

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LATINA ATTORNEYS' FAMILY  
RESPONSIBILITIES AND CAREER SUCCESS IN LAW FIRMS**

by

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## **Abstract**

Latinas are members of the largest and fastest growing minority group in the United States. However, they are the most disproportionately underrepresented attorney group within this nation's law firms, especially at the profession's highest levels. While Latina attorneys encounter significant gender-related barriers to their career success, the actual role of family responsibilities has not been closely examined for those employed in law firms, or how aspects of their cultural identity may influence these relationships. To close this research gap, this study relied on secondary data from the Hispanic National Bar Association Commission Study dataset to examine how family responsibilities relate to objective and subjective career success for 271 full-time Latina attorneys employed in law firms, as well as how their acculturation level within the Anglo culture moderated these relationships. The results of this study found that Latina attorneys' family responsibilities were generally not related to their positional level or gross compensation in law firms; however, having younger children was associated with lower hierarchical attainment. Latina attorneys still appear to encounter significant barriers in their legal careers, including those associated with their family responsibilities, which may ultimately threaten their retention and advancement within law firms. Furthermore, while this study found no support that the Latina attorneys' high level of career satisfaction was related to their family responsibilities, there is some evidence that it may account, in part, for the paradox of contentment they enjoy despite obstacles to their objective career success. Finally, acculturation level was not found to moderate these relationships, which was assumed to be due to their high acculturation level overall. It is recommended that law firm leaders support more gender-neutral and family-friendly attitudes, structures, policies, and cultures within their organizations and foster opportunities for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities to develop and maintain

mentoring relationships and networking opportunities that may facilitate their career advancement. Future research must expand on these findings, including how different indicators of family responsibilities are related to other career-related outcomes for Latina attorneys, as well as other attorney populations, including those employed in different legal sectors and also those who work part-time.

## **Dedication**

This study is a tribute to women with family responsibilities of all races and ethnicities who celebrate and embrace their multidimensional identities and roles. By living authentically as both parents and professionals, working mothers can continue to effectuate change by defying deep-seated social structures that resist women's leadership and circumscribe their options.

This study is dedicated to my mother, Juanita Lynch, whose constant display of resiliency and strength throughout my life has served as an example to me that through determination and perseverance, I could achieve my dreams. She has been a wonderful role model to me as both a woman and professional, but more importantly, of what it truly means to be a great mother.

This study is also dedicated to my loving family, A.B., Ben, and Ana Cruz. They are everything to me and there is no doubt in my mind that without their love, patience and support, I would not have succeeded in this pursuit. I love them all dearly and this achievement is theirs as much as it is mine.

## **Acknowledgment**

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## **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

### **Introduction to the Problem**

Latinas are members of the largest and fastest growing minority group in the United States, constituting 7.45% of the total population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 2010). Notwithstanding this considerable presence and growth, there has not been a commensurate increase in the proportion of Latina/os within professional occupational ranks in general (Blancero & DelCampo, 2005; Kochhar, 2005; Mundra, Moellmer, & Lopez-Aqueres, 2003), and especially within the legal profession (American Bar Association, 2009; Davila, 1987; Malpica & Espana, 2003; Mendez & Martinez, 2002; National Association of Legal Placement, 2011; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2003). This is especially evident with respect to Latina attorneys, who by recent estimate comprise only 1.04% of the nation's lawyers (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009).

Within the largest segment of the legal profession, private practice law firms, Latinas constitute a mere 0.44% of partners, and 1.95% of associates (National Association of Legal Placement, 2011), which is considerably less than any other majority or minority group, as compared to their actual presence in the United States population. Furthermore, there is some evidence that Latina attorneys in law firms are poorly represented in leadership roles and may have disproportionately lower compensation levels as compared to their non-Latina counterparts (Cruz & Molina, 2010).

The lack of Latina attorneys in the legal profession, especially in leadership roles, reflects the need to better understand and address the key barriers Latina attorneys face because of their status as women and racioethnic minorities. This information can shed light on how their unique

demographic characteristics are related to their career success within the legal profession. To address this gap, Cruz and Molina (2010), in a national study on the status and experiences of Latina attorneys in the United States, found that the underrepresentation of Latina attorneys in the legal profession, especially in leadership roles, is based on the intersection of certain gender, racial, and ethnic barriers that act as a “multilayered glass ceiling” to Latina attorneys’ careers.

While these three demographic aspects of their gender and cultural identity are inextricably intertwined, Cruz and Molina (2010) reported that the Latina attorneys surveyed overwhelmingly believed that having significant family responsibilities was one of the more significant barriers to success in their legal careers. However, despite this concern, the participants indicated that they were relatively satisfied with their experiences in the legal profession. Based on these preliminary findings, this dissertation study provides a more granular analysis of the actual relationships that exist between the Latina attorneys’ family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firms. Furthermore, this study seeks to better understand how aspects of the Latina attorneys’ cultural identity, in particular, their acculturation level to the dominant Anglo culture in the United States, may moderate these relationships. Armed with this insight, it is hopeful that more effective and culturally sensitive strategies can be adopted to increase Latina attorneys’ overall representation, career success, and ascension into leadership roles within this sector of the legal profession.

### **Background of the Study**

There is a significant amount of literature on the career-related experiences and challenges encountered by women attorneys (Angel, Whang, Banker, & Lopez, 2010; Boyer, Calvert, & Williams, 2009; Dau-Schmidt, Galanter, Mukhopadhaya, & Hull, 2009; Epstein, 1993; Gorman, 2005; Kay & Gorman, 2008; Korzec, 2000; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2008;

Rikleen, 2006; Scharf & Flom, 2010; Stanford, 2009; Wilder, 2007), women attorneys of color (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2008; Bagati, 2009), and even Black women attorneys (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Burleigh, 1988; Reeves, 2001).

In spite of this heightened interest in the challenges faced by women attorneys of color, there has been very limited empirical research conducted on the unique barriers and experiences encountered by Latina attorneys in particular, and how intersecting aspects of their social identity contribute to or detract from their career success in the legal profession. While a number of studies have recently begun to explore how factors related to Latina attorneys' gender, ethnicity, and race are associated with various aspects of their career success (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz, Molina, & Rivera, 2010; Ebben & Gaier, 1998; Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008); the actual role of family responsibilities in these relationships is largely unknown.

In particular, while Cruz and Molina (2010) found that the overwhelming majority of Latina attorneys in their study believed that having significant family responsibilities has or will negatively impact their opportunities for career advancement, these relationships between the Latina attorneys' existence and level of family responsibilities and their actual career success were not examined directly, nor was the focus centered on the experiences and outcomes of Latina attorneys in law firms specifically. A narrower focus on Latina attorneys in law firms is critical because not only is it where the majority of all attorneys are employed (American Bar Association, 2009), but also because the prevailing professional ideology and norms essential for success in this sector of the legal profession are considered by many legal scholars to be largely incompatible with the demands associated with family roles (Chanen, 2006; Epstein, Seron,

Oglensky, & Saute, 1999; Kay & Gorman, 2008; Krakauer & Chen, 2003; Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006; Stanford, 2009; J. E. Wallace, 2008).

The construct of career success is viewed as having both objective and subjective dimensions. Objective career success consists of concrete, specific, measurable and easily observable career accomplishments attained during the course of one's career (Ballout, 2008; S. J. Wayne, Liden, Kraimer, & Graf, 1999) and is often associated with one's income and positional level in their organization's hierarchy (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Heslin, 2005; Judge, Cable, Boudrea, & Bretz, 1995; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001). While objective career success is associated with observable career accomplishments, subjective career success consists of affective aspirations involving an individual's sense of satisfaction with their careers (Judge et al., 1995; Martins, Eddleston, & Veiga, 2002; Ng et al., 2005).

In their study of Latina attorneys across the legal profession, Cruz and Molina (2010) found that while the participants in their study had relatively low levels of objective career success in terms of their positional level and salary, they also reported having high levels of subjective career success as reflected in the finding that, overall, the majority of Latina attorneys throughout the legal profession were relatively satisfied with their career experiences. While it is unclear what accounts for this "paradox of contentment" (Hull, 1999), it has been found that certain demographic factors, including, but not limited to, gender, marital status, family responsibilities, and race, may account for a significant variance in both dimensions of objective career success; however, they do not necessarily account for a similar variance in career satisfaction (Judge et al., 1995).

This evidence suggests that Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success are distinct constructs that may be impacted differently by specific demographic characteristics including those related to their family responsibilities. This finding has direct relevance to women attorneys in general (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Hagan & Kay, 2007; Hull, 1999), and Latina attorneys in particular (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010) who appear to have high levels of career satisfaction, despite experiencing inequities to objective aspects of their careers. Many of these and other studies have pointed to the potential role of family responsibilities on this paradoxical relationship; although no known studies have empirically tested how variables related to family responsibilities may be differently associated with objective and subjective career success outcomes for Latina attorneys.

While Latina attorneys' family responsibilities may be differently related to and partially account for the paradoxical relationship between their objective and subjective career success, the relationships between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success may also be moderated by certain aspects of the Latina attorneys' cultural identity. As members of collectivist cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), Latinas are presumed to place a high value on family over individual needs (Arbona, 1995; L. Y. Flores, Navarro, & Ojeda, 2006) and are often subjected to culturally gendered expectations to serve as primary family care-takers (L. Y. Flores et al., 2006).

As noted by Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000), an individual's experiences in work and family domains are influenced by norms and values related to the cultural meaning and enactment of work and family. Therefore, experiences and perceptions of their work and family roles may be influenced by their level of acculturation to the United States (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006). In particular, Latina attorneys who are more recent immigrants to the United

States and who are less English language dominant are thought to be less acculturated (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 2002c; Marin & Marin, 1991); therefore, their cultural identity is considered to be intertwined with that of traditional Hispanic norms and values rather than the dominant Anglo culture. In this way, it is posited that acculturation level, as operationalized by the indicators used in this study, immigration level and degree of English language dominance, may moderate the relationships between the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firm environments.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The pronounced lack of Latina attorneys in upper-level roles and relatively lower compensation levels within law firm settings are at odds with their significant and growing representation in the United States population. This realization is particularly troublesome and demands deeper attention in order to identify the unique barriers that are positively and negatively related to career success for this ethnically and racially diverse population of women attorneys within the legal profession.

While their underrepresentation in leadership roles was found to be based on barriers related to their status as racially and ethnically diverse women, Cruz and Molina (2010) found that the Latina attorneys believed that having significant family responsibilities has or will negatively affect their opportunities for career advancement. However, this potential negative relationship was based on the respondents' perceptions rather than their actual existence and level of their family responsibilities; therefore, their study did not consider how Latina attorneys' family responsibilities were related to their actual career success. Furthermore, their study reported on the aggregated experiences and perceptions of Latina attorneys across the legal profession and did not specifically focus on those employed in private practice law firms. Since

three-fourths of all attorneys in the legal profession are employed in law firms (American Bar Association, 2009), this level of analysis is essential to understand the nature of this relationship for Latina attorneys employed in the largest segment of the legal profession.

As previously noted, while Latina attorneys across the legal profession experienced relatively lower professional status and compensation levels, they indicated that they had relatively high levels of satisfaction with their legal careers (Cruz & Molina, 2010). This paradoxical finding also suggests the need to examine how demographic factors, specifically, the presence and level of the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities, may be differently associated with variables related to Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success in private practice law firms.

Finally, given the call for more culturally relevant variables, including acculturation constructs, in career-related and work-family research with Latina/o populations (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006; L. Y. Flores et al., 2006; Rodriguez, 2009), this dissertation study will also consider the role of acculturation as a potential moderator in the relationships between the Latina attorneys' existence and level of family responsibilities and their level of objective and subjective career success.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to build on the findings of Cruz and Molina (2010) to provide a more granular analysis of the actual relationships that exist between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys employed in private practice. Furthermore, this study was also interested in examining how aspects of the Latina attorneys' cultural identity, or adherence to the values, norms and behaviors associated with the traditional Latina/o culture, may moderate these relationships. This examination can

provide a better understanding of how family responsibilities may be related to barriers or supports to Latina attorneys' career success, as well as how family responsibilities may be a factor in the "paradox of contentment" found in research on women attorneys in the legal profession in general (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Hagan & Kay, 2007; Hull, 1999) and Latina attorneys in particular (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010).

This study focused on demographic factors related to the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities. Specifically, this examination considered how the presence of child(ren) in the home, number of children in the home, and age of the youngest child in the home factor into these relationships. The existence of children in the home was used as an indicator of the existence of family responsibilities, while the number and age of the youngest child in the home were used as indicators of the level of family responsibilities. While it is clear that family responsibilities are associated with a range of factors, including, but not limited to, the presence of children in the home (Boyar, 2003), for the purposes of this study, those with children in the home were viewed as having family responsibilities, whereas those with no children at home were viewed as not having family responsibilities. Furthermore, those with more children (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, & Schmidt, 2008) or younger children in the home (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Osherson & Dill, 1983; Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980; Young & Wallace, 2009) were viewed as having higher levels of family responsibilities than those with fewer or older children in the home and considerably more than those with no children in the home.

Objective career success was operationalized as the Latina attorneys' position within their law firm hierarchy (Equity Partner, Non-Equity Partner, or Associate/Counsel/Of Counsel/Special Counsel) and also their self-reported 2008 gross salary. Since objective career

success is often associated with hierarchical level within an organization and level of income (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Heslin, 2005; Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; Seibert et al., 2001), those with higher positional levels in their law firms (i.e., Equity Partner) and those with higher gross salaries were viewed as having higher levels of objective career success.

Subjective career success was operationalized as the degree to which the Latina attorneys were satisfied with their career experiences in the legal profession. Those with higher levels of career satisfaction in the legal profession were viewed as having higher levels of subjective career success. This study also examined how the existence and level of family responsibilities were related to the Latina attorneys' objective career success and how the existence or not of family responsibilities was related to their subjective career success.

Finally, to examine how variables related to their cultural identity influenced these relationships, this study considered the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the United States as a potential moderator in these relationships. Acculturation level was operationalized as the Latina attorneys' immigration level in the United States and also their degree of English language dominance. First generation immigrants were defined as those born outside of the United States to foreign born parents. Second generation immigrants were born in the United States to at least one foreign born parent. Finally, third or later generation immigrants were born in the United States to United States born parents. Latina attorneys of later immigration levels (i.e., third generation or later) were viewed as being more acculturated to the dominant Anglo culture.

Furthermore, level of English language dominance ascertains the degree to which the Latina attorneys consider English to be their first and primary language. Latina attorneys who

consider English to be their first and primary language were also viewed as being more acculturated to the United States than those who are equally bilingual in English and Spanish, and even more so than individuals who consider Spanish to be their first and primary language.

### **Rationale**

There is a significant amount of research that has examined the relationship between family responsibilities and negative career outcomes (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Almeida, McDonald, & Grzywacz, 2002; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; M. R. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a; Hammer, Bauer, & Grandey, 2003). However, the majority of this research has been conducted on White populations (Casper, Bordeaux, Eby, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007; Powell, Francesco, & Ling, 2009; Spector et al., 2004; Wade-Golden, 2006). As such, little is known about the relationship between family responsibilities and its career-related consequences with ethnic minorities, especially Latina/os (DelCampo, Rogers, & Hinrichs, 2010; Duran & DelCampo, 2010; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Muñiz, 2010). To that end, this study's focus on Latina attorneys as the target population, as well as consideration of how cultural variables may influence the relationships between family responsibilities and career success outcomes, responds to the need for additional research on samples of ethnic and racial minorities in both the career development, as well as the work-family interface literature.

This study also adds to the body of knowledge regarding the career-related barriers and supports for women of color in the legal profession, especially as it relates to the vastly understudied population of Latina attorneys. Within the legal profession specifically, there is some evidence of the negative relationship between women's family responsibilities and career outcomes (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Epstein, 1993; Epstein et al., 1999; Harrington & Hsi, 2007; M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; J. Williams, 2000; Young & Wallace, 2009). Likewise,

reports of challenges associated with combining work and family are also chronicled in studies of women attorneys of color (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; Bagati, 2009), and even more specifically with Black female attorneys (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Reeves, 2001). However, notwithstanding the substantial interest on this topic of inquiry, there is little research that has focused on the unique issues and barriers to career success for Latina lawyers in particular (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Ebben & Gaier, 1998; Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008), and none that have specifically examined how Latina attorneys' family responsibilities are actually related to their career success in law firms or how aspects of their cultural identity may moderate these relationships.

More directly, this study builds on the initial findings by Cruz and Molina (2010) to “provide an even finer-grained analysis of the issues and barriers uncovered in [their] Study, and to examine and test its conclusions” (p. 50). Furthermore, as reflected in Cruz et al.'s (2010) recommendation for future research, this study also addressed the need to identify variables that may account for the paradoxical findings from the two Hispanic National Bar Association (HNBA) Commission Studies (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010), which found that Latina attorneys across the legal profession were relatively satisfied with their legal careers despite experiencing lower levels of objective career success.

### **Research Questions**

This study was guided by an overriding research question: What, if any, relationships exist between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firms and does their level of acculturation to the United States moderate these relationships? To answer this study's primary research question, the following sub-research questions were examined:

1. What are the relationships between the level and existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success in law firm environments?
2. What is the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success in law firm environments?
3. Does acculturation level moderate the relationships between the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success?
4. Does acculturation level moderate the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success in law firm environments?
5. What is the relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in law firm environments?

### **Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study is that it extended the initial findings of Cruz and Molina (2010) by providing a more finely-grained analysis of how Latina attorneys' family responsibilities were actually related to different aspects of their career success. Furthermore, given the relative scarcity of research on the Latina/o professionals in the United States, this study contributed to the body of knowledge on research in the career development and work-family interface arena through application of related theories to more culturally diverse populations, including the understudied population of Latina attorneys in the legal profession.

This study also responds to the call from Powell, Francesco and Ling (2009) to incorporate cultural dimensions into theories about the work-family interface, including both work-family conflict, as well as the lesser known construct of work-family facilitation, to make them more culturally sensitive. Furthermore, DelCampo, Rogers, and Hinrichs (2010) cited the

limited amount of extant research on Hispanic professionals and demonstrated the need for future research to evaluate the moderating role of the Hispanic cultural identity with respect to other organizational criteria. To that end, this study provided unique insight on how aspects of Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success may be differently affected by cultural influences, especially those related to their acculturation level.

Given the apparent and growing disparity between the Latina representation in the country as compared to their representation in leadership roles in private practice, these findings can help legal, business, and educational institutions and its decision-makers to better understand and address those factors that are positively and negatively related to Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success within these environments. Through this knowledge, it is hoped that more effective strategies can be developed to help Latina attorneys who have or anticipate having family responsibilities in the future, to better achieve successful careers and advance to leadership roles within these environments.

### **Definition of Terms**

*African American or Black.* A person living in the United States with ancestral origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

*American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession.* A division of the American Bar Association that serves as the national voice for women lawyers in the United States. This Commission ensures that women lawyers have equal opportunities for professional growth and advancement within the legal profession (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, n.d.).

***Asian American.*** A person living in the United States having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

***Attorneys of Color.*** The term “of color” is an umbrella term used in the study of women of color in law firms by the American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession (2006b) for non-White women and men including those who are Latina/o, African-American (Black), Asian-American, Native American, or Multiracial.

***Chicana.*** Mexican American women born in the United States (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Chicanas are a subset of the larger Latina population.

***Cultural Identity.*** Thyer, Wodarski, and Myers (2010) define cultural identity as a multidimensional construct that is a result of ethnic socialization and acculturation processes. It is influenced by one’s ethnic identity and refers to the inner opinions and features that are characteristic of the particular group (e.g., Latina) and what being [Latina] implies in terms of its values, behaviors and norms.

***Ethnicity.*** A categorization of a group of people based on national origin, ancestry, language, or other cultural characteristics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

***Family Responsibilities.*** The obligation to care for others who are either formally or informally sanctioned family members to include a spouse, significant other, parent(s), siblings, and children (Boyar, Maertz Jr., Pearson, & Keough, 2003).

***Glass Ceiling.*** Attitudinal or organizational barriers that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management-level positions (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991).

***Hispanic or Hispanic Americans.*** The federal government defines Hispanic or Latino as a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (U.S. Bureau of the Census, February 2007). While the term Hispanic Americans and the various forms of “Latina,” “Latino,” and “Latina/o” are often used interchangeably, for the purposes of this study, the term “Hispanic” is used to refer specifically to women and men who self-identify as being of Spanish or European rather than Latin American origins. The term “Hispanic” is maintained in this study when referring to studies or resources that specifically used this term.

***Hispanic National Bar Association.*** A nonprofit professional association that serves as the voice and interests of the 25,000 Hispanic American attorneys, judges, law professors, and law students in the United States and Puerto Rico (Hispanic National Bar Association, n.d.).

***Latina.*** For the purposes of this study, the term “Latina” is used to refer specifically to the women who self-identify as being of Latin American rather than Spanish or European descent, including, but not limited to, Central America, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South America.

***Latina Attorneys.*** For the purposes of this study, Latina attorneys are defined as licensed United States female attorneys who self-identify as being of Latin American descent. This includes those Latina attorneys who immigrated to the United States directly or whose ancestors, including parents(s), grandparent(s), or great-grandparent(s) immigrated previously.

***Latino.*** The federal government defines Latino as a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (U.S. Bureau of the Census, February 2007). While the terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” are sometimes used interchangeably, for the purposes of this study, the term “Latino” is used to refer

specifically to the men who self-identify as being of Latin American rather than Spanish or European descent, including, but not limited to, Central America, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South America.

***Latina/o(s).*** The aggregate of males and females who self-identify as being of Latin American descent. For the purposes of this study, the term “Latina/o(s)” is used to refer specifically to the collective of men and women who self-identify as being of Latin American rather than Spanish or European descent, including, but not limited to, Central America, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South America.

***Race.*** A categorization of human being based on biological and physical characteristics such as skin color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

***White.*** A person of a Caucasian race having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. (United States Census Bureau, 2000).

### **Assumptions and Limitations**

There are certain assumptions that must be made transparent to the reader of this dissertation. The data used in this study were based on secondary data from the survey portion of a dataset provided by the Hispanic National Bar Association in the first HNBA Commission Study by Cruz and Molina (2010). One major limitation of this study is that the findings cannot be generalized beyond the current sample because of the non-random nature of the sampling procedure from which these data were derived.

Furthermore, the population of Latina attorneys in the United States is largely unknown (Cruz & Molina, 2010). Therefore, the data examined in this study were based on survey responses from only those Latina attorneys who were members of the HNBA and its affiliate bar associations from 2008-2009. While Cruz and Molina (2010) indicated that this sample frame is

a logical proxy to represent the larger Latina attorney population, they also acknowledged that they cannot conclude that it is actually representative of this larger population.

Finally, due to the self-reported nature of survey data, it is assumed that the information provided by the Latina attorneys who participated in the HNBA Commission survey from which the data for this study were derived provided accurate demographic and employment-related data about themselves and their professional roles. It is also assumed that the Latina attorneys responded truthfully about their level of career satisfaction in the legal profession.

### **Nature of the Study**

The nature of this study was confirmatory in nature; therefore, it employed a quantitative methodological approach to more closely examine the relationships between the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in private practice law firms, as well as the moderating influence of their acculturation level. To that end, this study analyzed secondary data provided by the HNBA in their first HNBA Commission Study of the status and experiences of Latina attorneys in the legal profession by Cruz and Molina (2010) to provide a finer-grained analysis and test of these relationships.

### **Organization of the Remainder of the Study**

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature to provide additional insight into how family responsibilities may be negatively and/or positively related to the objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in private practice law firms and how their level of acculturation to the United States may moderate these relationships. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research methodology used in this study, including the theoretical framework, research design, population and sample, data source and description, research questions and hypotheses, data analysis procedures, validity and reliability of the data, and ethical considerations for this

research study. Chapter 4 presents summary statistics about the sample respondents, as well as the results of the data analysis for the hypothesis testing. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a summary and discussion of the study's research findings, including the study's conclusions, limitations, and opportunities for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Introduction**

Latina attorneys face several gender-related barriers and supports to their career success in the legal profession (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010; Ebben & Gaier, 1998; Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008). However, little is known about the relationships between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their actual career success in law firm environments or how aspects of their cultural identity may influence these relationships. For those employed in private practice law firms, family responsibilities may contribute to work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping, which, in turn, may be negatively related to aspects of their objective career success, including their hierarchical level within their law firm and their compensation. In addition, those Latina attorneys who more closely identify with traditional Latino/a values and norms may experience increased work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping due to the centrality of the family domain within collectivist cultures and culturally prescribed norms regarding the salience of female gender roles.

While family responsibilities may be negatively related to objective career success in this way, it may also contribute to work-family facilitation, which may result in increased career satisfaction for women attorneys in particular. Furthermore, for those Latina attorneys who more closely identify with traditional Latina/o cultural values, there is recent theoretical evidence that adherence to collectivist values associated with the integration of work and family roles may attenuate the negative impact of work-family conflict on job-related satisfaction (DelCampo et al., 2010).

Taken together, these findings suggest that while family responsibilities may be negatively related to objective aspects of career success for Latina attorneys, they may

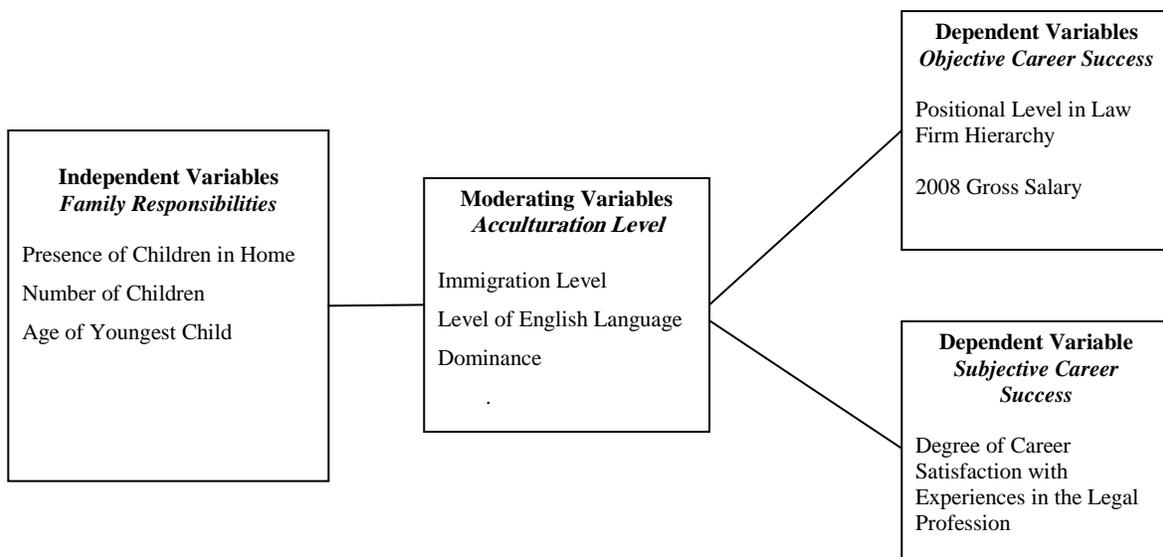
simultaneously increase aspects of Latina attorneys' career satisfaction, especially for those who maintain a strong identification with their Latina/o cultural heritage. In this light, family responsibilities may also partially account for the paradoxical relationship between the Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career found in previous studies of Latina attorneys across the legal profession (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010).

This chapter reviews the literature pertaining to the relationship between family responsibilities and Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success in law firm environments and how their degree of identification with Latina/o norms and values may moderate these relationships. This includes a review of gender-related barriers for Latina and other women attorneys, with primary focus on those related to family responsibilities. The chapter also provides a theoretical discussion of work-family conflict, as well as the lesser known concept of work-family facilitation, and how these constructs relate both positively and negatively to both objective and subjective career success. Since the Latina attorneys' degree of adherence to their traditional cultural norms and values may influence these relationships, this review will explore the construct of acculturation as a potential moderator of the relationships between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments.

### **Conceptual Framework**

In the examination of the relationships between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success, the conceptual framework that guided this study is illustrated in Figure 1. The independent variables related to family responsibilities included those associated with the presence of children in home, number of children in the home, and also the age of the youngest child in the home. The dependent variables related to the Latina

attorneys' objective career success were the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firm hierarchy and also their 2008 gross salary. The dependent variable of subjective career success was the Latina attorneys' degree of career satisfaction with their experiences in the legal profession. Finally, the moderating variables related to acculturation level were the Latina attorneys' immigration level and degree of English language dominance.



**Figure 1.** Conceptual framework of the relationship between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firms

## **Barriers to Latina Attorneys' Career Success**

Until the 1970s, most large law firms in the United States maintained pervasive gender, ethnic, racial, and even religious barriers that all but limited its access to male, Caucasian, and Protestant lawyers (Garth & Sterling, 2009; Heinz, Nelson, & Laumann, 2001). As the United States workforce became more diverse, the social organization of the practicing bar changed and witnessed the increased proportion of racially and ethnically diverse women entering its ranks. In certain respects, many of these women have made noteworthy inroads in the legal profession by overcoming systematic exclusion and explicit discrimination (Wald, 2010). Furthermore, some women have even broken the glass ceiling into the pinnacle of law firm achievement - firm partnership - an area once considered to be the exclusive domain of men (Epstein, 1993).

While some feminists once anticipated that the proliferation of women entering the legal profession would create a catalyst for these institutions to modify their structures and policies (Schwartz, 1992), it appears that law firms, in particular, have thus far failed to respond to this call, in that many of these same barriers persist to counter the full representation and professional success of female lawyers within private practice (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006a; Rhode, 2001). This is evident in that while half of all law school graduates are women (American Bar Association, 2009), only 19.21% are currently advancing to the level of law firm partnership (National Association of Legal Placement, 2009) and there is empirical evidence of a statistical gender gap in law firm compensation (Angel et al., 2010; Scharf & Flom, 2010).

While the percentage of female partners and level of earnings are relatively low as compared to their male counterparts, the situation is especially discouraging for women attorneys of color. Constituting less than 2% of law firm partners (National Association of Legal

Placement, 2011), women of color continue to be the most dramatically underrepresented group at the partnership level. Furthermore, a report by the American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession (2006b) found evidence that women attorneys of color were the most disadvantaged in terms of law firm compensation as compared to attorneys who are White men, White women, and men of color. However, within this larger population of women attorneys of color, one particular segment stands out as perhaps the most disadvantaged overall – Latina attorneys.

Latinas are members of the largest and fastest growing racioethnic minority group in the United States, constituting 7.45% of the total population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 2010), yet comprise only 1.04% of the nation's lawyers (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). While Latinas are woefully underrepresented across the legal profession, this is especially evident within the largest of these sectors – private practice law firms where 74% of all attorneys are employed (American Bar Association, 2009). Within law firms, Latinas constitute a mere 0.44% of partners, and 1.94% of associates (National Association of Legal Placement, 2011). While this representation is considerably less than any other reported majority or minority group, it is especially egregious when compared to their actual presence in the United States population. Furthermore, there is evidence that Latina attorneys in law firms are poorly represented in leadership roles and may have disproportionately lower compensation levels as compared to their non-Latina counterparts (Cruz & Molina, 2010).

The pronounced lack of Latina attorneys in senior level roles and relatively lower compensation levels within law firm settings is particularly troublesome and demands deeper attention to identify the unique barriers that detract from or contribute to success for this unique population of women of color within the legal profession. Within the context of law firms,

partnership and its associated income is the mark of success and remains one of the most rewarding and desirable statuses because firm partners often own equity in the firm, have enhanced earnings, participate in firm governance, and enjoy considerable autonomy and job security (Galanter & Palay, 1991; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Kay & Gorman, 2008). As such, their current underrepresentation among firm partnership and its associated earnings suggests that as women of color, Latina attorneys encounter significant barriers that impede their career success.

### **Barriers for Women Attorneys**

Just as Kanter's (1993) landmark work, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, set the foundation for research on women's roles and challenges in corporations, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein's ([1981] 1993) seminal contribution to the legal profession, *Women in the Law*, broke ground on the status of women attorneys and is considered to be one of the first sources to document the barriers they encounter in the legal profession. In this source, Epstein argues that, apart from the recognition that women have made significant inroads into the legal profession, they still encounter a "glass ceiling" in reaching the most coveted senior positions due to "cultural and social factors that prevent women from intruding on the domains men claim as their own" (p. 462).

Indeed, there have been a plethora of legal reports and scholarly research that point to overt and subtle forms of gender discrimination as a key challenge to women attorneys' full participation and success within the legal profession, and especially within the context of law firms. Specifically, there is evidence of gender discrimination in law firms with respect to compensation (Angel et al., 2010; Scharf & Flom, 2010; Wilder, 2007), promotion to partnership (Gorman, 2006; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Scharf & Flom, 2010; Spurr, 1990), attorney retention (Payne-Pikus, Hagan, & Nelson, 2010; Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia,

2006), and even sexual harassment (Korzec, 2000; Laband & Lentz, 1998; Reeves, 2001).

However, while explicit gender discrimination was once viewed as the primary culprit to women attorneys' progress, legal scholar Deborah Rhode (2001) concluded in a report for the American Bar Association (ABA) that women in the legal profession remain underrepresented at the highest levels of status, influence, and economic rewards not due to overt discrimination, but rather "due to unconscious stereotypes, inadequate access to support networks, inflexible workplace structures, sexual harassment, and bias in the justice system" (p. 5).

Much of the related research and literature published during the past decade has documented similar barriers to women attorneys' careers (Boyer et al., 2009; Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006; Scharf & Flom, 2010; Wilder, 2007). However, increasingly, one of the most cited barriers for women attorneys is the conflict between work needs and family responsibilities, as well as gender stereotyping and bias toward those who assume these roles (Buonocore Porter, 2006; Epstein et al., 1999; Harrington & Hsi, 2007; Kay & Gorman, 2008; Rikleen, 2006; Stanford, 2009; J. C. Williams, Bornstein, Reddy, & Williams, 2007; Young & Wallace, 2009).

This sentiment is also reflected in Epstein's ([1981] 1993) initial findings that while there continues to be residual discriminatory practices in the legal establishment, women attorneys' career progress continues to be thwarted by more insidious barriers, such as sex-stereotyping and difficulties related to the integration of work and family life. In fact, nearly twenty-five years after Epstein first offered this opinion, the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession (2006a) in their status report on women attorneys' progress found that albeit incremental advances for women attorneys on the whole, gender stereotypes and work-life balance issues appear to be chronic issues that continue to hinder gender equity in the legal profession.

Just as *Women in the Law* is considered one of the first sources to document women attorneys' barriers in the law, *The Part-Time Paradox* (1999) co-authored by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and her associates is considered the first book to explore work and life issues in the legal profession. Drawing on interviews with 125 full-time and part-time attorneys in private law firms, corporate law departments, and government agencies, Epstein et al.'s (1999) qualitative study explored how the tension between the time demands required by careers in the legal profession conflict with the demands of family life. This conflict contributes toward a trade-off between professional status and flexibility. In particular, their study found that women attorneys who pursue part-time or alternative schedule arrangements due to child care needs are often viewed as "time deviants" because the "long hours of work and visibility of effort have symbolic meaning, and serve as proxies for commitment and excellence" (p. 136). While this study was not specific to law firms per se, it documented how those who work in private practice are more disparately impacted because of the competitive nature of this legal sector.

Building on Epstein et al.'s (1999) findings, subsequent research on barriers related to work and family in the legal profession has centered more specifically on the experiences of attorneys in law firms (Williams, 2007). There is a selection of research that demonstrates how women attorneys with family care responsibilities are not promoted to partnership because they are more likely to reduce working hours or interrupt their legal careers due to their competing role demands. This is reflected in the finding from Harrington and Hsi (2007), which finds that women attorneys' lack of advancement to partnership is due to the "difficulty in combining law firm work and caring for children in a system that requires long hours under high pressure with little or inconsistent support for flexible work arrangements" (p. 4). The authors found that many who reduce working hours (i.e., part-time arrangements) to solve their time conflicts were less

likely to be promoted and more likely to leave firm practice. Consistent with this finding, in an analysis of the impact of gender on the attorney careers using the University of Michigan Law School Alumni Data Set, Dau-Schmidt et al. (2009) found that women who “do childcare” suffer a disadvantage with respect to becoming partner in law firms because they were more likely than men to take time away from their work roles.

While these studies do provide some empirical evidence of the negative relationship between female attorneys’ family responsibilities and law firm advancement, the relationship between family responsibilities and compensation is not as clear. Noonan and Corcoran (2004) found that controlling for labor supply, mothers had the same early attrition rates, promotion rates, and earnings as did childless women. Furthermore, Dau-Schmidt and colleagues (2009) also found that while there was a significant gender gap in compensation for Michigan University Alumni, most of this could be accounted for by women who have “done childcare” and was most likely due to the differences in hours worked and acquired assets between the men and women in their study. Moreover, in a study of gender differences among Canadian lawyers, Young and Wallace (2009) found that, while women attorneys in their sample focused more on family care and men on their legal careers, surprisingly, there were no gender differences in salary for those who were similarly productive. It was explained that perhaps women attorneys in their study were more efficient or sacrificed personal time to combine family responsibilities and work requirements.

While these studies do provide support that compensation levels are not necessarily adversely affected by family responsibilities for those women attorneys who are similarly productive, they do point to evidence that family responsibilities may indirectly affect women

attorneys' compensation levels due to reductions in work-force engagement or productivity as a result of their family roles.

### **Barriers for Women Attorneys of Color**

Given the changing demographic landscape of the legal profession with the significant proportion of women and racioethnic minorities entering its ranks, there has been increased interest on the barriers faced by women who are racially and ethnically diverse. This is reflected in Rhode's (2001) statement that for women in the legal profession, "the greatest challenges have generally occurred across race and ethnicity" (p. 32). Furthermore, in the status report issued by the ABA's Commission on Women in the Profession (2006a), it was suggested that while women attorneys still face significant gender-related barriers to their professional success, this is especially apparent for women attorneys of color.

An outgrowth of the American Bar Association's interest in examining the unique experiences of women of color within the context of law firms resulted in a landmark report published by the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession that same year entitled, *Visible Invisibility: Women of Color in Law Firms* (2006b). This mixed-method study centered its focus on aggregated experiences of women attorneys of color in law firms with at least 25 attorneys across the United States to compare their career experiences and perceptions to those attorneys who were White men, White women, and also men of color. The survey sample included data from respondents who were African-American (60%), Asian-American (24%), Latina (10%), and Native American/Alaskan Native (1%) and multiracial (5%).<sup>1</sup>

The ABA Commission on Women in the Profession (2006b) study found that, because of their double minority status as defined by their gender and race, women attorneys of color had

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<sup>1</sup> The percentages for focus group phase were not reported.

dramatically different career experiences relative to other attorney groups. Women attorneys of color encountered exclusionary work cultures, gender and racial discrimination and stereotyping, and lacked access to networking and mentoring opportunities. Similar to other research on gender in the legal profession, women of color also appeared to struggle with the seemingly incompatible demands of their private practice law firm careers and their family responsibilities. They also reported encountering doubts from others about their career commitment after becoming a parent.

As a result of these and other experiences, the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession (2006b) study concluded that women attorneys' careers were more disadvantaged as compared to their peers. This is reflected in their findings that women attorneys of color in law firms had the lowest levels of compensation, job satisfaction, career advancement opportunities and retention rates.

On the heels of this study, *Catalyst*, in their series on women of color in professional services, also examined women attorneys of color in law firms. This study compared their experiences to White women, White men, and men of color in law firms to determine how the intersectionality of their gender and racioethnicity impacted their experiences. The *Catalyst* report, authored by Bagati (2009), largely mirrors and builds on that of the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession (2006b), which demonstrates how women of color working in law firms are uniquely disadvantaged because of the intersection of their race and gender. Similarly, their report found that women attorneys of color perceived and experienced an exclusionary work culture, felt they had to make adjustments to fit in, and were more likely to report gender and racial stereotyping. Furthermore, they lacked influential mentors or sponsors, and encountered significant problems in achieving work-family balance. The result of these

disadvantages was reflected in the finding that women attorneys of color in their study reported being dissatisfied with their career development and advancement opportunities and were more likely to harbor intentions to leave the firm.

One unique contribution of the *Catalyst* study (Bagati, 2009) to the topic of family responsibilities and attorney careers is that it provided insight on how the intersecting identities experienced by women attorneys of color pose different needs and challenges related to the demands of work and family than those typically supported by the White, male-dominated culture of their law firms. This study demonstrated how some women attorneys of color may conceptualize “family” differently from other firm members’ images to include those related to their extended family members and even their communities. In particular, this study provided an example of how one Latina attorney’s strong bond to her extended family and sense of responsibility was not well-understood by her employer.

While these studies conducted on women attorneys of color reflect the experiences of aggregated racial and ethnic attorney populations (i.e., African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American), there are still more that have focused on specific racial groups, especially female African American lawyers. For example, Reeves’ (2001) qualitative dissertation employed a phenomenological approach to explore how the intersection of race and gender impact the perceptions, observations, and experiences of 65 White and African American attorneys in large Chicago law firms.<sup>2</sup> Her study found that the intersection of race and gender had a significant impact on the study respondents’ organizational position and success within their law firms in large part because attorneys’ “Whiteness” and “maleness” constituted cultural capital in law firms. In this way, White and male attorneys were afforded greater access to

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<sup>2</sup> Sample also included one Latina and one Asian woman.

informal networks and sponsorship opportunities that contributed to their material and organizational success. However, female and African American attorneys, who by virtue of their gender and race often lacked this cultural capital, were often tokenized and exposed to greater gender and racial discrimination and harassment.

With respect to parenting roles, Reeves' (2001) study also identified how law firms make assumptions that female attorneys will leave their law firms prematurely due to the perception of role conflict related to being a parent and an attorney. She adds that this perception has a negative impact on female attorneys' ability to advance towards partnership because many firm leaders are reluctant to invest resources and time in those they believe will leave prematurely. Furthermore, this study also provided evidence that even though many firms have tried to respond to work-family needs by providing flexible work arrangements, many Black women attorneys believe choosing these options would serve as a "death knell" for their advancement as well. Given her study's focus on African American attorneys, Reeves (2001) was relatively transparent in discussing the study's limitations with respect to the transferability of her findings to other ethnic and racial minorities (e.g., Latina attorneys) and viewed her research as an important starting point in this discussion.

While Reeves' research provides a broader understanding of how the intersection of gender and race serve as barriers for female African American attorneys, Blair-Loy and Dehart's (2003) study of African American female attorneys also examined this intersection with respect to family responsibilities and career success. Using secondary survey data from 238 African American female attorneys in large United States cities who graduated from law school between 1946 and 1982, their study found that the integration of career and family was mediated by race for African American attorneys. In particular, their study noted how unlike White women,

marriage and motherhood did not depress salaries for African American female attorneys. It was explained by the authors that the integration of work and family was better supported within the Black community due to a “strong work orientation, a culture of motherhood that embraces breadwinning, and marriages that were more egalitarian than in the White population” (p. 927). However, the authors acknowledged that similar to their White counterparts, the majority of African American women lawyers still found it difficult to combine the demands associated with child care with those of their elite, male-dominated careers. As such, many of the respondents sequenced their career and family trajectories to minimize the conflict between them by either postponing or avoiding motherhood altogether.

The aforementioned studies contribute to the body of knowledge of research on women attorneys of color, especially as it pertains to work and family, by illustrating how female attorneys and also women attorneys of color may be disparately impacted due to barriers related to gender and race, but also how aspects of their race may positively or negatively influence the role of family responsibilities on aspects of their career success. However, as recognized by the *Catalyst* (2009) study, women of color are by no means a monolithic group. As such, a significant limitation of these studies is that the experiences of Black women attorneys (Blair-Loy & Dehart, 2003; Reeves, 2001) or even aggregated women attorneys of color (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; Bagati, 2009) do not necessarily reflect the unique experiences and barriers encountered by members of other racioethnic groups, in particular Latina attorneys.

### **Barriers for Latina Attorneys**

There has been very limited empirical research conducted on the unique experiences and obstacles confronted by Latina attorneys in the legal profession. Several qualitative studies have

attempted to fill this research gap by exploring the perceptions and experiences of a small number of Chicana, or Mexican-American women, attorneys in the legal profession. Ebben and Gaier (1998) were two of the first authors to explore the experiences of this particular subset of Latina attorneys through the use of narrative study to uncover the voices of three successful Chicana attorneys in Texas who have achieved leadership roles in different sectors of the legal profession. Similar to Burleigh's (1988) historical account of Black women attorneys' experience of "dual discrimination" due to gender and *race*, these authors found that as ethnically diverse women, Latina attorneys face "double oppression" as a result of their gender and *ethnicity*.

Ebben and Gaier (1998) chronicled how in law school and within their legal workplaces, Latinas often confront explicit and implicit gender and ethnic bias and discrimination and stereotyping. These experiences encouraged many Latina attorneys in their study to downplay their ethnic identity and also contributed to their belief that they must work harder to achieve parity with their White, male counterparts. Furthermore, the study found that all three of the Latina attorneys interviewed in their study struggled with the difficulty in reconciling conflicts between expectations of their workplaces and aspects of their Latina heritage and identity, which emphasizes motherhood and family.

More recently, a qualitative analysis of 15 successful Chicana attorneys as interpreted jointly by Garcia-Lopez and Segura (2008) and also individually by Garcia-Lopez (2008), further demonstrated how male-dominated law firm structures, interactions and dynamics reinforce racially gendered "borders" for Latina attorneys that serve to limit their career success. Garcia-Lopez' (2008) interpretation finds that Chicana attorneys' status as "others," "foreigners," and "tokens" contributes to inhospitable workplaces and serves to limit their

opportunities for advancement. In particular, she argues that these and other barriers related to the intersection of their race-ethnicity, gender, class, and even sexuality “leads to pay disparities and discrimination for Chicana [attorneys] climbing up the corporate ladder” (2008, p. 599). Similarly, Garcia-Lopez and Segura (2008) recognize that Chicana attorneys are in a profession where “White heterosexual masculinities define success, [which] does not support women’s reproductive abilities, choices, and desires” (p. 232).

Irrespective of these barriers, these studies also provide evidence that Chicana attorneys broaden traditional definitions of career success beyond prototypical monetary ambitions and goals to include more subjective considerations. Specifically, Garcia-Lopez (2008) observes how despite, or perhaps because of their experiences of gender and racial-ethnic inequality, Chicana attorneys operationalized career success and satisfaction in the legal profession in terms of their ability to help others in their community, as well as the ability to balance the responsibilities of career and family life. Furthermore, Garcia-Lopez and Segura (2008) argue that Chicana attorneys are expected to privilege their roles as mothers and as such, achievement and success may be measured more so by the contributions made to the family.

These studies provide important insight into the gender and racioethnic barriers encountered by some Latina attorneys in the legal profession, as well as how aspects of their cultural identity, especially as it relates to their role as mothers, may uniquely influence their experiences and perceptions of career success. However, while these studies are clearly a step in the right direction in terms of the need to increase the body of empirical research on the Latina attorney population in the United States, they are of limited scope and scale, focusing only on a very discreet segment of the Latina population (i.e., Chicana or Mexican-American attorneys)

and not necessarily reflective of the professional experiences and perceptions of the broader and more heterogeneous Latina attorney population across the United States.

In an attempt to further close this research gap, the Hispanic National Bar Association's Commission on the Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession (HNBA Commission) commissioned a national study on Latina attorneys working within the United States legal profession to document the demographic and professional status of Latina attorneys across the legal profession and to explore how their formative and career-related experiences contributed to their continued underrepresentation in this industry.

This landmark study, entitled *Few and Far Between: The Reality of Latina Lawyers*, by Jill Lynch Cruz and Professor Melinda S. Molina (2010) gathered data on 664 Latina attorneys from across the United States who were employed in a variety of legal sectors; however, the largest proportion of participants were employed in private practice law firms. This HNBA Commission Study shed light on the current status of Latina attorneys and also provided insight into the key factors impeding Latinas' entry, retention, and advancement within the legal profession. This mixed-method study found evidence that Latina attorneys in law firms are poorly represented in the most senior levels and may have disproportionately lower compensation levels as compared to their non-Latina counterparts (Cruz & Molina, 2010). Notwithstanding their apparently low levels of traditionally defined career success, this study found that Latinas across the legal profession have relatively high levels of career satisfaction (Cruz & Molina, 2010).

On the heels of this broad-based study, the HNBA Commission published a subsequent report entitled *La Voz de la Abogada Latina: Challenges and Rewards in Serving the Public Interest* by Jill Lynch Cruz, Professor Melinda S. Molina, and Professor Jenny Rivera (2010).

While this report focused more narrowly on the status and experiences of Latina attorneys employed in the public interest sector of the legal profession, these authors also found that, similar to their cohorts in the first HNBA Commission Study, the Latina attorneys serving the public interest were relatively satisfied with their career experiences despite the finding that they were not well represented in leadership roles and earned relatively low wages.

In terms of the barriers they encounter, Cruz and Molina (2010) found that Latina attorneys' careers are negatively impacted by a "multi-layered glass ceiling" based on the intersectionality of their gender, ethnicity, and race that act as a triple threat to career success. Previous research on Latina attorney samples does consider how Latina attorneys confront "double oppression" based on their gender and ethnicity (Ebben & Gaier, 1998); however, Cruz and Molina (2010) offer a significant implication for considering Latina attorneys' gender, ethnicity, and race as three separate, yet intersecting constructs that work together to contribute to the barriers these women encounter.

Cruz and Molina (2010) identified gender-related barriers as having the greatest negative impact on the Latina attorneys' legal careers; however, they were intertwined with aspects of their ethnicity and sometimes race as well. With respect to family responsibilities, these authors reported that regardless of their actual family status, the survey participants from their study believed that having significant family responsibilities to be a significant barrier to Latina attorneys' advancement in the legal profession. While the majority of participants held this perception, the relationships between the participants' family responsibilities and aspects of career success associated with career advancement, including their actual position and compensation, were not examined directly, nor did this study focus specifically on Latina attorneys in law firm environments.

The aforementioned literature on women's barriers in the law underscores how family responsibilities may pose a significant gender-related barrier to career success for women attorneys, women attorneys of color, and even Latina attorneys working within law firm environments. However, there is little empirical research that has examined the actual relationship between family responsibilities and women attorney's career success in law firms, especially for more diverse samples. For example, while there is some evidence of the negative relationship between family responsibilities and promotion to partnership for women attorneys (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Harrington & Hsi, 2007), it may not necessarily have a negative effect on female attorneys' wages for some populations (M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; Young & Wallace, 2009).

Furthermore, the relationship between family responsibilities and female attorneys' career satisfaction is equivocal as well, especially for Latina attorneys who despite lower levels of objective career success are relatively satisfied with their careers (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). This is also reflected in research that illustrates how Latina attorneys appear to broaden definitions of career success beyond traditional monetary and status considerations to include those related to family roles (Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008).

These paradoxical findings suggest the need to more closely examine how Latina attorneys' family responsibilities may conflict with or facilitate their work-related roles and how this may be related to aspects of their career success. To that end, this research fills the gap in previous literature by examining the actual relationships that exist between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and different aspects of their career success in law firm environments.

## **The Negative Relationship between Family Responsibilities and Women Attorneys' Career Success in Law Firms**

The increased participation of women in the labor force since the 1970's has precipitated considerable research interest in how individuals effectively manage their work and family lives. The majority has focused on the conflict that ensues as a result of their multiple and conflicting demands (Aryee, Srinivas, & Tan, 2005). As such, this section will focus on how the demands of family roles coupled with the professional ideology and norms that prevail in private practice law firms may contribute to actual or perceived work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping for women attorneys with family responsibilities.

### **Work-Family Conflict**

The field of work-family conflict has been dominated by role theory (Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Poelmans, 2005), which was originated by Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal (1964) and has served as the dominant foundation for subsequent research in the field. In accordance with role theory, inter-role conflict occurs when role pressures from membership in one group are in conflict with membership in other groups, which can contribute to negative consequences such as psychological and organizational stress (Kahn et al., 1964).

Using role conflict theory as their framework, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) in their seminal review of the sources of conflict between work and family roles define work-family conflict theory more specifically as:

a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect... [whereby] participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role. (p. 77)

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) posit that work-family conflict is due to either time-based, strain-based, or behavioral-based role characteristics of the work (family) role that conflict with one another. In this way, time, strain, or behaviors in the work (family) role make it difficult to participate in the other role. Therefore, individuals with both high family and work involvement have been found to experience higher levels of work-family conflict. According to Powell et al. (2009), this definition implies that individuals have limited amounts of time and energy and the draining effect of each respective role contributes to stress and inter-role conflict.

While earlier studies tended to conceptualize the work-family interface as a one-dimensional construct of work interfering with family, Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992a) extended prior research by simultaneously considering the bidirectional nature of work-family conflict to distinguish between work interfering with family (WIF) and family interfering with work (FIW). They were found to be positively correlated (M. R. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992b); however, they are two conceptually different constructs that have unique antecedents and consequences (Byron, 2005; M. R. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrin, 1996). Therefore, work-family conflict can result from stressors emanating from either or both the family and work roles. In a meta-analytic review of the antecedents of work-family conflict, Byron (2005) found that nonwork factors were more strongly related to FIW conflict and work factors more strongly related to WIF conflict.

### **Family Responsibilities and Work Family Conflict**

Family responsibility is defined by Boyar et al. (2003) as the “obligation to care for others who are either formally or informally sanctioned family members” (p. 179) to include a spouse, significant other, parent(s), siblings, and children. Research has demonstrated that high

levels of family responsibility can result in experiences and perceptions of work-family conflict because family involvement is likely to generate internal pressure to invest time and energy to fulfill family demands, which may reduce the time and effort an individual is available to devote to the work role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Parasuraman & Simmers, 2001). In particular, the presence of children in the home greatly increases the time demands of the family role (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; Voydanoff, 1988).

**Parental demands.** According to Ballout (2008), level of parental demand is best conceptualized and measured by the number and age of children living with a family. It has been well documented that increased work-family conflict is associated with caring for children (Byron, 2005; M. R. Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Pleck et al., 1980; Voydanoff, 1988), especially young children (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Osherson & Dill, 1983; Pleck et al., 1980; Young & Wallace, 2009) or multiple children (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Mayrhofer et al., 2008). While parental demands are often associated with non-directional work-family conflict, Ballout (2008) specifically noted that younger children and larger families are important predictors of FIW conflict as well. Furthermore, since children place heavier time and energy demands on the family role, parents with young children and parents of larger families are more likely to experience work-family conflict than non-parents (M. R. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a; M. R. Frone et al., 1997; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

In addition to the time and energy demands of childcare, parenthood can be psychologically absorbing as well, especially for mothers. Blair-Loy (2003) underscores how the schema of “women’s devotion to the family trumps all other commitments” and reinforces that “their primary duty lies in giving their children absorbing and time-consuming care” (p. 52).

Furthermore, Eagly and Carli (2007) note how the ideology of intense parenting reinforces how motherhood should be selfless and emotionally absorbing in order to facilitate healthy child development. These authors point to evidence suggesting that parenting pressure is also most intense for mothers who have the most career potential. This is because highly educated women tend to be more critical of their parenting; therefore, they are likely to spend more time with their children than less educated counterparts.

**Gender influences.** It is suggested that there are gender differences in experiences of work-family conflict due to social role differences between men and women (Ballout, 2008; Pleck, 1977). Eagly's (1987) social role theory of sex differences advances how gender roles are rooted in the division of labor by sex, which assigns a disproportionate share of domestic responsibilities, including family care activities, to women. This is reflected in the finding that even with the increase in dual-career households, it appears that women, more so than men, still tend to assume the majority of traditional household and family responsibilities (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Hewlett, 2007; Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Schwartz, 1992). This same pattern applies to female attorneys as well (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Epstein, 1993; Rikleen, 2006; Young & Wallace, 2009).

Due to their socially prescribed role as family caregivers, several researchers have examined the impact of work-family conflict on gender and found evidence of a disproportionate impact on women (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Gutek et al., 1991; Kinnunen, Geurts, & Mauno, 2004). As such, female attorneys with family responsibilities may be more likely than male attorneys to experience work-family conflict. This is supported by a study conducted by the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia (2006) that found that work-family conflict issues appear to negatively impact women attorneys more than their male counterparts.

## **Gender-Related Stereotyping**

In addition to the influence of gender roles on women's experiences of work-family conflict, they also contribute to gender-related stereotypes about working mothers that lead to biased perceptions about their attitudes toward work and family (King, 2006). Eagly's (1987) social role theory suggests that gender roles are closely linked with gender stereotypes, which are overgeneralized beliefs of individuals based on their membership to a particular social category. In this way, gender roles will contribute to specific expectations and stereotypes about mothers' involvement and commitment to the family role over the work role. Women are typically viewed from a nonwork, caregiving vantage point, so their nonwork demands are even more salient to workplace colleagues (J. M. Hoobler, Hu, & Wilson, 2010). As such, regardless of their actual experiences of role conflict, some women may still be perceived by others as experiencing work-family conflict and therefore mismatched or less committed to their work-related roles (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; J. M. Hoobler, Wayne, & Lemmon, 2009; King, 2006; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; Rhode, 2003).

There is some support for the existence of gender stereotypes toward working mothers in non-attorney samples. In her dissertation study of bias on the advancement of working mothers, King (2006) provides evidence that perceptions of work-family conflict influenced superiors' ratings of junior faculty's work involvement, commitment, and flexibility, which partially explained the relationship between parent gender and advancement. Similarly, Hoobler and colleagues' (2009) research found that women in their study with family responsibilities were more likely than men to be perceived by supervisors as experiencing conflict between the family and work domains. This "family-work conflict bias" resulted in lower performance ratings and fewer promotion opportunities for these women. These findings suggest that socially prescribed

gender roles may contribute to actual and perceived work-family conflict for women attorneys because of actual role conflict between the work and family domains, as well as gender-related stereotypes about their involvement and commitment to the family domain.

### **Work Demands and Work Family Conflict**

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) identified time-based conflict as a primary source of work-family conflict and concluded that work domain factors, such as hours worked per week and the level of inflexibility of the work schedule, were both positively related to the amount of work-family conflict experienced. Others researchers have also found that working long hours are a direct precursor to work-to-family conflict in that excessive time and effort at work leaves insufficient time and energy for family-related activities (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Pleck et al., 1980; Staines & Pleck, 1984; M. Valcour, 2007).

Furthermore, Beutell's (2010) recent evidence provides support for the positive relationship between work-family conflict and inflexible work schedules such that perceived control of work schedules and work schedule satisfaction moderated this relationship. This evidence suggests that law firm environments in particular may contribute to increased work-family conflict for attorneys because of prevailing professional ideology and norms that place excessive demands on attorneys' time and schedules.

**Law firm professional ideology.** Contemporary law firms today are defined by a professional ideology of "hypercompetitive meritocracy" that reflects total devotion to the firm often at the expense of attorneys' personal demands or commitments (Wald, 2010). While this professional ideology of work devotion is a symbolic dimension of American capitalism (Blair-Loy, 2003), it also fosters normative expectations to demonstrate total commitment and single-minded allegiance by firm members (Epstein et al., 1999; Wald, 2010; J. Williams, 2000). Work

devotion schemas such as these are deeply embedded in law firms' reward and promotion structures that reinforce the belief among lawyers that their commitment and hard work will ultimately be rewarded with upward mobility and financial gain (Blair-Loy, 2003).

**Time norms.** The concept of time has special significance in law firms in terms of demonstrating this work devotion. Since the primary source of revenue for law firms is attorney time (Rikleem, 2006), productivity and performance are often measured by the number of hours billed, rather than the quality of the attorneys' performance (Kordana, 1995). As such, Epstein et al. (1999) advanced how law firm cultures socialize its members to demonstrate value to the firm and their careers by putting in excessively long hours. In this way, time norms serve as proxies for attributes that are harder to measure for attorneys, namely, their level of dedication and excellence to the client and the firm (Epstein et al., 1999; J. C. Williams, 2007).

Because of these excessive time demands, law firm lawyers are distinct from attorneys in other types of law settings, including in-house counsel and government lawyers, and most other professionals, because attorneys who work in these settings are usually expected to meet an extremely high quota of billable hours (Young & Wallace, 2009). For example, the billable hour requirement reported by most law firms has ranged between 1,900 to 2,100 hours a year (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia, 2006).<sup>3</sup> However, there are some reports that attorneys are expected to reach targets as high as 2400 hours a year (J. E. Wallace, 2006). Rikleem (2006) provides an example of how a conservative estimate of a 2,000 annual billable requirement requires lawyers to work at least 10 hours a day, six days a week. There is also some indication that law firms in the United States may be enforcing even more demanding billable-hour

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<sup>3</sup> A recent report by the National Association of Legal Placement (NALP, 2009) finds that while a requirement of 2,000 billable hours per year may be true in the aggregate, it is not necessarily true for individual firms.

requirements in recent years as a response to the economic downturn and increased competition (Wald, 2010).

Hewlett (2007) characterizes attorney careers as an “extreme job” because of the extended workweeks, constant connectivity, unpredictability, and escalating pressures experienced by its incumbents. Attorneys frequently have limited or no flexibility in their schedules due to the prevailing expectation that they should be constantly accessible and immediately available to their clients (Wald, 2010). This expectation contributes to law firm structures and cultures that reward face time and resist reduced or part-time working arrangements (Blair-Loy, 2003; Epstein et al., 1999; Rikleen, 2006; Wald, 2010). Furthermore, the traditional career model for lawyers emphasizes a linear trajectory (Reichman & Sterling, 2004) and shows a strong preference for continuous employment without interruptions due to family caregiving roles (Hewlett, 2007; Krakauer & Chen, 2003).

**The ideal worker.** According to Williams (2000), gender norms evolved around the turn of the nineteenth century to support a system of men working in factories or offices and women staying behind to care for children and the home. One characteristic of this gendered system is that market work was organized around the “ideal worker” who worked long hours and took little time off for family care. Despite the increase of women attorneys with family responsibilities into law firm environments in recent decades (Epstein et al., 1999; Rikleen, 2006), the dominant professional ideology of law firms has not changed in that legal careers and time norms are still modeled after this male-oriented ideal worker professional ideology (Wald, 2010).

As “greedy institutions,” Epstein et al. (1999) demonstrated how contemporary law firms still maintain normative expectations of nearly total commitment by its members and the

requirement that attorneys within its ranks exemplify the ideal worker who “begins employment in early adulthood and works, full time, and full force, for forty years straight, taking no time off for childbearing, child rearing, or anything else” (Williams, 2007, p. 382). However, embedded in this ideal worker ideology is the assumption that there is a spouse at home to provide care for the children and support the lawyer’s career (Kay and Gorman, 2008).

### **Negative Career Outcomes**

There is a significant amount of research that has examined the relationships between both directions of work-family conflict and negative career outcomes (Allen et al., 2000; Almeida et al., 2002; Eby et al., 2005; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; M. R. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a; Hammer et al., 2003). However, this discussion is concerned with how actual or perceived work-family conflict affects women attorneys’ legal careers.

**Reduced workforce engagement and experiences.** As previously illustrated, women attorneys in law firms confront normative expectations to demonstrate their commitment and excellence by working long hours and being constantly available (Epstein et al., 1999). However, the requirements and norms that are necessary to fulfill their professional roles are viewed by many as being a major source of role conflict for those attorneys with significant family responsibilities (Hewlett, 2007; Korzec, 2000; Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006). As such, role conflict between family obligations and job demands may serve to reduce women attorneys’ workforce engagement and experiences.

In a systemic review of family caregivers’ labor force participation rates, Lilly (2007) provides evidence that family caregivers are more likely to work fewer hours, particularly if their caregiving responsibilities are heavy. Furthermore, those with significant family responsibilities were found to be much more likely to withdraw from the labor market than non-caregivers.

There is some evidence of this within law firms in that women attorneys were more likely to reduce their working hours (Hull & Nelson, 2000; Kay & Gorman, 2008) or interrupt their careers to fulfill family responsibilities (Hewlett, 2007; M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004). Since the prime years for having and caring for children typically coincide with the years critical for establishing an upward career trajectory, the cost of leaving or interrupting employment for childcare needs can be especially career-limiting (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

**Violation of time norms and ideal worker ideology.** In accordance with the ideal worker ideology of law firms, reducing working hours or experiencing career interruptions due to family responsibilities is inconsistent with the time norms and career model valued and rewarded by law firm cultures. Furthermore, law firm ideology, which shows a strong preference for linear career progression, may unfairly penalize women attorneys, whose career patterns tend to be less linear and include more interruptions as a result of their family responsibilities (Hewlett, 2007; Krakauer & Chen, 2003). Williams (2000) argues that while “success” in these elite institutions requires ideal-worker status, family caregivers typically cannot perform as ideal workers. Those who often serve as such are marginalized in their careers “thereby cutting them off from most of the social roles that offer responsibility and authority” (Williams, 2000, p. 1).

**Perceptions of being less committed.** Valcour & Ladge (2008) suggest that behaviors that reduce one’s hours or take time out of the workforce compromise career success because they signal lessened career and organizational commitment. Within the context of the legal profession, law firms’ professional ideologies legitimize and amplify stereotypes about women attorneys’ lack of commitment and disloyalty to clients and firm, especially after becoming mothers (Wald, 2010). In this way, perceptions of work-family conflict by others can lead to a form of gender discrimination and stereotyping for women attorneys because, after becoming

mothers, they are often viewed as being less committed and ambitious, which negatively impacts evaluations, work assignments, and access to career development opportunities that lead to advancement in the legal profession (Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006; Wald, 2010; Young & Wallace, 2009).

While female attorneys with family responsibilities often struggle with concerns about their level of commitment and competence, they may also be perceived as being less interested in advancing to partnership because of the additional demands on their time and energy. Korzec (2000) acknowledges that some female associates who become mothers do in fact choose not to pursue partnership because of the overwhelming personal costs. However, this downsizing of women attorneys' ambition is also viewed as a self-fulfilling prophecy that results from the isolation and invisibility they feel at the hands of law firm cultures (Hewlett, 2007; Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia, 2006).

Even though stereotypes regarding female attorneys' lack of commitment and interest in leadership positions continue to persist, Eagly and Carli (2007) argue there is no difference in men's and women's commitment to their positions or desire for leadership roles. In fact, they cite evidence that women with family responsibilities report contributing as much as their male counterparts and expressed a greater desire for stimulating work than men do. In fact, in her study of parenthood and commitment in the legal profession, Wallace (2008) found that mothers practicing law were significantly more committed to their careers than fathers.

### **Career Success in Law Firms**

As previously discussed, the demands associated with caring for children, especially younger or multiple children, coupled with the normative expectations and time requirements of private practice careers, may contribute to actual or perceived work-family conflict for women

attorneys in law firms. In turn, actual or perceived work-family conflict may contribute to negative career outcomes, including reduced workforce participation, as well as stereotypes and discrimination toward attorneys who assume these roles. While work-family conflict and gender-based stereotyping may contribute to these negative career outcomes, it is necessary to examine how this relates to aspects of their career success in law firms.

### **Conceptualization of Career Success**

Career success is defined by Judge, Cable, Boudrea, and Bretz (1995) as the “positive psychological or work-related outcomes or achievements one has accumulated as a result of one’s work experience” (p. 486). The concept of upward mobility is relevant to the study of career success because those who move up the organizational hierarchy are often considered to be successful (Ng et al., 2005).

In accordance with Turner’s (1960) theoretical framework, there are two systems of upward mobility in organizations: contest mobility and sponsored mobility. The contest-mobility perspective suggests that advancement is much like a contest where individuals compete for and win the “prize” due to their own skills, abilities, motivation, and effort. However, underlying this assumption is that the contest is fair and accessible to anyone interested in devoting the required time and energy. Wayne et al. (1999) offer that the contest-mobility perspective assumes that these investments should result in increased rewards from the employer, including increases in organizational status and income.

Using this perspective, attorney advancement within law firms can be viewed through the contest-mobility perspective. Law firm partnership and its associated compensation are viewed as the achievement of traditional career success in law firms (Galanter & Palay, 1991; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Kay & Gorman, 2008). Galanter and Palay (1990) conceptualized promotion to

partnership as a tournament amongst lawyers. Young lawyers from elite law schools would be hired into the firm and after a prolonged apprenticeship (usually 4 to 10 years), the most proficient and deserving are promoted to partnership. While tournament theory has been the basis of much debate (Kordana, 1995; Kordana, 1998) and refinement (Galanter & Henderson, 2008), it is consistent with the contest mobility perspective in that it is assumed that attorney advancement is predicated on the concept of equitable meritocracy such that those attorneys who are the most qualified and deserving will be promoted to partnership.

While the contest-mobility perspective emphasizes individual effort and merit, in contrast, Turner's (1960) sponsored-mobility perspective adds that advancement is also in the hands of organizational elites. In this way, candidates are selected and elite status is given based on some desirable qualities or criterion of supposed merit. To help sponsored candidates win the competition, organizational elites will provide candidates favorable treatment and sponsoring activities to further differentiate them from the group. The sponsored-mobility perspective can also be applied within the context of law firms. For example, lawyers who fit the image of the ideal worker due to their adherence to law firm time norms and ideology are more likely to be selected by law firm leaders for sponsorship because they are viewed as demonstrating commitment and excellence to the organization and their legal careers.

### **Predictors of Career Success**

Research on career success is particularly interested in its predictors (Judge et al., 1995; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Ng et al., 2005; S. J. Wayne et al., 1999). In a meta-analysis of predictors of career success, Ng and his colleagues (2005) employed Turner's (1960) theoretical framework of upward mobility to classify predictors of career success including variables related to human capital, organizational sponsorship, and socio-demographic status. As noted in their meta-

analysis, Ng et al. (2005) found that human capital predictors are the most commonly associated with contest-mobility perspective, whereas organizational sponsorship and socio-demographic status are the most commonly used predictors using the sponsored-mobility lens.

**Human capital.** Human capital refers to an individual's educational, personal, and professional experiences (Becker, 1993) and is a consistent predictor of career success (Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; S. J. Wayne et al., 1999). In accordance with human capital theory, labor markets reward investments individuals make in themselves, which lead to higher ascendancy rates and salaries (Becker, 1993). Underlying this theory is the assumption that individuals make rational choices regarding their investments in human capital by weighing its costs and rewards (Wayne et al. 1999).

While factors related to human capital have been broadly defined (see Ng. et al. 2005), hours worked (Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; Pachulicz, Schmitt, & Kuljanin, 2008), job involvement (Ng et al., 2005), work experience (Ng et al., 2005), and organizational and job tenure (Ng et al., 2005; S. J. Wayne et al., 1999) are often associated with increased human capital. From this lens, time, experience, and involvement are viewed as investments made by individuals in their careers, which are viewed as positively related to their career success.

Viewing promotion to partnership and its associated earnings through the lens of contest mobility theory, it is reasonable to assume that those who increase their human capital investments through increased time and experience on the job are viewed as being more qualified and productive; therefore, they are more likely to be promoted to partner and earn higher incomes. Consistent with this view, legal scholars have demonstrated how opportunities to build human capital are imperative for winning the tournament to firm partnership (Galanter & Palay,

1991), and career success in private practice (NALP Foundation for Law Center Research and Education, 2007).

**Organizational sponsorship.** Ng et al. (2005) categorize organizational sponsorship predictors as those resources and activities provided to employees that facilitate their career success. These include career sponsorship, supervisor support, training and development opportunities, and organizational resources. In this way, employees who receive support and coaching from their supervisors are viewed as being selected for sponsorship. Ng and colleagues suggest that mentoring is a key form of organizational sponsorship.

According to mentoring literature scholars Belle Rose Ragins and Kathy Kram (2007), mentors are generally viewed as providing two different types of functions for protégés: career-related functions and psychosocial functions. Career functions are those activities that prepare them for hierarchical advancement within the organization, including coaching activities, increasing their visibility and exposure, sponsoring their career advancement and providing challenging assignments. On the other hand, psychosocial functions include behaviors that enhance the protégé's professional and personal growth, identity, self-worth, and self-efficacy.

There is evidence of mentoring benefits within law firms. In a study of promotion to partnership in law firms, Laband and Lentz (1999) found that individuals who reported having been mentored were more likely to have achieved partner status. Furthermore, Wallace (2001) found that mentoring was critical in the career success of female attorneys in terms of earnings, promotional opportunities, procedural justice, social integration and career satisfaction.

While mentoring affords benefits for all attorneys, it is seen as especially critical to the career success of women attorneys of color (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; Bagati, 2009); Hispanic business professionals (Blancero & DelCampo,

2005; Mundra et al., 2003), and Latina attorneys in particular (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). Mentors who can act as sponsors, role models, protectors, and champions are cited as a critical success factor in research on women of color in the legal profession (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2008). These relationships can also ensure that women attorneys have access to the challenging work assignments and professional development opportunities that lead to career advancement (Rikleen, 2006).

**Socio-demographic status.** Ng et al. (2005) define socio-demographic predictors as those related to an individual's demographic and social background. They identified variables associated with these predictors as gender, race, marital status, and age. Ng et al. (2005) demonstrate how career success is dependent on receiving sponsorship, but noted that women and minorities are often hindered because certain socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., gender and race) are frequently used as the basis to allocate this sponsorship. Historically, women and minorities have difficulty fostering these developmental relationships because consistent with similarity-attraction theory (Fields, Goodman, & Blum, 2005), they are rooted in familiarity, identification and comfort and tend to occur more naturally between individuals who are similar (Blancero & DelCampo, 2005; Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Research conducted within the legal profession illustrates this concept. Women attorneys of color are especially inhibited in their career development because White men, who are often in positions of influence and power in their organizations, are not as comfortable around them and therefore do not pursue them as protégés (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2008; Bagati, 2009). Kanter (1993) adds that due to prevailing gender and racial stereotypes, women and ethnic minority groups may not be selected for career development. This is consistent with the finding that Latina attorneys lack commonality with influential others;

therefore, they have less access to mentoring relationships, client development opportunities, and occasions to network with those in their organizations who can contribute toward their career success and advancement (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010).

While Ng et al.'s (2005) meta-analysis provides important insight into how certain socio-demographic variables including gender and race can negatively impact upward mobility, they acknowledge that "there is only a limited range of variables being examined as predictors of career success" (p. 396). In particular, variables related to ethnicity were not included in their meta-analysis, and race was narrowly conceptualized as being either White or non-White. Furthermore, as noted by King (2006) in her study of predictors of career success, Ng et al.'s meta-analysis did not include indicators related to family responsibilities.

**Family responsibilities and career success.** Through the lens of contest-mobility theory, attorneys in law firms will experience upward mobility through investments in human capital (i.e., hours worked, job involvement, job tenure, and work-related experiences). However, due to the sexual division of labor, Becker (1985) asserts that family responsibilities reduce women's time in the labor force and discourage their investment in market human capital. In this way, actual role conflict between the work and family domains may negatively impact women attorneys' career success because it restricts their human capital investments through reduced time and effort allocated to their careers.

Within the context of law firms, Young and Wallace (2009) found that family responsibilities do appear to decrease women attorneys' human capital, however, surprisingly, they were not less productive because it was suggested they may be more efficient or sacrifice personal time. Furthermore, since women with significant family responsibilities are found to spend less time and be less involved in their careers (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000), it is

suggested that the human capital investments of those with younger or multiple children will be more negatively impacted.

Viewing upward mobility through the lens of sponsored-mobility norms, attorneys in law firms will experience upward mobility through increased organizational sponsorship. According to Ng et al. (2005), organizational sponsorship predictors illustrate *how* organizations sponsor employees (e.g., mentoring opportunities), whereas socio-demographic variables are often used as the criteria to allocate sponsorship. Specifically, socio-demographic variables are concerned with *who* is likely to be chosen for sponsorship (i.e., White men).

Due to prevailing stereotyping and gender discrimination toward women with family care responsibilities (King, 2006; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; J. C. Williams et al., 2007), it is argued that family responsibilities will limit female attorneys' career success because organizational sponsors will not seek them as protégés due to presumptions of work-family conflict and perceived lack of commitment to their legal careers. As previously noted, gender stereotypes toward women attorneys with family responsibilities lead to a form of implicit gender discrimination, which can reinforce the perception that female attorneys will eventually leave law firms due to role-conflict between being a parent and attorney. This perception limits and negatively impacts women attorneys' access to key mentoring relationships and other career development opportunities that lead to advancement in the legal profession (Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006; Wald, 2010; Young & Wallace, 2009).

### **Objective Career Success**

The construct of career success is viewed as having both objective and subjective dimensions (Judge et al. 1995). As previously defined, objective career success consists of concrete, specific, measurable and easily observable career accomplishments attained during the

course of one's career (Ballout, 2008; S. J. Wayne et al., 1999). According to Poole and Langan-Fox (1993), traditional views of success generally focus on objective measures, which equate status and salary to achievement. While the construct of objective career success has been conceptualized in many ways, the most often used indicators are related to income and positional level in the organizational hierarchy (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Heslin, 2005; Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; Seibert et al., 2001).

Judge et al. (1995) found that certain demographic variables including gender, marital status, family responsibilities, and race explain a significant variance in both dimensions of objective career success. There is considerable evidence to support the negative relationship between objective career success and gender (Igbaria & Chidambaram, 1997; Judge et al., 1995; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; Ng et al., 2005; D. Russ-Eft, Dickison, & Levine, 2008) especially for women with family responsibilities (J. M. Hoobler et al., 2009; J. M. Hoobler et al., 2010; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; Pfeffer & Ross, 1982; Shirley & Wallace, 2004; M. Valcour & Ladge, 2008; Young & Wallace, 2009). In particular, Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) found that women with young children in the home were found to receive less coaching and fewer developmental assignments that would have improved their chances for career advancement and ultimately objective career success. Furthermore, there is also evidence that the number of children in the home is negatively associated with objective career success in terms of advancement (Mason & Goulden, 2004) and earnings (M. Valcour & Ladge, 2008; P. M. Valcour & Tolbert, 2003).

### **Subjective Career Success**

While objective career success is associated with observable career accomplishments, subjective career success consists of affective aspirations involving an individual's sense of pride

and satisfaction with their careers (Ballout, 2008). Subjective career success has also been broadly defined in the literature; however, it is most often associated with one's job or career satisfaction (Judge et al., 1995; Martins et al., 2002; Ng et al., 2005).

While Judge et al. (1995) found that time devoted to family care was negatively related to career satisfaction for executive workers, Ballout's (2008) review of the work-family literature notes how only recently researchers have linked work-family conflict to career satisfaction. For example, there is some evidence that multiple role stress (Peluchette, 1993) and increased work-family conflict (Kinnunen et al., 2004; Martins et al., 2002) have been associated with lower career satisfaction in some samples, especially for women (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Martins et al., 2002).

Within the legal profession, there is speculation that family responsibilities may negatively impact career satisfaction due to inflexible organizational structures that fail to accommodate family responsibilities (Kay & Gorman, 2008), gender stereotyping (Gorman, 2005) and concerns about the consequences of having children on their career advancement (Hagan & Kay, 2007). However, the actual impact of family responsibilities on women attorneys' career satisfaction is equivocal.

### **Relationship between Objective and Subjective Career Success**

While many have found a positive relationship between objective and subjective career success (Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005), there is also some evidence that this is not necessarily the case for women and minorities (Judge et al., 1995), or those with family responsibilities (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Judge et al., 1995; Mayrhofer et al., 2008). In fact, Judge et al. (1995) posit that demographic factors, including, but not limited to, gender, family status, and minority status, explain more variance in career success than any other set of

influences. Specifically, these authors found that while women and minorities had lower levels of objective career success than White males, they were more likely to be satisfied because demographic factors serve as a frame of reference for how career success is defined. These authors posit that because women and minorities have lower expectations about objective career success, they are more likely to be satisfied. Similarly, in a study of the role of family-responsibilities on career success, Mayrhofer et al. (2008) found that while women in their study were discriminated against in terms of objective career success, this may not necessarily translate to subjective aspects of career success because their multiple life roles, including being a wife, mother, and employee may increase their career satisfaction.

This paradoxical relationship between objective and subjective career success appears to exist for women attorneys in law firms as well. For example, in her study of gender and job satisfaction in the law, Hull (1999) found that despite being less satisfied with some specific aspects of their job, there were no significant gender differences in overall attorney satisfaction. Furthermore, her study found that the presence of children had a significant positive effect on satisfaction for women attorneys, but not for men. She explains that this “paradox of contentment” for female attorneys is because “women’s satisfaction with their role as mothers spills over to increase their work satisfaction” (p. 696).

More recently, several legal scholars have noted examples of this paradox. In examination of gender differences using the Michigan Law School Alumni Data Set, Dau-Schmidt et al. (2009) found that despite their lower levels of advancement and income, women attorneys who “do childcare” enjoyed higher levels of career satisfaction than men or women who do not do childcare. Furthermore, Hagan and Kay (2007) found that despite more barriers to their career advancement, including concerns and consequences associated with family

responsibilities, the women lawyers in their study reported having similar satisfaction in their legal careers as the male lawyers. In explanation, Kay and Gorman (2008) posit that women lawyers' high level of satisfaction may be due to positive family-to-work spillover. This suggests that female attorneys may be more likely to be satisfied with their careers due in part to their family responsibilities.

The paradoxical relationship between objective and subjective career success also exists for Latina attorneys. Latina attorneys across the legal profession appear to have high levels of career satisfaction, despite their relatively lower objective career success as operationalized by their compensation and hierarchical level within their organizations (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). This finding suggests that Latina attorneys may associate career success with more subjective rather than objective measures that are typically valued by White male members of this profession. Other research on Chicana attorneys in the legal profession lends support to this notion of how some populations of Latina attorneys broaden traditional definitions of success beyond prototypical monetary ambitions and goals to include their desire to make a difference in their communities, as well as those associated with their family responsibilities (Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008).

While DelCampo and Hinrichs (2006) state that Hispanic women in particular report higher levels of satisfaction because they do not feel as much pressure as Anglo-American women to be "superwomen," the aforementioned research provides some evidence that Latina attorneys' high level of career satisfaction may also be due to the positive interdependencies between their work and family roles.

## **The Positive Relationship between Family Responsibilities and Women Attorneys' Career Satisfaction**

As previously noted, much of the work-family literature has been dominated by role conflict theory (Kahn et al., 1964). This assumes that due to their distinct norms and requirements, work and family domains are largely incompatible (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985); therefore, success and satisfaction in one domain requires sacrifices in the other (Zedeck & Mosier, 1990).

Contrary to the conflict or scarcity perspective, several seminal theorists, instead, have offered an alternate expansion-enrichment perspective that involvement in multiple roles can lead to benefits that outweigh the disadvantages (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974). In this way, multiple roles can lead to rewards including role privileges, overall status security, resources for status enhancement and role performance, enrichment of the personality, and ego gratification (Sieber, 1974).

Consistent with the growing interest in positive organizational scholarship (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010b), there has been increased interest and recognition of these beneficial interdependencies between work and family roles (Aryee et al., 2005; M. R. Frone, 2003; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; van Steenbergen, Ellemers, & Mooijaart, 2007; J. H. Wayne, Grzywacz, Carlson, & Kacmar, 2007) including a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of work-family facilitation (M. R. Frone, 2003).

### **Work-Family Facilitation**

Work-family facilitation is defined as “the extent to which an individual’s engagement in one life domain (i.e., work/family) provides gains (i.e., developmental, affective, capital, or efficiency), which contribute to enhanced functioning of another life domain (i.e., family/work)”

(Wayne et al., 2007, p. 64). Work-family facilitation is often used interchangeably with such similar constructs as work-family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2010; Siu et al., 2010; J. H. Wayne, Randel, & Stevens, 2006) work-family enhancement (Gordon, Whelan-Berry, & Hamilton, 2007; Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007; Sieber, 1974), and also positive spillover (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Lourel, Ford, Gamassou, Guéguen, & Hartmann, 2009; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010b; J. E. Wallace, 1997). While these constructs are arguably somewhat different, they are often used interchangeably; therefore, the term “work-family facilitation” is used herein to refer to the positive interdependences of combining work and family roles.

While work-family facilitation is often viewed as the conceptual counterpart of work-family conflict (van Steenbergen et al., 2007), they are in fact distinct constructs and each bidirectional in nature (M. R. Frone, 2003). As such, they have unique antecedents and consequences; therefore, work-family conflict and work-family facilitation can be experienced simultaneously by the same individual (J. H. Wayne et al., 2006).

While theories and research on the construct of work-family conflict are well-founded in the literature, the field of work-family facilitation is not nearly as established or comprehensive (van Steenbergen et al., 2007; J. H. Wayne et al., 2007). Despite this limitation, several theorists have attempted to explain how the roles of work and family can serve as “allies” rather than “enemies” (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000).

In their examination of prior research, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) developed a theoretical model of work-family facilitation to explain how resources accumulated in one role can directly or indirectly benefit the other through both instrumental and affective pathways. These resources include material resources, such as money from work and family roles, skills

and perspectives gained from role experiences, psychological resources including positive emotions and self-esteem, acquisition of social capital, and also flexibility in determining the timing, pace, and location at which role obligations are met.

Greenhaus and Powell (2006) explain that through the instrumental path, work-family facilitation can occur when resources accumulated from one role directly benefit performance in the other role. As illustrated by Friedman and Greenhaus (2000), flexibility in the work role can contribute to work-family facilitation because it allows an individual to devote more time to their family roles when necessary. Conversely, flexibility in the family role through spousal support with childcare can contribute to work-family (facilitation) because there is less need to reduce working hours or adjust schedules to meet work role demands.

While the instrumental path is concerned with the positive application of resources gained in one role to another, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) suggest that the affective path is concerned with the positive moods and emotions derived from role experiences. Through the affective path, resources generated on one role can promote positive affect within that same role, which, indirectly, produces high affect and performance in the other role. For example, flexibility in the workplace can trigger a positive mood and satisfaction with one's work role, which indirectly promotes positive affect in one's family role. Similarly, the positive mood or self-esteem associated with family responsibilities may contribute to positive affect in one's family role, which in turn, may indirectly promote satisfaction in one's work role. This is consistent with Hanson, Hammer, and Colton's (2006) finding of a positive link between family-to-work value-based facilitation and job satisfaction. Moreover, van Steenbergen et al. (2007) posited that combining work and other life roles can contribute to psychological facilitation

because an individual is able to “put matters associated with one role into perspective by virtue of another role” (p. 282).

**Gender influences.** The primacy of the family care role for women suggests that, while they may experience higher levels of parental role overload and work-family conflict, they may also benefit from resources associated with family responsibilities, including positive affect, self-esteem, psychological perspectives and emotional support. In a study of gender differences in the negative and positive interdependencies between work and family, Powell and Greenhaus (2010a) found that while there were no differences in work-family conflict by gender, women experienced higher levels of work-family facilitation than men. These resources increase positive affect in the family role, which spillover into the work role in the form of higher levels of career satisfaction. In fact, van Steenbergen et al. (2007) found a positive relationship between work-family facilitation and job satisfaction and also provided evidence that this facilitation may play a more important role for women than for men.

### **The Role of Latina Attorneys’ Cultural Identity on the Work-Family Interface**

One significant critique of the work-family literature and area of opportunity for future research is that it does not necessarily represent the views and experiences of individuals who are more racially and ethnically diverse. This sentiment is reflected in Casper et al.’s (2007) claim that “what researchers know about [work-family] issues...is based on the experiences of heterosexual, Caucasian, managerial and professional employees in traditional family arrangements” (p. 37). More diverse views are important because, according to Allen et al. (2000), minority groups often experience different career issues and stresses due to their minority status that can exacerbate work-family conflict issues.

While very little is known about the work-family experiences of Latina/os, there is evidence that they have different experiences with work-family conflict than the predominant Anglo Culture (DelCampo, 2006; DelCampo et al., 2010; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Taylor, DelCampo, & Blancero, 2009). Moreover, in a recent qualitative study of Hispanic women professionals, Duran and DelCampo (2010) found that those with family obligations may have unique perceptions and experiences of work and family life.

As noted by Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000), work and family domain experiences are influenced by cultural norms and values. While many women attorneys may face normative expectations to assume the traditional gender roles as it relates to family responsibilities, this may be even more salient for Latina attorneys. In contrast to the values of individuality and independence stressed in the dominant Anglo culture, Latinas, as members of collectivist cultures (Berry et al., 2002; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), often place a high value on *familismo*, or the strong sense of loyalty and identification with one's family in the Latina/o community (Arbona, 1995). The centrality of family in the Latina/o culture influences its members to put the needs of family before their own and is central to shaping their career decisions and behaviors (Arbona, 1995; L. Y. Flores et al., 2006; Sy & Romero, 2008).

In addition to the importance of family, Latinas' cultural values and gender ideology reinforce traditional sex roles for women as primary family care-takers (L. Y. Flores et al., 2006). In this way, Latinas are subjected to cultural and gendered norms about appropriate roles for women, especially mothers, that their primary role is to support their families, and that their careers are viewed as secondary to those of men (L. Y. Flores et al., 2006; Fouad, 1995). Moreover, because the overall Latina population in the United States has higher fertility rates than their non-Latina peers (Gonzales, 2008; Pew Hispanic Center, 2010), and are stereotypically

viewed as family-oriented (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006), it is possible that they may be more likely to be perceived as having significant family responsibilities, which may also contribute to increased gender and cultural stereotypes and bias.

### **Influence on Work-Family Conflict**

Because Latinas are subjected to cultural ideals and normative expectations about women's primary role as family care-takers in Hispanic cultures, Grzywacz et al. (2007) note its potential to exacerbate work-family conflict issues for Latinas in particular. Indeed, there is evidence of a disparate impact of work-family conflict by gender for Latina/os. In particular, Rodriguez (2009) found that Latinas experienced significantly more work-family conflict than Latinos; whereas, Roehling (2005) found evidence of greater gender disparity in negative family-to-work spillover and negative work-to-family spillover for Latinas/os than Blacks and Whites, especially when children were present in the home.

Furthermore, the salience of the family domain within Latina/o cultures suggests that Latina attorneys with family responsibilities are likely to maintain a strong commitment to their roles as family caregivers. As noted by Wiley (2001), increased commitment to a particular domain may worsen the influence of conflict emanating from that domain. This suggests that Latina attorneys with family responsibilities will more likely experience work-family conflict when the demands in the work or family domain generate difficulty meeting role demands in the other. In the case of family-to-work conflict in particular, family responsibilities will drain resources (e.g., time, energy) allocated to the work role, which may result in some form of reduced engagement in the work role (Shaffer, Harrison, Gilley, & Luk, 2001).

While certain aspects of the Latina's cultural identity may further contribute to this negative relationship between family responsibilities and work-family conflict, it may also serve

to buffer the negative impact of work-family conflict on Latina attorneys' career satisfaction. DelCampo, Rogers and Hinrichs (2010) found a positive relationship between work-to-family conflict and job satisfaction for those individuals who more closely identified with their Hispanic ethnicity. The authors suggest that cultural beliefs, especially those based in collectivism and gender ideology, may attenuate experiences and outcomes of work-family conflict and also contribute toward a positive relationship between work-to-family conflict and job satisfaction.

Whereas individualist cultures such as the United States may view the work and family domains as conflicting (Spector et al., 2007), this may not necessarily be the case for members of collectivist cultures who view the roles of work and family as reinforcing (Yang, Chen, Choi, & Zou, 2000). For example, in a study of employed parents in India, Aryee, Srinivas, and Tan (1999) found that job involvement does not necessarily result in family-to-work conflict for members of collectivist societies because it is viewed as a means of ensuring the material well-being of the family. This explanation is consistent with Grzywacz et al.'s (2007) finding that Latino immigrants experience less work-to-family conflict because they view work and family as integrated rather than conflicting domains such that employment may be viewed as a means of ensuring the well-being of the family. In this way, Latina/o cultural values and norms may reduce the experiences of work-family conflict for some Latina attorneys, especially as it relates to their career satisfaction.

### **Influence on Work-Family Facilitation**

A few cross-cultural studies have also examined the positive interdependences between work and family in collectivist samples. In a study of work-family enrichment in Chinese employees, Siu et al. (2010) adopted Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) dual pathway model to explain how family support can serve as a role resource for members of collectivist societies by

providing emotional support and motivation. Furthermore, Aryee, Srinivas, and Tan (1999) found that consistent with Western literature, work-family facilitation is related to job satisfaction for employed parents in India.

There has also been recent interest in how work-family facilitation may be related to career outcomes for Hispanic business professionals. While there is no known study that has yet examined the role of work-family facilitation on Latina attorneys' actual career satisfaction, there is some research linking work-family facilitation with perceptions of job satisfaction in Hispanic professionals. In a recent study of Hispanic business professionals in the United States, Taylor, Delcampo, and Blancero (2009) found that higher levels of work-to-family facilitation increased the respondents' perception that their psychological contracts, or mutual obligations between themselves and their employer, were fair. Perceptions of psychological contract fairness were also found to be positively associated with job satisfaction for Hispanic business professionals across the United States (Blancero, DelCampo, Gao, & Lewis, 2009). In fact, one aspect of this, perceptions of promotion fairness, has shown to be positively related to satisfaction with the legal profession for Hispanic law students (Foley & Kidder, 2002).

While work-family facilitation may be linked to Latina attorneys' career satisfaction in this way, there is also evidence that work-family facilitation may also play a role in the finding by DelCampo, Rogers and Hinrichs (2010) of a positive relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction for Hispanic business professionals who have high levels of identification with the Hispanic culture. The authors explained that for those individuals with a high level of Hispanic identity, managing the challenges associated with multiple responsibilities associated with work to family conflict may simultaneously bring a sense of pride and

satisfaction in family and work domains and also protect them from experiencing negative work-related attitudes.

While this study did not make explicit the influence of work-family facilitation in this relationship, consistent with the theoretical model proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006), it is conceivable that the sense of pride and satisfaction derived from their multiple roles and responsibilities, as noted by DelCampo et al. (2010), served as a resource from their work or family role that facilitated positive affect in their family or work role. As such, it is suggested that the role of work-family facilitation may also partially account for this positive relationship between their work and family roles and their satisfaction levels.

### **Moderating Role of Acculturation**

Flores et al. (2006) emphasized the need for more focused attention on how both gender and cultural variables (e.g., acculturation, ethnic identity, gender role attitudes, cultural values, work-family balance) are related to the career development of racial and ethnic minorities. In particular, given the different cultural values and attitudes that Latina/os have toward family and work, Rodriguez (2009) recognizes the importance of taking into account culturally relevant variables, including the need to incorporate acculturation constructs in research on this racioethnic population.

The classic definition of acculturation was advanced by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits in 1936 (as cited in Cabassa, 2003) as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). Acculturation can also be viewed as the process of assimilation through the cultural adoption of the host societies’

values, norms, attitudes, and behaviors (P. M. Wallace, Pomery, Latimer, Martinez, & Salovey, 2010).

Level of acculturation, or the process by which immigrants adapt to the sociocultural and psychological aspects of the host society, is a fundamental aspect of one's cultural identity (Gong, Takeuchi, Agbayani-Siewert, & Tacata, 2003), especially for Hispanic Americans (Arbona, 1995). As explained by Siatkowsli (2007) acculturation occurs when Hispanic individuals migrate into the new culture of the United States and integrate the values, beliefs, and practices of the new society, while also maintaining the values, beliefs, and practices of their original Hispanic culture.

While the concept of acculturation is a complex and iterative process involving the interaction between two cultures, Marin and Gamba (2003) found that level of acculturation does alter certain values and beliefs of certain ethnic group members, especially as it pertains to sex-role attitudes and some components of familialism. Anglo-oriented acculturation has also been found to be positively related to educational goal aspirations, expectations, and achievement (L. Y. Flores et al., 2006; L. Y. Flores, Navarro, & DeWitz, 2008). Furthermore, there is support for the positive association between acculturation level and Latinas' aspiration to enter male-dominated careers (Reyes, Kobus, & Gillock, 1999), more egalitarian sex role attitudes (Phinney & Flores, 2002), and fewer perceived barriers and greater sense of belonging (Valencia & Johnson, 2006).

As previously noted, DelCampo and Hinrichs (2006) found that perceptions of work-family conflict may be impacted by level of Hispanic cultural identity; therefore, acculturation level might be a factor that explains outcomes and feelings related to work-family conflict. Furthermore, these authors suggest that individuals who more closely identify with their

Hispanic cultural heritage may be more susceptible to ethnically stereotypical views about the role and balance of work and family roles.

These findings suggest that Latina attorneys' degree of identification with the Hispanic culture may moderate the degree to which traditional cultural values and gender norms within their Latina/o communities influence their experiences of work-family conflict and work-family facilitation, which, as previously illustrated, may be related to different aspects of their career success. However, there are no known studies that have empirically examined the role of acculturation as a moderator between family responsibilities and career success. To that end, this study extends research by considering the moderating role of acculturation on the relationships between family responsibilities and career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments.

**Measures of acculturation.** For Latina/os in particular, immigration (or generational) level is viewed as one of the best indicators of their degree of acculturation to the dominant host culture (Arbona, 1995; Marin & Marin, 1991; Phinney & Flores, 2002). This demographic characteristic refers to the generation in which the individual or his/her parent(s) immigrated to the United States. First generation immigrants are born outside of the United States (parents also not born in the United States); second generation immigrants are born in the United States to one or both immigrant parents; third generation were born in the United States to United States-born parents.

While immigration level is often used as an indicator of acculturation, Brown (2002c) points to evidence that language spoken at home by bilingual individuals is also an indicator of how closely members of racial and ethnic minorities adhere to their cultural traditions and values. According to Santiago-Rivera (1995), the process of acculturation affects the preference for and use of the Spanish and English languages. Furthermore, in a recent review of

acculturation literature, Wallace et al. (2010) identified language use as a key measure used in acculturation scales with Hispanics.

It should be noted that while immigration level and language use are often used as proxy measures of acculturation with Hispanics, some view them as “superficial indicators of this complex process” (Cabassa, 2003, p. 142). As noted by Cabassa (2003) while these measures can provide information about possible relationships between acculturation and certain outcomes, they are incomplete in that they do not capture the intricacies of this process.

Notwithstanding this potential limitation, it is suggested that Latinas who are more recent immigrants to the United States and less English language dominant are thought to be less acculturated and therefore their cultural identity is more intertwined with that of traditional Latina/o norms and values rather than the dominant Anglo culture (Arbona, 1995). In this way, acculturation level, conceptualized in this study as the Latina attorneys’ immigration level and degree of English language dominance, may moderate the relationships between the Latina attorneys’ family responsibilities and both their objective and subjective career success.

It was hypothesized that because their acculturation level may simultaneously moderate actual or perceived work-family conflict for these women, Latina attorneys with family responsibilities who are more recent immigrants and/or those who are less English language dominant may experience lower levels of objective career success. As previously argued, this is because the role of family caregiver is viewed to be more salient for more recent Latina/o immigrants and those who are less English language dominant. As such, it was hypothesized that this increased level of work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping experienced by less acculturated Latina attorneys will decrease aspects of their objective career success.

While more recent immigrants and those who are less English language dominant may experience lower levels of objective career success in this way, it was also hypothesized that less acculturated Latina attorneys may simultaneously experience higher levels of subjective career success because adherence to more traditional cultural values rooted in collectivism will increase the positive role of work-family facilitation and attenuate the negative impact of work-family conflict on their level of career satisfaction.

### **Chapter Summary**

Whether due to personal choices or bias by others, Latina attorneys with family responsibilities often do not conform to norms and expectations of the law firm ideal worker. This is because those with family responsibilities, especially as it relates to the existence, age level, and number of children in the home, may be more likely to experience work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping as a result of experiences and perceptions associated with incompatible demands between their work and family roles. Indeed, experiences of work-family conflict may ultimately limit Latina attorneys' human capital investments due to reductions in their workforce experiences and engagement as a way to deal with this role conflict.

Furthermore, because mothers are often viewed as being less committed to their careers, women attorneys with family responsibilities may be less likely to receive organizational sponsorship, including access to mentoring relationships and other developmental opportunities that are necessary for their career advancement. As such, limitations in both human capital investments and organizational sponsorship will, in turn, negatively impact two aspects of their objective career success, namely, their monetary compensation and positional level within their law firms. Following this logic, it was hypothesized that Latina attorneys in law firm

environments who have children at home, especially younger, or multiple children, should experience lower levels of objective career success than those with older and fewer children, and considerably less than those with no children in the home.

As noted by DelCampo and Hinrichs (2006), perceptions of work-family conflict may be impacted by level of Hispanic identity; therefore, it is hypothesized that Latina attorneys' acculturation level will moderate this relationship such that this negative relationship between family responsibilities and objective career success will be greater for Latina attorneys who are more recent immigrants and/or who are less English language dominant than those who are from later generations and/or who are more English language dominant.

While family responsibilities may be associated with Latina attorneys' objective career success in this way, it is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success due to the positive role of work-family facilitation on women attorneys' career satisfaction in general. In particular, it is suggested that the positive mood, self-esteem, and perspectives generated from the Latina attorneys' role as family care-takers will serve as a role resource that increases positive affect or satisfaction in their work role.

Furthermore, for Latina attorneys who more closely identify with the collectivist values associated with their Latina/o cultural identity, the benefits derived from the integration of their multiple role responsibilities (e.g., pride and satisfaction) will also buffer the negative impact of work-family conflict on Latina attorneys' work-related attitudes, thereby further increasing the positive relationship between their family responsibilities and their level of career satisfaction. Therefore, with respect to their level of subjective career success, it is hypothesized that Latina attorneys' acculturation level will moderate this relationship such that those with family

responsibilities who are more recent immigrants and are less English language dominant will have higher levels of subjective career success than those who are from later generations or who are more English language dominant.

## **CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research methodology used in this study to examine the relationships between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments and how their acculturation level may moderate these relationships. This includes an analysis of how variables associated with the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities, in particular, the presence of children in the home, and also the number of children and age of youngest child, are related to their hierarchical level and gross salary in law firms. Similarly, this analysis was also concerned with how the existence of family responsibilities, as measured by the presence of children in the home, is related to their degree of career satisfaction.

Furthermore, because these relationships may be affected by the Latina attorneys' level of Anglo-oriented acculturation, this study also considered how the Latina attorneys' immigration level and degree of English language dominance influenced these relationships. This chapter describes the theoretical framework, research design, population and sample, data source and description, data collection process of the secondary data, research questions and hypotheses, data analysis procedures, validity and reliability of the data, and ethical considerations for this research study.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study was guided by a theoretical framework of feminist empiricism that uses a quantitative methodology to more closely examine and test relationships between certain gender-related variables that may pose a potential barrier or support to Latina attorneys' career success in law firm environments. According to Brooks (2006), feminist standpoint offers both a theory

of knowledge building as well as a research method. In this way, it provides a powerful lens through which to evaluate society and also serves a foundation upon which to modify it.

As noted by Brooks (2006), epistemologically, within this paradigm, the basis for women's ways of knowing is assumed to be different from that of men, and can only be gained from the perspective of women's own experiences. As it relates to family life, Belenky et al. (1997) argued how the care of children gives rise to maternal thought and different modes of relating to the world. As such, feminist empiricism adheres to certain tenets of positivism to attain value-free and objective results; however, by also taking women's activities and experiences into account, it remedies the shortcomings of traditional positivist methods that often silence or ignore this perspective (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2006).

Furthermore, while there is an established affinity between feminist research and qualitative methods, Henwood and Pidge (1995) argued that quantitative methods can help feminist researchers be more successful in affecting political change by "working within the rhetoric of representative surveys and 'precise' quantification" (p. 11). For example, to advocate for increased work-life balance in the legal profession, several recent research studies have used quantitative approaches to examine the effects of family responsibilities on women attorney career outcomes (M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; J. E. Wallace, 2008; Young & Wallace, 2009).

### **Research Design**

This quantitative research study was confirmatory in nature. As previously stated, the purpose of this study was to build on the findings of Cruz and Molina (2010) to provide a more granular analysis of the relationships between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firms and to more closely analyze how

aspects of their cultural identity (i.e., acculturation level) influenced these relationships. In particular, while Cruz and Molina (2010) found that Latina attorneys perceived there to be a negative relationship between having significant family responsibilities and opportunities for career advancement, their study did not directly examine how the variables associated with their family responsibilities were related to their actual or perceived levels of career success. Furthermore, the first HNBA Commission Study by Cruz and Molina (2010) did not consider how aspects of the Latina attorneys' cultural identity influenced these relationships differently. Finally, while the HNBA Commission Study reported on the aggregated status and experiences of Latina attorneys across various legal sectors, it did not focus specifically on those women employed in the largest of these legal sectors – private practice law firms.

### **Population and Sample**

The population of interest for this dissertation study consisted of Latina attorneys licensed in the United States who were employed in law firms. Therefore, the sample frame for this dissertation study consisted of survey responses from 300 Latina attorneys participating in the first HNBA Commission Study by Cruz and Molina (2010) who self-identified their occupation as a licensed United States attorney in private practice law firms, including as sole practitioners.

While the actual Latina attorney population was unknown, Cruz and Molina (2010) argued that inclusion of experiences and perspectives from both the national, as well as the regional bar associations affiliated with the HNBA “bound the study within a representative membership that could arguably serve as a logical proxy for the entire Latina attorney population” (p. 981). Therefore, the sample frame for this dissertation study was comprised of those Latina attorneys who were members of the HNBA, as well as those who were members of

at least one of the HNBA's thirty-four Affiliate bar associations (HNBA Affiliates) (See Appendix A) during their 2008-2009 membership year.

### **Data Source and Description**

This dissertation study relied on secondary data from a dataset owned by the Hispanic National Bar Association (HNBA), a nonprofit professional association that serves the interests of Latina/o lawyers, law professors, judges, and law students in the United States legal profession. This dataset was derived from the survey portion of their first HNBA Commission Study (2010) entitled, *Few and Far Between: The Reality of Latina Lawyers*, co-authored by this author, Jill L. Cruz, and also Professor Melinda S. Molina, previously of St. John's University School of Law. The purpose of this HNBA Commission Study was to document the status and experiences of Latina attorneys employed in various legal sectors across the United States as a way to understand the barriers that contribute toward their continued underrepresentation in the legal profession, as well as the critical success factors imperative for circumventing these obstacles.

In recognition of this author's pro-bono role as co-researcher and co-author for the HNBA Commission Study, permission was requested of and granted by 2010-2011 HNBA National President, Diana Sen, for use of this dataset for this author's dissertation study's purposes. The data for the first HNBA Commission Study were collected under the auspices of the Research Department of St. John's University School of Law and the HNBA Commission Study was approved by their school's Institutional Review Board.

The data used for this study were based on responses from a web-based survey questionnaire (see HNBA Commission Survey Questionnaire in Appendix B). For purposes of this dissertation study, all but one variable of interest were based on the Latina attorneys' actual

self-reported demographic and professional status. This included questions about the Latina attorneys' family status, including the presence of children in the home, number of children in the home, and age range of the youngest child in the home, immigration level, and dominant language. In addition, the questionnaire solicited information regarding the Latina attorneys' professional status including questions about their current legal sector, current position, and years practicing law. For these sections, questions were measured on a nominal or ordinal scale. The survey also included a question about the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross salary, which was open-ended in nature and enabled this item to be quantitatively coded.

The variable measuring the Latina attorneys' level of career satisfaction was based on their self-reported perception of satisfaction in the legal profession, which was the only item used in this survey to assess this construct. This question was measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree).

### **Data Collection Process of Secondary Data**

The data collection process of the secondary data from which this study is based was conducted by the Hispanic National Bar Association Commission and is described below. In May, 2009, an email with introductory message from then HNBA National President, Ramona Romero, containing the actual web link to the survey was sent by an HNBA representative to the entire HNBA Latina attorney membership, as well as an HNBA Affiliate representative for each of the regional bar associations who were each responsible for forwarding the email and link to their own Latina membership as well. Weekly reminders were sent by the HNBA National President and HNBA Affiliate representatives to their membership to solicit and encourage their participation. The involvement of the HNBA and HNBA Affiliate leadership was extremely instrumental in accessing and encouraging the Latina attorneys' involvement and is consistent

with Marin and Marin (1991) who advocate the benefits of sponsorship by a community leader or organization to gain access to Latina/o participants.

The website containing the survey was held open for six weeks and generated 543 completed surveys for a response rate of approximately 11%.<sup>4</sup> This relatively low response rate is consistent with low response rates observed with studies using web-based surveys (Jones, 2010) and also seen with other studies using the HNBA membership as its population (see Foley & Kidder, 2002). Furthermore, as noted by Andrews et al. (2003), a response rate over 20% is unrealistic for electronic surveys; therefore, a response rate between 5% and 19% across diverse samples is considered successful.

The HNBA Commission Study's web-based survey was hosted and administered by the Research Department of St. John's University School of Law to provide a layer of confidentiality between the respondents and the HNBA, the HNBA Affiliates, and the researchers. The Research Department of St. John's University School of Law also maintained the dataset and compiled the descriptive statistics used by Cruz and Molina (2010) in their study's data analysis.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

This study was guided by an overriding research question: What, if any, relationships exist between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firms and how does their level of acculturation moderate these relationships?

### **Research Variables**

To answer the primary research question, this study employed three independent variables to measure both the existence and the level of the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities. Existence of family responsibilities was measured by one independent variable,

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<sup>4</sup> This number represents survey responses from Latina attorneys employed in all legal sectors, of which 300 were employed in private practice.

operationalized in this study as the presence or not of children in the home. Level of family responsibility also considered the presence of children in the home; however, it also took into consideration the age of youngest child and number of children in the home to examine how these additional characteristics impacted these relationships differently.

There were also two dependent variables that measured objective career success and one dependent variable that measured subjective career success. Objective career success was defined as Latina attorneys' positional level within their law firms and also their 2008 gross monetary compensation, whereas subjective career success was defined as their degree of career satisfaction in the legal profession. As moderating variables, Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the Anglo culture was operationalized by two variables: their immigration level within the United States and their degree of English language dominance. Finally, the number of years experience practicing law served as a control variable in the relationships between all independent variables and objective career success. The variables used for the study's research questions are presented and operationalized as follows:

**Family responsibilities (IVs).** As previously noted, the existence and level of family responsibilities are often associated with parental demand and best conceptualized and measured by the presence of children, number of children, and age of youngest child living with a family (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Mayrhofer et al., 2008; Voydanoff, 1988). To that end, the survey questionnaire items that most closely corresponded to the existence and level of family responsibilities involving care for children are as follows:

1. Presence of children (dichotomous):
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

2. Age of youngest child ranked from high to low level of family responsibility (ordinal):
  - a. Less than 4 years
  - b. 5 to 12 years
  - c. 13 to 21 years
  - d. No Children/ More than 21 years
3. Number of children living at home ranked from high to low level of family responsibility (ordinal/interval):
  - a. four or more
  - b. three
  - c. two
  - d. one
  - e. none

**Objective career success (DV1).** Objective career success has been conceptualized in many ways, however, the most often used indicators are related to an individual's income and positional level in the organizational hierarchy (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Heslin, 2005; Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; Seibert et al., 2001). Within the context of law firms, advancement from associate to partnership and increased income is the mark of career success (Galanter & Palay, 1991; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Kay & Gorman, 2008).

According to a recent report conducted by the National Association of Women Lawyers (NAWL) and the NAWL Foundation (Scharf & Flom, 2010), junior attorneys have historically entered the law firm as associates and after several years of experience, training, and satisfactory performance are expected to be promoted to partnership. Similarly, the new associate's starting salary is associated with their law school graduation year and salary increases are made

“lockstep” to correspond with each subsequent year of experience. In this way, an associate’s compensation level is closely tied to where they are on this partnership track. Therefore, it is suggested that career advancement to successive positions and compensation levels up to and including partnership within a law firm are viewed as demonstrating higher levels of objective career success.

However, contemporary legal scholars (Galanter & Henderson, 2008) suggest that given recent financial hardships and law firm trends, this promotion-to-partnership structure is more complex and elongated and does not reflect the multitude of lawyers including, but not limited to, special counsel and of-counsel roles who may not necessarily be on the partnership track. Also, in recent years, many large law firms have adopted a two-tiered partnership level comprised of both equity and non-equity partners (Scharf & Flom, 2010). Equity partners own interest in the firm and typically occupy the most powerful, prestigious, and best-paid positions. On the other hand, non-equity partners do not share in firm profits, but rather are often paid an annual salary and performance-based bonus. In many, but not all cases, non-equity roles can be an intermediate step toward full equity partner (Serrill-Robins, 2010).

As such, the survey questionnaire items and available responses that most closely corresponded to objective career success in terms of the Latina attorneys’ positional level in their law firm’s hierarchy and correspondingly higher compensation levels in law firms were as follows:

1. Position in law firm hierarchy ranked from high to low objective career success (ordinal)
  - a. Equity Partner in a law firm
  - b. Non-Equity Partner in a law firm
  - c. Associate/ Counsel/Of Counsel/Special Counsel in a law firm

2. Compensation (continuous):

- a. What was your gross salary including bonuses for the calendar year 2008? (open-ended)

**Control variable.** With respect to objective career success, it has been found that work experience (Ng et al., 2005), and organizational and job tenure (Ng et al., 2005; S. J. Wayne et al., 1999) are often associated with increased human capital, which is a consistent predictor of upward mobility and objective career success. Therefore, the survey questionnaire item associated with the Latina attorneys' work-related experience or tenure in the legal profession served as a control variable in the relationships associated with objective career success and was operationalized as follows:

1. Years practicing law from high to low experience (ordinal):

- a. 21 or more years
- b. 16-20 years
- c. 11-15 years
- d. 5-10 years
- e. Less than 5 years

**Subjective career success (DV2).** Subjective career success is most often associated with perceptions of an individual's career-related experiences and satisfaction (Judge et al., 1995; Martins et al., 2002; Ng et al., 2005). The survey questionnaire item and possible responses that assessed participants' career satisfaction were as follows:

1. Overall, I am satisfied with my experiences in the legal profession (ordinal):

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree

- c. neutral
- d. disagree
- e. strongly disagree

**Acculturation level (Moderator).** For Latinas in particular, immigration level in the United States is viewed as one of the best indicators of their acculturation level (Arbona, 1995; Marin & Marin, 1991). Immigration level refers to the generation in which the individual or their parent(s) immigrated to the United States. First generation Latinas were born outside of the United States (parents also not born in the United States); second generation Latinas are born in the United States to one or both immigrant parents; and third generation Latinas were born in the United States to United States-born parents. As such, more recent immigrants to the United States (e.g., first generation Latina attorneys) are viewed as being less acculturated than previous generations; therefore, they may be more likely to adhere to traditional Latina/o cultural and gender values and norms.

While immigration level is a strong indicator of one's acculturation level, dominant language spoken at home by bilingual individuals is also indicative of how closely members of racial and ethnic minorities adhere to their cultural traditions and values (Brown, 2002b) and is often used as a measure of acculturation for Hispanics (Santiago-Rivera, 1995; P. M. Wallace et al., 2010). Accordingly, Latina attorneys who indicate that English is their first and primary language are viewed as being more acculturated to the United States than those who are bilingual in English and Spanish and still more so than those who indicate that Spanish is their first and primary language. To assess the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the United States, the following survey questionnaire items and possible responses served to measure these constructs:

1. Immigration level ranked from high to low level of United States acculturation (ordinal)
  - a. Third Generation (or later): Born in the United States to United States born parents
  - b. Second Generation: Born in the United States to one or both immigrant parents
  - c. First Generation: Born outside the United States (parents also not born in United States)
2. English language dominance ranked from high to low level of United States acculturation (ordinal)
  - a. English is first and primary language
  - b. Bilingual in both English and Spanish
  - c. Spanish is first and primary language

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

**Research question 1: What is the relationship between family responsibilities and objective career success?** It has been previously demonstrated that existence and level of family responsibilities, as defined by the presence of children, especially younger and multiple children in the home, may be related to increased experiences and perceptions of work-family conflict and gender-related stereotyping for some Latina attorneys. Consequently, this actual or perceived work-family conflict and stereotyping may result in lower levels of objective career success. As such, it was hypothesized that controlling for years of experience practicing law, the existence of and/or higher level of family responsibilities would be associated with lower levels of objective career success including the Latina attorneys' positional level and compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.1.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.2.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the age range of the youngest child in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.3.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the number of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.4.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.5.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the age range of the youngest child in the home and the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.6.* Controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the number of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

**Research question 2: What is the relationship between Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success?** It has also been demonstrated that the existence of family responsibilities is related to experiences of work-family facilitation, which is found to increase experiences of career satisfaction for women in general. As such, it was hypothesized that the existence of family responsibilities, specifically, the presence of children in

the home, would be associated with more subjective aspects of Latina attorneys' career success, in particular, their degree of career satisfaction.

*Null hypothesis 2.1.* There is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' career satisfaction.

**Research question 3. Does acculturation level moderate the relationships between the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success?** Latina attorneys who are more recent immigrants (e.g., first generation), as well as those who are less English language dominant (e.g., Spanish is first and primary language) are viewed as being less acculturated to the Anglo culture (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 2002b; Marin & Marin, 1991). Therefore, they may be more likely to adhere to traditional Latina/o values and norms regarding the centrality of family and adherence to traditional gender roles. For Latina attorneys' with family responsibilities, the salience of their culturally prescribed role as family caregiver may contribute to increased levels of work-family conflict and related stereotyping, which, in turn, may result in lower levels of objective career success. As such, it was hypothesized that the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation, as operationalized by their immigration level and degree of English language dominance, would moderate the relationships between the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success, as defined by their positional level and gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.1.* Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.2.*** Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.3.*** Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.4.*** Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation within their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.5.*** Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.6.*** Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.7.*** Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

***Null hypothesis 3.8.*** Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.9.* Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.10.* Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.11.* Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.12.* Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

**Research Question 4: Does acculturation level moderate the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success?** While less acculturated Latina attorneys who have family responsibilities may experience lower levels of objective career success, they may simultaneously experience higher levels of subjective career success because their adherence to more traditional cultural values rooted in collectivism will contribute to a positive relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006; DelCampo et al., 2010), and the affective resources from work-family facilitation will also increase their level of career satisfaction. Therefore, it was hypothesized that acculturation level, as operationalized by their immigration level and degree of English language dominance, will moderate the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success.

*Null hypothesis 4.1.* Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their career satisfaction.

*Null hypothesis 4.2.* Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their career satisfaction.

**Research Question 5: What is the relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities?** While objective and subjective career success have been positively associated in samples of White men (Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005), it is suggested that this relationship may not hold true for some populations, including women (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Judge et al., 1995; Mayrhofer et al., 2008) and minorities (Judge et al., 1995). Furthermore, studies on Latina attorneys across the legal profession suggest that despite their underrepresentation in leadership roles and lower compensation levels, Latina attorneys maintain high levels of career satisfaction (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). Other qualitative accounts echo this finding that while Latina attorneys encounter discrimination and disparate treatment in their careers in terms of advancement and compensation, they operationalize success differently to integrate their community and family roles, which may result in higher levels of career satisfaction, notwithstanding this inequity (Garcia-Lopez & Segura, 2008; Garcia-Lopez, 2008). As such, these findings suggest the need to more closely examine the relationship between both measures of objective career success (i.e., positional level and 2008 gross compensation), and the level of career satisfaction for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, as measured by the presence of children in the home.

*Null hypothesis 5.1.* For Latina attorneys with children at home, there is not a significant relationship between their positional level in their law firms and their level of career satisfaction.

*Null hypothesis 5.2.* For Latina attorneys with children at home, there is not a significant relationship between their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms and their level of career satisfaction.

### **Data Analysis Approach**

The data for this study were analyzed using the statistical software, PASW Statistics Grad Pack 18.0 for Microsoft Windows, and included both descriptive statistics of the demographic data and multiple regression statistical approaches to test the relational hypotheses for this study. According to Cooper and Schindler (2007), multiple regression is a method of data analysis that is used as an inference tool to test hypotheses that are interested in examining the relationships between a dependent or criterion variable and several predictor or independent variables. This approach can also control for confounding variables to better evaluate the contribution of other variables. Furthermore, these relationships may be linear, nonlinear, quantitative or qualitative in nature.

In the examination of the relationships between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success, it was determined that two of the dependent variables (i.e., positional level and career satisfaction) were measured on an ordinal scale since the variables were rank ordered, and one dependent variable (i.e., compensation) was quantitative given the continuous nature of the data. As such, this study employed multiple regression approaches that most accurately assessed the relationships of multiple independent variables with both ordinal and continuous dependent variables.

In accordance with Agresti (2007), the method used for assessing association with multiple predictor variables when the outcome is ordinal is ordinal logistic regression. Ordinal logistic regression can be thought of as an extension of logistic regression for dichotomous dependent variables which allows for more than two ordered response categories. As such, this approach is best for modeling this study's two ordinal dependent variables (i.e., positional level and degree of career satisfaction) as a function of one or more independent variables related to the Latina attorneys' presence and/or level of family responsibilities. Similarly, the method for assessing association with multiple predictor variables when the outcome is quantitative is multiple linear regression (Weisberg, 2005). Therefore, this approach was used for modeling the continuous dependent variable of gross compensation as a function of one or more independent variables related to the Latina attorneys' presence and level of family responsibilities.

In examining the moderating influence of acculturation level on these relationships, this study employed the model advanced by Baron and Kenny (1986), which states that the moderation hypothesis is supported if the interaction between the independent variable and moderator is significantly related to the dependent variable. Unlike tests of mediation, which require the independent and third variables to be significantly associated with the dependent variable, these authors state that this is not necessarily the case for tests of moderation where the "main effects for the predictor and the moderator...are not directly relevant to testing the moderator hypotheses" (p. 1174). Therefore, the moderator hypothesis was considered to be supported if the interaction of the independent variable and moderator on the dependent variable was significant. For example, the hypothesis that Latina attorneys' level of acculturation moderated the relationship between the existence of family responsibilities and their subjective career success would be supported only if the interaction of having children in the home and

immigration level and/or degree of English language dominance on their level of career satisfaction was significant. If this interaction was not significant, then only main effects were interpreted.

### **Validity and Reliability**

This dissertation study relied entirely on secondary data from the survey portion of the first HNBA Commission Study by Cruz and Molina (2010). Furthermore, all but one variable of interest (i.e., career satisfaction) were based on the Latina attorneys' actual self-reported demographic and professional data. Therefore, many aspects of validity and reliability of the original survey instrument from which the data were derived are not applicable for this dissertation study.

#### **Internal Validity**

Internal validity is defined by Cooper and Schindler (2008) as the ability of a research instrument to measure what it is intended to measure. Content validity is considered the minimum requirement for acceptable research and means that the content of a measure corresponds to the content that one is attempting to measure (Holton & Burnett, 2005). Therefore, a survey instrument is viewed as having good content validity if the instrument adequately covers the topics related to the investigative questions at hand.

As recognized by Cooper and Schindler (2008), the determination of content validity often involves judgment by the designers of the instrument, as well as a panel of experts to judge how well the instrument meets these standards. Holton and Burnett (2005) echo this sentiment and state that content validity is "usually established by subject matter experts and is done logically, not statistically" (p. 36). In this way, the survey instrument from which these dissertation study data were derived is considered to have good content validity in its assessment

of the status and experiences of Latina attorneys in the legal profession based the judgment of the survey designers and subject matter experts, Cruz and Molina (2010), as well as the HNBA Commissioners, who reviewed the survey questionnaire prior to its use to ensure it captured the intended research questions. Furthermore, the survey instrument was pilot tested in 2009 with Latina attorneys who were not eligible to participate due to their official roles within the HNBA.

Another form of internal validity is interested in how well constructs not easily observed are operationalized (Cooper and Schindler, 2008). As noted by Holton and Burnett (2005), this is usually achieved by comparing the construct to similar or related constructs that are more easily measured. In the example of family responsibilities, items related to this construct that are more easily measured (i.e., presence of, age level of youngest child, and number of children in home) appeared to operationalize the construct well. Furthermore, constructs in the survey instrument measuring Latina attorneys' positional level, compensation, and career satisfaction corresponded well to theoretical conceptualizations of objective and subjective career success. In terms of its construct validity, the survey questions associated with the variables of interest in this dissertation study were considered to have good content validity because of their empirical and theoretical support in the literature.

Finally, because all but one variable of interest were based on the actual self-reported data of the Latina attorneys' demographic and professional status, it is suggested that the validity of the instrument was good to the extent that the Latina attorneys understood and answered the questions truthfully because these items were based on self-reported data that were considered to be more objective and verifiable. Furthermore, while the variable assessing the Latina attorneys' degree of career satisfaction was based on their perceptions and attitudes, it is largely subjective

in nature. However, since this was the only item available on the questionnaire that was used to measure this construct, it may serve as a limitation to this study's internal validity.

### **External Validity**

According to Creswell (2003), external validity threats occur when researchers draw incorrect inferences to other settings and groups. In this way, the level of external validity was achieved through qualitatively rather than quantitatively broad representative sample selection. According to Russ-Eft and Hoover (2005), in quantitative research designs, this can be achieved by developing a model for the population from which to select the sample so that particular attributes can be taken into account in generalizations to that population.

Since the HNBA Commission Study relied on a convenience sample of Latina attorneys who were members of the HNBA and the HNBA Affiliates, the nonprobability nature of the sampling process limited the generalizability of the findings to the larger Latina attorney population. However, by expanding the sample frame to include Latina attorneys who were members of the HNBA and/or the HNBA Affiliates across the United States, it was conceivable that the sample population closely mirrored that of the true Latina attorney population, which as previously stated, was largely unknown. Notwithstanding this consideration, as acknowledged by the HNBA Commission Study authors (Cruz & Molina, 2010), while the Latina membership of the HNBA and the HNBA Affiliates presented a logical proxy for the entire Latina attorney population in the United States, it could not be concluded that it actually was representative of this larger population of Latina attorneys.

### **Reliability**

While validity is concerned with the accuracy of the test instrument, reliability is concerned with the consistency of an instrument (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). One perspective

on reliability is how much variance occurs with different samples of items being studied in terms of questions or scales. In this way, a reliable survey will provide consistent results under different times and conditions. Based on this criterion, it is argued that the survey from which the data for this dissertation were derived demonstrates an example of reliability. This is evident in that the first HNBA Commission Survey instrument was revised for use in a subsequent study on Latina attorneys in the public interest by Cruz et al., (2010) with relatively consistent results.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The proposed study relied entirely on secondary data and posed no risks to the population being studied. In anticipation of using this dataset for this author's future dissertation purposes, this author contacted then Capella Research Faculty Chair, Dr. John Whitlock, in November 2008 for guidance on how to best structure the HNBA Commission Study to ensure the data derived from the survey could be used for this author's future dissertation purposes if so desired. Dr. Whitlock provided specific guidelines that conformed to Capella University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements, which were adhered to closely. In particular, survey respondents remained anonymous and there were no personal identifiers associated with the survey responses or data. Furthermore, all participants were required to complete an on-line informed consent before participating in the survey.

Finally, prior to commencing the HNBA Commission Study, an application was submitted and approved for the research study to the Institutional Review Board at The St. John's University School of Law in New York. The web survey and survey responses were maintained by the Research Department of St. John's University School of Law as a way to provide a layer of confidentiality and anonymity to the participants.

## **CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the data analysis for this dissertation study. As previously discussed, this is a study of secondary data from a dataset owned by the Hispanic National Bar Association that was used to more closely examine and test what, if any, relationships existed between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firms and how their level of acculturation to the United States moderated these relationships. To that end, this chapter provides descriptive information about the survey respondents, as well as the results of the data analysis used in testing the study's research hypotheses.

### **Description of Demographic Data**

The dataset used for this study contained survey responses from 543 Latina attorneys working in a variety of legal sectors across the legal profession; however, only the 300 survey respondents who identified their legal sector as a private practice law firm were considered for this study. Of these 300 Latina attorneys, 1% were unemployed, 8.7% worked part-time and 90.3% were employed full-time at the time of the study. As noted by Dau-Schmidt et al. (2009), full-time and part-time workers are generally segregated for analysis purposes because they are considered by labor economists to be substantially different phenomena, including that full-time workers usually receive a premium for committing to full-time work. Therefore, given the relatively small number of Latina attorneys in this sample who worked part-time or were unemployed, this data analysis considered only those 271 Latina attorneys who were actively employed in a full-time capacity at the time the survey was conducted. The following descriptive statistics provide demographic data relevant to this study's research questions including the

survey respondents' age range, years of experience practicing law, marital and family status, positional level, firm size, immigration level, and degree of English language dominance.

**Age Range**

All of the 271 law firm survey respondents who were employed full-time completed the question regarding their age. Table 1 shows that nearly a third (30.6%) were between the ages of 31-35 years old and over two-thirds (71.9%) of the respondents were forty years or younger.

Table 1

*Frequency Table of Law Firm Participants' Age Range*

Age Range	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Under 25	6	2.2	2.2	2.2
26-30	68	25.1	25.1	27.3
31-35	83	30.6	30.6	57.9
36-40	38	14.0	14.0	71.9
41-45	26	9.6	9.6	81.5
46-50	24	8.9	8.9	90.4
51-55	16	5.9	5.9	96.3
Over 55	10	3.7	3.7	100
Total	271	100.0	100.0	25.1

**Years of Legal Experience**

As demonstrated in Table 2, of the 255 respondents who completed this question, 41.6% indicated that they had less than five years of legal experience and over two-thirds (68.2%) had ten or less years of legal experience.

Table 2

*Frequency Table of Years Practicing Law of Law Firm Respondents*

Years of Legal Experience	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 5 years	106	39.1	41.6	41.6
5 - 10 years	68	25.1	26.7	68.2
11 - 15 years	27	10.0	10.6	78.8
16 - 20 years	29	10.7	11.4	90.2
21 or more years	25	9.2	9.8	100.0
Total	255	94.1	100.0	

*Note.* Valid percent is used here because based on the responses from those 255 who answered this question

**Marital Status**

In terms of the survey respondents' marital status, Table 3 shows that of the 269 full-timers who responded to this question, over half (53.9%) were married; however, nearly a third (31.6%) were never-married singles.

Table 3

*Frequency Table of Marital Status of Law Firm Respondents*

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single (never married)	85	31.4	31.6	31.6
Married	145	53.5	53.9	85.5
Committed Partner Relationship	14	5.2	5.2	90.7
Separated, Divorced, or Widowed	25	9.2	9.3	100.0
Total	269	99.3	100.0	

*Note.* Valid percent is used here because based on the responses from those 269 who answered this question

## Family Status

As illustrated in Table 4, of the 271 full-time law firm survey respondents, 41.3% indicated having children at home, while more than half (58.7%) had no children at home.

Table 4

*Frequency Table of Law Firm Respondents with Children at Home*

Children at Home	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No Children	159	58.7	58.7	58.7
Children in Home	112	41.3	41.3	100.0
Total	271	100.0	100.0	

Furthermore, of the 268 full-timers who responded to the question regarding number of children in the home, 20.5% had one child, 16.8% had two children, 3% had three children, and less than 1% had four or more children (see Table 5).

Table 5

*Frequency Table of Number of Children Living at Home of Law Firm Respondents*

Number of Children	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
None	159	58.7	59.3	59.3
One	55	20.3	20.5	79.9
Two	45	16.6	16.8	96.6
Three	8	3.0	3.0	99.6
Four or more	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	268	98.9	100.0	

*Note.* Valid percent is used here because based on the responses from those 268 who answered this question

With respect to the age of the youngest child in the home, only 4.1% of the 269 respondents for this question had preschool children (less than five years of age), whereas, only

26.4% had school-age children (ages 5 to 21). In fact, over two-thirds (69.5%) either had no children at home or children over the age of 21 years old (see Table 6).

Table 6

*Frequency Table of Age of Youngest Child of Law Firm Respondents*

Age of Youngest Child	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No Children at Home/ 21 years or older	187	69.0	69.5	69.5
13 to 21 years	54	19.9	20.1	89.6
5 to 12 years	17	6.3	6.3	95.9
4 years or younger	11	4.1	4.1	100.0
Total	269	99.3	100.0	

*Note.* Valid percent is used here because based on the responses from those 269 who answered this question

### **Law Firm Position**

All 271 full-time survey participants responded to the question about their position in their law firm. As illustrated in Table 7, the majority (65.7%) indicated being in an associate, counsel, or of counsel role. Furthermore, just over a third (34.3%) identified themselves as law firm partners, with slightly more than half of all partners in an equity role (54.8%).

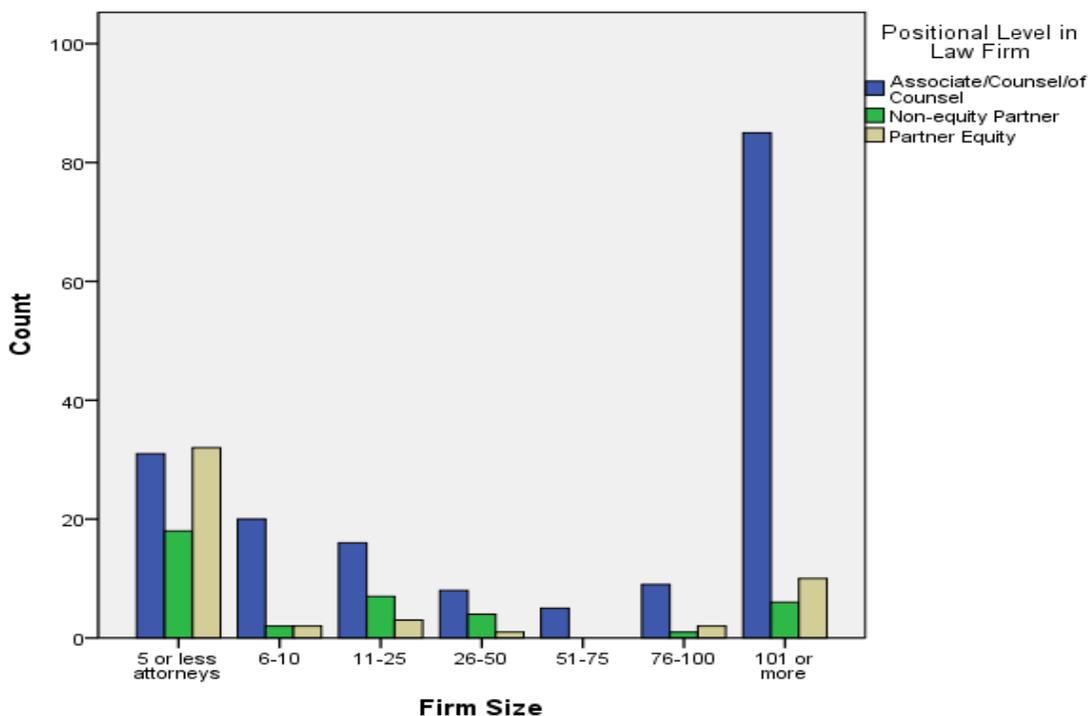
Table 7

*Frequency Table of Participants' Law Firm Position*

Law Firm Position	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Associate/Counsel/of Counsel	178	65.7	65.7	65.7
Non-equity Partner	42	15.5	15.5	81.2
Partner Equity	51	18.8	18.8	100.0
Total	271	100.0	100.0	

**Law Firm Size**

Of the respondents who provided information about their firm size (n=262), nearly an equivalent number worked in either small firms of ten or less attorneys (n=105) or very large law firms of 101 or more attorneys (n=101). However, as illustrated graphically, the distribution of participants by positional level was skewed by size of firm in that, overwhelmingly, associates/counsel/of counsel tended to work in larger law firms while partners, regardless of equity status, were more likely to work in firms of 5 or fewer attorneys (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Positional Level by Size of Firm

Specifically, as reflected in Table 8, nearly half (48.9%) of all associate/counsel/of counsel attorneys worked in law firms of over 100 attorneys, while only 15.8% of non-equity partners, and 20% of equity partners worked in firms of this size. Conversely, only 17.8% of all associates/counsel/of counsel worked in firms with fewer than five attorneys; however, while nearly half (47.4%) of all non-equity partners worked in this size law office and nearly two-thirds (64.0%) of all equity partners worked in law firms with five or fewer attorneys.

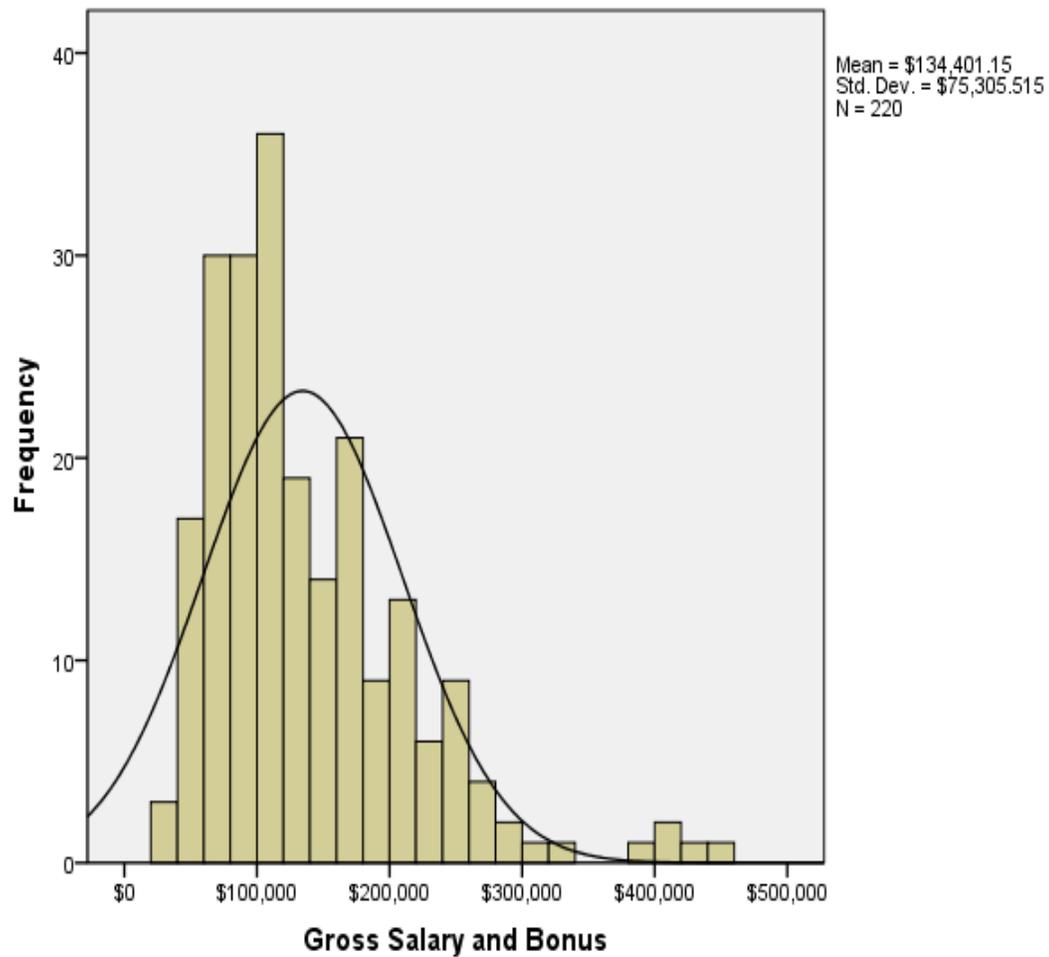
Table 8

*Cross-tabulation of Law Firm Respondents' Law Firm Position by Size of Firm*

			Positional Level in Law Firm			
			Associate/ Counsel/of Counsel	Non-equity Partner	Partner Equity	Total
Firm Size	5 or less attorneys	Count	31	18	32	81
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	17.8%	47.4%	64.0%	30.9%
	6-10	Count	20	2	2	24
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	11.5%	5.3%	4.0%	9.2%
	11-25	Count	16	7	3	26
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	9.2%	18.4%	6.0%	9.9%
	26-50	Count	8	4	1	13
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	4.6%	10.5%	2.0%	5.0%
	51-75	Count	5	0	0	5
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	2.9%	.0%	.0%	1.9%
	76-100	Count	9	1	2	12
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	5.2%	2.6%	4.0%	4.6%
	101 or more	Count	85	6	10	101
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	48.9%	15.8%	20.0%	38.5%
Total		Count	174	38	50	262
		% within Positional Level in Law Firm	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Total (n=262)	66.4%	14.5%	19.1%	100.0%

## Compensation

As depicted in Figure 3, the histogram provides the distribution of gross compensation for the 220 full-time law firm participants who responded to this question.<sup>5</sup> While the mean compensation for all full-time law firm participants was \$134,401,<sup>6</sup> this distribution appears to be positively skewed toward lower compensation levels.



**Figure 3.** Histogram of Compensation for Full-Time Respondents

<sup>5</sup> Extreme outliers were eliminated from this analysis; therefore, this reflects salaries between the range of \$30,000 and \$500,000.

<sup>6</sup> Median = \$ 114,500.

## Language Dominance

Over half (57.2%) of the 271 full-time survey respondents self-identified their language dominance as bilingual, or relatively equivalent in both English and Spanish language dominance; although 37.6% considered themselves to be primarily English language dominant. Only 3.7% of the respondents considered themselves as Spanish language dominant, and 1.5% identified their language dominance as “other” (see Table 9).

Table 9

*Frequency Table of Law Firm Respondents’ Language Dominance*

Language Dominance	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Spanish	10	3.7	3.7	5.2
Bilingual	155	57.2	57.2	62.4
English	102	37.6	37.6	98.5
Other	4	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	271	100.0	100.0	

## Immigration Level

As reflected in Table 10, of the 270 participants who responded to this survey question, the majority (39.3%) identified their immigration level to the United States as second generation, while a close second (30%) were third generation, and 10% fourth generation. Conversely, only 20.7% identified their immigration level to the United States as first generation.

Table 10

*Frequency Table of Law Firm Respondents' Immigration Level*

Immigration Level	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
First Generation	56	20.7	20.7	20.7
Second Generation	106	39.1	39.3	60.0
Third Generation	81	29.9	30.0	90.0
Fourth Generation	27	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	270	99.6	100.0	

*Note.* Valid percent is used here because based on the responses from those 270 who answered this question

**Summary of Demographic Data**

The summary data from the 271 participants who were employed full-time in private practice law firms indicate that the majority were under the age of forty with less than ten years of experience practicing law. While most were married, and in their prime childbearing years, a slight majority had no children at home. For those who did have children, they often had only one or two, and the children tended to be older in age.

Their law firm level appears to be closely aligned with their years of experience practicing law in that most had less than ten years of legal experience, which may account for the finding that the majority were employed as associates/counsel/of counsel, and therefore, still in the ascendancy of their careers. However, when considering the size of the law firm, another pattern emerges. While most of the survey respondents worked as associates in large law firms of over 100 attorneys, the few who had achieved the level of partner, either equity or non-equity, were often employed in very small law offices of fewer than 5 attorneys.

In terms of their compensation, it appears that the average compensation for the full-time law firm participants was \$134,000, although the range of reported salaries was quite large

between \$30,000 and \$500,000, excluding outliers. It should be noted that of the 271 full-time law firm respondents, over half (60.9%) considered themselves to be the primary or sole-income earners for their families.

Finally, the data on the survey respondents' language dominance and immigration level demonstrate that the survey respondents had high levels of English language dominance and were typically of later immigrant generations. This suggests a high level of acculturation based on the indicators of acculturation used for this study's purposes in that an overwhelming majority spoke English as much as or even more than they spoke Spanish at work or in their homes and were native born rather than foreign born.

### **Hypothesis Testing**

In accordance with this study's purpose, the following research questions were considered to determine, what, if any, relationships existed between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments and how their level of acculturation to the United States moderated these relationships:

1. What are the relationships between the level and existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success in law firm environments?
2. What is the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success in law firm environments?
3. Does acculturation level moderate the relationships between the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success?
4. Does acculturation level moderate the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success in law firm environments?

5. What is the relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in law firm environments?

### **Statistical Analysis for Hypothesis Testing**

In this study, independent variables were those related to the participants' family responsibilities including the presence, age of youngest child, and number of children in the home, moderators related to immigration level and degree of English language dominance, and the control variable of years of legal experience. The ordinal dependent variables were positional level and career satisfaction. The method used for assessing relationships with multiple predictor variables when the outcome is ordinal is ordinal logistic regression (Agresti, 2007). The test for significance in an ordinal logistic regression of an independent dichotomous variable (i.e. children at home) is based on the Wald Z statistic, which is compared to the standard normal distribution to determine a p-value. Significance tests determine statistical significance for estimated coefficients in the model and are employed an  $\alpha$  -level of .05. The test for the significance in an ordinal logistic regression of an independent variable with more than two levels (e.g., age of youngest child, number of children) is based on a Chi-square statistic (Agresti, 2007). The value is compared to Chi-square distribution with the specified degrees of freedom (DF) to determine a p-value. Significance tests determine statistical significance for the Chi-square distribution are employed an  $\alpha$  -level of .05

According to Weisberg (2005), the method used for assessing association with multiple predictor variables when the outcome is quantitative is multiple linear regression. In multiple linear regression, the test of significance of an independent dichotomous variable (i.e., children at home) is based on a t statistic, which is compared to the t distribution to determine a p-value. Significance tests determine statistical significance for estimated coefficients in the model and

are employed an  $\alpha$  -level of .05. The test for the significance in a multiple linear regression of an independent variable with more than two levels is based on the F statistic (Weisberg, 2005). The value is compared to F distribution with the specified degrees of freedom (DF1, DF2).

Significance tests determine statistical significance for the F distribution are employed an  $\alpha$  -level of .05

As with the testing of main effects, both ordinal logistical regression and multiple linear regression models were also used to examine the moderating role of immigration level and degree of English language dominance on the relationships between the presence of children in the home, number of children in the home, and age of the youngest child and the Latina attorneys' positional level in the respondents' law firm while also controlling for years of experience practicing law. Tests of moderator effects for the current study were based on the framework advanced by Baron and Kenny (1986), which states that the moderation hypothesis is supported if the interaction of the independent and moderator variables are significantly related to the dependent variable. Therefore, the moderator hypothesis was supported if the interaction of the independent variable and moderator on the dependent variable was significant an  $\alpha$  -level of .05. If this interaction was not significant, only main effects were interpreted.

### **Research Question 1**

Controlling for years of experience practicing law, the first research question was concerned with the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and the survey respondents' positional level and compensation in their law firms. As such, the first set of hypotheses (1.1. to 1.3) examined the relationships between family responsibilities and positional level, whereas the second set of hypotheses (1.4 to 1.6) examined the relationships between family responsibilities and gross compensation.

**Family responsibilities and positional level.** To examine the relationships between the presence of children in the home, number of children in the home, and age of the youngest child in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firm, ordinal logistic regression was used because it was viewed as the best method for assessing association with multiple predictor variables and when the outcome is ordinal in nature (Agresti, 2007). Therefore, ordinal logistical regression analysis was used to test the relationships between the variables related to family responsibilities and the ordinal dependent variable of positional level, while also controlling for years of experience practicing law. The results of this analysis are depicted in Table 11 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 1.1 to 1.3.

Table 11

*Ordinal Logistical Regression Analysis for the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Positional Level in Law Firm*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Positional Level			
	Estimate	Standard Error	Wald Z Value <sup>a</sup>	P Value
Children At Home	0.536	0.290	1.85	0.065
	Chi-square <sup>b</sup>		DF	P Value
Age of Youngest Child	13.26		3	0.004**
Number of Children	5.53		4	0.237
Years Exp	_____	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Years of experience was used as a control variable in all combinations of the model and was positively and significantly associated with positional level ( $p < .001$ ). <sup>a</sup> Wald Z statistic was used to test for significance with an independent dichotomous variable <sup>b</sup> Chi-square statistic was used to test for significance in an independent variable with more than two levels. \*\*  $p < 0.01$  (2-tailed). \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

*Null hypothesis 1.1.* As noted in Table 11, with a significance level of 0.065, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.2.* As noted in Table 11, with a significance level of 0.004 ( $p < .01$ ), the null hypothesis can be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms. Furthermore, since this relationship is in a positive direction (Chi-square=13.26, DF=3,  $p = 0.004$ ), participants whose youngest child is older are more likely to be in higher positional levels in their law firms, even after controlling for their years of experience practicing law.

*Null hypothesis 1.3.* As noted in Table 11, with a significance level of 0.237, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the number of children in the home and the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms.

**Family responsibilities and gross compensation.** To examine the relationships between the presence of children in the home, number of children in the home, and age of the youngest child and the Latina attorneys' gross compensation, multiple linear regression was used because it was viewed as the best method for assessing association with multiple predictor variables when the outcome is quantitative in nature (Weisberg, 2005). Therefore, this statistical approach was used to test the null hypotheses examining the relationships of family responsibilities with the continuous variable of gross compensation, while controlling for years experience practicing

law. The results of this analysis are provided in Table 12 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 1.4 -1.6.

Table 12

*Multiple Linear Regression Analysis for the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Compensation*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Compensation			
	Estimate	Standard Error	T value <sup>a</sup>	P value
Children At Home	13,881	10,173	1.85	0.174
	F Value <sup>b</sup>	DF1,	DF2	P Value
Age of Youngest Child	0.95	3	219	0.415
Number of Children	1.74	4	216	0.143
Years Exp	_____	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Estimate and SE are represented in dollars. Years of experience was used as a control variable in all combinations of the model and were positively and significantly associated with compensation ( $p < .001$ ).  
<sup>a</sup>The t-test was used to test for significance with an independent dichotomous variable. <sup>b</sup> The F statistic was used to test for significance in an independent variable with more than two levels and uses 2 degrees of freedom (DF1, DF2). \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

**Null hypothesis 1.4.** As noted in Table 12, with a significance level of 0.174, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys’ 2008 gross compensation level in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.5.* As noted in Table 12, with a significance level of 0.415, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the age range of the youngest child in the home and the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 1.6.* As noted in Table 12, with a significance level of 0.143, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that controlling for years of experience practicing law, there is not a significant relationship between the number children in the home and the Latina attorneys' 2008 gross compensation level in their law firms.

### **Results of Hypothesis Testing for Research Question 1**

The results of the hypothesis testing for research question 1 provide limited support that controlling for years experience practicing law, a relationship exists between level and existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success in law firm environments. While there was support that the age of the youngest child is related to the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firm, it was not related to their gross compensation. Furthermore, there was no support that either the presence of children in the home or the number of children in the home was associated with either the Latina attorneys' positional level or their gross compensation in their law firms.

### **Research Question 2**

It was hypothesized that the existence of family responsibilities would be associated with higher levels of subjective career success. To test this relationship, an ordinal logistical regression analysis was performed on the respondent data to determine whether a relationship existed between the presence of children at home and the survey respondents' level of career

satisfaction. The result of this analysis is illustrated in Table 13 and was used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypothesis 2.1.

Table 13

*Ordinal Logistical Regression Analysis for the Relationship between Existence of Family Responsibilities and Level of Career Satisfaction*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Career Satisfaction			
	Estimate	Standard Error	Wald Z Value <sup>a</sup>	P Value
Children At Home	0.331	0.237	1.40	0.163

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Wald Z statistic was used to test for significance with an independent dichotomous variable.

**Null hypothesis 2.1.** As noted in Table 13, with a significance level of 0.163, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that there is not a significant relationship between the presence of children in the home and the Latina attorneys’ level of career satisfaction.

**Results of Hypothesis Testing for Research Question 2**

The results of the hypothesis testing for research question 2 provide no support that a relationship exists between the existence of Latina attorneys’ family responsibilities and their subjective career success in law firm environments. This is reflected in the finding that the presence of children in the home was not found to be associated with their degree of career satisfaction.

**Research Question 3**

It was hypothesized that the Latina attorneys’ level of acculturation, as operationalized by their immigration level and degree of English language dominance, would moderate the

relationships between the existence and level of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success. To test these relationships, both ordinal logistical regression and multiple linear regression analyses were performed on the respondent data to determine the moderating role of both immigration level and degree of English language dominance on the relationships between the presence of children, number of children, and age of the youngest child in the home and the respondents' positional level and 2008 gross compensation, while controlling for years practicing law in all combinations of this model.

The first set of analyses used ordinal logistical regression analysis to consider the moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and the Latina attorneys' positional level (null hypotheses 3.1 to 3.3). The second set of analyses used multiple linear regression analysis to consider the moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and their gross compensation (null hypotheses 3.4 to 3.6). The third set of analyses used ordinal logistic regression to consider the moderating role of language dominance on the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and the Latina attorneys' positional level (null hypotheses 3.7 to 3.9). Finally, the fourth set of analyses used multiple linear regression to consider the moderating role of language dominance on the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and their gross compensation (null hypotheses 3.10 to 3.12).

As noted by Baron and Kenny (1986), a moderator is a third variable that affects the direction and/or the strength of the relationships between an independent and dependent variable. This implies that the relationship between the independent and dependent variables change as a function of the moderator. Using their framework, the moderation hypothesis was supported if

the interaction of the independent variable and the moderating variable were significantly associated with the dependent variable. As such, this analysis was not necessarily concerned with the main effects of the independent and dependent variables or the relationships between the moderator and the dependent variables. Therefore, this analysis of moderator effects presents only the results of the relationships of the interaction of the independent and moderator variables with the dependent variables, and not main effects as reported previously.

**Moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between family responsibilities and positional level in law firm.** To test the hypotheses related to the moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between family responsibilities and positional level in the participant's law firm, while controlling for years of experience practicing law, ordinal logistical regression was performed on the respondent data. The results of interaction of the independent and moderating variables on the dependent variable are provided in Table 14 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 3.1 to 3.3 as follows:

*Null hypothesis 3.1.* As noted in Table 14, with a significance level of 0.255, the null hypotheses cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.2.* As noted in Table 14, with a significance level of 0.973, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

Table 14

*Ordinal Logistical Regression Analysis for the Moderating Role of Immigration Level on the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Positional Level in Law Firm*

Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable: Positional Level		
	Chi-square <sup>a</sup>	DF	P Value
Immigration xChildren At Home	4.06	3	0.255
Immigration xAge of Youngest Child	1.27	6	0.973
Immigration xNumber of Children	6.00	6	0.423
Years Exp	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Years of experience was a control variable in all combinations of the model and was positively and significantly associated with positional level ( $p < .001$ ). <sup>a</sup>Chi-square statistic was used to test for significance of the interaction of the independent and moderating variables with more than two levels. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

**Null hypothesis 3.3.** As noted in Table 14, with a significance level of 0.423, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

**Moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between family**

**responsibilities and gross compensation.** A multiple linear regression model was fit to examine the moderating role of immigration level on the relationships between the presence of children in the home, number of children in the home, and age of the youngest child and the respondents' 2008 gross compensation, while controlling for years practicing law. The results of interaction of the independent and moderating variables on the dependent variable are provided in Table 15 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 3.4 to 3.6.

Table 15

*Multiple Linear Regression Analysis for the Moderating Role of Immigration Level on the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Compensation*

Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable: Compensation			
	F Value <sup>a</sup>	DF1,	DF2	P Value
Immigration xChildren At Home	1.07	3	214	0.362
Immigration xAge of Youngest Child	0.48	7	208	0.851
Immigration xNumber of Children	0.91	8	204	0.510
Years Exp	_____	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Years of experience was a control variable in all combinations of the model and was positively and significantly associated with compensation ( $p < .001$ ). <sup>a</sup>The F statistic was used to test for significance of the interaction of the independent and moderating variables with more than two levels. The value is compared to the F distribution and uses 2 degrees of freedom (DF1, DF2). \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

*Null hypothesis 3.4.* As noted in Table 15, with a significance level of 0.362, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.5.* As noted in Table 15, with a significance level of 0.851, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.6.* As noted in Table 15, with a significance level of 0.510, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

**Moderating role of language dominance on the relationships between family responsibilities and position level in law firm.** To test the relationships between the moderating role of the Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance on the relationships between their family responsibilities and their positional level in their law firm, while controlling for years of experience practicing law, ordinal logistical regression was performed on the respondent data. The results of interaction of the independent and moderating variables on the dependent variable are provided in Table 16 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 3.7 to 3.9 below.

Table 16

*Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis for the Moderating Role of Degree of English Language Dominance on the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Positional Level in Law Firm*

Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable: Positional Level		
	Chi-square <sup>a</sup>	DF	P Value
Language xChildren At Home	2.39	2	0.302
Language xAge of Youngest Child	0.74	3	0.863
Language xNumber of Children	5.85	3	0.119
Years Exp	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Years of experience was a control variable in all combinations of the model and was positively and significantly associated with positional level ( $p < .001$ ). <sup>a</sup>Chi-square statistic was used to test for significance in an interaction of the independent and moderating variables with more than two levels. \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

**Null hypothesis 3.7.** As noted in Table 16, with a significance level of 0.302, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

**Null hypothesis 3.8.** As noted in Table 16, with a significance level of 0.863, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does

not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.9.* As noted in Table 16, with a significance level of 0.119, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their positional level within their law firms.

**Moderating role of language dominance on the relationships between family responsibilities and gross compensation.** To test the hypotheses related to the moderating role of the Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance on the relationships between family responsibilities and the participants' 2008 gross compensation, while controlling for years of experience practicing law, multiple linear regression was performed on the respondent data. The results of the interaction of the independent and moderating variables on the dependent variable are provided in Table 17 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 3.10 to 3.12 below.

*Null hypothesis 3.10.* As noted in Table 17, with a significance level of 0.583, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation within their law firms.

*Null hypothesis 3.11.* As noted in Table 17, with a significance level of 0.881, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the age level of the youngest child in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

Table 17

*Multiple Linear Regression Analysis for the Moderating Role of Degree of English Language Dominance on the Relationships between Existence and Level of Family Responsibilities and Compensation in Law Firm*

Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable: Compensation			
	F Value <sup>a</sup>	DF1	DF2	P Value
Language xChildren At Home	0.54	2	215	0.583
Language xAge of Youngest Child	0.30	4	209	0.881
Language xNumber of Children	0.30	5	205	0.911
Years Exp	_____	_____	_____	<0.001***

*Note.* Years of experience was a control variable in all combinations of the model and was positively and significantly associated with compensation ( $p < .001$ ). <sup>a</sup> The F statistic was used to test for significance of the interaction of the independent and moderating variables with more than two levels. The value is compared to the F distribution and uses 2 degrees of freedom (DF1, DF2). \*\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed).

**Null hypothesis 3.12.** As noted in Table 17, with a significance level of 0.911, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the number of children in their home and their 2008 gross compensation in their law firms.

### Results of Hypothesis Testing for Research Question 3

The results of the hypothesis testing for research question 3 provide no support that the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation moderated the relationships between the presence and

level of the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective career success. This is reflected in the finding that neither the Latina attorneys' immigration level nor their degree of English language dominance moderated any of the relationships between the presence and level of their family responsibilities and their positional level and gross compensation in their law firms.

#### **Research Question 4**

It was hypothesized that acculturation level, as operationalized by the participants' immigration level and degree of English language dominance, would moderate the relationship between the existence of Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their subjective career success. To test the moderating role of immigration level and degree of English language dominance on the relationship between the presence of children in the home and their degree of career satisfaction, ordinal logistic regression analysis was performed on the respondent data. As previously stated, tests of moderator effects are concerned with the interaction of the independent and moderator variables on the dependent variable; therefore, only interaction effects were reported below. The results of interaction of the independent and moderator variables on the dependent variable are provided in Table 18 and were used in the decision to accept or reject the null hypotheses 4.1 and 4.2 below.

*Null hypothesis 4.1.* As noted in Table 18, with a significance level of 0.514, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys' immigration level does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their career satisfaction.

Table 18

*Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis for the Moderating Role of Immigration Level and Degree of English Language Dominance on the Relationship between Existence of Family Responsibilities and Career Satisfaction*

Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable: Career Satisfaction		
	Chi-square <sup>a</sup>	DF	P Value
Immigration xChildren At Home	2.29	3	0.514
Language xChildren At Home	0.07	2	0.966

*Note.* Models involving immigration level and language dominance were fit separately. <sup>a</sup> Chi-square statistic was used to test for significance for the interaction of the independent and moderating variables with more than two levels.

**Null hypothesis 4.2.** As noted in Table 18, with a significance level of 0.966, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that Latina attorneys’ degree of English language dominance does not moderate the relationship between the presence of children in their home and their career satisfaction.

**Results of Hypothesis Testing for Research Question 4**

The results of the hypothesis testing for research question 4 provide no support that the Latina attorneys’ level of acculturation moderated the relationship between the presence of family responsibilities and their subjective career success. This is reflected in the finding that neither their immigration level nor their degree of English language dominance moderated any of

the relationships between the presence of children in the home and their degree of career satisfaction.

### **Research Question 5**

This research question was interested in the actual relationship that exists between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in law firm environments. It was hypothesized that there would not be a significant relationship between both measures of objective career success (i.e., positional level and gross compensation) and level of career satisfaction for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities. To test these relationships, regression models for each of these variable combinations were fit separately to assess any potential bidirectional association.

**Relationship between positional level and career satisfaction.** To test the bidirectional relationship between the ordinal variables of positional level and career satisfaction (null hypothesis 5.1), ordinal logistic regression analysis was performed on data of only those participants who indicated having children at home (see Table 19). These results were used in the decision to accept or reject null hypothesis 5.1 below.

*Null hypothesis 5.1.* As noted in Table 19, with significance levels of 0.105 and 0.551 respectively, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that for Latina attorneys with children at home, there is not a significant relationship between their positional level in their law firms and their level of career satisfaction.

Table 19

*Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis for the Relationship between Positional Level and Career Satisfaction*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Career Satisfaction		
	<u>Chi-square<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P Value</u>
Positional Level	4.50	2	0.105

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Positional Level		
	<u>Chi-square<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>P Value</u>
Career Satisfaction	3.04	4	0.551

*Note.* Models for the independent variables were fit separately to assess the bidirectional association. <sup>a</sup>Chi-square statistic was used to test for significance of the independent variables with more than two levels.

**Relationship between compensation and career satisfaction.** To test the bidirectional relationship between the quantitative variable of compensation and the ordinal variable of career satisfaction (null hypothesis 5.2), a combination of both ordinal logistic regression and multiple linear regression analyses were performed on only those respondents who indicated having children at home (see Table 20). The results were used in the decision to accept or reject null hypothesis 5.2 below.

Table 20

*Multiple Linear Regression and Ordinal Logistical Regression Analysis for the Relationship between Compensation and Career Satisfaction*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Compensation <sup>a</sup>			
	F Value <sup>b</sup>	DF1,	DF2	P Value
Career Satisfaction	0.756	4	89	0.557

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: Career Satisfaction <sup>c</sup>		
	Chi-square <sup>d</sup>	DF	P Value
Compensation	0.26	1	0.608

*Note.* Models for the dependent variables were fit separately to assess the bidirectional association. <sup>a</sup>The test of the relationship with compensation as the dependent variable uses multiple linear regression. <sup>b</sup>The F statistic was used to test for significance of the independent variable with more than two levels. The value is compared to the F distribution and uses 2 degrees of freedom (DF1, DF2). <sup>c</sup>The test of the relationship with career satisfaction as the dependent variable uses ordinal logistic regression. <sup>d</sup>The test for the significance of the independent variable with more than two levels is based on a Chi-square statistic. The value is compared to Chi-square distribution with the specified degrees of freedom (DF).

***Null hypothesis 5.2.*** As noted in Table 20, with significance levels of 0.557 and 0.608 respectively, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected that for Latina attorneys with children at home, there is not a significant relationship between their 2008 gross compensation and their level of career satisfaction.

## **Results of Hypothesis Testing for Research Question 5**

The results of the hypothesis testing for research question 5 provide support that there is not a significant relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities. This is reflected in the findings that for Latina attorneys with children at home, neither their positional level nor their gross compensation were significantly associated with their degree of career satisfaction.

### **Summary of Hypothesis Testing**

The results of the hypothesis testing for this study provided very limited support for the existence of a relationship between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments and no support that the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation moderated any of these relationships. Specifically, in testing of the relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and objective career success, there was no support to this study's research hypotheses that the presence of and number of children in the home were associated with their positional levels or their gross compensation; furthermore, age of the Latina attorneys' youngest child was not found to be related to their 2008 gross compensation.

However, there was some support for this relationship in that the presence of younger children in the home was found to be positively and significantly associated with lower hierarchical achievement in the participants' law firms even after controlling for years practicing law. This finding provided some, albeit limited support that increased level of family responsibilities associated with caring for younger children may indeed be related to lower levels of some aspects of objective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments, especially as it pertains to their upward mobility.

When considering the moderating role of acculturation level in these relationships between the presence and level of family responsibilities and objective career success, there was no support to this study's research hypotheses that neither the Latina attorneys' immigration level nor their degree of English language dominance moderated any of these relationships. It should also be noted that while years of experience practicing law was positively and significantly related to higher positional levels and gross compensation in all combinations of these models with measures of objective career success as the dependent variable, neither immigration level nor degree of English language dominance were statistically significant in any combinations with the independent and dependent variables.

In terms of the relationship between the Latina attorneys' presence of family responsibilities and level of career satisfaction, this analysis also found no support for this relationship or the role of acculturation level (i.e., immigration level and language dominance) as a moderator. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the presence of children in the home is necessarily associated with higher levels of career satisfaction for Latina attorneys in law firms or that immigration level or degree of English language dominance influenced this relationship in any way.

Finally, in the examination of the relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, this analysis provided some empirical support that for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, their level of career satisfaction is not significantly related to their positional level or their gross compensation. While there was no support that their family responsibilities were significantly related to their levels of career satisfaction overall, and only limited support that family responsibilities were related to some aspects of objective career success, this finding does provide some support that family

responsibilities may play somewhat of a role in the in this absence of a relationship between Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success in law firm environments.

## **CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Introduction**

Latina attorneys are members of the largest and fastest growing minority group in the United States. However, they are also the most underrepresented attorney group in law firms, especially at the partnership level. Recognizing the significance of this disparity, the primary purpose of this research study was to build on the findings of Cruz and Molina (2010) to examine how family responsibilities may be related to the Latina attorneys' objective and subjective career success in law firm environments and how the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the United States may moderate these relationships. To answer this research question, this study examined secondary data of 271 Latina attorney survey respondents who were employed full-time in private practice law firms. Chapter 4 presented the results of the data analysis, including the descriptive characteristics of the survey respondents and results of the hypothesis testing. This chapter provides a summary and discussion of the study's results, as well as conclusions of these findings. In addition, this chapter acknowledges the study's limitations, and offers recommendations for future research.

### **Summary and Discussion of Results**

This section provides a summary and discussion of the findings of this research study as it pertains to each of the study's five primary research questions regarding the relationships between the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and their objective and subjective career success in law firm environments, as well as how their acculturation level influenced these relationships.

## **What is the Relationship between Family Responsibilities and Objective Career Success?**

It was hypothesized that the presence and level of family responsibilities, especially as it pertains to the presence of children, number of children, and age of the youngest child in the home, would be negatively related to two aspects of Latina attorneys' objective career success, specifically, their positional level and compensation within their law firms. Contrary to expectation, the study found no support that either the presence or number of children in the home were associated with either dimension of objective career success for this sample and that the age of youngest child was not associated with their gross compensation.

In some respects, these findings contradict both work-family conflict arguments that time and energy associated with family obligations will intrude upon one's work role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Parasuraman & Simmers, 2001), which, in turn, will result in negative career outcomes for women attorneys, including reduced labor supply (Hull & Nelson, 2000; Kay & Gorman, 2008) or career interruptions (Hewlett, 2007) to fulfill family obligations. These findings also appear contrary to human capital explanations (Becker, 1993; Ng et al., 2005) that increased family responsibilities, especially with respect to the presence of children (Lilly et al., 2007) and number of children (Christie-Mizell, 2006), would reduce market human capital investments and productivity which, in turn, result in diminished rewards in the workplace (i.e., advancement and income).

However, one alternative explanation that may account for these unexpected findings is that, for the Latina attorneys in this study, family responsibilities did not necessarily result in reduced labor supply or limit their human capital investments. This is reflected in the fact that this study only considered participants who were actively employed in a full-time capacity, and consistent with human capital arguments, their years of experience practicing law were

significantly and positively related to their positional level and compensation. Accordingly, their level of objective career success appears to be closely aligned with their years of experience practicing law, and while not conclusive, provides some evidence that these women may not necessarily have taken much, if any, time off from their careers for family obligations.

Therefore, Latina attorneys with family responsibilities may not have been disparately impacted in their objective career success because they were no more likely than those with no or fewer family responsibilities to reduce working hours or to take time out of the workforce after having children. This finding is consistent with other research conducted within the legal profession that, while family responsibilities may result in reduced workforce engagement and subsequently lower organizational rewards for some women attorneys (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Hewlett, 2007; Hull & Nelson, 2000; Kay & Gorman, 2008), it does not necessarily decrease promotion rates or salary for those who do not reduce labor supply or who are similarly productive (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; M. C. Noonan, Corcoran, & Courant, 2005; Young & Wallace, 2009). Indeed, in an analysis of gender differences in the legal profession, Dau-Schmidt et al. (2009) found that while women attorneys with family responsibilities tend to have lower promotion rates than similarly situated men overall, women attorneys who have children, yet have not missed paid work for childcare reasons, are the most likely to enter and remain in private practice and make partner.

Although there was no support that having a child or multiple children were related to the Latina attorneys' positional level, this finding may obscure the fact that, while most of the survey respondents worked as associates in large law firms of over 100 attorneys, the few who had achieved the level of partner, either equity or non-equity, were often employed in very small law offices of fewer than 5 attorneys. This realization is critical because differences between high-

level and low-level positions with respect to status are likely to be greater in larger organizations than smaller firms (Gorman & Kmec, 2009), and larger law firms tend to offer the highest prestige and remuneration (Hull & Nelson, 2000). This finding suggests that Latina attorneys may be more likely to leave more prestigious and lucrative positions in large law firms to work as partners in smaller law offices or as sole practitioners.

Furthermore, while the presence, number, and age of children were not associated with their compensation levels, this finding may reflect the lower compensation levels for the Latina attorneys in law firms overall. Specifically, regardless of their years of legal experience, the Latina attorneys' 2008 median salary of \$114,000 was considerably less than the overall median starting salary of \$130,000 for first-year associates as reported by the National Association of Legal Placement (2009). Furthermore, Cruz and Molina (2010) also found evidence that Latina attorneys in law firms had considerably lower 2008 compensation levels than those reported in studies of other majority and minority attorney groups (see ABA Commission, 2006b), even when accounting for their limited years of experience practicing law. This finding may also reflect the tendency for Latina attorneys to move to smaller firms, which, as previously noted, tend to pay lower compensation levels.

While this study found no support that the presence and number of children in the home were associated with either dimension of objective career success and that the age of youngest child was not related to their level of compensation, it did find that the age of the youngest child was positively related to the Latina attorneys' positional level in their law firms. This was reflected in the finding that having younger children was associated with achieving lower positional levels, even after controlling for their years of legal experience. This finding supports other research on the negative relationship between women attorneys' family responsibilities and

promotion to partnership (Dau-Schmidt et al., 2009; Harrington & Hsi, 2007; M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004) and also extends this earlier research by also considering how the age of children in the home may be a factor in this relationship.

This finding is consistent with both work-family conflict and human capital arguments that the demands associated with younger children may serve to reduce workforce engagement or productivity as a result of their increased family responsibilities associated with the time and demands associated with younger children (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Osherson & Dill, 1983; Pleck et al., 1980). However, as previously discussed, there is no evidence that the Latina attorneys in this study reduced their workforce engagement or were less productive than their peers with older children at home. This is consistent with the finding reported by Young and Wallace (2009) that the women attorneys in their study, including those with preschool children, were no less productive than their male law firm colleagues; however, they speculated that this may be at the expense of their own personal time and well-being.

Interpreting this finding, it appears that limitations of upward mobility for Latina attorneys with younger children at home are not necessarily based on supply-sided restrictions of human capital due to the Latina attorneys' choices, but perhaps due to demand-sided characteristics of their legal workplaces, including the possibility of increased gender-related stereotyping and bias toward those women attorneys who have younger children. In this way, Latina attorneys with younger children at home may trigger perceptions and concerns from others that they are less committed to their careers and may eventually leave law firms due to role-conflict between being a parent and attorney.

Consistent with Turner's (1960) sponsored-mobility perspective, these Latina attorneys with younger children may not be selected for organizational sponsorship, which is necessary for

their career advancement. This explanation is also consistent with Friedman and Greenhaus' (2000) finding that women with young children in the home receive less coaching and fewer developmental assignments that would have improved their chances for career advancement and, ultimately, objective career success.

### **What is the Relationship between Latina Attorneys' Family Responsibilities and their Subjective Career Success?**

In terms of the relationship between the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and level of subjective career success, this analysis also found no support that the presence of children in the home correlates with higher levels of career satisfaction for Latina attorneys in law firms. This finding appears contrary to a recent study by Dau-Schmidt et al. (2009) that women attorneys who do childcare have significantly higher levels of career satisfaction than women attorneys who do not do childcare. However, it should be noted that these authors' operationalization of "doing childcare" implied the need to take time away from paid work to achieve work-family balance, which, as previously stated, does not necessarily characterize the Latina attorneys from this study.

One interpretation of this finding is that the high level of career satisfaction experienced by Latina attorneys reported by Cruz and Molina (2010) is attributable to aspects of their gender, and not necessarily limited to just their family responsibilities per se. This rationale is supported in the finding of a positive relationship between work-family facilitation and job satisfaction primarily for women (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010b; van Steenbergen et al., 2007) and is consistent with the high levels of career satisfaction evidenced by female attorneys in general (Hagan & Kay, 2007; Hull, 1999; Kay & Gorman, 2008). Therefore, while family responsibilities may arguably contribute somewhat to the Latina attorneys' overall level of

general satisfaction, it is also likely that Latina attorneys' overall career satisfaction is based on a multitude of factors, including aspects of their gender.

### **Does Acculturation Level Moderate the Relationships between the Existence and Level of Latina Attorneys' Family Responsibilities and their Objective Career Success?**

This study also found no evidence that the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the United States, as operationalized by the indicators used in this study, immigration level and degree of English language dominance, influenced any of the relationships between their family responsibilities and their objective career success. Latina attorneys who are more recent immigrants (e.g., first generation), as well as those who are less English language dominant (e.g., Spanish is first and primary language) are viewed as being less acculturated to the Anglo culture (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 2002b; Marin & Marin, 1991). Given the view that Latinas' adherence to traditional sex-role attitudes, as well as their experiences and perceptions of their work and family roles are viewed to be influenced by their level of acculturation to the United States (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006; Marin & Gamba, 2003), it was hypothesized that less acculturated Latina attorneys would be more likely to adhere to traditional Latina/o values and norms regarding the centrality of family and traditional gender roles. As such, their culturally prescribed role as family caregivers was predicted to contribute to increased levels of work-family conflict and related stereotyping for less acculturated Latina attorneys, which, in turn, would result in lower levels of objective career success.

The lack of support for the moderating role of acculturation on these relationships may be explained by the finding that, because the majority were born and educated in the United States and considered English to be their dominant language, the Latina attorneys in this study were highly acculturated to the Anglo culture. Therefore, the Latina attorneys' values and norms

surrounding gender and family caregiving roles more closely mirrored those of mainstream American culture and, conversely, they may have been less likely to adhere to the culturally gendered norms associated with the traditional Latino culture, which emphasize the primacy of motherhood over career roles. In this way, it appears that Latina attorneys' acculturation level did not necessarily contribute to more negative career outcomes as a result of increased work-family conflict or related gender-stereotyping than would typically be experienced by other highly acculturated women attorneys in the United States.

There is support for this argument in that research has shown that sex role attitudes become less traditional over time for later generations and more highly educated Latino immigrants (Phinney & Flores, 2002). The finding that these Latina attorneys maintained more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles is also reflected in the findings from this study that while the majority of Latina attorneys were married and in their prime child-bearing years, they were less likely to have children, and of those who did, they typically had only one or two. Furthermore, these Latina attorneys demonstrated more egalitarian gender role attitudes as evidenced in their nontraditional career choice, and also the fact that these respondents worked full-time and more than half were the primary income-earner for their families.

### **Does Acculturation Level Moderate the Relationship between the Existence of Latina Attorneys' Family Responsibilities and their Subjective Career Success?**

This study also found no evidence that the Latina attorneys' level of acculturation to the United States, as operationalized by the indicators used in this study, immigration level and degree of English language dominance, moderated the relationship between their family responsibilities and their subjective career success. It was hypothesized that while less acculturated Latina attorneys who have children at home may experience lower levels of

objective career success, they would simultaneously experience higher levels of career satisfaction because their stronger adherence to more traditional cultural values rooted in collectivism would increase their experiences of work-family facilitation and also contribute toward a positive relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction (DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006; DelCampo et al., 2010).

As previously noted, Latina attorneys in this study appeared to be highly acculturated. Therefore, they may not have identified as closely with the Latino cultural value of familismo. This cultural value, which emphasizes centrality of family, was predicted to increase their experiences of work-family facilitation, as well as the positive relationship between work-family conflict and career satisfaction. However, as noted by Sy and Romero (2008) the cultural value of familismo does not necessarily disappear among second or even third generation Latino families.

Phinney and Flores (2002) explain how the process of acculturation includes both ethnic retention and mainstream adaption whereby different types of attitudes and behaviors may be more associated with one dimension than the other. In this light, it can be argued that the Latina attorneys' acculturation level did not moderate the relationship between their family responsibilities and their level of career satisfaction because their cultural value of familismo remained constant. Therefore, as high acculturated, yet bicultural women, Latina attorneys of later immigrant generations may still retain their strong cultural value emphasizing family closeness and loyalty, while also assuming more egalitarian gender ideology associated with the predominant Anglo cultures.

## **What is the Relationship between Objective and Subjective Career Success for Latina Attorneys with Family Responsibilities?**

In the examination of the relationship between objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, this analysis provides some empirical support that for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, level of career satisfaction is not significantly related to their positional level or gross compensation. This finding supports and extends other research that objective and subjective career success are not necessarily associated for women with family responsibilities (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Judge et al., 1995; Mayrhofer et al., 2008).

While there was no support that their family responsibilities are significantly related to their levels of career satisfaction overall, and only limited support that family responsibilities are related to some aspects of their objective career success, this finding does provide some support that for Latina attorneys with family responsibilities, level of objective career success is not necessarily related to their subjective career success. As such, family responsibilities may partially account for the paradox of contentment found in women attorneys in general (Hagan & Kay, 2007; Hull, 1999; Kay & Gorman, 2008) and in Latina attorneys in particular (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010; Garcia-Lopez, 2008) because their obligation to family may broaden their definition of what it means to be a successful attorney.

### **Conclusions**

This study provides some evidence that having younger children may restrict Latina attorneys' upward mobility, perhaps due to gender-related stereotyping and bias. However, the general lack of overall support for a relationship between family responsibilities and objective career success may be because the Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in this study did

not necessarily reduce their working hours or take extended time off from their careers after having children. In essence, by performing as “ideal workers,” they demonstrated their commitment to their legal careers by adhering to established time norms and professional ideology valued and rewarded by law firm cultures.

The Latina attorneys’ decision to not reduce their workforce engagement after having children may not be due to lack of role conflict, but rather due to their perceived need to display greater commitment to their legal careers as a way to counteract prevailing gender stereotypes and to demonstrate themselves as ideal workers. Fuegan et al. (2004) explain that, because mothers are judged particularly harshly relative to the standard of the ideal worker, women with family responsibilities must do more to prove their commitment and competence. Furthermore, there is recent evidence that women attorneys of color are discouraged from working reduced hours because the stigma associated with its use may be greater for them for fear of compounding the barriers they already face as women attorneys of color (Calvert, Chanow, & Marks, 2009).

The realization that the majority of the Latina attorneys were in their prime childbearing years, yet remained childless, may also reflect their intentional decision to postpone or simply not have children as a way to avoid potential conflict and to advance their legal careers. Korzec (2000) refers to this decision as a Hobson’s Choice to “either postpone having children until they become partner and risk being physically unable to bear children at all...or have children during their partnership track years and risk being denied a partnership position” (p. 255). This explanation is also supported in the finding by Blair-Loy & Dehart (2003) of how African American women attorneys in their study did not suffer a wage penalty because they delayed or

avoided childbearing as a way to maintain uninterrupted careers as necessitated by the demands of their legal workplaces.

The results of this study provide some evidence that career consequences of having younger children are not necessarily due to lower productivity or from restrictions of human capital, but rather, from negative assumptions and biases of others. One implication of this is that motherhood may trigger strong negative assumptions and unfair biases about women attorneys' performance and commitment, which negatively impacts evaluations, work assignments, and access to career development opportunities that lead to advancement in the legal profession (Rhode, 2003; Rikleen, 2006; J. C. Williams et al., 2007).

Notwithstanding the limited conclusions that can be drawn from this study regarding the Latina attorneys' family responsibilities and objective career success, Cruz and Molina (2010) provide evidence that Latina attorneys as a whole still face significant barriers to their career advancement, which the participants perceived to be due, in large part, to their current or future family responsibilities. Furthermore, while the high attrition of women and racial and ethnic minorities from large law firms has been well documented in a number of legal reports (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2006b; Garth & Sterling, 2009; Wilder, 2007), there is some evidence that this is due to their experiences of gender discrimination and discouragement about their prospects for partnership (M. C. Noonan & Corcoran, 2004) or the need to move to smaller firms as a way to provide flexibility for family care without penalty (Harrington & Hsi, 2007).

As highly acculturated women, it is argued that Latina attorneys in this study may hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes; however, as bicultural women, they undoubtedly still maintain their strong cultural value emphasizing family closeness and loyalty. As such, it is

likely that they still struggle with the conflicting demands from multiple contexts and cultures in their desire to balance their own cultural value emphasizing family needs, coupled with the professional ideology of their legal workplaces. As such, this potential role conflict may threaten their retention, which may ultimately contribute to their continued underrepresentation within law firms, especially at the highest levels.

Despite these and other barriers to their objective career success, Latina attorneys appear to have high levels of career satisfaction (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010), which is consistent with research conducted on samples of women attorneys in general (Hagan & Kay, 2007; Hull, 1999; Kay & Gorman, 2008). While their overall career satisfaction may not be uniquely attributable to their family responsibilities, there is some evidence that it may partially account for this paradox of contentment they enjoy despite lower compensation levels and other obstacles to their advancement (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010; Garcia-Lopez, 2008).

Career success is a socially constructed reality; however, promotion-to-partnership and its associated high earnings often symbolize achievement of traditional career success in private practice law firms (Galanter & Palay, 1991; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Kay & Gorman, 2008). While career success is often conceptualized in this way for many lawyers, Latina attorneys' culturally gendered values may also influence their definition of success differently from others in the legal profession in that they may associate career success more subjectively and prioritize values associated with their sense of pride and satisfaction with their careers rather than economic rewards and upward mobility that are traditionally valued within this profession.

While they may operationalize success differently, an alternative explanation for this paradox of contentment may be that Latina attorneys with family responsibilities have higher levels of career satisfaction because they adjust their satisfaction to what they believe is available

and within reach, rather than what is not. This explanation is supported by Judge et al. (1995) who posit that despite lower levels of objective career success, women and racial minorities are more likely to be satisfied with their careers because these demographic factors serve as a frame of reference for how career success is defined. Moreover, in their study of lawyer satisfaction, Dinovitzer and Garth (2007) draw on Bourdieu's theoretical framework to explain that "those who do not have access to high-paid elite positions, may, for example, celebrate that their job provides them the opportunity to do socially fulfilling work or...place more value on settings that accommodate their lifestyle, making a virtue of their necessity" (p. 33). As such, this suggests that Latina attorneys may be more satisfied in their careers because they are simply settling for less than they deserve.

### **Recommendations**

The results of this study provide some evidence that Latina attorneys may be disadvantaged in their careers due to experiences of gender discrimination and stereotyping, which can lead to unfair assumptions and judgments about women's commitment and ambition and have a cumulative negative effect over time on their advancement potential. To counteract this barrier, organizational leaders and decision-makers must be made aware of how implicit biases and stereotypes of women with family responsibilities negatively impact their careers, and examine each element of the organization's culture to identify patterns that inhibit Latina attorneys' full participation and ability to succeed. To gain a better understanding of this issue, law firms should provide opportunities for firm members to safely explore their own personal stereotypes and biases toward women attorneys with family responsibilities through dialogues with both individuals and focus groups.

Related to this, Latina attorneys may also be discouraged from considering flexible work arrangement programs due to the stigma associated with its use. As noted by Cruz and Molina (2010), this suggests the need for legal employers to develop and reinforce institutional cultures, structures, policies, and practices that are gender-neutral and family-supportive. This can be accomplished through critical evaluation and modification of institutionalized structures, policies, and practices that obscure these goals, as well as implementing culture awareness and sensitivity programs that bring attention to the unique values and needs of a more diverse attorney population, including Latina attorneys with family responsibilities. More flexible work arrangements are required by both male and female attorneys of all races and ethnicities. By allowing all attorneys to enjoy flexible work arrangements, rather than just women with family responsibilities, this universal accessibility will remove the gender-based stigma encountered by women, and Latina attorneys in particular.

In addition to promoting more gender-neutral and family supportive workplaces, organizational leaders must also address and eliminate the long-held assumptions and values inherent in law firm cultures that impose norms and standards that appear to support a male-oriented career model that is often incompatible with responsibilities attorneys face in the family domain. Performance and advancement criteria, such as working long hours, being constantly available to clients, displaying unproductive face-time, and adhering to an uninterrupted career path are often challenging for attorneys with family responsibilities, women attorneys in particular, who tend to have more cyclical and unstable career patterns than men in response to the needs of their children and families (Brown, 2002a; M. Valcour & Ladge, 2008). To that end, Krakauer and Chen (2003) call for a female model of career development within law firms that

“places value on cyclical and circular movement and acknowledges the diverse life patterns of women” (p. 74).

This study speculates that due in part to their family responsibilities, Latina attorneys may not be selected for career sponsorship, which is a key component to their upward mobility (Turner, 1960). To that end, the HNBA Commission Studies (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010) underscore the need to assist Latina attorneys in developing successful relationships with mentors and other key individuals throughout their career development. To help Latina attorneys develop these key relationships, the legal profession must support and sponsor programs that allow Latina attorneys to establish and maintain effective mentoring relationships on both a formal and informal basis.

This requires a critical evaluation of current opportunities and program offerings, in terms of their actual use and value, as well as access to multiple channels and opportunities for Latina attorneys to meet and work with a diverse pool of individuals both inside and outside of their legal workplaces (American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 2008; Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). These relationships can also ensure that Latina attorneys with family responsibilities continue to have access to the challenging work assignments and professional development opportunities that lead to career advancement.

Similar to the role of mentors throughout their careers, networking is cited as a key factor to achieving career success (Kuijpers, Schyns, & Scheerens, 2006) and is related to the accumulation of social capital, which provides increased access to information, resources and career sponsorship (Seibert et al., 2001). As recommended by the American Bar Association Commission of Women in the Profession (2006b), given the scarcity of women attorneys of color in the legal profession in general, internal and external support systems, including

involvement in women-and minority-bar associations, can also provide these women with an excellent source of mentoring, camaraderie, and support that often eludes them within their legal workplaces.

Finally, for Latina attorneys to perceive themselves as truly successful and therefore committed to their careers, they must be able to integrate aspects of their Latina identity and cultural values into their professional lives as well. This concept challenges traditional law firm career models and professional ideology that compels many Latina attorneys to conform to the prevailing ideals of the legal profession.

Supporting Latina attorneys in achieving true career success also requires a unique perspective, which incorporates alternative forms of career success that are more subjective in nature and focus attention on family as well as work factors. Rather, the concept of the protean career, in which the main success criteria are subjective in nature and that incorporates aspects of the individual's identity and values (Hall, 2004) may be a more appropriate framework for operationalizing career success of Latina attorneys.

### **Study Limitations**

This research study has undoubtedly contributed to a better understanding of the relationships that exist between family responsibilities and objective and subjective career success for Latina attorneys in law firm environments, as well as how their level of acculturation may moderate these relationships. However, a number of this study's methodological limitations may threaten the credibility and generalizability of this study's claims.

One major limitation of this study is concerned with threats to its external validity, which as stated by Creswell (2003), occurs when researcher draws incorrect inferences from the sample data to other groups or settings. As previously described, the data used in this study were based

on secondary data from the survey portion of a dataset provided by the Hispanic National Bar Association in the first HNBA Commission Study by Cruz and Molina (2010) in their exploratory study on the status and experiences of Latina attorneys in the United States.

The HNBA Commission Study used a nonprobability method of judgment sampling, which included as its criterion, those Latina attorneys licensed in the United States who were members of the HNBA and the HNBA Affiliate bar associations from 2008-2009. While exploratory research does not necessarily require the use of probability samples, explanatory studies generally do (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). Therefore, while Cruz and Molina (2010) indicate that their sample frame of Latina attorney members of the HNBA and the HNBA Affiliates served as a logical proxy to represent the larger Latina attorney population, the findings from this dissertation study cannot be generalized beyond the current sample due to the nonprobability nature of the sampling procedure from which this dataset was derived.

Another limitation is the cross-sectional nature of the survey design. Because the data used reflect the participants' family status or level of objective and subjective career success at one particular point in time, it may not truly capture the changing nature of these relationships throughout the participants' career trajectory. The use of data from more longitudinal designs may provide a better understanding of these relationships at different points in the Latina attorneys' legal careers. Furthermore, as noted by Kossek and Lambert (2005), use of longitudinal and experimental designs can more effectively establish the temporal sequencing of the work and family related variables that are necessary to establish causation.

Another methodological concern is related to self-reported nature of the data, which can pose threats of common method variance and inflated ratings. While this limitation may be overcome by use of data that are more objective and verifiable such as archival data and

personnel records, Spector (2006) acknowledges that these approaches do not guarantee more reliable results because of the potential for omissions or data-related errors.

Given the participants' guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity, there is no reason to believe that the professional level or salary data provided by the respondents were fabricated or inflated. Furthermore, because the majority of the data for this study were based on the participants' demographic information about themselves and their professional roles and satisfaction levels, it is argued that the respondents were best positioned to provide the most accurate information concerning these items.

### **Future Research**

This study responds to the call from the HNBA Commission Studies (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010) for additional research on the experiences and barriers facing Latinas attorneys in each sector of the legal profession, including, but not limited to, those employed in private practice law firms. To that end, future research should examine and compare how family responsibilities may be associated with aspects of career success for Latina attorneys employed in other legal sectors, including the public interest, which Cruz et al. (2010) speculate may be more accommodating of this dual role. Future research should also conduct a comparative analysis of how family responsibilities relate to objective and subjective career success for other attorney groups as well, including, but not limited to, Latinos, White men, White women, and other men and women attorneys of color to identify the differential impact of gender, ethnicity, and race on these relationships.

While this study operationalized the construct of family responsibilities as the presence and level of children in the home, given the view that Latina attorneys may encounter strong cultural and gender norms regarding care for extended family members, such as parents and

elders (DelCampo et al., 2010), future research should incorporate other demographic indicators of family responsibilities including those related to a spouse, parent(s), siblings, etc., Similarly, while positional level and compensation were the variables used in this study to represent objective career success, future studies should also incorporate those more closely associated with other aspects of career mobility (e.g., access to mentoring opportunities) to determine how family responsibilities may be related to opportunities for advancement in law firms.

Finally, because the Latina attorneys from this study were employed full-time, this may not provide an accurate portrait of the career ramifications for those who may have reduced their workforce engagement due to their family responsibilities or who may have even opted out of law firms for a period of time or altogether. As such, future research should investigate how reducing hours or interrupting one's career for family responsibilities may relate to their objective and subjective career success, and ultimately their continued representation within law firms.

While this study is an incremental step in the ongoing need for research on this understudied population of Latina attorneys, future research must continue to expand on this, as well as the larger HNBA Commission Study from which these data were derived. As the Latina population continues to grow in this country, identification of the barriers that contribute to Latina attorneys' underrepresentation, including as it relates to their family responsibilities, is critical to the development and implementation of strategies aimed at minimizing these barriers, so that each current and prospective Latina attorney has greater opportunity to reach her fullest potential and achieve success and satisfaction in the legal profession.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter supports results reported by other legal scholars that “mother’s marginalization reflects not mere choice; it also reflects discrimination” (Williams, 2000, p. 37). While Latina attorneys’ family responsibilities may not necessarily result in negative career outcomes for those who do not reduce workforce engagement, this study demonstrates how as highly acculturated, yet bicultural women, Latina attorneys with family responsibilities may still encounter barriers to their legal careers, including gender-related stereotyping, experiences and perceptions of work-family conflict, inflexible law firm policies, male-dominated law firm cultures, and lack of career sponsorship, which may ultimately contribute to their underrepresentation in law firms, especially at the highest levels.

Despite these barriers, Latina attorneys across the legal profession have high levels of career satisfaction (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010). While this study found no support that the Latina attorneys’ high level of career satisfaction was attributable to their family responsibilities, there is some evidence that it may partially account for this paradox of contentment they enjoy despite lower compensation levels and other obstacles to their advancement (Cruz & Molina, 2010; Cruz et al., 2010; Garcia-Lopez, 2008). This may be because Latina attorneys operationalize career success more subjectively to include responsibilities associated with family as well as work factors, or alternatively, this may also reflect that they are settling for what they believe is within their reach.

To support Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in their legal careers, it is recommended that law firm leaders support more gender-neutral and family-friendly attitudes, structures, policies, and cultures within their organizations. Furthermore, to foster their career sponsorship, law firms must support Latina attorneys with family responsibilities in developing

mentoring relationships and networking opportunities that may facilitate their career advancement.

While this study provides valuable insight into how family responsibilities may be related to Latina attorneys' career success, issues regarding the cross-sectional and self-reported nature of the data and potential threats to this study's external validity are recognized as limitations to this study's credibility and generalizability. Future research must continue to expand on these findings, including how different indicators of family responsibilities are related to various career outcomes for Latina attorneys, as well as other attorney groups, including those employed in other legal sectors and also those who work less than full-time.

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## APPENDIX A. HNBA AFFILIATE BAR ASSOCIATIONS

- Colorado Hispanic Bar Association
- Connecticut Hispanic Bar Association
- Dallas Hispanic Bar Association
- Dominican Bar Association
- Georgia Hispanic Bar Association
- Hispanic Bar, Association of Austin
- Hispanic Bar Association of Greater Kansas City
- Hispanic Bar Association of New Jersey
- Hispanic Bar Association of Orange County
- Hispanic Bar Association of Pennsylvania
- Hispanic Lawyers Association of Illinois
- Hispanic Lawyers Association of Louisiana
- La Raza Lawyers Association of Santa Clara
- La Raza Lawyers of Sacramento
- Latina/o Bar Association of Washington
- Latino Lawyers Association of Queens County
- Long Island Hispanic Bar Association
- Los Abogados Hispanic Bar Association
- Maryland Hispanic Bar Association
- Massachusetts Association of Hispanic Attorneys
- Mexican American Bar Association of Los Angeles County
- Mexican American Bar Association of San Antonio
- Mexican American Bar Association of Texas
- Minnesota Hispanic Bar Association
- New Mexico Hispanic Bar Association
- Oregon Hispanic Bar Association
- Puerto Rican Bar Association of Florida
- Puerto Rican Bar Association of Illinois
- San Francisco La Raza Lawyers Association
- The Puerto Rican Bar Association of New York
- Wisconsin Hispanic Lawyers Association
- Delaware Hispanic Bar Association
- Hispanic Bar Association of Houston

## **APPENDIX B. HNBA COMMISSION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

From *Few and Far Between: The Reality of Latina Lawyers* by Cruz & Molina, September, 2009, Hispanic National Bar Association Commission on Latinas in the Profession National Study and Report. Copyright 2009 by Hispanic National Bar Association. Reprinted with permission.



## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the *Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession*

Dear Attorney,

You are invited to participate in a national study of Latinas in the legal profession. The goals of the study are to identify the barriers and experiences facing Latinas in the legal profession and to recommend key strategies to overcome those obstacles. Your participation in this survey is critical and will hopefully play a role in promoting and supporting Latinas by measuring their progress, and increasing awareness of the obstacles that confront Latina attorneys and promote accountability by individual and institutional leaders.

The survey takes approximately 15 minutes to complete. By completing the survey, you are agreeing to participate in this study. Your participation in the survey is completely confidential and anonymous. The results of the survey will be reported in aggregate form only. You will not be paid for participating in this study and there are no foreseeable risks to your participation. If there are any questions or concerns about the survey please do not hesitate to contact Melinda S. Molina, Research Professor of Law, St. John's University School of Law at [molinam@stjohns.edu](mailto:molinam@stjohns.edu) or Jill Cruz, JLC Consulting LLC, at [jillcruz@cinci.rr.com](mailto:jillcruz@cinci.rr.com). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact St. John's University's Institutional Review Board at (718) 990-1440.

Thank you in advance for your participation in this study.



## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the *Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession*

% Completed 

### I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your age?
 

<input type="radio"/> Under 25	<input type="radio"/> 31-35	<input type="radio"/> 41-45	<input type="radio"/> 51-55
<input type="radio"/> 26-30	<input type="radio"/> 36-40	<input type="radio"/> 46-50	<input type="radio"/> Over 55
2. Which best describes your ethnic background? (Check ALL that apply)
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Central American	<input type="checkbox"/> Dominican	<input type="checkbox"/> Puerto Rican	<input type="checkbox"/> Spaniard
<input type="checkbox"/> Cuban	<input type="checkbox"/> Mexican	<input type="checkbox"/> South American	
Other: <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>			
3. Which best describes your racial background? (Check ALL that apply)
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Afro Latina	<input type="checkbox"/> Black/African American	<input type="checkbox"/> White/Caucasian
<input type="checkbox"/> Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="checkbox"/> Criolla	<input type="checkbox"/> Mestiza/Indigenous
Other: <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>		
4. What best describes you?
 

<input type="radio"/> Born outside of U.S. (Parents also not born in U.S.)
<input type="radio"/> Born in the U.S. to both immigrant parents
<input type="radio"/> Born in the U.S. to one immigrant parent/one U.S. born parent
<input type="radio"/> Born in the U.S. to U.S. born parents
Other: <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>

5. What is the highest level of educational attainment of at least one of your parents?

- Advanced Degree (Professional or Doctorate Level)
- Graduate Degree (Masters Level)
- Undergraduate Degree
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- High School
- Elementary School

6. Other family members who are or have been attorneys? (Check ALL that apply)

- Mother
- Father
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- Siblings
- Extended Family
- Spouse
- None

7. What is your dominant language?

- Spanish is my first and primary language
- English is my first and primary language
- Bilingual (Spanish is first language; English is primary language)
- Bilingual (English is first language; Spanish is primary language)
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Marital Status

- Single (never married)
- Married
- Committed Partner Relationship
- Separated, Divorced, or Widowed

9. Family Status (Check ALL that apply)

- Children or step-children living at home
- No children or step-children living at home
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- Parent(s) living at home

10. Number of children living at home

- None
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four or more

11. Age of youngest child

- 1 year or Less
- 2 to 4 years
- 5 to 12 years
- 13 to 17 years
- 18 to 21 years
- More than 21 years

12. Did you participate in an HNBA focus group?

- Yes
- No

13. Are you currently a member of an HNBA affiliate? (Check ALL that apply)

- Colorado Hispanic Bar Association
- Connecticut Hispanic Bar Association
- Dallas Hispanic Bar Association
- Dominican Bar Association
- Georgia Hispanic Bar Association
- Hispanic Bar Association of Austin
- Hispanic Bar Association of Greater Kansas City
- Hispanic Bar Association of New Jersey
- Hispanic Bar Association of Orange County
- Hispanic Bar Association of Pennsylvania
- Hispanic Lawyers Association of Illinois
- Hispanic Lawyers Association of Louisiana, Inc.
- La Raza Lawyers Association of Santa Clara
- La Raza Lawyers of Sacramento
- Latina/o Bar Association of Washington
- Latino Lawyers Association of Queens County
- Long Island Hispanic Bar Association
- Los Abogados Hispanic Bar Association
- Maryland Hispanic Bar Association
- Massachusetts Association of Hispanic Attorneys
- Mexican American Bar Association of Los Angeles County (MABA)
- Mexican American Bar Association of San Antonio
- Mexican American Bar Association of Texas
- Minnesota Hispanic Bar Association
- New Mexico Hispanic Bar Association
- Oregon Hispanic Bar Association
- Puerto Rican Bar Association of Florida
- Puerto Rican Bar Association of Illinois
- San Francisco La Raza Lawyers Association
- The Puerto Rican Bar Association of New York
- Wisconsin Hispanic Lawyers Association
- Delaware Hispanic Bar Association
- Hispanic Bar Association of Houston





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### II. LAW SCHOOL

1. Year graduated from law school

- 2006-Present
- 2001-2005
- 1996-2000
- 1991-1995
- 1986-1990
- 1981-1985
- 1976-1980
- 1971-1975
- 1966-1970
- 1961-1965
- 1960 or before

2. National Ranking of your law school in the year you graduated:

- Tier 1 (Top 20)
- Tier 2 (21-40)
- Tier 3 (41 and below)
- Don't know
- Other:

3. Law school academic honors or achievements. Which best describes your graduation class rank?

- Top 10%
- Top 20%
- Top 30%
- Average
- Below Average

4. Law School Activities (Check ALL that apply)

- I competed for or was selected for and served as a member of my law school's journal/law review.
- I was selected for and served as a member of my law school's moot court board.
- I am a member of the Order of the Coif.

Other:



## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession

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### III. WORK EXPERIENCE

1. Which of the following best describes your current occupation?

- Private Law Firm
- Corporate Counsel
- Public Sector
- Legal Academia
- Other:

Please complete sections A-E that best corresponds to your current occupation.

#### A. Private Law Firm

A1 Position

- Associate or counsel in a law firm
- Of Counsel/Special Counsel in a law firm
- Partner (non-equity) in a law firm
- Partner (equity) in a law firm

A2 Practice area

- Litigation
- Corporate
- Transactional
- International trade
- Intellectual property
- Arbitration
- Other:
- Employment
- Commercial Litigation
- Family Law
- Immigration
- General Practice

*A3 Size of Firm*

- 5 or less attorneys
- 6-10
- 11-25
- 26-50
- 51-75
- 76-100
- 101 or more

**B. Corporate Counsel**

*B1 For-Profit*

- Chief Legal Officer (VP, SVP, EVP)
- General counsel in corporate legal department
- Supervising attorney (not general counsel) in corporate legal department
- In-house attorney in corporate legal department
- Other:

*B2 Non-Profit*

- General counsel in corporate legal department
- Supervising attorney (not general counsel) in corporate legal department
- In-house attorney in corporate legal department
- Other:

*B3 Private Company*

- General counsel in corporate legal department
- Supervising attorney (not general counsel) in corporate legal department
- In-house attorney in corporate legal department
- Other:

*B4 Public Company*

- General counsel in corporate legal department
- Supervising attorney (not general counsel) in corporate legal department
- In-house attorney in corporate legal department
- Other:

*B5 Size of Legal Department*

- One attorney
- 2-5 attorneys
- 6-10 attorneys
- 11-25 attorneys
- More than 25 attorneys

**C. Public Sector**

*C1 Government (Civil Service)*

- Supervising attorney
- Attorney (non-supervisory)
- Other:

*C2 Government (Political Appointee)*

- Federal government
- State government
- City government
- Legislative
- Other:

*C3 Judiciary*

- Federal judge
- State judge
- Local judge
- Judicial clerk
- Other:

*C4 Size of Department*

- One attorney
- 2-5 attorneys
- 6-10 attorneys
- 11-25 attorneys
- More than 25 attorneys

**D. Legal Academia**

- Dean
- Administrator
- Law school professor (tenured)
- Law school professor (non-tenured)
- Adjunct professor
- Other:

**E. Other**

*E1 Position*

2. Years practicing law

- Less than 5 years
- 5 - 10 years
- 11 - 15 years
- 16 - 20 years
- 21 or more years

3. What was your gross salary including bonuses for the calendar year 2008?

4. How many employers have you had in your attorney career?

5. Please list the City and State in which you are currently practicing.

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City  State

6. Current Employment status:

Full-time  Not currently employed (involuntary)  
 Part-time  Not currently employed (voluntary)

7. Are you the primary or sole income earner in your family?  Yes  No

8. How did you find your first position in the legal profession out of law school? (Check ALL that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> Family or friend	<input type="checkbox"/> Summer clerkship
<input type="checkbox"/> Executive search firm	<input type="checkbox"/> Judicial clerkship
<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement	<input type="checkbox"/> Law professor referral
<input type="checkbox"/> Unsolicited resume	<input type="checkbox"/> On-campus interview
<input type="checkbox"/> Participation in a job fair (non-diversity)	<input type="checkbox"/> Law school alumni networks
<input type="checkbox"/> Participation in diversity job fair	<input type="checkbox"/> Law school placement office
Other: <input type="text"/>	



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 **Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the  
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**IV. FORMATIVE EXPERIENCES**

*Please indicate your level of agreement to the following questions:*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Growing up, my parents stressed the importance of having a strong education.	<input type="radio"/>				
2. I knew I wanted to pursue a career in the legal profession before I entered college.	<input type="radio"/>				
3. There were attorney role models in my early life that influenced my decision to pursue a career in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
4. There were strong female role models in my early life that influenced my decision to pursue a career in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				





## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession

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### V. ENTRY INTO THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Please indicate your level of agreement to the following questions:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I believe my status as a Latina has benefited my ability to be hired into my chosen position(s) in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
2. I believe my status as a Latina has created barriers for me in being hired into my chosen position(s) in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
3. I believe that my current employer's interest in hiring me was primarily based on their need to meet diversity goals.	<input type="radio"/>				
4. I have benefited from diversity-oriented recruiting resources and referral networks.	<input type="radio"/>				





## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the *Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession*

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### VI. PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF LATINA ATTORNEYS IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I believe that Latina attorneys are viewed positively by others in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
2. I believe my status as a Latina has influenced my supervisor(s) evaluation of my performance.	<input type="radio"/>				
3. I feel that I have to act, dress, or communicate differently from my non-Latina peers to gain the same credibility and career opportunities.	<input type="radio"/>				
4. I have been mistaken as a translator, court reporter, or another non-attorney role in the workplace or court.	<input type="radio"/>				
5. I have been unfairly excluded from important work assignments because of my status as a Latina attorney.	<input type="radio"/>				
6. I have experienced demeaning comments or harassment because of my status as a Latina attorney.	<input type="radio"/>				
7. My organization(s) values and consistently shows a commitment to establishing and maintaining an inclusive organizational culture and diverse attorney workplace.	<input type="radio"/>				
8. I believe there are more barriers related to my gender than to my ethnicity in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
9. I believe there are more barriers related to my race than my ethnicity in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
10. Overall, I am satisfied with my experiences in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				

11. If you have experienced negative perceptions or treatment in any of your attorney position(s), please rank order those demographic characteristics that you believe are the basis of these experiences. Rank the following items from high to low with 1 being the highest and leave blank those that do not apply to you personally.

	Rank
Gender	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Ethnicity	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Race	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Sexual orientation	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Physical disability	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Family care responsibilities	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Age	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Other	<input style="width: 40px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>

If OTHER, please specify:





## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the *Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession*

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### VII. CAREER ADVANCEMENT

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I believe that Latina attorneys are provided the same opportunities as others to succeed and advance in the legal profession.	<input type="radio"/>				
2. I believe that having significant family-care responsibilities will affect my opportunities for advancement.	<input type="radio"/>				
3. I believe that I have to perform at a higher level than my non-Latina attorney peers to gain the same level of credibility and career opportunities in my workplace.	<input type="radio"/>				
4. Formal mentoring relationships in my workplace(s) have played a critical role in supporting my professional development and career advancement.	<input type="radio"/>				
5. Informal mentors inside and outside of my workplace(s) have played a critical role in supporting my professional development and career advancement.	<input type="radio"/>				
6. I am given ample opportunity to network and socialize with senior attorneys or supervisors in formal gatherings.	<input type="radio"/>				
7. I am given ample opportunity to network and socialize with senior attorneys or supervisors in informal gatherings or social events.	<input type="radio"/>				
8. I am given ample opportunities to actively participate in business development efforts with clients or to work closely with my organization's customers or constituents.	<input type="radio"/>				

9. If you believe you have not had the same opportunities to advance as others in the legal profession, please rank order those demographic characteristics that you believe are the basis of these limitations. Rank the following items from high to low with **1 being the highest and leave blank those that do not apply to you personally.**

	Rank
Gender	<input type="text"/>
Ethnicity	<input type="text"/>
Race	<input type="text"/>
Sexual orientation	<input type="text"/>
Physical disability	<input type="text"/>
Family Care Responsibilities	<input type="text"/>
Age	<input type="text"/>
Other	<input type="text"/>

If OTHER, please specify.





## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession

### VII. STRATEGIES TO HELP LATINA ATTORNEYS SUCCEED

Please rank the strategies you believe that the legal profession should consider to help Latina attorneys succeed in their chosen professions. Rank the following items from high to low with **1 being the highest**.

	Rank
1. Increase and strengthen organizational-sponsored mentoring programs for all attorneys	<input type="text"/>
2. Increase and strengthen professional development opportunities for all attorneys	<input type="text"/>
3. Increase opportunities for diverse attorneys to work with and develop relationships with clients and influential individuals	<input type="text"/>
4. Increase diversity awareness and training initiatives for all organizational attorneys and staff	<input type="text"/>
5. Improve and advance work/life programs for all attorneys	<input type="text"/>
6. Increase education to organization decision makers on the unique issues and needs of Latina attorneys	<input type="text"/>
7. Increase outreach programs targeted at Latina youth	<input type="text"/>
8. Sponsor Latina attorney affinity and networking groups	<input type="text"/>
9. Other	<input type="text"/>

If OTHER, please specify.

General Comment :



## Hispanic National Bar Association Survey on the Status of Latinas in the Legal Profession

Thank you for your participation.

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