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Income and Career Satisfaction in the Legal Profession: Survey Data from Indiana Law School Graduates

*Jeffrey Evans Stake, Kenneth G. Dau-Schmidt,
and Kaushik Mukhopadhyaya**

This article presents data on graduates of a law school located at a large, midwestern public university. It presents responses to survey questions relating to various personal and job characteristics, including income from the practice of law and career satisfaction. It compares the responses across various demographic groups, including type of practice, gender, race, and ethnicity. We find that lawyers in large private law firms make more money than lawyers in small private practices, who, in turn, make more than those in government or public interest positions. Career satisfaction is greatest for lawyers in corporate counsel, public interest, and government jobs, followed by larger firms, and then smaller private firms. We find that women earn substantially lower incomes than men, but most of the difference can be eliminated by accounting for time taken away from paid work for childcare, among other factors. Both blacks and Hispanics make significantly less money than majority lawyers 15 years after graduation. Regarding overall satisfaction with careers, women appear to be sensitive to the number of hours of work, probably because of child-care responsibilities. Our analysis suggests that blacks and Hispanics enjoy career satisfaction in the practice of law that is not significantly lower than that of majority lawyers.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Each year for the past six years, Professors Stake and Dau-Schmidt surveyed two sets of graduates of Indiana University School of Law–Bloomington,¹ the cohort of graduates five years past graduation and the cohort 15 years past graduation.² For the first five years, we conducted the survey solely by paper questionnaire; starting in 2006, respondents could complete the survey online if they elected to do so. A total of 771 surveys were returned for a response rate of approximately 28 percent.³ The survey contains 71 items relating to the subjects' personal characteristics, family responsibilities, and reflections on law school and career experiences. From the responses, we can generate 104 different variables.⁴

Based on these survey responses, we assess the careers of these law school graduates, whether the graduates enjoy those careers, and how much money they make. We also examine how law school and career experiences vary among the graduates according to gender, race, and ethnicity. We find that traditional gender roles affect family life and careers; males are more focused on earning income and are more likely to be the primary breadwinner in the household, while females reported significantly greater child-care responsibilities. Women, blacks, and Hispanics tend to be found in greater proportions as government lawyers, public interest lawyers, or corporate counsel, while majority males are more likely to go into and stay in private practice. The women who enter private practice tend to be found disproportionately in the larger law firms. Women reported lower average incomes

¹Although Indiana University operates another law school, Indiana University School of Law–Indianapolis, this study presents data from graduates of Bloomington only. Therefore, the shorthand “Indiana” used herein will refer to the law school in Bloomington.

²Accordingly, in spring of 2000 we sent surveys to all the members of the law school's class of 1995 and all the members of the law school's class of 1985 and have conducted similar surveys each year until the present time.

³Our proposal to cajole respondents to return surveys in greater numbers elicited a cold reception from the Indiana University Internal Review Board, which was concerned that the letter might subject the respondents to too much pressure. The characteristics of these nonrespondents are unknown to us as we were not allowed to consider the information in our student files and none of the respondents, to date, have been surveyed both five and 15 years after graduation.

⁴The survey is modeled on the University of Michigan Law Alumni Survey to allow comparative studies between the two sets of data.

than men, but this difference was not robust when we controlled for other factors through linear regression. The personal traits of law school graduates and the child-raising choices they make have important effects on their careers.

Section II presents descriptive results regarding personal characteristics that might affect a legal career or be affected by that career, comparing means across various groups. Section III presents the type of practice chosen by men and women, whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Section IV presents income, hours, career satisfaction, family life satisfaction, and satisfaction with family/work balance, broken down by type of practice and gender, race, and ethnicity. In Section V we use linear regression to unearth connections between various characteristics and income or career satisfaction.⁵

II. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS THAT MIGHT AFFECT A LEGAL CAREER OR BE AFFECTED BY THAT CAREER

It is often assumed that lawyers have certain characteristics that predispose them to the profession. Fairly or unfairly, aggressiveness may be one of the characteristics most often used in describing members of the legal profession.⁶ However, not all lawyer roles call for aggressive behavior; lawyers negotiate deals and, at least in certain positions, are responsible for determining public policy. Accordingly, a more cooperative and compassionate nature may contribute to success in certain types of practice. Another potential factor in career choice is motivation. Some people may be motivated primarily by a desire to make money, while others may be motivated more by a desire to make an impact on society. These differing motivations will

⁵A national study of legal careers, the “After the JD” study, is currently being funded by grants from the NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education, the American Bar Foundation, and various other sources. Initial results from the survey can be found in Ronit Dinovitzer et al., *After the JD: First Results of a National Study of Legal Careers* (2004) (<http://www.abf-sociolegal.org/ajd.pdf>), last viewed June 15, 2007.

⁶From Susan Daicoff, *Asking Leopards to Change Their Spots: Should Lawyers Change? A Critique of Solutions to Problems with Professionalism by Reference to Empirically-Derived Attorney Personality Attributes*, 11 *Geo. J. Legal Ethics* 547 (1998). Daicoff argues that these characteristics found naturally in lawyers have led to the demise of the profession. Rather than take a hard normative stance on such a claim, we merely note that the aggressive and competitive natures of lawyers and students of law also help increase the quality of their work product and provide valuable services to their clients.

undoubtedly influence the types of law that graduates choose to practice, as well as the amount of income they earn. Likewise, characteristics of a person’s family, including marital status, parental status, and personal goals relating to family, will also affect the working life of that person. All these attributes have effects on the choices of law school graduates as they enter the workforce and progress through their legal careers.

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for certain personal characteristics of the members of the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years after graduation, separated according to gender and minority status. The respondents reported their aggressiveness, compulsiveness about work, concern about making a lot of money, self-confidence, skill at arranging deals, concern about the effects of their work on society, and compassion, all “relative to other lawyers their age” on a seven-point scale from “much less than most” (coded as -3) to “much more than most”(coded as +3). The potential answers for the question about political views ranged from

Table 1: Selected Means (Standard Deviations) of Personal Characteristics, on a Scale from Much Less than Most (-3) to Much More than Most (+3), by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Aggressive	0.23 (1.49)	0.39** (1.48)	-0.08** (1.47)	0.22 (1.48)	0.23 (1.79)
Compulsive about work	0.15 (1.48)	0.23 (1.48)	-0.01 (1.49)	0.15 (1.47)	0.15 (1.91)
Concerned about making money	-0.69 (1.42)	-0.42** (1.45)	-1.20** (1.23)	-0.70 (1.41)	-0.46 (1.76)
Self-confident	1.03 (1.24)	1.10 (1.23)	0.90 (1.25)	1.01 (1.23)	1.38 (1.50)
Skillful at making deals	0.98 (1.34)	1.21** (1.27)	0.54** (1.37)	0.97 (1.35)	1.08 (1.38)
Concerned about impact on society	0.70 (1.41)	0.62 (1.40)	0.83 (1.41)	0.67 (1.41)	1.00 (1.35)
Compassionate	1.40 (1.11)	1.31** (1.12)	1.58** (1.07)	1.39 (1.09)	1.85 (1.57)
Liberal, from extremely conservative/right (-3) to extremely liberal/left (+3)	0.11 (1.50)	-0.13** (1.46)	0.52** (1.48)	0.10 (1.50)	0.36 (1.45)
Minimum number	308	204	104	294	13

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

“extremely conservative/right” (coded as -3) to “extremely liberal/left” (coded as +3). Significance is measured by comparison to the opposing group rather than by comparison to the population average. Data for blacks and Hispanics are combined due to low numbers. Because some respondents did not answer some of the questions, each of the items has a different *N*. The “minimum number” row states the minimum number of respondents for all the items.

Table 1 shows several significant differences in reported personal characteristics according to gender. The men reported more aggressiveness (0.39 to -0.08) than the women, and greater prowess as deal makers (1.21 to 0.54). According to their own views of themselves, the men are more concerned about making money than women (-0.42 to -1.20), although the negative mean for both groups indicates that neither group considers their concern about money to be “greater than the average of other lawyers.” Women think of themselves as more liberal (0.52 to -0.13) and compassionate (1.58 to 1.31). Of course, the evaluations given by the respondents regarding their own personal characteristics could reflect the respondents’ beliefs about social expectations concerning the genders. For example, men may report they are more aggressive because in our society aggression is considered a desirable male characteristic. The consistently negative numbers for socially negative characteristics such as “concerned about making a lot of money,” and positive numbers for socially positive characteristics such as “compassionate” suggest a response bias toward social expectations. But social and biological influences may also create some real differences between the genders with respect to these characteristics.⁷ The survey responses are also difficult to interpret because they depend on both the person’s assessment of his or her own personal characteristics and the person’s assessment of other people. Nevertheless, the survey results suggest some real differences in personal characteristics across gender, race, and ethnicity that may help explain some career choices.

Table 2 presents means and standard deviations of various family characteristics of the members of the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years after graduation by gender and minority status. Some variables, such as marital status, whether the respondent has ever not worked or worked part time to do childcare, whether the respondent’s spouse is a homemaker, whether the

⁷See generally David Geary, *Male Female: The Evolution of Human Sex Differences* (1998); Linda Mealey, *Sex Differences: Developmental and Evolutionary Strategies* (2000); Bobbi Low, *Why Sex Matters: A Darwinian Look at Human Behavior* (2001).

Table 2: Selected Means (Standard Deviations) of Family Characteristics, by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
% Married now	81 (39.6)	84* (37.1)	75* (43.4)	81 (39.3)	71 (46.9)
% Divorced now	7.7 (26.7)	4.8** (21.4)	12.8** (33.6)	7.7 (26.7)	7.1 (26.7)
Number of children in the home	1.81 (1.17)	1.82 (1.17)	1.79 (1.18)	1.82 (1.18)	1.57 (1.09)
Minimum number	324	208	116	310	14
% Ever reduced work to do childcare	14.3 (35.1)	2.9** (16.8)	35.1** (47.9)	14.1 (34.9)	26.7 (45.8)
% Spouse is a homemaker	12 (32.0)	14 (34.6)	7 (26.0)	12 (32.1)	9 (30.2)
% Spouse has intense job	48 (50.1)	40** (49.2)	63** (48.6)	48 (50.0)	55 (52.2)
Spouse income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	52.8 (95.7)	33.6** (60.3)	89.9** (133.7)	50.8 (95.5)	91.6 (99.4)
Total household income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	229.4 (192.5)	236.3 (189.3)	215.6 (198.9)	230.2 (194.9)	192.9 (131.8)
Income as % of total household income	73.6 (25.7)	79.9** (20.7)	60.9** (29.9)	74.4 (25.0)	57.4 (35.8)
% Who provide >2/3 of household income	62.4 (48.5)	72.5** (44.8)	42.4** (49.7)	63.4 (48.3)	45.5 (52.2)
Minimum number	272	181	91	260	11

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

respondent’s spouse has an intense job, and whether the respondent provided more than two-thirds of the household income, are represented as percentages of the respective group. For the purposes of our analysis, an “intense job” is work as a doctor, lawyer, nurse, or business manager. The figure for the number of children living in the home expresses the average number of children reported as currently living with the subject. The income variables are expressed in thousands of 2006 dollars. The penultimate variable, “income as a percent of total household income,” is the percentage of the total household income earned by the respondent. Data for blacks and Hispanics are once again combined due to low numbers. The “minimum number” row states the minimum number of respondents for all the items above that row.

The results from the 15-year survey presented in Table 2 show significant variations in family characteristics according to gender, and insignificant variations according to minority status. The men are more likely to be married (84 percent vs. 75 percent) and less likely to be divorced (4.8 percent vs. 12.8 percent), although both men and women live with essentially the same number of children (1.82 and 1.79, respectively). Women are half again as likely to be married to a spouse with an intense job (63 percent vs. 40 percent for men), while the men are twice as likely to be married to a homemaker (14 percent vs. 7 percent for women). The women's spouses earn far more than the men's spouses (\$89,900 vs. \$33,600) and the men account for a larger share of household income than do the women (79.9 percent vs. 60.9 percent) and are substantially more likely to provide more than two-thirds of the household income (72.5 percent vs. 42.4 percent). Perhaps the greatest gender difference occurs in the percent of respondents who reported having worked part time or not worked at all in order to do childcare. Fully 35 percent of the female respondents from the classes of 1985–1991 indicated that they had left the paid labor market to do childcare, while the corresponding number for males was less than 3 percent.

All these family characteristics suggest that Indiana law school graduates tend to divide the family responsibilities in a somewhat traditional manner. Although there are, of course, many exceptions, male graduates are significantly more likely to be the breadwinner, providing the majority of the household income, and are more likely to have a spouse who works as a homemaker.⁸ Female graduates are more likely to be married to a spouse with an intense job, provide a lower percentage of household income, and take time away from their careers to provide childcare.

III. TYPE OF PRACTICE

In the survey, we asked respondents to identify the type of agency or employer they worked for and the position they held with that employer. The responses on those two questions were used to divide respondents into various types of practice. Tables 3 and 4 present the percent and standard deviation of respondents that go into each type of practice by gender and

⁸This finding is consistent with other empirical research on the subject. David Chambers, *Accommodation and Satisfaction: Women and Men Lawyers and the Balance of Work and Family*, 14 *Law & Soc. Inquiry* 251 (1989).

Table 3: Percent of Respondents (Standard Deviation) in Each Type of Practice, by Gender and Minority Status, Five-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1995–2001

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Hispanic</i>
Private practice (all 4 firm sizes)	55.6 (49.7)	60.3** (49.0)	49.1** (50.1)	58.0** (49.4)	16.7** (38.1)	55.8 (49.7)	46.2 (51.9)
Super-size private practice (# atts > 150)	15.0 (35.8)	14.3 (35.1)	16.0 (36.8)	15.9 (36.6)	4.2 (20.4)	15.2 (36.0)	15.4 (37.6)
Large private practice (150 >= # atts > 50)	7.0 (25.6)	6.8 (25.1)	7.4 (26.3)	7.6 (26.5)	0.0 (0.0)	7.4 (26.1)	0.0 (0.0)
Medium private practice (50 >= # atts > 15)	12.1 (32.7)	13.1 (33.8)	10.9 (31.2)	12.8 (33.4)	4.2 (20.4)	12.7 (33.3)	0.0 (0.0)
Small private practice (15 >= # atts)	21.4 (41.0)	26.2** (44.0)	14.9** (35.7)	21.7 (41.3)	8.3 (28.2)	20.6 (40.5)	30.8 (48.0)
Corporate counsel	6.6 (24.8)	5.5 (22.8)	8.0 (27.2)	5.7** (23.3)	16.7** (38.1)	6.6 (24.9)	0.0 (0.0)
Accounting or insurance	1.2 (11.0)	1.3 (11.2)	1.1 (10.7)	1.0 (10.2)	4.2 (20.4)	1.0** (10.0)	7.7** (27.7)
Government	16.3 (36.9)	13.9 (34.7)	19.4 (39.7)	16.2 (36.9)	20.8 (41.5)	16.0 (36.7)	30.8 (48.0)
Public interest	3.9 (19.3)	3.4 (18.1)	4.6 (20.9)	3.4 (18.1)	8.3 (28.2)	3.6 (18.5)	7.7 (27.7)
Other practice, law teach, judge	1.5 (12.0)	1.3 (11.2)	1.7 (13.0)	1.3 (11.4)	4.2 (20.4)	1.5 (12.3)	0.0 (0.0)
Nonpractice	15.0 (35.8)	14.3 (35.1)	16.0 (36.8)	14.4* (35.1)	29.2* (46.4)	15.5 (36.2)	7.7 (27.7)
<i>N</i>	412	237	175	383	24	394	13

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

minority status. Table 3 reports these results for the classes of 1995–2001 surveyed five years after law school, and Table 4 reports them for the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years after law school. For the purposes of Tables 3 and 4, the size of a firm is determined by the number of lawyers it employs nationwide, with a “super” private practice firm employing more than 150 lawyers, a “large” private practice firm employing from 51 to 150 lawyers, a “medium” private practice firm employing from 16 to 50 lawyers, and a “small” private practice firm employing fewer than 16 lawyers. Other types of practice examined include work as corporate “in-house” counsel, as a lawyer in an accounting or insurance firm, or as a practicing lawyer in government, public interest, or “other” organizations. Graduates who indicated that they do not fit into one of these categories and are not currently practicing law

Table 4: Percent of Respondents (Standard Deviation) in Each Type of Practice, by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Private practice (all 4 firm sizes)	46.5 (50.0)	52.0** (50.1)	35.6** (48.1)	47.2 (50.0)	30.8 (48.0)
Super-size private practice (# atts > 150)	9.1 (28.8)	10.2 (30.3)	6.9 (25.5)	9.2 (28.9)	7.7 (27.7)
Large private practice (150 >= # atts > 50)	5.1 (21.9)	7.1** (25.8)	1.0** (10.0)	5.6 (23.1)	0.0 (0.0)
Medium private practice (50 >= # atts > 15)	7.1 (25.7)	6.6 (24.9)	7.9 (27.1)	7.4 (26.2)	0.0 (0.0)
Small private practice (15 >= # atts)	25.3 (43.5)	28.1 (45.0)	19.8 (40.0)	25.0 (43.4)	23.1 (43.9)
Corporate counsel	9.1 (28.8)	7.7 (26.7)	11.9 (32.5)	8.8 (28.4)	15.4 (37.6)
Accounting or insurance	2.0 (14.1)	2.6 (15.8)	1.0 (10.0)	2.1 (14.4)	0.0 (0.0)
Government	14.5 (35.2)	12.8 (33.4)	17.8 (38.5)	14.4 (35.2)	15.4 (37.6)
Public interest	4.0 (19.7)	3.1 (17.3)	5.9 (23.8)	3.9 (19.3)	7.7 (27.7)
Judge	2.7 (16.2)	2.0 (14.2)	4.0 (19.6)	1.8** (13.2)	23.1** (43.9)
Law teaching	1.3 (11.5)	0.5* (7.1)	3.0* (17.1)	1.4 (11.8)	0.0 (0.0)
Other practice	0.3 (5.8)	0.5 (7.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.4 (5.9)	0.0 (0.0)
Nonpractice	19.5 (39.7)	18.9 (39.2)	20.8 (40.8)	20.1 (40.1)	7.7 (27.7)
<i>N</i>	297	196	101	284	13

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

(or did not respond as to whether they were practicing law) are categorized as “nonpractice.” The responses for blacks and Hispanics are combined in the 15-year survey due to low numbers. In the five-year survey, the responses of judges and law school teachers were included with those reporting “other practice” due to small numbers. The “number” at the bottom of the column is the total number of respondents in that column.

As the tables show, close to one-half of Indiana graduates go into private practice (56 percent five years out, 47 percent 15 years out), with roughly a third of those graduates working in super or large firms

(22 percent five years out, 14 percent 15 years out). After private practice, the next largest categories are “nonpractice” (15 percent five years out, 20 percent 15 years out) and government practice (16 percent five years out, 15 percent 15 years out). They are followed by corporate counsel (7 percent five years out, 9 percent 15 years out), and public interest (4 percent both five and 15 years out). The careers of the 20 percent in “nonpractice” are explored further in Tables 6 and 7. As will be seen later, they include business managers, teachers, and public officials.⁹

The responses from the classes of 1995–2001 five years after law school indicate that women entered all types of practice at a higher rate than men, except for medium and, especially, small private firms.¹⁰ It has long been recognized that women enter positions outside private practice at a faster rate than men, but now, at least in our sample, those women who go into private practice seem to do very well at obtaining the high pay and status that come with jobs in the larger firms. In part, this phenomenon may be driven by employer demand as large firm clients demand representation by women, and in part it might be driven by women’s interest in maternity benefits offered by large employers. Although there are slightly more women than men entering large firms in the classes of 1995–2001, there are significantly fewer women in the classes of 1985–1991 in large private practices 15 years after graduation. Women in those more senior classes are overrepresented in corporate counsel, government, and public interest practice, although those differences are not significant. The reasons for these differences between the classes of 1995–2001 and 1985–1991 might be “generational” or “life-cycle” or both. Women in the more recent classes may be generationally different in that they have greater opportunities or preferences for large firm private practice than women in the earlier classes. It may also be that as the women in the classes of 1995–2001 progress through their lifecycles, those in large private practices will leave and the resulting type of practice distribution will eventually look more like that of the women in the classes of 1985–1991. Studying the phenomenon within a cohort is the only way to effectively separate the two effects and we attempt to do this with the data in Table 5.

⁹For prior empirical studies on lawyers who choose not to practice law, see Fiona M. Kay, *Flight from Law: A Competing Risks Model of Departures from Law Firms*, 31 *Law & Soc’y Rev.* 301 (1997); Joan Brockman, *Leaving the Practice of Law: The Wherefores and Whys*, 32 *Alberta L. Rev.* 116 (1994).

¹⁰These results are consistent with the preliminary results of the “After the JD” study. Ronit Dinovitzer et al., *supra* note 5, at 59.

The data in Tables 3 and 4 indicate that black and Hispanic graduates take a different mix of jobs from those worked by majority graduates. For the junior respondents in the classes of 1995–2001 five years out of law school, blacks are underrepresented throughout private practice in law firms, with no black respondents reporting working in a large private firm, and overrepresented in corporate counsel positions. With the exception of super-large firms, Hispanics are also underrepresented in private practice, and zero Hispanic respondents reported working in medium and large firms. Hispanics did report more often working as a lawyer within an accounting or insurance firm. For the more senior respondents in the classes of 1985–1991 15 years out of school, blacks and Hispanics together remain underrepresented in medium and large private practices, with none of either group present in small or medium private law firms. Though the differences are not significant, blacks and Hispanics together are overrepresented in corporate counsel and public interest positions. They also serve the public more often as judges. Although some of the variation in the type of practice majority and minority graduates undertake is undoubtedly due to differences in opportunities, some may also be due to differences in preferences. Once again, the small number of black and Hispanic graduates makes it difficult to draw confident conclusions.¹¹

Table 5 presents data on the first job out of law school reported by the classes of 1985–1991. The percentage who reported clerking for a judge is given in the first row, and then those graduates are also included in the following rows according to the type of their first job after the clerkship. Although the data in Table 4 reflect the considerable growth that occurred in law firms during the 15 years after the graduates left law school, a comparison of Tables 4 and 5 does suggest some life-cycle movement by the graduates among different types of practice. Over the first 15 years of practice, both men and women of the classes of 1985–1991 moved in substantial numbers from private practice to corporate counsel and nonpractice jobs. Among the private firms, only the men in small firms increased in percentage over the 15 years.¹²

¹¹For a more extensive study of the minority alumni of the University of Michigan Law School, see Richard O. Lempert, David L. Chambers & Terry K. Adams, *Michigan's Minority Graduates in Practice: The River Runs Through Law School*, 25 *Law & Soc. Inquiry* 395 (2000).

¹²Examining the life-cycle phenomenon on the movement of law school graduates among different types of practice from the perspective of the classes of 1995–2001, the results of our

Table 5: Percent of Respondents (Standard Deviation) in Each Type of First Job, According to Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Judicial clerkship	14.7 (35.4)	15.3 (36.1)	13.6 (34.4)	14.8 (35.6)	6.7 (25.8)
Private practice (all size firms)	67.1 (47.1)	71.6** (45.2)	59.0** (49.4)	68.1 (46.7)	50.0 (51.9)
Super-size private practice (# atts > 150)	15.1 (35.8)	16.3 (37.1)	12.9 (33.7)	15.2 (36.0)	7.1 (26.7)
Large private practice (150 >= # atts > 50)	13.6 (34.3)	16.8** (37.5)	7.8** (26.9)	14.2 (35.0)	7.1 (26.7)
Medium private practice (50 >= # atts > 15)	12.7 (33.3)	13.9 (34.7)	10.3 (30.6)	12.6 (33.3)	14.3 (36.3)
Small private practice (15 >= # atts)	25.6 (43.7)	24.5 (43.1)	27.6 (44.9)	25.9 (43.9)	21.4 (42.6)
Corporation or financial organization	4.3 (20.4)	4.8 (21.4)	3.4 (18.3)	3.9* (19.4)	14.3* (36.3)
Government	14.2 (35.0)	13.0 (33.7)	16.4 (37.2)	13.3 (34.0)	28.6 (46.9)
Public interest	4.9 (21.7)	3.4* (18.1)	7.8* (26.9)	4.9 (21.5)	7.1 (26.7)
Other	9.6 (29.5)	7.2* (25.9)	13.8* (34.6)	10.0 (30.1)	0.0 (0.0)
Number (sum of 8 rows above this)	324	208	116	309	14
Income first job (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	61.6 (28.4)	64.2** (29.4)	56.7** (25.7)	62.2** (28.7)	50.6** (16.5)
<i>N</i>	316	205	111	301	14

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

Tables 6 and 7 present the sorts of employment for the members of the classes of 1985–1991 who were in the “nonpractice” category in Table 4.

survey suggest that, even five years after graduation, female graduates express a greater expectation of moving from one job to another. The survey asked respondents whether, in five years, they would be practicing in the same firm or agency as they are now and offered four answers: “yes” (coded +2), “probably yes” (coded +1), “probably not” (coded -1), and “no” (coded -2). For the classes of 1995–2001, the mean for men for this variable was 1.0, while the mean for women was 0.5, and the difference was significant at the 0.05 level. The possible reasons respondents gave for leaving their present place of work were recorded textually. Searching the text record for women, we find 13 references to family or children. Searching the text record for men, we find only two references to family.

Table 6: Percent of Respondents in “Nonpractice” Category, According to Where They Reported Working, by Gender and Race or Ethnicity, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Federal government	5.4	5.7	4.8	5.5	0
State government	12.5	8.6	19.1	12.7	0
Education	12.5	11.4	14.3	12.7	0
Fortune 500	8.9	14.3	0	9.1	0
Banking	1.8	2.9	0	1.8	0
Accounting firm	1.8	2.9	0	1.8	0
Insurance	3.4	2.9	4.8	3.6	0
Other business	21.4	25.7	14.3	21.8	0
Other	32.1	25.7	42.9	30.9	100
<i>N</i>	56	35	21	55	1

Table 7: Percent of Respondents in “Nonpractice” Category, According to Their Position, by Gender and Race or Ethnicity, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Elect. or appoint. off.	7.7	5.9	11.1	7.8	0
Executive, director, or manager	53.9	55.9	50.0	52.9	100
Staff member	3.9	5.9	0	3.9	0
Other teacher	9.6	11.8	5.6	9.8	0
Other	25.0	20.6	33.3	25.5	0
<i>N</i>	52	34	18	51	1

Table 6 displays the percentage and standard deviation of the “nonpractice” respondents in each type of agency or employer broken down by gender and minority status, while Table 7 displays the reported position these respondents held with that firm or agency, again broken down according to gender and minority status. The results show that respondents in the classes of 1985–1991 who are not practicing law work mostly for governments, educational institutions, and businesses, although a substantial group of these nonpractitioners work for “other” organizations. The largest career category among those not practicing law is business executive, director, or manager, accounting for more than 50 percent of those in the “nonpractice” category. Other strong categories include teacher (10 percent) and elected or appointed official (8 percent). The men seem to disproportionately work for

businesses, while the women appear to disproportionately work for state governments and educational institutions, although it would be a mistake to make too much of the variation across the genders within each category because the sample is so small.

IV. INCOME, HOURS, CAREER SATISFACTION, AND SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY/WORK BALANCE

We next present information on career and family satisfaction. We examine how variables such as income, hours worked, and career and family satisfaction levels vary by type of practice, gender, and minority status. Finally, we examine how Indiana graduates in private practice have progressed in their careers by examining the percentage that make partner.

A. Type of Practice

Tables 8 and 9 present means and standard deviations on income, satisfaction, and hours of work for the classes of 1995–2001 and 1985–1991, respectively, broken down by type of practice. The annual income row records the mean annual income reported in thousands of 2006 dollars. Annual hours worked reports the mean total hours worked (as opposed to billable hours) based on the respondents' answers. The average hourly wage is the average of the respondents' income divided by hours, in 2006 dollars. The usual hourly fee is expressed in 2006 dollars per hour and is, once again, the mean value based on respondents' answers regarding their typical hourly billing rate. The three satisfaction variables are evaluated on a seven-point scale, ranging from "very satisfied" (coded +3) to "very dissatisfied" (coded -3). Respondents indicated their degree of overall satisfaction with their career, overall satisfaction with their family life, and the balance they have struck between professional life and private or family life. A higher number represents greater satisfaction and a jump in any of the these variables near the mean equal to their standard deviation equates to passing approximately 34 percent of the respondents, assuming a normal distribution. For purposes of determining the significance of the differences, each subgroup was compared to the group made up of all respondents not included in that subgroup. The "minimum number" is the minimum number for all items except "usual hourly fee," which had noticeably fewer respondents. For average hourly wage and annual hours

Table 8: Selected Means (Standard Deviations) Including Income, Hours, and Satisfaction on Scale from Very Dissatisfied (-3) to Very Satisfied (+3), by Type of Practice, Five-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1995-2001

Variable	All Obs	Super Priv't	Large Priv't	Med Priv't	Small Priv't	Corp. Counsel	Acc't'g + Insur. Firms	Gov't	Public Interest
Annual income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	90.8 (58.8)	128.8** (50.7)	96.6 (29.1)	90.2 (35.7)	84.1 (71.7)	106.1* (41.8)	76.6 (17.4)	59.8** (22.2)	58.7** (17.6)
Annual hours worked	2446 (568.9)	2708** (581.0)	2435 (595.5)	2531 (487.5)	2437 (470.8)	2372 (516.7)	2498 (443.9)	2292** (586.7)	2232** (280.7)
Average hourly wage	39.1 (35.0)	49.4** (24.9)	41.9 (15.5)	43.0 (53.3)	36.0 (40.0)	44.9 (17.4)	30.5** (3.2)	28.0** (12.9)	25.6** (6.1)
Usual hourly fee	192 (79.3)	245** (71.9)	196 (39.1)	184 (49.3)	168** (47.6)	88 (N/A)	213 (N/A)	104** (56.6)	112 (39.6)
Overall career satisfaction	1.33 (1.11)	1.40 (1.09)	1.43 (1.35)	0.88** (1.21)	1.24 (1.18)	1.78** (0.80)	1.40 (0.55)	1.38 (0.88)	1.69 (0.87)
Family life satisfaction	1.85 (1.35)	1.70 (1.45)	2.07 (1.30)	1.71 (1.64)	1.98 (1.16)	2.26** (0.90)	2.60** (0.55)	1.74 (1.33)	1.63 (1.26)
Family/work balance satisfaction	0.70 (1.59)	0.16** (1.59)	0.14* (1.62)	-0.18** (1.56)	0.91 (1.54)	1.35** (1.33)	1.40 (1.95)	1.03** (1.40)	1.19 (1.42)
Minimum number	397	59	28	48	85	26	5	64	15
Law school GPA	3.22 (0.25)	3.38** (0.24)	3.28 (0.23)	3.25 (0.21)	3.12** (0.23)	3.28 (0.23)	3.13 (0.17)	3.16* (0.25)	3.26 (0.23)
N	353	57	28	45	73	24	5	56	13

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, ***significant at 0.01 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to all others except that group.

Table 9: Selected Means (Standard Deviations) Including Income, Hours, and Satisfaction on Scale from Very Dissatisfied (-3) to Very Satisfied (+3), by Type of Practice, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985-1991

Variable	All Obs	Super Priv't	Large Priv't	Med Priv't	Small Priv't	Corp. Counsel	Acc't'g+ Insur. Firms	Gov't	Public Interest
Annual income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	154.0 (128.6)	285.6** (161.7)	239.2** (112.1)	190.0 (131.1)	138.0 (105.2)	179.4 (105.9)	118.7 (43.9)	92.6** (24.5)	65.3** (12.4)
Annual hours worked	2311 (598.7)	2459 (689.5)	2469 (669.9)	2322 (620.2)	2312 (617.3)	2399 (491.8)	2136 (368.2)	2247 (357.2)	2049** (363.3)
Average hourly wage	74.0 (107.6)	117.7** (61.6)	108.1** (55.1)	74.5 (41.4)	81.4 (189.6)	78.5 (39.4)	55.1** (15.1)	41.7** (10.9)	33.4** (10.8)
Usual hourly fee	227 (94.3)	352** (93.8)	272** (59.5)	208 (45.6)	179** (53.5)	177 (50.0)	N/A	N/A	70.2 (N/A)
Overall career satisfaction	1.66 (1.09)	1.56 (0.89)	1.50 (1.10)	1.14* (1.35)	1.35** (1.26)	1.73 (0.83)	1.83 (1.17)	1.95** (0.82)	1.67 (1.37)
Family life satisfaction	1.73 (1.53)	1.48 (1.34)	2.06 (0.77)	1.67 (1.68)	1.39** (1.75)	2.04 (1.08)	2.5** (0.55)	1.65 (1.56)	1.83 (1.27)
Family/work balance satisfaction	0.81 (1.65)	0.07** (1.52)	0.06* (1.48)	0.48 (1.75)	0.91 (1.65)	0.59 (1.58)	1.67 (1.51)	1.21* (1.57)	1.00 (1.21)
Minimum number	267	24	14	19	68	25	6	39	12
Law school GPA	3.11 (0.34)	3.33** (0.27)	3.24** (0.16)	3.11 (0.23)	3.06 (0.32)	3.23** (0.22)	3.3 (0.27)	3.05 (0.28)	3.09 (0.16)
N	225	23	12	14	58	18	5	32	9

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, ***significant at 0.01 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to all others except that group.

worked, we excluded the cases in which the annual hours worked were fewer than 100.

Of the junior respondents, those who were surveyed five years after graduation, the lawyers who work for a super-large private firm earn significantly more money and work significantly more hours than the average graduate in another type of practice. Conversely, those working in the public interest sector and for the government earn significantly less and work less than the other graduates. Lawyers in super-sized private firms make more than twice the amount earned by government and public interest lawyers five years after law school. On the other hand, the extra two hours per weekday it takes to work 500 extra hours in a year is likely to dramatically reduce the amount of time those workers have left for family and leisure.

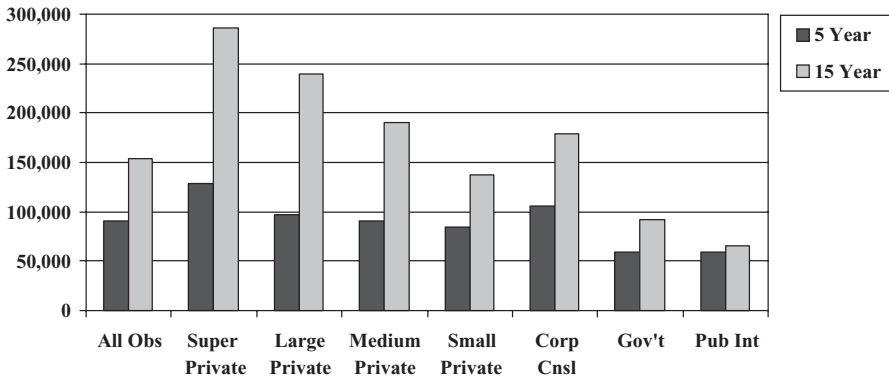
In a previous study of law alumni from the University of Michigan, Dau-Schmidt and Mukhopadhyaya found very similar patterns regarding the hours worked and income earned by those graduates.¹³ One difference was that junior government lawyers from Michigan earned as much as those in small private practices, whereas the junior government lawyers from Indiana lag behind their small firm counterparts in pay. Perhaps the elite status of Michigan allows those graduates to qualify for more of the highest-paying government jobs. This conjecture is supported by the difference in number of graduates who take jobs in the highest-paying law firms. Of the junior lawyers in the Michigan sample, 48 percent were employed at large firms,¹⁴ compared to only 22 percent of the Indiana graduates at similar sized firms. The respondents in large private firms make up a greater percentage of Michigan graduates 15 years past graduation than of Indiana graduates only five years past graduation and having not yet run the partnership gauntlet.

By 15 years out of law school, the income advantage of private practice in a large firm has grown, with lawyers in super-sized firms reporting an average income of \$285,600 and lawyers in large firms reporting an average income of \$239,200, while government and public interest lawyers reported average incomes of only \$92,600 and \$65,300. At the same time, working hours have dropped by about 250 hours per year at the super-large firms, almost to the level of their average peers. Public interest lawyers continue to

¹³Kenneth G. Dau-Schmidt & Kaushik Mukhopadhyaya, *The Fruits of Our Labors: An Empirical Study of the Distribution of Income and Job Satisfaction Across the Legal Profession*, 49 *J. Legal Educ.* 342, 346 (1999).

¹⁴*Id.*, at 350.

Figure 1: Income by type of practice (five and 15 years after law school), 2006 dollars.



have more time for family and leisure than average. The pay-per-hour ratio is significantly better at large and super-large firms, and significantly worse in government and public interest positions. Figure 1 displays the average incomes for the different types of practice reported by the classes of 1995–2001 five years out of law school and the classes of 1985–1991 15 years out of law school. (Lawyers at accounting and insurance firms are omitted because there were so few.) All incomes rise with seniority, but the increase for government jobs is small and for public interest jobs is negligible. It is unclear why seniority is rewarded more heavily in the private sector, but the pattern was similar in the Michigan data.

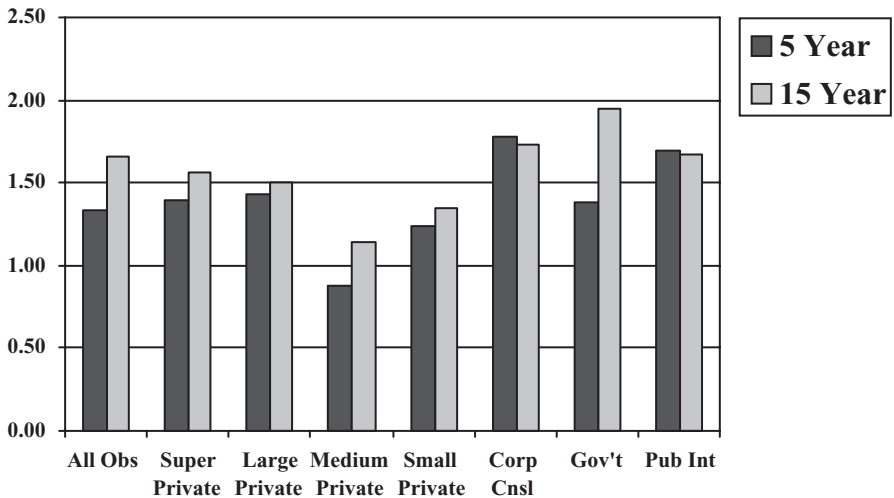
Across all types of practice, respondents reported positive satisfaction with their careers. This finding is at odds with studies that report serious dissatisfaction within the legal profession,¹⁵ but is consistent with the gener-

¹⁵See Keith Cunningham, *Father Time: Flexible Work Arrangements and the Law Firm's Failure of the Family*, 53 *Stan. L. Rev.* 967, 969–70 (2001); Patrick J. Schiltz, *On Being a Happy, Healthy, and Ethical Member of an Unhappy, Unhealthy, and Unethical Profession*, 52 *Vand. L. Rev.* 871 (1999). But see Kathleen Hull, *Cross-Examining the Myth of Lawyers' Misery*, 52 *Vand. L. Rev.* 971 (1999); John Heinz, Kathleen Hull & Ava Harter, *Lawyers and Their Discontents: Findings from a Survey of the Chicago Bar*, 74 *Ind. L.J.* 735 (1999). For a neutral analysis of the satisfaction literature, see Stephen D. Easton, *My Last Lecture: Unsolicited Advice for Future and Current Lawyers*, 56 *S.C. L. Rev.* 229 (2004). As a former lawyer in both the large- and small-firm atmosphere, Professor Easton concludes that different environments will present different challenges for lawyers. He advises all to be honest with themselves regarding their abilities and their aspirations and to choose positions wisely.

ally positive reports from Michigan graduates. Compared to the average Indiana respondent, Indiana graduates in government jobs are equally satisfied five years out, and are the highest in career satisfaction 15 years out. The trend is in the opposite direction with the Michigan graduates in government practice; they are high in satisfaction after five years, but only average in satisfaction after 15. Indiana graduates working as lawyers in businesses are highest in career satisfaction after five years, but have lost their advantage in the more senior group where the average satisfaction is greater. Likewise, Michigan graduates working as business counsel are significantly higher than other graduates five years out, and lose some of their advantage in the later survey as satisfaction improves for the others. Indiana respondents in small and medium firms are significantly less satisfied 15 years after graduation than their classmates. Of the respondents in private firms of more than 50 lawyers, both five and 15 years out, those from Michigan were significantly below their peers in career satisfaction, but those from Indiana were not. On average, satisfaction appears to increase during the decade separating the two Indiana groups, as it does with the Michigan respondents. Figure 2 displays the levels of career satisfaction by type of practice for both our samples.

All subgroups of respondents reported positive satisfaction with their families, with the few lawyers in accounting and insurance firms having the

Figure 2: Career satisfaction by type of practice (five and 15 years after law school).



highest satisfaction. However, satisfaction with the balance between professional life and family or personal life is another story. At the five-year mark, lawyers in medium, large, and super-sized private firms reported low satisfaction with their ability to balance their professional and private lives. Undoubtedly, the low levels of satisfaction with family/work balance reported by those in the larger private practices are partly attributable to the long hours those practices require. It is possible that if there are female graduates who chose to work for large firms to obtain flexibility for balancing family and work, they might have been happier with the balance at a small private firm. Small private firms might empower their lawyers to organize practice in such a way as to facilitate childcare and family time.

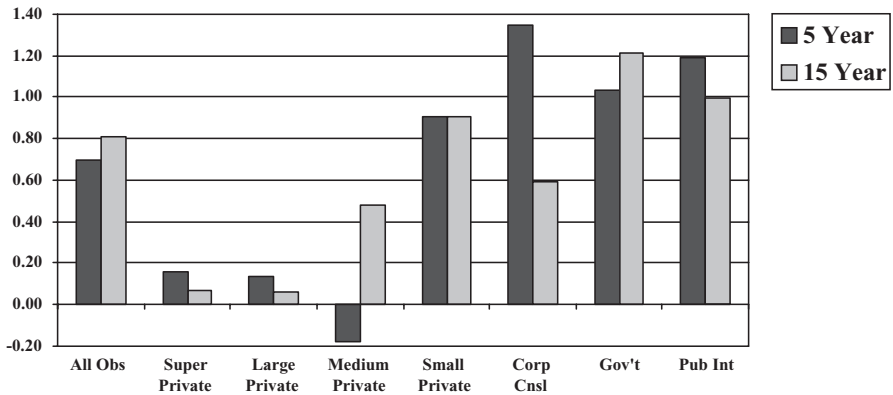
In the group surveyed after 15 years, government lawyers reported significantly high satisfaction with family/work balance, while corporate counsel have lost the advantage they had as junior lawyers. Given that some studies have lauded the corporate counsel position,¹⁶ and that junior lawyers find the corporate counsel positions compatible with family life, our finding of less than average satisfaction with family/work balance among the more senior graduates might be due in part to the influx of unhappy lawyers leaving other private practice jobs. Figure 3 presents the levels of satisfaction with family/work balance reported by respondents five years out and 15 years out, broken down by type of practice.

In their study of Michigan law alumni, Dau-Schmidt and Mukhopadhaya found an inverse relationship between income and job satisfaction across the legal profession.¹⁷ Noting that both income and job satisfaction were desirable, they hypothesized that those lawyers in the types of practice with higher average income were trading job satisfaction for higher income, while those in the types of practice with lower average income were trading income for higher job satisfaction. Such an inverse relationship between income and job satisfaction is more difficult to detect in the

¹⁶Joan C. Williams, Cynthia Thomas Calvert & Holly Cohen Cooper, *Better on Balance? The Corporate Counsel Work/Life Report*, 10 *Wm. & Mary J. Women & L.* 367 (2004). This qualitative analysis of in-house counsel found that they generally worked long hours (around 50 hours/weeks) but not as long as traditionally seen by firm associates. Scheduling flexibility, when present, is not due necessarily to part-time positions, but rather to supportive and cooperative departments that share responsibilities. Ultimately, each firm is different in its utilization of in-house legal departments. Generalizations such as those offered in this article are obviously dependent on the sample of corporate counsel.

¹⁷Dau-Schmidt & Mukhopadhaya, *supra* note 13.

Figure 3: Satisfaction with family/work balance (five and 15 years after law school).



data from Indiana respondents. Indeed, for the classes of 1995–2001, super-sized and large private practices and corporate counsel positions boast higher incomes and higher career satisfaction than medium and small firms. Similarly, for the more senior classes of 1985–1991, the highest-paying private practice positions are generally also those with the highest career satisfaction, both moving generally downward with firm size. Of course, there are many attributes a law school graduate might look for in a career, including quality of life, firm flexibility, and time off to spend with family.¹⁸ It may be that, compared to their Michigan counterparts, a larger proportion of Indiana graduates in super-sized or large firms work in the midwest, contributing to their quality of work life and career satisfaction. Comparison of private practice in a law firm to government and public interest practice 15 years after graduation reveals some support for the inverse income-job satisfaction relationship observed in the Michigan data. Private practice pays more, but is a less satisfying career. Corporate counsel jobs, however, pay far more than public interest work while offering an equally satisfying career. Of course, it is possible that the tradeoff across those two occupations is not realistic in that, while both groups are

¹⁸Indeed, in a study of Texas lawyers, Susan Fortney found lower billable hours largely determinative of job satisfaction. Susan Saab Fortney, *Soul for Sale: An Empirical Study of Associate Satisfaction, Law Firm Culture, and the Effects of Billable Hour Requirements*, 69 *UMKC L. Rev.* 239 (2000).

equally satisfied in their careers, they would both be much less satisfied in the other career.

B. Gender and Minority Status

Tables 10 and 11 examine the same income and satisfaction variables described above and presented in Tables 8 and 9, broken down by gender and minority status. Again, the annual income is listed in thousands of 2006 dollars. Annual hours worked is the total number of hours the respondents reported working (as opposed to billable hours). The average hourly wage is the average of the respondents' income divided by hours, in 2006 dollars. The usual hourly fee is the respondents' average reported billing rate, expressed in 2006 dollars per hour. And again, the three satisfaction variables were based on a seven-point scale, ranging from -3 for "very unsatisfied" to +3 for "very satisfied," where respondents indicated their degree of satisfaction with their career, their family life, and their family/work balance. The more positive is the number, the greater level of expressed satisfaction. The number of observations once again varies slightly according to how many respondents gave valid responses to each question. The "minimum number" is the minimum of the number of respondents for each of the items above it.

Examining Tables 10 and 11, we see a number of differences associated with gender. Women reported a significantly lower average income than men, with women earning an average of \$83,900 five years out of law school while men earn \$95,400.¹⁹ By 15 years out of law school, this difference in average income has grown and women reported earning \$113,200 while the men reported earning \$180,300.²⁰ This difference in average income is explained in part by the fact that women reported working significantly fewer hours than men, both five (2,354 hours for women to 2,508 hours for men) and 15 years after law school (2,088 hours for women to 2,401 hours for men). Male graduates also express more concern about making a lot of

¹⁹This is consistent with initial results in the "After the JD" study, Ronit Dinovitzer et al., *supra* note 5, at 58.

²⁰See also Cathlin Donell, Joyce Sterling & Nancy Reichman, *Gender Penalties: The Results of the Careers and Compensation Study* (monograph, Colorado Women's Bar Association 1998); Robert G. Wood, Mary E. Corcoran & Paul N. Courant, *Pay Differences Among the Highly Paid: The Male-Female Earnings Gap in Lawyer's Salaries*, 11 *J. Lab. Econ.* 417 (1993) (both examining the differences in pay between men and women in the legal profession).

Table 10: Selected Means (Standard Deviations) Including Income, Hours, and Satisfaction on Scale from Very Dissatisfied (-3) to Very Satisfied (+3), by Gender and Minority Status, Five-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1995-2001

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Hispanic</i>
Annual income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	90.4 (58.4)	95.4** (60.5)	83.9** (54.9)	91.5** (59.8)	75.7** (31.9)	89.9 (56.7)	109.2 (100.6)
Annual hours worked	2442 (572.6)	2508** (528.0)	2354** (617.4)	2438 (565.2)	2493 (685.5)	2446 (570.0)	2290 (645.5)
Avg. hourly wage (2006 dollars)	39 (34.4)	40 (37.5)	37 (29.6)	39** (35.4)	31** (12.0)	38 (31.2)	62 (88.5)
Usual hourly fee	192 (79.0)	198 (83.6)	182 (70.3)	193 (79.6)	181 (73.0)	190 (67.2)	274 (247.4)
Overall career satisfaction	1.32 (1.12)	1.38 (1.11)	1.24 (1.12)	1.33 (1.14)	1.24 (0.72)	1.32 (1.12)	1.46 (1.20)
Family life satisfaction	1.83 (1.34)	1.78 (1.38)	1.90 (1.30)	1.85* (1.36)	1.44* (1.00)	1.81 (1.35)	2.29 (1.07)
Family/work balance satisfaction	0.70 (1.60)	0.76 (1.56)	0.62 (1.65)	0.71 (1.62)	0.48 (1.26)	0.68 (1.61)	1.07 (1.27)
Minimum number	416	237	179	387	25	399	13

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

Table 11: Selected Means (Standard Deviation) Including Income, Hours, and Satisfaction on Scale from Very Dissatisfied (-3) to Very Satisfied (+3), by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Annual income (1,000s of 2006 dollars)	157.6 (141.5)	180.3** (152.1)	113.2** (105.5)	159.8 (142.6)	103.1 (113.3)
Annual hours worked	2297 (634.8)	2401** (573.5)	2088** (699.5)	2305 (637.9)	2209 (543.1)
Avg. hourly wage (2006 dollars)	79 (123.9)	88** (144.5)	60** (58.0)	79 (125.2)	73 (101.5)
Usual hourly fee	227 (94.5)	229 (95.4)	220 (93.0)	227 (94.6)	193 (91.5)
Overall career satisfaction	1.64 (1.11)	1.63 (1.02)	1.67 (1.27)	1.63 (1.11)	1.75 (1.29)
Family life satisfaction	1.78 (1.51)	1.71 (1.52)	1.90 (1.48)	1.78 (1.50)	1.57 (1.74)
Family/work balance satisfaction	0.84 (1.63)	0.78 (1.55)	0.95 (1.78)	0.83 (1.63)	0.43 (1.74)
Minimum number	283	191	92	271	10

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup.

money and are more likely to be the primary breadwinners, while female graduates do much more childcare and tend slightly to be overrepresented in government and public interest positions,²¹ which fall on the lower side of income but the higher side of satisfaction with family/work balance. Women and men reported similar levels of overall career satisfaction and satisfaction with the family/work balance after five years. Women have an insignificant edge when it comes to satisfaction with their family lives and family/work balance after 15 years.²²

Examining Tables 10 and 11 for differences associated with minority status, we find that our analysis is limited by a paucity of minority observations. The responses of black and Hispanic respondents from the classes of

²¹See Tables 3 and 4, *supra*.

²²Our findings offer little support for empirical studies that find female lawyers reporting higher job satisfaction than males, but are consistent with the studies that find females reporting higher family satisfaction than males. Kathleen E. Hull, *The Paradox of the Contented Female Lawyer*, 33 *Law & Soc’y Rev.* 687 (1999). See also David Chambers, *supra* note 8.

1985–1991 are combined in Table 11. Black respondents reported significantly lower income than nonblacks five years out of law school (\$75,700 vs. \$91,500) and black and Hispanic respondents reported lower income 15 years out of law school (\$103,100 vs. \$159,800), although the small number of respondents prevents that difference from being significant. Blacks reported lower family satisfaction five years out (1.44 to 1.85) than nonblacks. Blacks and Hispanics after 15 years are less satisfied than nonminority graduates with family/work balance (0.43 vs. 0.83), although the difference is not significant. Figure 4 displays satisfaction with the family by gender and minority status for respondents both five and 15 years out of law school. Figure 5 displays satisfaction with the family/work balance by gender and minority status for both sets of subjects.

C. Progress in Careers in Private Practice

The traditional mark of achievement in private practice is a lawyer's acceptance as a partner in a firm.²³ "Partnership" is the goal that many lawyers in private practice strive to achieve and whether they succeed in attaining this rung on the ladder of professional success can have a huge impact on their remuneration. For others, however, who dislike the hours of work and sacrifice of time with family required to make and maintain partnership, the proverbial "light at the end of the tunnel" is instead an oncoming train. In this section, we examine data on the classes of 1985–1991 in private practice, collected 15 years after law school, to determine how graduates have advanced in their private practice careers and whether there are systematic variations associated with gender, race, or ethnicity.

Table 12 presents the percentage of the classes of 1985–1991 in private practice according to the current status in their firm at the time they completed the survey. The results are broken down according to gender and minority status. The relevant standard deviations are in parentheses. Unfortunately, once again, there are not enough observations to make any useful generalizations about partner selection by minority status. As Table 12 indicates, the majority of men and women in private practice 15 years after law school are partners in their respective firms. A higher percentage of men than women reported themselves as being a partner (72.0 percent vs.

²³See NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education, *Perceptions of Partnership: The Allure and Accessibility of the Brass Ring* (1993).

Figure 4: Satisfaction with the family by gender and minority status (five and 15 years after law school).

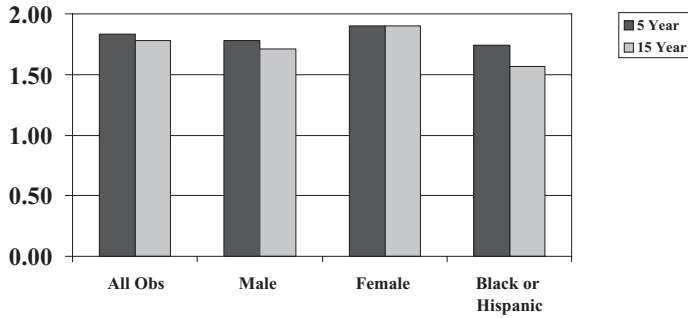
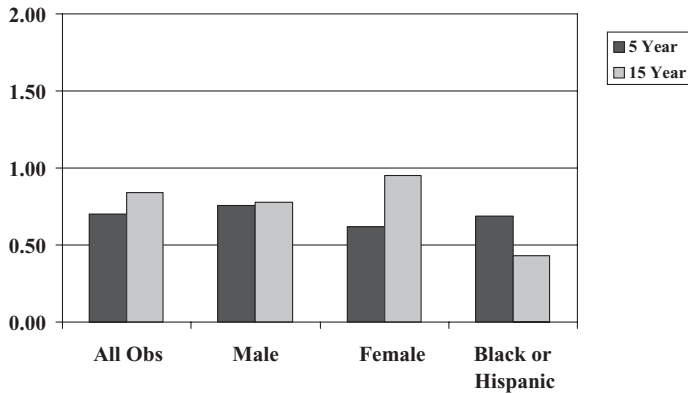


Figure 5: Satisfaction with family/work balance by gender and minority status (five and 15 years after law school).



54.1 percent)²⁴ and women are disproportionately found in “of-counsel” positions (21.6 percent vs. 6.5 percent). Given our finding that women avoid small and medium firm practice, a surprisingly high percentage of women reported themselves as practicing “solo,” although the result is not statistically different from the men.

The most obvious explanation for this difference between the partnership and of-counsel status of men and women is child-care responsibilities.

²⁴See also Cynthia Fuchs Epstein et al., *Glass Ceilings and Open Doors: Women’s Advancement in the Legal Profession*, 64 *Fordham L. Rev.* 291 (1995); John Hagan & Fiona Kay, *Gender in Practice: A Study of Lawyers’ Lives* (1995).

Table 12: Percent of Respondents (Standard Deviation) Who are Partner, Associate, Of Counsel, and Solo, by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Nonblack, Non-Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Partner	67.4 (47.1)	72.0** (45.1)	54.1** (50.5)	67.6 (47.0)	60.0 (54.8)
Associate	3.5 (18.4)	3.7 (19.1)	2.7 (16.4)	3.6 (18.7)	0.0 (0.0)
Of counsel	10.4 (30.7)	6.5** (24.8)	21.6** (41.7)	10.1 (30.2)	20.0 (44.7)
Solo	18.8 (39.2)	17.8 (38.4)	21.6 (41.7)	18.7 (39.1)	20.0 (44.7)
<i>N</i>	144	107	37	139	5 [†]

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup; [†]sample size too small for a statistical test.

Indiana graduates often follow traditional gender roles regarding childcare and income production, with the women undertaking much greater responsibility for childcare, while the men are more often the primary breadwinners 15 years after law school.²⁵ Though women enter private practice at a rate only somewhat lower than their male peers, they are drawn to large firm practice, perhaps by the money, prestige, training, or credential, or perhaps by the promises of family-flexible arrangements. Once in private practice, as the women have children, many of them become “of counsel” or work “solo” on a contract basis, possibly to gain more flexibility for family responsibilities. Some women may even achieve partnership and then leave this status to become “of counsel” and take care of their children.²⁶ A quick check of the difference in child-care responsibilities between women who are partners and those who are “of counsel” is consistent with this analysis. Only 20 percent of female partners reported having stopped working or having worked part time to do childcare, while 75 percent of the women who are “of counsel” reported doing the same.

As noted in the comparison of Tables 4 and 5, over the first 15 years of practice there is some movement by graduates out of private practice to

²⁵See Table 2, *supra*.

²⁶Discussions with both male and female Indiana graduates suggest that this occurs surprisingly often.

Table 13: Retention and Status (Standard Deviation) of Those in Private Practice After 15 Years Whose First Job Was in Private Practice, by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Not Black, Not Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Retention					
In private practice in 15th year	55.8 (49.8)	59.2 (49.3)	47.5 (50.4)	56.5 (49.7)	33.3 (51.6)
<i>N</i>	206	147	59	200	6
Status					
Partner	76.3 (42.7)	81.1** (39.4)	60.7** (49.7)	76.5 (42.6)	66.7 (57.7)
Associate	2.5 (15.8)	2.2 (14.8)	3.6 (18.9)	2.6 (16.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Of counsel	7.6 (26.7)	4.4** (20.7)	17.9** (39.0)	7.0 (25.6)	33.3 (57.7)
Solo	13.6 (34.4)	12.2 (32.9)	17.9 (39.0)	13.9 (34.8)	0.0 (0.0)
<i>N</i>	118	90	28	115	3 [†]

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup; [†]sample size too small for a statistical test.

corporate counsel and other jobs. Table 13 presents the percent of graduates of the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years after law school who started in private practice in their first job after law school²⁷ and who were still in private practice 15 years later. Overall, 55.8 percent of those respondents who started in private practice were still in private practice 15 years later. A lower percentage of women and of minority respondents remained in private practice, but these results are not statistically significant. Of those who remained in private practice, a higher percentage of the men were partners (81.1 percent to 60.7 percent) while a higher percentage of women were “of counsel” (17.9 percent to 4.4 percent). These differences are once again consistent with the different family roles taken on by the male and female respondents.

A fact that is often overlooked in empirical studies is that people not only drop out of private practice, but they also “drop in.” In Table 14 we examine the percentage of graduates of the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years after law school who started in a first job outside of private practice, but

²⁷If the respondent worked a judicial clerkship after law school, we look at the first job after that clerkship to determine whether he or she started in private practice.

Table 14: Entry and Status (Standard Deviation) of Those in Private Practice After 15 Years Whose First Job Was Not in Private Practice, by Gender and Minority Status, 15-Year Survey of Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Not Black, Not Hispanic</i>	<i>Black or Hispanic</i>
Entry					
In private practice in	25.0	28.8	20.0	25.0	28.6
15th year	(43.5)	(45.7)	(40.5)	(43.5)	(48.8)
N	104	59	45	96	7
Status					
Partner	26.9	23.5	33.3	25.0	50
	(45.2)	(43.7)	(50.0)	(44.2)	(70.7)
Associate	7.7	11.8	0.0	8.3	0.0
	(27.2)	(33.2)	(0.0)	(28.2)	(0.0)
Of counsel	23.1	17.6	33.3	25.0	0.0
	(43.0)	(39.3)	(50.0)	(44.2)	(0.0)
Solo	42.3	47.1	33.3	41.7	50
	(50.4)	(51.4)	(50.0)	(50.4)	(70.7)
N	26	17	9	24	2 [†]

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test, each subgroup compared to opposite subgroup; [†]sample size too small for a statistical test.

reported working in private practice 15 years later. Overall, 25 percent of those respondents who started outside of private firms were working in private practice 15 years later. Men show a slightly higher propensity to drop in, but this difference is not statistically significant. Among those who do drop in to private practice, women and minority respondents are more likely to drop in as partners and less likely as associates, but these differences are not statistically significant. Finally, women are somewhat more likely to drop in as “of counsel” while minority respondents are more likely to drop in as solo practitioners, but again neither of these results is statistically significant. Although some potentially interesting patterns are evident in our analysis of the “drop-in” phenomenon, our analysis is hampered by small numbers of observations. Further study is warranted.

V. REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF INCOME AND CAREER SATISFACTION

Our analysis of means has shown that income and career satisfaction are associated with a number of variables, including hours worked, type of practice, gender, race, and ethnicity. We have also seen that gender, race,

and ethnicity may play a role in the type of practice the law school graduate enters, and the number of hours he or she works. In this section, we present the results of regressions intended to isolate the effects of the variables gathered in our study on income and career satisfaction for the Indiana classes of 1995–2001 and classes of 1985–1991.

A. Income

Regressions 1 and 2 of Table 15 estimate the income of graduates of the classes of 1995–2001, five years after law school, based on a traditional economic model of labor supply.²⁸ In the regressions, the natural log of real income in 2006 dollars is estimated as a function of work experience (years of practice), annual hours worked, and a measure of productivity (law school grade point average (GPA)). To this basic labor supply equation we append dummy variables for gender and minority groups that are of interest and a variety of demographic and “taste-shifter” variables that have proven useful in the analysis of similar data on Michigan alumni.²⁹ The demographic variables include city size and region, while the taste-shifter variables include personal characteristics such as concern for making a lot of money. In particular, we included the respondent’s city size and region, type of practice, months of reduced work for childcare, compulsiveness about work, concern for making a lot of money, self-confidence, compassion, specialization in criminal law, domestic relations, income tax, insurance or international trade, and the percent of time the respondent spends in the library, negotiating for clients, and recruiting other lawyers. The “default case” for these regressions in which all dummy variables are zero, is a nonblack, non-Hispanic male who works in a super-sized private practice in a large city not in the East, who does not specialize in any of those practice areas, and who has spent no time doing childcare, negotiating for clients, or recruiting lawyers for the firm.

In Regression 2 we break the female dummy variable into three dummy variables, according to whether the respondent reported having children and taking time off from work to do childcare. The first dummy variable is

²⁸See Dau-Schmidt & Mukhopadhaya, *supra* note 13, at 359.

²⁹See Kenneth G. Dau-Schmidt et al., *Gender and the Legal Profession: The Michigan Law School Alumni Data Set 1967–2004* (forthcoming 2008). The demographic and taste-shifter variables included in the equation estimated in this analysis are the variables that proved statistically significant in a similar income regression analysis using the Michigan data.

Table 15: Regressions with the Natural Log of Income (in 1,000s of 2006 Dollars) as the Dependent Variable, Indiana Law School Classes 1995–2001, Five-Year Survey

<i>Dependent Variable: Log of Income (in 1,000s of 2006 Dollars)</i>	<i>Regression 1 Five Years Out</i>		<i>Regression 2 Five Years Out</i>	
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>
Years of practice	0.087**	0.030	0.078**	0.034
Annual hours of work	8.3E-05	9.7E-05	9.4E-05	9.8E-05
Law school GPA	0.322	0.378	0.330	0.381
Works in medium city	-0.093	0.111	-0.077	0.116
Works in small city	0.008	0.109	0.025	0.105
Works in East	0.137	0.198	0.143	0.201
Private practice large	0.001	0.164	0.006	0.167
Private practice medium	-0.194	0.218	-0.191	0.224
Private practice small	-0.336**	0.125	-0.339**	0.133
Corporate counsel	0.031	0.142	0.050	0.158
Accounting or insurance firm	-0.304**	0.128	-0.318**	0.130
Government practice	-0.431**	0.128	-0.426**	0.133
Public interest	-0.540**	0.174	-0.549**	0.177
Other practice, law teacher, judge	-0.097	0.192	-0.082	0.205
Nonpractice	-0.213	0.180	-0.207	0.181
Female	-0.116	0.147	—	—
Female, no kids	—	—	-0.157	0.193
Female, kids, no childcare	—	—	-0.027	0.089
Female, kids, childcare	—	—	0.026	0.201
Black	0.148	0.175	0.154	0.175
Hispanic	0.003	0.188	0.011	0.194
Months of childcare	-0.020	0.032	-0.031	0.040
Compulsiveness about work	-0.007	0.030	-0.008	0.031
Concern for making money	-0.020	0.049	-0.026	0.051
Confidence	0.023	0.027	0.027	0.028
Compassion	0.100	0.061	0.103	0.064
Specialty criminal law	-0.173	0.154	-0.144	0.160
Specialty domestic relations law	-0.189	0.150	-0.241	0.155
Specialty income tax	0.087	0.116	0.090	0.117
Specialty insurance law	0.112	0.159	0.129	0.165
Specialty international trade	0.066	0.160	0.096	0.172
Percent time spent in library	-0.011	0.011	-0.011	0.011
Percent time negotiating	0.009	0.006	0.009	0.006
Percent time recruiting	0.013	0.019	0.013	0.019
Constant	2.803**	1.241	2.764**	1.241
Regression summary statistics	Observations = 243		Observations = 239	
	$F(30, 211) = —$		$F(32, 205) = —$	
	Prob > $F = —$		Prob > $F = —$	
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.099$		Adjusted $R^2 = 0.094$	
	Root MSE = 0.715		Root MSE = 0.723	

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test.

for women who do not have children, the second is for women who have children but worked full time, and the third is for women who have children and in the previous five years took time off from work, by either not working or working part time, in order to do childcare. We hypothesized that because of the substantial influence of children and childcare on women's careers, this division of the female dummy variable into three would prove interesting. This division has also proved useful in analyzing similar Michigan alumni data.³⁰ The regressions are limited to respondents who worked "full time" at the time of completing the survey and reported working at least 1,800 hours in the previous year.

The results of Regressions 1 and 2 in Table 15 largely make sense in terms of the traditional model of labor supply. Income is positively related to years of experience, hours worked, and productivity as measured in grades, although only years of practice is statistically significant. In this semi-log form, the percentage change in the dependent variable is given by 100 times the exponential of the coefficient minus one.³¹ Since the mean annual income for the classes of 1995–2001 five years after graduation is \$90,800, the Regression 1 results suggest that, around the mean, each additional year of practice yields approximately \$8,253 in additional annual income, each additional hour worked yields \$7.54, and each additional 0.1 on the graduate's GPA yields \$3,449 in additional annual income.

The results for the demographic and type of practice variables in Regressions 1 and 2 also make sense as they suggest that, even after correcting for hours worked and other factors, lawyers make more money in large and super-sized private firms. Lawyers in small private practices, accounting or insurance firms, government jobs, and public interest positions make significantly less money than similarly situated lawyers in super-sized private firms. Again, evaluating the coefficients of Regression 1 at the mean level of annual income, they suggest that five years after graduation, graduates who go into small private firms make \$25,912 less a year than otherwise similarly situated graduates who go into super-sized private firms, while graduates who go into accounting or insurance firms make \$23,802 less, those who go into government practice make \$31,793 less, and those who take public interest jobs make \$37,886 less.

³⁰See Dau-Schmidt et al., *supra* note 30.

³¹Peter Kennedy, *A Guide to Econometrics* 123 (5th ed. 2003).

With respect to gender and minority status, our results are consistent with previous findings in the “After the JD” study of a small income disparity between men and women just three years out of law school,³² and a small positive coefficient for blacks in income regressions using the Michigan alumni data.³³ In Regression 1, the female dummy variable has a negative coefficient equivalent to approximately \$9,945 annually, and the black and Hispanic dummy variables have positive coefficients equivalent to approximately \$14,484 and \$273, respectively, but none of these results are significant. Dividing the female dummy variable into three dummy variables provides no useful insights with respect to the earnings of graduates just five years out of law school. Indeed, it seems, rather perversely, that women who have done childcare earn insignificantly more, although this might be explained if these women with children five years past graduation include a disproportionate number of returning students whose greater experience might have helped them land more lucrative jobs. Additional months of childcare have a negative impact on annual income equal to approximately \$1,798 for each additional month of childcare, but this result is not statistically significant.

In Table 16, Regressions 3 and 4 present analogous regressions of the natural log of real income in 2006 dollars for the classes of 1985–1991 15 years after graduation from law school. Since these respondents are reporting on their practice after the point at which the partnership decision is typically made six to eight years out of law school, we add a dummy variable for whether the respondent is a lawyer in private practice and is not a partner. We also expect that division of the female dummy variable into three dummy variables based on family situation will play a bigger role in this analysis than in the analysis of the five-year survey since the impact of these family decisions on labor supply is greater both in incidence and duration for this more senior sample. These regressions on data from lawyers 15 years past graduation yield substantially higher adjusted R^2 s than the regressions performed on the five-year responses (0.099 vs. 0.395). Because these 15-year regressions explain more of the variation in income, we have more faith in them than we do in the five-year regressions.

³²Ronit Dinovitzer et al., *supra* note 5.

³³Dau-Schmidt & Mukhopadhyaya, *supra* note 13; Richard O. Lempert, David L. Chambers & Terry K. Adams, *supra* note 11.

Table 16: Regressions with the Natural Log of Income (in 1,000s of 2006 Dollars) as the Dependent Variable, Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991, 15-Year Survey

<i>Dependent Variable: Log of Income (in 1,000s of 2006 Dollars)</i>	<i>Regression 3 15-Years Out</i>		<i>Regression 4 15-Years Out</i>	
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
Years of practice	0.080**	0.038	0.088**	0.037
Annual hours of work	5.0E-05	1.3E-04	7.4E-05	1.1E-04
Law school GPA	-0.020	0.122	-0.033	0.128
Works in medium city	-0.259**	0.107	-0.283**	0.102
Works in small city	-0.143	0.126	-0.165	0.120
Works in East	0.048	0.136	-0.004	0.145
Private practice large	-0.304**	0.117	-0.297**	0.123
Private practice medium	-0.368**	0.152	-0.356**	0.153
Private practice small	-0.543**	0.135	-0.546**	0.132
Not partner	-0.336**	0.136	-0.302**	0.132
Corporate counsel	-0.336*	0.193	-0.317*	0.163
Accounting or insurance firm	-0.846**	0.287	-0.845**	0.285
Government practice	-0.868**	0.138	-0.835**	0.133
Public interest	-0.811**	0.192	-0.749**	0.206
Other practice, law teacher, judge	-0.387**	0.170	-0.202	0.247
Nonpractice	-0.819**	0.390	-0.811**	0.351
Female	-0.150	0.107	—	—
Female, no kids	—	—	-0.253	0.154
Female, kids, no childcare	—	—	0.099	0.116
Female, kids, childcare	—	—	-0.953**	0.460
Black	-0.403*	0.220	-0.505**	0.239
Hispanic	-0.681**	0.279	-0.804**	0.278
Months of childcare	-0.010	0.011	0.003	0.007
Compulsiveness about work	0.047	0.035	0.061*	0.034
Concern for making money	0.078**	0.037	0.091**	0.032
Confidence	0.027	0.034	0.028	0.031
Compassion	-0.001	0.046	-0.006	0.043
Specialty criminal law	-0.216*	0.110	-0.163	0.110
Specialty domestic relations law	-0.200	0.130	-0.063	0.141
Specialty income tax	0.261	0.229	0.318	0.235
Specialty insurance law	0.686**	0.264	0.811**	0.278
Specialty international trade	-0.435	0.283	-0.380	0.272
Percent time spent in library	-0.011	0.010	-0.013	0.011
Percent time negotiating	-2.7E-04	0.003	-0.002	0.003
Percent time recruiting	0.016	0.010	0.027**	0.013
Constant	4.454**	0.664	4.326**	0.665
Regression summary statistics	Observations = 131		Observations = 130	
	$F(30, 98) = \text{—}$		$F(32, 95) = \text{—}$	
	Prob > $F = \text{—}$		Prob > $F = \text{—}$	
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.536$		Adjusted $R^2 = 0.592$	
	Root MSE = 0.422		Root MSE = 0.395	

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test.

With respect to the variables from the traditional labor supply model, the results of Regressions 3 and 4 in Table 16 for the classes of 1985–1991 surveyed 15 years out of law school look very similar to those in Regressions 1 and 2 in Table 15 for the classes of 1995–2001 five years out of law school. Once again the coefficients for years of practice and hours of work are positive, although neither of these results is significant. The productivity measure, law school GPA, provides a slight surprise as its coefficient is negative, but this result is insignificant. We explored this with additional regressions, which are discussed below. Perhaps it makes sense that 15 years after graduation the relationships between years of experience and income and between GPA and income are not as strong because other factors have had more time to play a role in determining income.

The type of practice and demographic variables in Regressions 3 and 4 give stronger results than in Regressions 1 and 2, with many achieving significant differences from the default case. Other factors held equal, the respondent lawyers reported lower income in medium-sized cities, progressively lower incomes as firm size diminishes, and predictably lower private practice salaries for those who do not make partner. Lawyers in corporate counsel positions, accounting firms, and the government, together with lawyers working in public interest and other positions, make significantly less money than similarly situated lawyers in super-sized private firms. Evaluating the coefficients for Regression 3 at the mean level of annual income for the sample 15 years after graduation (\$154,000), they suggest that in comparison with similarly situated graduates in super-sized private firms, graduates who go into large private firms make \$40,369 less annually, graduates who go into medium private firms make \$47,414 less annually, graduates who go into small private firms make \$64,526 less annually, graduates who work as corporate counsel make \$43,948 less annually, graduates who work at accounting or insurance firms make \$87,914 less annually, graduates who go into government practice make \$89,352 less annually, graduates who go into public interest work make \$85,560 less annually, and graduates who work in private practice but not as a partner make \$43,948 less annually.

The results of Regressions 3 and 4 indicate that blacks and Hispanics suffer significantly lower earnings as their careers in the legal profession progress. The coefficients for blacks and Hispanics in Regression 3 suggest that, at the mean, blacks make \$51,080 less a year and Hispanics make \$76,059 less a year 15 years after graduation. The situation is more ambiguous for women 15 years out of law school. In Regression 3, the coefficient for the female dummy variable is negative, but not significantly so. In Regression

4, the division of the female dummy variable into three dummy variables based on the respondent's family situation yields some interesting insights. The coefficient for women without children is negative, although it does not quite reach significance at the 10 percent level. The coefficient for women with children who have not previously left work or worked part time to do childcare is insignificantly positive, but the coefficient for women who have children and who have previously not worked or worked part time to do childcare is significantly negative. These results are consistent with results obtained with the Michigan alumni data set,³⁴ and suggest that the income disparity suffered by women in the legal profession is borne primarily by women who take time away from paid work to do childcare. Evaluating this coefficient at the mean, women who have previously taken time away from paid labor to do childcare make \$94,620 less annually than similarly situated men. Interestingly, people who are more concerned with making a lot of money do in fact make significantly more money. Our results suggest that compulsiveness about work also has a significant positive impact on income 15 years after graduation. These are factors that help accentuate the disparity in male and female income in the legal profession since, as we have previously discussed, men express a significantly greater concern about making a lot of money and are slightly more compulsive about work than are women.

It is somewhat surprising that law school grade point average (GPA, or "lsgpa" in the tables) is not a significant variable in the income regressions. Since a higher GPA brings job offers at larger firms and larger firms pay higher salaries, it seemed possible that the firm-size variables were stealing significance from the GPA variable. This conjecture was not confirmed when we explored alternative models to focus on the effects of GPA. GPA was not close to significant in regressions excluding the type of practice variables from the 15-year equations.³⁵ Indeed, even limiting those regressions to respondents in private firms, GPA was not significant, and it remained insignificant when we dropped the regional variables and the personal characteristics. Those models confirm the insignificance of GPA seen in the reported regressions. There are at least a couple of reasons why GPA might show no importance. Including GPA knocks out a number of observations. Apparently, respon-

³⁴See Dau-Schmidt et al., *supra* note 30.

³⁵As might be expected, given those results and the table of grades and firm size, when we delete GPA from the independent variables, the significance improves on some of the type of practice variables.

dents either do not remember their GPA 15 years later, or do not want to report it to us. Perhaps that group is biased in some way. Also, we ran the income regression on the largest single group of lawyers in private practice, those in small firms. Here, we got significant results at the 5 percent level, but the coefficient was negative! Perhaps it is true after all that “the C students make the money.” In any case, that negative relationship in small firms may be neutralizing a positive coefficient within the other firms.

B. Career Satisfaction

In Tables 17 and 18, Regressions 5 through 9 examine the effects of certain reported variables on overall career satisfaction. Regressions 5 through 7 examine the overall career satisfaction of the classes of 1995–2001 five years after law school and Regressions 8 and 9 examine the overall career satisfaction of the classes of 1985–1991 15 years after graduation. The dependent variable for these regressions is the respondent’s self-reported overall career satisfaction on a seven-point scale from “very unsatisfied” (coded -3) to “very satisfied” (coded $+3$). The continuous independent variables include income, years of practice, annual hours of work, less job stress (-3 for very stressful to $+3$ for little stress), family satisfaction (-3 to $+3$), satisfaction with family/work balance (-3 to $+3$), and law school GPA.³⁶ The dummy variables include the size of the city where the respondent works, employment on the East Coast, type of practice, and personal characteristics such as gender, race, and ethnicity. In Regression 8 on the 15-year data, as in Regressions 3 and 4 in Table 16, we add a dummy variable to identify those respondents who are in private practice and are not partners. Once again, we experiment with dividing the female dummy variable into three separate variables based on the respondent’s family situation. We also experimented in the five-year regressions with an interaction term between female and hours worked. The default for these regression equations in which all the dummy variables are zero is a nonblack, non-Hispanic male who works for a super-sized private practice in a large city not in the East. The coefficients in the regression equation represent increases or decreases in expressed career satisfaction on the previously discussed seven-point scale.

³⁶The job stress and satisfaction variables are of course not strictly “continuous variables” because they can take on only seven discrete values. However, they are not binary variables like the dummy variables and so we include them with the “continuous variables” for the purposes of our explanation.

Table 17: Regressions with “Overall Career Satisfaction” (−3 to +3) as the Dependent Variable, Indiana Law School Classes 1995–2001, Five-Year Survey

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>						
<i>“Overall Career Satisfaction” (−3 to +3)</i>	<i>Regression 5</i>		<i>Regression 6</i>		<i>Regression 7</i>	
	<i>Five Years Out</i>		<i>Five Years Out</i>		<i>Five Years Out</i>	
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>
Income (1,000s 2006 dollars)	0.004**	0.002	0.004**	0.002	0.004**	0.002
Years of practice	0.047**	0.020	0.043**	0.020	0.046**	0.021
Annual hours of work	2.9E-04*	1.6E-04	2.4E-04	1.6E-04	3.9E-04**	1.9E-04
Annual hrs. of work × Fem	—	—	—	—	−2.6E-04	2.9E-04
Less job stress	0.206**	0.051	0.215**	0.051	0.210**	0.051
Family satisfaction	0.209**	0.052	0.218**	0.052	0.206**	0.051
Satis. with family/work bal.	0.160**	0.057	0.151**	0.057	0.159**	0.057
Law school GPA	−0.307	0.268	−0.277	0.267	−0.310	0.268
Works in medium-sized city	0.066	0.133	0.063	0.136	0.060	0.134
Works in small city	0.154	0.173	0.194	0.177	0.143	0.171
Works in East	0.154	0.205	0.149	0.208	0.138	0.202
Private practice large	−0.001	0.271	−0.022	0.276	0.026	0.262
Private practice medium	−0.491**	0.231	−0.536**	0.233	−0.478**	0.231
Private practice small	−0.515**	0.210	−0.579**	0.223	−0.504**	0.214
Corporate counsel	−0.038	0.211	−0.102	0.227	−0.018	0.212
Accounting or insurance firm	−0.487	0.306	−0.543*	0.327	−0.494	0.307
Government practice	−0.041	0.218	−0.114	0.223	−0.023	0.221
Public interest	0.213	0.303	0.153	0.307	0.211	0.301
Other prac., law teach., judge	0.180	0.644	0.171	0.598	0.230	0.690
Nonpractice	−0.616**	0.229	−0.685**	0.238	−0.608**	0.230
Female	−0.276**	0.117	—	—	0.398	0.759
Female, no kids	—	—	−0.180	0.141	—	—
Female, kids, no childcare	—	—	−0.399	0.244	—	—
Female, kids, childcare	—	—	−0.550**	0.203	—	—
Black	0.041	0.241	0.030	0.241	0.060	0.244
Hispanic	−0.153	0.447	−0.132	0.459	−0.159	0.455
Constant	0.953	1.023	1.035	1.023	0.716	1.005
Regression summary statistics	Observations = 286		Observations = 283		Observations = 286	
	$F(22, 263) = 7.65$		$F(24, 258) = 8.01$		$F(23, 262) = 7.51$	
	Prob > $F = 0.000$		Prob > $F = 0.000$		Prob > $F = 0.000$	
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.318$		Adjusted $R^2 = 0.316$		Adjusted $R^2 = 0.318$	
	Root MSE = 0.927		Root MSE = 0.930		Root MSE = 0.927	

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test.

Table 18 Regressions with “Overall Career Satisfaction” (−3 to +3) as the Dependent Variable, Indiana Law School Classes 1985–1991, 15-Year Survey

<i>Dependent Variable: “Overall Career Satisfaction” (−3 to +3)</i>	<i>Regression 8 15-Years Out</i>		<i>Regression 9 15-Years Out</i>	
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Robust SE</i>
Income (1,000s 2006 dollars)	0.004**	0.001	0.004**	0.001
Years of practice	−0.003	0.028	−0.004	0.027
Annual hours of work	−9.2E-07	2.0E-04	−3.4E-05	2.0E-04
Less job stress	0.105	0.064	0.109*	0.065
Family satisfaction	0.119**	0.050	0.093*	0.051
Satis. with family/work balance	0.154**	0.065	0.147**	0.067
Law school GPA	0.228	0.256	0.231	0.263
Works in medium-sized city	0.055	0.184	−0.020	0.191
Works in small city	−0.419**	0.192	−0.481**	0.193
Works in East	0.125	0.259	0.066	0.260
Private practice large	0.488	0.427	0.476	0.436
Private practice medium	0.407	0.465	0.512	0.469
Private practice small	0.643**	0.318	0.653**	0.326
Not a partner	−0.014	0.252	−0.053	0.250
Corporate counsel	0.655*	0.369	0.668*	0.376
Accounting or insurance firm	0.282	0.553	0.310	0.562
Government practice	1.086**	0.368	1.172**	0.372
Public interest	1.195**	0.493	1.178**	0.472
Other practice, law teacher, judge	1.529**	0.383	1.511**	0.394
Nonpractice	1.093**	0.369	1.110**	0.365
Female	0.008	0.211	—	—
Female, no kids	—	—	0.161	0.299
Female, kids, no childcare	—	—	−0.188	0.291
Female, kids, childcare	—	—	0.284	0.373
Black	−0.642	0.725	−0.599	0.761
Hispanic	1.486**	0.307	1.485**	0.334
Constant	−0.507	1.109	−0.316	1.107
Regression summary statistics	Observations = 162		Observations = 159	
	$F(23, 138) = 5.63$		$F(25, 133) = 4.54$	
	Prob > $F = 0.000$		Prob > $F = 0.000$	
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.243$		Adjusted $R^2 = 0.225$	
	Root MSE = 0.898		Root MSE = 0.895	

*Significant at 0.1 level, **significant at 0.05 level, two-tailed test.

The results of the basic model in Regressions 5 through 9 will surprise few readers. Overall career satisfaction is positively correlated with income, less job stress, family satisfaction, and satisfaction with family/work balance. The only surprise in the basic variables is that overall career satisfaction is significantly positively related to hours worked in two out of the three

models. Perhaps people who work more hours do more satisfying work and this increase in career satisfaction overcomes any career dissatisfaction from having less leisure and family time. With respect to income, the coefficient in Regression 5 suggests that a \$100,000 increase in income will increase the average lawyer's career satisfaction at the mean by roughly 0.4 points and jump him or her over approximately 14.1 percent of the legal profession in terms of career satisfaction, assuming a normal distribution.³⁷ With respect to less job stress, the coefficient in Regression 5 suggests that a reduction in job stress of one point on the seven-point scale would increase career satisfaction by 0.206 and jump the lawyer over about 7.4 percent of the legal profession in terms of career satisfaction, assuming a normal distribution. Not surprisingly, all the career satisfaction regressions show a very strong relationship among career satisfaction, less job stress, family satisfaction, and satisfaction with family/work balance. Undoubtedly, these variables all interact with each other, endogenously influencing one another. To properly analyze these relationships, one would have to use multistage regression and instrumental variables. We leave that for another article; for now we merely report our first cut at the determinants of career satisfaction.

The regression results also suggest that the lawyer's type of practice can have a significant impact on his or her career satisfaction. The results of Regressions 5 through 7 suggest that, five years after graduation, those in medium and small private practices or nonpractice positions enjoy significantly less overall career satisfaction. For example, the results of Regression 5 indicate that a lawyer in a medium or small private practice firm will have career satisfaction that is approximately 0.5 lower than that of a similarly situated lawyer in a super-sized firm, or approximately 17 percentiles lower in the distribution of lawyers.³⁸ However, in the 15-year data examined in Regressions 8 and 9, these differences are reduced to insignificance or even reversed to a significantly positive coefficient in some cases. Indeed, in the regressions on the 15-year data, lawyers in small firms, corporate counsel, government practice, public interest, other practice, and nonpractice all enjoy significantly higher career satisfaction than similarly situated lawyers in

³⁷From Table 8, we see that for the five-year sample the mean of overall career satisfaction is 1.33 with a standard deviation of 1.11. A jump of 0.4 would be a movement of about 0.36 of a standard deviation, which on a standard normal distribution near the mean would jump the lawyer over approximately 14.1 percent of the sample.

³⁸Again, all such calculations are done at the mean and assuming a standard normal distribution.

super-sized private firms. Fifteen years out, the career satisfaction responses for lawyers in small firms, corporate counsel, government, public interest, other practice, and nonpractice are from 0.64 to 1.53 points higher than for similarly situated lawyers in super-sized firms! Evaluating this at the mean, these differences amount to being 22 to 42 percentiles higher in career satisfaction, assuming a standard normal distribution.³⁹ Either life improves with time in these work settings, or the lawyers have come to find a happier setting by changing jobs during the 15 years after graduation.

Our career satisfaction regressions present some interesting results with respect to gender and minority status. In the classes of 1995–2001 five years after graduation, we find that minority lawyers did not report significant differences from nonminorities, but the women reported being significantly less satisfied with their careers than the men. By dividing the female dummy variable into three variables according to family status in Regression 6, we see that the greater career dissatisfaction is experienced by women with children and especially by women who took time off from paid work to do childcare. Based on scatter-plot readings that suggested that women might be particularly sensitive to hours in the determination of their career satisfaction, we included an interaction term for female and hours worked in Regression 7. Although the coefficient for the interaction term is not itself positive, including this term in the regression turns the coefficient for the female dummy variable from a significantly negative -0.276 to an insignificantly positive $+0.398$. These results suggest that women's greater career dissatisfaction in the legal profession in the first five years of practice arises largely from a greater sensitivity to long hours of work, which may be due to family responsibilities.⁴⁰ However, we cannot be confident in this conjecture because of potential collinearity of the female variable and the interaction variable. In Regressions 8 and 9, using the data from the classes of 1985–1991

³⁹From Table 9, we see that for the 15-year sample the mean of overall career satisfaction is 1.66 with a standard deviation of 1.09. A jump of 0.64 to 1.53 on this measure would amount to a movement of 0.34 to 1.40 of a standard deviation, which on a standard normal distribution near the mean would jump the lawyer over approximately 22–42 percent of the sample.

⁴⁰We experimented with an interaction term just for women with children and hours and, although that produced a similar result, inclusion of the reported interaction term for all women and hours produced a greater positive coefficient for the female dummy variable. Although this phenomenon needs much further exploration, there is at least the hint in our data that even women without children are more sensitive to hours than men in the determination of their career satisfaction.

15 years out of law school, we find that the coefficient for females is insignificantly positive while the coefficient for blacks is insignificantly negative and the coefficient for Hispanics is significantly positive. Breaking the female dummy variable down into three according to family situation in Regression 9, we get no significantly negative or positive results with respect to any of the female dummy variables, but it is interesting to note that the coefficient for women who have missed paid work to do childcare is now positive and the largest of the three. Due to the low numbers of observations, it is probably unwise to make too much of the finding with respect to Hispanics 15 years after graduation; nevertheless, at least we see no indication of career dissatisfaction.

VI. CONCLUSION

We have found that, with many exceptions, Indiana law school graduates typically organize their families in a somewhat traditional manner, as the men are more often the main (but not only) breadwinners and the women are often (but not solely) responsible for childcare. On average, the spouses of female graduates make much more than the spouses of male graduates surveyed 15 years after graduation. Roles within the family appear to have important effects on career paths. Although women are present in the larger private firms in equal numbers with men five years after graduation, by 15 years out, women have disproportionately left those private firms. While men dominate private practice, women are found in greater percentages as corporate counsel, in government practice, in public interest practice, as judges, and as teachers, although the differences across gender in each of these types of employment are not significant. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether this trend is the result of gender discrimination in private practice or the result of the personal choices of the respondents. Also notable is the fact that many law school graduates do not go into traditional legal practice at all. Indeed, in our 15-year survey almost a fifth of the respondents reported being in the "nonpractice" category. These law school graduates have become elected and appointed public officials, teachers, government employees, and (most often) business managers.

If our sample is representative, law school graduates in super-sized private practices make more money than any other kind of practice, and make almost twice as much as those in government and public interest practice by the time they are five years out of law school. This early advantage

in income only grows in the survey 15 years after graduation, with respondents in large private practices earning on average from two to four times as much as lawyers in government and public interest practice. Male graduates enjoy significantly higher incomes than their female classmates, although the women reported working significantly fewer hours. This difference in income based on gender is not robust in our regression analyses and most of it can be eliminated by accounting for childcare, among other factors. However, there is fairly strong evidence in our sample that black and Hispanic lawyers make significantly less money than majority lawyers 15 years after graduation.

The relationships among the various dimensions of satisfaction and type of practice can be complex, but some patterns can be recognized. Although the respondents in the larger private firms reported higher career satisfaction than those in smaller private firms, they reported lower career satisfaction than respondents in corporate counsel and public interest positions. Satisfaction with family/work balance is below average in medium to super-sized private practices both five and 15 years after graduation. With respect to career satisfaction, it seems that women are particularly sensitive to hours, probably due to greater family responsibilities. Our results suggest that, for the most part, black and Hispanic lawyers enjoy the same career satisfaction as majority lawyers.

In the future, we hope to collect data from graduates of other law schools. We have posted a public access version of the survey and can tailor it to fit any school. Because respondents can complete the survey on the web and the data can be exported to a spreadsheet file, participation costs for a school are essentially the costs of contacting graduates five and 15 years after graduation. Data from additional participants would improve the analysis, especially with regard to minority lawyers and those who take time out to perform childcare. Data from other schools would also allow us to compare the income and career satisfaction of graduates across different types of law school.