73.8%		19.5%	
Asian	68.2%		60.8%		73.4%		17.0% *	15.8% *
Other	71.2%		68.8%		74.7%		18.7%	26.2% *
N	2,160		1,075		1,085		2,160	1,075

NOTES: Statistical significance calculated using the Wald χ^2 tests with survey weights. For Race/Ethnicity, all comparisons made using "White" as the reference category.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

were members of a whole additional organization compared to lawyers of other races. African American women, however, did not display a similar effect.

Table 4.3 bridges the gap between informal and professional social capital by examining how both informal and formal mentoring are related to gender, LGBT status, and race. In this case there are few differences to note, either for overall groups or when broken down by gender. This is particularly true for informal mentoring—as displayed in the table, there are no statically significant differences between the variety of status groups examined and having an informal mentor. For formal mentoring, however, there are some slight differences when it comes to respondents' race/ethnicity. Specifically, it appears that Asian respondents—males in particular—were significantly less likely to report that they had a formally designated mentor compared to white males. Alternatively, Hispanic women and women of “other” races were also less likely to indicate that they had formal mentors at work.

Table 4.4, finally, examines mean reports of perceived workplace discrimination and workplace recognition. Unlike Tables 4.2 and 4.3, there are numerous comparisons that reach statistical significance in these analyses. First, Table 4.4 demonstrates that women, on average, report more instances of discrimination compared to male attorneys. There are similar differences found for both African American and Asian attorneys compared to white attorneys. Interestingly, when assessed by taking gender into account, there is also an effect for LGBT status, as male attorneys who identify as LGBT report more instances of discrimination compared to non-LGBT males. There is also a gender effect for race. While African American and Asian males report higher levels of discrimination, only African American women report similarly significant levels.

For workplace recognition, the patterns are similar. Female attorneys feel that they are less recognized for their work compared to their male peers. The same can be said for LGBT lawyers and, again, African American and Asian attorneys. When gender is taken into account, it becomes apparent that the difference reported for LGBT lawyers

Table 4.4. Mean Measures of Perceived Discrimination and Workplace Recognition by Gender, LGBT Status, and Race

Variable	<i>Perceived Discrimination</i>						<i>Workplace Recognition</i>											
	Overall			Male			Female			Overall			Male			Female		
	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Prop	(SE)	χ^2	Prop	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2	Mean	(SE)	χ^2
<i>Gender</i>																		
Male	0.22	(0.02)								4.77	(0.05)							
Female	0.63	(0.03)	***							4.57	(0.06)	*						
<i>LGBT</i>																		
No	0.42	(0.02)		0.21	(0.02)		0.63	(0.03)		4.69	(0.04)		4.78	(0.05)		4.60	(0.06)	
Yes	0.55	(0.11)		0.54	(0.13)	*	0.57	(0.20)		4.11	(0.23)	*	4.50	(0.25)		3.62	(0.37)	**
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>																		
White	0.39	(0.02)		0.19	(0.02)		0.59	(0.04)		4.72	(0.04)		4.80	(0.06)		4.63	(0.07)	
African Am	0.83	(0.09)	***	0.71	(0.14)	***	0.88	(0.11)	*	4.31	(0.16)	*	4.58	(0.32)		4.19	(0.18)	*
Hispanic	0.56	(0.11)		0.31	(0.07)		0.78	(0.18)		4.46	(0.17)		4.66	(0.19)		4.29	(0.25)	
Asian	0.60	(0.07)	**	0.36	(0.08)	*	0.77	(0.11)		4.36	(0.14)	*	4.41	(0.22)		4.32	(0.18)	
Other	0.41	(0.09)		0.29	(0.09)		0.59	(0.19)		4.69	(0.19)		4.77	(0.21)		4.58	(0.36)	
N	2,160			1,075			1,085			2,160			1,075			1,085		

NOTES: Statistical significance calculated using the Wald χ^2 tests with survey weights. For Race/Ethnicity, all comparisons made using "White" as the reference category.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

overall can be attributed to the fact that LGBT women feel that they receive less recognition for their work compared to their heterosexual counterparts. And again, when race is examined by gender, only African American females report significantly lower levels of workplace recognition.

Taken together, Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 demonstrate that race, gender, and sexual orientation are associated with statistically significant differences when it comes to several forms of professional social capital. The tables also show that these differences, unfortunately, are mostly negative, in that women, non-whites, and LGBT attorneys have fewer ties than their higher status peers. Substantively, this provides initial evidence that attorneys who are not heterosexual white males may be disadvantaged when it comes to their professional social capital which may have wide ranging effects on their careers. In addition, the tables also demonstrate that these relationships depend in several instances on the intersection of these statuses. Importantly, this provides positive initial evidence favoring the use of techniques that can take the intersection between race, gender, and LGBT status into account in the analysis of professional social capital among lawyers.

To examine these relationships further, each measure of professional isolation was examined using regression analyses. These results are presented in Tables 4.5 through 4.10, and while they take different analytical approaches based on the dependent variables in question, they all follow a similar structure designed to examine how gender, LGBT status, and race interact with one another. Specifically, each analysis consists of four models displayed in four separate panels. The first two models consider the roles of status groups in an additive form—in other words, they test the notion that the combination of different statuses can result in multiple jeopardy for individuals. The second two panels, alternatively, embody the intersectionality approach by examining the interactions between different statuses. When these two approaches are considered together, it is possible to see how gender, LGBT status, and race affect each outcome. Further, by using various methods to test for model fit, it is possible to determine which

**Table 4.5. Linear Regression of Colleague/
Peer Relationships with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)**

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Female Attorney	0.06	(.07)	0.04	(.08)	0.08	(.08)	0.06	(.09)
Race (White)								
African Am	-0.22	(.14)	-0.35 **	(.14)	-0.11	(.20)	-0.25	(.19)
Hispanic	0.05	(.14)	-0.01	(.14)	0.15	(.19)	0.09	(.18)
Asian	-0.32 *	(.15)	-0.31 *	(.15)	-0.24	(.23)	-0.22	(.22)
Other	0.11	(.20)	0.09	(.19)	-0.13	(.23)	-0.13	(.23)
LGBT	-0.57 **	(.24)	-0.54 *	(.24)	-0.34	(.32)	-0.29	(.31)
Race x Female Atty								
Black Women					-0.17	(.27)	-0.16	(.27)
Hispanic Women					-0.22	(.27)	-0.21	(.26)
Asian Women					-0.14	(.31)	-0.15	(.31)
"Other" Women					0.59	(.40)	0.53	(.40)
LGBT Women					-0.52	(.48)	-0.57	(.47)
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg			0.13	(.11)			0.12	(.11)
B Avg			0.15	(.11)			0.14	(.11)
B- or Below			0.20	(.17)			0.19	(.17)
Missing			0.26 *	(.13)			0.26 *	(.13)
Law School Rank								
Top 20			-0.01	(.15)			0.00	(.15)
Top 100			0.14	(.13)			0.14	(.13)
Tier Two			0.01	(.14)			0.00	(.14)
Workplace (Small)								

Table 4.5 Continued

Medium Firm			-0.06	(.12)			-0.05	(.12)				
Large Firm			-0.27	*	(.12)		-0.27	*	(.12)			
Gov/Public Int			0.24	*	(.10)		0.24	**	(.10)			
Business			-0.10		(.14)		-0.09		(.14)			
Job Change			-0.01		(.08)		-0.01		(.08)			
Religion (Prot)												
Catholic			-0.12		(.10)		-0.11		(.10)			
Jewish			-0.12		(.16)		-0.12		(.16)			
Other			0.05		(.11)		0.05		(.11)			
None			-0.21	*	(.10)		-0.21	*	(.10)			
Married			-0.05		(.08)		-0.05		(.08)			
Parent			0.05		(.10)		0.06		(.10)			
Age			-0.01		(.01)		-0.01		(.01)			
Constant	5.56	***	(.05)	5.83	***	(.30)	5.56	***	(.05)	5.81	***	(.30)
Partial F-test	2.14	*		M2 versus M1	2.61	***	M3 versus M1	0.98	M4 versus M2	0.95		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

approach—additive or interactive—provides the most accurate accounting of the relationship between these different status groupings.

Table 4.5 presents the results of the first of these analyses, which examines respondents' assessments of their colleague/peer relationships. Model 1 explores the basic relationship between the three status variables and ratings of relationships with peers and confirms the results presented in Table 4.2 which showed that Asian and LGBT attorneys reported that they were not as close to their colleagues. Interestingly, when controls for credentials and other possible sources of reduced status are added in Model 2, the effects for Asians and LGBT attorneys remain almost the same, but an effect for African Americans also appears as well. Supplemental models were estimated in a stepwise fashion in an attempt to explore the suppressor effect detected in model two. The results suggest that the suppressor effect was primarily attributable to law school grades, which indicates that when credentials are held constant, African American attorneys report lower quality peer relationships at work. In Models 3 and 4 the race differences disappear when group memberships are further broken down and compared in a manner that takes their intersection into account. This seems to suggest that, as far as relationships with peers are concerned, the primary differences are found at the overall group level, not necessarily when a more fine grained analysis of differences based on combinations of status is used. This is further confirmed by the results of partial f-tests, which indicate that Model 2 provides the best fit for the data.

Model 2 demonstrates that a few controls are relevant as well. The most interesting effects are found in the measures of workplace setting and religion. Compared to lawyers working in small firms, lawyers in large private firms report that they are less close to their peers, while attorneys working in the government or for public interest organizations report that they are closer to their peers. As for religion, compared to Protestant Christians—the group that historically dominated the top of the status hierarchy in the law—attorneys who reported that they had no religious preference or

Table 4.6. Linear Regression of Professional Group Memberships with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)
Female Attorney	0.24	**	(.08)	0.28	***	(.08)	0.24	**	(.09)	0.28	**	(.09)
Race (White)												
African American	0.69	***	(.22)	0.76	***	(.21)	1.20	**	(.38)	1.27	***	(.37)
Hispanic	-0.08		(.16)	-0.03		(.16)	0.14		(.20)	0.17		(.20)
Asian	0.07		(.17)	0.14		(.17)	-0.04		(.23)	0.03		(.23)
Other	0.43	*	(.26)	0.43	*	(.25)	0.22		(.29)	0.18		(.28)
LGBT Status	0.37		(.24)	0.47	*	(.23)	0.26		(.35)	0.34		(.34)
Race x Female Atty												
Black Women							-0.74		(.46)	-0.74		(.45)
Hispanic Women							-0.40		(.30)	-0.39		(.30)
Asian Women							0.20		(.33)	0.18		(.32)
"Other" Women							0.51		(.56)	0.60		(.54)
LGBT Women							0.24		(.47)	0.29		(.46)
GPA (A Avg)												
B+ Avg				-0.20	*	(.12)				-0.20	*	(.12)
B Avg				-0.16		(.12)				-0.16		(.12)
B- or Below				-0.37	*	(.18)				-0.37	*	(.18)
Missing				-0.13		(.15)				-0.13		(.15)
Law School Rank												
Top 20				0.35	*	(.17)				0.35	*	(.17)
Top 100				0.35	**	(.15)				0.34	*	(.15)
Tier Two				0.30	*	(.17)				0.29	*	(.17)
Workplace (Small)												

Table 4.6 Continued

Medium Firm		0.46 *** (.13)		0.47 *** (.13)
Large Firm		0.26 * (.13)		0.26 * (.13)
Gov/Public Int		-0.38 *** (.12)		-0.38 *** (.12)
Business		-0.05 (.16)		-0.03 (.16)
Job Change		0.06 (.09)		0.06 (.09)
Religion (Prot)				
Catholic		-0.06 (.11)		-0.06 (.11)
Jewish		-0.06 (.17)		-0.06 (.17)
Other		-0.12 (.14)		-0.13 (.14)
None		-0.31 ** (.11)		-0.31 ** (.11)
Married		-0.11 (.09)		-0.12 (.09)
Parent		-0.01 (.11)		-0.01 (.11)
Age		0.03 *** (.01)		0.03 *** (.01)
Constant	3.22 *** (.06)	2.27 *** (.29)	3.21 *** (.06)	2.29 *** (.29)
Partial F-test	4.14 ***	M2 versus M1 5.03 ***	M3 versus M1 1.18	M4 versus M2 1.28

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

affiliation were less close to their peers. Taken together, the results presented in Table 4.5 indicate that race is a significant predictor of lower quality peer/colleague relationships. Gender and LGBT status, however, have no effect, which indicates that there is no additive effect for multiple group memberships or intersectionality present for this outcome.

Table 4.6 presents results from linear analyses of professional group membership. The reduced model in the first panel shows that females, African Americans, and members of “other” races all report being members of more professional groups than their male or white counterparts. These relationships hold even when controls are added in Model 2. Further, in Model 2 there is also an effect for LGBT lawyers,¹⁵ who, like female, African American, and “other” race attorneys, report a higher number of organizational memberships. When this relationship is examined further in Models 3 and 4 through the introduction of interaction terms, the results change somewhat. While females, on the whole, are members of more professional groups, Models 3 and 4 show that the difference between African Americans and Whites in group memberships may be conditioned on respondents’ genders. When all of the models were compared using partial f-tests, however, Model 2 was found to be the best fitting, which indicates that in the case of group memberships, the effects of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation are additive in nature.

Finally, a few controls in Model 2 are of note as well. First, while lower law school grades, generally, are associated with fewer group memberships, attorneys who graduated from law schools that fell outside of the Top 10 all reported more professional memberships. Professional group membership is also related to respondents’ workplace setting. Compared to respondents working in small firms, for example, lawyers in medium and large firms report more memberships, while government and public interest

¹⁵ Supplemental, stepwise models were estimated to explore this suppressor effect. The results of these models indicated that the effect is attributable to workplace setting.

Table 4.7. Logistic Regression of Informal Mentoring with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Female Attorney	0.22 *	(.11)	0.18	(.12)	0.13	(.12)	0.09	(.13)
Race (White)								
African Am	-0.11	(.20)	-0.11	(.23)	-0.40	(.36)	-0.32	(.40)
Hispanic	-0.09	(.21)	-0.17	(.22)	-0.50 *	(.30)	-0.67 **	(.29)
Asian	0.12	(.19)	-0.05	(.21)	-0.11	(.27)	-0.22	(.32)
Other	0.30	(.27)	0.43	(.31)	0.24	(.35)	0.28	(.41)
LGBT Status	-0.03	(.28)	-0.01	(.29)	-0.16	(.38)	-0.13	(.37)
Race x Female Atty								
Black Women					0.47	(.44)	0.34	(.47)
Hisp Women					0.85 *	(.43)	1.01 *	(.44)
Asian Women					0.44	(.39)	0.33	(.41)
Other Women					0.15	(.56)	0.35	(.63)
LGBT Women					0.37	(.58)	0.34	(.58)
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg			0.13	(.17)			0.14	(.17)
B Avg			-0.14	(.17)			-0.14	(.17)
B- or Below			-0.24	(.24)			-0.25	(.24)
Missing			0.08	(.21)			0.07	(.22)
Law School Rank								
Top 20			0.35	(.27)			0.36	(.27)
Top 100			0.12	(.23)			0.14	(.23)
Tier Two			-0.27	(.25)			-0.26	(.25)
Workplace (Small)								

Table 4.7 Continued

Medium Firm		1.03	***	(.20)		1.03	***	(.20)		
Large Firm		1.31	***	(.19)		1.33	***	(.19)		
Gov/Public Int		0.37	**	(.15)		0.38	**	(.15)		
Business		0.22		(.19)		0.22		(.19)		
Job Change		-0.25	*	(.12)		-0.25	*	(.12)		
Religion (Prot)										
Catholic		0.01		(.15)		0.01		(.15)		
Jewish		-0.39	*	(.23)		-0.40	*	(.23)		
Other		-0.25		(.19)		-0.26		(.19)		
None		-0.10		(.16)		-0.11		(.16)		
Married		0.04		(.13)		0.05		(.13)		
Parent		0.05		(.15)		0.04		(.15)		
Age		-0.01		(.01)		-0.01		(.01)		
Constant	0.52	***	(.08)	0.60	(.43)	0.56	***	(.08)	0.61	(.43)
BIC		2,835.19		2,783.36		2,868.33		2,816.48		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

lawyers report fewer. Finally, it is interesting to note that respondents who are unaffiliated with any religious group again appear to have fewer ties compared to their Protestant peers.

Table 4.7 presents logistic analyses for informal mentoring, which is the last type of informal professional social capital examined in this chapter. Similar to the results discussed above from Table 4.3, it appears that gender, LGBT status, and race are not very strong predictors of whether respondents reported an informal mentoring relationship. At the most basic level, Model 1 reports that the odds a female attorney will have an informal mentor are actually 24 percent higher than their male counterparts (OR=1.24, $e^{0.22}$). When controls are added in Model 2, however, this relationship is no longer significant. Interestingly, when interaction terms were included in Models 3 and 4, new differences conditioned on gender and race appears that were not found previously.

In spite of this finding, however, Model 2 was found to be the best fitting model. Therefore, it appears that the most significant predictors of having access to informal mentors are attributable to respondents' workplace settings, work history, and religion. Respondents working outside of small firms and private business, for example, are much more likely to have informal mentor relationships. In fact, the odds of reporting an informal mentor relationship increase by 181 percent (OR=2.81, $e^{1.03}$) for respondents working in medium firms, nearly 300 percent (OR=3.72, $e^{1.31}$) for lawyers working in large firms, and 45 percent (OR=1.45, $e^{0.37}$) among lawyers working for government or in the public interest compared to small firm lawyers. Respondents who had changed jobs between waves, on the other hand, as well as Jewish lawyers, were less likely to report informal mentoring relationships.

In all, when the models examining informal professional capital are considered, a few patterns are of note. First, the models presented in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 indicated that race, gender, and sexual orientation were important correlates of different forms of informal professional capital. It is apparent, for example, that African Americans and

Table 4.8. Negative Binomial Regression of Perceived Discrimination with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)
Female Attorney	1.04	***	(.10)	1.08	***	(.10)	1.19	***	(.13)	1.25	***	(.13)
Race (White)												
African Am	0.67	***	(.13)	0.68	***	(.14)	1.35	***	(.23)	1.38	***	(.24)
Hispanic	0.33	*	(.18)	0.35	*	(.19)	0.39		(.25)	0.42	*	(.25)
Asian	0.38	**	(.13)	0.46	***	(.14)	0.63	**	(.24)	0.72	**	(.24)
Other	0.16		(.23)	0.15		(.23)	0.34		(.33)	0.41		(.32)
LGBT Status	0.47	*	(.22)	0.56	**	(.21)	0.95	***	(.26)	1.03	***	(.26)
Race x Female Atty												
Black Women							-0.96	***	(.27)	-1.01	***	(.27)
Hisp Women							-0.12		(.34)	-0.14		(.35)
Asian Women							-0.37		(.29)	-0.41		(.28)
Other Women							-0.34		(.46)	-0.48		(.44)
LGBT Women							-1.01	*	(.44)	-1.00	**	(.41)
GPA (A Avg)												
B+ Avg				0.00		(.14)				0.00		(.14)
B Avg				0.01		(.13)				0.01		(.13)
B- or Below				0.09		(.22)				0.10		(.23)
Missing				-0.09		(.15)				-0.06		(.15)
Law School Rank												
Top 20				0.14		(.20)				0.13		(.19)
Top 100				0.04		(.19)				0.02		(.18)
Tier Two				0.33	*	(.20)				0.31		(.20)
Workplace (Small)												

Table 4.8 Continued

Medium Firm		0.07	(.15)			0.08	(.15)	
Large Firm		0.09	(.15)			0.09	(.15)	
Gov/Public Int		-0.13	(.13)			-0.15	(.13)	
Business		-0.12	(.20)			-0.12	(.20)	
Job Change		0.13	(.10)			0.12	(.10)	
Religion (Prot)								
Catholic		0.11	(.12)			0.12	(.12)	
Jewish		0.11	(.21)			0.12	(.21)	
Other		0.03	(.15)			0.08	(.15)	
None		-0.06	(.13)			-0.06	(.13)	
Married		-0.17	*	(.10)		-0.16	(.10)	
Parent		0.26	*	(.12)		0.27	**	
Age		0.00		(.01)		0.00	(.01)	
Constant	-1.61	***	(.10)	-1.85	***	(.36)	-1.71	***
							(.12)	
							-1.92	***
							(.37)	
BIC	25,714.04			25,652.03			25,654.34	25,585.95

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

Asian, as well as lawyers who identify as LGBT, all suffer from higher levels of peer isolation within their employers. Additionally, it also appears, however, that several of the same groups who report reduced satisfaction with peers were actually more involved with professional groups and organizations. African American men, for example, were members of more groups than both their female counterparts as well as white males. LGBT individuals demonstrate the same pattern. Thus, it appears that while these groups may have weaker connections with their peers, they are actually less isolated when it comes to professional engagement outside their employers.

Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 present results from analyses examining the three types of workplace social capital. First, Table 4.8 shows results from negative binomial regression analyses of perceived workplace discrimination. In this case, both the additive and interactive models demonstrate that gender, race, and LGBT status are associated with experiencing discrimination. When these models are compared, however, the goodness of fit statistics indicates that Model 4 is the best fit for the data. When looking at the results in Model 4, the main effects indicate that members of lower status groups—women, nonwhites, and LGBT attorneys—experience more discrimination in the workplace.

The interactions in Model 4, however, suggest that the interrelationship between those statuses is more complex. To examine these relationships, predicted counts were estimated by race and gender, and the results of those predictions are displayed in Figure 4.1. First, the results presented in Figure 4.1 confirm the main effects briefly discussed above—women experience more discrimination than men and nonwhites experience more discrimination than whites. But gender also plays a role. Among male attorneys, for example, African Americans experience significantly more discrimination compared to all other races/ethnicities. Among female attorneys, however, while African American females experience the most discrimination, they are nearly on par with their Hispanic and Asian counterparts.

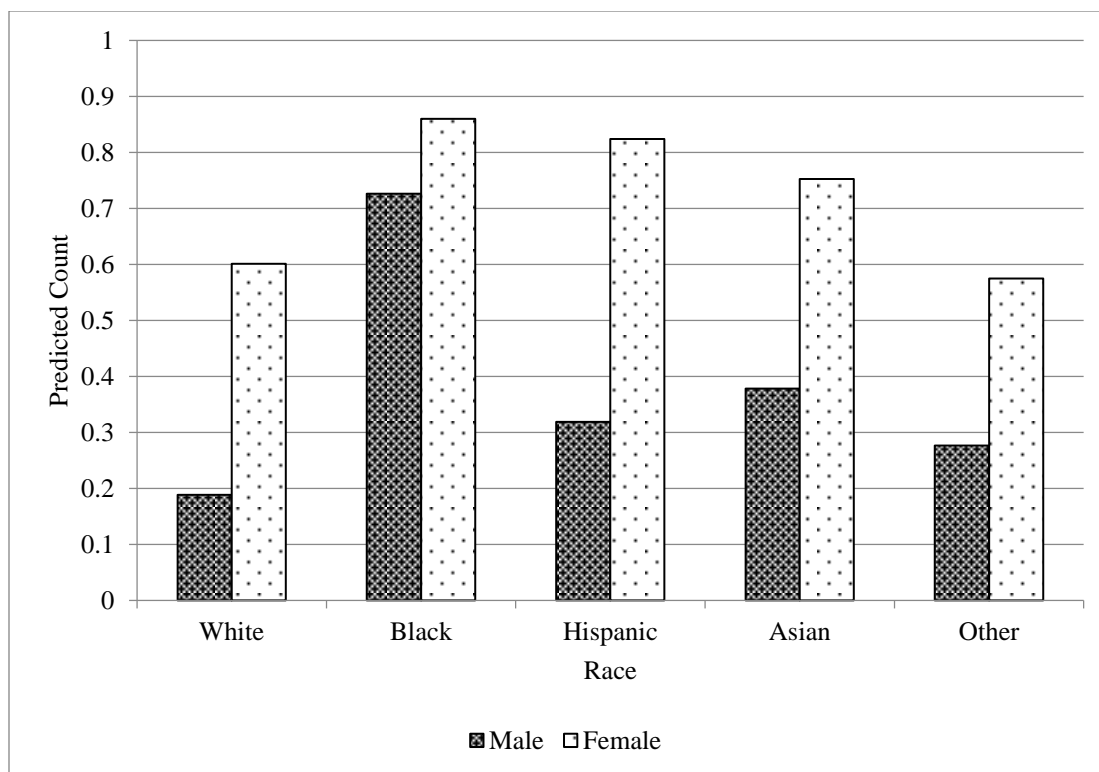


Figure 4.1. Predicted Counts of Types of Discrimination by Race and Gender

To examine the effect of LGBT status, another set of predicted counts were estimated while taking gender and sexual orientation into account. Figure 4.2 presents the results of these predictions. Interestingly, the results in this figure demonstrate that the main difference among LGBT attorneys is for men. For male LGBT attorneys, the predicted count of discriminatory events more than doubles. For female attorneys, however, there is little difference, as both LGBT and non-LGBT women report similar levels of discrimination at work. Beyond differences within the genders, it is also important to note that while there is little difference between LGBT and non-LGBT females, both of these groups report levels of discrimination on par with LGBT males, who experience much more discrimination compared to their heterosexual counterparts.

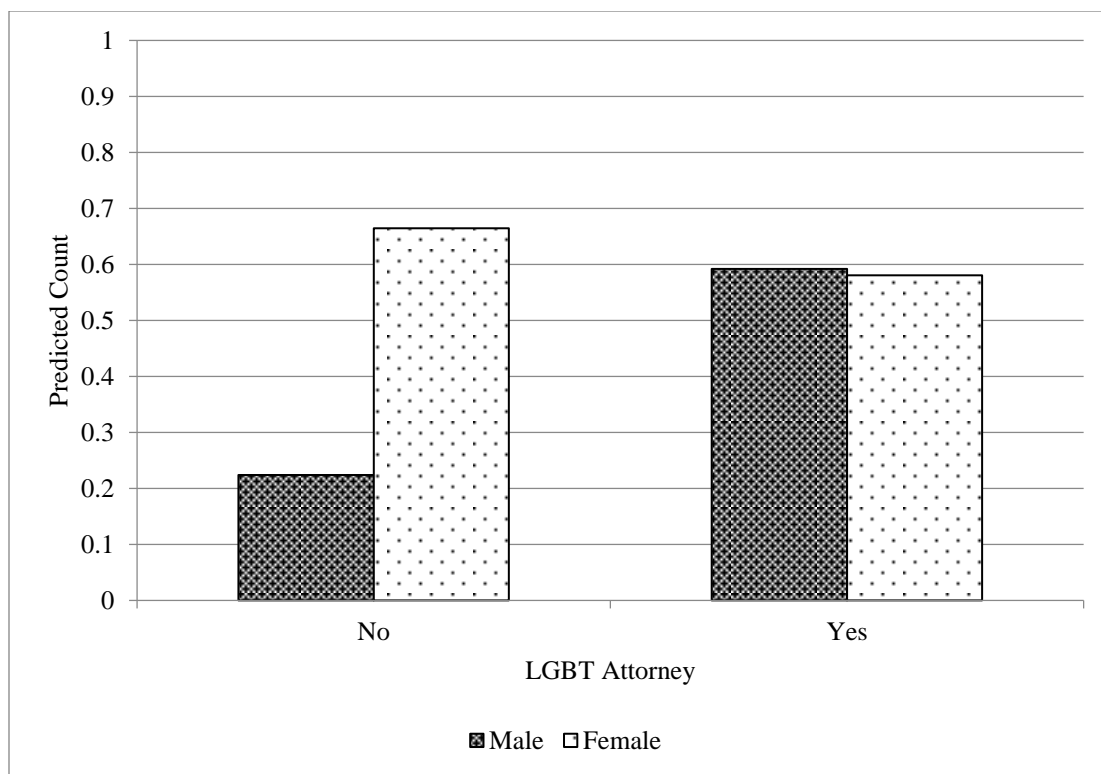


Figure 4.2 Predicted Counts of Types of Discrimination by LGBT Status and Gender.

In all, the results in Table 4.8 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are particularly interesting on two points. First, the models clearly demonstrate that gender, LGBT status, and race play a significant role in discriminatory actions occurring within legal organizations. This is evidenced by their effect sizes, but also by the fact that so few other predictors—whether credentials or other possible sources of disadvantage—are relevant. This is also evidenced by the fact that nearly all groups are disadvantaged to some extent when compared to heterosexual white males. Second, the results also demonstrate the differences between additive models of intersectionality and interactive models. Indeed, in this case, using an additive model both obscures some of the important differences between groups while also leading to potentially misleading interpretations of the relationships between different statuses.

Table 4.9. Logistic Regression of Formal Mentoring with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Female Attorney	0.07	(.12)	0.11	(.13)	0.04	(.13)	0.07	(.14)
Race (White)								
African Am	-0.37	(.25)	-0.34	(.26)	-0.26	(.41)	-0.09	(.44)
Hispanic	-0.26	(.23)	-0.24	(.24)	-0.65 *	(.32)	-0.63 *	(.32)
Asian	-0.44 *	(.22)	-0.50 *	(.23)	-0.28	(.33)	-0.30	(.36)
Other	-0.30	(.37)	-0.19	(.38)	-0.68 *	(.41)	-0.66	(.42)
LGBT Status	-0.37	(.32)	-0.26	(.33)	-0.41	(.46)	-0.38	(.46)
Race x Female Atty								
Black Women					-0.15	(.51)	-0.35	(.53)
Hisp Women					0.67	(.45)	0.67	(.46)
Asian Women					-0.26	(.44)	-0.34	(.47)
Other Women					0.78	(.70)	0.99	(.71)
LGBT Women					0.11	(.64)	0.29	(.65)
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg			0.21	(.17)			0.21	(.17)
B Avg			0.20	(.18)			0.20	(.17)
B- or Below			0.15	(.30)			0.14	(.30)
Missing			-0.13	(.23)			-0.13	(.23)
Law School Rank								
Top 20			0.52 *	(.24)			0.52 *	(.25)
Top 100			0.26	(.22)			0.26	(.23)
Tier Two			0.22	(.25)			0.21	(.25)
Workplace (Small)								

Table 4.9 Continued

Medium Firm			1.07 *** (.20)				1.09 *** (.20)
Large Firm			0.90 *** (.21)				0.91 *** (.21)
Gov/Public Int			-0.24 (.20)				-0.24 (.20)
Business			0.45 * (.23)				0.46 * (.23)
Job Change			-0.13 (.13)				-0.13 (.13)
Religion (Prot)							
Catholic			-0.19 (.16)				-0.19 (.17)
Jewish			-0.08 (.25)				-0.09 (.25)
Other			-0.47 * (.22)				-0.48 * (.22)
None			-0.11 (.17)				-0.11 (.17)
Married			-0.08 (.14)				-0.07 (.14)
Parent			-0.03 (.16)				-0.02 (.16)
Age			0.00 (.01)				0.00 (.01)
Constant	-1.18 *** (.09)		-1.81 *** (.48)		-1.17 *** (.09)		-1.81 *** (.48)
BIC	2,371.89		2,405.43		2,406.95		2,438.92

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

Table 4.9 presents results from logistic regression analyses of access to formal mentors at work. In this case, when the models were examined for goodness of fit, Models 1 and 2 were found to have performed the best. Interestingly, both of these models demonstrate that Asian attorneys have a more difficult time securing formal mentors; in Model 2, for example, the odds an Asian attorney will have a formal mentor are around 40 percent ($OR=0.61, e^{-0.50}$) lower compared to Whites. Beyond this comparison in the full models, however, no other relationships between the outcome and gender, race, or sexual orientation are statistically significant. Among the controls, the most important findings are with regards to workplace setting, although they are not too surprising. While lawyers working for government/public interest or in business were no different than lawyers working in small firms, attorneys in medium and large firms saw their odds of having a formal mentor increase by 192 and 147 percent, respectively ($OR=2.92, e^{1.07}$; $OR=2.47, e^{0.90}$).

Table 4.10 presents linear regressions of workplace recognition, which is the final type of workplace social capital examined in this chapter. For this outcome, the partial f-tests demonstrated that Model 2 is the best fitting model. In this additive model, it is clear that belonging to low status groups is a significant predictor of feeling dissatisfied with the amount of recognition for work received from an employer. Specifically, women were less satisfied with their workplace recognition compared to men. Similarly, LGBT attorneys perceived that their recognition was lacking compared to other heterosexual attorneys. Finally, both African Americans and Asians reported lower levels of satisfaction with their workplace recognition compared to their white counterparts.

Among the other predictors of workplace recognition, several stand out. First, respondents whose credentials are not in the upper echelon are less likely to feel that their work is given appropriate value. This can be seen in the negative effects for respondents with a “B” grade point average and below and in the negative effect among graduates from second tier law schools and below. It is also interesting to note that lawyers in all

Table 4.10. Linear Regression of Workplace Recognition with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Female Attorney	-0.19 **	(.08)	-0.17 *	(.08)	-0.15	(.09)	-0.12	(.09)
Race (White)								
African Am	-0.39 *	(.17)	-0.36 *	(.17)	-0.23	(.33)	-0.15	(.30)
Hispanic	-0.23	(.17)	-0.19	(.17)	-0.13	(.20)	-0.10	(.20)
Asian	-0.34 **	(.15)	-0.42 **	(.15)	-0.38 *	(.22)	-0.45 *	(.23)
Other	-0.03	(.20)	-0.06	(.19)	-0.03	(.22)	-0.07	(.22)
LGBT Status	-0.60 **	(.23)	-0.51 *	(.23)	-0.28	(.26)	-0.16	(.26)
Race x Female Atty								
Black Women					-0.24	(.38)	-0.33	(.36)
Hisp Women					-0.23	(.33)	-0.20	(.33)
Asian Women					0.06	(.30)	0.03	(.30)
Other Women					-0.02	(.42)	0.00	(.41)
LGBT Women					-0.75	(.46)	-0.80 *	(.45)
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg			-0.15	(.11)			-0.15	(.11)
B Avg			-0.27 **	(.11)			-0.27 **	(.11)
B- or Below			-0.44 **	(.18)			-0.45 **	(.18)
Missing			-0.05	(.14)			-0.05	(.14)
Law School Rank								
Top 20			-0.05	(.15)			-0.05	(.15)
Top 100			-0.04	(.14)			-0.05	(.13)
Tier Two			-0.31 *	(.15)			-0.32 *	(.15)
Workplace (Small)								

Table 4.10 Continued

Medium Firm			-0.28 *	(.12)			-0.28 *	(.12)				
Large Firm			-0.38 **	(.12)			-0.39 ***	(.12)				
Gov/Public Int			-0.30 **	(.11)			-0.30 **	(.11)				
Business			-0.30 *	(.15)			-0.30 *	(.15)				
Job Change			0.14 *	(.08)			0.13	(.08)				
Religion (Prot)												
Catholic			-0.24 *	(.10)			-0.23 *	(.10)				
Jewish			-0.17	(.17)			-0.17	(.17)				
Other			0.01	(.13)			0.01	(.13)				
None			-0.17	(.11)			-0.16	(.11)				
Married			-0.03	(.09)			-0.02	(.09)				
Parent			0.19 *	(.11)			0.19 *	(.11)				
Age			-0.01	(.01)			-0.01	(.01)				
Constant	4.83	***	(.06)	5.82	***	(.34)	4.81	***	(.06)	5.80	***	(.34)
Partial F-test	4.22	***		M2 versus M1	2.59	***	M3 versus M1	0.72	M4 versus M2	0.88		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

legal organizations other than small private firms felt that their work was undervalued or unrecognized. Finally, there is a curious effect for parents, who, controlling for all other effects, are quite satisfied with their workplace recognition compared to respondents who were not parents.

Taken together, the models assessing workplace social capital lead to findings similar to those reported for informal professional social capital. Specifically, race, gender, and sexual orientation are significant predictors of reduced social ties within the workplace. African American, Hispanic, and Asian attorneys, for example, were more likely to suffer from discriminatory practices that lead to isolation within the workplace. African American and Asian attorneys were also less likely to view the amount of recognition they received at work as satisfactory. Finally, Asian attorneys were less likely to have a formal mentor. This clearly demonstrates that Asian, and African American attorneys experience significant barriers within the workplace. Similarly, female lawyers were also more likely to experience discrimination and feel that their work was not adequately recognized. Beyond these general group differences, the models also showed that the intersection between these different statuses was important. Specifically, African American males were found to experience the most discrimination among male attorneys, while African American, Hispanic, and Asian females experienced the most among women. Finally, the results demonstrated that LGBT males experienced the most discrimination compared to their heterosexual and female counterparts.

The results of these analyses, however, leave one question unanswered: what effect does professional social capital have on career outcomes? To answer this question, Tables 4.11 and 4.12 present linear analyses of career satisfaction and organizational commitment. For each of these analyses, Model 1 presents a reduced form model that only considers gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, while Model 2 adds controls, and Model 3 adds the variables measuring the six types of professional social capital considered above.

Table 4.11. Linear Regressions of Career Satisfaction with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	<i>b^{std}</i>	(SE)
Peer Relationships					0.07	0.10 ***	(.02)
Prof. Groups					0.04	0.06 **	(.01)
Informal Mentoring					0.11	0.05 *	(.05)
Discrimination					-0.08	-0.06 **	(.03)
Formal Mentoring					0.03	0.01	(.06)
Workplace Recog					0.17	0.25 ***	(.02)
Female	-0.06	(.05)	-0.06	(.05)	-0.01	-0.01	(.05)
Race (White)							
African Am	0.17 *	(.09)	0.17 *	(.10)	0.26	0.05 **	(.09)
Hispanic	-0.33 **	(.13)	-0.24 *	(.13)	-0.19	-0.03	(.12)
Asian	-0.30 **	(.10)	-0.17	(.11)	-0.07	-0.01	(.10)
Other	0.05	(.13)	0.02	(.12)	0.00	0.00	(.11)
LGBT Status	0.01	(.11)	-0.05	(.11)	0.07	0.01	(.11)
GPA (A Avg)							
B+ Avg			-0.08	(.08)	-0.06	-0.02	(.07)
B Avg			-0.15 *	(.08)	-0.11	-0.05	(.07)
B- or Below			-0.42 ***	(.12)	-0.34	-0.08 **	(.11)
Missing			-0.06	(.09)	-0.07	-0.02	(.08)
Law School Rank							
Top 20			-0.04	(.10)	-0.05	-0.01	(.10)
Top 100			0.01	(.09)	-0.01	0.00	(.08)
Tier Two			0.12	(.10)	0.18	0.08 *	(.09)

Table 4.11 Continued

Workplace (Small)							
	Medium Firm		-0.06	(.09)	-0.06	-0.02	(.08)
	Large Firm		-0.06	(.08)	-0.02	-0.01	(.08)
	Gov/Public Int		0.16	*	(.07)	0.19	0.08 ** (.07)
	Business		-0.03		(.10)	0.02	0.00 (.10)
	Job Change		-0.12	*	(.06)	-0.13	-0.06 ** (.05)
Religion (Prot)							
	Catholic		-0.08		(.07)	-0.03	-0.01 (.07)
	Jewish		0.26	**	(.09)	0.31	0.08 *** (.09)
	Other		-0.01		(.08)	0.00	0.00 (.08)
	None		-0.12		(.07)	-0.06	-0.03 (.07)
	Married		-0.09		(.06)	-0.08	-0.04 (.05)
	Parent		0.21	***	(.07)	0.19	0.08 ** (.06)
	Age		0.02	***	(.01)	0.02	0.13 *** (.00)
	Constant	3.98	***	(.04)	3.47	***	(.20) 1.93 (.22)
	R ²	0.01			0.06		0.17
	Partial F-test	3.43	**		M2 versus M1 4.95	***	M3 versus M2 32.04 ***

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

As for Table 4.11, the first model demonstrates that career satisfaction is actually higher among African American attorneys, while it is lower among Hispanics and Asians. Interestingly, when the controls are added in Model 2, the effect for Asian attorneys goes away while the positive effect for African Americans and the negative effect for Hispanics remain. Finally, in Model 3, the race effects become limited to African Americans, who, when controlling for gender, LGBT status, credentials, workplace setting, and all six forms of professional social ties, appear to be more satisfied with their careers compared to their white counterparts.

With regards to the specific effects for the various forms of professional ties, Model 3 demonstrates that these connections are quite strongly related to career satisfaction. First, the coefficients show that while discrimination is associated with reduced career satisfaction, good relationships with one's peers, a greater number of professional group memberships, and workplace recognition are all associated with higher satisfaction ratings. These effects are quite large compared to the others in the model, as the standardized coefficients demonstrate that all of the effects for professional ties are quite strong compared to the effects for the controls—especially those found for peer relationships and workplace recognition. Second, the R^2 statistics also show the value added by the inclusion of the six measures of professional ties, as these factors led to a nearly 185 percent increase in the amount of variance explained by the model. Finally, a partial f-test confirms that Model 3 is a better fit compared to Model 2.

Second, Table 4.12 presents estimates for organizational commitment. Like the models for career satisfaction, Model 1 in Table 4.12 shows that there are racial differences in the length of time attorneys plan to stay with their current employer. Above and beyond race there are also effects for gender and LGBT status. Interestingly, members of nearly all of these groups indicated that they were less committed to staying with their employer long term. When the controls were added in Model 2 and the

Table 4.12. Linear Regressions of Organizational Commitment with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=2,160)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	<i>b^{std}</i>	(SE)
Peer Relationships					0.02	0.02	(.03)
Prof. Groups					0.01	0.02	(.02)
Informal Mentoring					0.07	0.02	(.07)
Discrimination					-0.10	-0.06	* (.04)
Formal Mentoring					0.25	0.08	*** (.07)
Workplace Recog					0.39	0.44	*** (.02)
Female	-0.12	* (.07)	-0.06	(.07)	0.03	0.01	(.06)
Race (White)							
African Am	-0.61	*** (.14)	-0.51	*** (.14)	-0.32	-0.05	** (.11)
Hispanic	-0.48	*** (.13)	-0.38	** (.13)	-0.28	-0.04	** (.11)
Asian	-0.48	*** (.13)	-0.39	** (.14)	-0.18	-0.03	(.13)
Other	0.16	(.17)	0.12	(.18)	0.14	0.02	(.15)
LGBT Status	-0.46	** (.19)	-0.32	* (.19)	-0.09	-0.01	(.15)
GPA (A Avg)							
B+ Avg			-0.08	(.10)	-0.03	-0.01	(.09)
B Avg			-0.13	(.10)	-0.03	-0.01	(.09)
B- or Below			-0.43	** (.15)	-0.25	-0.05	* (.13)
Missing			0.02	(.13)	0.04	0.01	(.12)
Law School Rank							
Top 20			0.05	(.14)	0.04	0.01	(.13)
Top 100			0.16	(.12)	0.15	0.05	(.12)
Tier Two			0.10	(.14)	0.23	0.08	* (.12)

Table 4.12 Continued

Workplace (Small)									
Medium Firm			-0.03	(.11)	0.01	0.00	(.10)		
Large Firm			-0.37	*** (.11)	-0.28	-0.08	** (.11)		
Gov/Public Int			-0.37	*** (.10)	-0.25	-0.08	** (.08)		
Business			-0.17	(.13)	-0.08	-0.02	(.12)		
Job Change			0.18	** (.07)	0.14	0.05	* (.06)		
Religion (Prot)									
Catholic			-0.30	*** (.09)	-0.19	-0.06	* (.08)		
Jewish			-0.21	(.14)	-0.13	-0.02	(.12)		
Other			-0.23	* (.11)	-0.21	-0.05	* (.10)		
None			-0.30	*** (.10)	-0.23	-0.07	** (.09)		
Married			0.14	* (.08)	0.15	0.05	* (.07)		
Parent			0.12	(.09)	0.06	0.02	(.08)		
Age			0.00	(.01)	0.01	0.03	(.01)		
Constant	3.59	***	(.05)	3.65	***	(.28)	1.15	***	(.28)
R ²	0.02			0.07			0.29		
Partial F-test	8.93	***		4.34	***		77.74	***	
				M2 versus M1		M3 versus M2			

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

measures of professional ties were added in Model 3, however, the effects for gender and sexual orientation went away. For gender, supplemental analyses demonstrate that workplace setting appears to be the reason, while for sexual orientation, the addition of the measures of professional ties led to the null effect. Substantively, Model 3 shows that discrimination is associated with reduced organizational commitment, while having a formal mentor and being satisfied with the recognition received at work are positively related to staying with one's employer. There are also continuing negative effects for African Americans and Hispanics in Model 3. Similar to the models for career satisfaction, those found in Table 4.12 also demonstrate the importance of professional ties for organizational commitment. Again, when examining the standardized coefficients, the effects of these factors, and workplace recognition in particular, are quite strong. Second, the amount of variance explained by Model 3 is much higher than the other models. In fact, compared to Model 2 the R^2 statistic increases by over 300 percent. Finally, a partial f-test also demonstrates that Model 3 provides the best fit for the data.

Taken together, the models in Tables 4.11 and 4.12 demonstrate the importance of professional ties, which, as seen previously, have been shown to depend on the gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation of attorneys. For example, both models of career satisfaction revealed that workplace recognition is quite important in predicting which attorneys will be satisfied and which are committed to their employers. Because they all reported lower satisfaction with workplace recognition, therefore, women, African American and Asian men, and LGBT attorneys are disadvantaged when it comes these career measures. Similarly, if Asians, for example, have lower quality peer relationships, experience increased discrimination, and feel that their work does not receive the recognition it deserves, then they will also score lower on measures of career satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter contributes to empirical analyses of the legal profession by examining several types of professional social capital among attorneys broken down by race, gender, and sexual orientation. Generally, the results from the models demonstrate that each of these demographic factors are important predictors of the possession of various forms of professional social capital and that being a member of a minority group—whether as a female, racial or ethnic minority, or LGBT—is strongly associated with the possession of fewer professional ties. Further, the models also show that in certain instances the intersection of minority group memberships is a relevant and important factor. Finally, the models demonstrate that fewer professional ties predict career dissatisfaction and lower levels of organizational commitment. In all, this means that members of minority groups are more likely to possess weaker or fewer professional ties which has serious consequences for their careers as attorneys.

Substantively, the analyses presented in this chapter painted an especially bleak picture for lawyers who are not heterosexual white males. When the models are considered together, it becomes clear that the amount of social capital available to many minority group members, such as African Americans, Asians, and lawyers who identify as LGBT, is quite different compared to capital stores available to others. Members of each of these groups reported that they were less satisfied with their colleague/peer relationships, they experienced a greater variety of discrimination at work, and that they felt like their contributions at work were not adequately valued. The analyses, however, also provided the opportunity to examine these effects further by exploring the interactions between race, sexual orientation, and gender. Interestingly, for each of the groups listed above, male attorneys faced particularly high hurdles.

On a substantive level, these results raise questions regarding the nature of the legal profession and how minority groups navigate their day-to-day interactions with peers, supervisors, organizations, and institutions. It is possible that the issues male

African American, Asian, and LGBT attorneys face may stem from the recent entry of these groups into the legal profession and their attempts to gain access to peer and professional networks that have long consisted of mostly white male attorneys. Indeed, minority attorneys may have trouble gaining entry into established peer groups because they have yet to be socialized into the racialized norms of masculinity and white professionalization that have developed and become reified over the years. Minority attorneys may also suffer from the effects of biased stereotypes that may limit their access to capital. African Americans, for example, are often penalized because they are perceived to be deficient in their human capital and abilities, and they have to overcome perceptions that their presence is merely a result of affirmative action policies (Payne-Pikus et al. 2010; Wilkins and Gulati 1996).

While males of certain races and status groups were particularly disadvantaged when it came to their stores of social capital, the models also demonstrated that women, on average, navigate their careers with reduced levels of social capital compared to men. Consistent with the patterns found in previous work examining discrimination (Epstein 1981; Kay et al. 2004) and supervisory relationships (Dinovitzer et al. 2009), female attorneys reported higher levels of discrimination and felt that they were not appropriately recognized for their work. Similar to non-white attorneys, this lack of capital could result from continuing negative stereotypes. Women attorneys, for example, are often viewed as less committed to their careers (Epstein 1981), which could lead to a lack of respect among their male colleagues.

It is important to note, however, that low status group membership was not necessarily predictive of reduced access to social capital in all instances. African American, LGBT, and female lawyers, for example, were all found to be members of more professional groups compared to their heterosexual white male counterparts. This finding is interesting, as it runs contrary to part research regarding the predictors of group memberships found within the literature examining the legal career (Kay and Hagan

1998). It is also interesting because this finding suggests that professional groups are perhaps an outlet for minority attorneys in need of social capital and networking opportunities who have been unable to forge connections within their places of employment. In fact, connections to groups outside of work may play an important role in buffering these minority lawyers from some of the negative effects of the disconnectedness they experience at work. As shown in the final models presented in this chapter, for example, professional group membership was associated with higher levels of career satisfaction. This idea is also consistent with past research, which found that having more extensive networks acted to reduce the negative consequences of job mobility among lawyers (Dinovitzer and Hagan 2006).

This research has several implications. First, it contributes to the existing empirical research in the legal professions literature examining the role that professional isolation plays in the structuring of the legal career. The study presented in this chapter demonstrated that the differential distribution of social capital was dependent on the gender, race, and sexual orientation of respondents and that, in most instances, members of minority groups possessed fewer professional ties than their colleagues. In the end, this is concerning, because social capital is strongly coupled with different forms of satisfaction, including lawyers' overall career satisfaction and their organizational commitment.

Second, the analyses presented in this chapter provide the first empirical investigation into the professional lives of LGBT lawyers. Unfortunately, it does not paint a very positive picture, as LGBT attorneys have fewer or weaker social ties in the workplace. Perhaps, similar to African American and Asian attorneys, the primary issue at play here is the fact that many LGBT attorneys do not fit into the traditional mold of the white male attorney. At this point in time, while LGBT individuals have made great strides in gaining access to employment as well as other forms of legal recognition, it is

clear that informal aspects of the legal profession have yet to allow these attorneys to become fully integrated into the bar.

Third, the study also makes several smaller contributions to the legal professions literature. Unlike most of the extant research, which focuses almost exclusively on private firms (e.g., Payne-Pikus et al. 2010), this chapter examined lawyers in multiple legal sectors and practice areas which builds on previous investigations—especially those examining racial and ethnic minorities. Additionally, this study conducted a more complete investigation into the various aspects of professional social capital together. As outlined previously, most studies of professional isolation—particularly those examining female lawyers—consider only a single type of isolation, rather than the collection of aspects examined in this chapter.

Fourth, the empirical models also extended prior research into the intersection of different group statuses by providing an avenue for moving beyond standard group comparisons and additive empirical models in the legal professions literature so that the intersection of different statuses could be examined in greater detail. In doing so, this research was able to shine light on some nuances that have not been discussed in prior studies of race and gender in the legal profession. The models demonstrated, for example, that while perceived discrimination was highest among African Americans generally, there were significant gender differences. Similarly, the models showed that perceptions of discrimination among LGBT lawyers were also conditioned on gender.

Finally, this research also has implications for theory and research examining intersectionality more generally. In a general sense, the analyses presented in this chapter confirmed the importance of the intersectional approach and demonstrated that in studies examining memberships in status groups, it is essential to consider how different statuses affect one another. More specifically, this research also provided an avenue for examining the notion that intersectionality often results in double or multiple jeopardy for members of multiple status groups using two different models. The research presented in

this chapter demonstrates, at least among lawyers, that this is not always true. First, the multiple jeopardy approach suggests that the status hierarchy is relatively rigid. The analyses shown here, however, do not necessarily bear this out. Second, while some outcomes were additive in nature, others demonstrated that the relationship between different statuses was much more complex. For example, while the multiple jeopardy model would predict that women who identify as LGBT would be found at or near the bottom of the status hierarchy (because their status is affected negatively by both their gender *and* their sexual orientation), it appears that at least when it comes to discrimination, LGBT men are the most disadvantaged. This means, therefore, that in this specific case, and consistent with Sidanius and Pratto (2001), LGBT men do not benefit from their higher status as males.

This study, however, is not without limitations. First, because mail portion of the *After the JD* data had to be used for this study, the sample contains relatively few minority respondents. Although on its face, a sample that is made up of over 27 percent racial/ethnic minorities appears to be quite good given the distribution of non-white lawyers in the legal profession, several groups become quite small once the intersections between them are considered. Importantly, the small sizes of several of these groups could be responsible for some of the null findings in the models as their small size generally led to larger standard errors. Second, because these analyses are cross sectional, it is impossible to make causal claims regarding the effects of the five types of professional isolation on career satisfaction and organizational commitment. Ideally, longitudinal measures should be used in this instance. Again, unfortunately data limitations with the *After the JD* make this difficult, as the high amount of missing data between waves results in unacceptable levels of missing data (see note 9 above).

In sum, this chapter examined the relationship between race, gender, and sexual orientation and professional social capital in the legal profession. Importantly, the findings demonstrate that each of these three minority groups are more isolated from their

peers and within the workplace compared to their white male counterparts.

Unfortunately, the models also showed that professional social capital was strongly associated with reduced career satisfaction and organization commitment. Taken together, this means that members of these groups face significant hurdles to their career success, which is extremely concerning given the other previously identified hurdles to success in the legal profession.

CHAPTER V
GENDER, RACE, SOCIAL CAPITAL,
AND PARTNERSHIP

Introduction

Within private law practice, the greatest difference that exists between employees of firms is the distinction between associates and partners. Indeed, lawyers who are able to ascend the partnership ladder receive innumerable benefits in the forms of compensation, status, and increased job security. Lawyers who fail to make the grade, however, are often relegated to permanent lower status positions within their firms, must seek out other opportunities, or leave private practice altogether. It is unsurprising, therefore, that a number of empirical studies have examined the factors that contribute to the successful navigation of the partnership process.

While a significant amount of research has investigated the quest for partnership among attorneys, the process is still not fully understood. Many studies, for example, focus on the effects that different status characteristics have on the likelihood of promotion and report that women and racial/ethnic minorities are severely underrepresented in partnership circles even though they have been entering the profession in ever increasing numbers (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, and Nelson 2010). Others focus on lawyers' social connections when analyzing the transition to partnership. These studies find that certain types of connections, such as those with professional organizations, are positively related to becoming a partner (Kay and Hagan 1999).

These studies, however, have yet to do two things. First, empirical research examining the effects of social capital have yet to consider several aspects of lawyers' social capital toolkits, including their law school social capital and several forms of professional capital, such as mentoring support, perceived discrimination, and relationships with colleagues, to name a few. Second, the extant research into the partnership decision has yet to consider how social capital effects differ by gender and

race. This research aims to address these issues by examining a variety of forms of social capital while also examining whether the benefits (or constraints) attributable to those forms of capital affect the likelihood of becoming partner in a private law firm.

Background

In private law firms, there is perhaps no greater difference than that which exists between partners and associates. Indeed, this distinction has been termed to be “one of the most critical ... in the private practice of law” (Kay and Hagan 1999: 520). The importance of the ascension into the partnership circle is buttressed by the rewards that await newly promoted partners. Compared to associates of all types, partners are viewed as some of the highest status lawyers within the profession, they benefit from increased job security and improved opportunities for career advancement, and they garner significantly higher earnings (especially equity partners, who share directly in the profits of the firm according to their assigned percentage) (Kay and Hagan 1999).

On the other hand, lawyers who either fail to make partner or who exit private practice before partnership decisions are made suffer not only because of their inability to secure the rewards that come with partnership, but also because they are marked by the signals that their failure sends to other attorneys. Some will remain with their firms, although they will likely do so in lower status capacities as “permanent” associates, or as a “senior attorney,” “principle attorney,” “of counsel,” or “senior counsel,” to name a few (Gorman 1999:637-638; Kay and Hagan 1999). Others will leave their firms and seek employment either in other private firms where promotion chances appear to be improved or outside of private practice entirely in government, corporate in-house positions, or elsewhere (Kay and Hagan 1999).

Which Associates Become Partners?

In an objective sense, the requirements for partnership are rather rigid. Indeed, many of the logistics and common practices leading to partnership have become institutionalized. New employees—usually recently minted law graduates—begin as

junior associates in specific practice areas and workgroups where they are apprenticed to firm partners. Over the next five to nine years, successful associates rise through the ranks to become senior associates before they are considered for partnership (Kay and Hagan 1999; Nelson 1988). At this point, the most successful senior associates are allowed entry into the partnership circle by a vote of the other firm partners.

While the ascent up the partnership ladder may appear to be clear cut, in practice this process is rather opaque, and a significant amount of controversy surrounds the ways in which the process functions and the outcomes it produces (Kay and Hagan 1999). Much of this controversy surrounds the partnership prospects of women and racial minorities, who are underrepresented in the partnership ranks despite their increasing numbers within the profession as a whole. Women, for example, have reached parity when it comes to joining private firms as associates, yet they make up only around 17 percent of partners (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, and Nelson 2010; see also Abramson and Franklin 1986; Curran 1986; Fossum 1981). Non-white lawyers are similarly situated, as African American and Hispanic attorneys, for example, constitute less than 1 percent of partners even though each group makes up approximately 5 percent of associates (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, and Nelson 2010). Given these disparities, a significant amount of research has examined the partnership process and the predictors of promotion success.

Analyses examining the unequal distribution of partnership have mostly focused on women and racial/ethnic minorities (Heinz et al. 2005), and when doing so commonly focus on three theoretical dimensions to explain the differences that exist: human capital, structural discrimination, and social capital (Kay and Hagan 1999). The first dimension, human capital, claims that gender or racial differences in partnership attainment are explained by the gender or racial differences in measures of lawyers' educational backgrounds or work achievements (Becker 1985). Whether stemming from intrinsic differences between individuals within these groups, resource endowments, preferences, or family origin, human capital theory posits that over time small differences are

magnified by individuals' investments made in human capital. Thus, for example, the different investments made by men and women based on their biology, backgrounds, and preferences are theorized to explain much of the observed disparity in partnership attainment (Hagan and Kay 1995:13).

In the past, studies examining the partnership process have found that several aspects of human capital are indeed relevant. Dixon and Seron (1995: 384), for example, focused on four types: law school prestige, law school performance, work experience, and whether an attorney has remained "on track" during their pursuit of partnership. Each of these factors have been found to be important to other career outcomes in the previous research. Heinz and Laumann (1994), for example, found that law school performance was related to income, while previous research presented in the third chapter of this dissertation found that performance was related to finding work in prestigious legal sectors. Hagan and Kay (1995), additionally, found that lawyers who remained on track in their career development garnered higher incomes as well (see also Heinz and Laumann 1982). Finally, Kay and Hagan (1999) reported that work experience was related to partnership attainment, yet they failed to find an effect for law school prestige (*see also* Kay 1997).

Another dimension explored in the extant research has been structural discrimination, which could take the form of exclusion or discriminatory treatment, or systematic barriers to advancement (Kay and Hagan 1999). Female or non-white attorneys, for example, could be denied opportunities to work with certain types of clients, or they may be excluded from the informal social interactions necessary to form strong connections with peers or superiors. Alternatively, structural aspects of the partnership track could act as barriers to promotion. Women, for example, may have to simultaneously fight against the perception that they are less dedicated to their careers while also addressing the physical and emotional challenges surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, and childrearing.

Much of the extant research focuses on women in this regard. Epstein (1981), for example, found that women were indeed denied access to prestigious clients and informal social networks. Similarly, a host of research discusses the difficulties women face when seeking out mentors (Epstein 1981; Liefland 1986; *contra* Wallace 2010). Finally, research also demonstrates that female attorneys are impacted by their choices regarding family formation and childrearing (Kay 1997), although a growing literature find that women are not necessarily penalized for their marriage and childrearing choices (Hagan and Kay 1995; Kay and Hagan 1999; Laband and Lentz 1993; Lentz and Laband 1995; Noonan and Corcoran 2004; Noonan, Corcoran, and Courant 2008).

The final dimension that has been considered when analyzing the disparate distribution of partnership among lawyers is social capital. As outlined elsewhere in this dissertation, in the past social capital was an often ignored aspect of attorneys' toolkits necessary for career success. More recently, however, research has focused on how the connections that exist between individuals can be used to improve chances of career success and other positive career-related outcomes. Kay and Hagan (1999), for example, found that connections with professional groups were positively associated with partnership chances.

The Role of Social Capital, Gender, and Race for Promotion

While the extant research provides guidance regarding the factors associated with partnership attainment, several issues have remained largely unaddressed. First, building on the theory and findings presented in Chapters III and IV of this dissertation, several aspects of early career lawyers' social capital have been found to be important predictors of career success and satisfaction. These factors, which include the personal and organizational connections held by law students as well as the informal and formal professional relationships established during the early career, may continue to play an important role in the future career prospects of individual attorneys.

Drawing on the theory and results presented in Chapter III, for example, many of the same mechanisms that could lead to the successful navigation of the law school-to-work transition could be relevant during the lead-up to the partnership decision. Lawyers whose networks are wide ranging and full of bridges to other networks may have an advantage during the partnership process. Research outside of the legal profession, for example, shows that individuals with large networks of this kind have access to unique sources of information and resources which are associated with the formation of innovative ideas, higher compensation, and even increased promotion opportunities (Burt 1992, 2004). Thus, drawing on the results presented previously, it is hypothesized:

H5.1. Lawyers who possess bridging ties will be more likely to be promoted to partner while lawyers who possess bonding ties will be less likely to be promoted to partner.

Ties with law school organizations may also provide a variety of resources to attorneys on the partnership track. On the one hand, the connections built as members of these organizations could be used during practice to expand professional networks, find new clients, and as a source of career advice from contemporaries (Small 2009). On the other, they could continue to act as signals of underlying quality or may provide evidence that a potential partner has the background necessary for promotion (Paik 2013; Rivera 2011). Thus, similar to the predictions made previously:

H5.2. Lawyers who were members of prestigious law school organizations will be more likely to be promoted to partner.

Alternatively, the professional network connections discussed in Chapter IV could also act to facilitate or constrain early career lawyers' abilities to ascend the partnership ladder. As outlined by Kay and Hagan (1999), much of the partnership decision hinges on the professional connections lawyers possess, because connections with one's employer or superiors, for example, provide the opportunity for decision-makers to observe an attorney's compatibility as a potential partner as well as their present and potential

productivity. Additionally, professional connections also provide opportunities for attorneys to develop the “feel for the game” that is necessary when moving up the career ladder (see Bourdieu 1990:66). Finally, as seen previously in Chapter IV, informal and formal professional connections were highly predictive of organizational commitment. Therefore, if remaining on track in continuous service to a given firm is a correlate of successful partnership attainment as demonstrated by Hagan and Kay (1995) and Heinz and Laumann (1982), then professional social capital should play an important part in the journey towards partnership. Taken together, this suggests the following hypothesis:

H5.3. Lawyers who possess strong informal and formal professional social capital will be more likely to be promoted to partner.

It remains to be seen, however, whether some connections possessed by lawyers on the partnership track are more important than others. Based on the extant research, it would be reasonable to predict that professional connections held after a new lawyer becomes employed should be more powerful predictors of career success. As discussed by Kay and Hagan (1999), one of the key roles that social capital plays as an individual approaches promotion is that it can provide superiors with an opportunity to evaluate that prospect’s suitability. Thus, while membership in a prestigious law school organization may continue to act as a signal of quality in the lead-up to the partnership decision, close ties with supervisors through which information can flow directly would likely be more useful. Thus, it is hypothesized:

H5.4. Attorneys’ professional social capital will be stronger predictors of promotion to partnership than their law school social capital.

Finally, again building on the theory and results presented in Chapter IV, it is likely that the usefulness of social capital on the partner track is gendered and/or differs by race/ethnicity. As outlined previously, networking strategies often result in reduced payoffs for women and minorities (Ibarra 1992). Further, the evidence presented in Chapter IV indicates that women and minorities possess fewer network connections

compared to their white male counterparts. It would be surprising, therefore, if the relevance of professional social capital is not conditioned on gender and/or race in the same manner. Therefore, the final prediction made is:

H5.5. Social capital effects will differ by gender and/or race.

The analyses presented in this chapter will address these hypotheses and explore the relationship between the likelihood of promotion to partner and numerous forms of social capital. Additionally, these hypotheses will also be examined in a manner so that differences in gender and race/ethnicity can be assessed. This aspect of the analyses found in this chapter will be particularly important for the study of differences existing between white and non-white attorneys because it will be the first to offer insights into how racial differences in the distribution of social capital affects career outcomes. To accomplish this end, two modeling approaches will be taken. First, following Kay (1997), this research will present event history models of career transitions while examining the effects of human and social capital during law school. Second, building on the event history models, multinomial regression will be used to examine professional social capital and the effect it has on promotion chances.

Methods

Samples

The analyses presented in this chapter are conducted using respondents' work history data reported in Waves 1 and 2 of the *After the JD Survey*. As described in Chapter II, the *After the JD* survey gathered information on respondents' job histories, which included start and end dates, as well as information about each position held. Due to data and modeling limitations outlined in greater detail below, two samples are used to explore the effect that respondents' social capital, status group membership, work histories, and human capital has on the odds of promotion and exit from private practice. To be eligible for each analytic sample, respondents must have provided information on their work histories, including the date they began to work for a given organization, the

date they left this employer, and information on the type of employer and job they were performing. Finally, because the primary focus of these analyses is the transition to partner in private law firms, to be included in the samples respondents must have joined the partner track in a private firm at some point in their career.

The first analytical sample which is used in an event history model examining mid-career progression consists of respondents' career histories beginning with their first jobs after passing the bar exam. Thus, in this sample, each observation represents a job on the partnership track for each respondent. Following the criteria immediately above, therefore, this sample consists of 3,480 observations for 2,026 respondents. After the deletion of missing data, the final analytical sample consists of 3,199 observations for 1,857 respondents (8.3 percent missing data). The second sample, alternatively, is used to examine the correlates of partnership attainment using a standard multinomial regression. This sample is different than the first in three ways. First, the observation period begins with respondents' current jobs as of Wave I. Second, each respondent is represented by only a single observation as only their final job status is under investigation. Finally, as in Chapter IV, only those respondents who answered the mail survey were included, as these respondents were the only individuals asked questions regarding mentoring and several other forms of professional capital. There are, therefore, a total of 1,274 cases, which were reduced to a final analytical sample of 1,027 cases after missing data was deleted (19 percent missing data). Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 5.1.

Measures

Dependent Measures

Exiting Private Practice or Promotion. The dependent variable for the first sample assessed the timing and type of career transition each respondent faced—that is,

Table 5.1. Unweighted Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Sample One					Sample Two				
	Male		Female		Sig.	Male		Female		Sig.
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)		Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
<i>Law School Social Capital</i>										
Family Ties	2.06	(2.10)	1.97	(2.06)						
Friend/Bus Ties	2.52	(2.30)	2.61	(2.41)						
Alumni Ties	1.87	(1.75)	1.92	(1.88)		1.91	(1.75)	1.95	(1.88)	
Law Review	24%		23%			25%		22%		
Law Journal	23%		28%		**	24%		31%		**
Moot Court	35%		39%		*	29%		36%		**
Political Advocacy	12%		12%			14%		13%		
Public Interest	16%		24%		***	16%		25%		***
<i>Workplace Social Capital</i>										
Peer Relationships						5.37	(1.44)	5.41	(1.56)	
Professional Groups						3.29	(1.53)	3.79	(1.74)	***
Informal Mentor						70%		73%		
Discrimination						0.21	(0.57)	0.69	(0.98)	***
Formal Mentor						27%		26%		
Wkplace Recognition						4.62	(1.44)	4.51	(1.64)	
<i>Controls</i>										
GPA					***					
A Avg	22%		22%			22%		22%		
B+ Avg	24%		22%			26%		25%		
B Avg	32%		31%			31%		32%		

Table 5.1 Continued

B- or Below	7%		4%		7%		3%			
Missing	16%		21%		10%		15%			
Law School Rank										
Top 10	10%		11%		11%		11%			
Top 20	13%		15%		14%		16%			
Top 100	48%		45%		47%		44%			
Tier 2 or Below	29%		29%		29%		29%			
Lawyers in the Family	61%		63%		61%		64%			
Parents' Education	15.29	(2.33)	15.06	(2.44)	*	15.27	(2.40)	15.01	(2.51)	*
Career Satisfaction						3.94	(1.01)	3.82	(1.10)	*
Org Commitment						3.37	(1.40)	3.19	(1.44)	*
Non-White	25%		33%		***	23%		33%		***
LGBT	3%		3%			4%		3%		
Married						63%		51%		***
Parent						30%		17%		***
Age at Licensure	29.29	(5.06)	28.99	(5.40)		29.37	(5.03)	28.82	(5.39)	*
Job Change	50%		49%			52%		46%		*
N	1,021		836			528		499		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

exiting private practice versus promotion—as they progressed through the first seven years of their career as lawyers. In the *After the JD* survey, for each job occurring after the passage of the bar through the fielding of Wave two, respondents were provided with blank cells and lists of legal organizations and positions so that they could report information for each type of employment they had held throughout their careers. For each position, respondents provided start and end dates. Next, they were also asked to specify the “type of organization,” and were provided with the following choices: private law firm or solo practice, federal government, state or local government, legal services or public defender, legal temporary firm, public interest organization, other non-profit organization, educational institution, professional services firm (e.g., accounting, investment banking, consulting), other Fortune 1000 industry/service, other business/industry, labor union or trade association, or “other.” Another cell that followed then asked respondents to specify the “nature of [their] position,” and provided the following categories: solo practitioner, associate, non-equity partner, equity partner/shareholder, contract attorney, of counsel, staff attorney, supervising/managing attorney, permanent judicial clerk, judge, law professor, law school/academic counselor, entry level manager/consultant, mid-level manager/consultant, senior level manager/consultant, business owner/operator, elected official (other than judge), non-elected public official, lobbyist/governmental affairs, other (than law) teacher or professor, student/fellow, and “other.”

For the purposes of constructing this measure, respondents were coded as working in private practice if they indicated that they were employed in a private law firm or solo practice. To account for their positions, respondents were coded as working as an associate or a partner. For the purposes of this analysis, only equity partners/shareholders were coded as “partners.” Using these designations, the dependent variable was created with the following categories: 0 (“respondent was neither promoted nor exited private practice by the end of Wave two”), 1 (“respondent exited private practice”), and 2

(“respondent was promoted”). The timing of this outcome was based on the date respondents’ first exited private practice or when they first were promoted to partner, whichever came first. Respondents who experienced neither event were treated as right censored at Wave two.

The dependent variable for the second sample was constructed in a similar fashion. The primary difference, however, is that rather than examine and include information on all jobs held during the study period, this measure only contains information on respondents’ final job status.

Independent Measures

Social Capital. The analyses presented below rely on the measures of social capital used in previous chapters: *bonding ties*, which are represented by the importance of ties to family and friends/business connections during the job search process; *bridging ties*, which are represented by the importance of alumni ties during the job search process; *organizational ties*, which are represented by membership on the law review, other specialty law journals, the moot court, political advocacy groups, or public interest groups; *informal professional social capital*, which consists of satisfaction with colleague/peer relationships, a count of professional group memberships, and whether respondents had an informal mentor; and *formal professional capital*, which consists of a count of different types of discriminatory isolation, whether respondents had a formal mentor, and respondents’ satisfaction with the recognition they received for their work. Most of these measures were constructed in the manners described previously in their respective chapters.

The only variables constructed differently were those constructed to measure membership in different types of law school student organizations: law review, law journal, moot court, political advocacy groups, and public interest groups. The difference, however, is slight. As outlined in Chapter III, respondents were asked to specify which student organizations they belonged to in law school, along with their level of

involvement. In the analysis presented in this chapter, binary measurements of organizational membership are used such that non-members are given values of “0,” while both members and leaders are given values of “1.” This approach was taken because when broken down by gender and race, measures differentiating between rank-and-file members and leaders did not have enough cases to conduct the analyses.

Exposure Risk. In the event history analysis conducted on the first sample, exposure time measures the amount of time that passed before the occurrence of an event of interest. The beginning of the risk period was determined by the start date of respondents’ first jobs after passing the bar. The exit date was the date respondents’ experienced a transition of interest. Thus, if a respondent left private practice to start a new job working in industry, for example, the exit date was the date the respondent left their private practice job.

Controls. Several controls were also included in the analyses. *Grade point average, law school rank, parents’ education, lawyers in respondents’ families, career satisfaction, organizational commitment, gender and LGBT status* were constructed in the manner described in Chapters III and IV. To assess race/ethnicity in this chapter, a binary variable was used with the following categories: white respondents were given a value of 0, while African American, Hispanic, Asian, and “other” races were coded as a *minority* and given a value of 1. The motivation for this departure from past analyses presented in this project was the fact that minority representation at the partnership level in the data is quite low—particularly when the measure is broken down into its component parts (e.g., African American, Asian, etc.). *Age at licensure* is a measure of respondents’ age at the time they passed the bar.

Finally, three variables were created to assess whether respondents remained on track as they pursued a promotion to partner. First, two measures of *job changes* were created. For the first sample, a binary measure of job changes was constructed as a time-varying covariate where a value of 1 is assigned to respondents who changed jobs while a

value of 0 is assigned to respondents who did not. It is a time varying measure because until the respondent first changes jobs, he or she is coded as 0. The value changes to 1 at the time a respondent leaves their first position and remains a 1 for any and all jobs that follow. For the second sample, however, respondents were simply given a value of 1 if they changed jobs at any time before they either exited private practice or were promoted. Second, two measures of family commitment were created for use in the analysis of the second sample: whether the respondent was *married* and whether the respondent was a *parent*. These two variables were created in the manner described in Chapter IV. Unfortunately, these measures could not be used in the analyses conducted on the first sample because they are time varying and the *After the JD* data does not provide information regarding the timing of marriage formation or childbirth (which would be necessary to construct time varying covariates appropriate for the analyses conducted on the first sample).

Models

Two modeling strategies are utilized in this chapter to examine the correlates of promotion and exit from private practice. First, discrete-time, competing-hazard models are employed for the first sample, which render maximum-likelihood estimates for the independent variables on the hazards of promotion and/or exiting private practice. As outlined by Box-Steffensmeier and Jones (2004), this analytical approach is appropriate for handling duration data that is both reported in discrete-time intervals and censored on the right while providing the opportunity to examine multiple outcomes. As discussed above, to estimate these models person-year data and a three-category dependent variable were constructed which reflected the two transition states along with a category for those respondents who experienced neither event. Using these data, discrete-time, multinomial logistic models are estimated. Finally, three specifications of duration dependence were examined: the quadratic function yielded the best model fit (BIC=5,123.69) compared to the linear (BIC=5,138,30) and logarithmic functions (BIC=5,209.21) (Yamaguchi 1991).

Second, due to modeling issues and data limitations within the *After the JD* survey, standard multinomial logistic models are used to examine the second sample. The use of standard multinomial models will allow for the use of time-varying covariates that could not be constructed correctly for use in the competing risks model. Additionally, because the *After the JD survey* was fielded two years after respondents' passed their respective bar exams, it focused primarily on gathering detailed data on the jobs respondents held at the time of the survey. This means, unfortunately, that numerous aspects of respondents' experiences as attorneys were assessed after they had held their jobs for a period of time or for jobs that were not their first jobs after law school. Therefore, to include information on respondents' professional capital and experiences, it is necessary to examine respondents starting with their current positions as of Wave I. This approach, however, creates artificial left truncation, which makes event history analysis inadvisable. Thus, these models will be able to offer evidence of the effects that professional social capital has on promotion, but, they are mostly complimentary to the event history models estimated for the first sample.

Results

Before presenting estimates from the full event history model, Kaplan-Meier estimates were obtained examining the effect that respondents' gender, race, and law school social capital had on the transition to partnership. For each of these analyses, entry into the risk period is defined as the start date of respondents' first job as an associate for a private law firm. Figure 5.1 presents Kaplan-Meier estimates for gender and race, and demonstrates that male attorneys and white attorneys had a higher hazard of attaining partnership status compared to female ($\chi^2=20.86$; $p<.001$) and non-white attorneys ($\chi^2=5.74$; $p<.05$), respectively. Further, over time, these differences become larger; after around two and a half years of practice, over 8 percent of men make the transition to partner, compared to a little over 3 percent of women. At around six years of practice, however, nearly 14 percent of men are partners, versus just over 8 percent of women.

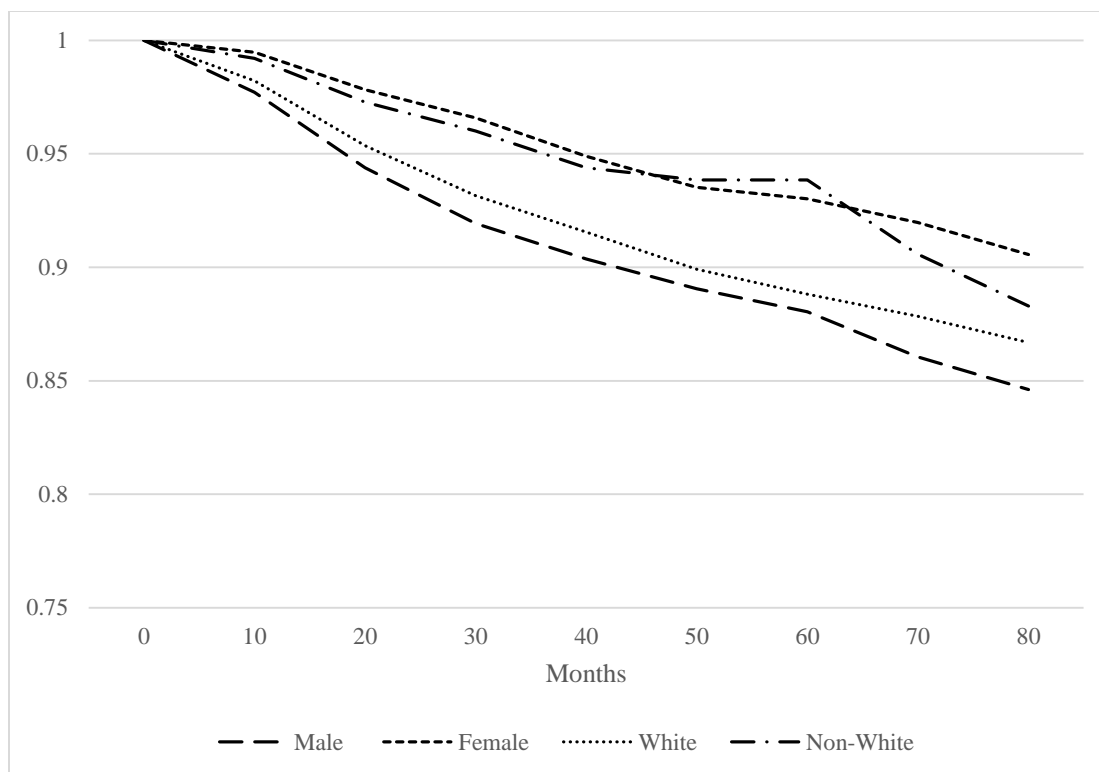


Figure 5.1. Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Gender and Race

Similarly, after two and a half years, nearly 7 percent of white attorneys are partners compared to 4 percent of nonwhite attorneys, while after six years, 12 percent of whites are partners versus nearly 9.5 percent of nonwhite attorneys. Taken together, the results of the Kaplan-Meier tests demonstrate the significant gender and racial differences in the ability to attain partnership still remain.

Kaplan-Meier estimates were also conducted for each of the eight measures of ties formed during law school. Only four types of ties were found to be significant predictors of promotion using log-rank tests for equality of survivor functions, and the results of those tests are presented in Figures 5.2 and 5.3.¹⁶ Figure 5.2 examines friend/business ties¹⁷ and moot court membership. Bonding ties, as measured by the reliance on friends

¹⁶ The results of the log-rank tests for equality of survivor functions for the nonsignificant predictors were as follows: family ties ($\chi^2=1.28$; $p<.258$); alumni ties ($\chi^2=0.24$; $p<.625$); law review ($\chi^2=2.95$; $p<.10$); and law journal ($\chi^2=2.09$; $p<.148$). Detailed results of these analyses are available upon request.

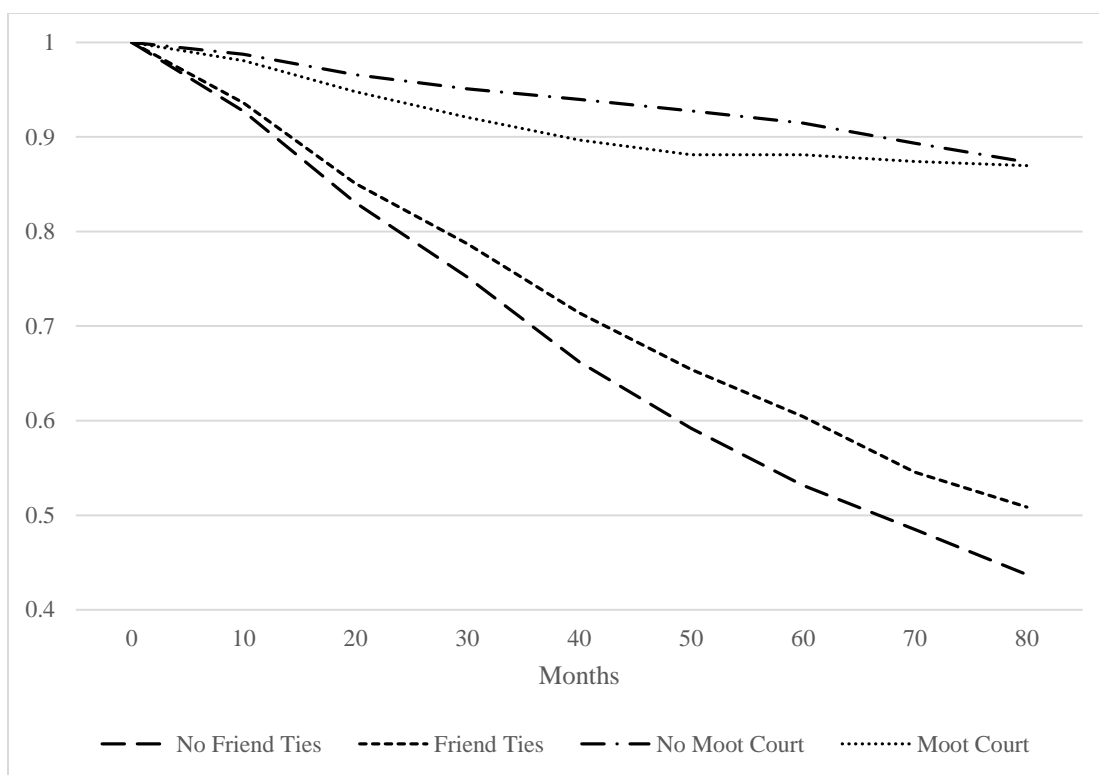


Figure 5.2. Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Friend/Business Ties and Moot Court Membership

and/or business associates during the initial job search, were associated with a reduced hazards of partnership attainment. Alternatively, moot court membership was associated with increased hazards of partnership promotion, at least to a certain point. Interestingly, while moot court membership is associated with increased hazards of partnership early in the career, the difference between members and non-members narrows over time and eventually disappears.

¹⁷ For the purposes of the Kaplan-Meier estimates, binary measures of bonding and bridging ties were used. Specifically, for these binary measures, respondents who rated the importance of bonding or bridging ties below one on the seven point scale were assigned a value of “0,” while respondents who rated the importance of these ties between two and seven, we assigned a value of “1.”

Figure 5.3 presents the results for public interest and advocacy group membership, the two additional organizational ties that reached statistical significance. Interestingly, membership in these two groups have opposite effects when it comes to the transition to partnership. After five years of practice, for example, around 10 percent of nonmembers of public interest groups have made the transition to partner compared to

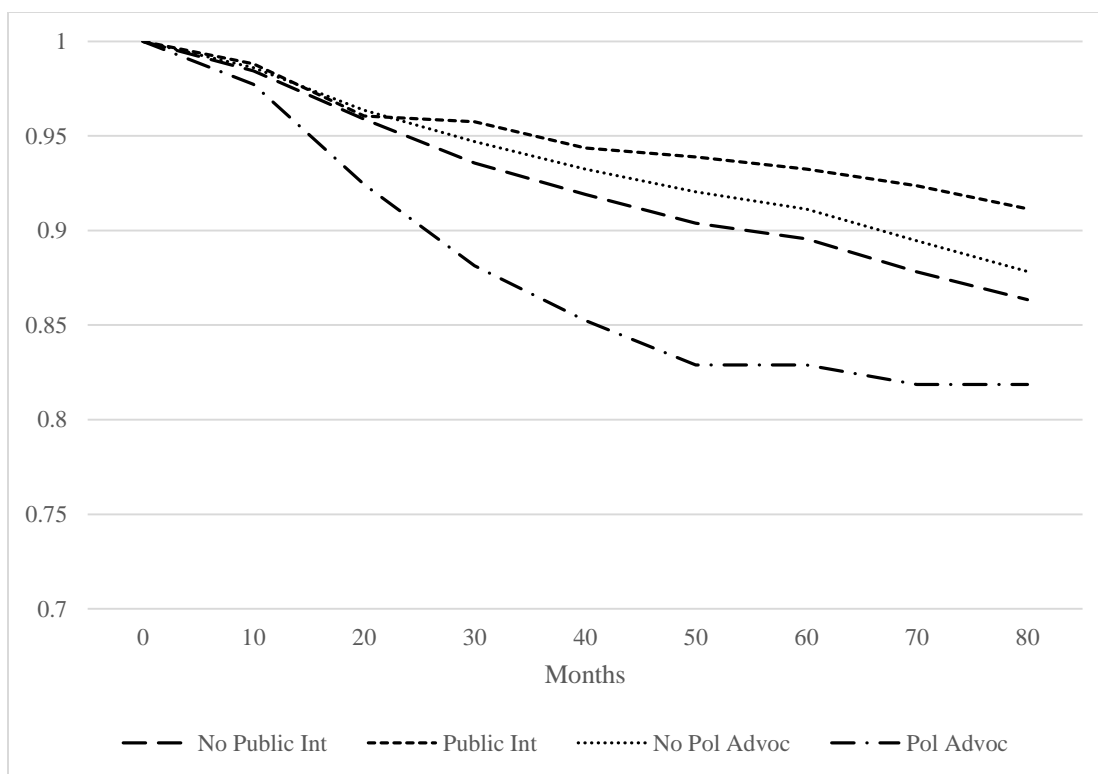


Figure 5.3. Kaplan-Meier Estimates for Promotion by Public Interest and Political Advocacy Group Membership

only 6.75 percent of group members. Alternatively, after five years, nearly 9 respondents who were not members of political advocacy groups made the transition to partner while over 17 percent of advocacy group members had. The results of the Kaplan-Meier estimates, when considered together, fail to reveal any significant pattern regarding the

usefulness of ties formed during law school, as the effects of some forms are positive, while others are negative.

Table 5.2 presents estimates from discrete-time, competing risks multinomial logistic models designed to further investigate the role played by gender, race, and social capital in the transition to partnership. Unlike the Kaplan-Meier estimates presented above, the competing risks model displays the differences in hazards for both leaving private practice and partnership attainment. Consistent with the Kaplan-Meier estimates, being female is associated with increased hazards of exiting private practice of nearly 45 percent (OR=1.45; $e^{0.37}$), controlling for duration dependence and other covariates. At the same time, women see a 60 percent (OR=.40; $e^{-0.92}$) reduction in the hazards of promotion. Being non-white, on the other hand, is not associated with exit, but is associated with a 36 percent (OR=.64; $e^{-0.44}$) reduction in the hazards of promotion. Thus, consistent with the Kaplan-Meier estimates as well as the past research (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, and Nelson 2010; see also Abramson and Franklin 1986; Curran 1986; Fossum 1981), gender and race remain significant predictors of leaving private practice and promotion chances.

Regarding law school social capital, only moot court membership has an effect on the hazards of exiting private practice. Specifically, the hazards of exit were reduced by nearly 16 percent (OR=.84; $e^{-0.18}$) among moot court members. When it comes to promotion, several of the social capital variables were significant. First, consistent with the Kaplan-Meier estimates, there are significant differences between moot court, political advocacy, and public interest group members compared to nonmembers regarding the hazards of promotion. On the positive side, moot court members see an increase in the hazards of promotion of over 47 percent (OR=1.47; $e^{0.39}$), while political advocacy see a nearly a 80 percent increase (OR=1.79; $e^{0.58}$). Public interest group members, alternatively, see a nearly 50 percent reduction in the hazards of promotion (OR=0.81; $e^{-0.66}$). Second, inconsistent with the Kaplan-Meier, there is no significant

Table 5.2. Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (Obs=3,199; N=1,857)

Variables	<i>Exit Private Practice vs. No Promotion</i>			<i>Promotion vs. No Promotion</i>		
	<i>b</i>		(SE)	<i>b</i>		(SE)
Time [†]	0.02	**	(0.01)	0.01		(0.01)
Time ²	0.00	***	(0.00)	0.00	***	(0.00)
Female	0.37	***	(0.10)	-0.92	***	(0.19)
Minority	-0.06		(0.11)	-0.44	*	(0.21)
<i>Law School Social Capital</i>						
Family Ties	-0.03		(0.03)	0.03		(0.04)
Friend/Bus Ties	0.01		(0.02)	0.07		(0.04)
Alumni Ties	0.03		(0.03)	-0.05		(0.05)
Law Review	0.15		(0.13)	-0.34		(0.23)
Law Journal	0.04		(0.12)	0.08		(0.22)
Moot Court	-0.18	*	(0.10)	0.39	*	(0.17)
Political Advocacy	0.16		(0.15)	0.58	**	(0.22)
Public Interest	-0.01		(0.12)	-0.66	**	(0.25)
<i>Controls</i>						
GPA (A Avg)						
B+ Avg	0.16		(0.15)	-0.39		(0.28)
B Avg	0.15		(0.15)	-0.40		(0.26)
B- or Below	-0.05		(0.24)	-0.48		(0.39)
Missing	-0.09		(0.16)	0.15		(0.29)
Law School Rank						
Top 20	-0.06		(0.19)	0.55		(0.50)
Top 100	-0.41	**	(0.17)	1.44	***	(0.45)
Tier 2 or Below	-0.52	**	(0.18)	1.47	***	(0.46)
Lawyers in the Fam	0.15		(0.11)	0.04		(0.17)
Parents' Education	0.05	*	(0.02)	-0.07	*	(0.04)
LGBT	-0.31		(0.29)	0.26		(0.43)
Age at Licensure	0.00		(0.01)	-0.03	*	(0.02)
Job Change	-0.91	***	(0.10)	-0.48	**	(0.17)
Constant	-1.50	**	(0.60)	0.30		(1.01)

[†] Time measured in months

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

relationship between friend/business connections and promotion.

Some other factors were relevant in this analysis as well. The most interesting effects are found for law school rank and age. As for rank, in a finding that is inconsistent with the prior research, lower law school rank is associated with reduced hazards of leaving private practice and increased hazards of promotion. Age has a strong negative effect, as lawyers who were older when they passed the bar have a decreased risk of promotion of about 2.8 percent per year (OR=.97; $e^{-0.03}$). Beyond these effects, exposure time is associated with a slight increase in the hazards of leaving private practice. Parents' years of education are associated with a very slight increase in the hazards of exiting private practice and a slight decrease in the hazards of promotion. Finally, changing jobs is negatively associated with both exiting private practice and promotion. Respondents' who experienced job changes saw their hazards of eventual exit from private practice decrease by nearly 60 percent (OR=.40; $e^{-0.91}$), while job changers saw their hazards of promotion fall by almost 40 percent (OR=.62; $e^{-0.48}$).

Taken together, the models presented in Table 5.2 have interesting implications for Hypotheses 5.1 and 5.2. As for Hypothesis 5.1, neither bridging nor bonding ties have any effect on the hazards of promotion. As for Hypothesis 5.2, there is indeed evidence that memberships in certain law school organizations are significant predictors of promotion. It is interesting, however, that the most prestigious law school organizations—law review and law journals—appear to have no discernible effect on promotion chances.

As discussed in detail previously in Chapter IV, in many instances gender and race play more than just a peripheral role in the structuring of careers. Given the evidence provided in Chapter IV and the strong gender and race effects displayed in Table 5.2, therefore, discrete-time, competing risks models were also estimated with interaction terms for social capital broken down by gender and race. Unfortunately, the intersection of race and gender could not be assessed in these models, as the number of non-white

Table 5.3. Discrete Time Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes by Gender and Race with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (Obs=3,199; N=1,857)

Variables	Gender Interactions				Minority Interactions			
	<i>Exit vs. No Promo</i>		<i>Promo vs. No Promo</i>		<i>Exit vs. No Promo</i>		<i>Promo vs. No Promo</i>	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Time†	0.02 **	(.01)	0.01	(.01)	0.02 **	(.01)	0.01	(.01)
Time ²	0.00 ***	(.00)	0.00 ***	(.00)	0.00 ***	(.00)	0.00 ***	(.00)
Female	0.21	(.22)	-1.29 **	(.45)	0.36 ***	(.10)	-0.94 ***	(.19)
Minority	-0.06	(.11)	-0.43 *	(.21)	-0.18	(.24)	-1.07 *	(.47)
<i>LS Social Capital</i>								
Family Ties	0.00	(.04)	0.01	(.05)	-0.04	(.03)	0.05	(.04)
Friend/Bus	-0.01	(.03)	0.06	(.04)	0.02	(.03)	0.08 *	(.04)
Alumni Ties	0.05	(.04)	-0.07	(.05)	0.04	(.03)	-0.07	(.06)
Law Review	0.14	(.17)	-0.35	(.27)	0.03	(.14)	-0.53 *	(.26)
Law Journal	-0.19	(.17)	0.21	(.26)	-0.01	(.14)	0.04	(.24)
Moot Court	-0.37 **	(.15)	0.24	(.21)	-0.20 *	(.12)	0.25	(.20)
Political Ad	0.37 *	(.21)	0.66 **	(.28)	0.09	(.18)	0.50 *	(.25)
Public Interest	-0.10	(.19)	-0.61 *	(.31)	-0.05	(.14)	-0.78 **	(.29)
Fem x Fam	-0.06	(.05)	0.09	(.09)				
Fem x Friend	0.05	(.05)	-0.01	(.08)				
Fem x Alumni	-0.03	(.06)	0.08	(.10)				
Fem x LR	0.00	(.24)	-0.02	(.45)				
Fem x LJ	0.43 *	(.23)	-0.59	(.46)				
Fem x MC	0.38 *	(.21)	0.45	(.33)				

Table 5.3 Continued

Fem x PA	-0.42	(.31)	-0.20	(.49)				
Fem x PI	0.13	(.25)	-0.18	(.52)				
Min x Fam					0.00	(.07)	-0.16	(.11)
Min x Friend					-0.06	(.06)	-0.03	(.08)
Min x Alumni					-0.01	(.06)	0.09	(.11)
Min x LR					0.58 *	(.27)	0.99 *	(.50)
Min x LJ					0.21	(.24)	0.26	(.46)
Min x MC					0.10	(.22)	0.84 *	(.45)
Min x PA					0.38	(.35)	0.82 *	(.49)
Min x PI					0.17	(.26)	0.68	(.48)
<u>Controls</u>								
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg	0.15	(.15)	-0.36	(.27)	0.13	(.15)	-0.43	(.28)
B Avg	0.14	(.15)	-0.37	(.26)	0.12	(.15)	-0.47 *	(.27)
B- or Below	-0.09	(.25)	-0.48	(.38)	-0.09	(.24)	-0.60	(.39)
Missing	-0.08	(.16)	0.16	(.29)	-0.12	(.16)	0.14	(.29)
Rank								
Top 20	-0.10	(.19)	0.56	(.50)	-0.03	(.19)	0.61	(.51)
Top 100	-0.44 **	(.17)	1.46 ***	(.45)	-0.38 *	(.17)	1.51 ***	(.45)
Tier 2	-0.55 **	(.19)	1.49 ***	(.47)	-0.50 **	(.19)	1.50 ***	(.47)
Lawyers Fam	0.16	(.11)	0.04	(.17)	0.14	(.11)	0.02	(.18)
Parents' Educ	0.05 *	(.02)	-0.06 *	(.04)	0.05 *	(.02)	-0.08 *	(.04)
LGBT	-0.34	(.29)	0.25	(.43)	-0.31	(.29)	0.29	(.44)
Age	0.00	(.01)	-0.03 *	(.02)	0.00	(.01)	-0.03 *	(.02)
Job Change	-0.91 ***	(.10)	-0.49 **	(.17)	-0.92 ***	(.10)	-0.49 **	(.17)

Table 5.3 Continued

Constant	-1.01	*	(.59)	-0.52	(1.01)	-1.42	*	(.60)	0.65	(1.03)
----------	-------	---	-------	-------	--------	-------	---	-------	------	--------

† Time measured in months

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

females who attained partnership status in the data were far too few to conduct such an analysis.

Table 5.3 presents competing risks models with interaction terms between respondents' gender, race, and their social capital. Interestingly, once these interaction terms are included in the model, several social capital effects that were not found in the previous set of models become significant. First, the interactive models demonstrate that there is a significant difference between men and women who were moot court members. Male moot court members, for example, saw the hazards of exiting private practice decrease by around 30 percent ($OR=.69; e^{-.365}$). Females, on the other hand, saw their hazards increase slightly by around 3 percent ($OR=1.03; e^{(-.365 + .395)}$). Thus, the overall negative effect for moot court membership and leaving private practice reported in Table 5.2 appears to be attributable to men. Second, it appears that women who participated on a law journal saw their hazards of exit increase by approximately 26 percent ($OR=1.26; e^{(-.192 + .421)}$). As for promotion, the model in Table 5.3 only shows an effect of advocacy and public interest group membership; specifically, members of advocacy groups saw their hazards of promotion nearly double while members of public interest groups saw their hazards of promotion cut nearly in half.

The third and fourth models found in Table 5.3, which interact the various forms of law school capital with race/ethnicity, report some even more interesting findings. In fact, the effects of several forms of law school capital appear to be conditioned on race. Law review membership, for example, has very different effects for white lawyers compared to their nonwhite counterparts. Similarly, so does moot court membership and participation in political advocacy and public interest groups. Interestingly, when broken down by race, there is also a positive effect for respondents who used friends/business ties during the job search process.

To aid in interpreting these effects, which can get relatively complex given the persistence of the main effects for minority status as well, predicted probabilities were

estimated for membership in these groups as they relate to promotion chances. Figure 5.4 presents predicted probabilities of partnership attainment by race for membership on the law review, moot court, political advocacy groups, and public interest groups. The first thing that quickly becomes apparent in this figure is the difference that exists between whites and nonwhites in the probability of partnership. When it comes to the effects of group memberships, however, there are even more interesting patterns. First, law review membership has opposite effects for whites and nonwhites. In fact, nonwhite attorneys who were on the law review see a 25 percent increase in the probability of partnership. White law review members, however, actually see a decrease in the likelihood of

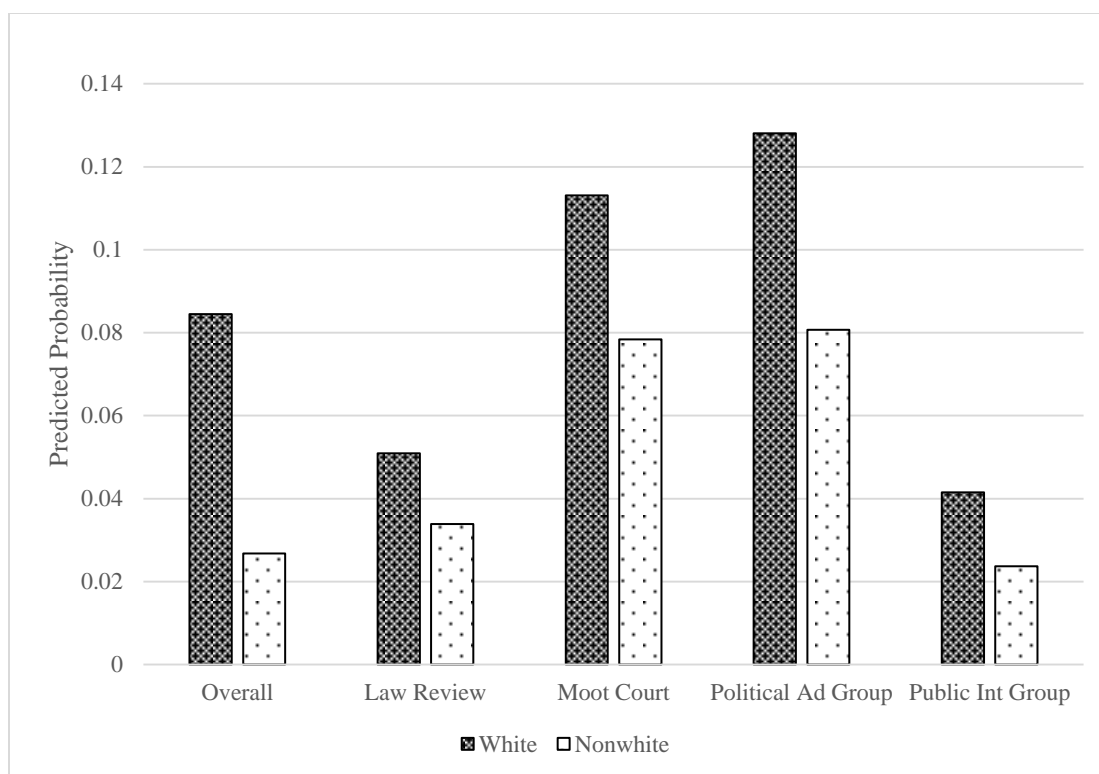


Figure 5.4. Predicted Probability of Partnership by Race and Law School Organization Memberships

partnership. Second, other group memberships appear to have more consistent effects across racial categories, although the degree to which they influence the probability of partnership differs between whites and nonwhites. For example, nonwhite attorneys see a larger return to their political advocacy group memberships than similarly situated whites. In all cases, however, the positive effects for minorities are not enough to overcome the disadvantage they encounter due to their race.

Similar to that provided by the Kaplan-Meier estimates, the competing risks models provide conflicting evidence regarding the salience of the first two hypotheses. First, the multivariate models provide conflicting evidence for Hypothesis 5.1, as the additive model finds no effect for either bridging or bonding ties while the interactive model finds a positive effect for bonding ties. In both instances, interestingly, there was no effect for bridging ties, which stands in stark contrast to the predictions made by both Granovetter (1973, 1974) and Burt (1992; 2004). As for Hypothesis 5.2, the competing risks models provide significant evidence regarding the importance of law school social capital—but most of the effects are only present when interacted with either gender or race. Thus, while the prediction made in Hypothesis 5.2 is correct, it appears to be conditioned on the gender and/or race of the lawyer in question.

As discussed above, unfortunately the structure of the *After the JD* dataset makes the estimation of competing risks models examining professional social capital impossible. It is important, however, to see how these factors affect promotion chances so that Hypotheses 5.3 and 5.4 can be assessed. Table 5.4 presents the results from a multinomial logistic regression model of career outcomes occurring after Wave I of the *After the JD* survey. Consistent with the competing risks models presented previously, women and minorities saw their odds of promotion decrease significantly compared to their male and white counterparts. Among female attorneys, specifically, the odds of attaining partner are nearly 60 percent ($OR=.42; e^{-0.87}$) lower than their male colleagues while minority attorneys see a reduction in the odds of partnership of around 57 percent

Table 5.4. Multinomial Logistic Regression of Mid-Career Outcomes with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=1,027)

Variables	<i>Exit Private Practice vs. No Promotion</i>		<i>Promotion vs. No Promotion</i>	
	<i>b</i>	(SE)	<i>b</i>	(SE)
Female	0.29 *	(0.18)	-0.87 **	(0.34)
Minority	-0.16	(0.22)	-0.84 *	(0.45)
<i>Law School Social Capital</i>				
Family Ties	-0.03	(0.05)	0.06	(0.07)
Friend/Bus Ties	0.07	(0.04)	0.10	(0.07)
Alumni Ties	0.01	(0.05)	-0.27 **	(0.10)
Law Review	-0.13	(0.23)	-0.44	(0.43)
Law Journal	0.30	(0.20)	-0.12	(0.37)
Moot Court	-0.13	(0.18)	0.67 *	(0.30)
Political Advocacy	-0.22	(0.29)	0.26	(0.40)
Public Interest	-0.12	(0.22)	-1.09 *	(0.48)
<i>Professional Social Capital</i>				
Peer Relationships	-0.02	(0.07)	-0.07	(0.11)
Professional Groups	0.06	(0.06)	0.13	(0.11)
Informal Mentor	0.07	(0.20)	-0.03	(0.34)
Discrimination	-0.11	(0.11)	0.03	(0.20)
Formal Mentor	0.20	(0.20)	-0.08	(0.36)
Wkplace Recognition	0.05	(0.08)	0.07	(0.11)
<i>Controls</i>				
GPA (A Avg)				
B+ Avg	0.17	(0.24)	0.28	(0.46)
B Avg	-0.29	(0.25)	-0.25	(0.50)
B- or Below	-0.17	(0.46)	-0.10	(0.78)
Missing	-0.20	(0.31)	0.26	(0.58)
Law School Rank				
Top 20	0.33	(0.30)	0.54	(0.87)
Top 100	-0.05	(0.27)	1.56 *	(0.72)
Tier 2 or Below	0.03	(0.32)	1.56 *	(0.75)
Lawyers in the Fam	0.27	(0.19)	0.28	(0.30)
Parents' Education	0.08 *	(0.04)	0.04	(0.07)
Career Satisfaction	-0.26 ***	(0.09)	0.04	(0.18)
Org Commitment	-0.42 ***	(0.08)	-0.08	(0.15)
LGBT	-0.22	(0.43)	-0.32	(0.94)

Table 5.4 Continued

Married	0.04	(0.20)	0.55	(0.35)
Parent	-0.19	(0.24)	0.25	(0.33)
Age at Licensure	0.01	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.03)
Job Change	-0.99 ***	(0.19)	-0.37	(0.28)
Constant	-0.43	(1.17)	-2.36	(1.72)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

(OR=.43; $e^{-0.84}$) compared to white attorneys.

There are also some similar and dissimilar effects for law school social capital. On the one hand, moot court membership and public interest group membership has similar effects to those reported in the competing risks model. On the other, alumni ties now have a significant effect while the statistically significant relationship between promotion and political advocacy group membership disappears. More specifically, consistent with the Kaplan Meier estimates, as reliance on friend/business ties during law school increases, the odds of partnership decrease by 23 percent (OR=.23; $e^{-0.27}$). What is the most interesting, however, is the fact that none of the measures of professional ties have a statistically significant relationship with either exiting private practice or partnership attainment. In fact, beside gender, race, and the three types of law school ties discussed above, only law school rank has an effect on partnership, and, again the relationship appears to be inconsistent with a human capital explanation of advancement.

But, similar to the results presented above, perhaps the effects of professional ties are conditioned on gender and/or race. To examine this possibility, Table 5.5 presents estimates for multinomial models while also accounting for interactions with gender and race. Again, similar to analyses above, the inclusion of these interaction terms reveals relationships that were hidden in the additive models. First, as the importance of alumni

Table 5.5. Multinomial Logistic Regressions of Mid-Career Outcomes by Gender and Race with Survey Corrected Standard Errors (N=1,027)

Variables	<i>Exit Private Practice</i>		<i>Promotion</i>		<i>Exit Private Practice</i>		<i>Promotion</i>	
	<i>vs. No Promotion</i>		<i>vs. No Promotion</i>		<i>vs. No Promotion</i>		<i>vs. No Promotion</i>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>(SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>(SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>(SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>(SE)</i>
Female	-1.73 *	(.90)	-2.59	(1.68)	0.30 *	(.18)	-0.96 **	(.36)
Minority	-0.19	(.23)	-0.87 *	(.48)	-0.65	(1.11)	-4.26	(2.52)
<i>Law School Social Capital</i>								
Family Ties	0.01	(.07)	0.01	(.08)	-0.03	(.05)	0.07	(.07)
Friend/Bus	0.04	(.06)	0.12	(.08)	0.08 *	(.05)	0.12 *	(.07)
Alumni Ties	0.02	(.07)	-0.26 *	(.11)	-0.02	(.06)	-0.35 **	(.12)
Law Review	-0.22	(.30)	-0.53	(.50)	-0.20	(.26)	-0.63	(.45)
Law Journal	-0.18	(.29)	0.07	(.40)	0.29	(.23)	-0.16	(.40)
Moot Court	-0.47	(.28)	0.36	(.38)	-0.20	(.21)	0.55 *	(.32)
Political Advoc	-0.15	(.40)	-0.64	(.56)	-0.36	(.34)	0.27	(.43)
Public Interest	-0.72 *	(.32)	-1.01 *	(.57)	-0.18	(.26)	-1.19 *	(.53)
Fem x Fam	-0.03	(.10)	0.24	(.15)				
Fem x Friend	0.04	(.08)	-0.11	(.15)				
Fem x Alumni	-0.03	(.10)	0.00	(.23)				
Fem x LR	0.02	(.42)	0.23	(.86)				
Fem x LJ	0.80 *	(.38)	-1.10	(1.01)				
Fem x MC	0.55	(.38)	1.01	(.67)				
Fem x PA	-0.12	(.59)	2.53 **	(.86)				
Fem x PI	0.92 *	(.43)	-0.41	(1.25)				

Table 5.5 Continued

Min x Fam					-0.01	(.11)	0.06	(.26)
Min x Friend					-0.06	(.09)	-0.29	(.20)
Min x Alumni					0.15	(.12)	0.62	** (.22)
Min x LR					0.12	(.52)	2.12	* (.98)
Min x LJ					0.27	(.40)	1.01	(.85)
Min x MC					0.23	(.42)	1.36	(.99)
Min x PA					0.46	(.68)	-0.27	(1.30)
Min x PI					0.25	(.49)	0.55	(1.28)

Professional Social Capital

Peers	-0.05	(.10)	-0.06	(.13)	-0.07	(.08)	-0.08	(.12)
Prof. Groups	0.04	(.09)	0.31	* (.13)	0.08	(.07)	0.15	(.12)
Informal Mentor	-0.27	(.28)	-0.64	(.40)	0.12	(.23)	0.01	(.37)
Discrimination	-0.25	(.22)	-0.36	(.35)	-0.15	(.14)	0.05	(.21)
Formal Mentor	0.35	(.28)	0.52	(.42)	0.04	(.22)	-0.04	(.38)
Wkplace Recog	-0.05	(.11)	0.04	(.15)	0.10	(.09)	0.06	(.12)
Fem x Peers	0.04	(.14)	0.04	(.24)				
Fem x Grps	0.05	(.12)	-0.40	* (.20)				
Fem x Infor	0.62	(.39)	2.22	** (.92)				
Fem x Dis	0.20	(.25)	0.59	(.46)				
Fem x Form	-0.26	(.40)	-2.28	* (.99)				
Fem x Recog	0.15	(.14)	0.08	(.27)				
Min x Peers					0.21	(.16)	0.13	(.42)
Min x Grps					-0.06	(.13)	-0.16	(.25)
Min x Infor					-0.17	(.45)	0.03	(.99)

Table 5.5 Continued

Min x Dis					0.17	(.22)	-0.04	(.42)
Min x Form					0.88 *	(.46)	-1.55	(.25)
Min x Recog					-0.23	(.15)	0.27	(.99)
<i>Controls</i>								
GPA (A Avg)								
B+ Avg	0.14	(.24)	0.31	(.48)	0.14	(.24)	0.21	(.47)
B Avg	-0.31	(.25)	-0.15	(.52)	-0.39	(.26)	-0.44	(.51)
B- or Below	-0.44	(.49)	-0.11	(.78)	-0.29	(.48)	-0.12	(.78)
Missing	-0.24	(.31)	0.39	(.61)	-0.26	(.32)	0.16	(.58)
Rank								
Top 20	0.21	(.31)	0.67	(.87)	0.32	(.31)	0.67	(.88)
Top 100	-0.12	(.27)	1.69 **	(.73)	-0.01	(.27)	1.74 *	(.74)
Tier 2	-0.03	(.32)	1.65 *	(.76)	0.04	(.31)	1.67 *	(.78)
Lawyers Fam	0.26	(.19)	0.33	(.32)	0.30	(.19)	0.36	(.30)
Parents' Educ	0.08 *	(.04)	0.05	(.07)	0.08 *	(.04)	0.04	(.07)
Career Sat	-0.29 ***	(.09)	0.05	(.17)	-0.27 ***	(.09)	0.05	(.18)
Org Commit	-0.41 ***	(.08)	-0.11	(.15)	-0.42 ***	(.08)	-0.09	(.15)
LGBT	-0.22	(.45)	-0.17	(1.06)	-0.22	(.44)	-0.37	(.97)
Married	0.01	(.20)	0.66 *	(.37)	0.04	(.20)	0.58	(.35)
Parent	-0.16	(.24)	0.32	(.33)	-0.21	(.24)	0.22	(.34)
Age	0.01	(.02)	-0.04	(.03)	0.01	(.02)	-0.04	(.03)
Job Change	-1.04 ***	(.19)	-0.32	(.29)	-1.03 ***	(.19)	-0.36	(.28)
Constant	1.42	(1.25)	-3.52 *	(1.78)	0.05	(1.11)	-3.19 *	(1.73)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (one-tailed test)

ties during the initial job search process increases, the odds of achieving partner are reduced by 23 percent ($OR=.77; e^{-0.26}$). Similarly, members of public interest groups also see a reduction in the odds of partnership. On the other hand, women who were members of political advocacy groups saw their odds of achieving partner increase by a large margin ($OR=6.61; e^{(-0.64+2.53)}$).

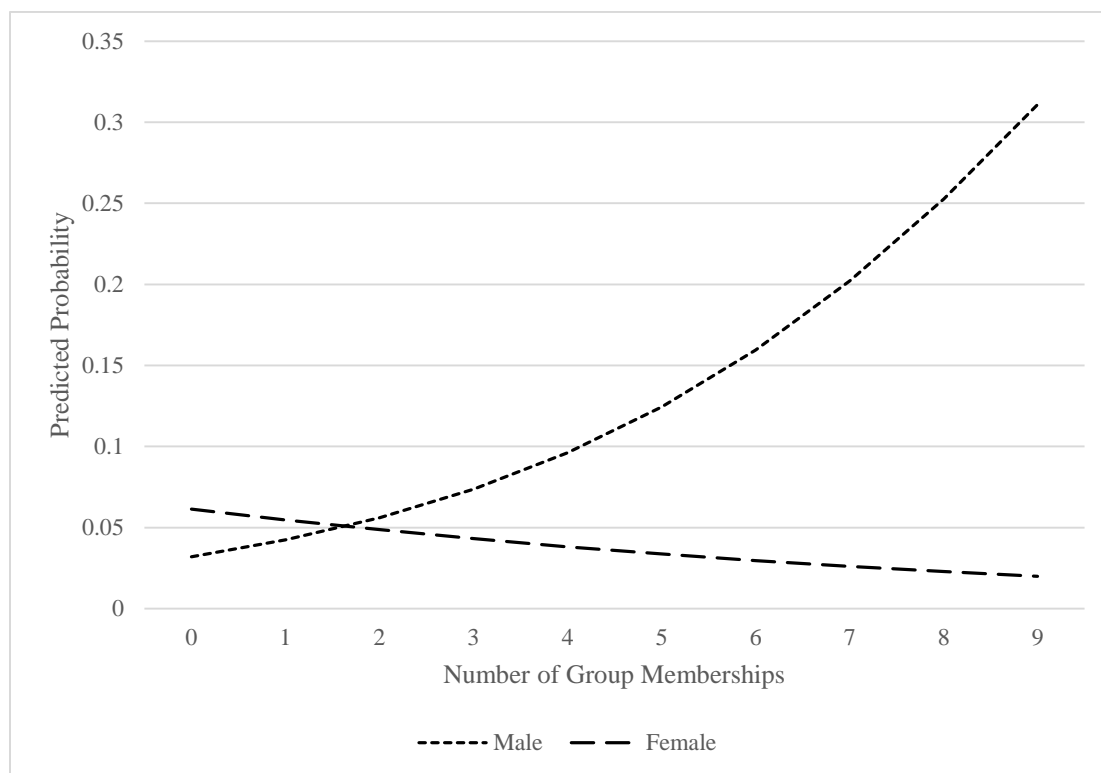


Figure 5.5. Predicted Probability of Partnership by Gender and Professional Group Memberships

As for professional capital there are some significant differences between men and women. Perhaps most surprisingly, men see a significant return to their professional group memberships while women do not. As shown in Table 5.5 and illustrated in Figure 5.5, which presents the predicted probability of promotion, for each additional group

membership promotion becomes more and more likely for male attorneys. Women, on the other hand, actually see a reduction in the likelihood of promotion as they become members of more groups. Similarly, mentoring also has divergent effects for men and women. Men, on the one hand, do not see significant returns with regards to partnership attainment if they have informal mentors. Women, however, see a significant effect as the probability of becoming partner without an informal mentor is merely 0.01, while the probability of becoming a partner if the woman has an informal mentor is 0.04. Finally, the effect of formal mentoring is nearly the opposite, as women who have formal mentors see their probability of partnership attainment fall from 0.04 to nearly zero.

Beyond social capital, there are several other interesting effects. First, consistent with prior analyses, changing jobs is negatively associated with leaving private practice. In addition, career satisfaction and organizational commitment are both negatively associated with leaving private practice as well, although they have no effect on the odds of promotion. As for promotion, again there is a significant effect for credentials, as lawyers who attended law schools ranked below the top 20 see their odds of partnership increase significantly. Finally, married lawyers saw their odds of attaining partnership increase, which, interestingly, is inconsistent with the growing body of research in this area (e.g., Noonan et al. 2008)

In the third and fourth models assessing interactions between social capital and minority status, there are also some interesting findings. Regarding the odds of exit, the models demonstrate that social capital—regardless of form—plays very little role. In fact, only formal mentoring appears to be relevant, as minority lawyers with formal mentors see a more than twofold increase in their odds of exit ($OR=2.51; e^{(0.04+0.88)}$). As for promotion, on the other hand, law school social capital—not professional capital—is shown to be important. Again, the importance of friend/business ties and moot court membership are found to be significant predictors of increased odds of promotion.

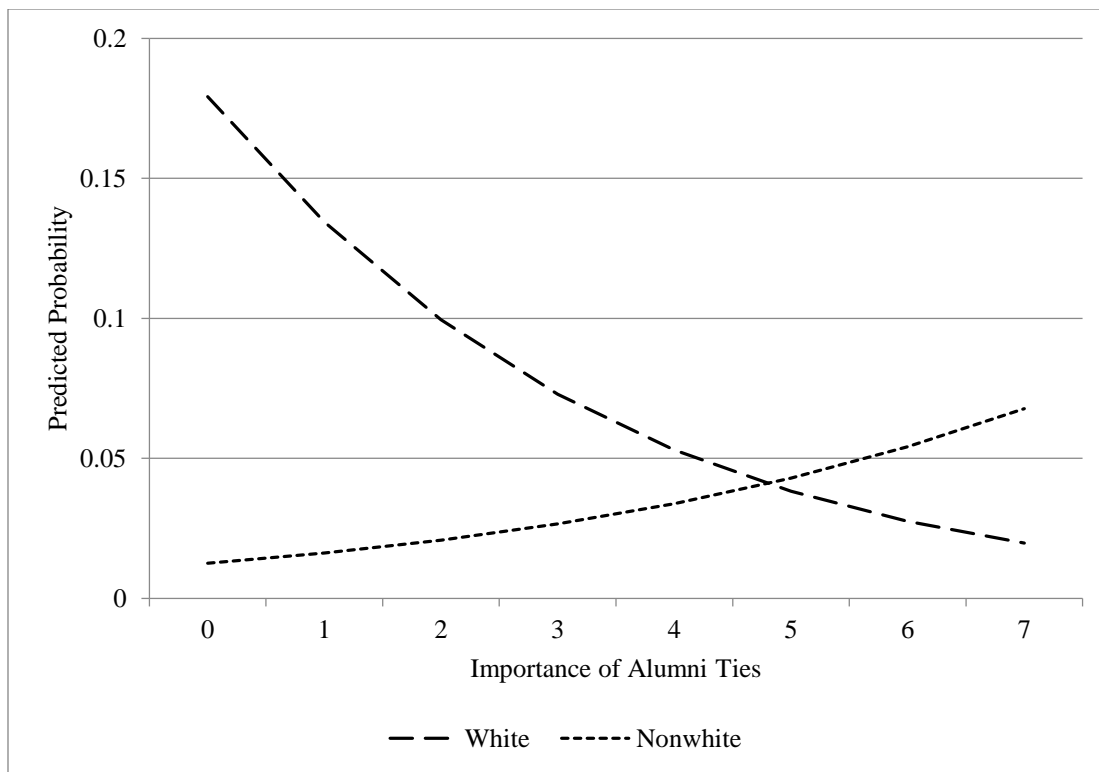


Figure 5.6. Predicted Probability of Partnership by Race and Importance of Alumni Ties after Law School

Alumni ties and law review membership, however, have different effects among white and non-white attorneys. As shown in Figure 5.6, which presents predicted probabilities for partnership attainment by race and the importance of alumni ties during the initial job search after graduation, there are significant differences between white and nonwhite attorneys. As the importance of alumni ties increases, white attorneys see their likelihood of promotion decrease very quickly. Minority attorneys, on the other hand, see a steady, albeit slow increase in the likelihood of partnership attainment. Similarly, consistent with the competing risks model, law review membership is an important predictor of partnership success for minority lawyers. As shown in Table 5.5, law review membership is associated with more than a four-fold increase in the odds of partnership

attainment for nonwhite attorneys (OR=4.43; $e^{(-.164+2.124)}$), which translates in an increase in the predicted probability of partnership from .02 to .084.

Beyond the social capital effects, the models also demonstrate that some other factors are relevant. Consistent with Models 1 and 2, as well as the competing risks models presented previously, credentials play a significant role in the odds of partnership attainment. Similarly, career satisfaction and organizational commitment are strongly associated with reduced odds of exiting private practice. Finally, job changers are also more likely to stay in their current jobs as well.

Taken together, the models presented in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 provide qualified evidence for the hypotheses specified above. Consistent with the prior models, but inconsistent with the prediction made in Hypothesis 5.1, the multinomial models demonstrate that, generally, friend/business ties are associated with increased odds of promotion, while bridging ties are either not associated with promotion or negatively associated with it. In contrast, however, among minority attorneys, bridging ties do play a positive role, as they were found in the last model in Table 5.6 to be associated with increased odds of promotion (see also Figure 5.6). Also consistent with the prior models and Hypothesis 5.2, there is additional evidence regarding the importance of law school social capital, although, again, it is conditioned on gender and race.

As for the other hypotheses, Tables 5.5 and 5.6 provide only qualified evidence. Consistent with Hypothesis 5.3, a few aspects of women's professional social ties were associated with promotion. However, two of these aspects—professional group membership and formal mentoring—were actually negatively associated with the attainment of partnership, which is inconsistent with Hypothesis 5.3. Among minority attorneys, none of the measures of professional social ties were associated with increased odds of promotion. Thus, support for Hypothesis 5.3, which predicted that higher amounts of professional social capital would be associated with promotion, is quite scant. As for Hypothesis 5.4, there is also surprisingly little support. Among female attorneys,

both law school social capital and professional social capital are relevant predictors of promotion, while among non-white attorneys, only law school social capital is found to play any role at all. Thus, the results of the models cannot support the notion that professional social capital plays a more prominent role in the promotion process than law school social capital. Finally, with regards to Hypothesis 5.5, there is significant support. As discussed above in greater detail, in some instances social ties bring benefits (or even negative effects) differently for men and women. Similarly, whites and nonwhites see different returns to social capital as well.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presented analyses that examined the relationship between partnership attainment and social capital, gender, and race. Generally, the results demonstrate that several types of social connections early career lawyers hold and have held play an important role in whether they transition off of the partnership track and out of private practice or whether they gain promotion into the partnership circle. However, the salience of these connections and whether they have a positive or negative effect on these career outcomes differs depending on the gender and/or race of the lawyer in question.

Substantively, the models presented in this chapter paint a rather complicated picture of the promotion process. Despite this complexity, when general patterns are considered along with the predictions made in the hypotheses above, a clearer picture emerges. First, when the models are taken together, it becomes clear that the relevance of social capital—whether stemming from connections made and utilized during law school or after the transition into the profession—depends on the gender and/or race of the lawyer in question. For example, while law review membership for white attorneys was associated with reduced odds of partnership attainment, this type of connection was positively associated with partnership among non-white attorneys. Similarly, while men

derived no benefits from informal mentoring relationships, women saw a large increase in the odds of partnership attainment if they had an informal mentor at Wave I.

Second, the models also demonstrate that social connections, on the whole, are more relevant to partnership attainment than transitioning out of private practice. Both the competing risks models and standard multinomial logistic models bear this out. For example, while table 5.5 demonstrates that the only social connection related to exiting private practice among whites were ties with friends/business associates, the past use of friend/business ties and alumni ties, as well as moot court and public interest group memberships were all relevant in the quest for partnership. Similarly, while women saw some effects from their law school social capital in the models of exit, both types of social ties were relevant to women in the pursuit of partnership.

Finally, the evidence provided for the hypotheses outlined in the previous section also help to paint a picture of the relationship between social capital and exit/promotion. First, the models demonstrate the continuing influence of social capital amassed at the beginning of the career during law school. As for interpersonal ties utilized during the initial job search, while their effects were almost the opposite of the predictions, it was surprising to see that these types of ties still had an effect so many years into practice. Second, the models clearly demonstrated that organizational connections were also still relevant in this process. In addition, law school social capital may actually be more relevant in many cases than professional social capital. Among both whites and non-whites, for example, the results in Table 5.6 demonstrate that while several types of law school social capital were relevant to the promotion process, none of the measures of professional ties were. Similarly, among men and women, professional capital played no role in whether those respondents left private practice.

But, what might explain these interesting and somewhat unexpected findings? Why were social connections from law school still so relevant in to career processes occurring up to seven or eight years after graduation? Regarding interpersonal ties, the

evidence suggests that while bonding ties may not provide the wide networks necessary to find employment, they may be very beneficial once a job has been secured. Thus, while bonding ties may have their drawbacks (see Granovetter 1973, 1974), close connections with others bring other benefits (see Coleman 1988). Close ties to friends and business associates, for example, could be a significant source of social support during the trying period young associates face as they work toward the fateful partnership vote. Similarly, close ties have also been shown to be associated with career satisfaction among lawyers, which, while not directly applicable to these models, could be associated with improved career outcomes (Dinovitzer 2006).

As for organizational connections formed during law school, two processes could be at work. First, as argued by Small (2009), membership in these organizations could provide resources to its members—resources that may even bring benefits after graduation. For example, past members could rely on the connections formed with their colleagues during law school while on the partnership track. These connections could provide social support, funnel clients to one another, or be important sources of advice during the run-up to the partnership decision. Alumni ties, on the other hand, may be useful during the job search as a means for gaining initial access to a candidate pool or an interview, but those connections would likely be less relevant after employment has been found. Indeed, it is one thing to rely on an alumni connection to get your foot in the door, but it is another to impose upon them while approaching the partnership decision.

Second, these connections could have enduring effects as signals, as memberships could continue to provide signals about the underlying quality or suitability of promotion candidates (Paik 2013; see also Rivera 2011, 2012). If this is true, it is most likely that signals provided by organizational membership communicate something about the suitability of a candidate through a cultural matching process (Rivera 2012). Non-white attorneys, for example, were partially able to overcome the negative effect of their race/ethnicity on the odds of partnerships attainment if they were members of the law

review. On the other hand, the models do not necessarily display patterns that would otherwise provide strong support for a signaling argument. If the results of the models, for example, showed that past members of political advocacy or public interest groups consistently bowed out of private practice or were less likely to receive promotions, perhaps this would be stronger evidence for a cultural matching mechanism. As the models stand, however, this is not the case.

In addition, the null findings for so many aspects of professional capital raise questions as well. Certainly, as suggested by Kay and Hagan (1999), it would seem logical that having strong connections within one's workplace, profession, and to one's supervisors would play an important role in the chances of becoming a partner. Yet, this was not the case. In fact, this finding was so surprising that reduced supplemental models were estimated, although they led to results that were no different than those presented in this chapter (available upon request). Interestingly, this finding is relatively robust, and it leaves a significant question open for future research.

Finally, two other findings stood out as well. First, there was a consistent effect for credentials in the partnership process. This is interesting, because credentials have been found to be more important during the transition to work and not necessarily during the promotion process (Bills 1988). Second, the competing risks models reported strong negative effects for age when it came to promotion. Specifically, older lawyers were much less likely to become partners.

This research has several implications. First, it makes several contributions to the empirical research examining the correlates of promotion success in the legal professions literature. One contribution it makes is regarding the importance of social capital. Past research has demonstrated that social connections with individuals and groups affect promotion chances (e.g., Kay and Hagan 1999). This research extends this scholarship by both confirming the importance of social capital during this time period while also expanding the investigation into types of connections that have yet to be explored in the

research. Second, this research also demonstrates that connections made throughout the legal career from law school through practice, are relevant in decisions made later in the career.

Most importantly, perhaps, this research also demonstrates that the effects of social capital vary by gender and race. First, the results show that there is a distinction between the usefulness of professional group memberships, which is one of the most commonly investigated forms of social capital used by legal professionals (see Kay and Hagan 1999). Specifically, there while there was a positive effect with regards to partnership attainment for group membership among men, women actually saw their chances decrease as their number of group memberships increased. This finding is interesting, because it has not been reported in the prior literature and it could illustrate how assumptions about gender could play a role in the functioning of social capital as well. Women, for example, may be penalized if they overcommit themselves to groups outside of their firms because, as outlined above, the assumption that women are less committed to their jobs often already exists. Second, as discussed previously, the results also show that there is a distinction in the effects of law school ties. Law review membership, for example, may be an important signal or credential that sets minority attorneys apart from their non-member peers, such that their law review memberships provide evidence of their qualifications and suitability for partnership as they approach the promotion decision.

Similarly, this research reconfirms the unfortunate finding regarding the effects of gender, race, and partnership. Whether through the Kaplan Meier figures or the full models, this research demonstrates that female and non-white attorneys continue to face significant challenges when attempting to make the leap into the upper echelon of the legal profession. Indeed, while women now make up more than half of the new lawyers being admitted to the bar each year, their odds of partnership were 60 percent lower than their male counterparts. Similarly, while the share of minority lawyers has continued to

climb, they still see odds of partnership attainment that are around 35 percent lower than whites. While other research suggests that the lag in female and non-white partnership is improving (see Kay and Hagan 1999), this finding indicates that there is still a long way to go before parity is established at the upper reaches of the legal profession.

Finally, this research presented the first examination of the partnership decision on a sample of lawyers in the United States utilizing event history modeling techniques. As outlined by Kay (1997) in her study of Canadian lawyers, this approach brings significant improvements over studying this question using cross sectional or panel data. Like this one, future analyses should follow Kay's (1997) lead when examining career outcomes on data that contains information on respondents' work histories.

This study does, however, have some limitations. Chief among them is the fact that the event history approach could not be used to examine professional capital. As outlined above, the *After the JD* survey solicited information on these forms of capital after respondents had been working for approximately two years. If this information had been gathered at the time respondents first made the transition into the professional working world, then it would have been possible to examine how these factors affect partnership decisions while controlling for duration dependence and the other items contained in the models. This is certainly an instance where future research utilizing complete career history data would be welcome.

Second, the size of the sample under investigation did not allow for an investigation of the intersection between gender and race in this study. As outlined in Chapter IV, examining these status characteristics separately often masks the true effects that these inseparable demographic factors have. Indeed, the fact that many of the social capital effects found in the current chapter were only present when separate interactions for gender and race were included suggests that if both gender and race were considered together that the story could change significantly. Similarly, the sample also did not contain enough LGBT lawyers to effectively investigate how this status affects the

partnership decisions when it is interacted with gender and race. Unsurprisingly, for all of these statuses, the failure in the data came when the category for “partnership” was examined. Indeed, confirming the fact that the legal profession is still quite segregated, there were not enough non-white women partner to conduct analyses, nor enough LGBT lawyers of either sex.

To summarize, the research presented in this chapter examined the correlates of partnership attainment among private practice lawyers with a specific focus on their gender and race, as well as their social capital. The findings of the empirical models demonstrate that while social capital plays an important role in the transition to partner, the effects that different types of social connections have are conditioned on the gender and/or race of the candidates. Further, the models also reconfirm the finding that gender and race on their own are still very important predictors of partnership attainment.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

How does social capital contribute to the development of inequality throughout the first decade of the legal career? This dissertation project set out to address this question by examining several categories and types of social capital. First, this project began by investigating recent law graduates' initial movement into the professional legal world by examining the role that several types of social capital formed during law school played during the law school-to-work transition. Second, this project examined recently employed lawyers' professional capital to see how the distribution of formal and informal workplace network connections differed according to gender, race, and sexual orientation. Finally, these two aspects of social capital were analyzed to see how they affected the creation of one of the most salient distinctions in the legal profession—the transition to partnership. When taken together, these analyses lead to the overall conclusion that social capital plays a significant role in the structuring of the legal career and in the creation of inequality among attorneys.

When all of the analyses presented in the three empirical chapters are considered together, there are several notable patterns and conclusions. First, the importance of social capital during the legal career was seen both in the effects of its individual parts and in its overall effect. Starting with its individual components, the analyses presented throughout this dissertation demonstrated that each of the different types of social connections—interpersonal and organizational ties as well as informal and formal professional social ties—were all consequential at some point (and sometimes at multiple points) during the legal career. At the outset, when a new lawyer attempts to find their first job, for example, social connections in law school brought benefits unavailable to less well-connected candidates. Leaders of political advocacy groups, for instance, saw their odds of finding employment in government or a public interest organization more than triple. Similarly, once lawyers transitioned into the working world and begin to

practice law, social ties continued to play an important role. Lawyers who participated in more professional groups, for example, were both more satisfied with their careers and, in some instances, saw their odds of partnership attainment increase.

But, while social capital clearly mattered throughout the first decade of a career in law, the analyses also showed that the effects of social capital were often outcome, domain, and time-specific. In other words, both the importance of social capital and its effects varied throughout a career in law. This point was illustrated by the different effects attributable to the role of bonding and bridging ties. On the one hand, close bonding ties used during respondents' initial job search were associated with suboptimal employment outcomes outside of the most prestigious legal sectors after graduation from law school. Later in the career, however, bonding ties were actually associated with increased odds of partnership attainment. This suggests that while bonding ties, for example, may be limiting during the job search because they fail to provide prospective employees with a wide range of job openings and opportunities, once employed, those same close ties become important sources of social support to young professionals. Thus, the effects that bonding ties have on the legal career—like many of the types of social capital examined in this project—vary depending on timing and outcome.

Similarly, while ties can have different effects at different times or career stages, the analyses also suggest that they can play different roles or operate through different mechanisms as well. During the school-to-work transition, for example, organizational ties were shown to be associated with finding jobs in a manner that was quite consistent with the signaling approach. The models in Chapter III, for example, suggested that students who had been on the law review were able to use their memberships to signal to large law firms that their skillsets matched those desired by big firm employers, while students who were members of political advocacy groups were able to signal their dedication to cause lawyering when seeking employment in government entities and public interest organizations. During the first few years of practice, however, group

memberships appeared to become a potential source of social support, as the analyses in Chapter IV showed that some lawyers who otherwise were rather marginalized—women, non-whites, LGBT attorneys—possibly used professional group memberships to supplement their social networks in a way that improved levels of career satisfaction. Thus, whether in the form of interpersonal ties or organizational memberships, the analyses clearly suggest that social capital affects outcomes differently throughout the legal career.

Another theme found throughout this project is that access to social capital and its rewards often depended on whether lawyers are members of several historically underrepresented groups. Indeed, as shown in Chapter IV, women, nonwhite lawyers, and attorneys who identified as LGBT were at significant disadvantages when it came to a number of types of social capital. African American, Asian, and LGBT attorneys, for example, all rated their peer/colleague relationships lower than white heterosexual attorneys. Similarly, when it came to perceived workplace discrimination, women, nonwhite minorities, and LGBT attorneys were all much more likely to encounter problems at work. This demonstrates that access to social capital depends, at least in part, on whether lawyers are members of these groups, and that while improvements have been made on many fronts for these minority attorneys, historic patterns of disadvantage are still present in these aspects of practice.

It should be noted, however, that women, non-white minorities, and LGBT lawyers do not always suffer from restrictions on their social capital compared to their white male counterparts. As shown in Chapter IV, in some instances, such as with professional group membership, some minority lawyers actually fared better. African American attorneys, for example, were members of more than one whole additional professional group compared to their white counterparts. These associations could prove to be quite beneficial to these groups, as capital such as group memberships was associated with increased career satisfaction. On the other hand, these patterns could also

be seen as a consequence of the issues minority lawyers face when trying to form relationships at work, as these informal connections may merely be an outlet for isolated attorneys as they try to create connections in their everyday workplace encounters yet found it difficult to do so because of the negative effects of historic stereotypes and assumptions.

In the same way that access to capital differs by gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, the effects that social capital has also differ according to the individual in question. This was clearly seen in the final empirical chapter examining the promotion process. While law review membership had little to no effect for white men as they pursued a promotion to partner, for example, minority lawyers saw a significant increase in their chances of partnership attainment if they had this type of connection during law school. Similarly, the effect attributable to professional group memberships differed significantly by gender. In fact, professional group memberships had opposite effects for men and women, as men saw a beneficial increase in the odds of attaining partnership for each additional professional group membership reported, while women, on the other hand, actually saw reductions in their chances of partnership.

Finally, the analyses also demonstrated that gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation effects cannot be considered individually in studies of the legal career. As shown in Chapter IV, male attorneys who identified as LGBT suffered from more forms of discrimination compared to their female LGBT counterparts. This demonstrated that not only did social capital vary by gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, but it also varied by the intersection of those statuses. Thus, it is not enough to think of women lawyers or African American lawyers, because the experiences of African American women are often quite different than African American men.

Beyond social connections, the combined analyses also shed light on the importance of other factors during the legal career as well. For example, many theories of labor market success, and, indeed, many investigations examining the legal profession,

point to the importance of credentials or human capital throughout the career. The results of the analyses presented in this dissertation, however, suggest that human capital is of declining importance as lawyers move through their careers. At the outset of the career, as clearly shown in Chapter III, human capital is quite important, as both law school rank and grade point average were found to be strong predictors of finding employment in high status legal organizations. At later stages, this relationship is attenuated to a degree. As correlates of developing social capital or career satisfaction and organizational commitment, law school rank and grades played almost no role at all. Similarly, as predictors of promotion, credentials played only a peripheral role, and where they were found to be important, it was in a way that is contrary to what human capital theory would suggest (e.g., partnership candidates from lower ranked universities actually had better odds of promotion). Therefore, the evidence offered in this project shows that while credentials are an important control, and while they can and do play important parts at certain points in the career, their role declines over time. This is juxtaposed to social capital, which had persistent effects over time (even connections that were formed more than seven years before had effects on some of the outcomes that were examined).

Age also was found to have interesting effects throughout the legal career. At both the outset of the career and nearing the end of the first decade of practice, lawyers who began their careers later in life were found to face significant disadvantages. First, as seen in Chapter III, age was associated with working in less prestigious legal organizations such as small firms, for the government or in the public interest, and in business. This negative effect was also found during the transition to partnership, as older associates were much less likely to become partners.

Based on the forgoing, this project has a number of implications for research examining the legal profession. First, the consistency of social capital as an important predictor of inequality among attorneys throughout this project points to the fact that social capital cannot be ignored in studies of the legal labor market. In fact, similar to this

project, social capital should take center stage in these types of analyses. This is important because it is in line with what social capital scholars outside of the legal professions literature have long argued. Indeed, as pointed out by Bourdieu (1986), social capital is especially important in markets where candidates have similar qualifications. This is true within the legal profession, because while there are differences in law school rank and grades, on many other metrics newly minted lawyers are closely qualified. It is also important because in many of the analyses found in this project, different forms of social capital were important predictors of the outcomes in question.

Relatedly, this project also demonstrates that research must account for the multifaceted nature of social capital. Studies of the legal profession should endeavor to account for different dimensions of social capital where practicable. While studies of single types of social capital are useful and instructive, the overall worth of lawyers' toolkits of social connections may be undervalued if all of the tools found within are not examined. In a similar vein, research should carefully consider how social capital effects differ by gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, along with how its effects may change at different stages of the legal career. As to the latter, the analyses demonstrated that historically underrepresented groups must be considered in studies of career outcomes in the law and that they often must be addressed in a way that accounts for the intersection of multiple group memberships. Finally, as to the former, since social capital has different (even opposite) effects at different points in time during a career, it is important for studies to consider the relationship between social capital and whatever outcome is being investigated with an eye to the time period when that outcome occurs.

Third, the models presented in this project and in particular those discussed in Chapter IV, demonstrate that in addition to traditional investigations regarding the possible negative effects of gender and race/ethnicity in legal careers, research in this area must account for LGBT status as well. Indeed, in a general sense LGBT individuals face many of the same challenges women and non-whites have faced in the United States,

which suggests that they should be included of analyses of disadvantage. Further, beyond the similarities between these status groups, the empirical analyses in this project showed that LGBT attorneys are disadvantaged in many of the same ways as their female and nonwhite colleagues when it came to the formation and maintenance of professional capital. Studies of the legal profession, therefore, should be conducted with an eye toward these individuals.

In addition to the implications for the legal professions research, the analyses presented in this project also contribute to investigations of the intersection between gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation. First, on a general level, the models demonstrated that the failure to consider how these different statuses are related to one another often masked important effects on the outcomes under investigation. Second, more specifically, the models also shed some light on the current theoretical and methodological debates occurring within the intersectionality literature. Importantly, the models in Chapter IV were able to show that in a few instances, an additive, multi-jeopardy model of intersectionality could not offer a complete accounting for all of the relationships affecting the dependent variables.

This project also can serve as a springboard for several future investigations. First, while the analyses presented throughout this work provided some guidance regarding the mechanisms underlying the social capital effects it found, direct evidence regarding those mechanisms was scant. Future research, therefore, will be needed to examine how and why lawyers use their social capital and, indeed, whether they see their social capital as tools that can be used instrumentally throughout a career (as assumed in this project). One possible way that this could be done is through supplementary investigations using qualitative interviews. Now that some of the basic relationships between social capital and several outcomes are known, interviews of this kind could both confirm the models' validity while probing into the reasons why many of the associations exist.

Second, future research should endeavor to utilize methods more appropriate for establishing (or coming as close as possible to establishing) causal relationships. Unfortunately, as noted above in several instances, the longitudinal data found in the *After the JD* survey were often plagued by missing cases. This, in turn, made the use of longitudinal techniques dangerous because of the possibility of selection effects due to nonrandom missing cases.

Finally, this research is not without its limitations. First, as discussed above, most of the analyses presented in this project were cross-sectional in nature and therefore cannot make claims beyond specifying the associations between human capital and the outcomes. Second, several measures included in the *After the JD* data suffered from significant amounts of missing data which either precluded their use completely or necessitated approaches that were less than ideal (e.g., measuring grade point average as a categorical variable with an entry for “missing” cases). Third, the different modes of administration of the *After the JD* survey affected both the structure of the data and the analyses contained in this project. For several analyses, almost half of the sample had to be excluded because they were not asked the questions used to construct the primary variables of interest.

In sum, the research presented in this dissertation showed how social capital was related to the unequal distribution of rewards among a cohort of new attorneys at three time points during the first decade of legal practice. It also showed that the ability to form, maintain, and use social relationships differed by gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation. These results have several implications for both studies of the legal labor market and for investigations into the intersection of different statuses. In all, these results demonstrated the importance of social capital during the legal career.

REFERENCES

- Abramsom, Jill, and Barbara Franklin. 1986. *Where are They Now? The Story of the Women of Harvard Law Review*. New York: Doubleday.
- Becker, Gary S. 1985. "Human Capital, Effort, and the Sexual Division of Labor." *Journal of Labor Economics* 3:S33-58.
- Beehr, Terry A., Steve M. Jex, Beth A. Stacy, and Marshall A. Murray. 2000. "Work Stressors and Coworker Support as Predictors of Individual Strain and Job Performance." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 21:391-405.
- Bills, David. 1988. "Educational Credentials and Promotions: Does Schooling Do More Than Get You in the Door?" *Sociology of Education* 61(1):52-60.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital," in J.G. Richardson ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., and Bradford S. Jones. 2004. *Event History Modeling: A Guide for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Browne, Irene, and Joya Misra. 2003. "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:487-513.
- Burt, Ronald S. 1992. *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, Ronald S. 2004. "Structural Holes and Good Ideas." *American Journal of Sociology* 110: 349-99.
- Buskens, Vincent. 1998. "The social structure of trust." *Social Networks* 20:265-89.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:S95-120.
- Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cramton, Roger C. 1986. "'The Most Remarkable Institution': The American Law Review," *Journal of Legal Education* 36:1-10.
- Curran, Barbara A. 1986. "American Lawyers in the 1980s: A Profession in Transition." *Law & Society Review* 20: 19-51.

- Dinovitzer, Ronit. 2006. "Social Capital and Constraints on Legal Careers." *Law & Society Review* 40:445-79.
- Dinovitzer, Ronit. 2011. "The Financial Rewards of Elite Status in the Legal Profession." *Law & Social Inquiry* 36:971-98.
- Dinovitzer, Ronit, and Bryant G. Garth. 2007. "Lawyer Satisfaction in the Process of Structuring Legal Careers." *Law & Society Review* 41:1-50.
- Dinovitzer, Ronit, and John Hagan. 2006. "Lawyers on the move: the consequences of mobility for legal careers." *International Journal of the Legal Profession* 13:119-35.
- Dinovitzer, Ronit, Nancy Reichman, and Joyce Sterling. 2009. "The Differential Valuation of Women's Work: A New Look at the Gender Gap in Lawyers' Incomes." *Social Forces* 88:819-64.
- Dinovitzer, Ronit, Bryant Garth, Richard Sander, Joyce Sterling, and Gita Wilder. 2004. "After the JD: The First Results from a National Study of Legal Careers" American Bar Foundation and NALP.
<http://www.americanbarfoundation.org/uploads/cms/documents/ajd.pdf> (accessed 2 May 2013).
- DiPrete, Thomas A., and Gregory M. Eirich. 2006. "Cumulative Advantage as a Mechanism for Inequality: A Review of Theoretical and Methodological Developments." *Annual Review of Sociology* 32:271-97.
- Dixon, Jo, and Carroll Seron. 1995. "Stratification in the Legal Profession: Sex, Sector, and Salary." *Law & Society Review* 29:381-412.
- Dreher, George F., and Ronald A. Ash. 1990. "A Comparative Study of Mentoring Among Men and Women in Managerial, Professional, and Technical Positions." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 75: 539-546,
- Ensher, Ellen A., and Susan E. Murphy. 1997. "Effects of Race, Gender, Perceived Similarity, and Contact in Mentor Relationships." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 50:460-481.
- Erlanger, Howard S. 1980. "The Allocation of Status within Professions: The Case of the Legal Profession." *Social Problems* 58:882-903.
- Epstein, Cynthia F. 1981. *Women in Law*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ferdman, Bernardo M. 1999. "The color and culture of gender in organizations: attending to race and ethnicity." Pp. 17-36 in *The Handbook of Gender and Work*, edited by G. Powell. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Fossum, Donna. 1981. "Women in the Legal Profession: A Progress Report." *American Bar Association Journal* 67:578-582.
- Galanter, Marc, and Thomas Palay. 1994. *Tournament of Lawyers: The Transformation of the Big Law Firm*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-80.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1974. *Getting a Job*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Griffin, Mark A., Malcom G. Patterson, and Michael A. West. 2001. "Job Satisfaction and Teamwork: The Role of Supervisor Support." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 22:537-550.
- Gorman, Elizabeth H. 1999. "Moving Away from "Up or Out": Determinants of Permanent Employment in Law Firms." *Law & Society Review* 33(3):637-666.
- Hagan, John. 1990. "The Gender Stratification of Income Inequality among Lawyers." *Social Forces* 68:835-55.
- Hagan, John, and Fiona Kay. 1995. *Gender in Practice: A Study of Lawyers' Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hagan, John, Marie Huxter, and Patricia Parker. 1988. "Class Structure and Legal Practice: Inequality and Mobility among Toronto Lawyers." *Law & Society Review* 22:9-56.
- Heinz, John P., and Edward O. Laumann. 1994. *Chicago Lawyers: The Social Structure of the Bar, Revised Edition*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Heinz, John P., Robert L. Nelson, Rebecca L. Sandefur, and Edward O. Laumann. 2005. *Urban Lawyers: The New Social Structure of the Bar*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Heinz, John P., Paul S. Schnorr, Edward O. Laumann, and Robert L. Nelson. 2001. "Lawyers' Roles in Voluntary Associations: Declining Social Capital?" *Law & Social Inquiry* 26:597-629.
- Homer Suzanne, and Lois Schwartz. 1989. "Admitted but not accepted: outsiders take an inside look at law school." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 5:1-74.
- Hull, Kathleen E., and Robert L. Nelson. 2000. "Assimilation, Choice, or Constraint? Testing Theories of Gender Differences in the Careers of Lawyers." *Social Forces* 79:229-64.

- Ibarra Herminia. 1992. "Homophily and Differential Returns: Sex Differences in Network Structure and Access in an Advertising Firm." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 37:442-47.
- Ibarra, Herminia. 1993. "Personal Networks of Women and Minorities and Women in Management: A Conceptual Framework." *Academy of Management Review* 18(1):56-87.
- Ibarra, Herminia. 1995. "Race, Opportunity and Diversity of Social Circles in Managerial Networks." *Academy of Management Journal* 38(3):673-703.
- Jex, Steve M. and Jeffrey L. Thomas. 2003. "Relations between Stressors and Group Perceptions: Main and Mediating Effects." *Work & Stress* 17:158-169.
- Kay, Fiona M. 1997. "Flight from Law: A Competing Risks Model of Departures from Law Firms." *Law & Society Review* 31:301-335.
- Kay, Fiona M., and Elizabeth Gorman. 2008. "Women in the Legal Profession." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 4:299-332.
- Kay, Fiona M., and John Hagan. 1998. "Raising the Bar: Gender Stratification of Law-Firm Capital." *American Sociological Review* 63:728-743.
- Kay, Fiona M., and John Hagan. 1999. "Cultivating Clients in the Competition for Partnership: Gender and the Organizational Restructuring of Law Firms in the 1990s." *Law & Society Review* 33:517-55.
- Kay, Fiona M., and John Hagan. 2003. "Building Trust: Social Capital, Distributive Justice, and Loyalty to the Firm." *Law & Social Inquiry* 28(2):483-519.
- Kay, Fiona M., and Jean E. Wallace. 2009. "Mentors as Social Capital: Gender, Mentors, and Career Rewards in Law Practice." *Sociological Inquiry* 79(4):418-452.
- Kay, Fiona M., and Jean E. Wallace. 2010. "Is More Truly Merrier?: Mentoring and the Practice of Law." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 47:1-26.
- Kay, Fiona M., John Hagan, and Patricia Parker. 2009. "Principals in Practice: The Importance of Mentorship in the Early Stages of Career Development." *Law & Policy* 31(1):69-110.
- Kay, Fiona M., Cristi Masuch, and Paula Curry. 2004. *Diversity and Change: The Contemporary Legal Profession in Ontario*. Toronto, ON: Law Society of Upper Canada.
- Kingston, Paul W., Ryan Hubbard, Brent Lapp, Paul Schroeder, and Julia Wilson. 2003. "Why Education Matters." *Sociology of Education* 76:53-70.

- Krauskopf, Joan M. 1994. "Touching the elephant: perceptions of gender issues in nine law schools." *Journal of Legal Education* 44(3):311-400.
- Kronman, Anthony. 1995. *The Lost Lawyer: Failing Ideals of the Legal Profession*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Laband, David N., and Bernard F. Lentz. 1993. "Is There Sex Discrimination in the Legal Profession: Further Evidence on Tangible and Intangible Margins." *The Journal of Human Resources* 28(2):230-258.
- Laband, David N., and Bernard F. Lentz. 1995. "Workplace Mentoring in the Legal Profession." *Southern Economic Journal* 61:783-802.
- Leicht, Kevin T. and Mary L. Fennell. 2001. *Professional Work: A Sociological Approach*. Malden: MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lentz, Bernard F., and David N. Laband. 1995. "Earnings and Promotion: A Closer Look at the Evidence." Pp. 21-48 in *Sex Discrimination in the Legal Profession*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books.
- Lichtblau, Eric. 2008. "Report Assails Political Hiring in Justice Dept." *The New York Times* 25 June (http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/25/washington/25justice.html?_r=0).
- Liefland, Linda. 1986. "Career Patterns of Male and Female Lawyers." *Buffalo Law Review* 35:601-619.
- Lin, Nan. 2001. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lin, Nan, Walter M. Ensel, and John C. Vaughn. 1981a. "Social Resources and Strength of Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment." *American Sociological Review* 46:393-405.
- Lin, Nan, John C. Vaughn, and Walter M. Ensel. 1981b. "Social Resources and Occupational Status Attainment." *Social Forces* 59:1163-81.
- Long, J. Scott. 1997. *Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Marshall, Greg W., Charles E. Michaels, and Jay P. Mulki. 2007. "Workplace Isolation: Exploring the Construct and Its Measurement." *Psychology & Marketing* 24:195-223.
- Mulki, Jay P., William B. Locander, Greg W. Marshall, Eric G. Harris, and James Hensel. 2008. "Workplace Isolation, Salesperson Commitment, and Job Performance." *The Journal of Personal Selling and Management* 28(1):67-78.

- Merton, Robert K. 1973a. "The Matthew Effect in Science," in N. Storer ed., *The Sociology of Science*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Merton, Robert K. 1973b. "The Normative Structure of Science," in N. Storer ed., *The Sociology of Science*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mulki, Jay Prakash, William B. Locander, Greg W. Marshall, Eric G. Harris, and James Hensel. 2008. "Workplace Isolation, Salesperson Commitment, and Job Performance." *The Journal of Personal Selling and Sales Management* 28(1):67-78.
- Nelson, Robert. 1988. *Partners with Power: The Social Transformation of the Large Law Firm*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Noe, Raymond A. 1988. "Women and Mentoring: A Review and Research Agenda." *Academy of Management Review* 13:65-78.
- Noonan, Mary C., and Mary E. Corcoran. 2004. "The Mommy Track and Partnership: Temporary Delay or Dead End?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 596(1):130-150.
- Noonan, Mary C., Mary E. Corcoran, and Paul N. Courant. 2008. "Is the Partnership Gap Closing for Women? Cohort Differences in the Sex Gap in Partnership Chances." *Social Science Research* 37:156-179.
- Paik, Anthony. 2013. "Strategic Embedding as a Costly Signal." Working Paper.
- Paik, Anthony, and Vernon Woodley. 2012. "Symbols and Investments as Signals: Courtship Behaviors in Adolescent Sexual Relationships." *Rationality and Society* 24:3-36.
- Payne-Pikus, Monique R., John Hagan, and Robert L. Nelson. 2010. "Experiencing Discrimination: Race and Retention in America's Largest Law Firms." *Law & Society Review* 44(3/4):553-584.
- Podolny, Joel M., and James N. Baron. 1997. "Resources and Relationships: Social Networks and Mobility in the Workplace." *American Sociological Review* 62:673-69.
- Sander, Richard H. 2006. "A Systematic Analysis of Affirmative Action in American Law Schools." *Stanford Law Review* 57:367-483.
- Sidanius, Jim, and Felicia Pratto. 2001. *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Janice W., and Toni Calasanti. 2005. "The Influences of Gender, Race and Ethnicity on Workplace Experiences of Institutional and Social isolation: An Exploratory Study of University Faculty." *Sociological Spectrum* 25:307-334

- Ragins, Belle Rose, and Dean B. McFarlin. 1990. "Perceptions of Mentor-Roles in Cross-Gender Mentoring Relationships." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 27:321-339.
- Rivera, Lauren A. 2011. "Ivies, extracurriculars, and exclusion: Elite employers' use of education credentials." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 29:71-90.
- Rivera, Lauren A. 2012. "Hiring as Cultural Matching: The Case of Elite Professional Service Firms." *American Sociological Review* 77(6):999-1022.
- Rhoades, Linda, and Robert Eisenberger. 2002. "Perceived Organizational Support: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 87:698-714.
- Rosen, Sherwin. 1992. "The Market for Lawyers." *Journal of Law and Economics* 35:215-46.
- Rosenbaum, James E. 2001. *Beyond College for All: Career Paths for the Forgotten Half*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Rosenbaum, James E., Takehiko Kariya, Rick Settersten, and Tony Maier. 1990. "Market and Network Theories of the Transition from High School to Work: Their Application to Industrialized Societies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 16:263-99.
- Sandefur, Rebecca L. 2001. "Work and Honor in the Law: Prestige and the Division of Lawyers' Labor." *American Sociological Review* 66:382-403.
- Sander, Richard H. 2006. "The Racial Paradox of the Corporate Law Firm." *North Carolina Law Review* 54:1755-1822.
- Sander, Richard H., and E. Douglass Williams. 1989. "Why Are There So Many Lawyers? Perspectives on a Turbulent Market." *Law & Social Inquiry* 14:431-79.
- Small, Mario L. 2009. *Unanticipated Gains: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sidanius, Jim, and Felicia Pratto. 2001. *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smigel, Erwin O. 1964. *The Wall Street Lawyer*. New York: Free Press.
- Smith, Janice W., and Toni Calasanti. 2005. "The Influences of Gender, Race and Ethnicity on Workplace Experiences of Institutional and Social isolation: An Exploratory Study of University Faculty." *Sociological Spectrum* 25:307-334.
- Stracher, Cameron. 2007. "Reading, Writing, and Citing: In Praise of Law Reviews" *New York Law School Law Review* 52:349-70.
- Uzzi, Brian, and Ryon Lancaster. 2004. "Embeddedness and Price Formation in the Corporate Law Market." *American Sociological Review* 69:319-44.

- Van Emmerik, IJ. Hetty. 2006. "Gender differences in the creation of different types of social capital: A multilevel study." *Social Networks* 28:24-37.
- Wallace, Jean E. 2001. "The Benefits of Mentoring for Female Lawyers." *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 58:366-391.
- Weber, Lynn. 2001. *Understanding Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality: A Conceptual Framework*. Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.
- Weiss, Catherine, and Louise Melling. 1988. "The Legal Education of Twenty Women." *Stanford Law Review* 40:1299-1369.
- Wilkins, David B., and G. Mitu Gulati. 1996. "Why Are There So Few Black Lawyers in Corporate Law Firms? An Institutional Analysis." *California Law Review* 84(3):493-625.
- Wilkins, David, Ronit Dinovitzer, and Rishi Batra. 2007. "Urban Law School Graduates in Large Law Firms." *Southwestern University Law Rev* 36:433-507.
- Yamaguchi, Kazuo. 1991. *Event History Analysis*. Newbury Park: CA: Sage Publications, Inc.