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Latinxs in the Legal Profession: A Statistical Portrait
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I. Executive Summary

This white paper presents a statistical portrait of Latinxs in the American legal profession, with the goal of providing background information for the Conference on the State of Latinos in Law. We proceed in three parts. First, we summarize some selected demographic information on

Latinxs in the United States. Drawing largely from census data, we portray the rising numbers of Latinxs in the U.S., trends in U.S.-born, and significant regional variation in the country of origin among the Latinx population. After describing the geographic locations of the Latinx population, we examine indicators of their socio-economic status. Although we see generational progress in educational achievement, Latinxs continue to lag behind other racial and ethnic groups not only in education, but also household income and home ownership. One in five Latinxs live under the poverty level.

Second, we examine published data on Latinxs in the legal profession. While Latinxs make up 17% of the U.S. population, they make up 11% of college graduates, 12% of recent law school graduates, and only 5% of practicing lawyers. Latinxs make up 5% of large law firm associates but only 2% of large law firm partners. Latinxs fare somewhat better in Article III appointments to the federal bench, where they make up 7% of judges, and on law faculties, where they hold 4% of tenured and 6% of tenure-track positions.

Third, we report results from a national study of lawyer careers, the After the JD Study. While Latinx lawyers hail from somewhat more modest social origins than white and Asian-American attorneys (as measured by parents' education and occupation), they have succeeded in graduating in representative numbers from more selective law schools (top 20). The careers of Latinx lawyers look quite similar to the numerically predominant group, white attorneys, with Latinxs showing a slight preference for public sector jobs. Latinx lawyers report the highest median earnings of any racial-ethnic group, although as with all groups Latinx females significantly lag their male counterparts in earnings. Similar to other groups, Latinx lawyers report high levels of satisfaction with their decision to become a lawyer (some 78% positive). Yet Latinx lawyers report a significant amount of perceived workplace discrimination. At midcareer, 45% of Latinx women attorneys report experiencing discrimination in the workplace in the last 2 years, compared to 13% of white men, 19% of Latinx men attorneys, and 30% of white women.

In sum, although there is a significant problem in the pipeline leading to the legal profession, once in practice Latinx lawyers have achieved considerable success.

II. Introduction

Latinxs are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States, making up 17% of the population currently and projected in some estimates to rise to 30% by 2050. Yet Latinxs make up a much smaller percentage of lawyers, approximately 5%. Without a significant increase in the production of Latinx lawyers, there will be a growing gap between the number of Latinxs in

the legal profession and their number in society. While these broad patterns are apparent in public statistics, we do not possess comprehensive data on why Latinx lawyers lag their presence in the general population, nor do we understand the nature of the career paths Latinx lawyers take compared to other racial and ethnic groups among lawyers.

The purpose of this paper is to advance the analysis of these issues and raise questions for further research. We first present general demographic data on the Latinx population to provide context for the analysis of Latinxs in law. These data reveal that there is significant variation within the Latinx population by country of origin, region, generation, and language use. As a group Latinxs face economic and educational disadvantages, although with the growth in the youngest generations of Latinxs we see signs of progress.

We then turn to published statistics on Latinxs in the legal profession, considering the pipeline from college to law school to law practice. Bar passage rates indicate that Latinxs make up about 12% of entrants to the legal profession.

The last section of the paper takes advantage of a national study of lawyer careers conducted by the American Bar Foundation, the After the JD Study (AJD). AJD allows us to compare many aspects of the career development of Latinx lawyers to other racial and ethnic groups among lawyers. AJD follows the entering bar cohort of the year 2000, and conducted interviews with this cohort in 2003, 2007, and 2012. We thus can compare the careers of Latinxs and other lawyers in early career through mid-career. While the AJD data document some of the social disadvantages that Latinx lawyers face, on many dimensions of career achievement and satisfaction Latinxs match or exceed those of lawyers from other groups. Yet AJD also demonstrates some continuing challenges for Latinxs in law, as they confront higher levels of workplace discrimination than other groups of lawyers.

III. Latinxs in the United States: Demographic Overview

As shown in Figure 1, in 2015 there were an estimated 56M Latinxs in the United States, which represents 17.6% of the total population. A strong majority, 37M or 66%, were born in the United States, and 19M or 34% were foreign-born. By far the largest group in terms of country of origin are of Mexican descent, with 36M or 64%, with Puerto Rican origin a distant second at 5.3M or 9%, and yet smaller numbers of Salvadorans (2.2M), Cubans (2.1M), Dominicans (1.9M), and other groups from Central and South America and Spain. Figure 2 presents the trends in nativity from 1980 to 2015. It indicates the growing proportion of U.S.-born persons among Latinxs in the most recent period from 2010 to 2015, rising from 63% U.S.-born to 66% U.S.-born.

There is considerable variation in the Latinx population by region. For example, Figure 3 shows that in the Northeast the largest group among Latinxs are Puerto Ricans (35%), followed by Dominicans (17%), others from South America (15%), and Mexicans (12%). As Figure 4 reports, Cubans make up the largest group of Latinxs in Miami, Florida. But as Figures 5 and 6 demonstrate, Mexicans are the dominant group in California (at 84% of Latinxs) and Illinois

(80%). These differences suggest that Latinxs will have different economic and political profiles across regions and thus will face different opportunities and challenges by region.

Latinxs are more heavily concentrated in certain regions of the nation. Figure 7 provides a county-level map of the numbers of Latinxs. Counties with more than 100,000 Latinxs are most prevalent in California, Arizona, Texas, and Florida, but also appear in Colorado, Nevada, Washington, Illinois, and the Northeast. Figure 8 reports the number of Latinxs in the 10 largest metropolitan areas for the Latinx population. The Los Angeles area has the largest number of Latinxs, with some 6M, followed by the greater New York City area, with 4.8M, followed by Miami, Houston, Riverside-San Bernadino, Chicago, and Dallas-Fort Worth, each with between 1.9M and 2.6M Latinxs. More than one-half of Latinxs in the United States live in the 15 largest metropolitan areas for Latinx population.

Figures 9 through 12 summarize data on education levels and measures of economic well-being. Figure 9 shows positive progress for Latinxs in achieving college degrees from 1980 to 2015, growing from 8% in 1980 to 15% in 2015. Still, Latinxs lag behind the overall rate of college degrees for the United States, which is 30%. As Figure 10 presents, Latinx household income significantly trails that of Asian Americans and Whites, but surpasses that of African Americans. As Figure 11 indicates, more than 20% of Latinxs are classified as living in poverty, compared to an overall poverty rate of 12.7% (U.S. Census 2016). Homeownership is a key indicator of family wealth. As Figure 12 shows, 47% of Latinx households own their home, which is dramatically lower than the rate for Whites (74%) and Asian Americans (58%), but quite similar to African-American households (45%). On several key indicators, Latinxs as a group are educationally and economically disadvantaged compared to Whites and Asian Americans.

Spoken language can be an important boundary for ethnic groups in American society. Figure 13 depicts the percentage of different Latinx subgroups whose dominant language is Spanish, English, or both. There is wide variation across groups, with only 16% of Puerto Ricans speaking mainly Spanish, while 40% of Mexicans, 51% of Cubans, and 63% of Salvadorans report speaking predominantly Spanish. As Figures 14 and 15 demonstrate, language patterns also break down by nativity, generation, and age. Some 60% of foreign-born Latinxs speak mainly Spanish, compared to just 5% of those born in the U.S. Second generation Latinxs speak predominantly Spanish at an 8% rate. Only 1% of third generation Latinxs speak mainly Spanish. Significant proportions of older Latinxs speak Spanish as a dominant language. From age groups 30 years old and older, between 42% and 47% of Latinxs speak primarily Spanish. For Latinxs aged 18 to 29 years, the proportion of predominantly Spanish speakers drops by one-half to 22%.

As these language patterns suggest, there are dramatic generational differences in the birthplace of Latinxs in the United States. As Figure 16 presents, older generations of Latinxs are more likely to have been born outside the United States, but Millennials (aged 18 to 34) were twice as likely to be born in the U.S. than abroad, and Latinxs 18 years old and younger were more than 10 times more likely to have been born domestically. Given the much larger size of

the younger age groups within the Latinx population, Latinxs as a group will be increasingly U.S.-born.

In broad stroke, while there is considerable variation in the social profile of Latinxs across regions, generational change in the Latinx population is apparent and potentially consequential. Younger Latinxs are far more likely to speak English and achieve college degrees. We now turn to how these changes may be reshaping the profile of Latinxs in the legal profession.

IV. Latinxs in the Legal Profession—Published Data

We begin our examination of Latinxs in the legal profession by presenting what we can learn from a variety of published sources about trends in the number of Latinxs among law students, lawyers, law firm associates and partners, law faculty, and federal judges. Figure 17 portrays the pipeline for racial and ethnic groups into the legal profession. Focusing on Latinxs, we see that this group makes up 17% of the general population and 20% of high school graduates, but only 11% of college graduates—the potential pool for applying to law school. Indeed, Latinxs represent about 10% of law school applicants, and account for 12.6% of law school enrollment. Thus at the point of entering law school, Whites and Asian Americans exceed their presence in the overall population, but both African Americans and Latinxs trail their presence in the general population. There is a slight drop for Latinxs in their presence among law school graduates, from 12.6% of matriculants to 11.9% of law school graduates. Recent data on bar passage rates by racial and ethnic groups is not available, but a study from the late 1990's indicates that Latinxs pass the bar at an 88% rate, which further reduces the number of Latinxs in the profession. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) data on lawyers, displayed in Figure 18, estimate in 2011 that 3.2% of lawyers are Latinx. BLS estimates rise unevenly to 2016, which show that 5.6% of lawyers are Latinx.

It is helpful to compare the proportion of Latinxs among lawyers to other occupations. Figure 19 presents comparisons of lawyers to other selected occupations. In 2011 some 3.2% of lawyers were Latinx, a percent that is lower (albeit slightly) compared to surgeons, accountants, financial managers, and even CEOs, who range from 6.6% to 8.7%. As we saw in general demographic data, Asian Americans post higher levels of representation among lawyers and many other professional occupations. African Americans exceed Latinxs in some occupations and trail in others, but are quite similar to Latinxs across professional occupations.

The gateway to entry to the legal profession is law school. Figure 20 displays statistics on Latinx enrollment in law school from 2011-12 to 2017-18. The statistics document the dramatic drop in overall law school enrollment during this period. In 2011, 144,482 students were enrolled in law school, a number that declined by 25% by 2017-18. During this period Latinx law school enrollment held steady and indeed rose slightly. As a result, Latinx law school enrollment rose from 7.7% in 2011-12 to 11.1% in 2017-18. As we noted above, Latinxs are somewhat less likely to graduate from law school and to pass the bar than law students overall,

so there is no guarantee that rising proportions of Latinxs in law school will translate into a larger Latinx presence even in the youngest cohorts of lawyers.

The National Association of Law Placement (NALP) has been gathering data on the racial-ethnic and gender composition of hiring by large law firms for several years. Figures 21 and 22 report data NALP has gathered from its member firms from 2009 to 2017. Again focusing on Latinx lawyers, the percentage of Latinxs among associates has grown from 3.9% in 2009 to 4.6% in 2017. Latinxs apparently make partner at one-half that rate. Latinxs made up 1.7% of partners in NALP firms in 2009, a proportion that increases to 2.4% by 2017. Thus in the larger law firms that make up the NALP database, Latinxs appear at the associate level roughly at the rate they enter the profession according to our AJD data, but make partner at half the rate. Contrast this pattern with white attorneys. Recall from Figure 17 that Whites made up 74% of law school graduates and 84% of new lawyers. In the NALP data Whites made up 80% of associates, but 93% of partners. In the lucrative precincts of private practice, Latinxs and other racial and ethnic groups have not registered the same rate of success as traditionally privileged groups of lawyers.

In the public and non-profit sector, Latinxs fare better. Figure 23 reports the racial-ethnic breakdown of appointments to the federal bench by the last 7 presidential administrations. Previous to the Trump administration we see Latinxs receiving between 4% and 10% of federal court appointments. As Figure 24 shows, 80% of Article III judges are white, followed by African Americans who make up 11% of Article III appointments, 7% of Latinxs, and 2% of Asian Americans. On the federal bench Latinxs may slightly exceed their presence in the legal profession overall, but they are substantially fewer than their presence in the U.S. population overall. (At the time of this writing we have not found comprehensive statistics on the racial and ethnic composition of state judges, which is a far larger group than federal judges and worthy of analysis.)

Law schools are the training grounds for lawyers. The racial-ethnic and gender composition of law schools is critically important to how law students learn about the professional world for which they train. The experience of minority and women students is strongly shaped by the composition of the faculty who are their teachers (Mertz 2007, Barnes and Mertz 2017). Figure 25 highlights how persons of color make up some 15% of tenured law school faculty positions, 20% of deans, 28% of non-tenured tenure track faculty, and 10% of part-time faculty. Note that there is much more diversity for non-tenured than for tenured positions. We need data over time to determine whether this is an ongoing disparity between ranks or whether tenured positions will become more diverse as entry level positions grow in diversity. Latinx law professors reflect these same patterns. Latinxs hold between 4% and 6% of positions as law school deans, tenured faculty, tenure-track faculty, and part-time faculty. When we consider entry-level tenure-track positions, Latinxs, African Americans, and Asian Americans together represent 28% of the legal academy, which exceeds their presence of only 15% the legal profession overall (Figure 18). In terms of the presence of these groups on law faculties compared to all law school graduates (refer back to Figure 17), we see a small

underrepresentation for Latinxs, close to parity for Asian Americans and Whites, and overrepresentation for African Americans.

The published statistics on Latinxs compared to other racial and ethnic groups suggests a profound professional gap for Latinxs. Despite a growing and substantial presence in the general population, Latinxs lag in college graduation, law school graduation, and bar passage. As a result their presence within the legal profession overall, the federal judiciary, and law school faculties is far less than their presence in American society. A foundational issue for Latinx progress in the legal profession is advancement in education at all levels and especially from college through law school.

V. Latinxs in the Legal Profession—Data from the After the JD Study of Lawyer Careers

After the JD (AJD) is a national study of lawyer careers that allows us to compare the careers of Latinx lawyers to lawyers from other racial and ethnic groups. We constructed a nationally representative sample of lawyers who passed the bar in 2000 and sought to interview them 3 years into their careers (wave 1), 7 years into their careers (wave 2), and 12 years into their careers (wave 3). We oversampled members of minority groups to provide more statistical power in analyzing their careers. In all we interviewed 5,399 different lawyers. We achieved very high response rates by current standards, exceeding 50% in all three waves.

Figure 26 reports the racial-ethnic breakdown of the sample. Because of the minority oversample, the proportions of the three minority groups shown in Figure 26 are higher than their proportion in the population and would need to be adjusted with sample weights to reflect their actual presence in the population. Given our interest in comparisons across groups, however, we use unweighted data throughout this analysis.

We first consider the gender composition and social background characteristics of the AJD cohort. Figure 27 reports the percentage of men and women among our four racial-ethnic groups. What is most striking in this comparison is the relatively high proportion of women among African-American attorneys, making up almost 60% of African Americans. The other three racial-ethnic groups are much closer to parity in terms of gender composition, with men holding a small majority among Whites and Latinxs and women a small majority among Asian Americans. One of the broader messages from this figure is the relative gender balance among younger cohorts of lawyers in contrast to the 30% presence of women among lawyers of all age groups.

The next three figures present data on the social background of the sample based on the characteristics of their fathers. (While we also have these data for mothers, for ease of presentation we only discuss fathers. Indicators for fathers and mothers are highly correlated and, at least, for occupation there is less missing data for fathers.) Figure 28 documents very distinctive patterns for father's birthplace by race-ethnicity. 87% of Asian Americans in our sample have foreign-born fathers, compared to 57% of Latinxs, but only one quarter of African

Americans, and 8% of Whites. Thus both young Asian-American and young Latinx attorneys are very much the product of the immigrant experience.

Figures 29 and 30 reveal that both Latinxs and African Americans come from less advantaged backgrounds in terms of their father's education and occupational status. Note that in Figure 29 Latinxs have the highest percentage of fathers with a high school education or less and the lowest percentage of fathers with graduate school education. African Americans are very similar to Latinxs. We see a similar pattern in Figure 30. One-third of Latinxs in our sample have professional fathers, compared to 47% of Asian Americans and 42% of Whites, whereas 27% of Latinxs have fathers who worked blue collar jobs compared to only 10% of Asian Americans and 14% of Whites.

While we know from other analyses in AJD that social background tends to predict the educational credentials of lawyers, this appears not to be the case for the law school selectivity of Latinxs and African Americans in our sample. Figure 31 reports the percentage of our groups who attend law schools of different ranks. In terms of father's education and occupation, Asian Americans present the strongest law school credentials, leading all groups in top 10 law schools and top 20 law schools and the lowest percentages in less selective law schools (tier 3 and tier 4 schools). But Latinxs and African Americans are not far behind. 14% of the Latinxs in our sample attended top 10 law schools and another 13% attended law schools ranked 11-20. Less than a quarter of Latinxs attended tier 3 or tier 4 law schools. 16% of African Americans in our sample attended top 10 law schools. 10% attended law schools ranked 11-20. 30% attended tier 3 or 4 law schools. Lower percentages of Whites attended top 20 law schools and they have the highest percentage of those attending tier 3 and tier 4 law schools. Despite the somewhat lower rate of attending the most selective law schools, given the number of Whites in the sample, they still predominate in absolute numbers in more selective schools.

Where Latinx Lawyers Work—Geographically Speaking

The AJD sample was designed to include the 4 largest markets for new lawyers (New York City, Washington, D.C, Chicago, and Los Angeles), 5 of 9 midsize markets, and 9 states or parts of states with fewer new lawyers. Figure 32 lists sampling areas in order of the number of Latinxs they include at wave 3 of our study. (Because some respondents changed zip codes after wave 1, we include all respondents living in the same state as the wave 1 location. Los Angeles and the Bay Area/San Jose are combined with all other cases in California.) California is home to by far the largest number of respondents who are Latinxs, followed by New York City, Houston, Florida, the District of Columbia and Chicago. Together these 6 jurisdictions contain 79% of Latinx lawyers in our sample. Other jurisdictions have between 1 and 6 Latinx lawyers. Thus while in some cities Latinxs make up a significant proportion of young lawyers, in other areas they are quite isolated. Seven of the 17 jurisdictions have more than 80% white attorneys. California by contrast has 45% white lawyers, with Asian Americans making up the largest nonwhite racial-ethnic group, followed by Latinxs, and African Americans.

Where Latinx Lawyers Work—Practice Sector and Setting

Historically women and persons of color, especially African Americans, have sought careers in the public sector of law practice. The public sector is organized around values of public service rather than profit. Some research suggests that public sector employers engage in less discrimination against traditionally disadvantaged groups (Roscigno 2007). Figures 33 to 36 support this expectation, most clearly for African-American attorneys, but to a lesser extent for Latinxs as well. As Figure 33 shows, at early career (wave 1 of AJD interviews) African Americans are substantially more likely to work in the public sector than other racial-ethnic groups. Latinxs rank second in public sector employment, followed by Asian Americans, with Whites as a distant fourth.

The more detailed breakdown of practice setting by race/ethnicity in Figure 34 reveals that African Americans, followed closely by Latinxs, are far more likely to start their careers in state government than is the case for Asian Americans and Whites. While the leading type of employer for all racial-ethnic groups at early career is mid- to large-size law firms, Whites and Asian Americans lead in that tendency. The one practice setting in which Asian Americans have a leading representation is in business (which includes both practicing and not practicing law).

By mid-career the racial-ethnic differentiation of practice setting has become more clear. As Figure 35 demonstrates public sector employment is the modal type of employment for African Americans. Latinxs and Asian Americans trail African Americans substantially, with Whites again bringing up the rear. Private practice is the modal type of employment for all other racial-ethnic groups. For Whites private practice is the location for a majority. Latinxs follow Whites closely in terms of percentage working in private practice, with Asian Americans slightly behind Latinxs. Again Asian Americans are the leading group for working in a business organization, followed by Whites, Latinxs, and African Americans.

The more detailed practice settings shown in Figure 36 drive home the sectoral differences by race and ethnicity. Whites are most likely to work in private practice, now having moved to smaller firms than in wave 1, but also are the most likely of any group to be employed in mid- to large-sized law firms. The greater tendency of African Americans to work in the public sector is due to their greater tendency to have jobs in state government and public interest/non-profit organizations than other groups. Asian Americans are most likely to work in business at mid-career, continuing a pattern we saw in early career. But for both African Americans and Asian Americans there is more attrition from large law firms, which may have spurred the turn to other practice settings. Latinxs, however, look more like white attorneys in these career transitions.

Employment Status

An important dimension of professional work, and of inequality among professionals, is the degree to which professionals work full- or part-time or are unemployed. Given the significance of gender to employment status we have found throughout the AJD project, we break down employment status by gender and by racial and ethnic groups. Figures 37 and 38 document some important differences. Among male attorneys in our sample, a very large percentage are employed full-time, between 94% to 97%. Fewer than 3% of men from any racial-ethnic group work part-time. Thus, there are no meaningful differences in employment status among the men in our sample.

As Figure 38 demonstrates, a much larger percentage of women work part-time or are unemployed and we see some significant differences by race-ethnicity. White women and Asian-American women are much more likely to work part-time, 17% and 16% respectively. African-American women have the highest level of full-time employment, 86%, and the lowest rate of part-time work among the four groups of women. Latinx women place second in the rate of full-time work, 80%. 11% of Latinx women work part-time. While these patterns require further analysis, it is clear that the intersection of race-ethnicity and gender may shape different career paths for women from different racial and ethnic groups. Working part-time may well slow women's career development and this seems a more prevalent pattern for white and Asian-American women. These patterns may also reflect differences in family circumstances and family resources across race and ethnicity.

Earnings

Latinxs as a group earn incomes that exceed those of other racial and ethnic groups. Figure 39 displays median earnings for our four racial-ethnic groups over the 3 waves of our survey, restricted to respondents working full-time. All groups have increased their earnings over the 12 years since they passed the bar, but Latinxs lead the way, achieving median earnings of \$134,000 by wave 3, exceeding the median of \$115,000 for African Americans, \$130,000 for Asian Americans, and \$128,875 for Whites.

As Figures 40 and 41 reveal, however, there are striking gender differences in the earnings of young lawyers. Latinx men, for example, at wave 3 have median earnings of \$142,000 compared to \$129,000 for Latinx women. That is, Latinx female attorneys earn 91% of what their male counterparts earn. African-American men earn \$127,500 compared to \$109,000 for African-American women, an 85% earnings ratio; Asian-American men earn \$145,000 compared to \$119,000 for Asian-American women, an 82% earnings ratio; and white men earn \$144,500 compared to \$114,000 for white women, an earnings ratio of 79%.

While the gender disparities in earnings are profound, the overall results for earnings across racial and ethnic groups in this cohort is encouraging. All groups within this cohort have seen strong earnings growth over the course of their careers. African Americans lag somewhat in this story, but not by much, and this probably is due to their overrepresentation in public sector jobs.

The picture for educational debt by racial and ethnic groups shows more inequality, however. Figure 42 presents the percentages of racial and ethnic groups with zero educational

debt at graduation from law school and at mid-career. At graduation we see that only a handful of Latinxs (7%) and African Americans (4%) had no educational debt, compared to 19% of Asian Americans and 16% of Whites. By mid-career this category grew unevenly across groups, with 26% of African Americans and 41% of Latinxs eliminating their educational debt compared to 50% of Whites and 61% of Asian Americans. As Figure 43 depicts, the average debt for those attorneys with debt followed this same pattern. Latinxs, Asian Americans, and Whites reduced their debt loads by mid-career, but still averaged between \$50,000 and \$60,000. Somewhat shockingly, African Americans with debt saw their educational debt load increase from \$69,559 to \$74,472.

Professional Goals

Do members of different racial and ethnic groups pursue a career in law for different reasons? We already have seen that different groups hail from different social backgrounds and pursue work in different sectors. Are these differences reflected in the goals young lawyers articulate at different times in their careers? AJD posed questions in wave 1 about why respondents had entered law. At wave 3 we asked about long-term career goals. Figure 44 presents a bar graph indicating how important various goals were in respondents' decision to attend law school on a 1 to 5 scale, from not at all important to extremely important. For each racial-ethnic group we see the same ordering of importance ratings: first comes a satisfying career, followed by financial security, then helping individuals as a lawyer, and lastly improving society. While the ordering is the same across groups, African Americans and Latinxs rate helping individuals and improving society more highly than Asian Americans and Whites—a pattern consistent with the contexts in which these groups gravitate in practice.

Figure 45 reports bar graph results for importance ratings for long-term altruistic goals. Latinx and African-American respondents attach higher importance ratings to helping individuals (4.1) than other racial-ethnic groups. Latinx respondents rate the importance of improving society (3.7) more highly than Asian-American and white respondents, but slightly lower than African-American respondents (4.0). Figure 46 reports importance ratings for long-term personal goals. Again we find at most subtle differences across racial-ethnic groups in these ratings. Rated most important for all is having a satisfying personal life, followed closely by having a satisfying career, and intellectual challenge. Accumulating great wealth is rated less important, as is becoming an influential person.

We also asked how important it was to achieve certain positions to which a legal career might lead. Perhaps because these are positions to which only a small group of respondents might aspire, they garner much lower importance ratings, falling between 1.4 and 2.6—or below the midpoint on the importance scale. Figure 47 displays these ratings by racial-ethnic group. The most popular is also the position that is most realistic for a sample of lawyers—moving into management. Somewhat less important on average is becoming a judge, becoming a bar leader, and becoming a high-ranking executive. Least important as a goal was becoming a politician.

These data show that Latinxs are very much like other young attorneys in the reasons they attended law school and their career goals. African Americans are somewhat distinctive in articulating more publicly-oriented professional goals than their peers, but they too are more similar to than different from other young lawyers.

Job Satisfaction

One of the signature findings of the AJD project thus far is the high level of job satisfaction reported by young lawyers—a stark contrast to the bleak picture painted by some commentators. As we see in Figure 48, all racial-ethnic groups in the study overwhelmingly respond that they are satisfied with their decision to become a lawyer. At early career, between 73% and 83% of the groups replied that they were from moderately to extremely satisfied with their decision to become a lawyer. At mid-career these proportions rise to between 75% and 86% of our groups. Asian-American attorneys post the lowest levels of satisfaction, which may be attributable to their greater tendency to work in business organizations, where they may see legal training as less valuable. Latinxs recorded the highest level of satisfaction among all groups at early career, some 83%. While other groups reported higher levels of satisfaction at mid-career than early career, Latinxs did the opposite, coming in at a 78% satisfied rate in wave 3. Still Latinxs were the second most satisfied racial-ethnic group at mid-career, trailing only African Americans in our sample.

In addition to this global measure of career satisfaction, AJD also asked a battery of items dealing with specific aspects of work. Respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with specific dimensions on a 1 to 7 scale, with 1 being highly dissatisfied and 7 being highly satisfied. Figure 49 displays the mean satisfaction scores for items ranked from highest to lowest by Latinx respondents, with comparisons to the mean ratings given by other racial-ethnic groups in the sample. The mean rating on all items is above the midway point of the scale, which supports the finding from our global measure about the relatively high satisfaction levels of young lawyers. There are relatively few differences between Latinxs and other groups in the sample, with the exception of African Americans on some items. We first discuss the ratings overall and then consider the African American responses.

The items on which mid-career lawyers express the highest levels of satisfaction deal with the nature of their work lives—how much responsibility they have, the substance of their work, control over work, intellectual challenge, and even the balance between personal life and work. Respondents offer lower satisfaction ratings on the social consequences of their work and the rewards they receive. Their ratings on the diversity of the workplace, opportunities for probono, and the value of their work to society fall in the bottom one-half of rankings. The least popular items are the performance evaluation process and the compensation scheme.

There is a perceptible thread that African Americans are less satisfied with their workplace experience than other groups. They offer lower ratings on diversity, compensation, opportunities for advancement, as well as the compensation scheme and the performance

evaluation system. These ratings are consistent with the findings we present below on self-reported discrimination in the workplace.

Self-reported Discrimination in the Legal Workplace

Given the interest of the AJD project in exploring differences in the career experiences and opportunities of young lawyers from different racial-ethnic and gender groups, the survey included questions about whether respondents had experienced certain kinds of negative treatment in their workplace in the last two years because of their race-ethnicity, gender, national origin, sexual orientation, or a disability, or any other trait they specified. The negative experiences included harassment, having a client ask for another attorney, and so on. And if so, we asked respondents to describe those experiences. We developed a composite measure that indicated whether the respondents had experienced any of those negative types of treatment.

Figures 50 and 51 report the percentages of racial and ethnic groups that reported a discriminatory experience broken down by gender and by early-career and mid-career. Men from all racial and ethnic groups are less likely to report such experiences than are women from their racial and ethnic group, and all three groups of men of color are substantially more likely to report discrimination than are Whites. A quarter of Latinx and Asian-American men reported discrimination at wave 1 compared to 13% of white men. By wave 3, self-reports by Latinx and Asian-American men declined somewhat to 19% for each. In contrast, African-American men reported perceived discrimination at a higher percentage by wave 3—growing from 34% to 42%.

Women in all four groups reported higher levels of discriminatory experiences than their male counterparts. Latinx women perceived discrimination at a 38% rate in early career. By mid-career 45% reported perceived discrimination in the last two years. African-American women were the most likely to perceive that they were targets of workplace discrimination. 48% reported discrimination at wave 1; and a majority (50%) reported it at wave 3. Asian-American women and white women give self-reports at a 36% and 35% rate respectively in wave 1, but the rate declines to 29% and 30% respectively by wave 3.

These numbers are a sobering indication that persons of color, Latinx men and women included, continue to face discrimination in the legal workplace. We have conducted more elaborate analyses of this phenomenon (Nelson et al.), which we hope will appear soon in a refereed journal. But it is instructive for this conference to consider some of the quotations from Latinx respondents who described their experiences. (After asking about negative experiences, we asked respondents to describe what happened to them.)

The respondents' descriptions of discrimination detail the ways in which racial bias is experienced by Latinxs in the legal workplace. As described in the following quotations, Latinxs' competence is often questioned and they are excluded from social activities, opportunities, and promotions:

"The non-minority associates socialize together outside of work and tend to divide the more interesting assignments to other non-minority associates." (Latinx woman, early career, federal government)

"Repeated challenges about ideas, projects and proposals. Promotion given to someone not a minority with less experience." (Latinx woman, mid-career, non-profit or education)

Race is a salient source of bias for persons of color, and is mentioned in 43% of the quotations from Latinx men (43%). However, the most common form of discrimination cited by Latinx women is gender bias, which is discussed in 40.3% of comments written by this group. For example, Latinx women encounter stereotypes about women's competence and abilities, and are scrutinized for their physical appearance:

"I believe that part of the issue is gender related but it is also the fact that I have a very young appearance. As a result, people assume that I may not have the years of experience or the background that I do which can affect not only the work that I handle but the amount of oversight and "approval" and procedural hoops that I have to go through." (Latinx woman, mid-career, business practicing law)

Latinx women often experience a power imbalance at work that favors men and limits their opportunities to contribute and demonstrate their potential:

"The power structure in my institution is strongly skewed by gender, with a resulting impact on how my voice is heard." (mid-career, non-profit or education)

Many of the quotations from Latinx female respondents refer to both gender and racial bias, suggesting women of color are doubly disadvantaged in the legal workplace. For example, one Latinx woman respondent describes:

"Being confused with other Latina in the firm being called Maria when that's not your name and being put down based on gender" (early career, business practicing law)

And another recounts:

"I was told in so many words that I represented their token minority female." (early career, law firm of unknown size)

In the quotations from both Latinxs men and women, supervisors are most frequently mentioned as the source of the discrimination. For example, one respondent describes a situation in which he "Was referred to by a senior partner who told another

lawyer at a competing firm that we already have our Mexican" (Latinx, early career, law firm of 2-20). As this comment suggests, the discrimination described by Latinxs is often overt. However, discrimination also unfolds in everyday workplace interactions as described in the following quotation:

"More senior staff attorneys require female attorneys to prove competence while male attorneys are instantly invited into the fold." (Latinx woman, early career, federal government)

In general, the comments demonstrate that both Latinx men and women are excluded from social activities and receive fewer opportunities to demonstrate their abilities than their white male counterparts. Moreover, Latinxs' competence is regularly questioned and scrutinized–particularly by their supervisors–and the discrimination they experience is often explicit. Thus, despite the elevated earnings of Latinxs and other markers of positive progress, Latinxs continue to experience discrimination in the legal workplace.

VI. Conclusion

This statistical portrait of Latinx lawyers has begun a critical examination of data on the pipeline for Latinxs entering the profession, of published data on the presence of Latinxs in selected precincts of the legal profession, and of a substantial empirical project studying the careers of young American lawyers that allows us to compare the career trajectories of Latinx lawyers to other racial and ethnic groups.

The demographic data on Latinxs in the United States may well be familiar territory to the participants in this conference, but is probably less familiar to broader publics. One important corrective for public audiences is the substantial regional variation among Latinxs in the United States. Different nations of origin predominate in different regions: Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are especially prominent in the Northeast; Cubans are especially prominent in Miami; Mexicans are predominant in the Midwest, Texas, the Southwest, and California. Another important corrective are the significant generational differences in the Latinx population. The proportion of Latinxs who are U.S.-born has had an uneven but steady rise over the last 50 years. The youngest cohort of Latinxs is far more likely to have been born in the U.S. than their preceding generations, and more likely to speak English and to have attended college. These generational changes may be an important channel for upward mobility for the Latinx population in the U.S. Yet overall clear challenges remain. A much lower proportion of Latinxs graduate from college than Whites or Asian Americans, Latinx household income trails Whites and Asian Americans, a larger proportion of Latinxs fall below the poverty line, and a lower proportion own their own homes.

These patterns shape the pipeline of Latinxs into the legal profession. Because a lower proportion of Latinxs obtain college degrees, the Latinx share of law school applications and enrollment lags behind the Latinx presence in the general population. Still there are some

encouraging trends, if they hold up. With the collapse of law school enrollment after 2008, Latinxs held steady in their number of applications, so that their presence among those who applied and entered law school rose. And unlike earlier years in which Latinxs suffered a dramatic decline in graduation rates compared to their enrollment rates, the most recent data show a rebound in which Latinxs are graduating law school at close to the rate at which they enter law school. The transition from law school graduation to completing the bar and entering practice remains a black box due to inadequate data on bar passage rates. What we can glean from After the JD and Bureau of Labor statistics estimates is that about 5% of lawyers are Latinx, a proportion significantly lower than current law school graduation rates. If the graduation rates can be sustained and can lead to bar passage, we would expect a gradually rising representation of Latinxs in the legal profession.

The published data on the legal profession show that in some areas, notably large law firms, Latinxs have grown as a proportion of entry level associates but struggle to achieve partnership. In the federal judiciary and in law school faculties, we see recent growth in the presence of Latinxs and a somewhat larger representation than the presence of Latinxs in the legal profession overall. In sum, there is a mixed report on the success of Latinxs in achieving positions of status and power in the legal profession.

The After the JD Study confirms some of the social background challenges Latinxs face as they enter the profession. Yet AJD suggests that Latinxs have been successful in gaining admission to prestigious law schools, which in turn has given them a start in more remunerative and prestigious law firms. Like most other young lawyers, later in their careers Latinxs exit large law firms for smaller practices, business jobs as inside counsel or business people, and jobs in government and the non-profit and educational sector. Latinxs' career paths look quite similar to Whites, with less emphasis on government jobs compared to African Americans and less emphasis on business than Asian Americans.

On a range of outcome measures Latinxs are as successful as other groups, including career satisfaction and income. Yet Latinx women share the fate of women in other racial and ethnic groups: they earn only 89% of what white men make and 91% of what Latinx men make. Similar to but not as extreme as African Americans, Latinxs lag behind Asian Americans and Whites in the rate at which they have discharged their educational debt and the amount of debt they continue to have. Also similar to but not as notable as African Americans, Latinxs pursued a career in law and have long term career goals that give greater weight to public service than other groups.

One of the sobering differences we see in Latinx careers compared to more advantaged groups is the rate at which they experience discrimination in the legal workplace. While African Americans once again stand out the most in this respect, Latinxs are close behind. In wave 3, 19% of Latinx men reported that they experienced discrimination. At the same time, 45% of Latinx female lawyers perceived they were the target of discrimination. The comments we collected to describe these experiences reveal that Latinxs continue to face quite explicit forms of

bias at work. The most prevalent source of bias according to these accounts are the lawyer supervisors where respondents worked.

We invite suggestions for what conference participants see as the most pressing areas for empirical research going forward. We still do not well understand the pipeline problems faced by Latinxs as they transition from college into law school into the bar admissions process into law practice. To understand these various processes we need a combination of systematic quantitative data and in-depth interviewing and observation of why Latinxs succeed or fail in different legal arenas.

We hope this paper provides some helpful context for the conference. And we look forward to questions about this research and suggestions for future research.

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- Roscigno, Vincent J. 2007. *The Face of Discrimination: How Race and Gender Impact Work and Home Lives*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

¹ Most data sources are referenced below the tables in which they appear.

Figure 1: Demographic Characteristics of Latinx Population in the U.S., 2015

Size of Latinx Population	56,476,777
Share of Total Population	17.6%
Percent Foreign-born	65.6%
Origin of Latinx Population	
Mexican	35,757,893
Puerto Rican	5,371,113
Salvadoran	2,173,905
Cuban	2,115,879
All other Spanish/Hispanic Latinx	1,928,93
Dominican	1,865,987
Guatemalan	1,384,403
Colombian	1,090,777
Honduran	853,016
Spaniard	798,628

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 2015 American Community Surveys (1% PUMS).

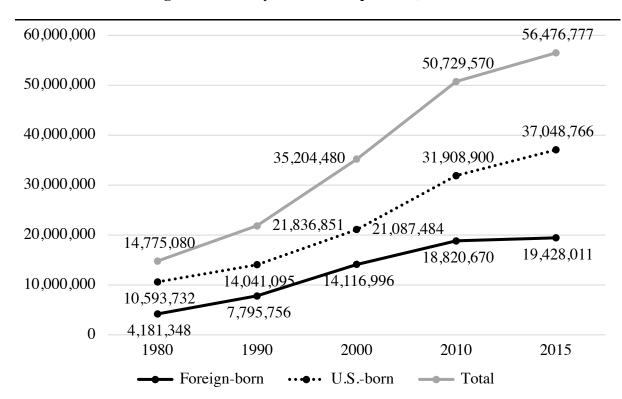


Figure 2: Nativity of Latinx Population, 1980 – 2015

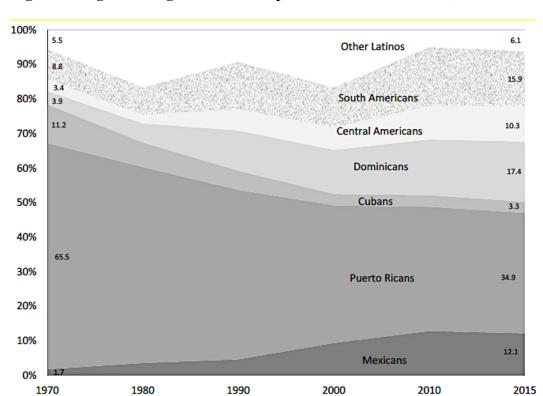
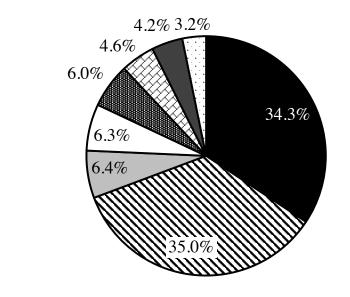


Figure 3: Regional Origin of Latinx Population in the Northeast, 1970 – 2015

Source: Douglas S. Massey and Amelie F. Constant. 2017. "Latinos in the Northeast United States: Trends and Patterns."



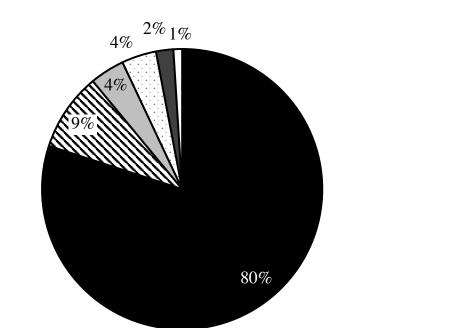


■ Cubans
 ■ Mexicans/Other Central Americans
 ■ Other South Americans
 ■ Columbians
 ■ Nicaraguans
 ■ Other Latinxs

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

Figure 5: Nativity of Latinx Population in California, 2014

		National Rank
Total Latinx Population in California	14,991,000	1
Percent of State Population	39%	2
Percent of U.S. Latinx Population	27%	1
U.Sborn Latinxs (Percent of Latinxs)	64%	32
Foreign-born Latinxs (Percent of Latinxs)	36%	20
Mexican Origin (Percent of Latinxs)	84%	5
Non-Mexican Origin (Percent of Latinxs)	16%	43



■ Central American

□ Cuban

Figure 6: Nativity of Latinx Population in Illinois, 2014

Source: U.S. Census 2014 American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Latino Policy Forum, "Illinois Latino Population by Country of Origin, 2014."

■Puerto Rican

Other Latinx

■ Mexican

□South American

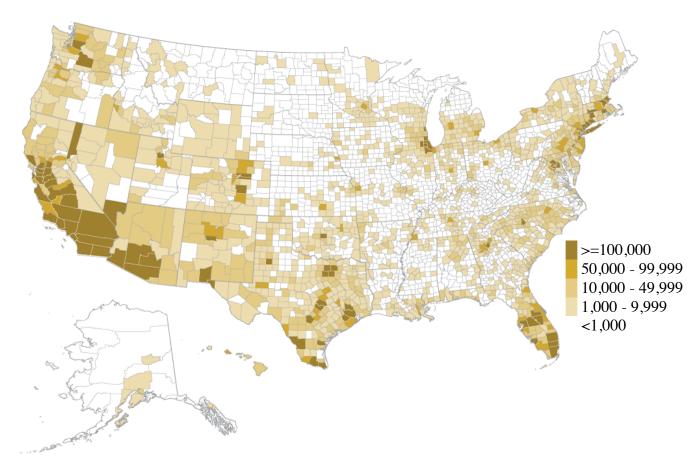
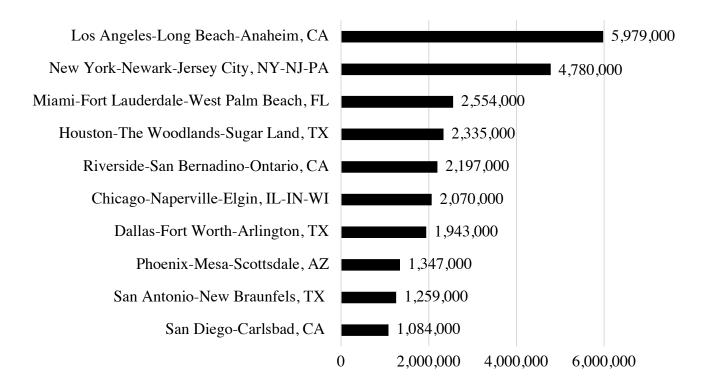


Figure 7: Distribution of Latinx Population across U.S. Counties, 2014

Source: Pew Research Center. "Hispanic Population Growth and Dispersion across U.S. Counties, 1980-2014."

Figure 8: U.S. Metropolitan Areas with Largest Latinx Populations, 2014



Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2014 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

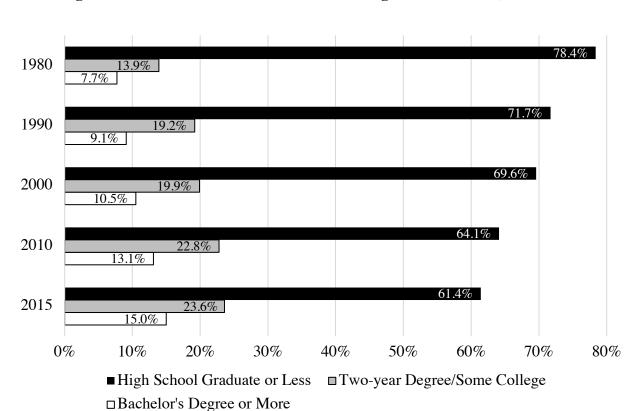


Figure 9: Educational Attainment of Latinxs Aged 25 and Older, 1980 – 2015

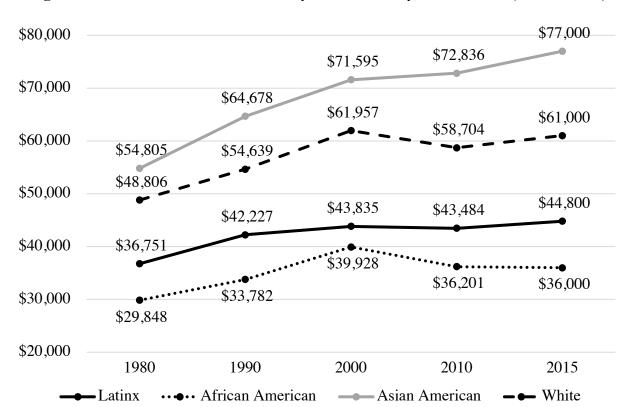


Figure 10: Median Household Income by Race-Ethnicity, 1980 – 2015 (2015 Dollars)

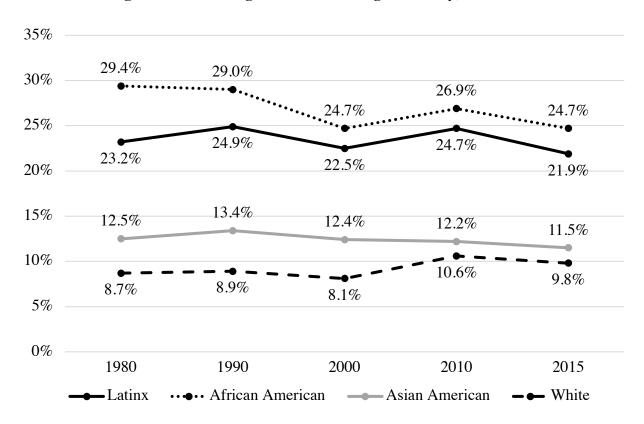
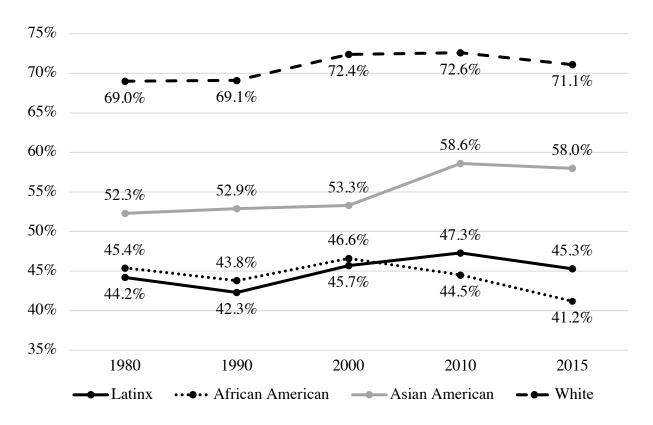


Figure 11: Percentage of Latinxs Living in Poverty, 1980 – 2015





Puerto Rican 16% 42% 41% 40% Mexican 26% 34% Cuban 51% 13% 36% 48% Dominican 10% 43% 63% 3% -Salvadorean 35% 40% 0% 60% 100% 20% 80%■Spanish ■English □Both

Figure 13: Dominant Language Spoken by Latinxs by National Origin, 2013

Source: Pew Research Center 2013 National Survey of Latinos.

Foreign-born 60% 5% 35% U.S.-born 56% 39% Second Generation 42% 50% Third-plus Generation - 1% 76% 23% 0% 20% 40%

■Spanish □English □Both

60%

80%

100%

Figure 14: Dominant Language Spoken by Latinxs by Immigrant Status, 2013

Source: Pew Research Center 2013 National Survey of Latinos.

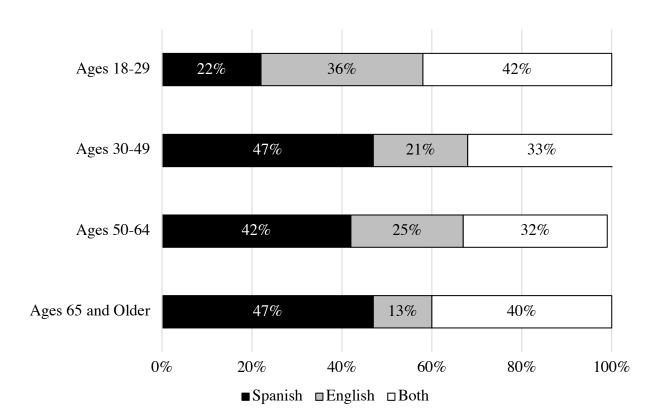


Figure 15: Dominant Language Spoken by Latinxs by Age, 2013

Source: Pew Research Center 2013 National Survey of Latinos.

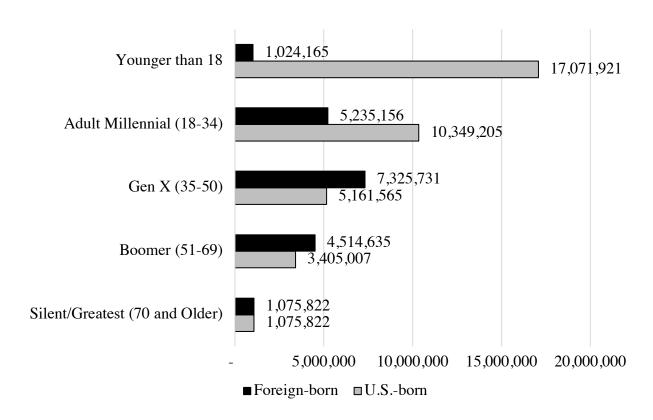


Figure 16: Generation of Latinxs by Birthplace, 2015

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 2015 American Community Surveys (1% IPUMS). "Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 1980-2015."

Figure 17: Pipeline from College to Law School to Legal Employment: Educational and Employment Characteristics by Race-Ethnicity

	% G	% High	% of College Graduates	ABA Applicants Fall 2013	ABA Enrollment Fall 2013	% of Degrees Awarded by ABA Law Schools 2016	Bar I	Employment Status – Class of 2014 (NALP 2015) ⁷				Three	Seven	Twelve
Race- Ethnicity	General Population	h School Graduates					Passage Rate 1998	Total Employed	JD Required	JD Preferred	Other Professional	Years** After the Bar (AJD1)	Years** After the Bar (AJD2)	Years** After the Bar (AJD3)
Latinx	17.3%	20.2%	10.5%	10.3%	12.6%	11.9%	87.7%*					3.7%	4.7%	3.2%
African American	12.3%	14.6%	10.8%	14.3%	10.1%	8.8%	77.6%	82.8%	59.9%	16.9%	4.7%	5.5%	6.3%	4.4%
Asian American	5.6%	5.7%	7.3%	10.9%	7.4%	7.3%	91.9%	•				6.7%	7.0%	6.3%
White	61.1%	56.6%	68.8%	63.7%	69.9%	68.3%	96.7%	88.2%	68.5%	14.1%	4.1%	84.0%	82.1%	82.8%
Total	99.6%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	94.8%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

^{*} Weighted average of Mexican American, Hispanic and Puerto Rican; ** Includes not practicing law; *** Includes Non-Resident Alien.

¹ US Census Bureau (2016)

² National Center for Education Statistics (2016-2017) Table 219.40, page 216. The Digest of Education Statistics 2016.

³ American Bar Association, 2016. Degrees Awarded by Race/Ethnicity.

⁴ Law School Admissions Council (LSAC). 2010-2015 Applicants by Race/Ethnicity.

⁵ American Bar Association, 2013 ABA-approved Law School FT/PT Total JD1 Enrollment by Gender and Ethnicity Data.

⁶ Law School Admissions Council (LSAC) Bar Passage Study (1998) for Entering Law School Class of 1991.

⁷ National Association for Law Placement (NALP), Jobs & JDs: Employment and Salaries of New Law Graduates for Class of 2010 (2011).

⁸ Calculated from Table 9.1. Dinovitzer, et al. *After the JD II: Second Results from a National Study of Legal Careers*, American Bar Foundation and NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education (2009)

⁹ Calculated from Table 2.1. Dinovitzer, et al. *After the JD III: Second Results from a National Study of Legal Careers*, American Bar Foundation and NALP Foundation for Law Career Research and Education (2014).

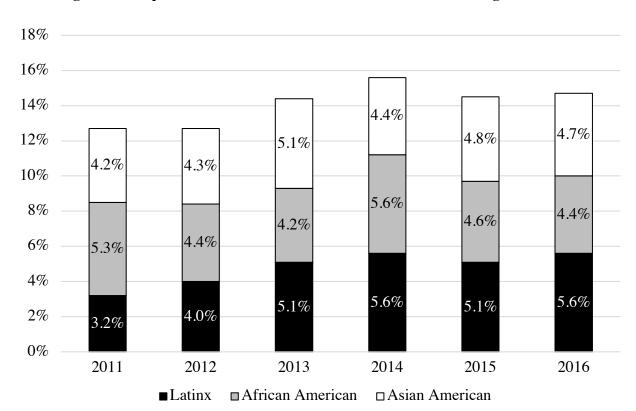


Figure 18: Representation of Racial-Ethnic Minorities in the Legal Profession

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016. Institute for Inclusion in the Legal Profession.

Figure 19: Race-Ethnicity and Gender for Selected Occupations, 2011

	•			1 /	
Profession	% Latinx	% African American	% Asian American	% Total Diversity	% Total Women
Accountants	7.6%	8.5%	10.3%	26.4%	61.3%
Architects	4.1%	1.6%	5.5%	11.2%	20.7%
Attorneys	3.2%	5.3%	4.2%	12.7%	31.9%
CEOs	4.1%	2.7%	3.0%	9.8%	24.2%
Chemists	4.6%	9.5%	11.5%	25.6%	45.9%
Electrical Engineers	7.4%	4.8%	12.0%	24.2%	8.8%
Financial Managers	8.7%	6.5%	5.8%	21.0%	54.2%
Mechanical Engineers	3.9%	5.7%	12.0%	21.6%	5.5%
Psychologists	5.9%	5.1%	2.9%	13.9%	71.2%
Surgeons	6.6%	5.3%	16.1%	28.0%	33.8%

Source: Current Population Survey.

Figure 20: Latinx Law School Enrollment, 2011-12 to 2017-18

Academic Year	Latinx JD Enrollment	Total JD Enrollment	Latinxs as Percentage of Total JD Enrollment
2011-12	11,056	144,482	7.7%
2012-13	11,323	137,210	8.3%
2013-14	11,215	126,627	8.9%
2014-15	11,314	117,806	9.6%
2015-16	11,421	111,883	10.2%
2016-17	11,667	109,132	10.7%
2017-18	12,067	108,286	11.1%

Source: Steve Daniels' Calculations of Data from Standard 509 Disclosures submitted to the American Bar Association.

Figure 21: Demographic Characteristics of Law Firm Associates, 2009 – 2017

	O	0 1						
Year Latinx		African A	rican American Asian Americ		merican	can White		
1 cai	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %
2009 ¹	3.9	2	4.7	2.9	9.3	5.1	80.3	45.7
2013 ²	3.8	1.9	4.1	2.4	10.5	5.6	79.1	44.8
2014 ³	4	1.9	4	2.3	10.8	5.8	78.4	44.9
20154	4.3	2	4	2.3	10.9	6	78	44.7
2016 ⁵	4.4	2.2	4.1	2.3	11.3	6.4	80.2	n/a
2017	4.6	2.2	4.3	2.4	11.4	6.5	79.8	n/a

National Association for Legal Professionals Bulletin (January 2010)

Figure 22: Demographic Characteristics of Law Firm Partners, 2009 – 2017

Year Latinx		African A	African American Asian American		White			
- Tear	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %	Total %	Women %
2009 ¹	1.7	0.4	1.7	0.6	2.2	0.7	94.0	19.2
2013 ²	2.0	0.5	1.8	0.6	2.7	0.9	93.0	20.2
2014 ³	2.2	0.6	1.7	0.6	2.7	1.0	92.7	21.1
20154	2.2	0.6	1.8	0.6	2.9	1.1	92.5	21.5
2016 ⁵	2.3	0.7	1.8	0.6	3.1	1.2	92.8	n/a
2017 ⁶	2.4	0.7	1.8	0.7	3.3	1.2	92.5	n/a

National Association for Legal Professionals Bulletin (January 2010)

²National Association Legal Professionals Bulletin (February 2014)

³National Association for Legal Professionals Press Release (December 11, 2013)

⁴ National Association for Legal Professionals Bulletin (May 2015)

⁵ National Association Legal Professionals Bulletin (January 2016)

⁶ National Association for Law Placement Report on Diversity (December 2017)

²National Association Legal Professionals Bulletin (February 2014)

National Association for Legal Professionals Press Release (December 11, 2013)

⁴ National Association for Legal Professionals Bulletin (May 2015)

⁵ National Association Legal Professionals Bulletin (January 2016)

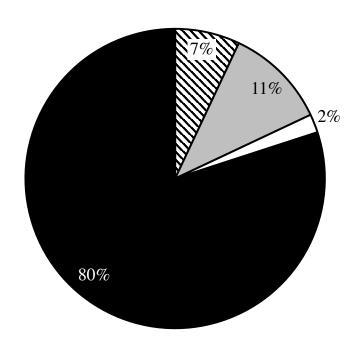
⁶ National Association for Law Placement Report on Diversity (December 2017)

Figure 23: Racial-Ethnic Minorities among Judicial Appointments

	Latinx	African American	Asian American	White
Trump	0	0	3	26
Obama	31	58	18	208
GW Bush	30	24	4	266
Clinton	23	61	5	282
Bush	8	11	0	169
Reagan	14	7	2	341
Carter	16	37	2	294

Source: Pew Research Center Analysis of Federal Judicial Center Data. "Trump's Appointed Judges are a Less Diverse Group than Obama's." March 20, 2018.

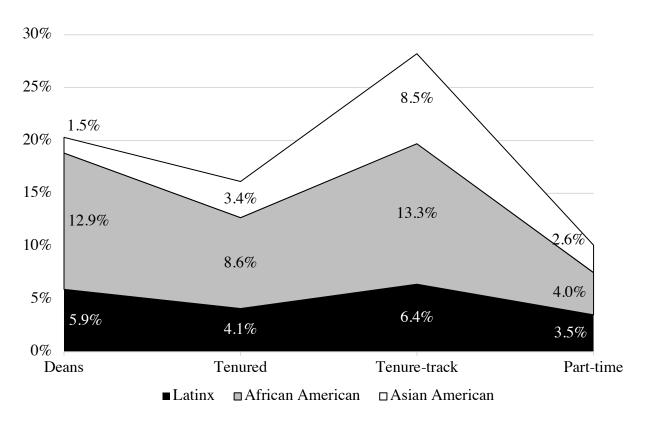
Figure 24: Article III Judges by Race-Ethnicity, 2017



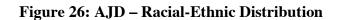
 ■ Latinx
 ■ African American
 ■ Asian American
 ■ White

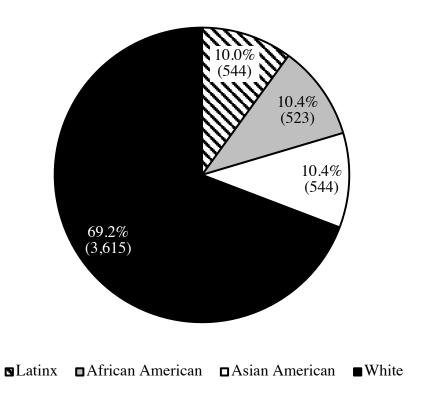
Source: Alliance for Justice, Judicial Selection Snapshot 2017. Institute for Inclusion in the Legal Profession.

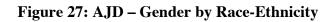


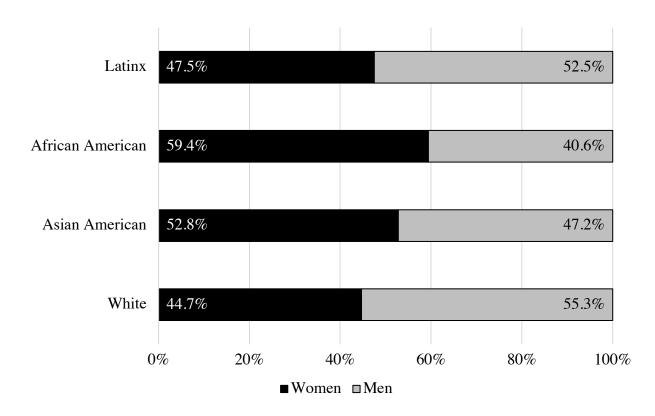


Source: American Bar Association. "ABA Approved Law School Staff and Faculty Members, Gender and Ethnicity: Fall 2013."

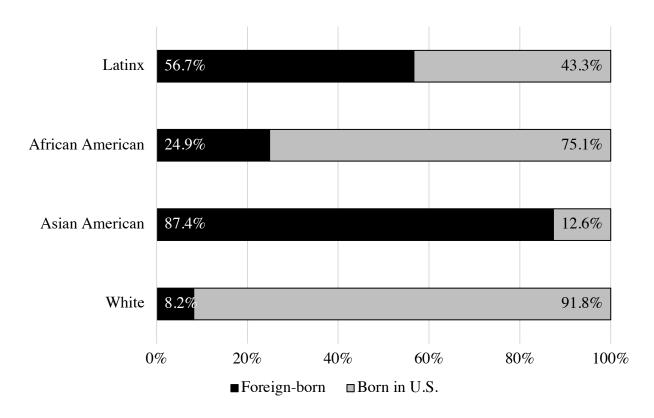




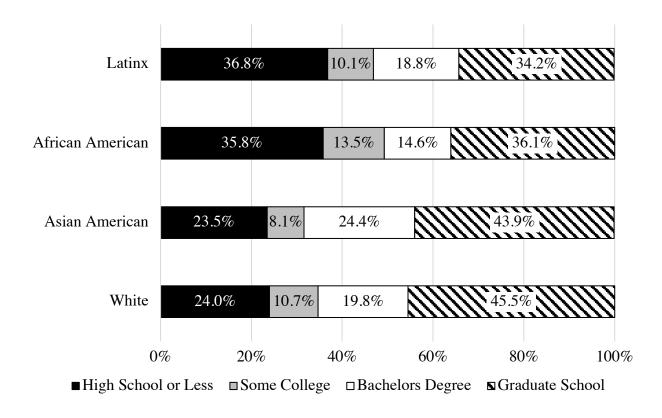


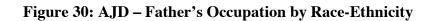


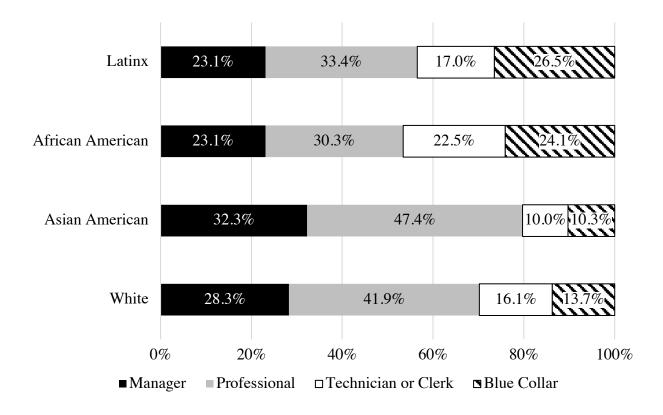














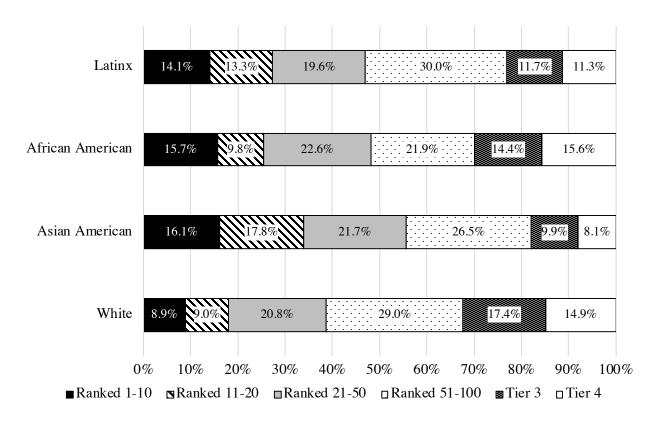


Figure 32: AJD – Distribution of Respondents among PSUs by Race-Ethnicity at Mid-Career

	Latinx		African		Asian		White		
				American		American			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Los Angeles/Bay Area	88	20.6	36	8.4	102	23.8	193	45.1	
New York City	33	16.4	23	11.4	28	13.9	112	55.7	
Houston	18	14.5	11	8.9	11	8.9	79	63.7	
Florida	19	13.2	18	12.5	2	1.4	102	70.8	
D.C.	17	10.4	29	17.8	21	12.9	95	58.3	
Chicago	18	7.8	21	9.1	29	12.6	161	70.0	
Connecticut	6	7.7	10	12.8	4	5.1	56	71.8	
New Jersey	5	6.6	7	9.3	12	16.0	51	68.0	
Atlanta	7	5.1	34	24.8	5	3.6	89	65.0	
Indiana	5	5.0	3	3.0	4	4.0	86	86.0	
Utah	4	4.5	1	1.1	2	2.2	81	91.0	
Oregon	5	3.9	2	1.6	6	4.7	115	89.1	
St. Louis	3	3.6	5	6.0	4	4.8	71	84.5	
Boston	2	3.0	3	4.5	3	4.5	59	88.1	
Oklahoma	2	2.0	1	1.0	0	0	78	78.8	
Tennessee	1	0.9	7	6.3	4	3.6	97	87.4	
Minneapolis	1	0.7	4	2.9	10	7.1	123	87.9	
Total	262	9.6	255	9.3	282	10.3	1873	68.5	

^{*} p≤.05, ** p≤.01, *** p≤.001

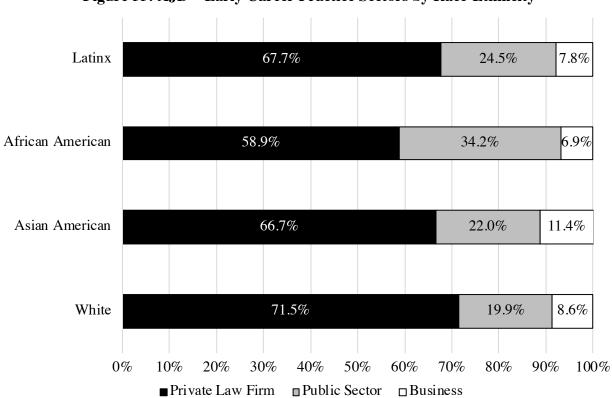
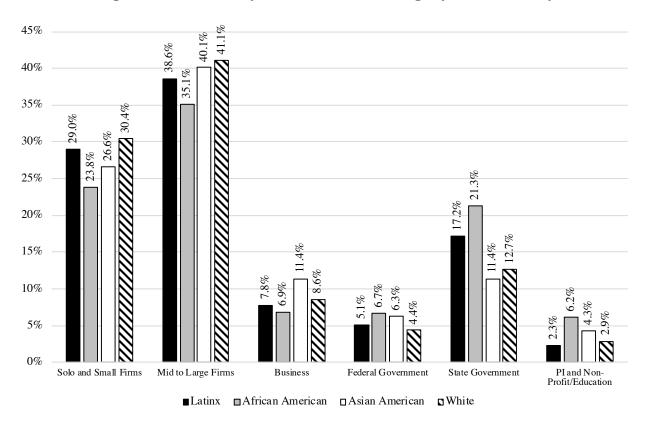


Figure 33: AJD – Early Career Practice Sectors by Race-Ethnicity

Figure 34: AJD – Early Career Practice Settings by Race-Ethnicity





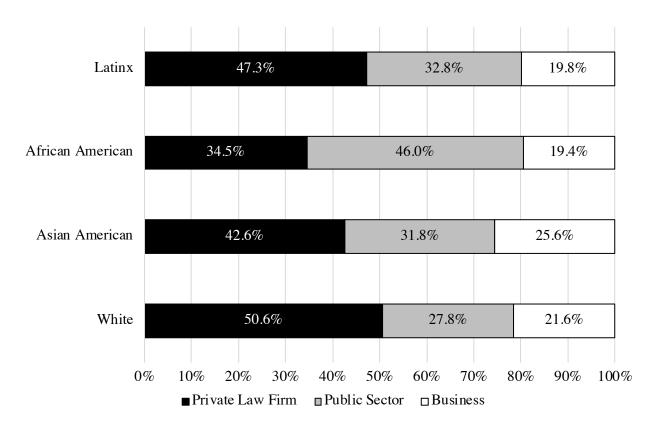
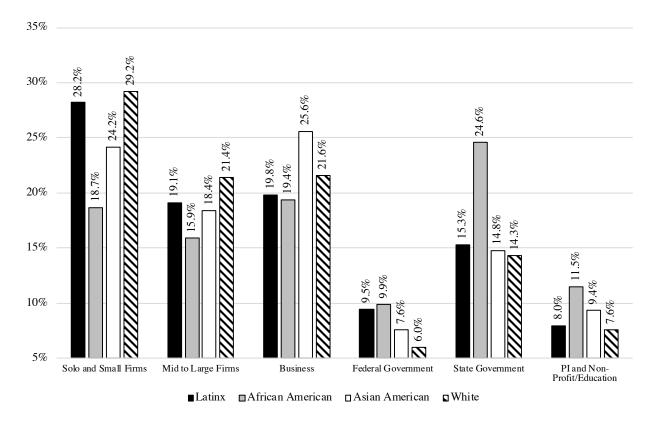
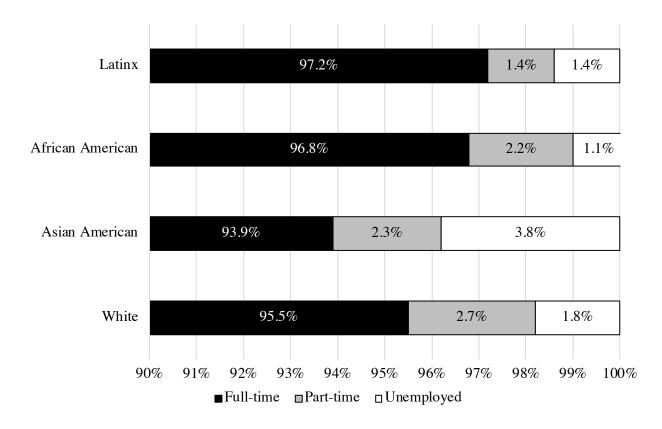
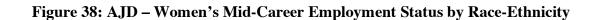


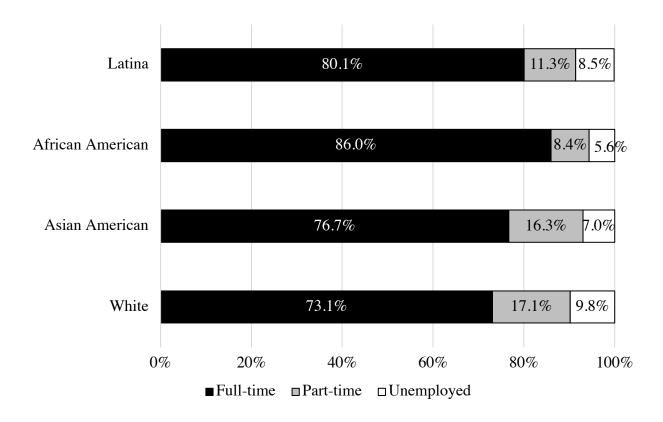
Figure 36: AJD – Mid-Career Practice Settings by Race-Ethnicity

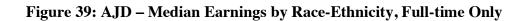


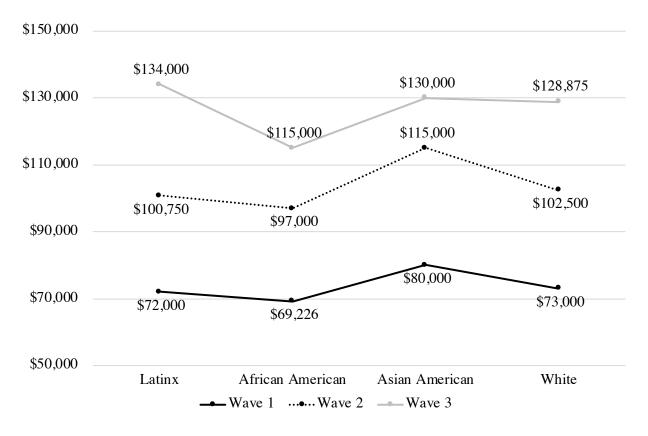


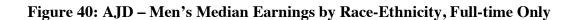


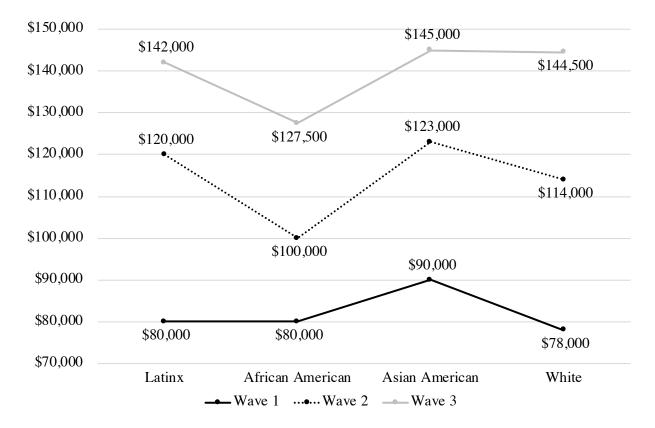


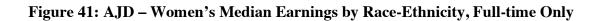


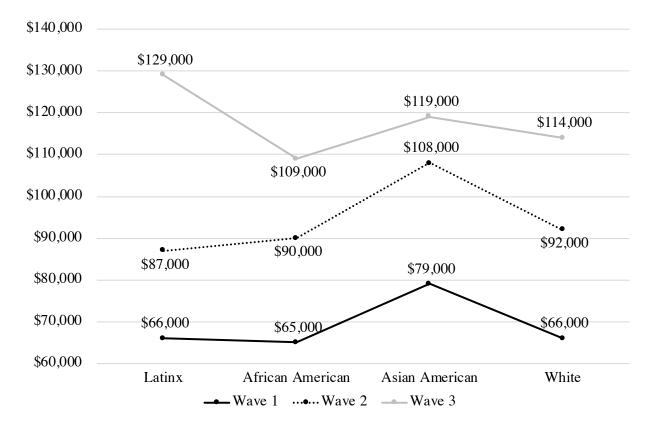


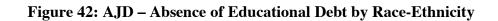


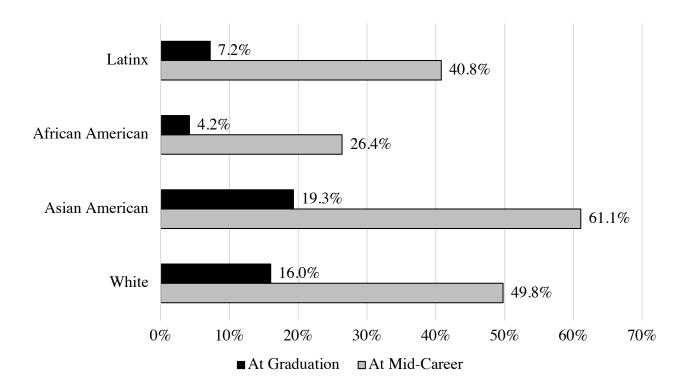












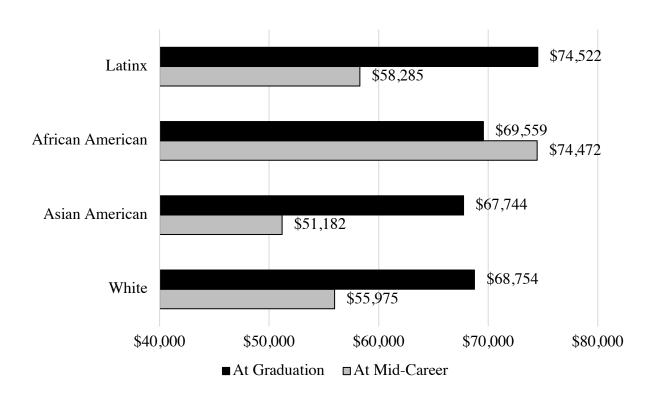
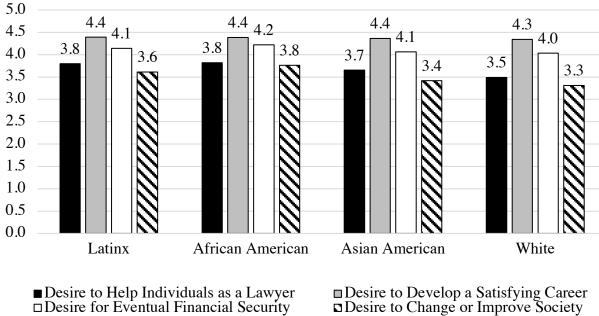


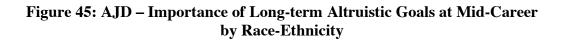
Figure 43: AJD – Mean Educational Debt by Race-Ethnicity

Note: This table includes data for respondents with educational debt only.





■ Desire to Develop a Satisfying Career■ Desire to Change or Improve Society



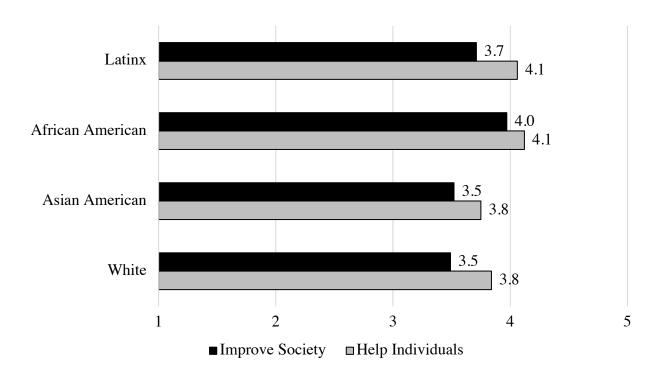


Figure 46: AJD – Importance of Long-term Personal Goals at Mid-Career by Race-Ethnicity

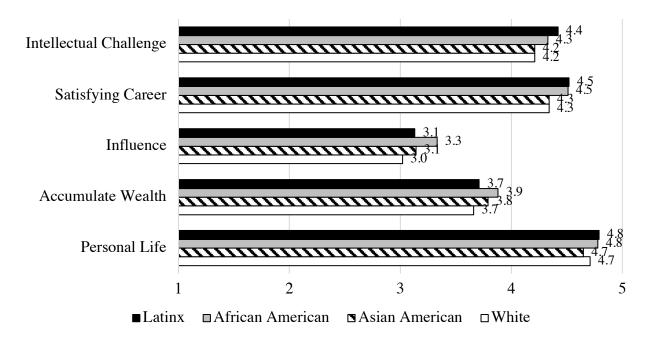
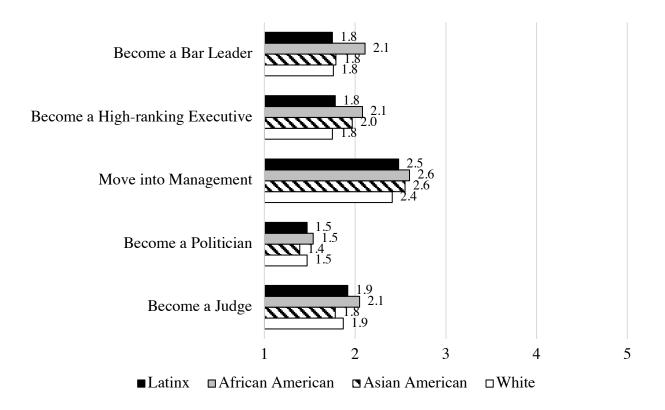
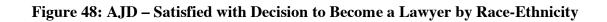


Figure 47: AJD – Importance of Long-term Career Goals at Mid-Career by Race-Ethnicity





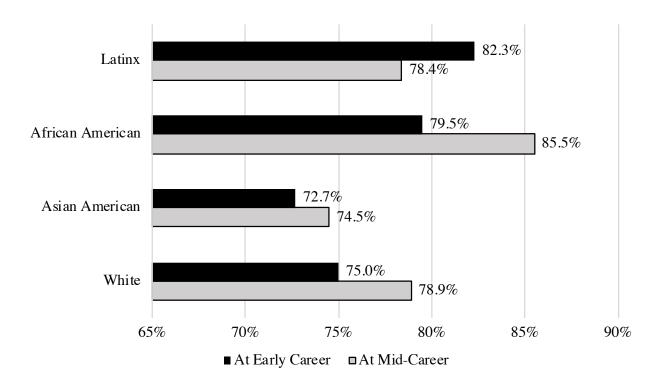


Figure 49: AJD – Job Satisfaction at Mid-Career by Race/Ethnicity

	Latinx	African American	Asian American	White
Level of Responsibility	5.8	5.7	5.8	5.8
Substantive Area	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6
Control over Work Process	5.7	5.8	5.8	5.9
Travel Amount	5.6	5.3	5.6	5.5
Intellectual Challenge	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.6
Work Relationships	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.6
Balance between Personal Life and Work	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.4
Tasks	5.4	5.3	5.4	5.3
Skill-building Opportunities	5.4	5.2	5.4	5.4
Job Security	5.2	5.1	5.3	5.2
Value of Work to Society	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.0
Control over Work Amount	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.1
Recognition for Work	5.1	4.9	5.2	5.1
Diversity of the Workplace	5.0	4.4	4.8	4.7
Compensation	4.6	4.3	4.7	4.5
Opportunities for Advancement	4.6	4.2	4.6	4.5
Pro Bono Opportunities	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.7
Compensation Scheme	4.4	4.1	4.6	4.5
Performance Evaluation Process	4.3	4.1	4.2	4.3

Note: Satisfaction is measured on a scale of 1 (highly dissatisfied) to 7 (highly satisfied).



