After Tenure: Post-Tenure Law Professors in the United States

Law School Admission Council Project Report Update July 2012

Updated figures in this report reflect changes to correct small discrepancies in original coding

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Executive Summary

The After Tenure study, jointly funded by the American Bar Foundation and the Law School Admission Council, is the first in-depth examination of the professional lives of post-tenure law professors in the United States. It combines a national survey of post-tenure law professors with a set of follow-up interviews conducted with a subset of the survey respondents. A total of 1,174 professors completed the survey; an additional 48 answered substantial parts of the survey. Their responses provide the basis of this report, which contains descriptive statistics from the first quantitative analyses. Future reports and articles will provide further quantitative and qualitative results.

Initial findings show that tenured law professors are generally satisfied with their work situations, but that minority professors and white female professors are significantly more likely to be unhappy. Additional findings included in this report give a detailed picture of the post-tenure law professoriate in terms of geography, age, parents' educational levels, religion, school status, and many other factors. For example, a high proportion of law professors' parents have pursued postgraduate education, even though a substantial minority of law professors come from less privileged backgrounds. The majority of the nation's law professors teach in private schools, and approximately 35% teach in the 50 top-ranked law schools (out of 187 then-accredited law schools). Despite some disparities in satisfaction and patterns of social interaction, a high percentage of tenured law professors from all demographic backgrounds reported feeling loyal to the law schools at which they taught.

Introduction: Study Background

The After Tenure (AT) study examines the post-tenure experiences of U.S. law professors. In the United States, law professors who have achieved senior status play an important role: They direct the initial training and screening of lawyers, who in turn play a large role in this society's political and legal systems. Legal academics can also directly affect the conceptualization of national and local legal issues through their scholarship or through their own personal involvement as advocates, judges, or government officials—including, now, the current President of the United States. Thus, beyond the power that professors in all fields wield as educators, law professors also have a potential influence on the governing of our society—if not through their own individual efforts, then by shaping the educational institutions that train attorneys. However, despite the potential importance of senior law professors in helping to shape our society, the post-tenure experiences of law professors have not been extensively studied to date, particularly at the national level. Empirical research on law professors has tended to focus on issues of hiring and tenure, an understandable emphasis given the importance of these processes to professional advancement. Yet the post-tenure time period constitutes the bulk of most law professors' careers, and it is usually only during this time period that they have much power to shape law schools as institutions. The current research provides information about the experiences of post-tenure law professors, with attention paid especially to their perceptions of teaching and research, the missions of law schools, and diversity within the legal academy.

Thus this project will help us understand the kind of environment created for and by law professors within the legal academy, where incipient lawyers receive their first formative

introduction to what it means to practice law. Tenure has long served as a guardian of academic freedom for these professors. The AT study examines how it is working and what happens to those who meet the standard it sets. Moreover, in addition to contributing to the literature regarding law professors in particular, the study also speaks to a larger body of literature on both the legal profession and the academy.

There were two phases of the study. The first phase, which forms the basis of this report, involved a national survey of tenured law professors. A random sample, stratified by gender, was employed, augmented by an oversample targeted at tenured law professors of color (herein referred to as "minority professors" in this report). The sample was drawn from the 2002–2003 national database of law professors provided by the American Association of Law Schools (AALS). Of those contacted by the AT study team, 1,174 (approximately 63% of the sample) completed the entire survey (either the written or phone version); this figure includes the minority oversample. (For the minority oversample, the study team contacted all identified minority professors; the oversample netted a total of 232 respondents.) An additional 48 respondents completed a substantial part of the survey. The 1,222 respondents from whom we received usable replies represented 28% of all tenured law professors in the United States at the time. The second phase of the study, which will be reported in later publications, entailed followup in-depth interviews with 102 of the respondents from the first phase (with 96 of these interviews meeting particularized selection criteria, such as geographical area and level of experience, and 4 interviews falling outside of those parameters, though they provide useful information nonetheless). The remaining two interviews were not used at all, because the respondents asked us to hold the interviews pending a grant of final permission and then did not answer subsequent communications from the study team.

This report contains initial results from the survey. More complex analyses of the quantitative findings will be presented in a series of publications, as will findings from the qualitative second phase of the project. Six substantive sections following this introductory section relay results in a variety of areas; the final section presents preliminary conclusions. The report concludes with two appendices: Appendix 1 reproduces the ABA tables that provide information on law professors nationally during the period of this study. Appendix 2 describes the methodology for selecting participants and conducting the survey as well as for the weighting of the results. The results included in this report, having been weighted for differential selection probability and nonresponse, reflect the national population of tenured law professors at the time. The tables of results in this report generally include the number of survey responses in unweighted form along with the corresponding weighted percentages. Data that situate the AT sample as a whole within the population from which it was drawn rely on AALS statistics.

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 $^{^{1}}$ The initial sample included 2,076 professors who were mailed surveys: Of those, 1,862 professors were eventually defined as eligible respondents, and 1,222 professors answered all or most of the survey. This total number of respondents included professors (N = 364) who completed an abbreviated telephone version of the survey in order to increase the response rate, during which certain questions were not asked (the number of respondents "not asked" are reported for the relevant questions). It also includes a small number of professors who completed a substantial portion of the original mailed (or online) survey, but not all of it (N = 48). A total of 1,174 professors fully completed either the original or phone versions of the survey.

 $^{^{2}}$ In order to generate a conservative number, the overall response rate was calculated based only on full responses. If the substantial partial responses (N= 48) were included, the response rate would be 65.6%.

³These tables were originally publically available on the ABA website.

Figures for our survey respondents derive from our own survey data. Unless otherwise noted, the tables of this report provide findings from our survey; the "N" for responses will obviously vary depending on how many people answered an individual question.

Demographic Characteristics

The overall number and demographic characteristics of tenured law professors in the United States have changed in the last few decades. In 1947, there were only 991 full-time professors at 111 accredited law schools (Fossum, 1980). In 2007–2008, there were 8,142 full-time professors at 197 law schools (ABA, n.d.). In terms of tenured faculty in particular, there was a gradual rise from 4,199 professors in 2002 to 4,534 in 2008.

Fossum conducted the first systematic study of U.S. law professors and found that the law professoriate in the 1970s and 1980s was highly homogeneous in terms of gender, race, and law school background (Fossum, 1980, 1983). Thus in 1975–1976, the characteristics of law faculty were similar to that of the legal profession in general: 96% of professors were white, 93% were male, and 66% were between the ages of 30 and 50 (Fossum, 1980). As this study will show, the population of law professors became a much more diverse group in subsequent years.

Gender, Race, and Sexual Orientation

The gender and racial breakdown of the AT sample reflected the demographics of the overall national population of tenured law professors in 2002–2003 (Table 1).

TABLE 1 Comparative distributions of race and gender in respondents, sample, and national populations

	AT Res	pondents	AT S	Sample		nured Law or Survey
	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}	%	N
Female	25.2	558	25.2	823	25.1	1,054
Male	74.8	664	74.8	1,039	74.9	3,145
White	85.9	832	81.7	1,185	87.4	3,669
Native American	0.5	14	0.4	18	0.3	12
Asian	1.7	54	2.1	93	1.7	71
Black	6.6	204	8.1	358	7.1	300
Latino/a	2.3	75	2.5	118	3.3	139
Multiracial	1.1	32	1.1	49		
Missing	1.9	11	4.2	41	_	_
TOTAL	100	1,222	100	1,862		_

^aWeighted.

Note. Data on gender and race are based on the ABA's Legal Education Statistics reporting on law school staff and faculty members, taken from their website in March 2010 (no longer available online). The comparison figures above are from 2002–2003, which is when the study sample was drawn (see Appendix 1).

The AT survey found that 25.2% of tenured law professors in the United States were women, very closely mirroring the American Bar Association's reported statistic of 25.1% female

^bUnweighted.

tenured law professors at that time. The AT study included approximately 12% tenured minority law professors, ⁴ a figure matching that in the ABA's report. Black professors made up the largest minority group, again mirroring the ABA's report regarding the national population of law professors. In terms of sexual orientation, approximately 4% of tenured law professors in the AT study identified themselves as lesbian, gay, or bisexual.

Race and Gender

The interaction of gender and race provides another perspective regarding the characteristics of tenured law professors. There are almost three times as many white male professors as white female professors. Similarly, minority male professors outnumber minority female professors, but to a lesser degree (Table 2).

TABLE 2 Comparative distributions by race and gender

	AT Res	pondents	AT S	ample		Law Professor vey ^c
Race/Gender	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}	%	N
White men	66.8	433	65.3	631	67	2813
White women	20.8	398	20.0	553	20.4	856
Minority men	7.6	222	9.1	382	7.7	324
Minority women	4.8	157	5.6	254	4.7	198
TOTAL	100	1,210 ^d	100	1,820 ^e	100	4,199

^aWeighted.

Age and Gender

Tenured law professors in the AT study ranged in age from 30 to over 70 years old. The majority fell between 40 and 69 years of age, with 40% of the respondents falling between 50 and 59 years of age (Table 3).

^bUnweighted.

^cData on gender and race are based on the ABA's Legal Education Statistics reporting on law school staff and faculty members, taken from their website in March 2010 (no longer available online) The comparison figures above are from 2002–2003, which is when the study sample was drawn (see Appendix 1).

d Our database includes data from two different sources on respondent race, one based on responses to our survey, the other based on information from the AALS database. The AALS database yields information on race regarding one additional white respondent beyond those who provided information within the survey; thus we have 831 white respondents in the actual survey responses, and 832 white respondents based on the AALS database.

^eThis figure does not include data missing from 42 professors.

⁴Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

TABLE 3
Respondents and sample by age

		AT Respondents		ample
Age Range	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}
30–39 years	2.9	44	2.9	70
40–49 years	22.4	347	22.3	522
50–59 years	39.7	525	39.8	775
60–69 years	26.7	240	27.1	388
≥70 years	8.3	61	7.2	87
Did not complete	0	0	0.7	20
TOTAL	100	1,217	100	1,862

^aWeighted.

The average age of tenured male professors in the sample was 57 while the average age of tenured female professors in the sample was 52. The vast majority (86%) of tenured law professors obtained tenure before the age of 44. Percentages of professors obtaining tenure after age 45 were higher among tenured female and minority professors than among tenured male professors. Female professors who received tenure after 1995 tended to be older than their male counterparts (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Respondents and sample by age and gender

respondents and sample	Respondents and sample by age and gender							
	AT Respondents				AT Sample			
	M	en	Wo	men	M	en	Wor	men
Age Range	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}
30–39 years	2.9	23	2.9	21	2.7	39	3.4	31
40–49 years	19.1	152	32.5	195	18.5	228	33.7	294
50–59 years	35.5	248	52.2	277	37.5	395	46.6	380
60–69 years	32.0	186	10.9	54	31.7	293	13.4	95
≥70 years	10.5	54	1.6	7	9.2	78	1.1	9
Did not complete	0	0	0	0	0.4	6	1.8	14
TOTAL	100	663	100	554	100	1,039	100	823

^aWeighted.

Educational Background

The majority of professors had strong academic backgrounds. About 53% of tenured law professors graduated in the top 10% of their class, while 72% reported graduating in the top 25% of their class (Table 5).

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

⁵Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

TABLE 5
Law school class rank

Law school class rank		
Class Rank	% a	N^{b}
Top 10%	52.7	507
Top 11–25%	19.5	241
2nd quarter of class	6.4	94
3rd quarter of class	1.0	15
4th quarter of class	0.4	8
Don't know	20.0	265
TOTAL	100	1,130

^aWeighted.

Religion

The population of tenured law professors represents a range of religious affiliations. The largest group of law professors who responded to this question identified themselves as Protestant (26.9%), while the next largest group reported that they were Jewish (20.1%). Smaller groups identified themselves as Roman Catholic (12%) and Muslim. About 21% of tenured law professors stated that they had no religious affiliation. A few respondents took time to comment that they did not wish to report on their religious preferences because they felt this to be a sensitive subject (Table 6).

TABLE 6
Religious affiliation

Rengious affination		
Religious Affiliation	% a	N^{b}
Protestant	26.9	364
Jewish	20.1	212
Roman Catholic	12.0	168
Muslim	0.2	4
Other religion	9.7	132
No religious affiliation	20.6	259
Missing	10.6	83
TOTAL	100	1,222

^aWeighted.

Family Background

AT survey results indicated that many tenured law professors come from educated and privileged backgrounds. Approximately 42% of these professors' mothers (about 3.5 times the national average) and 58% of their fathers obtained a bachelor's degree and attended graduate school or obtained a graduate degree. Approximately 13% of tenured law professors' fathers and 3% of their mothers have law degrees themselves.⁶

A substantial minority of tenured law professors come from a less privileged background: Approximately 25% of professor's mothers and 21% of their fathers received a high school

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

⁶Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

education or less. About 30% of professors' mothers and 20% of their fathers attended only some college or went to a trade or vocational school (Table 7).

TABLE 7
Parental education compared with the general population

_	Mother (%) ^a	Father (%) ^a	National Women (%)	National Men (%)
Some high school or less	7.4	9.6	35.1	33.6
High school diploma or equivalent	18.0	11.6	35.1	27.5
Some college/associates				
degree/vocational school	29.8	19.9	18.0	18.4
Bachelor's or 4-year degree	22.6	17.4	7.4	11.2
Some graduate				
school/graduate or professional degree	19.7	40.5	4.5	9.3
Other/not available	2.5	1.1	_	_
TOTAL N	1,164	1,161	20,596,602	14,382,370

^aWeighted.

Note. 2000 Census (http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable? https://bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_PCT025). Restricted to general population ages 65 years and older.

Current Law School Characteristics

The law professors in the group of survey respondents taught in a range of law schools across the country. They represent 185 law schools in the United States, out of 187 schools recognized by the AALS at the time. The "first tier" of law schools is separated into two halves, with the most elite (the 20 top-ranked schools) grouped separately from the rest of the 50 top-ranked law schools (Table 8). When percentages for the two parts of the top tier are combined, they constitute the highest proportion of tenured law professors (34.7%), which is comparable to the total number of full-time faculty in first-tier law schools nationwide (37.6%).

TABLE 8
Comparative distribution of respondents, sample, and nationwide by law school tier

Ranking Tier ^a	AT Respondents (%) ^a	AT Sample (%) ^a	Full-Time Faculty Nationwide (%)
Tier 1 (rank 1–20)	17.5	20.5	19.6
Tier 1 (rank 21–50)	17.2	18.1	18.0
Tier 2 (rank 51–102)	28.8	28.6	28.0
Tier 3 (rank 103–136)	14.7	14.1	13.7
Tier 4 (rank 137–179)	21.0	17.6	19.4
Not ranked (provisional)	0.6	0.9	1.3
Missing	0.3	0.2	0
TOTAL	100	100	100

^aBased on the U.S. News and World Report rankings of law schools in 2005.

Note. From the ABA-LSAC Official Guide to ABA-Approved Law Schools, 2007 edition. The data for the 2007 edition were collected in fall 2005.

⁷Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

Geographical Characteristics

The majority of tenured law professors (87.3%) were employed in law schools located in a larger urban setting, defined as areas with a population greater than 50,000. Smaller percentages were employed in urban clusters, classified as areas with a population between 2,500 and 50,000 (12.4%) or in rural settings (0.3%). The distribution of tenured law professors was comparable to the national population of full-time law professors located in urban settings (87.9%), urban clusters (11.6%), and rural settings (0.5%).

A greater number of tenured law professors (34.9%) worked in law schools in the South than worked in any other U.S. region. The South, which encompasses the largest number of states, includes the Southern Atlantic states such as Maryland and the District of Columbia as well as the South Central states. The remainder worked in institutions in the Northeast, which includes New England and Middle Atlantic states (23.2%); the Midwest, which includes the North Central states (22.9%); and the West, which includes the Mountain and Pacific states (18.9%; Table 9).

TABLE 9
Law schools by geographical region

, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	AT Respondents		Full-Time Fact	ılty Nationwide
Geographical Region	% ^a	\mathcal{N}^{b}	%	N
Urban setting	87.3	1,068	87.9	6,235
Urban clusters	12.4	146	11.6	826
Rural	0.3	4	0.5	33
TOTAL	100	1,218	100	7,094
Northeast	23.2	265	26.0	1,842
Midwest	22.9	270	22.5	1,593
South	34.9	434	33.7	2,393
West	19.0	249	17.9	1,266
TOTAL	100	1,218	100	7,094

^aWeighted.

Note. From the *ABA-LSAC Official Guide to ABA-Approved Law Schools*, 2007 edition. The data for the 2007 edition were collected in fall 2005.

Public Versus Private Law Schools

Interestingly, only 41.3% of the tenured law professors in the survey taught in public institutions while 58.8% of tenured law professors taught in private institutions (Table 10). At the time of the study, 38.4% of all full-time faculty (including untenured full-time professors) in the nation's law schools taught at public institutions and 61.6% in private institutions. The average public law school had 32 full-time professors, while the average private law school had 35 full-time professors (computed from ABA data provided in Margolis, Gordon, Puskarz, & Rosenlieb, 2007). 8

^bUnweighted.

⁸Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

TABLE 10 Law schools by type of institution

	AT Respondents		Full-Time Fac	culty Nationwide
Type of Institution	% ^a	N^{b}	%	N
Public	41.3	523	38.4	2,725
Private	58.8	695	61.6	4,369
TOTAL	100	1,218	100	7,094

^aWeighted.

Note. From the ABA-LSAC Official Guide to ABA-Approved Law Schools, 2007 edition.

The data for the 2007 edition were collected in fall 2005.

Job Experiences and Characteristics

Teaching and Interacting With Students

The AT study surveyed tenured professors' attitudes toward different aspects of teaching. Most professors (88%) felt it was important to maintain tough teaching standards to set high goals for student excellence. At least 75% of professors believed it was important to create open and accepting classroom environments where students could feel comfortable, and they reported teaching students tolerance. The vast majority (85%) of tenured professors reported feeling that the core mission of a law school is to prepare students well for the actual practice of law. 10

An overwhelming percentage of professors reported feeling respected and comfortable in their teaching positions, with 96% feeling respected by students and 98% feeling comfortable in the classroom. Tenured professors also reported being involved with students. Approximately 45% of tenured law professors reported that students "often" turn to them for advice, while 54% reported that students "sometimes" seek advice from them. More than half of tenured professors reported being involved in student issues committees.

Interacting With Colleagues

A large proportion of tenured law professors reported devoting some of their time to socializing with colleagues at their law schools. Almost 97% of professors "often" or "sometimes" socialized with their law school colleagues during work, whereas about 87% "often" or "sometimes" socialized outside of work. Interestingly, while 79% of law professors "often" or "sometimes" would turn to their colleagues for advice or support, about 93% reported that colleagues would seek support from them. In contrast, tenured law professors said they interacted much less with colleagues who were outside of their law schools. Roughly half of professors said they "never" socialized with colleagues from the university or administration (Table 11).

^bUnweighted.

⁹Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

¹⁰This was as compared with other goals such as producing students who will serve indigent or under-served communities, and a number of other options.

TABLE 11
Interaction with colleagues

· ·	Often (%) ^a	Sometimes (%) ^a	Never (%) ^a	TOTAL N ^b
Socialize with colleagues during work hours	42.5	54.2	3.4	837
Socialize with colleagues outside of work	11.9	75.5	12.6	835
Socialize with colleagues from the university who are not at the law school while at work	6.1	42.5	51.5	728
Socialize with colleagues from the university who are not at the law school outside of work	7.4	43.2	49.4	728
Socialize with colleagues from the university or administration	4.8	31.4	63.8	755
Turn to colleagues for advice or emotional support	15.4	63.9	20.7	834
Turned to by colleagues for advice or emotional support	23.2	70.2	6.6	838
Respondents not asked	_	_	_	367

^aWeighted.

Committee Work

In addition to teaching and research, most tenured law professors also reported that they perform committee work. Respondents to the AT survey indicated that they served on various types of committees including appointments, curriculum development, speakers' series, student issues, and law school program development (Table 12). Some respondents also reported serving on promotion and tenure, readmissions, search, student recruitment, accreditation, and teaching committees. The majority of tenured professors (81%) said they had opportunities to serve on important committees. However, one fifth of professors felt that they had to perform an unfair amount of committee work

TABLE 12 *Involvement in committee work*

Committees	% ^a	N^{b}
Appointments	76.3	617
Advisory to the dean	68.6	449
Curriculum development	66.5	504
Speakers' series	48.1	342
Law school program development	66.1	439
University-wide committee	76.3	535
Respondents not asked		367

^aWeighted.

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

¹¹ Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

Income

The median range of incomes varied depending on number of years of experience and factors pertaining to the particular law schools at which professors taught. Predictably, professors with a greater number of years of work experience earned a higher income than did those with fewer years of experience. At the time of the AT survey, those receiving tenure before 1980 were earning, on average, between \$150,000 and \$174,999 while those receiving tenure between 1980 and 1994 were earning between \$125,000 and \$149,999. Respondents who received tenure more recently (that is, after 1995), on average, were earning between \$100,000 and \$124,999 (Table 13).

In addition, law professors' income varied according to the ranking of the institution. Respondents employed in law schools ranked within the top 20 earned more than those working at other schools. Similarly, law professors working in third- and fourth-tier schools earned less than those teaching in higher-ranked law schools. Interestingly, salaries at public and private institutions fell within the same median range.

TABLE 13
Respondents' median income by cohort (unweighted)

Cohort (when tenure was received)	Median Salary (US \$)
Pre-1980	150,000-174,999
1980–1989	125,000-149,999
1990–1994	125,000-149,999
1995–1999	100,000-124,999
2000+	100,000–124,999

Income was also examined in terms of the geographical regions in which law schools were located. Median salaries for law professors were similar for those teaching in the Northeast, South, and West, but were lower in the Midwest (Table 14).

TABLE 14
Respondents' median income by institutional characteristics (unweighted)

	Median Salary (US \$)
Public institution	125,000-149,999
Private institution	125,000–149,999
Northeast	125,000-149,999
Midwest	100,000-124,999
South	125,000-149,999
West	125,000–149,999
Urban center (50,000+)	125,000-149,999
Urban clusters (2,500–50,000)	125,000-149,999
Rural	$125,000^{a}$

^aExactly 50% of the sample in rural settings earned less than \$124,999 while 50% earned more than \$125,000.

¹²Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

Professional Opportunities

The study also examined the professional opportunities available to professors after tenure. Respondents were asked whether they had had the same kinds of opportunities that their colleagues did in terms of representing their institution to important outsiders. In general, the majority of professors indicated that they had had better or comparable opportunities in this regard. Most professors reported that they had ample opportunities to choose the courses they wanted to teach and to go on leave. Three quarters of professors felt that they had received salary increases higher or comparable to their colleagues. However, a lower percentage (when responses were weighted) reported that they had had comparable opportunities to receive perks from their law schools (Table 15).

TABLE 15
Availability of professional opportunities

Have had opportunities better or comparable to others of the same rank	% ^a	N^{b}
To go on leave	81.4	920
To represent institution to important outsiders	76.0	836
To receive higher salary increases	74.8	764
To choose which courses to teach	88.8	992
To receive perks from law school	42.5	467

^aWeighted.

Strategies for Career Advancement

In addition to teaching and conducting research, tenured law professors also reported devoting time to advancing their careers. Over one third of the sample "often" attended professional conferences and communicated with colleagues in their field. About 36% of the law professors in the survey reported that they "often" sent out reprints, usually to a selected network rather than to a broad mailing list. Some professors said they gave talks at other schools. In general, very few law professors said that they networked with their former law school classmates, sought outside offers, or participated in support groups (Table 16).

TABLE 16
Use of strategies for career advancement

	Often (%) ^a	Sometimes (%) ^a	Never (%) ^a	TOTAL N^b
Networking with law school classmates	2.1	19.8	78.0	831
Attending professional conferences	35.1	54.9	10.0	838
Sending out reprints to a selected network	24.9	44.6	30.5	837
Sending out reprints to a broad mailing list	10.9	24.4	64.7	832
Giving talks at other law schools	17.1	53.0	29.8	834
Seeking outside offers	1.8	19.0	79.2	830
Making an effort to contact and communicate with scholars in same field	30.4	58.7	11.0	836
Participating in support groups of colleagues	7.6	14.7	77.7	709
Respondents not asked				367

^aWeighted.

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

General Job Satisfaction

Tenured professors generally reported a high level of satisfaction with their jobs (Table 17). The majority of the sample (approximately 81%) reported that their current job is "exactly" or "pretty much" like the job they had envisioned.¹³

TABLE 17
Current job compared to envisioned job as law professor

	% a	N^{b}
Exactly what I wanted	23.9	236
Pretty much what I wanted	57.4	674
Some of what I wanted	14.5	210
Little of what I wanted	1.5	19
Nothing like what I wanted	0.9	10
Other	1.1	6
Don't know	0.8	5
TOTAL	100	1,160

^aWeighted.

The respondents were asked to rate measures of work-setting satisfaction. Professors reported that they "agree" that they feel respected by their colleagues and that they have a voice at their law school. On the whole, they also reported feeling respected in their fields. Although 41% of tenured law professors reported disagreeing with their colleagues, they said they felt very comfortable voicing their disagreements. Professors also reported high institutional satisfaction, with 92% indicating that they felt loyal to their law school (Table 18).

TABLE 18
Response to measures of work-setting satisfaction

	Agree (%) ^a	Neutral (% ^a)	Disagree (% ^a)	TOTAL N^{b}
Respected by colleagues in the law school	88.4	7.9	3.7	1,205
Feel opinions matter to colleagues in the law school	80.1	12.3	7.6	1,202
Listened to with respect during hiring/promotion decisions	77.8	14.9	7.6	1,197
Often disagree with tenured colleagues	41.3	27.8	30.9	1,196
Comfortable voicing disagreements with tenured colleagues	83.5	8.0	8.5	1,208
Have an impact on major decisions in law school	68.0	17.7	14.3	1,202
Respected in field	83.2	14.6	2.3	1,200

^aWeighted.

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

¹³Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

Race¹⁴

Since 1965, the number of scholars of color entering tenure-track teaching has gradually increased; this rise has been attributed, in part, to affirmative action recruitment efforts (Fossum, 1980). By 1975–1976, there was at least one minority faculty member in 50% of law schools. In 1986–1987, Chused (1988) found that 3.7% of faculty members were Black compared to 2.8% in 1980–1981 (although during the same time period, one third of law schools had only one Black faculty and one third did not have any). More recently, about 16.3% of all full-time law faculty and 14.1% of all tenured faculty were scholars of color, with Black professors (7.3%) making up the largest minority group (ABA, n.d.).

Family Background

Several notable racial differences in parents' educational background emerge from the AT survey. Higher percentages of the mothers of Black, Latino, and Asian professors reached the graduate level than was the case with the mothers of white professors. Conversely, a high percentage of mothers of white professors completed only high school or some college/trade school as compared with mothers of law professors from some minority groups. The patterns for completion of college education look more similar for mothers of white and Asian professors than for mothers of Black or Latino professors.

A higher percentage of white professors' fathers completed college than did fathers of other groups. Higher percentages of Black and Latino professors than other groups had fathers who completed a high school diploma or less. Asian professors compared to all other groups were more likely to come from families where both parents had graduate school experience or a graduate degree (Table 19).

The patterns of parental education found in this study are different from those found in the *After the JD* study, where Black, Hispanic, and Asian law students reported levels of parental education that were lower than those of white students (The American Bar Foundation and the NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education, 2004, p. 63).

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¹⁴ In this section, we compare racial differences in terms of percentages, however, differences in percentages do not always accurately reflect statistical significance, especially with weighted data. Our comments in the text therefore emphasize only the findings that have proven to be statistically significant (and point out similarities in percentages where these percentages also line up with statistical tests of significance). Detailed information on the statistical significance of these differences can be accessed online at http://www.americanbarfoundation.org/publications/367 (this site will be updated as more data become available.)

TABLE 19
Parental education by race

,		White (%) ^a	Black (%) ^a	Latino (%) ^a	Asian (%) ^a
Some high school or less	Mother	6.6	10.9	21.7	14.2
-	Father	9.1	13.4	14.2	6.7
High school diploma or equivalent	Mother	18.7	16.0	14.6	5.2
	Father	11.7	13.7	14.3	3.9
Some college/associates	Mother	31.3	22.8	16.1	12.8
degree/vocational school	Father	19.0	28.7	22.0	23.6
Bachelor's or 4-year degree	Mother	23.3	13.8	17.2	22.6
	Father	18.2	12.3	13.1	14.2
Some graduate school/graduate or	Mother	18.5	26.6	23.4	38.0
professional degree	Father	41.4	27.6	35.5	47.6
Other/not available	Mother	1.6	9.9	7.0	7.1
	Father	0.8	4.4	0.9	4.0
TOTAL N ^b	Mother	795	196	73	51
	Father	797	191	73	51

^aWeighted.

Career and Work-Setting Satisfaction

Although most law professors reported generally high levels of satisfaction in their current careers, racial differences were apparent regarding respect and comfort in work settings. For example, differences were found in professors' sense of comfort in voicing disagreements with their tenured colleagues and in their feeling that they had an impact on major decisions within their law schools. White professors were more likely to agree that they are listened to with respect during hiring or promotion decisions, that their opinions matter to colleagues in their law schools, and that they are respected by their colleagues. Similar percentages of white and minority professors reported often disagreeing with their tenured colleagues. However, given other findings in the present study on race and work-setting satisfaction, it would appear that these disagreements were somewhat differently perceived by minority professors and white professors. In other words, white professors reported disagreeing with their colleagues but also reported feeling comfortable doing so, whereas minority professors were similarly likely to report disagreeing but were less likely to report feeling comfortable doing so.

Interestingly, differences in perceived levels of respect disappeared when professors were asked whether they felt respected in their overall fields—indicating, perhaps, that the immediate law school situation sometimes seemed less supportive for minority professors than did the wider situation in the legal academy. Despite any other differences in work-setting satisfaction, similar numbers of white (92%) and minority (89%) professors reported feeling loyal to their law school (Table 20). 15

^bUnweighted.

¹⁵Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

TABLE 20
Response to measures of work-setting satisfaction by race

		Agree (%a)	Neutral (% ^a)	Disagree (%a)	TOTAL N ^b
Respected by colleagues in the law	White	89.0	7.4	3.6	821
school	Minority	83.7	11.5	4.8	374
Opinions matter to colleagues in	White	81.1	12.2	6.8	819
the law school	Minority	73.8	13.9	12.3	373
Listened to with respect during	White	79.0	14.1	7.0	814
hiring/promotion decisions	Minority	70.1	19.6	10.5	373
Often disagree with tenured	White	41.2	27.0	31.8	814
colleagues	Minority	43.6	30.2	26.1	372
Comfortable voicing disagreements	White	84.8	7.4	7.8	823
with tenured colleagues	Minority	73.9	13.0	13.1	375
Have an impact on major decisions	White	69.4	17.3	13.3	818
in law school	Minority	59.9	19.7	20.3	374
Respected in field	White	83.0	14.7	2.3	816
	Minority	83.7	13.8	2.6	374

^aWeighted.

Teaching and Interacting With Students

The majority of tenured law professors reported feeling respected by their students. However, slight differences emerged when comparing white and minority professors. Somewhat higher percentages of tenured white professors (96%) than minority professors (92%) said they felt respected by students. However, despite this difference, tenured minority professors reported feeling similar levels of general comfort in the classroom as compared to tenured white professors.

A greater number of minority tenured law professors (53%) than white law professors (44%) reported that students "often" turn to them for advice or emotional support." This more marked difference disappeared when professors reported their formal involvement with students (57.1% of tenured minority professors as compared to 59.7% of tenured white professors reported serving on student issues committees)

Interacting With Colleagues

Tenured minority professors also reported somewhat different interactions with law school and university colleagues compared to white professors. About 10 percentage points more white professors than minority professors reported socializing "often" with their law school colleagues during work hours. On the other hand, 19% of minority professors reported "never" socializing with their law school colleagues outside of work, as compared to 12% of white professors. However, when professors were asked about socializing with colleagues outside of their law

^bUnweighted.

¹⁶Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

school—whether within the university administration or in other departments—this difference was diminished.

White and minority professors were equally likely to report "often" or "sometimes" seeking advice or support from colleagues, and they were also equally likely to report that colleagues turn to them for support. However, it seems that these groups of professors differed in the kinds of colleagues to whom they turned for social interaction. Minority professors were apparently less likely to socialize with others in their own law schools (Table 21). However, collegial support of some kind was nonetheless equally important across both groups. As will be shown, there were marked differences in terms of forms of collegial support, with 23% of minority professors reporting that they "often" participated in collegial support groups compared to 6% of white professors.

TABLE 21

Interaction with colleagues by race

		Often (%) ^a	Sometimes (%) ^a	Never (%) ^a	TOTAL N ^b
Socialize with colleagues during	White	43.7	53.5	2.8	603
work hours	Minority	34.0	60.4	5.7	230
Socialize with colleagues outside	White	12.3	75.9	11.9	600
of work	Minority	9.1	71.4	19.5	231
Socialize with colleagues from	White	5.6	42.1	52.2	523
university who are not at the	Minority	8.0	44.8	47.3	201
law school while at work					
Socialize with colleagues from	White	7.3	42.9	49.7	521
university who are not at the	Minority	6.4	44.9	48.7	203
law school outside of work					
Socialize with colleagues from	White	4.4	31.5	64.1	540
the university administration	Minority	5.7	29.3	65.0	211
Turn to colleagues for advice or	White	15.4	64.1	20.6	604
emotional support	Minority	16.8	62.8	20.4	226
Turned to by colleagues for	White	22.8	70.6	6.6	604
advice or emotional support	Minority	25.2	67.8	7.0	230
Respondents not asked	White	_	_	_	216
-	Minority		_		143

^aWeighted.

Committee Work

There are also some differences between tenured white and minority professors' responses regarding work on committees (Table 22). Approximately 8 percentage points more minority professors (29%) than white professors (21%) felt that they were performing an unfair amount of committee work. A difference also appeared in the types of committees on which white and minority professors typically serve. White professors were more likely than minority professors to serve on committees involving advice to the dean, curriculum development, law school program development, and university-wide committees. There were no statistically significant differences between the number of white and minority professors involved with appointments

^bUnweighted.

¹⁷Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

and speakers' series committees. Similar numbers of white and minority professors felt that they had opportunities to serve on important committees. Qualitative data from the second phase of the study will be used to cast a better light on the significance of these kinds of quantitative results.

TABLE 22
Involvement in committee work by race

	W	nite	Minority			
Committees	% ^a	$N^{ m b}$	% a	N^{b}		
Appointments	76.5	450	72.4	163		
Advisory to the dean	70.4	341	54.2	106		
Curriculum development	68.0	385	52.5	117		
Speakers' series	48.6	254	42.4	86		
Law school program development	67.2	334	55.4	103		
University-wide committee	77.2	392	67.6	139		
Respondents not asked		216		143		

^aWeighted.

Income

Figure 1 reports raw descriptive statistics regarding income, without controlling for a number of factors that might account for some of the differences that emerge (a task that will be part of upcoming analyses performed as part of this project). A comparison of the salaries of white professors and minority professors in this initial phase reveals differences in the median ranges on the lowest and highest ends of the scale. A higher percentage of minority professors reported making less than \$99,999 or between \$100,000 and \$124,999 than did white professors. Conversely, a greater percentage of white professors reported making at least \$125,000. It is important to note that, on average, minority professors have fewer years in rank and that this graph does not control for cohort differences. Further analysis will be needed to determine the impact of cohort and other differences.

^bUnweighted.

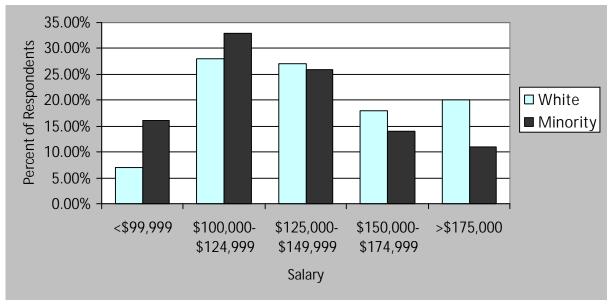


FIGURE 1. Salary by race

Professional Opportunities

One significant racially patterned difference was evident in responses regarding professional opportunities available to tenured professors (Table 23). White professors were more likely to report receiving salary increases higher or comparable to others of their rank. Equal percentages of white professors and minority professors reported having opportunities to go on leave.

TABLE 23

Availability of professional opportunities by race

	Wh	ite	Mino	ority
Have had opportunities better or comparable to others of the same rank	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}
To go on leave	81.7	629	81.9	287
To represent institution to important outsiders	76.7	582	71.3	248
To receive higher salary increases	75.7	535	67.1	223
To choose which courses to teach	89.1	676	86.9	309
To receive perks from law school	43.9	342	34.3	122

^aWeighted.

Strategies for Career Advancement

There were some differences in the types of career-advancement strategies that tenured white and minority professors reported pursuing. The most noticeable difference appeared in reported participation in support groups: At least 50% of tenured minority professors sought this kind of support as compared to 19% of tenured white professors. A greater number of tenured minority professors also reported seeking outside offers. Although a substantially greater number of minority professors said they "often" or "sometimes" give talks at other law schools, fewer

^bUnweighted.

minority professors reported making an effort to communicate with scholars in their fields. Minimal racial differences exist in the areas of networking with law school classmates and sending out reprints to a selective network or to a broad mailing list (Table 24).

TABLE 24
Strategies for career advancement by race

		Often (%) ^a	Sometimes (%) ^a	Never (%) ^a	TOTAL N ^b
Networking with law school	White	2.1	19.6	78.3	598
classmates	Minority	2.6	21.9	75.5	229
Attending professional conferences	White	34.1	55.9	10.0	604
	Minority	46.1	47.4	6.5	230
Sending out reprints to a selected	White	24.7	44.7	30.5	604
network	Minority	28.1	41.9	30.0	229
Sending out reprints to a broad	White	10.6	24.1	65.3	599
mailing list	Minority	14.0	27.2	58.8	229
Giving talks at other law schools	White	16.3	52.7	31.0	601
5 . 8	Minority	26.0	53.2	20.9	229
Seeking outside offers	White	1.8	18.3	80.0	598
	Minority	2.2	26.7	71.1	228
Making an effort to contact and	White	30.4	59.3	10.3	603
communicate with scholars in my field	Minority	28.5	53.8	17.7	229
Participating in support groups of	White	6.0	13.3	80.7	514
colleagues	Minority	22.3	27.4	50.3	193
Respondents not asked	White	_	_	_	216
	Minority	_	_	_	143

^aWeighted.

Gender¹⁸

Research indicates that the number of women becoming law professors has risen since the late 1960s (Fossum, 1980, p. 532). Overall, full-time women faculty comprised 13.7% of all law faculty in 1980 and 20% of all faculty by 1986–1987. A study of professors beginning tenure-track jobs in law school between 1986 and 1991 found that 37.9% were women (Merritt & Reskin, 1997, p. 230). By 2007–2008, approximately 37% of all full-time law faculty in the United States were women; at that time, about 28% of all tenured law professors were women (American Bar Association, n.d.; Association of American Law Schools, n.d.).

This rise followed an earlier increase in the number of women earning law degrees. Between 1965 and 1980, the number of women earning law degrees in the United States grew from 367 to 10,761 (Sander & Williams, 1989). In a national study of new lawyers first admitted to the bar

^bUnweighted.

^{1.0}

¹⁸In this section, we compare gender differences in terms of percentages, however, differences in percentages do not always accurately reflect statistical significance, especially with weighted data. Our comments in the text therefore emphasize only the findings that have proven to be statistically significant (and point out similarities in percentages where these percentages also line up with statistical tests of significance). Detailed information on the statistical significance of these differences can be accessed online at http://www.americanbarfoundation.org/publications/367 (this site will be updated as more data become available.)

conducted in 2000, 46% of the respondents were women (American Bar Foundation and the NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education, 2004). This is consistent with reports that men and women have been entering law school in roughly equal numbers since 2000 (Glater, 2001).

Family Background

While there were broad similarities between tenured male and female professors in terms of family background, a few small differences emerged from the AT survey (Table 25). A higher percentage of tenured male professors reported that their parents completed only grade school or some high school, or attended trade or vocational school. Conversely, a higher percentage of tenured female professors reported that their parents obtained advanced degrees—including law degrees. Approximately twice as many mothers of tenured female professors earned graduate degrees compared to tenured male professors. It is possible that this is a result of a different pattern of upward mobility for law professors generally in earlier times (since the entry of larger groups of women was a later phenomenon). Further analysis will be needed to determine the overall significance of this different pattern for tenured female professors and their mothers.

TABLE 25
Parental education by gender

		Women (%) ^a	Men (%) ^a
Some high school or less	Mother	4.4	8.5
	Father	5.6	10.9
High school diploma or equivalent	Mother	17.4	18.3
• •	Father	12.0	11.5
Some college/associates degree/vocational school	Mother	21.0	32.8
	Father	17.1	20.8
Bachelor's or 4-year degree	Mother	24.5	21.9
	Father	17.5	17.4
Some graduate school/graduate or professional degree	Mother	30.3	16.0
	Father	46.8	38.3
Other/not available	Mother	2.4	2.5
	Father	1.0	1.1
Total N ^b	Mother	538	626
	Father	534	627

^aWeighted.

Career and Work-Setting Satisfaction

Both male and female tenured professors expressed general satisfaction regarding their current work settings. However, there were some gender differences, particularly surrounding measures of respect and comfort. Smaller percentages of female than male tenured professors reported feeling that they are respected by their colleagues or feeling a sense of loyalty to their institutions (92.7% male vs. 88.3% female, although at 88% this percentage is still quite high.) Fewer female than male tenured professors said they felt comfortable voicing disagreements with

^bUnweighted.

their tenured colleagues. ¹⁹ Similar numbers of tenured male and female professors said that their opinions matter, they often disagree with tenured colleagues, and that they feel respected within their fields (Table 26). An interesting question that remains to be explored here is whether tenured male and female professors' profiles would differ according to their fields of specialization.

TABLE 26
Response to measures of work-setting satisfaction by gender

	,	Agree (%a)	Neutral (% ^a)	Disagree (% ^a)	Total N ^b
Respected by colleagues in the law	Men	90.4	7.3	2.4	652
school	Women	82.8	9.8	7.4	553
Opinions matter to colleagues in the	Men	80.9	11.8	7.4	652
law school	Women	77.7	13.9	8.4	550
Listened to with respect during	Men	79.3	14.8	5.9	647
hiring/promotion decisions	Women	73.3	15.2	11.5	550
Often disagree with tenured	Men	41.3	27.9	30.8	649
colleagues	Women	41.1	27.7	31.3	547
Comfortable voicing disagreements	Men	85.2	7.5	7.3	655
with tenured colleagues	Women	78.6	9.4	12.0	553
Have an impact on major decisions in	Men	68.3	18.8	12.9	650
law school	Women	67.1	14.6	18.3	552
Respected in field	Men	83.1	14.9	2.0	650
	Women	83.4	13.5	3.1	550

^aWeighted.

Teaching and Interacting With Students

A marked difference in accounts of interacting with students was found between tenured male and female professors. About 58% of tenured female professors report that students "often" turn to them for advice or emotional support, whereas only 39% of tenured male professors report this. ²⁰ There is much more similarity between the numbers of tenured female (62%) and male (58%) professors who are formally involved with students at the institutional level (as indicated by their participation in student issues committees).

Although most tenured male and female professors reported feeling satisfied in their teaching positions, there was a slight gender difference in reported senses of comfort. Fewer tenured female (95%) than male (99%) professors reported that they feel comfortable in the classroom. (This gender difference was significant at the .000 level.)

^bUnweighted.

¹⁹ We cannot discern from the quantitative data whether this was a reflection of the work setting itself, as opposed to a gender-based difference in voicing disagreement generally. Qualitative data may be able to shed more light on this question.

²⁰Some of the percentages provided in the text are not directly cited in the tables.

Interacting With Colleagues

Some differences were found between tenured male and female professors in terms of interacting with colleagues. The starkest contrast showed up in the category of collegial "advice and emotional support," with 18 percentage points more female than male professors noting that their colleagues "often" turn to them for emotional support, and roughly 14 percentage points more female than male professors reporting that they "often" turn to colleagues for similar support. Conversely, roughly 13 percentage points more male than female professors reported that they "never" turn to colleagues for advice or support (Table 27). This finding invites further exploration of the relative salience of different kinds of work climates for tenured male and female professors in law schools. Male and female professors almost equally report socializing with law school colleagues outside of work hours.

TABLE 27

Interaction with colleagues by gender

Committees		Often (%a)	Sometimes (%a)	Never (% ^a)	Total N ^b
Socialize with colleagues during	Men	45.3	51.1	3.6	423
work hours	Women	35.7	61.6	2.7	414
Socialize with colleagues outside of	Men	10.9	76.7	12.4	423
work	Women	14.2	72.7	13.2	412
Socialize with colleagues from	Men	6.3	43.0	50.7	373
university who are not at the law school while at work	Women	5.6	41.1	53.4	355
Socialize with colleagues from	Men	7.3	45.7	47.0	373
university who are not at the law school outside of work	Women	7.8	37.0	55.2	355
Socialize with colleagues from the	Men	5.4	33.1	61.6	383
university administration	Women	3.3	27.4	69.4	372
Turn to colleagues for advice or	Men	11.1	64.4	24.5	418
emotional support	Women	25.6	62.9	11.5	416
Turned to by colleagues for advice	Men	17.9	74.0	8.1	421
or emotional support	Women	35.9	61.0	3.1	417
Respondents not asked	Men		_	_	233
	Women		_	_	134

^aWeighted.

Committee Work

The initial study results show gender differences in professors' reported participation in committee work. Almost twice as many tenured female (36%) as male (17%) professors reported that they perform an unfair amount of committee work compared to their colleagues. Interestingly, gender differences disappeared between tenured male (81%) and female (80%) professors when they were asked if they have had opportunities better or comparable to others of the same rank to serve on important committees. This contrasts with the actual percentages reported for committees traditionally viewed as having higher status, such as appointments and advisory to the dean, as will be demonstrated below. The contrast may arise from a gap between perceived and actual levels of male and female involvement (i.e., tenured female professors may think they have had a greater number of equal opportunities than they have actually had), or it

^bUnweighted.

may arise from different ideas about what kind of committee work is "important" (with these same female professors attributing greater importance to committees traditionally viewed as less prestigious).

According to the AT survey, tenured male professors were more likely to serve on committees such as appointments, advisory to the dean, and curriculum development. On the other hand, an almost equivalent number of tenured male and female professors reported having served on speakers' series, university-wide committees, and law school program development committees (Table 28).

TABLE 28
Involvement in committee work by gender

	M	en	Women		
Committees	% ^a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}	
Appointments	78.1	322	71.9	295	
Advisory to the dean	71.1	236	62.6	213	
Curriculum development	69.9	272	58.6	232	
Speakers' series	48.5	171	47.3	171	
Law school program development	66.1	223	66.2	216	
University-wide committee	76.8	279	75.2	256	
Respondents not asked	_	233		134	

^aWeighted.

Income

In a comparison of tenured male and female professors' 9-month salaries, differences were apparent in the low and high ends of the salary scale. A greater number of tenured female professors reported earning less than \$125,000. At the other end of the spectrum, a greater number of tenured male professors reported earning median salaries of \$150,000 or greater. This disparity may be due to female professors' having fewer years of experience (on average, tenured female professors have 24 years of work experience since graduation compared to 30 years for their male counterparts). Future planned AT analyses will examine the effect of this factor on gender differences in tenured law professors' salaries (Figure 2).

^bUnweighted.

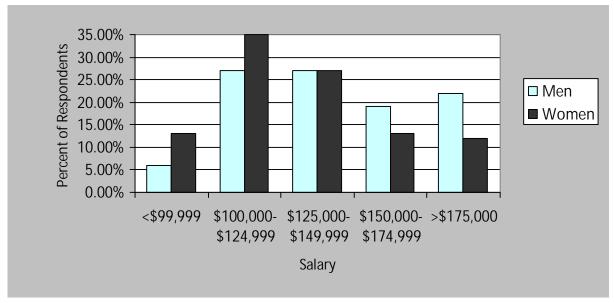


FIGURE 2. Salary by gender

Professional Opportunities

Tenured male and female professors also described having differing opportunities for career advancement. Tenured male professors were much more likely than their female counterparts to receive higher salary increases or perks from their law schools. Moreover, a greater number of tenured male professors reported having the opportunity to go on leave, choose the courses they teach, or represent their institutions to important outsiders (Table 29).

TABLE 29

Availability of professional opportunities by gender

	Me	en	Women			
Have had opportunities better or comparable to others of the same rank	% a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}		
To go on leave	82.6	513	77.5	407		
To represent institution to important outsiders	77.7	473	70.1	363		
To receive higher salary increases	78.6	454	62.9	310		
To choose which courses to teach	91.0	559	82.2	433		
To receive perks from law school	45.2	280	34.5	187		

^aWeighted.

^bUnweighted.

Strategies for Career Advancement

Tenured female professors were more likely to engage in career-advancement strategies. The largest difference appeared in their reported likelihood of participating in support groups; tenured male professors were about 21 percentage points more likely to report that they "never" participated in support groups. A greater number of tenured female professors reported attending conferences and sending out reprints to a selected network. Areas where tenured male and female professors did not differ in their reported participation were networking with law school classmates, giving talks at other law schools, communicating with scholars in their field, sending reprints to a broad mailing list, and seeking outside offers (Table 30).

TABLE 30 Strategies for career advancement by gender

siralegies for career davancement by g		Often (%) ^a	Sometimes (%) ^a	Never (%) ^a	Total N ^b
Networking with law school	Men	2.1	19.7	78.3	417
classmates	Women	2.2	20.2	77.5	414
Attending professional conferences	Men	33.1	55.1	11.9	421
	Women	39.9	54.6	5.5	417
Sending out reprints to a selected	Men	22.5	44.5	33.1	420
network	Women	30.7	44.8	24.4	417
Sending out reprints to a broad	Men	9.7	23.7	66.6	419
mailing list	Women	13.8	26.0	60.2	413
Giving talks at other law schools	Men	16.6	52.2	31.3	419
-	Women	18.5	55.2	26.4	415
Seeking outside offers	Men	1.6	19.2	79.3	418
_	Women	2.3	18.7	79.1	412
Making an effort to contact and	Men	28.6	59.6	11.8	420
communicate with scholars in my field	Women	34.6	56.5	8.9	416
Participating in support groups of	Men	5.0	10.9	84.2	353
colleagues	Women	13.8	23.5	62.7	356
Respondents not asked	Men	_	_	_	233
9222	Women		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	134

^aWeighted.

Relationship Status and Dependent Care

The balance between work and private life can significantly—and differentially—impact the career satisfaction of tenured male and female professors (Dau-Schmidt, Galanter, Mukhopadhaya, & Hull, 2009). In the AT study, tenured male and female professors' overall relationship status patterns were significantly different. Higher percentages of male professors were married, . while higher percentages of tenured female professors were divorced, widowed, or never married (Table 31).

^bUnweighted.

TABLE 31
Relationship status by gender

	M	en	Wo	men
Relationship Status	% a	N^{b}	% ^a	N^{b}
Never married	2.3	29	6.7	46
Married	64.8	384	48.6	247
Remarried	23.5	147	15.2	74
Domestic partner	1.3	9	7.0	36
Divorced	6.6	40	18.5	98
Widowed	1.5	6	2.1	8
Other	0.1	2	1.9	13
Total	100	617	100	522

^aWeighted.

More than 65% of the sample reported that they currently care for children. Roughly similar percentages of tenured male and female professors reported that they have spent a considerable amount of time caring for children. However, a greater percentage of female than male professors indicated that they spend a considerable amount of time caring for an ailing or special-needs adult (Table 32).

TABLE 32

Caring for children or ailing/special-needs adults by gender

	M	en	Wor	nen
	% a	N^{b}	% a	N^{b}
Children	64.2	399	69.1	363
Adults	18.1	121	28.8	150

^aWeighted.

Conclusion

This report presents the initial results of the AT study. While further analyses are needed to better understand the implications of these results, a few interesting findings already emerge.

Job Satisfaction

Most post-tenure law professors are satisfied with their job and work setting. The majority also feel respected by their colleagues and by those in their field. A small group of faculty, disproportionately female professors and minority professors, are less satisfied. This mirrors findings by Gulati, Sander, & Sockloskie (2001, pp. 255–256) that female, Black, and Asian students were disproportionately represented in the small group of alienated or unhappy law students in their study. The authors stressed that even among these female, Black, and Asian students, however, those who were unhappy represented only a small percentage of the larger groups, which were overall happy. Nevertheless they did conclude that there is some foundation for a "gloomy" picture in which law schools remained somewhat differentially alienating places for some members of groups with a history of exclusion.

^bUnweighted.

^bUnweighted.

Distribution of Professors in Today's Law Schools

Nearly 35% of tenured U.S. law professors in the present study teach in the top 50 law schools in the country (first tier), as compared to the remaining three tiers (comprising 129 additional schools). Most law professors (59%) teach in private institutions. At the national level, elite and private institutions in the United States seem likely to have greater resources for hiring faculty.

Backgrounds

Predictably, most tenured law professors did very well in law school. Judging from these professors' parents' educational levels, law professors tend to come from relatively privileged backgrounds. (Analysis of other data on family background is currently under way.) Interestingly, larger percentages of minority and white female professors reported that their mothers achieved high educational levels—as compared with white male professors.

Demographic Composition

White male professors are still overrepresented among the population of U.S. law professors as compared to their percentages in the general population. The demographic makeup of law faculties, however, has become noticeably more diverse in the past 20 years.

Race

Survey responses reveal some differences in workplace experiences based on race. In particular, minority professors experience somewhat less respect and comfort in the work setting. Interaction with colleagues, committee work, and salary increases are also reported to differ for some minority professors as compared with white professors. Minority professors are more likely than white professors to rely on support groups, and they are less likely to interact with colleagues at their own law schools.

Gender

While the tenured U.S. professoriate is slowly shifting to reflect the entry of women, only 25% of the tenured professors in this study were women. (Between 2002–2003 [when this study was conducted] and 2007–2008, the percentage rose 3 percentage points, from 25% to 28%.) Tenured female professors reported some differences in work experience as compared to their male counterparts: Fewer of these women reported feeling respected by their colleagues, a higher percentage reported feeling they performed an unfair amount of committee work, and fewer reported receiving perks from their institution.

In the upcoming months, more in-depth analyses will be conducted to better understand the experiences of law professors. Interviews with selected respondents have been completed in the

second phase of the study. The results from the qualitative analyses will be integrated with the data from the first phase to provide a richer and more complex picture of law professors' experiences and viewpoints after tenure.

Acknowledgments

We begin by thanking The American Bar Foundation (ABF) and the Law School Admission Council, who generously provided the funding for the AT study and without which this study would not have been possible.

The AT study proceeded in two phases: first, a national randomized survey of post-tenure law professors in the United States; and second, follow-up in-depth interviews with 100 of the survey respondents. This report conveys initial quantitative findings from the first phase of the project. During this phase, our team collaborated with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) to reach potential participants and collect data. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and many contributions of Martha Van Haitsma and Kelly Daley, survey lab codirectors, and the rest of the staff at NORC who worked with us on the first phase of this project.

The survey design was created with guidance and input from a number of social scientists and law professors. We are extremely grateful to them for giving their time and feedback to make this a successful study. The internal and external review committees at the ABF suggested specific items to include on the survey. Scholars from the *After the JD* project, including Robert Nelson, Ronit Dinovitzer, and Joyce Sterling, reviewed and helped shape the initial questionnaire. In addition, Robert Nelson, Sam Sommers of Tufts University, and John Hagan of the ABF and Northwestern University consulted on the survey design.

This project would not have been possible without the efforts and dedication of the committed research staff at the ABF who helped manage, compile, and analyze the data. We want to thank Tim Watson, Clara Carson, and Anne Godden-Segard, who assisted in the initial mailing and tracking of the survey, as well as Baimei Guo, Ujwal Chetry, Stephanie Lambert, Nadia Aziz, Lilly Dagdigian, and Annie Tillmann, who helped with data collection, entry, and analyses.

Finally, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to the law professors who participated in this survey. Their willingness to share their opinions and experiences has contributed to a deeper understanding of the professional lives of tenured professors. We also want to thank the professors who participated in the interviews during the second phase of the project for helping to provide a more in-depth picture of the complex issues that affect their experiences.

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Appendix 1: Law School Faculty Data From the American Bar Association

02/18/2003 <u>Table B-6</u> Page 1

Total Male Minority Staff & Faculty Members 2002-2003

		Black		merican Indian		Aslan		lexican merican		Puerto Rican		Other spanic	M	Total inorities	F	oreign		White	To	otal *
Full Time Teaching R	esou	rces																		
Tenured	170	5.4%	8	0.3%	53	1.7%	24	0.8%	35	1.1%	34	1.1%	324	10.3%	8	0.3%	2,813	89.4%	3,145	28.6%
Tenure-Track	60	10.5%	6	1.0%	32	5.6%	7	1.2%	19	3.3%	7	1.2%	131	22.8%	1	0.2%	441	76.8%	574	5.2%
405(c)	16	6.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	5	2.0%	23	9.3%	2	0.8%	223	89.9%	248	2.3%
Visitors	13	3.8%	2	0.6%	10	2.9%	0	0.0%	3	0.9%	7	2.1%	35	10.3%	22	6.5%	283	83.0%	341	3.1%
ALL Full-Time	259	6.0%	16	0.4%	96	2.2%	31	0.7%	58	1.3%	53	1.2%	513	11.9%	33	0.8%	3,760	87.3%	4,308	39.1%
Other Teaching Reso	urce	<u>s</u>																		
Full-Time Skills	4	8.2%	1	2.0%	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	7	14.3%	0	0.0%	42	85.7%	49	0.4%
Full-Time Writing	4	4.7%	Û	0.0%	3	3.5%	Û	0.0%	Ũ	0.0%	Ũ	0.0%	7	8.2%	0	0.0%	78	91.8%	85	0.8%
Other Full-Time	4	3.0%	0	0.0%	5	3.8%	1	0.8%	1	0.8%	3	2.3%	14	10.6%	11	8.3%	107	81.1%	132	1.2%
Part-Time	146	3.3%	10	0.2%	78	1.8%	30	0.7%	59	1.3%	53	1.2%	376	8.6%	21	0.5%	3,948	90.1%	4,382	39.8%
<u>Administrators</u>																				
Dean	6	3.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.9%	3	1.9%	1	0.6%	13	8.0%	0	0.0%	148	91.4%	162	1.5%
Associate or Vice Dean	19	7.3%	2	0.8%	5	1.9%	5	1.9%	2	0.8%	1	0.4%	34	13.1%	0	0.0%	225	86.9%	259	2.4%
Assistant Dean/Director	96	9.5%	3	0.3%	53	5.2%	13	1.3%	17	1.7%	33	3.3%	215	21.2%	5	0.5%	791	78.0%	1,014	9.2%
Library and IT Staff																				
Full Time Librarians	20	3.9%	0	0.0%	28	5.4%	2	0.4%	4	0.8%	7	1.4%	61	11.8%	0	0.0%	454	88.0%	516	4.7%
Library Administrator (non Librarian)	1	5.3%	0	0.0%	1	5.3%	2	10.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	21.1%	0	0.0%	15		19	0.2%
Full Time IT Specialists	8	9.0%	0	0.0%	8	9.0%	1	1.1%	2	2.2%	1	1.1%	20	22.5%	0	0.0%	68	76.4%	89	0.8%
Totals	567	5.1%	32	0.3%	278	2.5%	88	0.8%	147	1.3%	152	1.4%	1,264	11.5%	70	0.6%	9,636	87.5%	11,015	100%

^{*} Summation of ethnicities might not equal to the Total column due to non-responses.

<u>Table B-6</u>

Total Female Minority
Staff & Faculty Members

2002-2003

	American Black Indian		Asian		Mexican American		Puerto Rican		Other Hispanic		Total Minorities		Foreign		White		Total *			
Full Time Teaching R	Resou	rces																		
Tenured	130	12.3%	4	0.4%	18	1.7%	16	1.5%	12	1.1%	18	1.7%	198	18.8%	0	0.0%	856	81.2%	1,054	13.1%
Tenure-Track	69	17.6%	6	1.5%	24	6.1%	2	0.5%	11	2.8%	16	4.1%	128	32.7%	1	0.3%	262	67.0%	391	4.9%
405(c)	34	7.9%	2	0.5%	10	2.3%	3	0.7%	2	0.5%	10	2.3%	61	14.3%	0	0.0%	366	85.5%	428	5.3%
Visitors	26	13.5%	1	0.5%	7	3.6%	1	0.5%	1	0.5%	5	2.6%	41	21.2%	7	3.6%	144	74.6%	193	2.4%
ALL Full-Time	259	12.5%	13	0.6%	59	2.9%	22	1.1%	26	1.3%	49	2.4%	428	20.7%	8	0.4%	1,628	78.8%	2,066	25.6%
Other Teaching Reso	ource	<u>s</u>																		
Full-Time Skills	10	11.9%	0	0.0%	2	2.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	1	1.2%	14	16.7%	0	0.0%	69	82.1%	84	1.0%
Full-Time Writing	5	2.3%	2	0.9%	3	1.4%	2	0.9%	0	0.0%	2	0.9%	14	6.4%	0	0.0%	205	93.2%	220	2.7%
Other Full-Time	9	9.3%	2	2.1%	3	3.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.0%	15	15.5%	5	5.2%	76	78.4%	97	1.2%
Part-Time	129	6.7%	4	0.2%	47	2.4%	12	0.6%	29	1.5%	43	2.2%	264	13.7%	5	0.3%	1,639	84.9%	1,930	24.0%
Administrators																				
Dean	2	6.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	6.5%	0	0.0%	29	93.5%	31	0.4%
Associate or Vice Dean	14	8.1%	2	1.2%	3	1.7%	1	0.6%	2	1.2%	3	1.7%	25	14.5%	0	0.0%	147	85.5%	172	2.1%
Assistant Dean/Director	262	11.1%	11	0.5%	82	3.5%	21	0.9%	37	1.6%	67	2.8%	480	20.3%	1	0.0%	1,870	79.2%	2,361	29.3%
Library and IT Staff																				
Full Time Librarians	66	6.5%	1	0.1%	55	5.4%	1	0.1%	17	1.7%	6	0.6%	146	14.4%	1	0.1%	866	85.5%	1,013	12.6%
Library Administrator (non Librarian)	8	18.2%	0	0.0%	2	4.5%	2	4.5%	1	2.3%	1	2.3%	14	31.8%	0	0.0%	30	68.2%	44	0.5%
Full Time IT Specialists	3	7.9%	0	0.0%	6	15.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	23.7%	0	0.0%	29	76.3%	38	0.5%
Totals	767	9.5%	35	0.4%	262	3.3%	61	0.8%	113	1.4%	173	2.1%	1,411	17.5%	20	0.2%	6,588	81.8%	8,056	100%

^{*} Summation of ethnicities might not equal to the Total column due to non-responses.

Table B-6 Page 3

Total Total Minority Staff & Faculty Members 2002-2003

02/18/2003

		Black	A	Americar Indian		Asian		lexican nerican		Puerto Rican		Other Ispanic	М	Total inorities	f	oreign		White	To	otal *
Full Time Teaching F	Resou	rces								-	.,									
Tenured	300	7.1%	12	0.3%	71	1.7%	40	1.0%	47	1.1%	52	1.2%	522	12.4%	8	0.2%	3,669	87.4%	4,199	22.0
Tenure-Track	129	13.4%	12	1.2%	56	5.8%	9	0.9%	30	3.1%	23	2.4%	259	26.8%	2	0.2%	703	72.8%	965	5.0
405(c)	50	7.4%	2	0.3%	11	1.6%	3	0.4%	3	0.4%	15	2.2%	84	12.4%	2	0.3%	589	87.1%	676	3.5
Visitors	39	7.3%	3	0.6%	17	3.2%	1	0.2%	4	0.7%	12	2.2%	76	14.2%	29	5.4%	427	80.0%	534	2.
ALL Full-Time	518	8.1%	29	0.5%	155	2.4%	53	0.8%	84	1.3%	102	1.6%	941	14.8%	41	0.6%	5,388	84.5%	6,374	33.4
Other Teaching Reso	ource	<u>s</u>																		
Full-Time Skills	14	10.5%	1	0.8%	3	2.3%	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	1	0.8%	21	15.8%	0	0.0%	111	83.5%	133	0.7
Full-Time Writing	9	2.9%	2	0.7%	6	2.0%	2	0.7%	0	0.0%	2	0.7%	21	6.9%	0	0.0%	283	92.5%	306	1.0
Other Full-Time	13	5.7%	2	0.9%	8	3.5%	1	0.4%	1	0.4%	4	1.7%	29	12.7%	16	7.0%	183	79.9%	229	1.
Part-Time	276	4.4%	14	0.2%	125	2.0%	42	0.7%	88	1.4%	97	1.5%	642	10.1%	26	0.4%	5,598	88.2%	6,344	33.
<u>Administrators</u>																				
Dean	8	4.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.6%	3	1.6%	1	0.5%	15	7.8%	0	0.0%	177	91.7%	193	1.
Associate or Vice Dean	33	7.7%	4	0.9%	8	1.9%	6	1.4%	4	0.9%	4	0.9%	59	13.7%	0	0.0%	372	86.3%	431	2.
Assistant Dean/Director	358	10.6%	14	0.4%	135	4.0%	34	1.0%	54	1.6%	100	3.0%	695	20.6%	6	0.2%	2,662	78.8%	3,379	17.
Library and IT Staff																				
Full Time Librarians	86	5.6%	1	0.1%	83	5.4%	3	0.2%	21	1.4%	13	0.8%	207	13.5%	1	0.1%	1,321	86.3%	1,531	8.
Library Administrator (non Librarian)	9	14.3%	0	0.0%	3	4.8%	4	6.3%	1	1.6%	1	1.6%	18	28.6%	0	0.0%	45	71.4%	63	0.
Full Time IT Specialists	11	8.7%	0	0.0%	14	11.0%	1	0.8%	2	1.6%	1	0.8%	29	22.8%	0	0.0%	97	76.4%	127	0.
Totals	1,335	7.0%	67	0.4%	540	2.8%	149	0.8%	260	1.4%	326	1.7%	2,677	14.0%	90	0.5%		16,237	19,110	10

^{*} Summation of ethnicities might not equal to the Total column due to non-responses.

Appendix 2

Summary of Methodology

This study examined law professors' post-tenure experiences using a multimethod approach. The first phase of the study consisted of a national survey of post-tenure law professors, the initial results of which are included in this report. The second phase of the study involved indepth interviews with a subsample (approximately 5%) of the survey respondents.

Potential participants were initially identified using the 2002–2003 database of law professors from the Association of American Law Schools (AALS). Tenured professors were narrowed down within the database to those listed as "associate" or "full" professors, leaving an overall population of 5,782. (The AALS at the time did not sort the data by tenure status, so tenured professors could not be distinguished from untenured associate professors. This initial number was therefore inflated; untenured associate professors who responded to us were subsequently excluded.) The sample was stratified by gender, and then 814 men and 814 women were randomly selected for the initial survey mailing. Additionally, all identified minority professors not selected in the main sample (447) were included in the minority oversample. The final sample included a total of 2,076 who were mailed surveys in 2005.

A total of 0.48% participants from the original mailing could not be located. A number of professors moved from the institutions to which the surveys were mailed; new contact information was pursued for these cases. To increase the response rate, two additional mailings were sent out, and a Web version of the survey was launched in the summer of 2005. NORC contacted nonrespondents by telephone in order to complete a phone version of the survey. A total of 1,174 (63%) of the eligible sample fully completed the survey, including 465 male professors (64% of those eligible), 477 female professors (66% of those eligible), and 232 minority professors (57% of those eligible). In addition, 48 respondents completed substantial amounts of the survey (20 completed roughly half of the 65 questions, while another 28 completed 29–32 of the 65 questions). These partial responses were included when analyzing the questions to which they responded. Finally, 10 people answered 8 or fewer questions and were counted as "nonrespondents"; their answers were not included in any of the analyses.

The survey was made up of 66 questions. It included forced-choice as well as open-response questions about demographic information, career histories, early career development, current career situation, professional networks and opportunities, and satisfaction.

Sampling Weights

Weights are variables used to turn the sample of respondents into a representative sample of the population of interest: in our case, tenured law professors. The initial sampling design was a random sample stratified over gender with an additional oversample of minority professors. Therefore fewer white male professors were sampled than their percentage in the population of tenured professors would suggest. In order to obtain representative estimates of the population, it is important to account for this sampling design in any statistical analysis. The use of weights allows unbiased estimation of population averages when the sampling design includes an unequal probability of selection, as the AT project does.

In addition, weights allow for correction of nonresponse in order to limit the bias that such nonresponse can create. The AT study includes a correction for nonresponse in its weights. Weights are created by investigating how variables from three types of data on all eligible individuals surveyed (both respondents and nonrespondents) are correlated with the response rates. The three data sets are:

- 1. Data from the AALS database on law professors, which includes gender, race, Coif membership, law review membership (as a student), age, and title
- 2. Data on the school at which the individual works (religious affiliation, public/private, maintenance of a part-time program, urban/rural, *U.S. News* ranking, and city population)
- 3. Data on our sampling method, which includes whether the individual was part of the minority oversample (recall that some minority professors were initially selected as survey recipients, and therefore were not a part of the minority oversample) and whether the individual returned the initial survey or was contacted through follow-up with NORC

The weights are designed to analyze combinations of data from the survey in order to obtain unbiased population averages and accurate estimates of standard errors. The weights used in the analyses are probability weights based on the initial sampling design, adjusted for nonresponse; that is, they represent the inverse probability of an individual tenured law professor's being selected for the study and responding to the study. These weights are used, rather than the group of respondents to our survey, when modeling the underlying population of tenured law professors. Note, however, that the nonresponse correction in the weights does not affect the results a great deal. Table A-1 provides some basic demographic data that compares the demographic data with nonresponse weights, and with weights that control only for our sampling method.

TABLE A-1 Example of results weighted for selection vs. weighted for selection and nonresponse

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	% ^a	% ^b	N^{c}
Gender			
Men	73.72	74.79	1,039
Women	26.28	25.21	823
Total	100	100	1,862
Race			
White	86.84	85.26	1,184
Minority	13.16	14.74	636
Total	100	100	1,820
Cohort in which tenure was received			
2000+	12.22	11.65	203
1995–1999	19.51	19.42	291
1990–1994	16.61	15.70	211
1980–1989	28.89	28.85	317
Pre-1980	22.77	24.38	186
Total	100	100	1,208

^aWeighted for selection only.
^bWeighted for selection and nonresponse.
^cUnweighted.