



2017 LEAKY PIPELINE STUDY

**Research Sponsored by
The Georgia Association for Women Lawyers**

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GAWL 2017 Survey Findings

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Introduction

The phrase “leaky pipeline” describes the alarming situation in which women are underrepresented in the upper echelons of scientific and professional fields relative to men. This occurs despite equal representation in graduate schools. Women make up half of the graduates of the nation’s top ten law schools, but when it comes to law firms, only 20% of law partners are women.¹ Although many law firms have established policies and practices in an attempt to retain talented women lawyers, these policies do not seem to achieve the desired effect. Women still bring home lower salaries, report lower job satisfaction and leave law firms at much higher rates than men. Coupled with persistent traditional gendered expectations of work and family roles, it is perhaps not surprising that women are leaking out of the legal profession pipeline.

The purpose of this study was to examine some of the factors underlying the “leaky pipeline” for women in the legal field. Why do women comprise half of law school graduates, half of new associate classes in large law firms, and yet represent only 15% of the equity partnership level of law firms?²

As a follow-up to studies conducted by GAWL in 2004 and 2008 on alternative work arrangements and advancement in the legal field, we felt it was time to again conduct a study that we hope will assist law firms and other legal employment institutions—and the women in them—to advocate for changes that will empower women to advance.

Executive Summary

Overall, significant differences are observed between women’s and men’s experiences as attorneys in the legal profession: women are less satisfied, are more likely to consider leaving, believe they are a poorer fit with their organizations, feel less successful in their careers, and feel less appreciated by their workplaces than men feel. However, women rate how much they value various characteristics of the legal profession higher than men. That is, despite being generally less satisfied, women place greater value than men do, on such things as prestige, benefits to society, and opportunities for advancement that their legal careers provide for them.

Women report experiences with mentoring that are less satisfactory than men report, and also report more experiences with micro-aggressions. These gendered differences in how attorneys experience their workplace suggest that the legal field is safer and more supportive of male as compared to female attorneys, and ultimately have an impact on attorneys’ intentions to “leak” out of the pipeline. Indeed, the more frequently attorneys experienced micro-aggressions, the more inclined they were to consider leaving the field, and this held true for both male and female attorneys.

In addition, job satisfaction and perception of career achievement were also strong predictors of an attorney’s odds of considering leaving the profession. And while this holds true for both men and women, women report lower levels of job satisfaction and perception of career achievement.

¹ Source: NAWL.org

² Source: NAWL.org

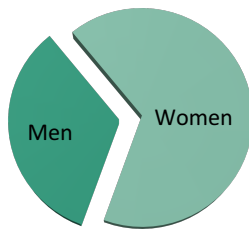
Methodology

In 2016, GAWL conducted this study in two stages. First, Dr. Elizabeth Boyd conducted focus groups with more than 25 people. The focus group participants included women and men lawyers who have left law firms, human resources professionals and executive professionals in the legal field. The focus groups explored the reasons underlying why women are leaving law firms and the law generally. Next, the information collected in the focus groups informed the questions prepared for the online survey. The online survey was sent by email to all members of the State Bar of Georgia.

Sample

A total of 1,357 responses were collected from 903 female and 454 male attorneys. Of those who identified their race/ethnicity, the sample was 57% white, 11% Black, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, 6% Hispanic, 2% Native American, and 16% Mixed Race. Three percent of respondents indicated identifying as LGBT.

Figure 1. Two-thirds of the respondents to the survey were women.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,357 valid responses.

Findings

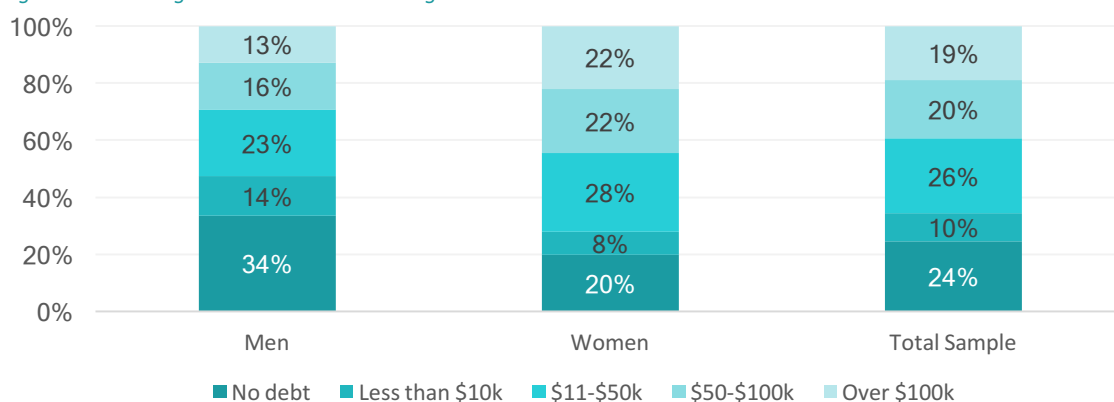
This section reports on the results of the 2016 GAWL survey that tell a consistent story of the subtle and myriad ways in which women’s experiences as attorneys differ systematically from that of men’s.

Who are the attorneys who participated in this study?

Respondents ranged in age from 25 to 88, and received their law degrees between 1953 and 2015. Women were more likely to have received their degrees more recently, as the average year of degree receipt was 1998 for women, and 1990 for men. The average age of the sample was 47. Again, women were significantly younger (average age of female respondents was 44; male average was 52).

Men were more likely to have graduated law school without any debt and women tended to carry higher amounts of debt from law school.

Figure 2. Women graduate law school with greater debt loads than men do.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,351 valid responses: 900 women, 451 men. $\chi^2=54.84$; $p<0.01$.

Marital and Family Status

Women attorneys are more likely to be single, never married, or divorced/widowed than men. Men are more likely to be married, cohabiting, or in a relationship.

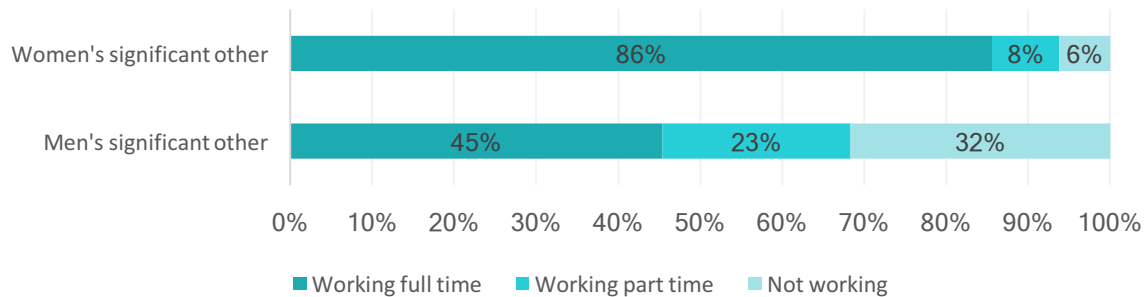
Table 1. Women attorneys are less likely than men to be married, cohabiting, or in a relationship in every age group.

	Age							
	25-35		36-45		46-55		56+	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Married, cohabiting, in relationship	83%	80%	90%	75%	82%	76%	90%	65%
Never married, divorced, widowed	17%	20%	10%	25%	18%	24%	10%	35%

Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,340 valid responses: 895 women, 445 men. $\chi^2=31.90$; $p<0.01$.

While the significant others of both male and female attorneys tend to have completed equivalent levels of education, women are more likely to have a significant other who is working full time, whereas men are far more likely to have a partner who is either working part time or not working at all, as shown in Figure 3 below. Moreover, women’s significant others earn significantly higher income than men’s do: women’s significant others earn an average of \$129,849 annually, compared to \$60,996 that men’s significant others earn.

Figure 3. Women are more likely than men to have a significant other who works full time.

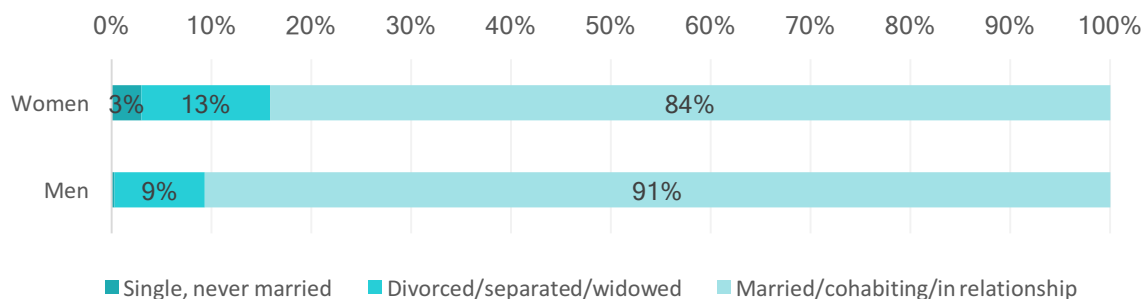


Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=968 valid responses: 611 women, 357 men. $\chi^2=181.08$; $p<0.01$.

Respondents were asked: “Do you have any children still living with you?” Women were less likely than men to have children living with them and this held true across age groups. Overall, 56% of women report having children living with them, compared to 65% of men ($\chi^2=9.79$; $p<0.01$). In addition, among attorneys with children, women were more likely to be single, never married, or divorced, separated, or widowed, whereas male attorneys with children were more likely to be married, cohabiting, or otherwise in a relationship.

As shown in the figure below, a slightly greater proportion of women with children (3%) are single, never married, as compared to a small fraction of a percentage of the men (0.3%) with children being single, never married; 84% of women with children are married/cohabiting/in relationship, as compared to 91% of men with children.

Figure 4. Among attorneys with children, women are more likely to be single, never married, or divorced, separated, or widowed than their male counterparts.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=795 valid responses: 504 women, 291 men.

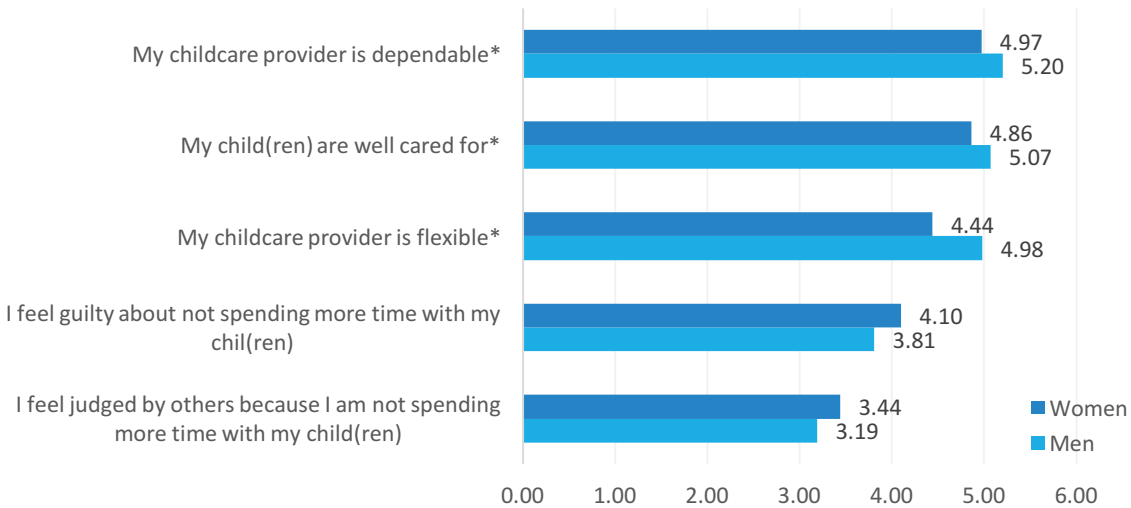
Childcare

Among those attorneys with children at home, men and women were asked to indicate their level of agreement with a series of statements gauging satisfaction with their childcare situation.

Women were significantly less likely to report that their childcare provider is dependable or flexible, and were less likely than men to feel their child(ren) are well cared for.

And while the responses of men and women to the last two items in Figure 5 were not statistically different, women were more likely to indicate feeling guilty about not spending more time with their child(ren) and more likely to report feeling judged by others for not spending more time with their child(ren).

Figure 5. Women report lower levels of satisfaction with their childcare.



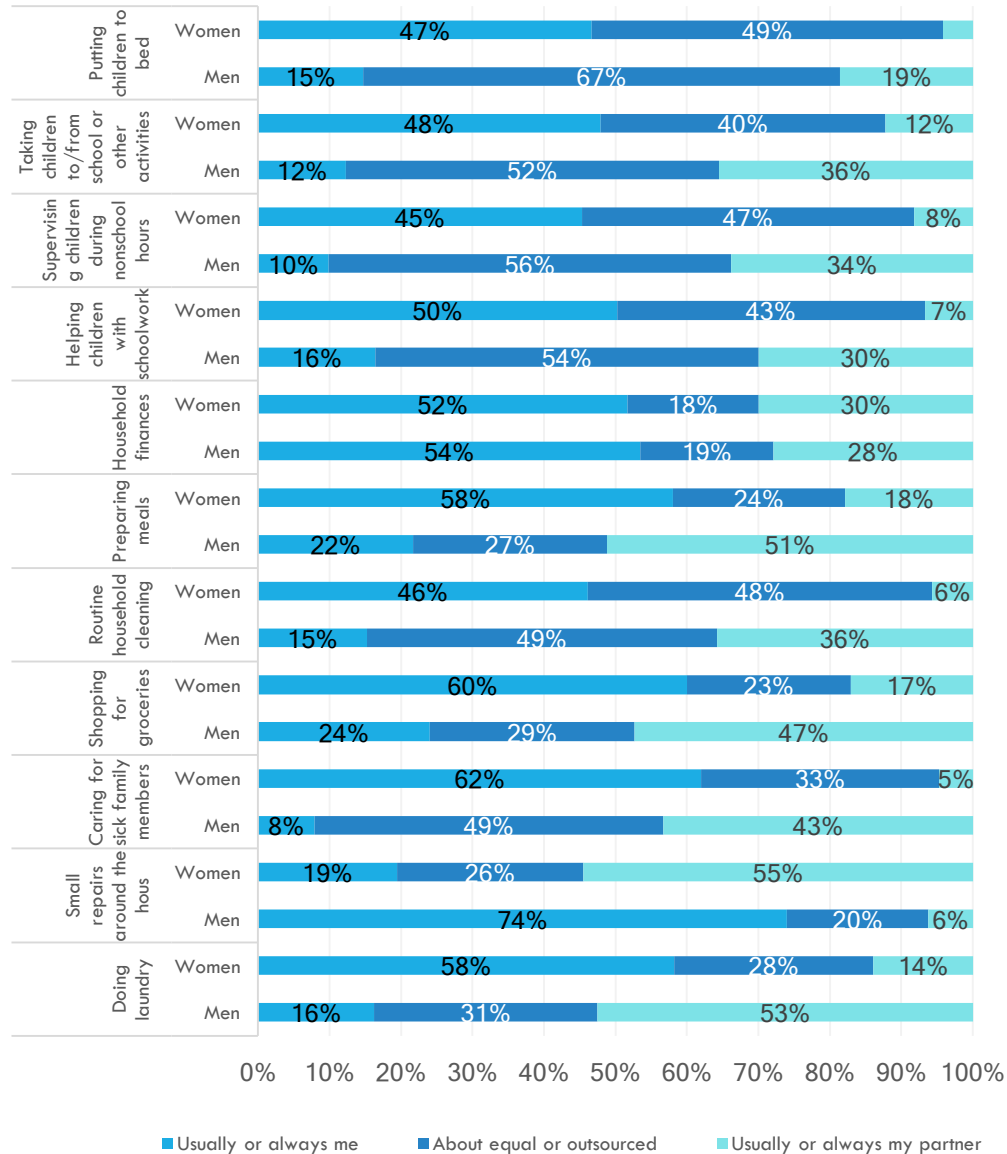
Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=683 - 696. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses ($p < 0.05$).

Household Division of Labor

Taken together, Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrate that men are more likely than women to have partners who are more available for taking care of household and childcare tasks.

Indeed, respondents were asked to characterize how labor is divided in their households, and as shown in Figure 6, both women and men report a traditional division of labor in their households. For example, women are far more likely to prepare meals, do laundry, and shop for groceries, and men were more likely to report that these were tasks their partners performed.

Figure 6. Women and men report having a traditional division of labor in their households.

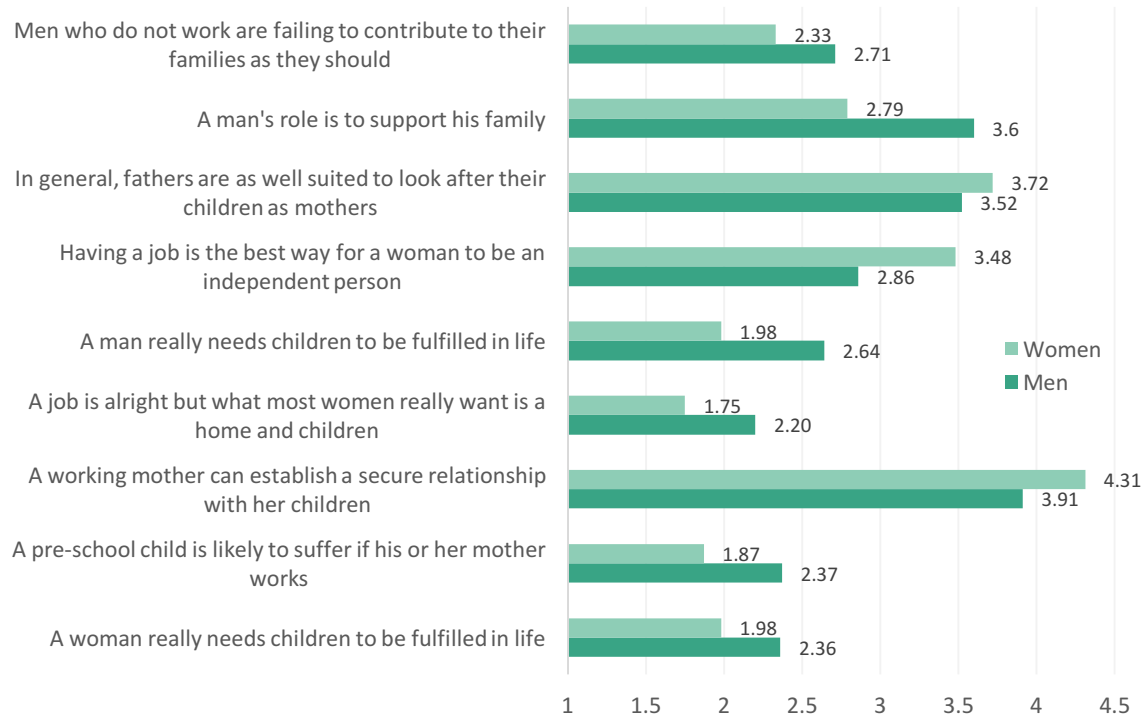


Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=654-742. Proportions of less than 5% are not labelled.

Attitudes Toward Gender Roles

Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements about gender roles on a 5-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Men reported greater agreement with statements expressing more traditional, conservative attitudes toward gender roles, and the differences observed between men’s and women’s agreement with these statements were all statistically significant.

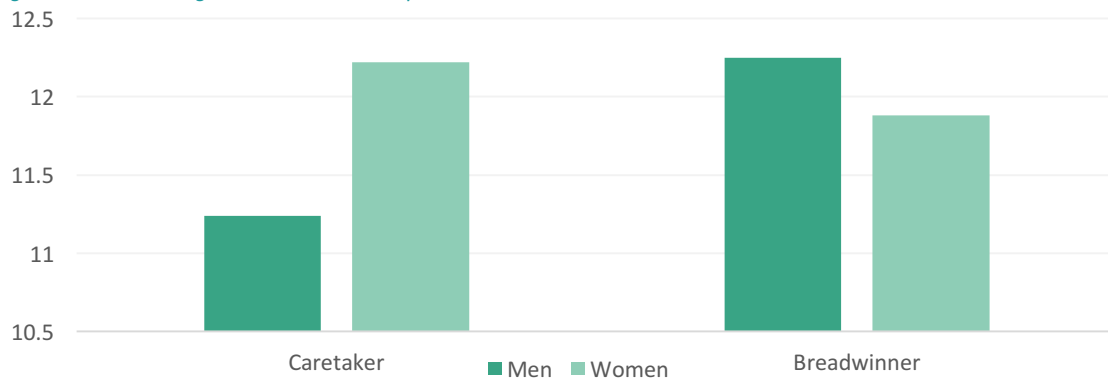
Figure 7. Women hold less traditional attitudes toward gender roles than men do.*



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,254-1,257 valid responses. *All items statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Moreover, respondents were asked to identify the degree to which they identified as a caretaker and as a breadwinner within their family roles. As illustrated by Figure 8, women are far more likely to identify as the caretaker in their families and men are more likely to identify as the breadwinner.

Figure 8. Traditional gender role identities persist.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=726-734. Note: Mean differences between men and women are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

Attorney Work Setting and The Billable Hour

Overall, most of the sample worked in solo practices. Women were equally likely to be working as solo practitioners as they were to be working in government. Men were more likely to work as solo practitioners and in small firms. While only 12% of women respondents reported working in a corporation, this is a substantially larger proportion of women as compared to the proportion of men working in corporations.

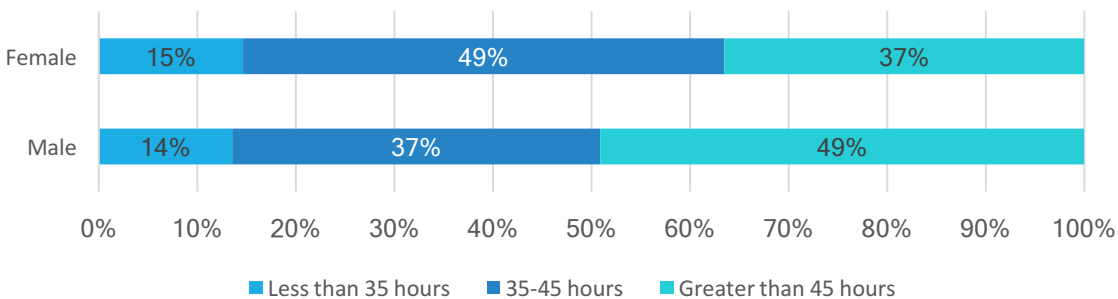
Figure 9. Women are more likely to work in government; Men are more likely to work in solo practice and small firms.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,357 valid responses: 903 women, 454 men.

Women reported working fewer hours than men: as illustrated by Figure 10 below, men were significantly more likely to report working greater than 45 hours per week, whereas women were more likely to report working 35-45 hours per week.

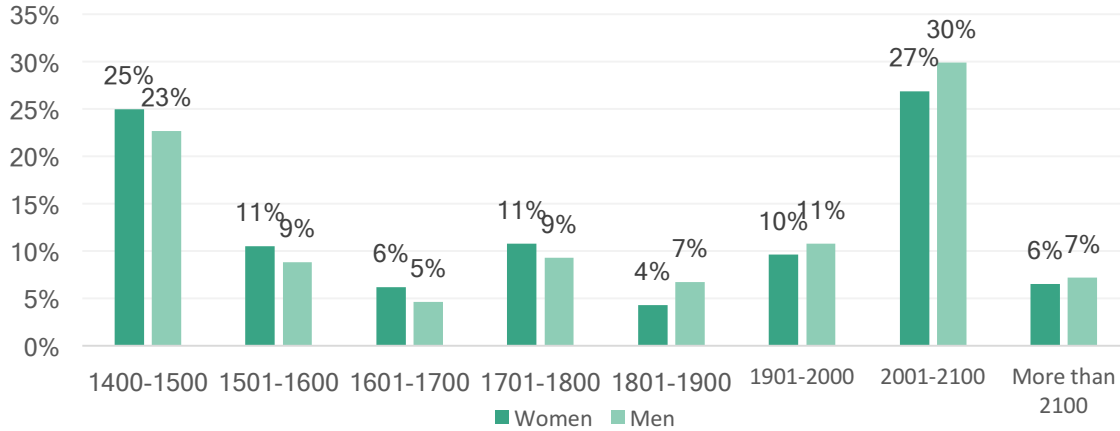
Figure 10. Women work fewer hours per week than men.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,351 valid responses: 899 women, 452 men. p<0.01.

However, women and men reported approximately the same number of hours billed last year, as illustrated in the figure below. Approximately one-quarter of the sample billed 1400-1500 hours, and just over one-third of the sample billed more than 2000 hours.

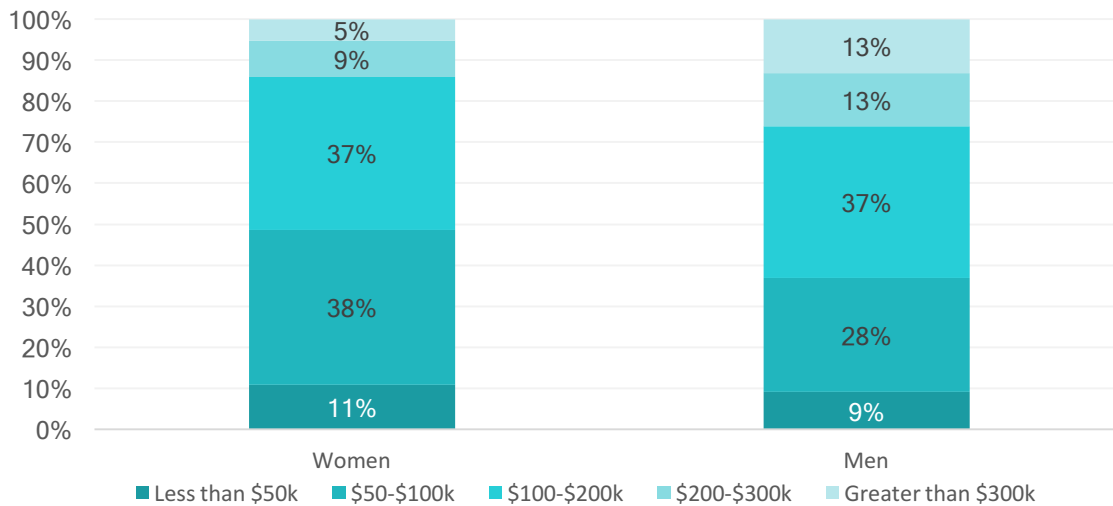
Figure 11. Women and men report billing the same number of hours in 2015 last year.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=517 valid responses: 323 women, 194 men.

The overall sample earned \$156,466 annually and despite billing the same number of hours, men earned significantly higher income than women (\$197,960 compared to \$138,208).³ As illustrated by Figure 12, a substantially larger proportion of women as compared to men reported earning an annual income of \$100,000 or less. Men have greater proportionate representation in the higher-income categories, earning \$200,000 or more annually.

Figure 12. Women earn significantly lower income than men.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,152 valid responses: 800 women, 352 men. p<0.01.

³ It should be noted that all attorneys do not bill hourly. A total of 517 respondents reported their hours billed last year, while 1,152 respondents reported their income. Nonetheless, when the sample is restricted only to those who reported both their hours billed and their income, the same pattern holds: Despite reporting the same billed hours, women attorneys earn a significantly lower income than men do (p<0.01; N= 292 women, 150 men). The same holds true when examining only those 512 respondents who reported both their hours worked and hours billed: Despite billing approximately the same number of hours, women report working fewer hours than men report (p<0.01; N=319 women; 193 men).

What are attorneys' experiences in the profession?

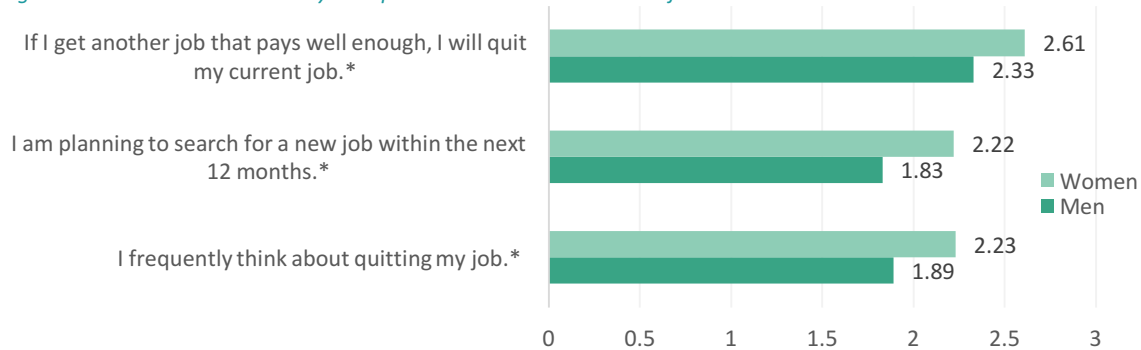
This section explores the series of survey items that inquired into attorneys' perceptions of satisfaction with the legal profession and how well it suits them.

Turnover Intention

Key to this study's inquiry is examining the "leaky pipeline". To that end, respondents were asked whether they had ever seriously considered leaving the legal profession, and then they were asked to identify reasons why they had or hadn't considered it. Women were significantly more likely to report ever having seriously considered leaving the legal profession as compared to men. While 52% of women indicate they have considered leaving, 61% of men indicate they have never seriously considered this.⁴

As illustrated by the figure below, women agreed more strongly on a 5-point scale with statements gauging the likelihood of turnover.

Figure 13. Women are more likely to express readiness to leave their jobs.



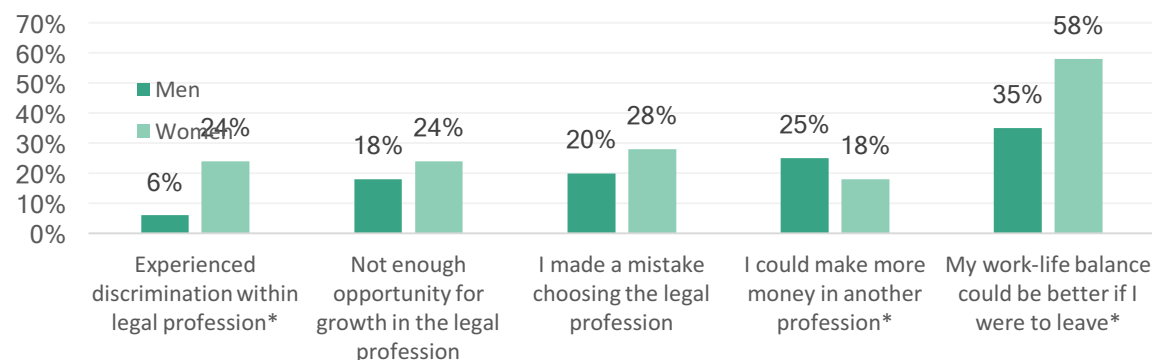
Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,349 valid responses: 448 men, 901 women.

⁴ This difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2=18.56$; $p<0.01$).

Why do they consider leaving?

Among those who indicated they had considered leaving, respondents were asked to identify reasons why they considered leaving. As shown in Figure 14, the most frequently selected reason for considering leaving among both men and women was to seek a better work-life balance. And while nearly one-quarter of women indicated they would consider leaving the legal profession due to having experienced discrimination, only 6% of men identified this as a reason for leaving.

Figure 14. Women are most likely to consider leaving the legal profession for better work-life balance.



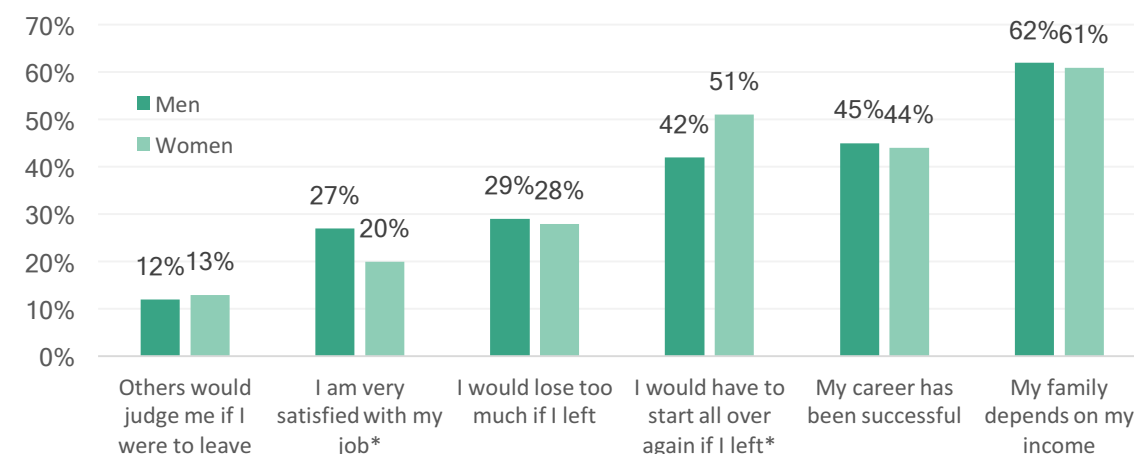
Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=603 valid responses: 164 men, 439 women.

Why do they stay?

The survey also asked respondents who indicated they have considered leaving the legal profession why they chose to stay. The most frequently endorsed reason was because attorneys' families depend on their income, and this held true for both men and women.

As shown in the figure below, women were more likely than men to stay because they felt they would have to start all over again if they left the legal profession. Men were more likely than women to choose to stay in the profession despite having considered leaving because they are very satisfied with their job.

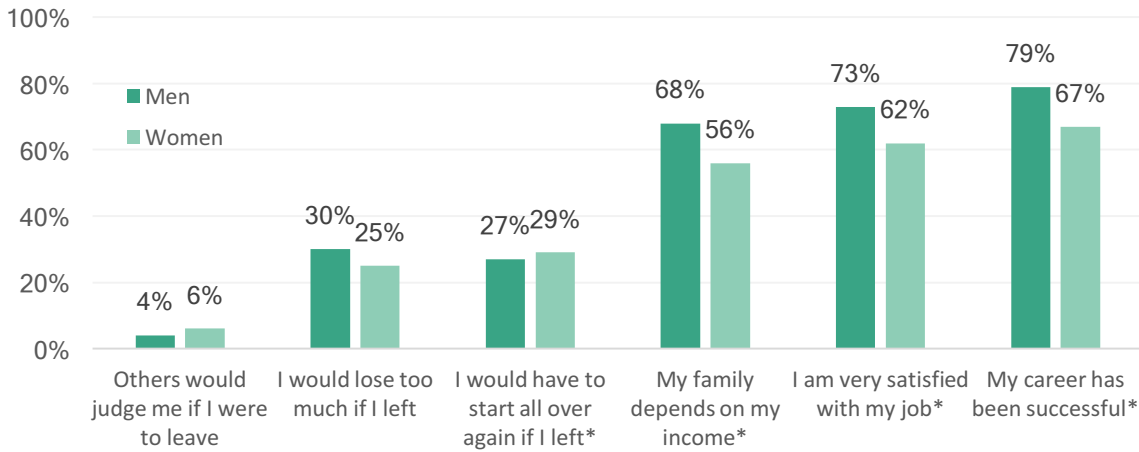
Figure 15. Most attorneys who have considered leaving the profession have stayed because their families depend on the income.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=603 valid responses: 164 men, 439 women. *p<0.10.

Among those attorneys who indicated they had never seriously considered leaving the legal profession, most endorsed feeling successful in their careers as the reason why they had not considered leaving. While this was the most commonly endorsed explanation, a significantly larger proportion of men as compared to women identified this as their reason for not having considered exiting the profession. Likewise, while commonly selected, women were significantly less likely to identify job satisfaction and family dependence as reasons they had not thought to leave the profession as compared to men.

Figure 16. Most attorneys have not considered leaving the profession because they feel their career has been successful.

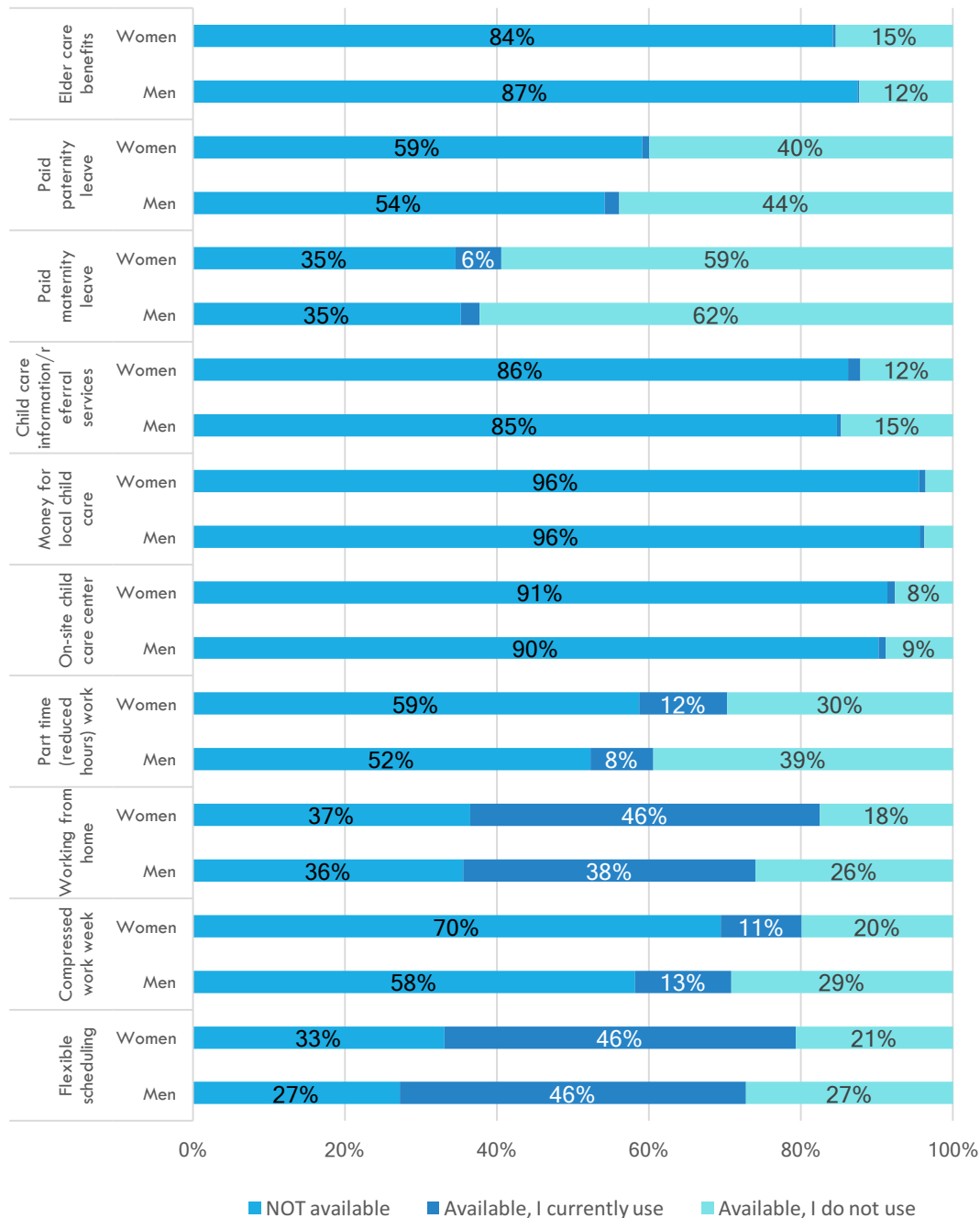


Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=663 valid responses: 256 men, 407 women. *p<0.05.

Workplace Benefits

Generally, men and women reported access to similar employer-provided benefits at their workplaces, though men reported greater access to paternity and maternity leave, part-time work, working from home, compressed work week, and flexible scheduling options at their workplace.

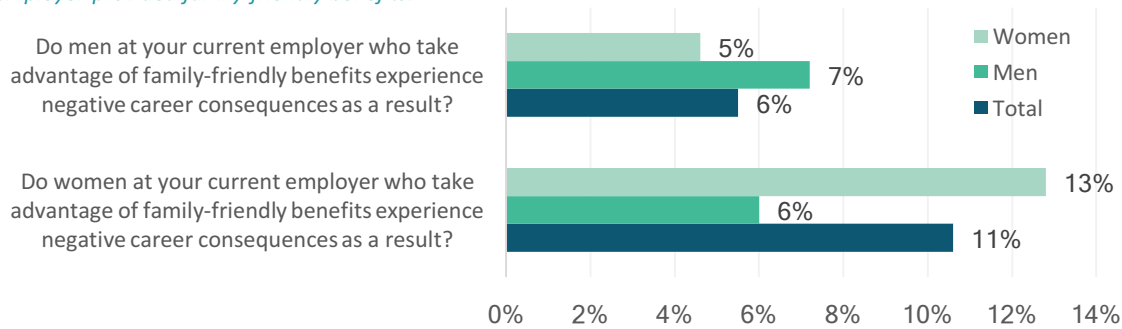
Figure 17. Women report slightly more limited access to employer-provided family-friendly benefits than men do.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=991-1050. Proportions of less than 5% are not labelled.

Women are more likely than men to believe that women will encounter negative consequences, and men are more likely than women to believe that men will suffer negative consequences if they take advantage of family-friendly benefits. Respondents were asked to respond either “yes”, “no”, or “I don’t know” to two questions ascertaining whether they believe men or women who use family-friendly benefits face negative career consequences because they used those benefits. The figure below shows the proportion of respondents who indicated “yes”.

Figure 18. Attorneys believe that women are more likely to suffer negative career consequences if they take advantage of employer-provided family-friendly benefits.



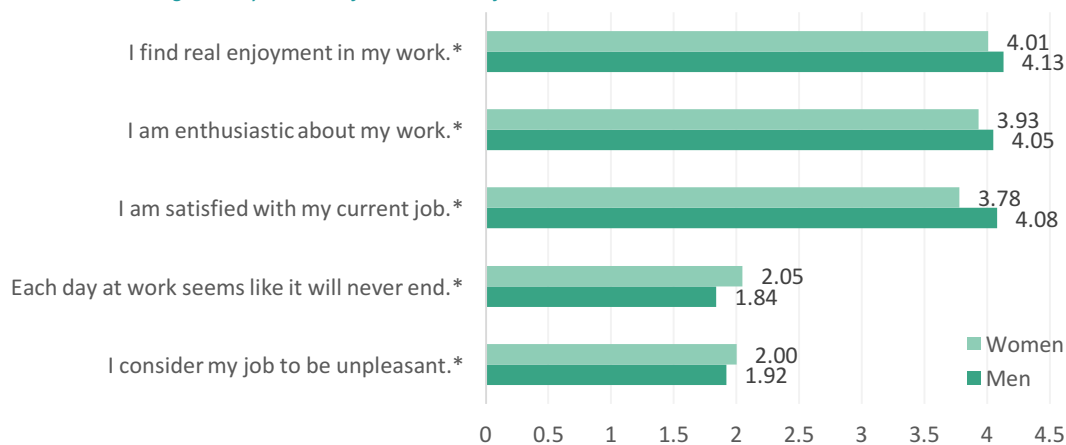
Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,048 valid responses: 335 men, 713 women.

Thus, regardless of the presence or absence of workplace policies that are supportive of working families, women believe that negative career consequences are more likely to befall them than their male counterparts if they take advantage of them. Male attorneys are as likely as women to believe that men will suffer negative career consequences are if they take advantage of family-friendly benefits.

Job Satisfaction

On a 5-point scale, respondents indicated their strength of agreement with several statements pertaining to job satisfaction. Women tend to find less enjoyment in, are less enthusiastic about, and are less satisfied with their jobs. Women are also more likely than men to feel that each day seems like it will never end, and to consider their jobs to be unpleasant.

Figure 19. Women are generally less satisfied with their jobs than men are.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,354 valid responses: 452 men, 902 women. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses (p<0.01).

One Size Does Not Fit All

Respondents were asked a series of questions gauging the extent to which attorneys felt aligned with the organizations they worked in, as well as with the legal profession in general. On a 5-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree), respondents were asked to indicate agreement with questions of “fit” with their organizations. As illustrated in Figure 20 below, women typically reported less alignment with their organizations. Women less strongly agreed that their values fit those of their organizations and their leadership, and those of their colleagues in their organizations, and they felt less strongly that the values and personality of their organizations fit their own.

Figure 20. Women reported lower levels of “fit” with their organizations than men did.

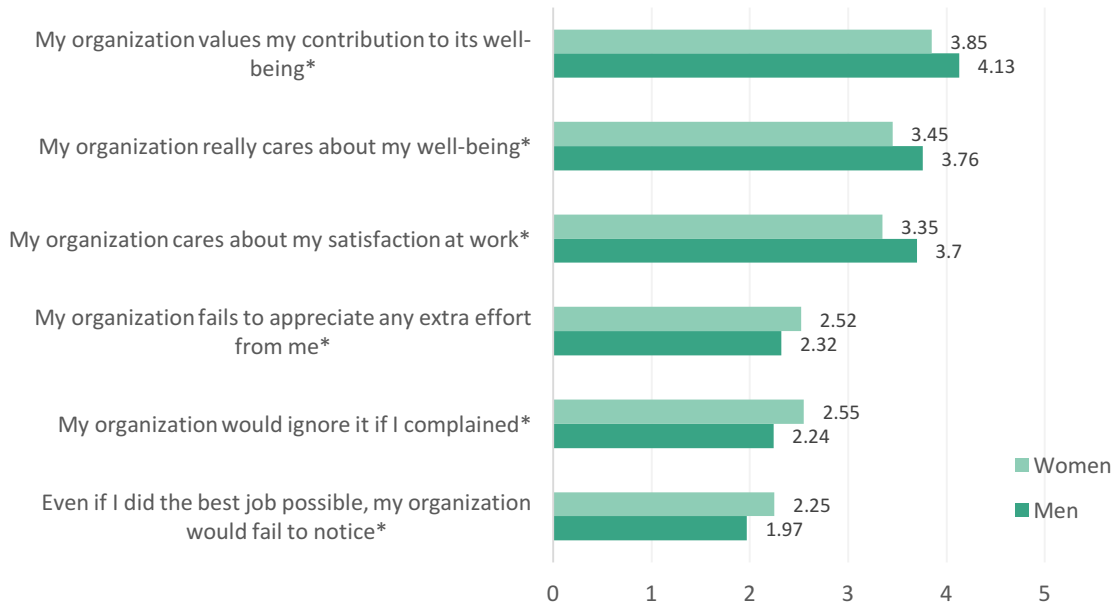


Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,238-1,351. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men’s and women’s mean responses ($p < 0.01$).

Women were also less likely to feel they are treated fairly, have control over their schedules, or have advancement opportunities as compared to men.

Moreover, as the next series of survey responses suggest, women indicate they are valued less by their organizations than men (Figure 21). Responses also suggest that women tend to believe their organizations generally fail to acknowledge them.

Figure 21. Women report feeling less valued by their organizations than men do.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,069-1,075. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses ($p < 0.01$).

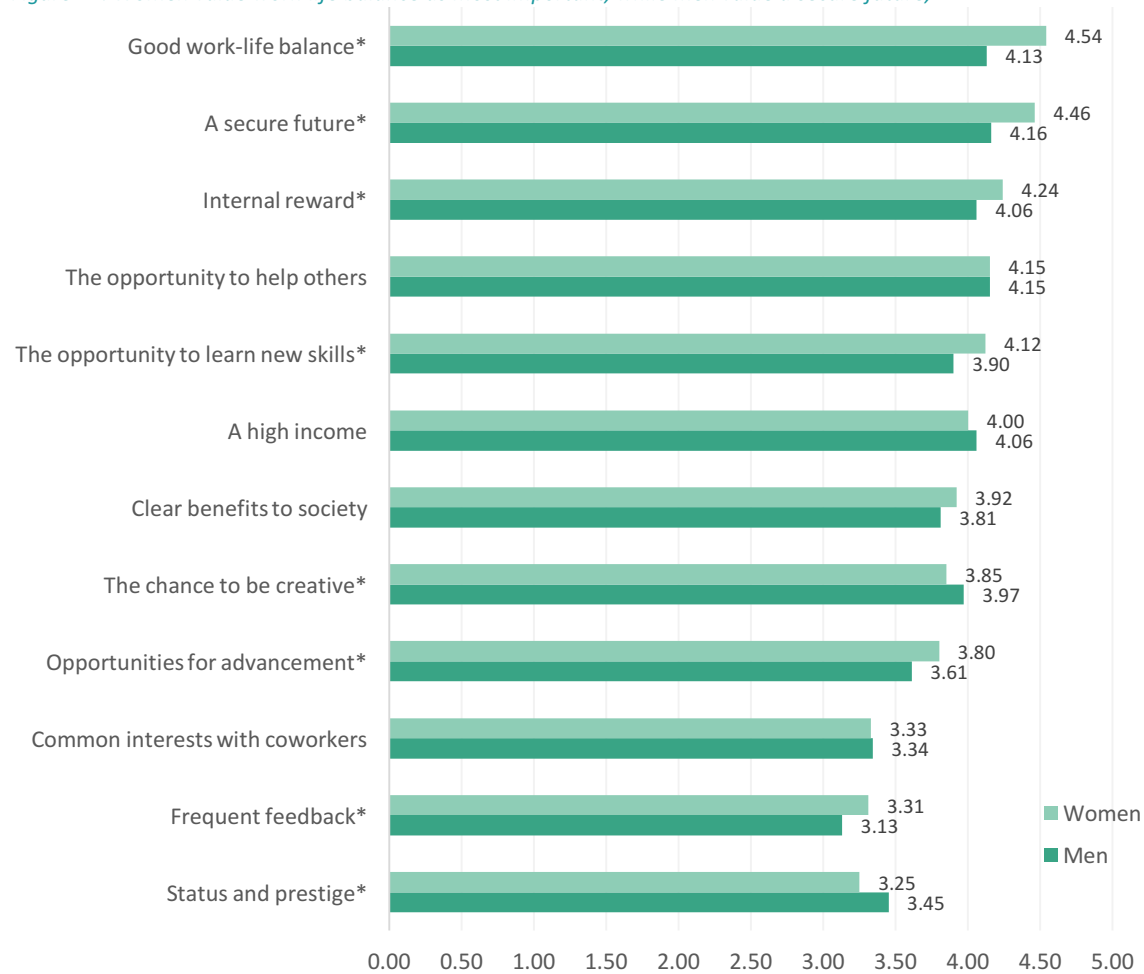
Thus, not only do women tend to believe their own values are not as in alignment with their organizations as men believe, women also report believing their organizations fail to recognize and appreciate them more than men report.

Career Values

Respondents were asked to rate on a 5-point scale (1=very unimportant; 5=very important) how important it was to them that their career provided various job characteristics.

Women and men value similar characteristics of their careers, as illustrated in Figure 22. Women rated having good work-life balance as the most important job characteristic that their career provided them, whereas men rated having a secure future as their most important characteristic. And although having a secure future was men’s highest-rated job characteristic, women’s ratings of the importance of this characteristic was significantly higher than men’s.

Figure 22. Women value work-life balance as most important, while men value a secure future,

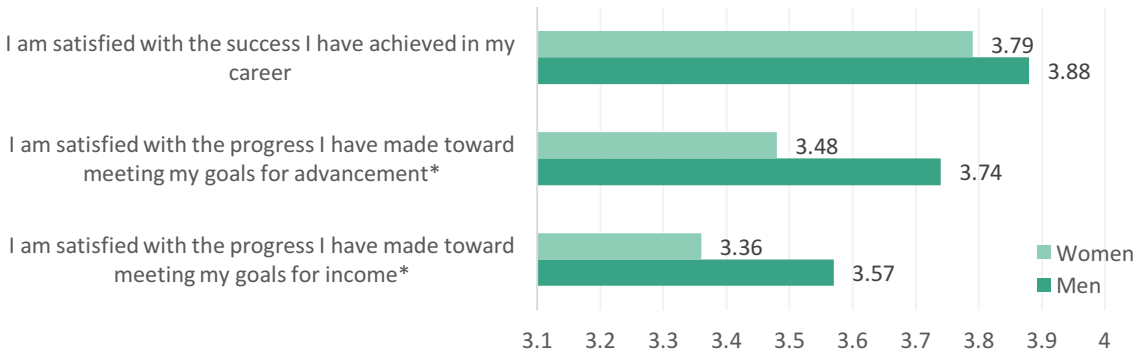


Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,328-1,382. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men’s and women’s mean responses ($p < 0.05$).

Career Achievement

Respondents were asked to rate on a 5-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree) how strongly they agreed with a series of statements regarding their career satisfaction. As illustrated in Figure 23, men expressed stronger agreement with each statement as compared to women, which indicates higher levels of satisfaction across all three items.⁵

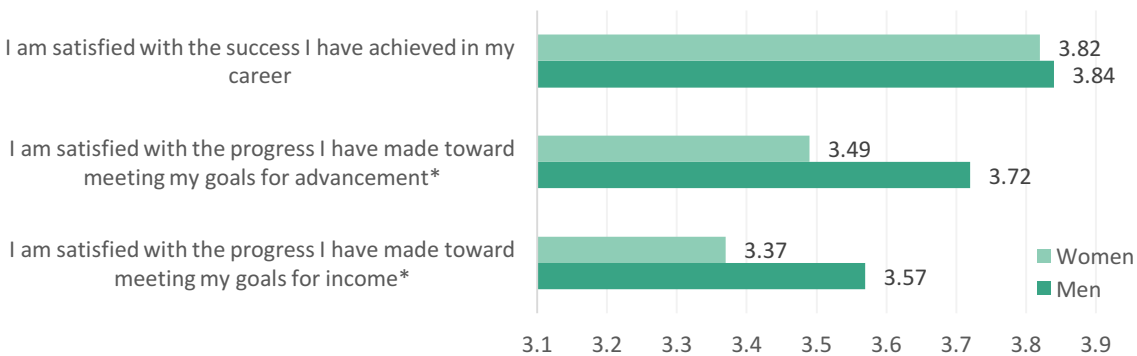
Figure 23. Women report lower levels of satisfaction with their career success than men report.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,352-1,372. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses ($p < 0.05$).

In order to examine whether the gender differences in perceptions of career achievement might be due to the older male respondents in our sample who may be further along in their careers, we compared mean responses while holding age constant. While the gaps between differences in responses narrowed, the pattern remains: women are less satisfied with their career achievement than men are, even after accounting for the older male sample.

Figure 24. Women report lower levels of satisfaction with their career success than men report, regardless of age.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,352-1,372. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses ($p < 0.05$).

⁵ The finding that men report higher levels of satisfaction with their career achievement as compared to women is consistent across age groups.

Mentoring

On a scale of 1-5, respondents indicated their agreement with a series of statements ascertaining the quality of their mentoring relationships. While both men and women equally endorsed statements about their mentor serving as a role model and the conveyance of respect from their mentors to them as individuals, men were more likely to report higher-quality mentoring relationships than women were. Given the dearth of female equity partner available to mentor female associates, it is not surprising that Figure 25 shows women’s weaker endorsement of every item regarding their relationship with their mentors, which suggests that men benefit from higher-quality mentoring relationships.

Figure 25. Women report lower-quality mentorship experiences than men do.



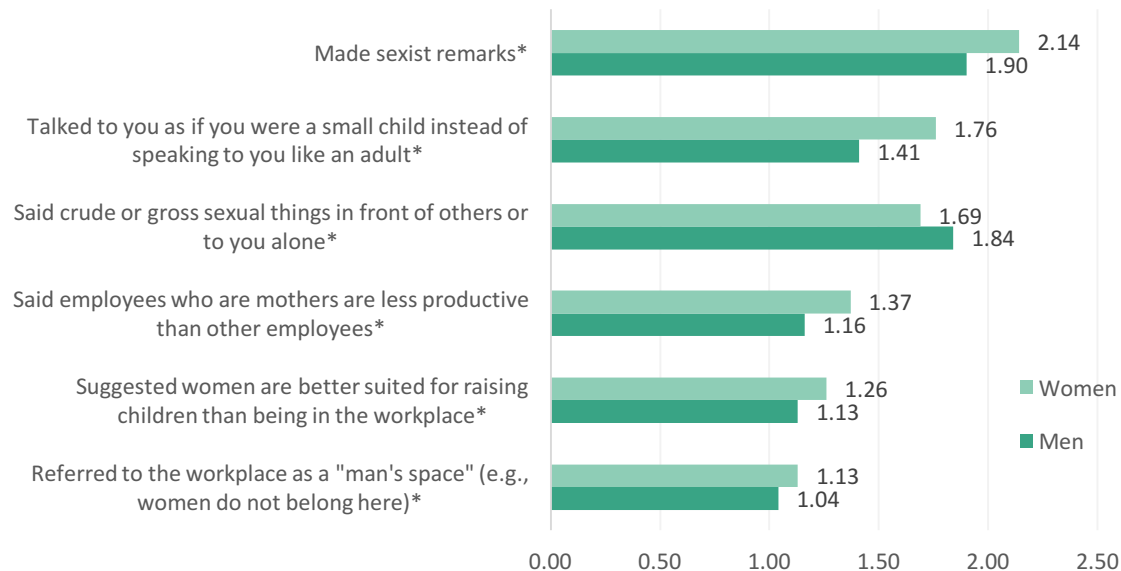
Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,069-1,075. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses (p<0.01).

Micro-Aggressions

Micro-aggressions are verbal and/or nonverbal insults that intentionally or unintentionally communicate hostile, derogatory messages to persons based on their marginalized group membership. In this case, based on gender. Respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which they experienced various micro-aggressions in their workplace.

The 5-point rating scale for these items was: 1 = never; 2 = once or twice; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = many times. As depicted in the figure below, both men and women reported rather low frequencies of ever having experienced these micro-aggressions, as mean ratings range from “never” to “once or twice”. However, women reported having experienced these with significantly greater frequency, with one exception. It is interesting to note that men reported having experienced a coworker saying crude comments to them individually or in the presence of others with significantly greater frequency than women reported. This may be indicative of an environment in which men feel more comfortable making sexual remarks around predominantly male coworkers, which nonetheless contributes to a workplace that is hostile towards women.

Figure 26. Women are more likely to report having experienced “micro-aggression” in the workplace.



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,330-1,334. * Indicates statistically significant difference between men's and women's mean responses ($p < 0.05$).

Summary of Women's and Men's Career Experiences

Overall, significant differences are observed between women's and men's experiences as attorneys in the legal profession, as the findings in the above section indicate. When survey items are developed into summary scales (see Appendix), we also find that in general, women feel less satisfied, are more likely to consider leaving, believe they are a poorer fit with their organizations, feel less successful in their careers, and feel less appreciated by their workplaces than men feel. However, women's average scale rating of how much they value various characteristics of their profession is higher than that of men's. That is, despite feeling generally less satisfied, women value their careers in the legal profession more than men do, based on their responses to the survey items pertaining to how important it is that their careers provide such things as prestige, benefits to society, and opportunities for advancement, as contained in Figure 22 above.

Moreover, the summary scales are correlated with each other. For example, respondents who are less satisfied with their jobs are more likely to feel inclined to leave the profession. Those who feel they are a poorer fit with their organizations are also more likely to express turnover intention, and less likely to feel satisfied with their jobs. A correlation matrix can be found in the Appendix as well.

What factors influence turnover intention?

This section examines the factors associated with turnover intention to explore issues that contribute to the leaky pipeline.

As described above, respondents were asked: *Excluding retirement, have you ever seriously considered leaving the legal profession?* And as described above, women were more likely than men to have considered leaving, and women were more likely to agree with statements indicating intent to leave, as illustrated in Figure 13 above. However, gender alone does not explain turnover intention. This section explores factors associated with the intent to leave the profession to better understand the leaky pipeline.

To better understand the factors associated with turnover intention, the relationship between our measure of turnover intention and other measures were examined. The table below contains the Pearson correlation coefficients between each scale measure and turnover retention. Each of the correlations presented below is a measure of the strength of association between the scale measure and turnover intention. The closer this measure is to +/-1.0, the greater its association with turnover intention.

As Table 2 highlights, job satisfaction, feeling appreciated by the organization one works for, and a sense of career achievement are all moderately associated with turnover intention. Thus, while the previous section demonstrates an association between gender and turnover intention, this table demonstrates that there are clearly other factors also associated with one's likelihood of leaving.

Table 2. Scale correlations with turnover intention

Scale		Correlation
Job Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	-.689
	N	1476
Fit with Organization	Pearson Correlation	-.402
	N	1324
Characteristics of Org are Valued	Pearson Correlation	-.068
	N	1380
Career Achievement	Pearson Correlation	-.528
	N	1366
Appreciation	Pearson Correlation	-.603
	N	1073
Mentoring	Pearson Correlation	-.299
	N	1280
Micro-Aggressions	Pearson Correlation	.269
	N	1332

The next section examines the relative contribution of factors influencing turnover intention.

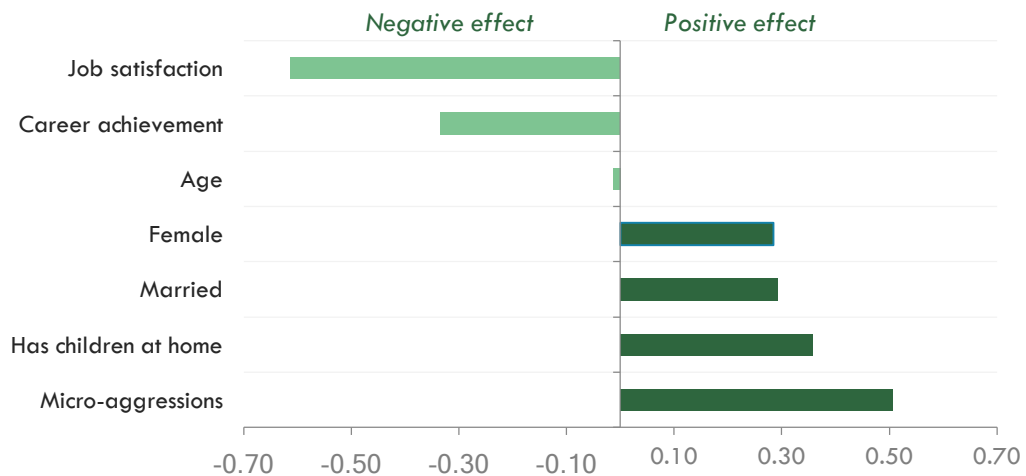
What are the strongest predictors of turnover intention?

Respondents were asked whether they had ever seriously considered leaving the legal profession. Using this as our measure of “leakiness”, we examine the relative predictive power of factors associated with turnover intention. Logistic regression is used to explain the relationship between multiple measures and whether a respondent has ever seriously considered leaving the legal profession. This method also estimates the odds of a respondent indicating they have considered leaving the profession, holding all other factors in the model constant.

A table containing results of the full model is included in the Appendix. The figure below illustrates the relative contribution of the statistically significant predictors of our measure of turnover intention, net of other factors. The items in the lighter shade indicate factors that decrease the likelihood of an attorney considering leaving the profession. Those in the darker shades are those factors that increase the likelihood.

The figure also shows that the strongest predictor of an attorney’s odds of considering leaving the profession is job satisfaction. For a one-unit increase in the measure of job satisfaction, the odds of an attorney seriously considering leaving the profession decreases by nearly 60%. **The more satisfied one is with one’s job, the less likely one is to consider leaving their profession.** This holds true regardless of other factors such as age, gender, marital status, and having children at home.

Figure 27. Experience with micro-aggressions is the strongest predictor of turnover intention



Source: GAWL 2016 Survey of Attorneys. N=1,330-1,334. Variables included in the figure are only those that were statistically significant predictors of turnover intention at $p < 0.10$ level. Actual model includes other scales (job satisfaction, fit with organization, career values, feeling appreciated, and having a mentor).

While gender is a significant predictor of turnover intention, increasing the likelihood of turnover intention by 30% if one is female, the effect of other factors is even stronger, such as one’s experience with micro-aggressions. For a one-unit increase in the micro-aggression measure, an attorney’s odds of thinking seriously about leaving increases by roughly 50%, whether the attorney is male or female.

Being married and having children at home also increase the odds of turnover intention, while a sense of career achievement decreases the odds, regardless of gender.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore factors underlying the leaky pipeline of women in law. The key findings of this study are that *the primary predictors of turnover intentions included job satisfaction, career achievement, and micro-aggressions*. While gender was also a significant predictor of the likelihood of turnover intention, it is through these other mechanisms that women appear to be pushed or pulled out of the legal profession.

These findings are consistent with a large body of literature from across a broad range of fields such as organizational behavior, human resources, and psychology documenting how men and women who feel poorly matched with their job, employer or field of work tend to report lower job satisfaction and higher intentions to quit.⁶

Although prior studies have been mixed as to gender patterns in job satisfaction, with some reporting that men and women are roughly equally satisfied despite their unequal circumstances in terms of advancement and remuneration,⁷ while others finding that women are less satisfied with specific aspects of their legal careers and exhibit greater depressive symptoms,⁸ this study clearly finds that women's mean ratings across the majority of work attitude measures were lower than men's. And while some studies have posited that job satisfaction is depressed among women due to men and women valuing different characteristics of a job,⁹ our findings suggest that while men and women value similar characteristics of their jobs, their experience of different aspects of their jobs and careers vary substantially.

Similarly, when considering the leaky pipeline it has often been posited that internal factors such as different values as described above, depression, and stress,¹⁰ rather than external factors lead to women's exit from the promotion and leadership pipeline within the legal profession and others. However, the results of this study show that external factors such as family roles and gendered expectations, and importantly, micro-aggressions and the way in which they shape the workplace play a critical role in creating leaks in the leadership pipeline. For example, survey findings indicate that women tend to believe they are a poorer fit with their organization, have less satisfying mentoring relationships, and feel in greater jeopardy if they take advantage of family friendly workplace benefits.

Moreover, at home, women reported doing much of the "second shift" work that has been well documented in the research literature. Women spent more time doing household chores and caregiving than did men. Similarly, men viewed themselves as less important in these roles than did women. Women were also more dissatisfied with their outsourced caregivers and reported greater feelings of guilt around not spending more time with their child(ren) than men. Taken together, these findings point to the intransigence of traditional gender roles and attitudes.

⁶ Chiu, Charlotte. 1998. "Do professional women have lower job satisfaction than professional men? Lawyers as case study." *Sex Roles*, 38 (7/8): 521: 539.

⁷ Dinovitzer, Ronit, et al. (2004) *After the JD: First Results of a National Study of Legal Careers*. Chicago: NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education and the American Bar Foundation.

⁸ Hagan, John and Fiona Kay. 2007. "Even lawyers get the blues: Gender, depression, and job satisfaction in legal practice." *Law & Society Review*, 41(1): 51:80.

⁹ See Chiu, 1998 for review.

¹⁰ Chan, Janet. 2014. "Conceptualising legal culture and lawyering stress." *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 21(2):213-232. See also Hagan and Kay, 2007.

Similarly, the large difference in lawyers' and their spouses' salaries found in the current study, given the equivalence in location and education level, is striking and in need of further investigation. On average women made \$59,752 less than their male counterparts. Of course, differences in salary can be partially explained by the fact that men and women are segregated into different parts of the legal market. Men tend to work in private and larger legal settings than do women, who tend to work in smaller, public, and government settings. Nonetheless, these differences in market placement are symptomatic of the leaky pipeline and must be examined more closely. Moreover, the most frequently occurring salary for men attorneys' spouses was \$0 per year (average was \$60,996), whereas the most frequently occurring salary for women attorneys' spouses was \$100,000 per year (average was \$129,849). These large differences clearly represent practical constraints on lawyers' ability to "leak" from the pipeline and must also be examined more broadly if the pipeline leak is to be substantially stemmed. Given the importance of acquiring and retaining top talent within the modern workplace, particularly in markets where large numbers of older workers are retiring, the future of effective and productive organizations lies in their ability to recognize the importance of diversity and inclusion. Organizations can no longer recruit from within half the population and expect to perform at the top of their respective fields. To compete, legal and other organizations must recruit from and maintain the very best employees regardless of their demographic characteristics.

A great deal of research has shown that happy workers are productive and that organizations with positive climates for diversity and work-life balance recruit and retain workers far more easily than those with negative and stressful climates.¹¹ Old models of the "ideal worker" who lives to work and works to live are outmoded and being replaced by models that allow for humanity and high productivity at work.

The results of this study appear to indicate that traditional attitudes toward gender roles remain, both within the value system we retain individually and in the policies and practices we uphold organizationally. The majority of American families are headed by dual-earner couples, yet their struggles to "balance" reflect a number of important misalignments and mismatches between their everyday realities and the structures they navigate. Organizations can do more to support them by adjusting the underlying structures of work, where possible, to better align with modern realities.

Recommendations

- **Promote family-supportive benefits:** Fears of career compromise persist, despite the availability of family-supportive workplace benefits. While provision of such benefits is a necessary step in the right direction, availability of them alone is not enough and legal workplaces have more work to do to promote such benefits and to encourage attorneys – regardless of gender – to make use of them. Intentionally gender-neutral promotion of family-supportive benefits will help to address ingrained gendered norms that shape expectations and may help to shift behavior such that men and women no longer presume such benefits are meant for women alone and can let go of the fear of career compromise.
- **Improve mentoring programs:** Women report less positive experiences with mentoring as compared to their male counterparts. Part of the disparity may be due to the more limited pool of women in advanced roles to provide the mentorship, which in turn creates limited opportunities for women to have female mentors. Creating more systematic and structured

¹¹ See Gallup 2017. *State of the American Workplace*.

mentoring programs across gender lines to encourage and support women to advancement will improve retention.

- **Promote a safe workplace culture:** Experiences with micro-aggressions was a strong predictor of turnover intention, and this held true for both men and women. Expressions of micro-aggressions at the workplace are indicators of toxic work environments that must be addressed in order to protect a safe working environment for all employees.

Appendix

Scale Development

Scales were developed as a means of summarizing constructs measured in a series of survey questions. All scales are calculated by taking mean scores over all individual items that comprise the scale. Scale reliability is a measure of the internal consistency of scale items and indicate the extent to which a set of items is related as a group. The Chronbach's alpha reported in the table below is a measure of scale reliability. The closer the alpha value is to 1.0, the closer the items that comprise the scale are related to one another, and the more reliable the scale.

Table 3. Scale means and alphas

Scale	Gender	N	Mean	Reliability (Chronbach's alpha)
Turnover Intention (Figure 13)	male	450	2.01	0.85 (3 items)
	female	901	2.35	
Job Satisfaction (Figure 19)	male	453	4.10	0.88 (5 items)
	female	902	3.93	
Fit with Organization (Figure 20)	male	431	3.74	0.73 (7 items)
	female	867	3.59	
Appreciation (Figure 21)	male	338	3.84	0.92 (6 items)
	female	718	3.55	
Valued Characteristics of Career (Figure 22)	male	452	3.82	0.81 (12 items)
	female	901	3.92	
Career Achievement (Figure 23)	male	448	3.73	0.87 (3 items)
	female	892	3.54	
Mentoring (Figure 25)	male	411	4.37	0.98 (13 items)
	female	844	4.14	
Micro-Aggressions (Figure 26)	male	433	1.41	0.79 (6 items)
	female	875	1.56	

Differences observed between men's and women's scale means are all statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Bivariate Correlations

Correlation Matrix

		Turnover intention	Job satisfaction	Fit with Org	Valued job char.	Career success	Feeling appreciated	Mentoring	Micro- aggression
Turnover	Correlation	1	-.689	-.402	-.068	-.528	-.603	-.299	.269
intention	N	1476	1476	1324	1380	1366	1073	1280	1332
Job satisfaction	Correlation	-.689	1	.390	.186	.491	.520	.226	-.233
	N	1476	1482	1325	1384	1370	1074	1280	1335
Fit with Org	Correlation	-.402	.390	1	.165	.340	.559	.313	-.176
	N	1324	1325	1326	1323	1311	1074	1253	1291
Valued job	Correlation	-.068	.186	.165	1	.112	.114	.032	.038
characteristics	N	1380	1384	1323	1385	1369	1075	1280	1335
Career success	Correlation	-.528	.491	.340	.112	1	.436	.220	-.139
	N	1366	1370	1311	1369	1371	1066	1271	1322
Feeling	Correlation	-.603	.520	.559	.114	.436	1	.435	-.312
appreciated	N	1073	1074	1074	1075	1066	1075	1060	1069
Mentoring	Correlation	-.299	.226	.313	.032	.220	.435	1	-.161
	N	1280	1280	1253	1280	1271	1060	1281	1264
Micro-	Correlation	.269	-.233	-.176	.038	-.139	-.312	-.161	1
aggressions	N	1332	1335	1291	1335	1322	1069	1264	1336

Logistic Regression

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step	6.597	2	.037
Block	6.597	2	.037
Model	166.715	11	.000

-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1111.514 ^a	.165	.220

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex	-.335	.166	4.067	1	.044	.715
Age	-.013	.007	3.363	1	.067	.987
Job satisfaction	-.948	.134	49.853	1	.000	.387
Fit with organization	.119	.134	.789	1	.374	1.127
Career values	-.035	.150	.056	1	.814	.965
Career success	-.407	.097	17.464	1	.000	.666
Appreciation	.121	.117	1.083	1	.298	1.129
Mentoring	.034	.067	.251	1	.617	1.034
Micro-aggressions	.409	.144	8.022	1	.005	1.505
Married	.305	.192	2.519	1	.112	1.357
Has kids living with them	.256	.154	2.777	1	.096	1.292
Constant	3.994	.834	22.950	1	.000	54.291