The Changing Character of Lawyers' Work: Chicago in 1975 and 1995

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This article compares findings from two surveys of Chicago lawyers, the first conducted in 1975 and the second in 1995. The earlier study indicated that the Chicago bar was then divided into two broad sectors or "hemispheres," one serving large corporations and similar organizations and the other serving individuals and small businesses. Analyses of the structure of co-practice of the fields of law indicate that the hemispheres are now less distinct. The fields are less tightly connected and less clearly organized—they became more highly specialized during the intervening 20 years and are now organized in smaller clusters. Clear indications of continuing separation of work by client type remain, however. Estimates of the amount of lawyers' time devoted to each field in 1975 and 1995 indicate that corporate practice fields now consume a larger share of Chicago lawyers' attention, while fields such as probate receive a declining percentage. Growth is most pronounced in the litigation fields, especially in business litigation. The organizational contexts within which law is practiced both reflect and contribute to these changes. The scale of those organizations has increased greatly, and the allocation of work within them has been divided along substantive, doctrinal lines. As a result, there is a greater disaggregation of work and workgroups within the profession today.

A hypothesis that the urban bar is essentially divided into two distinct sectors or areas of practice was propounded in *Chicago Lawyers: The Social Structure of the Bar* (Heinz & Laumann 1982):

> [W]e have advanced the thesis that much of the differentiation within the legal profession is secondary to one fundamental distinction—the distinction between lawyers who represent large organizations (corporations, labor unions, or government) and those who represent individuals. The two kinds of law practice are the two hemispheres of the profession. Most lawyers reside

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> exclusively in one hemisphere or the other and seldom, if ever, cross the equator. (P. 319)
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> The two sectors of the legal profession thus include different lawyers, with different social origins, who were trained at different law schools, serve different sorts of clients, practice in different office environments, are differentially likely to engage in litigation, litigate (when and if they litigate) in different forums, have somewhat different values, associate with different circles of acquaintances, and rest their claims to professionalism on different sorts of social power. . . . Only in the most formal of senses, then, do the two types of lawyers constitute one profession. (P. 384)

Following the publication of *Chicago Lawyers,* the two-hemispheres hypothesis became a frequent point of reference in the scholarly literature, but the survey on which that book was based was conducted in 1975. There have since been important changes in the legal profession—women entered the bar in large numbers (Hagan & Kay 1995), the overall size of the profession almost doubled while the size of the organizations within which law is practiced grew even more rapidly (Galanter & Palay 1991; Sander & Williams 1992), the management practices of those organizations became more formal and intrusive (Abel 1989:199–202), and there were substantial changes in the level of demand for particular types of legal services, some increasing while others declined.[1] Many of these changes may well have affected the organization of lawyers' work and thus have altered the degree of separation (or lack thereof) of the two hemispheres of law practice.

The purpose of this article is to compare the Chicago findings from 1975 with more recent data concerning patterns of copractice among the fields of law and the extent of specialization by field in order to determine whether the distribution of lawyers' work has changed—that is, whether there is a clear separation between two broad sectors of practice, one serving large organizations and the other serving individuals and small businesses. Note, however, that separation of work by client type was not the sole basis of the two-hemispheres thesis advanced in *Chicago Lawyers.* Rather, that thesis rested in substantial part on the existence of social separation between the two classes of practitioners—in their socioeconomic and ethnoreligious backgrounds, in their educational credentials, in the settings within which they practiced, in their political values, and in their circles of acquaintance and professional association. We do not deal with these other variables in this article, and thus this cannot be considered a complete or definitive reassessment of the current state of the hypothesis.[2]

[1] See Table 3 below and accompanying text.

[2] We should note that the statement of the thesis in *Chicago Lawyers* was hedged with cowardly caveats:

The survey on which *Chicago Lawyers* was based was sponsored by the American Bar Foundation. A random sample was drawn from all types of practice—and, indeed, the sample included nonpracticing, retired, and unemployed lawyers as well. Personal interviews were conducted with 777 respondents, 82% of the target sample (Heinz & Laumann 1982:9). In late 1994 and early 1995, the Foundation mounted a second survey of Chicago lawyers. Again, the sample was drawn randomly[3] and the response rate was again 82%.[4] In both surveys, interviews were conducted face to face, averaging more than an hour in length, and the population was defined as lawyers with offices in the city of Chicago.[5] There were 788 respondents in the 1995 survey.[6] Both

> [I]t would, of course, be a mistake to overdraw the precision of the cleavage between the corporate and personal client hemispheres of the Chicago bar. The client type distinction is too crude and too simple to account for the full complexity of the social structure of the profession. . . . One who wishes to look for variability, imprecision, or ambiguity in the structure of the legal profession would surely find it. It is there. There are, in some respects, larger differences within the hemispheres than between them. . . . Nonetheless, the distinction between corporate and individual clients is a very important one, and that distinction is probably key to an understanding of the social structure of the legal profession and of that structure's consequences for the distribution of power and influence. (Heinz & Laumann 1982:321)

Lawyers can, of course, be sorted in other ways. For example, one might distinguish trial lawyers or "litigators" from office lawyers, or "employed" lawyers (i.e., house counsel and government lawyers) from lawyers who work in law firms or in solo practice. In her study of solo and small firm practitioners in metropolitan New York, Seron (1996) divided her sample into "entrepreneurs," "experimenters," and "traditionalists" based primarily on the nature of their business practices. Hagan and Kay's (1995) study of lawyers in Toronto and in the province of Ontario used a typology that categorized practitioners by the degree to which they possessed "autonomy" and social power (pp. 35–40). All these distinctions may well be useful, depending on one's analytic purpose.

[3] In 1995, the names were drawn from the state's official list of licensed lawyers. All lawyers admitted to practice in Illinois must register with and pay an annual fee to the Attorney Registration and Disciplinary Commission, an agency under the supervision of the Illinois Supreme Court. A lawyer who is not registered with the ARDC is not in good standing. The agency agreed to draw a random sample of names and addresses from the list, following our procedures and specifications. We are grateful to the Illinois ARDC and its staff for their cooperation in this project.

[4] Of the original target sample, 8% had died, were over age 80 (the eligibility limit), had moved out of the Chicago area, or could not be located after an exhaustive search of directories (and were thus assumed to have moved to another region). These persons were therefore excluded from the target sample.

[5] These lawyers could, of course, reside elsewhere or have an additional office elsewhere. We have done some analyses of the comparability of the 1975 and 1995 samples. Specifically, we have compared the characteristics of the respondents in the 1975 sample with those of 1995 respondents who were in practice in 1975. Thus, we are able to assess whether the 1975 sample and the pre-1975 cohort in the 1995 sample appear to have been drawn from the same population. In these analyses, we found no significant differences between the two groups in place of birth, size of place of residence during their high school years, or religious preference. As to the latter, for example, we found that the religious affiliations of the two groups were Catholic, 30% vs. 25%; Jewish, 33% vs. 34%; Protestant, 25% vs. 25%. In the variable concerning the type of law school attended, in the later survey we found substantially fewer graduates of the four "local" law schools located in Chicago (46% vs. 34%). (These four schools are Loyola, De Paul, Chicago Kent, and John Marshall.) Since the graduates of these schools do not enjoy, on the average, the same degree of opportunity or success within the profession as do respondents from the other school categories (see Heinz & Laumann 1982:Table 3.2, p. 70), it is

surveys presented the respondents with a list of fields of practice and asked them to indicate the percentage of their work time devoted to each of the fields during the past year.[7]

The 1975 "Two-Hemispheres" Finding: Methodological Issues

The list of fields used in the 1975 interview instruments was, in some respects, ill-suited to an assessment of the separation of practice into two, client-based hemispheres. The principal defect was that three putative fields—tax, litigation, and real estate—were not differentiated by client type. Thus, when the respondents were asked about the allocation of their time across the various fields, they indicated only that they devoted time to "tax," not corporate tax, or personal income tax, and so on. At the time that Heinz and Laumann designed the 1975 interview, they did not anticipate the crucial part that client type would come to play in their analyses. Development of the two-hemispheres hypothesis was still some years away. As the 1975 data were analyzed, however, it became apparent that the client-type variable was of considerable importance and that the field categories were, especially in these three instances, too crude to capture some of the interesting differentiation. Consequently, at that point Heinz and Laumann made an effort to separate respondents doing tax, litigation, or real estate work into two classes or "fields" within each category—those serving primarily corporate clients and those serving individuals or small businesses.

To differentiate the fields, respondents who reported that they received 80% or more of their professional income from corporate clients were assigned to the corporate tax, corporate litigation, and corporate real estate fields, and the remaining respondents were placed in the "general" or "personal" tax, litigation, and real estate categories (Heinz & Laumann 1982:32 n. 6). For most purposes, such as analysis of the social characteristics of practitioners in the various fields, this assignment procedure is relatively unproblematic. In analyses of the structure of specialization or co-practice of the fields, however, the procedure cre-

plausible that a greater proportion of the local school graduates in the pre-1975 cohort may have left the practice of law by 1995 because of frustration or lack of success. That is, the rate of attrition from the profession may plausibly be thought to be higher for local school graduates. The ethnicity variables are not comparable for the two groups because the coding categories used in 1975 differ from those used in 1995.

[6] In 1995, 75 of the respondents (9.6%) said that they devoted less than ten hours per week to the practice of law. Respondents who were working in nonlegal jobs, who were judges or judicial clerks, or who were retired or unemployed were treated as "not practicing law." In the 1995 sample, the number of practicing lawyers is 675; in the 1975 sample, the number was 699.

[7] Respondents were asked to indicate whether they devoted 100%, 50 to 99%, 25 to 49%, 5 to 24%, 1 to 4%, or none of their time to each field.

ates a real problem. The assignment of respondents to either the corporate or the personal side of each of the three areas of practice was mutually exclusive. Thus, there could be no overlap between the two sides. Indeed, the corporate client sides of each of the three categories could not overlap with the personal client sides of any of the three, since the same 80% of income criterion was used for each.

Because of the inadequacy of the original list of fields used in the interview, Heinz and Laumann lacked data that might have permitted them to evaluate the extent of this problem. That is, they knew that a respondent devoted *X*% of his time to tax work and derived *Y*% of his income from corporate clients (and some other percentage from individuals, governments, and other types of organizations), but they did not know whether the respondent did both corporate tax and personal income or estate and gift tax work. Thus, they could not assess the extent of the overlap in the practice of these fields.

In the 1995 interviews, this defect was corrected. Tax was disaggregated into four categories: estate and gift tax, federal income tax (personal), federal income tax (corporate), and state and local tax (including property taxes, hotel user fees, sales tax, etc.). Real estate was also divided into four categories: real estate finance and development, landlord/tenant, residential transfers, and zoning and eminent domain. Civil litigation was separated into personal client litigation and corporate client litigation. When the data from the 1995 interviews were in hand, we could see that there was appreciable overlap in the practice of these subfields.

Because the numbers of respondents in some of the categories are small, in the analyses that follow we have combined some of the tax and some of the real estate categories. Corporate income tax and state and local tax (business tax) have been separated from personal income tax and estate and gift tax (personal tax). Real estate finance and development, landlord/tenant, and zoning and eminent domain (business real estate) have been separated from residential real estate transfers (personal real estate).[8] Thus, we have derived categories that separate the work primarily addressed to the problems of businesses from that primarily addressed to the concerns of individuals.

Defined in this way, we find that in 1995, of the 268 respondents who devoted as much as 5% of their time to either corporate or personal litigation, 26% (70) did both. Of 152 respon-

[8] Since "landlord/tenant" was defined as one field, it is not possible to separate the work done for landlords from that done for tenants. Because landlords typically have deeper pockets than tenants, however, the work that comes to lawyers more often comes from landlords. In our 1995 data, respondents who report that they devote 25% or more of their time to landlord/tenant work tell us that 76% of their time during the past year was devoted to work for businesses, on the average. (The median percentage of their time devoted to businesses is 87%.)

dents doing either business or personal real estate work 5% or more of their time, 24% (37) were in both fields. The overlap among tax practitioners amounted to 22% (20) of 89 respondents. Of course, the 5% time criterion tells us whether there is overlap at a rather minimal level. If we use a 25% time criterion instead, the amount of overlap declines to 13% in litigation (22 of 174 respondents), 15% in real estate (11 of 74 respondents), and 12% in tax (6 of 50 respondents). Thus, about three-quarters of the practitioners in each of these three doctrinal areas do not cross the client-type line for even 5% of their time, and only about a seventh devote substantial amounts of time to both types of work.

Since the 1995 data show some overlap in these fields, however, we have now reanalyzed the 1975 data to assess the extent to which the mutually exclusive assignment procedure affected the analyses of the structure of co-practice. But we are necessarily in the position of trading one artifact for another. That is, given the inadequacy of the original, undifferentiated field categories, we may either choose to split the fields by client type, thereby creating the appearance of greater client separation in the structure of practice, or choose to use the original categories—tax, litigation, real estate—thereby combining work that usually separates by client type and creating a picture of greater overlap than, in fact, exists. The first strategy was adopted in *Chicago Lawyers*. We have now pursued the latter.

Figure 1 is the hierarchical clustering of the fields that was presented in the book. Figure 2 also uses the 1975 data, but with tax, litigation, and real estate recombined into their original, undifferentiated form. The proximities in both figures are estimated by using the average conditional probabilities of co-practice of the pairs of fields (Heinz & Laumann 1982:50, 56–58).[9] As anticipated, the structure in Figure 2 is somewhat less clearly separated by client type because work for the two classes of clients is combined in the three fields. Nevertheless, the last cluster, with criminal defense, divorce, personal injury plaintiffs work, and general family practice, includes much of the work that is done primarily for individuals. The two sides of labor law join with this cluster near zero. A small "political" or "government" cluster includes municipal law and criminal prosecution, and a more diffuse cluster includes litigation, personal injury defense, civil rights, and public utilities/administrative law.[10] Proceeding up the list, we see a large cluster that includes most of the business

[9] Thus, if the probability of practicing in the environmental defense field is 10% given the condition that the respondent does "general corporate" work, and the probability that a respondent will do general corporate work given that he or she does environmental defense is 40%, then the average conditional probability of co-practice of those two fields would be 25%.

[10] The latter probably cluster because natural gas and electrical lines sometimes cause injuries and because lawyers who do personal injury defense work are sometimes

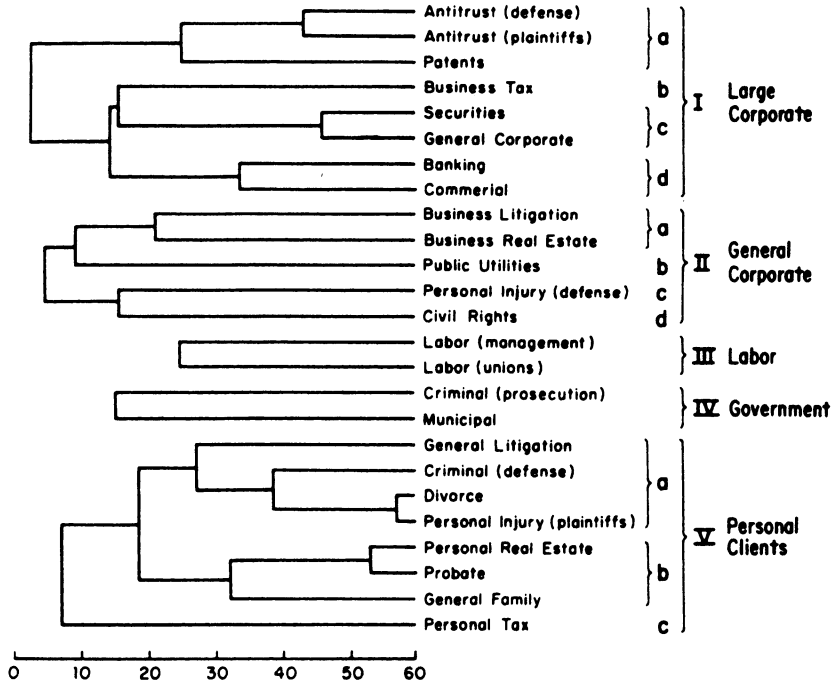

Fig. 1. 1975: Hierarchical clustering of joint activity using average conditional probabilities, diameter method (5% or more time in each field). (Reprinted with permission from Heinz & Laumann 1982)

law areas—this is subdivided into a financial cluster including commercial, banking, and securities work, and a more general cluster including tax, general corporate, probate, and real estate. A "competitive practices" or "regulation of competition" cluster including patents and trademarks and the two sides of antitrust joins these business fields just before the limit. Thus, even when the two sides of tax, litigation, and real estate are combined, the separation between the hemispheres is discernible.

The analysis presented here, like that used in *Chicago Lawyers,* includes all practitioners who devote 5% or more of their time to a field. That is, if there is as much as 5% co-practice between two fields, it is treated as "overlap." By this measure, then, overlap is dichotomous—two fields either overlap for a given respondent or they do not. No weight is given to the extent of the co-practice—to the amount of time in each field. If a respondent devotes 50% of her time to securities, 45% to tax, and 5% to general corporate, in these analyses securities overlaps with general corporate to the same extent that it does with tax. It is entirely possible, then, that the method might understate the degree of overlap between pairs of fields in the sense that it does not at-

involved in workers' compensation cases in administrative tribunals. Civil rights matters are also often handled by administrative hearing officers.

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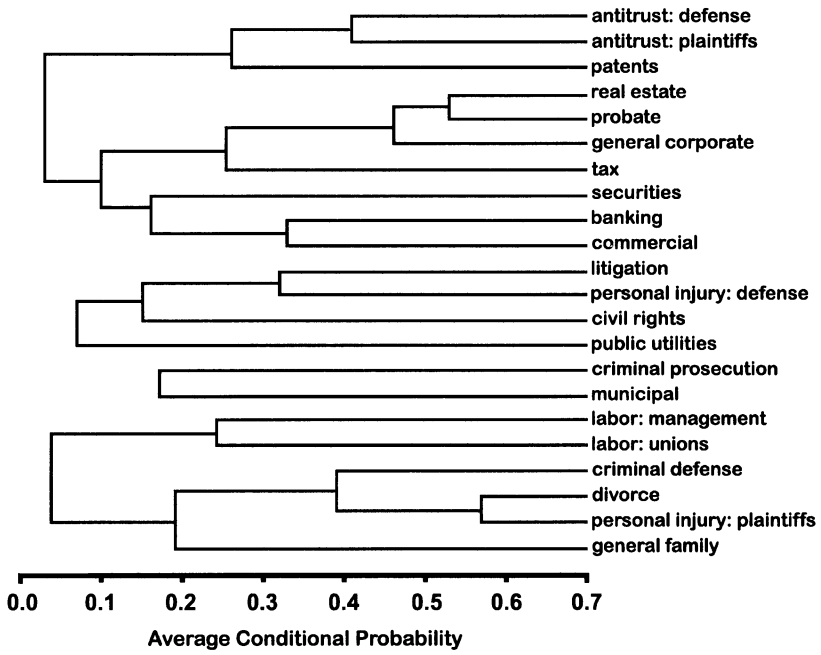

Fig. 2. 1975: Hierarchical clustering of co-practice, with litigation, real estate, and tax recombined (average conditional probabilities; 5% or more in each field).

tend to the concentration of time in cognate fields. To evaluate this possibility, we have done additional analyses using an interval measure of the extent of overlap, employing the data on time in field.[11] For the 1975 data, the resulting hierarchical clustering is much like that presented in Figure 2. The only difference of any interest is that civil litigation and personal injury defense cluster with the personal litigation fields (criminal defense, divorce, and personal injury plaintiffs' work) instead of with civil rights and public utilities. Thus, when time in field is taken into account, all the main litigation fields cluster together—litigation as a function or skill appears to predominate over the substance of the work, so long as the civil litigation field is undifferentiated by client type.

1995 Patterns of Co-Practice

In Figure 3, as in Figures 1 and 2, overlap among the fields is measured at the 5% level (i.e., commitment of 5% of the practitioner's time) and co-practice is treated as dichotomous. In these 1995 data, however, it appears that the organization of work is subdivided into smaller, more highly specialized clusters that are less clearly separated by the broad distinction between corporate

[11] The proximity measure used was an accumulating cross-product matrix.

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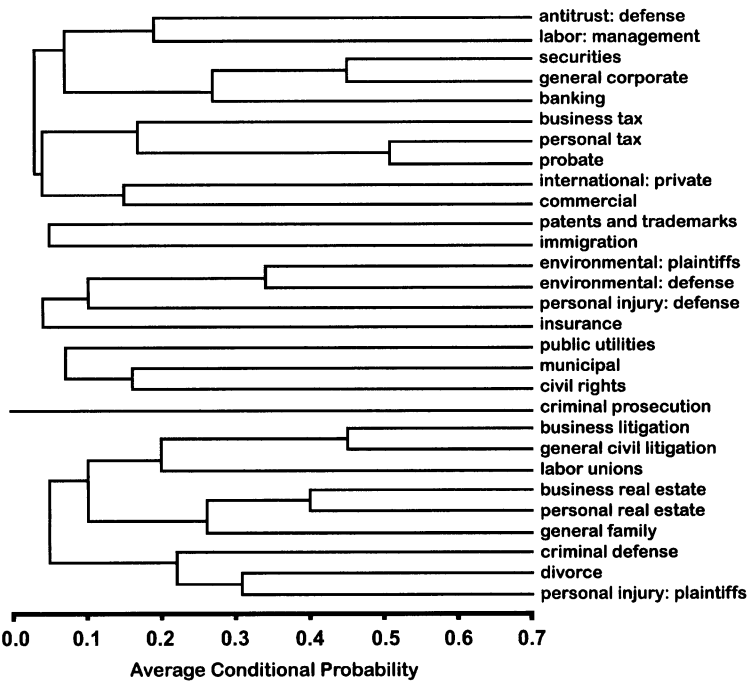

Fig. 3. 1995: Hierarchical clustering of co-practice, all fields (average conditional probabilities; 5% or more in each field).

and personal client types. Note that the fields and clusters do not join as closely in the 1995 structure as they did in 1975. For example, in 1975 (Fig. 2) divorce joins with personal injury plaintiff's work at .57, and these two fields then join with criminal defense at .39. In 1995, we see this same cluster of fields, but now divorce joins PI plaintiffs work only at .31 and criminal defense does not join these two until .22. Thus, the connections are much less close. In this analysis, criminal prosecution is an isolate; it does not join with any other field. Patents, immigration, and insurance are also near isolates; they do not join other fields until .05 or less, near the zero point on the scale.[12]

It appears that substantive or skill-type specialization plays a greater role in this structure than was the case in the 1975 analyses. Note, for example, that environmental work for defendants joins first with that done for plaintiffs, general litigation joins first with business litigation, and personal real estate joins with business real estate. The two sides of labor, however, are not joined

[12] To give the reader a better sense of the extent of co-practice among these fields, we might note that the connection at .05 between immigration law and the patents and trademarks field is produced by just one respondent, who reported time at the 5–24% level in each of the two fields. Thus, the connection between the fields consists of one practitioner who may have devoted as little as 5% of his time to each. This respondent practices in a large firm and does primarily civil litigation for corporate clients, but he is politically active and reports that he does some pro bono work for "human rights" groups.

here, as they were in 1975,[13] and personal tax joins with probate before joining with business tax substantially closer to zero. The small "personal plight" cluster—criminal defense, personal injury plaintiff's work, and divorce—joins at .05 with a broader and more diffuse aggregation of fields, including business and personal litigation, labor union work, the two sides of real estate, and general family practice. The broader aggregation is, in turn, subdivided into two clusters that join only at .10. The other large cluster—from antitrust defense through commercial law—includes most of the business fields. Note, however, that probate and personal tax are found in the midst of corporate fields here.

In an analysis of the 1995 data using our interval measure of time in field, we again find that the hierarchical clustering of fields closely resembles the figure presented here. The principal difference between the two measures is that when time in field is taken into account, the business and personal sides of tax and of litigation are separated, while they cluster together in Figure 3. Thus, when we attend to the concentration of lawyers' time, the separation of tax work and litigation by client type becomes more pronounced.[14]

In general, the 1995 data concerning organization of work appear to be less orderly than was the case in 1975. This might be attributable to a higher degree of specialization in 1995. In such a situation, there would be less overlap among the fields, the clustering analyses would be working with less variance, and this might create instability—essentially random events would have greater impact on the results. Thus, we turn next to an analysis of specialization.

Specialization by Field

In 1975, of 687 practicing lawyers responding, 22.7% worked in only one field. In 1995, in spite of the fact that respondents were presented with a longer, more detailed list of fields (42 field categories were used in 1995 vs. 30 in 1975), 32.6% of 675 practicing lawyers indicated that they worked in only one field. Thus,

[13] In 1975, a few respondents employed by government agencies regulating labor relations indicated that they worked on both sides (i.e., they were in the middle), which accounts for the overlap of the two fields in that survey. The 1975 interview used the labels "labor law (unions)" and "labor law (management)," while the 1995 interview used "employment law (representing unions and employees)" and "employment law (representing management)." That difference may also play a part in the difference in findings.

[14] When we took time in field into account in our analyses of the 1975 data (see text at note 11 above), we found that the concentration of time in cognate fields resulted in a clustering together of all the main litigation fields. But recall that in the original 1975 data (used in those analyses) "civil litigation" was not differentiated by client type. Thus, the civil litigation category that clustered with divorce, criminal defense, and PI plaintiffs' work combined personal and business litigation. In 1995, when the respondents were presented with the differentiated fields, the business and personal sides of litigation divide by client type if time is taken into account.

Table 1. Rank Order of Fields by Specialization Index (SI), 1975 and 1995[a]

	1975		1995	
	Rank	Mean SI	Rank	Mean SI
Criminal (prosecution)	1	.785	1	.859
Patents & trademarks	2	.664	2	.717
Labor (unions)	3	.650	14	.560
Public utilities & administrative	4	.621	23	.499
Environmental (plaintiffs)	5	.591	11	.580
Business tax	6	.586	4	.681
Business real estate	7	.561	12	.575
Labor (management)	8	.559	5	.628
Business litigation	9	.559	6	.625
Personal injury (defendants)	10	.546	3	.694
Municipal	11	.543	10	.601
Criminal (defense)	12	.536	8	.612
General corporate	13	.485	21	.511
Securities	14	.482	15	.559
Civil rights	15	.480	24	.491
Antitrust (plaintiffs)	16	.478	9	.605
Probate	17	.469	27	.469
Personal injury (plaintiffs)	18	.460	7	.622
Banking	19	.455	18	.533
Personal tax	20	.454	20	.524
Antitrust (defense)	21	.447	25	.486
General litigation	22	.445	16	.550
Personal real estate	23	.443	22	.502
Divorce	24	.443	26	470
Family	25	.436	19	.532
Environmental (defendants)	26	.426	13	.572
Commercial (including consumer)	27	.417	17	.543

[a] Rank order correlation: Pearson's $R = .57$ ($p < .01$).

specialization appears to have increased substantially over the 20 years. We have computed a specialization index that permits us to compare the degree of specialization by field in 1995 and 1975, controlling for the number of field categories used in the two studies.[15] Table 1 presents 27 fields for which we have data at both times, listed in the order of their degree of specialization in 1975. The specialization index ranges from 0 to 1, where 1 indicates complete specialization (i.e., practice in only one field). Overall (for all fields), specialization increases from .488 in 1975 to .571 in 1995. Note in the table that the index declines in only

[15] The specialization index was calculated using a procedure developed by Cappell (1979). First, an entropy measure is calculated:

$$\hat{H}_j = \sum_{i=1} P_i \log 1/P_i,$$

where P_i is estimated by the proportion of time allocated to practice category C_i by respondent j. It is a measure of "uncertainty" of observing a respondent practicing in legal field C_i. It can also be thought of as a measure of "diversity" of effort across fields. This measure depends on the total number of fields. Therefore, in order to compare two populations (or samples) with unequal numbers of categories, we standardize with an index of specialization (SI) as follows:

$$SI_j = 1 - \hat{H}_j / H_{\max}.$$

This specialization index ranges from 0 to 1, where 1 is perfect specialization (all time in one field) and 0 is no specialization (time uniformly distributed across fields).

3 of the 27 fields: labor union work, public utilities/administrative law, and environmental work for plaintiffs. In probate, the degree of specialization is constant, and it increases very marginally in civil rights and business real estate. These fields, of course, move down in the specialization rank order. The fields that increase most markedly are personal injury plaintiffs work, which moves from 18th in the rank order to 7th place; environmental work for defendants, which moves from 26th to 13th; and commercial, which moves from last place to 17th. In sum, specialization increased both substantially and quite generally over the 20-year period. Note, also, that the corporate fields are not necessarily the most specialized—for example, banking and antitrust defense have a relatively low degree of specialization at both times, and general corporate is in 13th place in 1975 and 21st in 1995. But family law and divorce—both of which are personal client fields—are also consistently near the bottom of the list.

While the specialization index used here corrects for the number of field categories in a statistical sense, to permit comparison of 1975 and 1995 index values, the index cannot eliminate the possible effects of response bias resulting from the use of different stimuli in 1975 and 1995. As noted above, the 1995 survey presented respondents with a more highly differentiated list of 42 categories. It may be that respondents confronted with a more detailed set of choices will tend to disaggregate their work time.[16] Since we find a substantially higher degree of specialization in 1995, however, such a bias (if any) would be conservative. That is, it would tend to understate or diminish the degree of specialization.

Client Differentiation by Field

Because we have data on the types of clients represented by lawyers practicing in the various fields, we are able to assess more directly the association between particular field categories and the client-type categories. As a first step in sorting this out, let us examine the clientele of respondents who report that they devote 25% or more of their time to each of the fields in the 1995 data. In that analysis, we find that the percentage of clients that are businesses (other client categories are persons—i.e., individuals or families—unions, government, and nonprofit orga-

[16] In fact, however, even though the respondents were given more field choices in 1995, they chose fewer. After categories chosen by very few respondents were combined with others (e.g., business bankruptcy was combined with commercial law), there were 22 field categories in the 1975 data (with tax, litigation, and real estate in their original, undifferentiated form) and 34 in 1995. The mean number of these fields to which respondents devoted 5% or more of their time was 2.84 in 1975 and 2.62 in 1995. The medians are 3 and 2, respectively. The difference of means is significant at $p<.02$.

Table 2. Percentage of Business Clients by Field of Practice, 1995 (Fields with 10 or More Lawyers at 25% or More Time)

	Mean %
High group:	
Environmental defense	91
Banking	87
Commercial (including business bankruptcies)	86
Patents, trademarks & copyright	84
Securities	83
Insurance	81
Civil litigation (corporate clients)	81
General corporate	80
Personal injury defense	79
Business real estate	75
Corporate tax	72
Public utilities & administrative	68
Employment (management)	67
Middle group	
Personal tax	58
Environmental plaintiffs	53
Municipal	45
Residential real estate	45
Civil litigation (personal clients)	45
Probate	43
Civil rights	37
Low group	
Divorce	23
Employment (unions)	22
General family practice	21
Personal injury plaintiffs	15
Criminal defense	8
Criminal prosecution	5

nizations) ranges from a mean of 5% in criminal prosecution[17] and 8% in criminal defense to a high of 91% in environmental defense. When one considers that, given the 25% time criterion, the respondent could be practicing in as many as three other fields (i.e., the same respondent will be counted in multiple fields, thus reducing variance across the fields), the degree of client differentiation among the fields is quite striking. Table 2 presents the mean percentages of business clients by field. Note that, as one would expect, fields dealing with the personal problems of individuals ("personal plight" fields) tend to be the quintessential personal client fields. This is especially true when the field often represents poor people or persons of moderate means, as in criminal defense and personal injury plaintiff's

[17] Though criminal prosecution is supposed to be a full-time job (i.e., prosecutors are not permitted to "moonlight"), our question asked respondents what percentage of their time was spent working for businesses "within the past 12 months." Thus, if the respondent had changed jobs within the past year—moving from the prosecutor's office to private practice or (less commonly) in the other direction—it is possible for a lawyer who had done criminal prosecution work to have had business clients. In the 1995 data, two of the prosecutors had in fact held other jobs during part of the year. This movement among the fields will also be a source of underestimation, in a sense, of the degree of differentiation among the fields.

work. When the clients are more likely to have some money—as, for example, in probate or residential real estate—there is a greater likelihood that the practitioner may represent businesses as well. At the other extreme of the distribution, we find fields that are likely to represent the largest corporations—environmental defense, banking, and patents and trademarks.

But note that some fields of practice serve a more varied mix of clientele. Thus, on the average, 45% of the clients served by lawyers who do municipal law work are businesses, while those same lawyers also do a considerable amount of work for local government. Note that 58% of the clients of respondents who do personal tax work are businesses and that 72% of the clients of those who do corporate tax are businesses. The lawyer who prepares the corporate tax returns for the Smedley Corporation may do the returns of Mr. and Mrs. Smedley as well.[18] As indicated in Table 2, instead of "two hemispheres," we see three broad clusters of fields. Six fields are practiced by lawyers who serve relatively few businesses, while respondents in a larger group of fields (half of the 26) report that two-thirds or more of their clients are businesses, and the remainder of the fields serve a more varied mix of clientele. Thus, the distribution of client types among the fields in 1995 does not show a clear separation between "two hemispheres" of practice. Rather, a middle group of fields appears to bridge the extremes. In a similar analysis of the 1975 data, we find a greater tendency for the fields to divide into two broad clusters, separated by client type.[19]

[18] But recall that, as noted above, only 22% of tax practitioners do both corporate and personal work at the 5% level of time commitment.

[19] The measure used in 1975, however, was not exactly the same as that used in 1995. The 1995 question asked: "During the past 12 months, what percentage of your time was spent working for businesses, other kinds of organizations, and on personal matters such as divorce, wills, or residential real estate?" In the 1975 interviews, respondents were asked: "During the last 12 months, what proportion of your income was derived from work on personal matters (such as divorce, wills, residential real estate), and what proportion was derived from representing business clients?" Thus, the 1975 question inquired about percentages of income rather than time.

It is possible, of course, that these two measures could produce systematically different findings. If work for businesses is generally more remunerative than work for individuals, e.g., then the 1975 question would produce a higher percentage of business-source income than the 1995 percentage of business-consumed time, even if the division of labor remained the same. Using the 1975 measure, we find that the distribution of fields by percentage of business income does in fact display a grouping of fields at the high end of the scale—7 of the 26 fields have percentages of business income in the range from 93% to 97%.

The 1975 data show a somewhat more distinct division of fields by client type than appears in Table 2. In the 1975 distribution of fields, only 3 of the 26 fall into the 22-point interval between 49% and 71%. Those three fields are public utilities and administrative law, labor union work, and municipal law. Much of the work in those three fields represents clients that are neither fish nor fowl—i.e., neither individuals nor businesses. Thus, the 1975 data do not show a group of fields with a balanced mixture of individual and business clients, as we see in the middle group in Table 2.

Table 3. Estimated Distribution of Legal Effort, 1975 and 1995

	1975		1995	
	No. of Practitioners in Field	Estimated % of Total Legal Effort	No. of Practitioners in Field	Estimated % of Total Legal Effort
A. Corporate client sector	543	53	562	64
1. Large corporate				
Antitrust (defense)	47	2	20	1
Business litigation	91	4	215	14
Business real estate	74	4	105	6
Business tax	51	3	57	4
Labor (management)	39	2	71	5
Securities	53	2	56	3
Cluster total	256	18	404	32
2. Regulatory				
Labor (unions)	18	1	31	2
Patents	45	4	44	3
Public utilities and administrative	52	3	20	1
Environmental (plaintiffs)	5	–[a]	17	1
Environmental (defendants)	18	–[a]	39	2
Cluster total	123	9	137	9
3. General corporate				
Antitrust (plaintiffs)	24	1	9	–[a]
Banking	60	3	49	2
Commercial (including consumer)	102	3	63	3
General corporate	262	11	142	6
Personal injury (defendant)	73	4	80	7
Cluster total	396	22	282	18
4. Political				
Criminal (prosecution)	20	2	25	3
Municipal	30	1	25	2
Cluster total	46	3	48	5
B. Personal/small business client sector	424	40	330	29
1. Personal Business				
General litigation	90	3	123	5
Personal real estate	152	6	84	3
Personal tax	57	2	52	2
Probate	195	8	79	3
Cluster total	296	19	230	13
2. Personal plight				
Civil rights	41	2	45	2
Criminal (defense)	91	5	41	3
Divorce	153	6	52	3
Family	84	3	62	3
Personal injury (plaintiffs)	120	6	87	6
Cluster total	296	21	208	16
C. Other fields and unassigned time	162	7	170	7
Total	699	100	675	100

NOTE: The number of practitioners is defined as all respondents who report devoting at least 5% of their work to the field. For estimation procedure. see Heinz & Laumann 1982.

[a] Less than one half of 1%.

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Allocation of Time in 1975 and 1995

In Table 3, we compare estimates of the percentages of lawyers' time or effort devoted to the several fields of law in 1975 and 1995.[20] Using a procedure developed by Charles Cappell (and described in *Chicago Lawyers;* Heinz & Laumann 1982:42 n. 8), we have derived these estimates from the respondents' reports of the percentages of their time that they devote to each field. Since the numbers in the table are *percentages* of total lawyers' time, the historical comparison is somewhat tricky. There were about half as many lawyers in Chicago in 1975 as there were in 1995. Therefore, if we consider the first field on the list—antitrust defense—our estimate is that the field received 2% of lawyers' effort in 1975 and 1% in 1995,[21] but since there were twice as many lawyers in Chicago in 1995, the total amount of effort (or time) expended on antitrust defense is about the same at each point. Thus, you will need to double the number in the 1995 column if you want to compare the *total amount* of effort at the two times (as opposed to the amount per lawyer). The amount of lawyers' time devoted to business litigation, then, is three to four times larger in percentage terms but amounts to about a sevenfold increase in total effort! Similarly, the total amount of time devoted to criminal defense has not decreased (it has, instead, increased somewhat), even though the proportion decreases from 5% to 3%. It appears, in fact, that while prosecutors were being outgunned by the defense lawyers in 1975, the two sides of criminal work have now reached parity (in terms of time/effort, at least).

Note that, as the number of lawyers doubled, the total amount of time devoted to almost all of these fields has increased—to varying degrees. The only fields on the list in which the amount of lawyers' effort actually decreases, in absolute terms, are probate and public utilities (which were also among the fields that moved down markedly in the specialization rank order). The biggest increases are seen in the litigation fields. Business litigation shows by far the largest increase, but the increase in general litigation is also substantial. In percentage terms, we see decreases in general corporate work (from 11% to

[20] In this table, the tax, litigation, and real estate fields in 1975 have again been divided into "corporate/business" and "personal/general" sides, as was done in *Chicago Lawyers.* When client type is not the dependent variable—i.e., when we are not trying to determine whether the structure is divided along client lines—then there is little objection to using the differentiated categories. What we want to know here is how lawyers allocate their time, and the distinction between business litigation and personal client litigation, for example, may well be of interest.

[21] We have recomputed the estimates for the 1975 data. In most fields, our results correspond exactly to those presented in Table 2.1 of *Chicago Lawyers* (p. 40). In a few fields, however, there are small differences. We have also added the two sides of environmental law, which were not included in the earlier table because of the small amounts of time devoted to those fields in 1975.

6%) and in divorce (from 6% to 3%). As to the former, corporate work has apparently become more specialized, so that it is less often assigned to the general, undifferentiated category and more often to particular specialties—such as environmental work. The decrease in the percentage of divorce work probably reflects the fact that the rate of increase in business activity has been far greater than that of the Chicago-area population.

Overall, the corporate client fields have grown much more rapidly than the personal client fields, and the "hemispheres" are now even more unequal in size. In the 1975 data, the estimate is that 53% of lawyers' time was allocated to the corporate fields (including work for nonbusiness organizations such as unions and governmental entities), while 40% was devoted to the personal client fields and another 7% was not clearly assignable or was spread across a variety of small fields. By 1995, the disparity between the two sectors had increased considerably. As we can see in Table 3, the corporate sector consumed more than twice the amount of Chicago lawyers' time devoted to personal and small business client work in 1995 (64% vs. 29%).[22] The "large corporate" cluster of fields increased most—from 18% of the total in 1975 to 32% in 1995—while the "personal business" and "personal plight" clusters both declined.[23]

[22] Our estimates of the percentages of time devoted to corporate and individual clients in 1995 correspond remarkably closely to the U.S. Census report of the amount of income that lawyers in the Chicago CMSA derived from such clients in 1992 (the most recent year available). The Census reported that 27.9% of Chicago lawyers' 1992 receipts came from individuals, 60.1% from businesses, and 4.5% from government. (The remainder came from three small categories.) U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996a):Table 49, p. 4-446. The extraordinarily close correspondence of the two estimates, drawn from entirely different data sources, is impressive, but it should be viewed with some caution. For example, does this suggest that hourly wages are the same in the two sectors? Several other things vary here—e.g., the CMSA may include a higher proportion of individual client work than does the city.

[23] One might speculate that some or all of the shift from personal client work toward corporate work between 1975 and 1995 is attributable to a movement of middle-class population from the city to the suburbs. Thus, so the thesis goes, lawyers are likely to have followed the clientele, given "white flight" to the suburbs. This would explain, for example, the decline in trusts and estates practice in the city.

But the Census of Service Industries data indicate that the percentage of lawyers' income received from individual clients (persons) has declined nationally, while the percentage received from businesses has increased substantially. Receipts from individuals decreased from 52.2% of total U.S. lawyer receipts in 1972 to 39.6% in 1992, while receipts from businesses increased from 42.0% to 50.9% (and receipts from government increased from 2.9% to 3.8%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1976, 1996a). The distribution of Chicago lawyers' receipts is similar to that in several other major cities, though not in all. According to the Census of Service Industries, in Sacramento receipts from individuals decreased from 50.4% of total receipts in 1982 to 46.3% in 1992, while receipts from businesses increased from 38.8% to 45.2%. In Los Angeles, receipts from individuals fell from 46.2% in 1982 to 31.0% in 1992, while receipts from businesses increased from 49.5% to 56.6%. In Philadelphia, however, the percentage of receipts from the two categories of clients was virtually unchanged from 1982 to 1992 (varying only from 45% to 47% for each), and in Phoenix the changes were modest (individuals fell from 43.3% to 38.3%, while businesses rose only from 51.7% to 53.7%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1986, 1996a). Thus, the largest city in this set, Los Angeles, displays the pattern that is most similar to that of Chicago.

Changes in Practice Organizations

The growth of the corporate sector of practice and the decline in the percentage of personal and small business legal work has been paralleled by a corresponding realignment of the organizational contexts within which law is practiced. In the 1975 survey, 23% of the respondents were in private law firms with 2 to 10 lawyers; in 1995, only 14% worked in firms of that size. At the same time, the percentage of lawyers working in firms with more than 30 lawyers nearly doubled—from 15.7% in 1975 to 29.3% in 1995. The average number of lawyers in the private law firms represented in the 1975 sample was 27; by 1995, the average number per firm had grown to 141.[24] The largest private law firm in our 1995 sample employed 1,800 lawyers.[25]

The percentage of lawyers practicing alone has been declining for as long as data are available. The national *Lawyer Statistical Report* found that in 1960 solo practitioners constituted 64% of all lawyers, but by 1991 the proportion of the nation's lawyers in solo practice had decreased to 45% (Curran & Carson 1994:7). In large cities, that percentage is smaller. In the 1975 Chicago survey, 19% of the respondents practiced alone, and by 1995 only 13% did. Thus, more lawyers are now in partnership with other lawyers and the size of those partnerships has increased very substantially.[26]

Moreover, available data do not appear to indicate a great shift of lawyer population from the city to the suburbs. The first year that "official" counts of lawyers became available from the Illinois Attorney Registration and Disciplinary Commission (ARDC) was 1976. According to those reports, the number of lawyers in Cook County increased from 19,072 in 1976 to 36,158 in 1995, while the lawyer population in the five surrounding "collar" counties in the metropolitan area increased from 2,156 to 7,008 (ARDC 1977, 1996). Thus, the collar counties had a larger percentage increase, on a much smaller base, but they grew by less than 5,000 lawyers while Cook County increased by more than 17,000.

Now, Cook County includes some suburbs as well as the city of Chicago. Unfortunately, the ARDC data are not disaggregated below the county level—i.e., they do not give a separate count for the city. To examine the division between Chicago and suburban Cook county, therefore, we must use the *Martindale-Hubbell Lawyers Directory* compilation, which is less inclusive than the ARDC register. According to Martindale-Hubbell, the 1995 breakdown was 24,021 lawyers in the city and 5,065 lawyers in the Cook suburbs (Martindale-Hubbell 1995–96). Since earlier Martindale-Hubbell compilations are not available in a form that permits sorting by computer, we now turn to yet another source. *The Lawyer Statistical Report* estimated that there were 19,476 lawyers in Chicago in 1980 (Curran et al. 1985:320). Comparing that figure to 22,310 lawyers in Cook County registered with the ARDC in 1980, we arrive at an estimate of 2,834 lawyers in the Cook County suburbs in 1980. This would mean that the lawyer population in suburban Cook increased by 2,231 from 1980 to 1995, while the Chicago lawyer population increased by 4,545. Again, then, although the suburbs show a larger percentage increase (on a relatively small base), the city has a far larger increase in the absolute number of lawyers.

[24] If one excludes solo practitioners—i.e., if one considers firms of two or more lawyers—the mean size increased from 37 lawyers in 1975 to 178 lawyers in 1995.

[25] For analysis of the growth of large law firms, see Galanter & Palay 1991; Sander & Williams 1992; Kordana 1995.

[26] These firms also employ large numbers of support staff. According to the *Illinois Legal Times* (1997), the six Chicago firms that have 300 or more lawyers within the state

Even in the personal and small business sector of practice, legal work is increasingly concentrated in larger organizations. Some routine, high-volume matters—such as divorce, simple wills, and consumer bankruptcies—are now handled by franchise legal service companies and group legal service plans such as Jacoby & Meyers and Hyatt Legal Plans, which employ lawyers at relatively low wages (Van Hoy 1997; Seron 1996). We should not overstate the case, however. Although the *percentage* of solo practitioners within the Chicago bar declined from 1975 to 1995, given the doubling in the size of the lawyer population our estimate is that the *number* of solos increased substantially.

Other organizational contexts in which lawyers work have had similar patterns of growth. The average size of "house counsel" offices (i.e., lawyers employed within corporations and other private organizations) in the 1975 sample was 17, while by 1995 the average number of lawyers in each such office had grown to 55. Government law offices averaged 64 lawyers each in 1975, but the average increased to 399 in 1995. The office of the State's Attorney for Cook County (Chicago and some suburbs) employed 850 lawyers in 1995.

As the organizations grow, they are more likely to adopt a clear division of labor, so that they become organized along lines of formal rationality rather than in traditional hierarchies. In the older, smaller firm model, a relatively small number of powerful senior partners presided over their own hierarchies within the firm (Nelson 1988). These workgroups, consisting of associates and junior partners working under the supervision of one or more seniors, typically served the needs of a particular, limited group of clients. The law firm's relationships with these clients were tended and nurtured by the seniors, and the workgroup often dealt with the full range of the clients' problems—commercial transactions, antitrust, securities regulation, real estate acquisition, and so on. In the newer, larger firm model, specialized departments replace the personal hierarchies. Instead of being built around dominant seniors, these departments are defined by substantive expertise or skill types—for example, tax, litigation, real estate, mergers and acquisitions. Typically, the allocation of work in each department is managed by a chairman, assisted by a second level of supervisors.

Specialization of work changes the lines of communication within the profession—some lines are severed, some are reconstituted. If each lawyer deals with a broad range of doctrinal legal categories, then the set of lawyers brought together to handle a problem is likely to be determined by availability and by client affinities, and thus the set will change from case to case. But if

employ from 435 to 613 nonlawyers each. The average for these big firms is about one and a half support staff persons per lawyer.

work is organized by departments that are defined by doctrine or skill type, lawyers will spend most of their time talking with fellow specialists. Thus, when "general corporate work" evolves into securities, antitrust, corporate tax, and intellectual property, this results in a decoupling of fields of law (and sets of practitioners) that were formerly brought together by their work. The increase in the scale of the profession—both in the organizational units and in the size of the overall bar—has a similar effect. That is, as the numbers grow, the probability of chance transactions between any given pair or any given sets of lawyers decreases. Since individual lawyers' circles of acquaintance are unlikely to expand at the same rate or to the same extent as the growth of the bar, there will be an increasing number of their fellow lawyers with whom they have no ties. Thus, communication among Chicago lawyers is likely to be restricted to more narrow slices of the whole. The bar, therefore, becomes more diverse and less well integrated.

The changes in the organizations where law is practiced are closely analogous to the restructuring of medical service organizations (Starr 1982). Management has become so central in medicine that the product is referred to as "managed care." What were formerly "doctors' offices" are now "health care delivery systems." In part, this is attributable to the contagion of jargon, but another part of it is a real change. Many not-for-profit hospitals have been taken over by profit-making hospital corporations, such as Humana and Columbia/HCA, and doctors are now marshalled by HMOs instead of practicing alone or in small partnerships. In the legal profession, the consolidation of services does not appear to have progressed quite as far as it has in medicine, but the bureaucratization of the bar has advanced sufficiently that the trend is clear and the effects are felt by most lawyers.

Conclusion

The separation of American lawyers into functional categories has a long history. Early in this century, a report sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation recommended the creation of an "inner bar" that would handle complex business transactions and would be separate from the "general body of practitioners" handling smaller cases and personal problems (Reed 1921:237–39). The two sorts of lawyers were to be trained in different schools, with different curricula. The report was not favorably received (Auerbach 1976:111–12), but a similar division of practice evolved, de facto, although the educational channels are still not as distinct as had been contemplated (Stevens 1982:64). Lawyers who handle the divorces and automobile accidents of a neighborhood clientele might also draft wills and close the sales of homes, but they are unlikely to work on mergers of large compa-

nies or to deal with the tax problems of major real estate developers. Moreover, the specialization of practice tends to create boundaries for professional relationships among lawyers. The kinds of work that lawyers do, the style of their work, and the places in which they do it differ greatly.

But the bar has changed greatly since the 1970s. One of the most important of the changes, surely, is the sheer growth. The number of lawyers in the United States increased from about 355,200 in 1970, one for every 572 persons in the population (Sikes, Carson, & Gorai 1972:6, table 2), to about 805,900 in 1991, one per 313 persons (Curran & Carson 1994:1, table 1). In Cook County, the number of resident lawyers increased from 19,072 in 1976 (Attorney Registration & Disciplinary Commission 1977:1) to 35,704 in 1994 (Attorney Registration & Disciplinary Commission 1995:5), an increase of 87%, while the county's population decreased modestly.[27] The population of the greater Chicago metropolitan area, however, grew by 7.8% from 1975 to 1995,[28] and thus the demand for divorces, wills, personal injury settlements, residential real estate closings, and other personal legal services presumably grew at a similar rate. But the demand for corporate law services increased far more during the two decades than did demand for lawyers' services to individuals and small businesses.[29] Overall, expenditures on legal services in the United States increased by 309% between 1972 and 1992.[30] This rate of increase was twice that of the gross national product during the same period and even exceeded the percentage increase in spending for health services (Litan & Salop 1992:2 & Fig. 1).

A large share of the new lawyers are women. Historically, the American bar—like medicine and other elite professions—included few women (Abel 1989:90–92, 285). In the 1975 survey of Chicago lawyers, the random sample was composed of 30 women and 747 men (Heinz & Laumann 1982:11–12). Though women had started to enter law schools in substantial numbers in the early 1970s, not many had yet entered practice by 1975. The picture is much different today. The official count of Illinois lawyers does not include an enumeration by gender at the city or county level, but women amounted to 26% of the statewide total in 1995 (Attorney Registration & Disciplinary Commission 1996:4). Nationally, in 1970 only 2.8% of the nation's lawyers were women, and this percentage had remained steady since the mid-1950s

[27] The population of the county decreased from 5,369,000 in 1975 to 5,137,000 in 1995 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1977:927; 1996b:940–41).

[28] Ibid.

[29] For a discussion of factors affecting the levels of demand for both corporate and personal legal services, see Nelson 1994:347–54, 362–67.

[30] In constant (1992) dollars, Census data indicate that U.S. expenditures on legal services increased from $32 billion plus in 1972 to $101 billion plus in 1992 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1976:table 4-36; 1996a:4-443, 4-446, table 49).

(Sikes et al. 1972:5, table 1). By 1991, the percentage of women had burgeoned to 20% (Curran & Carson 1994:4, table 2)—but it was still far from the percentage among law school graduates, which was over 40% (American Bar Association 1992:66).

Thus, the face of the bar has changed. Gender and racial diversity within the bar, rare before, is now seen in many contexts within the profession, but the mix differs with the context. Women and minorities are disproportionately concentrated in certain types of practice, and these readily perceived differences accentuate lines of demarcation.[31]

Although demand for legal services to corporations and other large organizations has grown far more rapidly than demand for services to individuals and small businesses, entry into the market is easier in the latter types of practice. That is, any lawyer can hang up a shingle and seek clients in auto accident or refrigerator repossession cases, but it is difficult for lawyers to obtain access to the venues where corporate legal services are delivered. Therefore, since demand was expanding in the types of practice where entry is difficult but growing only much more slowly in the areas where entry is easy, lawyers in the former tended to prosper while those in the latter languished. Sander and Williams (1989:449–51) estimate that from 1972 to 1982 the real incomes of lawyers in solo practice decreased by 46%.[32] Thus, the increasing gap between rich and much less rich within the bar has also accentuated the differences among the types of practice (Sandefur & Laumann 1997).

There are, then, several reasons to suppose that Chicago lawyers might be less cohesive in the 1990s than they were in the 1970s, and urban lawyers may now have become subdivided into smaller clusters. But the division between the two classes of clients—between large organizations, on the one hand, and individuals and small businesses, on the other—endures. Note that this distinction, unlike wealth, for example, is conceived of as a dichotomy. If the difference were between lawyers representing more wealthy and less wealthy clients, then the clients (and, presumably, their lawyers) could be arrayed along a continuous scale. Of course, size of client is also a matter of degree, but the distinction between organizations and individuals (and the small businesses owned by individuals) is a matter of both form and substance. One might argue that small corporations, even pub-

[31] The fields with disproportionate concentrations of women, however, may not be the ones that traditional stereotypes bring to mind. Of the practicing lawyers in the 1995 sample, 27% are women. Of the fields to which 12 or more respondents devote as much as 25% of their time, the highest percentage of women is found in criminal prosecution (57%). Among the smaller fields, however, the 9 lawyers who do juvenile law as much as 5% of their time include 5 women (56%). Of the respondents who practice juvenile law as much as 25% of their time, 4 of the 5 are women. The fields that have the lowest percentages of women are patents (5%) and corporate tax (0%).

[32] By "real incomes," of course, we mean their incomes adjusted for inflation.

licly held ones, are more akin to partnerships than they are to large corporations, but the difference in form has important legal content, and it alters the nature of the lawyers' work and the relationship between lawyer and client. Because corporations are owned by shareholders, their lawyers' relationships with management are more difficult and ethically complex than are lawyers' relationships with owner-operators. Corporations pay corporate tax, and the rules and procedures differ from those that apply to the taxation of individuals. Corporations also issue securities, and they are subject to a multiplicity of reporting requirements at the federal, state, and local levels. Other large organizations—governmental institutions, labor unions, trade associations, professional organizations—are also subject to special rules and reporting requirements, and the character of lawyers' relationships with these clients is more like their relationships with corporations than like those with individual clients.

Lawyers employed by large law firms do, of course, handle legal work for individuals—often for the individuals who are officers of their corporate clients. Some large law firms have probate departments, many handle individual income tax problems for favored clients, and a few will even work on clients' divorces. To the extent that this occurs, the corporate and the personal client sectors of the bar are drawn closer. But there is a division of labor within these law firms, and the lawyers who do the corporate work may not be the same ones who handle personal matters. If lawyers' work has become increasingly specialized—if lawyers who do securities work are now less likely to do probate or commercial law as well—this will tend to separate the two sectors of the bar. Fewer lawyers will cross the boundary.

Is the legal profession still divided into hemispheres? Well, "hemi" means "half," and it is now hard to argue that the two parts are of approximately equal size, at least in Chicago (and probably in other large cities). Work for corporate clients is a much larger part of the profession than is work for individuals or small businesses. The amount of Chicago lawyers' time devoted to corporate fields and to fields serving other large organizations is more than twice that devoted to personal client fields. But the relative size of the two parts is probably not a very important part of the thesis—this will vary with the size and character of the jurisdiction in any event—and we have not assessed in this article the degree of socioeconomic, ethnoreligious, educational, and political separation of practitioners in the two sectors. Within each of the broad parts, the fields are now more distinct, more clearly separated than they were 20 years ago. In this respect, there is greater disaggregation of work and workgroups within the profession today. On the other hand, the increase in scale of law firms and other practice organizations may mean that the specialties are to some extent reintegrated within overarching

structures. The departmentalization of the firms, however, appears to result in workgroups that are more narrowly defined than was previously the case. Our finding that specialization has increased markedly in most fields, especially in the corporate sector, suggests this. We think it unlikely that the present organizational structures provide enough interchange among the specialties to produce a bar that functions as a community of shared fate and common purpose.

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