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"The New Yuppie Female Lawyer": The Impact of Women on Divorce Law Practice

By Professor Lynn Mather

In interviews with divorce lawyers in New Hampshire and Maine as part of a large research project, my colleagues¹ and I heard frequent comments about a distinctive style that characterized some female divorce lawyers. These women, we were told (usually by male lawyers), tended to be more aggressive, more reliant on formal litigation techniques, less reasonable in negotiation, and more seriously committed to their cases and their clients. Not all women practicing family law were said to fit this profile, but certainly more than the male lawyers. Our interviews with some women divorce lawyers tended to reinforce this portrait, albeit with a more positive interpretation of their behavior.

In this article I present some research findings on women divorce lawyers, and summarize a few of the ways in which they do -- and do not -- differ from men in divorce law practice. Considerable research has documented trends in the career patterns of women in the bar, exploring their law school experiences, choice of legal specialties, disparities in salary and rank, job satisfaction, and obstacles to advancement (such as discrimination, sexual harassment, and the difficulties of combining family responsibilities and a legal career).² Fewer commentators have analyzed the practice of women lawyers, asking whether women do their legal work differently than men.³ This article explores that question within the specific area of divorce law.

Given the dramatic increase of women in the legal profession as a whole and the disproportionate number of women practicing divorce law, divorce lawyers provide an excellent legal community for exploring questions of gender differences in legal practice. During the 1960s women lawyers were more likely to handle divorce cases than were their male colleagues,⁴ and this trend has continued. In New Hampshire, for example, 27% of women attorneys in 1988 listed domestic relations as one of their top three legal specialties, compared to only 17% of the male lawyers; the specialty of domestic relations was also more frequently cited by women lawyers in New Hamp-

shire than any other legal speciality, according to the 1988 survey.⁵ Ten years later, survey results show that domestic relations continues to be the most common area of speciality for women lawyers in New Hampshire, and that 22% of women lawyers, but only 6% of men, spend 50% or more of their time in domestic relations.⁶ While some women lawyers are directed to do divorce work because of gender stereotyping within their firms, other women choose divorce law for the substantive issues it presents and the challenges that clients pose. That is, divorce law provides some women with an arena for enacting feminist ideals in law practice. These attorneys may consciously select the speciality of domestic relations in order to advance the rights of women and children.

To explore whether and how women divorce lawyers differ from men, I draw on interviews with divorce lawyers and data from divorce court records from New Hampshire and Maine. Personal interviews with 163 divorce lawyers were conducted in 1990-91 (approximately 90 minutes in length, taped and transcribed). We selected lawyers according to the frequency of their representation of divorce clients, so that we could examine closely the divorce bar in certain counties in each state.⁷ Although we did not consciously seek out women for our sample, about one-third of the lawyers we interviewed were women (a proportion that is consistent with reports of women attorneys doing domestic relations work). We also gathered data from the court docket records in the same counties in which the interviews were done. The docket data (totaling almost 7000 divorce cases) were sampled over a nine-year period (from 1979 to 1988).⁸ These data were gathered for a larger research project on legal professionalism, and the impact of mediation on legal practice,⁹ but the data also provide insights about women in the family law bar.

TRAITS OF WOMEN DIVORCE LAWYERS

Advocacy

When we asked attorneys whether there were distinct types of divorce lawyers, or whether they were all pretty much

alike, the most common response, consistent for both New Hampshire and Maine, was that there were distinct types: lawyers who were "reasonable" and others who were not. The "unreasonable" divorce lawyers were typically characterized by aggressive, "Rambolike", "hard-ball" advocacy on behalf of their clients. Another characterization of the unreasonable lawyer included reliance on formal procedures to gather case information; in this view, unreasonable divorce lawyers "churned the files," "paper you to death," or "over-paper, over-motion, over-discover." Some lawyers went on to explain that they believed women to be disproportionately among the unreasonable divorce lawyers:

I don't know what the percentages are -- certainly there are more male lawyers than female lawyers -- and if you use that as a ratio and then look at the so-called hard-nosed lawyers that we are talking about, the women would make a greater percentage.

Maybe that's a broad statement [that women are the **unreasonable lawyers**] but some of the more aggressive ones that I have dealt with I would say they have been women. I think that they have manifested less willingness to try to resolve this thing and to try to work out the differences and reach a settlement.

Why did these two lawyers, and some of their colleagues who were also long-time practitioners of divorce, attribute aggressive advocacy to the women?

One reason is that as divorce law practice became more specialized, it was the young women attorneys who initiated some of the changes that challenged the old-timers in the bar. These women brought the techniques of civil litigation to divorce, relying more on formal motions, discovery, and interrogatories in their cases, instead of the informal conversations that had been the norm. In each of the two states we studied, several individual women -- all of whom specialized in divorce -- described how they were personally responsible for introducing interrogatories into divorce practice. One woman lawyer defended the change by noting sarcastically that since few lawyers would dissolve a client's business based on verbal assurances about financial assets, why were they so willing to dissolve a marriage that way? Another woman lawyer explained:

When I came into the family law bar, I brought with me a lot of the litigation techniques I had used in all kinds of other cases... I have an obligation to the client not to accept the fact that just because someone tells me they have a pension worth \$20,000 [that they do]. If that means interrogatories or subpoenas, then that's what it means... I see a lot of bad lawyering that's based on "Oh, let's be buddies." I'm not a member of the clique.

A third lawyer described how she began using these formal discovery techniques in divorce work in the early 1980s and faced strong opposition from her legal brethren:

The negative views that male general practitioners expressed about women in the bar clearly reflected some sexism, but they were also an accurate perception of how some women were practicing divorce law differently -- both in their use of formal techniques of discovery and their increased demands on behalf of their clients.

When I started [divorce law practice], I started doing interrogatories and I had so many lawyers call me up and swear at me that it was unbelievable! It was like interrogatories are not part of divorce practice.

Although these female attorneys offended some of their colleagues, they continued to influence divorce law practice in ways that called for greater attention to settlement details and increased use of formal procedures.

The reaction to this new style of women lawyers in divorce practice was not surprising. The negative views that male general practitioners expressed about women in the bar clearly reflected some sexism, but they were also an accurate perception of how some women *were* practicing divorce law differently -- both in their use of formal techniques of discovery and their increased demands on behalf of their clients. An older male lawyer, after handling divorce cases for years as part of his general legal practice, commented with disgust about "the new yuppie female lawyer" (thus my title) who creates "a file for a simple divorce case... that looks like this" -- pointing to a file almost two inches thick. He continued in his castigation of the "yuppie female lawyer.":

Their demands are outrageous and unreasonable and an abomination. They start off by sending you a statement of how they think the case should be settled, and you hardly get through it without throwing up. It's so unfair. You know what I mean? It's absolutely a monument to their ignorance to be able to think that any lawyer worth his salt would go along with any such a goddamn deal as that.

Another male lawyer similarly **characterized the lawyering style of the new women divorce** specialists, although he expressed more admiration for them than his colleague above:

Around here we have developed in the last ten years a group ... of women lawyers who specialize in divorce and they're very aggressive and very capable And they're wild, by that I mean they're aggressive and I hate to hear from them but they're good, they're real good.

By the term "aggressive," the lawyer explained that these women specialists pressed for everything they could possibly get. Further, "they usually represent the woman, and they stand up for the woman."

Both male and female attorneys, in some of the interviews, attributed this aggressive style of advocacy to certain female newcomers in the divorce bar. While the men occasionally criticized the style, asking what these women were trying to prove, or even referring to the "bitches" of the bar, the women defended their vigorous advocacy. Some women noted that, although informal communication may have worked fine for the old boy network, it was disastrous if you were not a member of "the clique." **Other** women lawyers explained that the difference between the male lawyers and themselves was that women took family issues seriously and cared more about the details of their clients' situations. Seriousness about their work was said to be another distinctive trait of women lawyers.

Seriousness and Attention to Detail

Women attorneys, in particular the specialists in family law, were said to place great value on long-term family relationships and the personal adjustment of clients. Knowledge of the impoverishing consequences of divorce for women and experience with the heavy emotional toll divorce takes, especially on women and children, encouraged these lawyers to fight hard for their clients' needs. These women lawyers distinguished themselves from men in general practice who, they believed, treated divorce cases with insufficient seriousness and failed to bring to them **the same vigorous advocacy they employed in other cases. In the words of one** woman specialist:

Men attorneys don't understand why... I really care about this [divorce] just like they care about the real estate closing or the contract deal. They would tend to think of that as being very hardnosed and very strident as opposed to just being incredibly aggressive or prepared for your client... Oftentimes, men attorneys are very willing to reach a compromise that in business would be fine. I would be lying to you if I said it wasn't a fine deal.... But in a divorce situation, I think it [a small amount of money] makes a big difference. I do. I think it makes a huge difference in their lives... Women take the divorce work a lot more seriously than men do.

In these comments, the lawyer justifies what she admits is "aggressive" advocacy by underlining the significance of the details of a divorce settlement and her commitment to her clients.

Other women similarly commented that they were unfairly criticized by their male colleagues simply because they took seriously the details of a divorce. "They [male lawyers] think that I am a Rambo because I think that there are lots of things that need to be dealt with in a divorce," said one women divorce lawyer. She explained her perspective on divorce:

You're not solving a problem, what you're doing is restructuring a family. There are very few divorces where you are just simply getting a divorce... That just doesn't happen. And the two **people that** are getting a divorce are going to have a relationship one way or the other for the **rest of their lives, generally speaking**. And so I see my job as restructuring that family with a view to the long term as well as the short... [other attorneys] don't have that perspective. You give them a problem, you get rid of the problem.

In this view, divorces are not simple short-term problems, but instead involve complex social and emotional issues and critical financial details. Another woman attorney echoed these sentiments as she explained that "there is a certain amount of sexism in the view that women lawyers are Rambos in the divorce law." The sexism, she said, is due to the fact that many of the men lawyers don't care as much about divorce as women do, and thus women are blamed for the seriousness with which they take their work:

It is because I care about the details, that I don't let them slide. There is a kind of ethic [among lawyers] that divorce is not important. You get a settlement and you get out of there. And I am sitting there saying, "No, this is important. It is important to my client, and it is important to this negotiation." . . . People come to me because I have such a reputation of being such a bitch, and pushy, and all that. And I think it is because of the detail. I want specific and careful [divorce agreements] if we are going to do it. And I will fight for the details.

Just as this attorney proclaims her willingness to "fight for the details," one of her male colleagues defines this trait as precisely what makes "women lawyers ... harder to deal with than men lawyers." That is, he said, women are "more meticulous about little things, whether [a divorcing party] should get the TV or the VCR. Men don't fool around with that."

Another very modest indicator, perhaps, of the seriousness with which women lawyers approach divorce comes from responses from all the lawyers we interviewed to a question about skills in divorce. We asked lawyers to rate (on a scale of 1 to 5) six different skills (skillful negotiator, skillful litigator, expert in law of divorce, sensitive listener to client, knowing other lawyers, and understanding the judges' idiosyncracies) according to how "important and useful" they were in the day-to-day practice of divorce law. While there were significant differences by gender in ratings on some of these skills, what was also striking was that the average women lawyers' ratings were higher than the men's on all the skills given. For every single skill, women, on average, thought it more important than men did. This finding could, of course, be explained by some quirk of the interview situation such that women felt a stronger obligation than men to record the importance of these skills. But it could also be due to a stronger belief by women that these skills *were* truly "important and useful" in divorce law practice.

Orientation to Clients

A third trait of women divorce lawyers, one also characteristic of lawyers who specialized in family law, was their greater interest in clients as persons, rather than clients as the embodiment of legal issues. On the skill rating question described above, the sharpest difference (statistically significant at the .01 level) between women and men was in the importance given to "being a sensitive listener to the client." Women lawyers rated this skill the highest of all six, with a mean rating of 4.5 (where 5.0 was the highest), in contrast to the 4.18 mean rating men gave it (listening was second place in rank for the men, whereas negotiation was ranked the highest for them). Another interesting finding was that there was much greater consensus among women respondents on the importance of listening to client, in contrast to a wider range of responses of the men to this question.¹⁰

A lawyer's orientation toward clients, and a commitment to listen carefully to them, could translate into a distinctive approach to client decision-making. Perhaps women lawyers, as one author has suggested,¹¹ would interact differently with their clients and be more willing to follow their client's wishes rather than imposing the lawyer's view of the client's best interest. Our research found no such gender-related pattern in the ways lawyers described their approach to client decision-making. That is, both men and women emphasized that their role was to act as independent counselors to their clients and to exert a certain degree of control over clients.¹² There were, however, a few women lawyers who articulated a different point of view, and complained about most divorce lawyers who dominated their female clients. For these women lawyers, the goal was empowerment of clients so that they could make their own decisions. One attorney, for example, described what she saw as fundamental differences in types of divorce lawyers according to gender. Women lawyers, she said, were "pretty similar," but the men were not very similar:

I think the difference would be in some attorneys' approach in terms of making decisions for the client, in being the major decision-maker as opposed to involving the client in that process. I mean, I know of some attorneys who will make a lot of decisions for the client, and the client gives up that control and that power, and it's just a perpetuation of what that client has gone through all her life.

In her view (one *not* shared by the majority of our respondents), women lawyers were more likely to share decision-making with their clients, rather than using professional role and expertise to control them, while men showed greater variation on this dimension.

A client-centered orientation was also expressed in some of the answers to questions about lawyer's goals, responsibilities, likes and dislikes, and the criteria they used to evaluate their success. Close textual analysis of lawyers' responses to these open-ended questions revealed three rather distinct orientations to their work. One role orientation emphasized the importance of helping clients move on with their lives,

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solving "people problems," and enjoying the interpersonal contact with clients. A contrasting role orientation stressed the satisfaction of solving factual and legal problems, the importance of protecting legal rights, and the enjoyment of courtroom advocacy. While some lawyers consistently identified themselves according to one role or another, other lawyers fell between the two extremes, with answers that mixed the two dimensions. Overall, 28% of our lawyers voiced client-focussed orientations, 46% of the lawyers were most oriented to law and legal rights, and 26% were a mixture of the two.¹³

Not surprisingly, given what lawyers expressed in their interviews, we found a statistically significant relation (at the .001 level) between gender of lawyer and these three role orientations. Men were almost twice as likely as women to identify with the legal rights orientation; women were twice as likely as men to identify with a "mixed" orientation; and

women were slightly more likely to identify with a client-focussed orientation. Because women entered the legal profession in large numbers more recently, we wondered whether age differences or differences in legal training could explain these role differences. The gender difference persisted, however, once we controlled for year of law school graduation.¹⁴ Note that we did not find that all women divorce lawyers differed from men in role orientation, but simply that there was a relationship between role and gender that could not be explained by coincidence.

In some of the interviews, lawyers referred explicitly to this gender difference in orientation toward clients. A few men, especially those who had been in practice for some time, complained that some women lawyers let themselves become too wrapped up with their client's emotional issues, that they lacked proper distance on their cases, or that they pushed their own feminist or political agenda onto their clients and case settlements. A few of the women made similar points but with a positive **interpretation of their behavior toward clients**:

I enjoy counseling my clients through a divorce the best... I think a lot of women seek a woman lawyer. I think that my own interest is in women's issues. And my style is that I attend to much more than just the law in a divorce.

The other thing that I think women will do -- at least the women lawyers that I know -- they have a real keen sense of what sort of resources [there are] within the community... encourage the client to get therapy or make referrals to [a women's center] or whatever, so that the total needs of the client are better met. I think women attorneys are much more attentive to their clients. And this is, you know, a gross generalization, but I think that it's true.

Most lawyers did not see such clear differences among lawyers based on gender, but we did find a relation between gender and a primary orientation toward personal client issues or toward legal rights.

DISCUSSION AND EXPLANATIONS

As summarized above, women divorce lawyers were disproportionately characterized by distinct traits in their lawyering: aggressive advocacy, reliance on formal discovery techniques, particular attention to details in case settlement, and a role orientation that emphasized listening to clients and helping them with their personal lives. But, can we really conclude that these traits are due to the fact they are *women* practicing divorce law? Are women bringing what Carol Gilligan called "a different voice"¹⁵ to their legal practice? The answer is complex. Women divorce lawyers also differ from men in their degree of specialization in family law and in their clientele; perhaps these factors account for the differences reported here.

Increased specialization in the bar parallels the rise of women lawyers. Divorce law, as a legal specialty, is no excep-

tion to the general trend toward legal specialization. Throughout the 1980s the divorce bar became more and more differentiated, with most divorce specialists serving clients with greater economic resources, and general practice lawyers handling divorces for middle to working classes. This divide was evident in the practices of lawyers we interviewed. Lawyers with high levels of specialization charged **more for initial retainers** and hourly fees, and they reported considerably more billable hours in their average divorce case, than did the general practice lawyers. Whereas the general practice lawyer needed to contain formal legal activity in order to minimize costs in a divorce, divorce specialists were responding to financial complexities in their clients' cases by bringing techniques of civil litigation (such as interrogatories) into their divorce work.

Consequently, complaints by older male lawyers about aggressive advocacy by "the new yuppie female lawyer" were similarly voiced against the divorce specialists, some of whom were *men*. The overlap between the categories of specialization and gender complicates the task of assessing the impact of women on divorce practice. Using a fairly broad definition of specialization, in which at least one-third of lawyers' law practice was devoted to divorce, we found that 89% of the women lawyers in our sample were divorce specialists, compared to only 43% of the men. Further, more women lawyers reported that they represented mostly upper class clients than did male lawyers. The converse was also true: men disproportionately reported that they had a working class clientele in their divorce cases. Hence, the distinct style of advocacy said to characterize some women divorce lawyers may be due to their specialization in family law and their more affluent client base.

Another important characteristic of the divorce clientele of women attorneys was that they were predominantly wives, not husbands. Examination of the court dockets on only those cases handled by the lawyers we interviewed¹⁶ revealed that women lawyers represented women in 72% of their divorce cases while male lawyers represented women in 54% of their cases. This pattern existed regardless of lawyers' specialization, suggesting that women clients sought out women attorneys, whether they were family law specialists or not. Similar results emerged from the case docket data for all cases in our sample between 1984 and 1988. Women lawyers most often represented wives in divorce (70% of their clients were wives), but men had approximately equal **representation of husbands and wives** (51% were wives).

How might these **client differences influence lawyers' orientations to practice**? Divorce lawyers agreed that wives tended more than husbands to seek help from their lawyer for personal and emotional issues involved in the divorce, rather than concentrating solely on legal or financial issues. And there was some evidence that women divorce lawyers were asked by their clients more frequently than the male lawyers to attend to personal issues. Since women lawyers were disproportionately subject to these kind of client demands (both

because more of their clients were wives and because they themselves were women), having a predominantly female clientele might help account for the greater importance women lawyers placed on listening to their clients and the special interest in clients' personal adjustment that women lawyers disproportionately expressed.

CONCLUSION

This research suggests that women have had a significant impact on divorce law practice in New Hampshire and Maine. From their more aggressive advocacy and introduction of civil litigation techniques into divorce to their attention to details and concern for clients, women divorce lawyers have disproportionately shown some distinctive traits. These traits, however, *cannot* be explained simply by gender. Gender, as a social construct, operates in a larger social context as well. As we have seen, the gender of divorce lawyers overlaps with categories of legal specialization and the resources and gender of lawyers' client base. Further, the traits we have identified for "the new yuppie female lawyer" present a complex and surprising mix of advocacy and caring that would not be predicted by feminist scholarship. This finding, too, underlines the necessity of examining gender within its social context. One's interactions within the professional community of divorce lawyers, expectations from clients, and the demands of law practice all exert powerful forces, along with one's gender, to socialize and influence lawyers' behavior and values.

As a final note, I remind the reader that our data were gathered seven years ago. Has the picture changed since then? Are women today who practice divorce law firmly incorporated into the "old boys' network," and thus more likely to share with men their informal style of legal advocacy and their treatment of divorce as just like any other case? Or, has the entire practice of divorce law been pushed in the directions initiated by women who began practicing divorce in the 1980s, with vigorous advocacy and serious attention to case details and clients' lives? Or, has the increased legal specialization in divorce continued to divide the divorce law community into different kinds of practices -- for example, specialists with higher-income clients and nonspecialists with a broader client base? I would be interested to hear responses from divorce lawyers in current practice and would be happy to share these impressions with readers in a future article.

ENDNOTES

1. Richard J. Maiman, Professor of Political Science, University of Southern Maine, Portland, Maine, and Craig A. McEwen, Professor of Sociology, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, conducted this research with me, and I thank them for permission to use our data in this article. We acknowledge research support from the Law and Social Sciences Division of the National Science Foundation. We also extend our most sincere thanks to the many divorce lawyers and judges in New Hampshire and Maine who generously shared their time and their thoughts with us.
2. See, e.g., Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Women in Law*, 2nd ed. (1993); Mona Harrington, *Women Lawyers: Rewriting the Rules*; Janet Taber et al., *Gender, Legal Education, and the Legal Profession: An Empirical Study of Stanford Law Students*

and *Graduates*, 40 Stan. L. Rev. 1209 (1988); Joan Krauskopf, *Touching the Elephant: Perceptions of Gender Issues in Nine Law Schools*, 44 J. Legal Educ. 311 (1994); Carroll Seron, *The Business of Practicing Law*; John Hagan and Fiona Kay, *Gender in Practice: A Study of Lawyers' Lives*.

3. *But, see, e.g.*, Carrie Menkel-Meadow, *Portia in a Different Voice: Speculations on a Women's Lawyering Process*, 1 Berkeley Women's L.J. 39 (1985); Carrie Menkel-Meadow, *Exploring a Research Agenda of the Feminization of the Legal Profession: Theories of Gender and Social Change*, 14 Law & Soc. Inq. 289 (1989); Rand Jack and Dana Crowley Jack, *Moral Vision and Professional Decisions: The Changing Values of Women and Men Lawyers* (1989); Deborah L. Rhode, *The "Woman's Point of View,"* 38 J. Legal Educ. 39 (1988); Richard J. Maiman, Lynn Mather, & Craig A. McEwen, *Gender and Specialization in the Practice of Divorce Law* 44 Maine Law Rev. 39 (1992). Our findings differ on this point from those reported by Austin Sarat and William L.F. Felstiner, *Divorce Lawyers and Their Clients: Power and Meaning in the Legal Process* (who find no gender difference among divorce lawyers).
4. James J. White, *Women in the Law*, 65 Mich. L. Rev. 1051, 1062-63 (1967).
5. N.H. Bar Ass'n Task Force on Women in the Bar, *Report of the New Hampshire Bar Association Task Force Report on Women in the Bar*, 29 N.H. B.J. 213, 230 (Summer 1988).
6. Catherine Shanelaris, et al., *Ten Year Gender Survey*, 39 N.H.B.J. 56, 58 (March 1998).
7. We selected lawyers through review of divorce dockets in courts in three New Hampshire and four Maine counties, taking all names that appeared frequently, about one-half of those with moderate frequency, and a few of those who appeared infrequently. Through this process we identified and then contacted 178 divorce lawyers; 92% of those contacted participated in our interviews.
8. We systematically sampled divorce dockets in the courts of the seven counties we studied, coding information about, for example, number and types of motions filed, court hearings and judicial orders, dates of filing and disposition, and lawyers' names. Our sample sizes were between one-half and one-quarter of all divorce actions filed in each year.
9. See, e.g., Craig A. McEwen, Lynn Mather & Richard J. Maiman, *Lawyers, Mediation, and the Management of Divorce Practice*, 28 Law & Soc'y Rev. 149 (1994); Lynn Mather, Richard J. Maiman & Craig A. McEwen, *"The Passenger Decides on the Destination and I Decide on the Route": Are Divorce Lawyers "Expensive Cab Drivers?"*, 9 Int'l J. of Law & the Family 286 (1995); and Craig A. McEwen, Lynn Mather & Richard J. Maiman, *Constructing Legal Professionalism: Divorce Lawyers and Their Work* (forthcoming).
10. In statistical terms, ratings by male lawyers showed a larger standard deviation (s.d. = .93 for men) than did the ratings by the women (s.d. = .59). This indicates more variation by men than women in their response to this question.
11. See, e.g., Menkel-Meadow, *supra* note 3.
12. See Mather, Maiman & McEwen *supra* note 9.
13. See Maiman, Mather & McEwen, *supra* note 3 for definition and coding of these role orientations. Data on gender and role orientations as reported here are slightly revised from our earlier article to correct some coding errors.
14. We lacked direct measures of age of lawyers, and thus used year of law school graduation as an imperfect measure of age.
15. Carol Gilligan, *In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982).
16. For this analysis we isolated from our sample of nearly 7000 divorces, all cases in which lawyers we interviewed appeared. This created a data set of actual cases for 157 of the 163 lawyers we interviewed, with an average of 12 divorce cases per lawyer.



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