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Sea Change: The Seismic Shift in the Legal Profession and How Legal Writing Professors Will Keep Legal Education Afloat in its Wake

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Home truths which flow into each other like the march of the sea:

"I think we're seeing a structural change in the industry. Even if things do come back, it won't be to the same degree we saw just a few years ago."
- Brian Tamanaha, Professor at Washington University School of Law

"[I]ncreased competition will create new demands for lawyer training."

"I think what needs to be done is . . . a holistic rethinking of how we get people in the door, what the law schools do with them and say to them, how we meet them, how we get them to their firms, how we train them, how we develop them . . . ."
- Howard Ellin - Global Chair of the Hiring Committee, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP

"Until legal writing faculty have full tenure-track faculty status, legal education must be viewed as failing Carnegie's second apprenticeship."

"[With the recession, law] schools may also become more serious about curricular reform. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching released an influential report that, among other things, urged law schools to make better use of the sometimes-aimless second and third years. If law jobs are scarce, there will be more pressure on schools to make the changes Carnegie suggested, including more focus on practical skills."

"Never let a serious crisis go to waste. What I mean by that is it's an opportunity to do things you couldn't do before."
- Rahm Emanuel - White House Chief of Staff

This article will explore both the sea change in the legal profession and the one that must follow in legal education.

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3 Id.
5 Adam Cohen, With the Downturn, It's Time to Rethink the Legal Profession, N.Y. TIMES, Apr. 2, 2009.
The Great Recession, The Legal Profession

2010 found us in the midst of what commentators have called "The Great Recession" and the effects on the legal profession have been profound and, increasingly, it is thought by many, permanent. "[L]aw firms have lost their fabled immunity to recession." On June 30, 2009, industry leaders invited by the National Association for Law Placement participated in a Roundtable on the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement, which "[c]oncluded that the economic slow-down will have a lasting impact on lawyer hiring and development, including a move away from lock-step lawyer advancement models by many law firms." "In the short run, at least, the impact of the economic meltdown on the legal profession has been quite devastating: unprecedented layoffs, salary decreases, hiring freezes resulting in an extraordinary number of unemployed law school graduates nationwide, even deaths." "Large law firms face unprecedented stress . . . . Few industries suffered more visibly from the financial meltdown of 2008-09 than the nation's largest law firms."

In the summer of 2010, the legal consulting firm Altman Weil released a state-of-the-business survey, which found:

- Nearly 40% of the firms surveyed made fewer partners in 2009 and 50% indicated they "will or might" do so again in 2010;

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9 NALP, Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement (June 30, 2009), available at http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease. The Roundtable also "explored the ways in which the economy and client needs may change traditional law firm leverage models." Id.
10 Wald, supra note 6, at 2052-53.
11 Larry E. Ribstein, Abstract - The Death of Big Law, 1,1-2.
• About 50% of the firms reduced or discontinues hiring first-year associates and 38% said they will do the same again; and
• About 20% of the firms planned to fire non-equity partners this year, and 37% “will or might” deequitize partners.\textsuperscript{12}

Lawyers already out in practice saw some law firms collapse entirely.\textsuperscript{13} Since April 2009, the legal sector has experienced at job loss of 28,000.\textsuperscript{14} One ten-day stretch in February 2009 saw 2,500 jobs lost.\textsuperscript{15} As of May 2010, the legal sector was still shedding jobs.\textsuperscript{16} Attorneys, fortunate to obtain or retain jobs at large law firms, in many cases received pay cuts of 10% or greater.\textsuperscript{17}

This former group of recent law graduate saw an overall employment picture equally bleak. 2010 was one of the roughest years from graduating law students ever.\textsuperscript{18} The National Association for Law Placement (NALP) reports that, for ABA-accredited law schools, the employment rate for 2009 graduates is 88.3%, down 3.6% from the recent high of 91.9% for the class of 2007.\textsuperscript{19} "An Altman Weil survey of managing partners at more than 200 U.S. law firms found that 42% of respondents predicted that reductions in the size of their first-year associate classes will be permanent."\textsuperscript{20} Of those who were reported employed, the figure included the 3,200 to 3,700 graduates who had

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cox, supra note 8, at 512. These included Heller Ehrman, Thacher Proffitt & Wood, and Thelan. Id. at 516.
\item Posting of Ross Todd, Legal Sector Loses 1,100 Jobs in April, http://amlawdaily.typepad.com/amlawdaily/2010/05/april-jobs.html (May 7, 2010 12:33 EST).
\item Cox, supra note 8, at 212-13.
\item Id.
\item Sloan, supra note 1, at 1.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the start dates of their law firm employment deferred beyond December 1.\textsuperscript{21} Some firms rescinded offers of employment to graduates entirely.\textsuperscript{22} Almost 25\% more of the positions that were reported by NALP were temporary.\textsuperscript{23} These employment figures also include those attorneys accepting stipends, significantly lower than a first-year associate's salary and paid by a law firm or their \textit{alma mater}, to pursue \textit{pro bono} work for a year.\textsuperscript{24} "With options limited, some law school career office advised their graduates to take on any job they can find until the hiring picture improves."\textsuperscript{25}

Summer associates did not fare any better, with firms are cutting their classes by an average of 44\%\textsuperscript{26} and job offers in 2010 hitting a seventeen year low.\textsuperscript{27} When students did receive offers, they leapt at them with an astronomical 42.8\% acceptance rate, the highest ever recorded.\textsuperscript{28} And, of those, only 69\% received offers for permanent employment from their firms upon graduation, down from 90\% in the previous five years.\textsuperscript{29}

Part II of this article will explore whether the changes to hiring and business practices of American lawyers in the wake of the Great Recession, which began in

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{21} Cox, \textit{supra} note 8, at 513.
\bibitem{22} \textit{Id.}.
\bibitem{23} \textit{Id.}
\bibitem{25} \textit{Id.} at A18; \textit{see also} Letter from David M. Schizer, Dean of Columbia Law School, to Professor Kirsten Anne Dauphinais (May 3, 2010) (on file with author) (sharing that over thirty members of the graduating class of Columbia Law School do not have jobs and are soliciting funds from Columbia Law alumni to create public interest fellowships).
\bibitem{26} \textit{Id.}
\bibitem{28} \textit{Id.}
\end{thebibliography}
December 2007, are cyclical in nature or represent a fundamental transformation in the legal profession. Part III of this article will discuss changes to legal education, already being advocated for before the economic crisis in such works as EDUCATING LAWYERS and BEST PRACTICES FOR LEGAL EDUCATION, which are vital to responding to the recession. This Part will also, in particular, advocate for a transformation in the academy's customs and practices regarding legal writing professors, as these educators are key to a necessary component in the advancement of legal pedagogy and their lack of professional parity cannot be justified, especially now when the need for their expertise is nothing if not amplified. Part IV will raise and defeat perhaps the principal counterargument to improving the position of legal writing professors - that we cannot afford it. Finally, Part V will conclude with a review of promising future trends.

II

A. Uncharted Waters - Is there a sea change in the legal profession underway?

"The economic recession of 2008-2009 has placed unprecedented stress on the legal profession. Although smaller downturns in 1990-1992 and 2000-2001 created similar problems, the current recession likely will outstrip them in duration and intensity. The legal profession is thus entering uncharted waters." "At the root of the law-firm crisis, legal experts say, is the credit crisis, which has pulverized the need for traditional practice areas like structured finance, mergers and acquisitions and private-equity

32 ROY STUCKEY ET AL., BEST PRACTICES FOR LEGAL EDUCATION (2007).
33 These professionals are cognomated in many different ways. For consistency's sake, I have elected to call them legal writing professors, which is probably the most common way to which they are referred. I do, however, have some reservations about this selection, as this title does not adequately capture the range of their subject matter expertise.
transactions - the very things that have always kept a high gleam of polish on the city's whitest shoes. The downward trend has been unrelenting: fewer Wall Street deals mean fewer Wall Street lawyers."  

With these corporate activities diminished, corporate law firms simply have less work to do; for instance, "in the first quarter of 2009, demand for legal services in New York decreased by nearly 10 percent over 2008." There is even a blog dedicated to tracking the impact of the recession on the legal economy.

"Industry leaders convened by the National Association for Law Placement in Summer 2009 believed that the economic slow-down will have a major impact on many facets of legal employment, including patterns of advancement, recruitment dates, summer employment, law firm structure, training, compensation, and professional development." Many firms are scaling back the events and participants or even cancelling their lavish summer associate programs, leaving many law students unemployed as well and impeding these students' post-graduate employment prospects.

In general, "[w]hile the legal industry is hardly battling the existential threat that is facing, say, the newspaper trade, Big Law- especially in competitive New York - is facing a potential paradigm shift as fundamental as the one that has hit investment banks

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and the auto industry. Big, as a business model (let alone as an expression of the national mood), seems bound for obsolescence.\textsuperscript{41}

At least some commentators argue that the present predicament is only an acceleration of the decline of an already failing system. "[T]his downsizing reflects a basically precarious business model rather than just a shrinking economy."\textsuperscript{42} There is even talk of so fundamentally restructuring the delivery of legal services that some advocate that law firms start accepting outside capital investment or even be publically traded.\textsuperscript{43}

Perhaps, not surprisingly then, one of the first targets for erosion is the traditional large firm model organization for law practice, often referred to as the "tournament\textsuperscript{44}"

model:\textsuperscript{45}

The large law firm that has predominated in recent decades emerged during the 1970s and 1980s. Under this model, law firms maintain a leveraged ratio of associates to partners, sometimes employing as many as five non-equity lawyers for every equity partner. With about one-third of the revenue from each non-equity lawyer's billable hours translating into profit, this model maximizes a firm's profits per partner. For every new associate a law firm hires, profits increase, at least as long as there is enough work to keep everyone busy. This engine for prosperity comes with a large proviso, however. As younger lawyers move up the ranks, many of them must leave the firm to maintain the pyramid structure and the high profits. Firms using this model thus need to constantly hire a large number of new associates to replace the attorneys that leave the bottom of the pyramid.

\textsuperscript{41}Feuer, supra note 35, at MB4. Hugh Verrier, chairman of White & Case, queried: "Is there a paradigm shift? . . I don't think anyone has a monopoly on what the future's going to bring." Id.

\textsuperscript{42}Ribstein, supra note 11, at 1. Ribstein also notes that the erosion of the dominance of large law firms is due, in part, to the rise of in-house counsel; however, the number of these jobs are in decline as well. Id. at 11; Lynne Marek, Layoff Pain Migrates In-house, Nat'l. L. J., Mar. 23, 2009, at 1. In first three months of 2009, the Association of Corporate Counsel's membership dropped by 6%. Id.

\textsuperscript{43}Ribstein, supra note 11, at 35-36.

\textsuperscript{44}MARC GALANTER & THOMAS PALAY, TOURNAMENT OF LAWYERS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE BIG LAW FIRM (1991) [hereinafter GALANTER & PALAY TOURNAMENT].

\textsuperscript{45}David B. Wilkins & G. Mitu Gulati, Reconceiving the Tournament of Lawyers: Tracking, Seeing, and Information Control in the Internal Labor Markets of Elite Law Firms, 84 Va. L. Rev. 1581, 1581 (1998) ("Tournament theory has become the dominant academic model for analyzing the institutional structure of large law firms.").
At the same time, however, a firm cannot scare away young associates too early, or it will not earn back the investment it has made in hiring and training the young lawyer. To solve this problem, the pyramid model must hold out a credible promise of promotion to partner for a certain number of associates. Because the number of promotions required to make such a promise credible usually exceeds the number of partners who wish to retire or leave, law firms using this model tend to grow over time. Indeed, one study found that to keep a constant ratio of associates to partner while still promoting the requisite number of associates, law firms must engage in exponential growth. Consequently, the pyramid model causes law firms to engage in intense competitions for top graduates, including ever-expanding associate salaries and lavish summer programs.46

Thies continues:

The catalyst of the current troubles, as far as law firms are concerned, is a decline in demand for the legal services. The resulting downward pressure on law firm rates has nearly frozen the annual increases in fees upon which law firms have come to rely. Consequently, law firms are having difficulty bringing in enough work and revenue to support their highly leveraged structure and inflated associate salaries. In response, firms are shifting as much work as possible to lower paid staff attorneys or contract attorneys, while employing fewer high-paid associates. Many firms have engaged in significant layoffs, while others are using pay cuts and delayed start dates to lower their labor costs.47

Alan Feuer of the NEW YORK TIMES concurs:

Peter Zeughauser, a legal strategist in California, said that 'for a quarter of a century, there has been this enormous boom in business, mostly due to expanding capital markets, and the top-tier firms kept hiring as if the boom would never end. Most of the top firms are completely out of balance, with lots of young associates underfoot - and associate pay is the biggest component of law firm overhead. And on Sept. 15, when Lehman Brothers went under, everything hit a wall.'48

These changes have enormous implications for lawyers' employment prospects.

46 Thies, supra note 34, at 600-01.
47 Thies, supra note 34, at 603; see also Wegner Response, supra note 39, at 625 ("Legal scholars who have theorized about the 'tournaments' that drive large law firm dynamics and decisions . . . posed questions about the viability of traditional large law firm practices, even before the depths of the current recession.").
48 Feuer, supra note. The tournament model has been criticized. "[Clients] look at the model and they see . . . one that is not only highly leveraged but seems to encourage attrition." NALP, Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement (June 30, 2009), available at http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease.
As previously discussed, firms are closing down or shuttering offices entirely. Legal services are being outsourced to India and other countries with cheaper labor. Firms are laying attorneys off. Firms will hire fewer equity partnership-track associates.

The National Association for Law Placement on [May 20, 2010] released a survey showing an overall employment rate of 89 percent of 2009 graduates for whom status was known. That's 3 percentage points below 2007's historic high and the lowest rates since the mid-1990s. The group noted that the new number reflects increases in temporary and part-time employment.

Many unemployed attorneys have had to rely on positions as contract attorneys, who cost less and could be hired on an as-needed basis and let go during slower periods. For the thousands of attorneys who can only secure these kinds of positions, it is often a grim prospect.

For those who are able to obtain and retain positions as associates in major law firms, future prospects can also be dim. In response to the loss of revenue from clients,

\[\text{\footnotesize See Feuer, supra note 35, at MB4 (detailing how White & Case closed offices in Bangkok, Dresden and Milan and noting that Thacher, Proffitt & Wood, established prior to the Civil War, had closed entirely). "Jerry Kowalski, a legal consultant who tracks the New York market, said that 'the mood at White & Case - and at probably 15 or 20 more firms in New York - is kind of like sitting at a deathbed and watching close relatives wither away. It's like you're there in the I.C.U. with the patient and you know the condition is terminal.' Id. Layoffs have also affected Proskauer Rose, Dewey & LeBoeuf, Clifford Chance, id., and Heller Ehrman, Hindi Greenberg, 'You're History.‘ Now What? Be Creative, Persistent in Your Search for the Next Job, A.B.A.J., Jan. 2009, at 56; McDermott Will & Emery, Lynne Marek, Reports of Suicides Point to Job Stress, NAT'L.L.J., May 11, 2009, at 27.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize Ribstein, supra note 11, at 16.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize See Feuer, supra note 35, at MB1 (describing how White and Case laid off 1 in 10 of its attorneys, including partners who had previously made salaries in excess of $1 million per year).}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize Thies, supra note 34, at 605. Even before the recession, there was a significant increase in firms retaining lawyers as permanent employees in an "elastic tournament," granting them "senior associate" or "of counsel" positions, with no future opportunity for promotion to equity partner. Ribstein, supra note 11, at 13 (citing Marc Galanter & William Henderson, The Elastic Tournament: A Second Transformation of the Big Law Firm, 60 STAN. L. REV. 1867 (2008)).}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize Olson, supra note 36, at A8.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize Thies, supra note 34, at 604.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize See Anonymous, Down in the Data Mines, A.B.A.J., Dec. 2008, at 32-33 (reporting by an anonymous attorney of the dead end and tedious work life of a contract attorney assigned to major discovery requests at a Midtown Manhattan law firm).}\]
many firms are abandoning lock-step compensation for classes of associates in favor of performance-based remuneration.\textsuperscript{56} Interestingly, the law firms' loss will be a gain for smaller firms, non-profit associations, government employers, and corporations, who will have a deeper pool of laid off associates and recent graduates from which to select new employees.\textsuperscript{57} It is likely that these employers too will be seeking practically skilled attorneys.\textsuperscript{58} "Indeed, many small and mid-size firms are already discontinuing their summer programs for law students and putting resources into recruiting more experienced attorneys."\textsuperscript{59}

Another target for erosion is fundamental law firm business practices:

[Sandra Vandervoort, head of Windstrom & Crusher's corporate litigation division] said 'It's happening everywhere. The world is different. The economy is different. Clients are different. They take weeks, sometimes months, to 'flyspeck' everyone of your bills. Not just to find something they don't like, but also to justify delays in paying their bills as long as they can.

'The gravy train is over,' said Sandra. 'Gone are the days when big clients understood and accepted that they were being billed for training associates and compensating partners, and for buying dark red carpets, mahogany furniture and fancy electronic equipment.

'If you're charging thousands of dollars for eight or 10 hours of a partner's time, you've got a lot of justifying to do. Not just the details in your bills, but the thought and analysis that goes into all the letters you send, the memos you write, the questions you ask, the explanations you give for the actions you recommend. They all have to create the impression that you and your firm are worth it.'\textsuperscript{60}

Clients have demanded changes in long-customary law firm billing practices:

[Sandra Vandervoort further stated.] 'You know how most law firms bill their time in six-minute increments, tenths of an hour? Well-some of our

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Thies, \textit{supra} note 34, at 604-05.
\item \textsuperscript{57} \textit{Id.} at 607.
\item \textsuperscript{58} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{59} \textit{Id.}
\end{itemize}
clients complained that it was creating too much leeway, putting too much of a fudge factor into our billing. They said we ought to bill by the minute instead.

'Rather than defend our system, we did them one better. We started calculating our time to the second decimal point. And we stopped rounding off our rates. The results are fascinating: 7.82 hours at $436.79 an hour looks a lot harder to challenge than 7.5 hours at $400 an hour. As if somehow it's exact, so it must have a rational basis.'

There is a trend toward alternate billing arrangements, such as a fixed fee per transaction or project, and these client demands should be more successful in the wake of the recession. According to a recent survey by legal consulting firm Altman Weil, 94.5% of law firms responding were now offering some kind of nonhourly billing.

"Tight corporate budgets will give clients more leverage to push to pay by the project or for successful outcomes." Moreover, client loyalty to firms is decreasing, as they shop around for the best deal. "Clients will just flat-out spend less, drive harder bargains and get more for their money."

Another casualty of the recession might be previously well-nigh ubiquitous views about large firm cache'. "If this recession leaves a legacy among litigators and their clients, it might be the death of some long-held taboos. 'I used to work at a big law firm, so I sort of have the big-firm snobbery,' says one Fortune 500 general counsel. 'But there

61 Id. at 27.
63 Cohen, supra note 5, at A26.
65 Id.
66 Ribstein, supra note 11, at 26.
are good lawyers everywhere. And big law firms, expensive law firms, don't necessarily have the corner on that market.”

COMING SOON to a major city near you: new branch offices launched by midsize law firms . . . .

The trend may seem counterintuitive, given that a lot of larger firms are rolling back expansion plans and trimming workers in response to the flagging economy and sagging client demand.

But midsize law firms have several good reasons to consider opening offices in major cities right now.

First, smaller firms are currently in a position to snag toptier talent from larger firms, either because of layoffs or because attorneys are concerned about their firm's financial future and stability.

Second, midsize firms are poised to scoop up work from big-city firms because they generally offer lower rates and more compensation flexibility. The bottom line is increasingly important to legal departments as they come under more pressure to cut costs.

Third, many small and midsize law firms headquartered outside major cities have not been hit as hard by the slowdown in finance and transactional work as larger firms, and are in a better financial position to push ahead with new offices.

Law graduates will need to be prepared for all of these changes. "For the first time in several decades, the legal employment market favors firms and not graduates . . . [T]he firms will thus be able to dictate their terms." Firms will hire "those on whom they will not have to spend time and money before they are ready to practice.”

Lawyers competing for a reduced number of law firm positions will be evaluated on merit-based core competencies and their ability to hit the ground running.

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70 Thies, *supra* note 34, at 606-07.
71 Id. at 599.
Some of those who would in latter days have been hired as associates may need to make a living, at least for a period, as contract attorneys, who will also need to be practice-ready in order to be employable. These attorneys will assume many of the more ministerial tasks that once occupied young associates and thus those associates who are hired will need to be able to immediately demonstrate the practical skills to handle sophisticated lawyering tasks. Furthermore, with the Obama stimulus package and less likely attrition at law firms after the recession is over, the government will hopefully be increasing the number of recent graduates it seeks and those lawyers too will need to be practice-ready.

III

a. Evolution in Law Practice and the Necessity of a Commensurate Evolution in Legal Education in Response

Legal education has always been shaped by the underlying economic realities of the educational system and the legal profession. The early formal legal education in America developed as practitioners sought to supplement their incomes by taking on apprentices. Langdell's case method, for all its other virtues, ultimately became a dominant paradigm largely because it allowed large class sizes, and thus cheap education. The rise of the clinical movement in legal education coincided with a period of unprecedented prosperity and growth in the legal market. While the economic forces at play in these examples were not the only factors influencing the shape of legal education, they set both its boundaries and the goalposts. In other words, they helped to define both the constraints within which legal education had to operate and the objectives it was trying to achieve.

Right now, there is an increased sense among those in the profession that law schools should be stepping in to meet the need. But there are questions as to whether law schools are prepared to accept this role or whether they are best suited to provide this training. And even if they

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73 Thies, supra note 34, at 605.
74 Id. at 607.
75 Id. at 599.
embrace the new responsibility, there remains real questions about the best format for providing this education.76

Perhaps until now, the tournament law firm model gave law schools low incentive to emphasize their students' skills training.77 The model created an "apparently insatiable demand[] . . . for the annual crop of warm bodies."78 It was a seller's market for law students and "[e]mployers were . . . in a poor position to demand that their new hires possess training in practical skills."79 Moreover, "the work that generally occupied new associates . . . did not require extensive practical training . . , typically includ[ing] wading through large discovery requests in complex litigation, document review, and basic research and writing."

Law schools shaped their program of legal education in response to the realities of large law firm practice80 and then, in turn, it was the "large law firms [that] ha[d] a profound effect on the entire legal job market."81 These firms had little expectation that associates would arrive to them trained in practical skills; thus, law schools had "little incentive to provide such training."82 "Under the traditional model, . . young lawyers could have expected to receive . . . practical training on the job, and it was widely thought that large law firms provided the best training a young lawyer could receive."83

One of the fundamental misconceptions of the Cravath system is that the firm hired the best lawyers. In reality, the Cravath system created them. Junior lawyers spent years in apprenticeship rotations that immersed them

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77 Thies, supra note 34, at 601.
78 Id. (quoting R.B. McKay, The Rise of the Justice Industry and the Decline of Legal Ethics, 68 L.Q. 826, 846 (1990)).
79 Id. at 602.
81 Thies, supra note 34, at 607.
82 Id. at 602.
83 Id. at 605.
in the details of every aspect of corporate law practice. According to Cravath, the purpose of this lengthy, expensive, labor-intensive process was to create "a better lawyer faster." Moreover, advancement to the highest level of the firm required not only superior legal work but also the ability to manage, supervise, and delegate legal work to junior lawyers, attributes "requiring the nicety of balance which many men with fine minds and excellent judgment are unable to attain."^84

All of this "allowed schools to put skills training on the backburner. As the job market has broken down, however, this reality is beginning to change."^85

However, even before the recession, as hiring lawyers become more and more astronomically expensive, clients became more and more unwilling to pay to train associates.^86 Simultaneously, the pressure on partners to bill more and more made them increasingly unwilling to spend time on training new attorneys.^87 Billing models alternative to the billable hour also encouraged the need for efficiency in the new attorney.^88

Law schools will have to alter their pedagogical methods to produce graduates who can compete in this market.^89 This will need to happen at every law school, regardless of their U.S. News and World Report ranking. Traditionally, there had been a myth "top grades from top law schools [correlate] strongly with long-term success as a lawyer," with a sense that these graduates could take care of themselves in terms of acquiring necessary practice skills.^90 The director of professional development at a major international law firm states: "We have not evolved from the idea that law school is a

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^85 Thies, supra note 34, at 603.
^86 Id. at 605.
^87 Id. at 605-06.
^88 Id. at 606.
^89 Id. at 599.
rigorous test of an individual's 'intellectual horsepower,' and that small differences in GPA represent enormous gaps in potential."\textsuperscript{91}

\textit{[L]aw school grades emanate from exams measuring legal reasoning and issue spotting under an artificial timetable, as an individual effort. They do not measure a candidate's ability to draft a motion, review an agreement, come up with an innovative way to help paralegals track discovery on a big case, or a host of practical skills. Nor do they measure how well students work as part of a team, influence and lead others, think on their feet, present complex material orally, evaluate business terms or develop robust networks to help them to get their jobs done, and eventually to develop business.}

Law firms try to find proxy measurements for some of these skills, such as law journal experience, student organization leadership, and pre-law work experience. But these fall far short of being effective bases for comparison, and are always secondary considerations. A candidate must first meet the tried but not true top grades/top schools test even to be considered for a position in this market.\textsuperscript{92}

But perhaps the myth is no longer so dearly held and was already being abandoned before the recession. "[T]here are . . . signs that firms are willing to take [practically skilled] graduates wherever they find them, regardless of whether they hold the traditional credentials from an elite law school."\textsuperscript{93}

\textsuperscript{91} Id.
\textsuperscript{92} Id. at 646-47.
\textsuperscript{93} Thies, \textit{supra} note 34, at 606. Indiana University law professor William D. Henderson writes:

Most large law firms are very sensitive to pedigree, though you would be hard pressed to find any hard empirical evidence why the kid who went to Harvard is a better bet than someone who went to, say, Boston College, Illinois, or even the University of Houston . . . [A]s the economy has slipped into recession, the pedigree bubble has finally burst. It is now painfully obvious to everyone that it does not matter where you went to school, or who you clerked for - a lawyer in his or her first or second year of practice is not just worth $275 per hour.


However, Westfahl refutes Thies's notion that the sea change of the recession will lead to pressure on students to be more skilled. He posits instead:

One of the first things that happened in law firm recruiting departments as the current recession hit was an almost gleeful re-calibration of how high in the class at the best schools each firm could now recruit, given that fewer recruits needed to be hired. Very
Shibboleths of the legal profession and legal education are fading away as we watch. Graduation from Ivy League law school is no longer a guaranteed golden ticket. "[S]ome law firms have been pleasantly surprised by the performance of some experimental new hires from the top of their class at 'lesser' ranked law schools" and are moving away from "ingrained intellectual snobbery." "Studies showing that school rank and grade point average are not the best predictors of law firm success have reinforced this openness to lower-tier schools." And perhaps the overriding reality is that "there is a large supply of young lawyers with slightly less elite credentials who are willing to work very hard for substantially less than $160,000 per year."

In fact, now, "[d]emonstrated management and teamwork skills resulting in successful client engagements w[ill] carry more weight than Ivy League credentials."

Recently, Professors Marjorie Schultz and Sheldon Zedeck at the University of

little has been given to selecting more effectively for candidates with strong practical skills training. Thus, a huge barrier to reform that Thies misses is that the myth of the meritocracy runs just as deep in law firms as it does in legal academia.

Westfahl, supra note 90, at 646. As will be discussed infra, other commentators disagree with this analysis and Westfahl himself concedes that "there is hope that the recession will eventually help market forces to align as Thies suggests." Id.

96 Thies, supra note 34, at 606. "[T]here is empirical evidence that within a certain range, differences in cognitive ability, such as I.Q., are uncorrelated with contributions to organizational productivity, which suggests the price premium for elite law school graduates is excessive." Henderson, supra note 4, at 4.
97 Henderson, supra note 95, at 4.
98 Marc Galanter & William Henderson, The Elastic Tournament: A Second Transformation of the Big Law Firm, 60 STAN. L. REV. 1867, 1927 (2008). In fact, there is currently a push for law schools to offer law practice management courses as part of their curriculum. G.M. Filisko, Getting the Business: Recession Inspires Call for Classes in Running a Law Firm, A.B.A. J., Aug. 2010, at 24. Additionally, the 2009 NALP Roundtable on the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement agreed as to "the benefits of teaching law students about the economics of how law firms function." NALP, Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement (June 30, 2009), available at http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease. However, a 2008 study revealed that only 64 of the then 195 ABA-accredited law schools offered such courses. Id.
California, Berkeley, conducted a study of "lawyering effectiveness factors" based on interviews with supervising lawyers, clients, and judges and reviewing the educational profiles of Boalt Hall and Hastings Law graduates.\textsuperscript{99} The study revealed that "effectiveness in practice does not necessarily reflect law school rank or law review membership."\textsuperscript{100}

It should be noted that this change in the skills emphasis in legal education, like other progressions in skills education, such as the rise of legal writing and clinical programs, will probably begin and be most pronounced in the lower-ranked \textit{U.S. News} schools. "[B]eing able to prepare graduates to add value to clients immediately upon graduation will be more important for lower tier law schools than elite schools. Similarly, small to medium law firms lacking the resources to invest in intense apprenticeship training programs will be the first to apply pressure on law schools to better prepare their graduates."\textsuperscript{101}

It could be argued that law schools should not undertake a fundamental revision in their curricula and pedagogical methods, as law firms and law practice are currently in the nadir of an ever-changing cycle that will eventually return to the status quo:

All of these cost-saving trends are unremarkable for a market shaped by a deep recession. It is possible that, like all good businesses, law firms are simply adapting to a weak spot in the market and preparing to return to business as usual as soon as the economy improves. Many commentators, however, argue that the downturn will lead to more than a routine disruption in the legal market, and may spell the end of the traditional law firm model.

The reason for this dire prediction is that the natural tensions of the model were becoming unsustainable even before the economic troubles hit

\textsuperscript{100} Wegner Response, \textit{supra} note 39, at 636.
\textsuperscript{101} Westfahl, \textit{supra} note 90, at 648-49.
The model places intense pressure on law firms to continue hiring top graduates from the best law schools to replace associates on the bottom tier of the pyramid who have left or ascended to partner. Law firms’ attempts to remain competitive in this hiring market caused associate starting salaries to remain nearly uniform while rising to $160,000 just before the recession hit. Once the associates had been hired, however, law firms had to get their money’s worth by requiring large numbers of billable hours. The greater demands on associates then increased attrition which, in turn, required law firms to hire even more new lawyers. The entire system was dependent on enough work coming in to fill everyone’s time. Because this cycle had repeated for a number of years, law firms were highly vulnerable to a sudden decrease in demand for their services.  

But the pressure was already on firms even prior to the recession to create alternative models for staffing and billing clients. For instance, there was already increased reliance on contract attorneys. 

Some firms have increased their profitability during the recession, but did so through cut-backs, particularly in their number of equity partners. Of course, rates of promotion to equity partnership were already declining before the recession. There was also an increase in creating alternate statuses than equity partner for more senior attorneys, such as nonequity partnerships or of-counsel or staff positions. 

Moreover, associates were also already becoming savvy to the elusiveness of the payout of becoming partner and this revelation was "undermin[ing] the incentive structure of the traditional law firm model." According to NALP, firms lose 80 of

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102 Thies, supra note 34, at 603-04.
103 Id. at 604.
105 Thies, supra note 34, at 604.
106 Id.
107 Id.
law school hires within five years."

"[A]ssociates . . . tend not to be as focused on the brass ring of partnership."

In short, as Steven Davis, chair of Dewey & LeBoeuf, states: "I lean much more in the direction that this is not a blip . . . In the medium term, we're seeing, and will continue to see, a paradigm shift." 

b. Changes Already Afoot in the Legal Academy

Just as the traditional law firm tournament model was becoming unsustainable even before the onset of the Great Recession, so too, scholars noted, were many key facets of legal education. "Several studies over the years have . . . advocated for the enhanced integration of professional skills-related education, both to more effectively prepare students to represent future clients, and to enhance the effectiveness of the educational enterprise by providing more integrated and progressive education across law school's three years." These have included the MacCrate Report, and, more recently, BEST PRACTICES IN LEGAL EDUCATION and the Carnegie Report. 

As early as 1992, the MacCrate Report stated: "[C]omplaints heard by the Task Force concerning law graduates' writing skills suggest that further concerted effort is required to teach legal writing at a better level than is now generally done both in the law schools and in bridge-the-gap programs after law school." The Report further opined that these deficiencies "may be due at least in part to the schools [sic] failure to value the

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109 Id.
111 Wegner Response, supra note 39, at 634-35.
112 MacCrate Report, supra note 80.
113 STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32.
115 MacCrate Report, supra note 80, at 264.
importance of these programs to the training of lawyers to become competent professionals."\textsuperscript{116}

When it came along in 2006, the Carnegie Report reintroduced into the working lexicon of legal education the centuries-old notion of "apprenticeship, with its intimate pedagogy of modeling and coaching."\textsuperscript{117} However, this latter-day apprenticeship was to be improved over the "arbitrary and often haphazard nature of old-time apprenticeships" - to be effectuated now by legal educators trained in effective teaching methods.\textsuperscript{118} The Carnegie Report proposed three apprenticeships to be implemented in legal education: the "intellectual and cognitive, [which] focuses the student on the knowledge on way of thinking of the profession;"\textsuperscript{119} the apprenticeship of "expert practice shared by competent practitioners;"\textsuperscript{120} and the "apprenticeship of identity and purpose, [which] introduces students to the purposes and attitudes that are guided by the values for which the professional community is responsible."\textsuperscript{121} As will be discussed \textit{infra}, legal writing professors are indispensable to the teaching of each.\textsuperscript{122}

\textbf{BEST PRACTICES IN LEGAL EDUCATION} began with the assumptions that "[m]ost new lawyers are not as prepared as they could be to discharge the responsibilities of law

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\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{116} \textit{Id.} at 266. The Report subsequently recommended, "Law schools should assign primary responsibility for instruction in professional skills to permanent full-time faculty who can devote the time and expertise to teaching and developing new methods of teaching skills to law students." \textit{Id.} at 333-34.
    \item \textsuperscript{117} Carnegie Report, \textit{supra} note 31, at 25.
    \item \textsuperscript{118} \textit{Id.}
    \item \textsuperscript{119} \textit{Id.} at 28.
    \item \textsuperscript{120} \textit{Id.}
    \item \textsuperscript{121} \textit{Id.}
    \item \textsuperscript{122} Professor Lynch notes: "The Carnegie Report does not contemplate a hierarchy for the participants in these apprenticeships, but the ABA accreditation standards do because they provide incomplete employment protection for legal writing faculty." Lynch, \textit{supra} note 4, at 9. He further states: "[I]t is . . . difficult to reconcile legal education's lip service to Carnegie with the reality that so many law schools have essentially subcontracted legal writing instruction to teachers it refuses to treat as full-fledged faculty." \textit{Id.} at 11-12.
\end{itemize}
practice”\textsuperscript{123} and that "[s]ignificant improvements to legal education are achievable, if the issues are examined from fresh perspectives and with open minds."\textsuperscript{124} Stuckey further stated: "The primary goal of legal education should be to develop competence, that is, the ability to resolve legal problems effectively and responsibly."\textsuperscript{125} Stuckey deemed "[t]he [n]eed to [i]mprove [l]egal [e]ducation [to be] [c]ompelling."\textsuperscript{126} Among the reasons cited for this are that "[l]aw [s]chools [a]re [n]ot [f]ully [c]ommitted to [p]reparing [s]tudents for [p]ractice."\textsuperscript{127} Thus, both the Carnegie Report and BEST PRACTICES set the stage for the rise of the legal writing professor.

c. The Need for Legal Writing Professors: Is There a Viable Alternative?

"In the first phase of legal education, well-designed lawyering courses should be taught as intentional complements to doctrinal instruction. Ideally, this experience of complementarity would continue in the second and third years as a gradual development of practice knowledge and skill, beginning in simulation and moving into actual responsibility for clients."\textsuperscript{128} "[Larger law firms] don't trust law school faculty to teach practical legal skills, because most tenured faculty at top tier schools have very little experience practicing law."\textsuperscript{129} A stable cadre of experts in the pedagogy of lawyering skills is needed to effect this effort. There are no others who can do the job as effectively.

\textsuperscript{123} Stuckey ET AL., supra note 32, at 1.
\textsuperscript{124} Id. Stuckey also notes that "[t]he process for becoming a lawyer in the United States will not change significantly," id., but qualifies that by saying: "If there is any possibility that the third assumption is invalid, we would encourage the legal profession to reconsider the entire continuum of educating and training lawyers in the United States." Id. at 1 n.1.
\textsuperscript{125} Id. at 8.
\textsuperscript{126} Id. at 11.
\textsuperscript{127} Id. at 16.
\textsuperscript{128} Carnegie Report, supra note 31, at 195.
\textsuperscript{129} Westfahl, supra note 90, at 649.
For instance, a recent article in the *Journal of Legal Education* called for increased reliance on adjuncts as a relatively inexpensive source of labor to implement an enhanced skills curriculum.\(^\text{130}\) Indeed, adjuncts are an invaluable component of any good skills curriculum. "[A]djuncts will have an enhanced sense of how to meld the theoretical and the practical, and they are generally more focused upon how to use the law strategically to accomplish client goals."\(^\text{131}\) Their low pay can facilitate the small class sizes, which is a key component to the effective learning of lawyering skills.\(^\text{132}\)

However, Thies's *Journal of Legal Education* article also acknowledges "there are potential downsides to the use of adjuncts. Adjuncts are typically less available to students than full-time faculty,\(^\text{133}\) complete less scholarship in the areas in which they teach,\(^\text{134}\) are less integrates into the law school culture, are frequently distracted by "emergencies" in their practice, which they will invariably view as their top priority,\(^\text{135}\) and may be inexperienced teachers."\(^\text{136}\) The article does offer "a number of articles and guides published recently" as a panacea to these woes.\(^\text{137}\) But Professor Judith Wegner, one of the principal authors of the *Carnegie Report*, responds to the original *Journal of Legal Education* article, with a critique of overreliance on adjuncts:

Current requirements regarding the use of full-time faculty members are designed to assure that students are taught from individuals knowledgeable about the law as well as skilled in teaching. Just as those who spend the bulk of their time teaching may not be ready for prime time service as trial litigators, so, too, skilled litigators may have little expertise as teachers or may not be well-grounded both in underlying theory and in practice-related techniques. ABA requirements are designed to permit

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\(^\text{130}\) Thies, *supra* note 34, at 619.
\(^\text{132}\) Thies, *supra* note 34, at 620.
\(^\text{133}\) Lander, *supra* note 131, at 291.
\(^\text{134}\) *Id.*
\(^\text{135}\) *Id.* at 292.
\(^\text{136}\) Thies, *supra* note 34, at 620.
\(^\text{137}\) *Id.*
some use of adjuncts in contexts where they can add specialized expertise not otherwise available on a law faculty, but to maintain a reasonable balance between such strategies for augmenting the core curriculum and assuring a core of full-time teachers who can serve a number of functions, including advising and quality assurance for the curriculum as a whole. Research in other settings suggests that undue reliance on part-time 'contingent' faculty undercuts educational quality.  

Specifically, with regard to the argument that all legal writing is just drafting and it should be taught exclusively by adjuncts, instead of full-time professionals, Professors Rideout and Ramsfield reply:

Proponents of this view may think that lawyers rather than professors should teach drafting, in law firms rather than in law schools. Because these are exclusively practical matters, they should not absorb the resources of the academy. Indeed, few law schools offer drafting courses.

This traditional view, however, prevents law students from exploring crucial links between writing and legal analysis. Without practice, law students will not understand how analysis drives linguistic choices, how choosing the right form may be an integral part of strategy, how avoiding litigation may rely on making the correct lexical connection between legal ideas. This view also ignores the crucial interplay between language and thinking, between research choices and strategies, between understanding facts and the force of their precise expression for the purposes of drafting a specific document. This view also puts off until practice the role of negotiations, client counseling, strategizing, and careful reading, all of which contribute to the social context for legal writing.

Bryan Garner further challenges: "If [your legal writing] course isn't being taught by full-time faculty, ask why no other required course is taught by adjuncts or upper-division students." Thus, it become clear that Thies's suggestion of using adjuncts to solve the problems with teaching skills is not a panacea.

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d. Dispelling Prejudices About Legal Writing Professors

"It would be a mistake . . . to take teaching centered on practice as hostile to generalization or theoretical formulation." 141 "The two kinds of legal knowledge-the theoretical and the practical- are complementary. Each must have a respected place in legal education." 142 In short, "[lawyering skills] serves as a bridge between the learning of legal thinking and the mastery of the skills demanded in order to practice law." 143

Both doctrinal and practical courses are likely to be most effective if faculty who teach them have some significant experience with the complementary area. In an integrated model, the practical apprenticeship stands not subordinate to but in a complementary relationship with legal analysis. At its best, the relationship between formal knowledge and practical knowing might be thought of as symbiotic . . . However, it is organized, the sustained dialogue among faculty with different strengths and interests united around common educational purposes that is likely to matter most. 144

The Carnegie Report refers to connecting the three apprenticeships-the theoretical, practical, and ethical- through legal writing. 145 The further integration of legal writing professors into the professional, permanent, and equal ranks of legal educators would only further aid the marriage of theory and practice, to the benefit of all. Such integration would also make law school much more akin to other professional schools, such as medical and business. 146

But there is a whole class of shibboleths that need to be overcome in order for legal writing professors to achieve this goal. The fact that such shibboleths exist and are

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142 Id. at 13.
143 Id. at 108.
144 Id. at 196.
145 Id. at 88.  "The Best Practices acknowledges that, just as it was difficult for medical schools to transform their curricula, so too will reformation present challenges for legal education." Christine N. Coughlin et al., See One, Do One, Teach One: Dissecting the Use of Medical Education's Signature Pedagogy in the Law School Curriculum, 26 GA. S. U. L. REV. 361, 371 (2010).
so widely shared in the legal academy is not surprising: we are, in many ways, a surprisingly homogenous and orthodox bunch, "a self-perpetuating elite." 147

The faculty of American law schools remains dominated by graduates of a few law schools. Fifteen law schools during the 2007-2008 academic ear provided 52.9% of the faculty listed by the AALS member schools and fee-paying schools. In the same time frame, fifteen of the 200 law schools accredited by the ABA provided one out of every two law professors in the United States, while two law schools, Harvard and Yale, provided over 20% of the law professors in the United States during the 2007-2008. 148

Thus, "[a]pplicants for law school teaching positions who did not graduate from plutocratic, oligarchical law schools, that already control the faculty-recruitment process, face outsider status." 149 Moreover:

[T]he culture of legal education . . . is shaped by the practices and attitudes of the elite schools; those practices and attitudes are reinforced through a self-replicating circle of faculty and graduates . . .

Students at the top schools who are identified after their first year as stars in analytical reasoning receive extensive apprentice-like training as law review editors during their second and third years; training comes from both faculty and more experienced peers. They then go on to yet more hands-on mentoring as law clerks for appellate judges before taking up such positions as appellate advocate, legal scholar and teacher, or judge. Drawing law school faculty from this pool has ensured great uniformity in career path and outlook, especially in matters of faculty promotion and curriculum, introducing little diversity of experience into faculty perspectives. The most prestigious law firms hire graduates of the leading standard-model schools. Because there is tacit expectation that recent graduates from the elite schools will receive careful mentoring as part of these firms' staff development, the schools pay scant attention to preparing their students for practice. 150

149 Id. at 153.
"Some critics contend this homogeneity in law school faculties has resulted in an ethos of perceived intellectual superiority and classism."\textsuperscript{151}

Because doctrinal faculties in all schools continue to replenish themselves with members who attended law schools that were more likely to consider their legal writing faculties as somewhat inferior (perhaps because of the emphasis of these schools on theory over practical skills and experience), it is only natural that these faculties would adopt a similar view of their present legal writing colleagues.\textsuperscript{152}

"Much like traditional Indian society, the Brahmins (\textit{i.e.}, the tenure-track faculty) wish to use the lower castes of the legal academy to do the 'dirty work.':"\textsuperscript{153} And more than any one else in legal education, except maybe the clinicians, it is legal writing professors who are the ones who "are willing to roll up their sleeves and do transformative dirty work."\textsuperscript{154}

Legal Writing Faculty are lower caste. They teach courses that relatively few tenured faculty want to teach, although many tenured faculty once did so. Few are on a tenure track, and even tenure-track directors experience some caste discrimination at tenure-time, when "The Faculty" and "The Dean" focus, often for the first time, on the nature of scholarship about legal writing. The terms and conditions of employment reflect that status, with caps on terms of employment, low salaries, and other restrictions-including resistance at many schools even to the use of Professor or Faculty title. All of these conditions vary widely by school. At the same time, the legal writing, lawyering, advocacy and research courses have evolved dramatically almost everywhere, particularly in the last ten years.\textsuperscript{155}

"If this were a perfect world, one would imagine that legal education, in appreciation of the legal writing professoriate's dedication to undertake such arduous tasks, would accord


\textsuperscript{153} Newton, supra note 151, at *46 (quoting Kent D. Syverud, \textit{The Caste System and Best Practices in Legal Education}, 1 J. ASS’N LEGAL WRITING DIRECTORS 12, 14-16 (2001)).

\textsuperscript{154} Lynch, supra note 4, at 4.

\textsuperscript{155} Syverud, supra note 153, at 15.
legal writing professors great respect and provide rewards commensurate with their service. But this is not a perfect world” and has not been since the early days of formal legal education in the United States.

As early as fifty years ago, legal writing was referred to as "the step child of the curriculum, unwanted, starved and neglected." Nearly everyone who writes about legal writing duly records faculty disdain for the subject matter and administrative dislike of the expense.” And, to this day, there are some law faculty who believe legal writing should not be a law school discipline at all.

Professor Beazley relates:

This perception was vividly driven home to me during the job interview for my first full-time legal writing job, which was interrupted by a drunken law professor. He was disgusted to learn that I was interviewing for a Legal Writing job, saying accusingly, "You can't teach people how to write. They either know it or they don't."

At the time, I didn't realize that this drunken academic had articulated a sobering issue that many Legal Writing faculty face to this day: the attitude that the good writing fairy blesses you with the ability to write at birth, in the same way you might get good teeth. And if you are not blessed with the good writing gene, there is nothing a teacher can do, so law schools should not waste their money trying to teach Legal Writing.

156 Lynch, supra note 4, at 4.
157 Stewart Macauley & Henry G. Manne, A Low-Cost Legal Writing Program--The Wisconsin Experience, 11 J. LEGAL EDUC. 387, 389 (1959). Bryan Garner goes further: "Legal writing isn't the stepchild of legal education, as it's sometimes called. It isn't even the foster child. It's more like the abused child." Garner Legal Writing, supra note 140, at 18 [hereinafter Garner Serious].
159 See Rideout & Ramsfield, supra note 139, at 46 ("Some go as far to say that [legal writing] is anti-intellectual because it distracts students from the real business of learning substantive law by competing with the rest of the curriculum for their study time.").
160 Mary Beth Beazley, Better Writing, Better Thinking: Using Legal Writing Pedagogy in the "Casebook" Classroom (Without Grading Papers), 10 LEGAL WRITING: J. LEGAL WRITING INST. 23, 28 (2004) [hereinafter Beazley Better Writing]; see also Rideout & Ramsfield, supra note 139, at 41-42 (identifying as "traditional views" that "Writing is writing;” “Legal writing is a talent; either you have it or you don't,” and "Writing can't be taught, so we shouldn't try.")

I personally have repeatedly heard, with regard to the students at my Ivy League alma mater and other schools of its tier, that for these "elite" students, all you need to do is provide desultory writing instruction, such as an instructional handout, wind them up, and point them in the right direction, and they can learn the forms and processes of legal writing by themselves. Professor Levine shares my assessment
Indeed, at most law schools, legal writing professors do not enjoy professional status equal to that of their casebook\textsuperscript{161} colleagues. Lawyering skills professors have been relegated, quite literally, to "other" status:\textsuperscript{162} that lawyering skills is not a significant priority at these schools: "The conventional wisdom among legal writing teachers has been that the 'elite' law schools devote few resources to legal writing and are particularly zealous about refusing to recognize professionalism in the field by allocating tenure-track positions to those teachers, even when nationally known legal writing teachers are on their faculties." Jan M. Levine, \textit{Voices in the Wilderness: Tenured and Tenure-track Directors and Teachers in Legal Research and Writing Programs}, 45 J. LEGAL EDUC. 530, 530-31 (1995). There tends to be a perpetuation of the mentality that, "I never took a legal writing course and I did just fine." Rideout & Ramsfield, \textit{supra} note 139, at 40.

Professor Nathanson concurs:

[B]ecause most doctrinal faculty members, even those more recently appointed, graduated from schools with antiquated legal writing programs, the perception persists that the teaching of, and status accorded to, professors of legal writing have somehow remained a constant when in reality they have been constantly evolving . . . Given this reality, it is no wonder that legal writing "feels" as if it has always been different and inferior to the graduates of these law schools. In their experience going back to their days as law students, it always has been. Moreover, the treatment of women in these feeder schools is likewise relevant to the essentialist feelings of many current doctrinal faculty members . . . For in their experience as students, they have been exposed to two realities: relatively few women holding high status teaching positions and legal writing programs that truly are inferior to their doctrinal counterparts. It is no wonder that as teachers, when presented with legal writing programs dominated by women, they would similarly see them as inferior despite the reality that in the school in which they now teach, the makeup of the legal writing program may be quite different than that with which they were accustomed as students.

A further illustration of this phenomenon comes from the fact that newer law schools appear to experience much less essentialism with regard to legal writing than their more established counterparts. Although there are several reasons why teachers of legal writing are considered part of the in-group at these schools, one of them is quite possibly because these newer schools hire from outside of the traditional feeder schools at a much greater rate. Because the doctrinal faculty members come from schools where the percentage of women in tenured or tenure-track positions is much higher, and where teachers of legal writing are accorded more job security and respect, they do not bring to the legal academy essentialist feelings of legal writing as a distinct out-group. With regard to these doctrinal faculty members, the fiction of essentialism is eroded, at least somewhat.


\textsuperscript{161} Again, on the subject of nomenclature, I opt to use the term "casebook professor" to refer to a tenured or tenure-track law professor who does not teaching Legal Writing or Clinic, recognizing, as a legal writing professor myself, that the subtext of word choice is often of primary importance to an effective argument. Alternate terms heard are "doctrinal" or "substantive" professor, leading, of course, to the implication that clinicians and legal writing professors are teaching neither doctrine or anything of substance.
For the 2009-2010 academic year, as in past years, most [lawyering skills] programs continued to use full-time nontenure-track teachers (79 programs, or 41.3%, of those responding . . .) or a hybrid staffing model (71 respondents, or 37.2%). Twenty programs reported using solely adjuncts (10.9%), twelve programs used solely tenured or tenure-track teachers hired specifically to teach LRW (6.3%) . . . ; and another 17 programs used such teachers in hybrid programs . . . .

Law schools have accorded legal writing faculty separate and unequal treatment [in a myriad of ways, including] physical segregation of offices, branding with inferior academic titles, denial of faculty franchise, circumscribed academic freedom, separate and unequal pay scales, and other indicia of second-class status.

With regard to compensation, aside from lower salary, lawyering skills professors at many schools receive less institutional support, such as funding for research assistants, attending and presenting at conferences, buying books, summer support for scholarship,

On a rational level, the status attached to voting is obvious. Voting, in an academic setting just as in the world at large, is power, and those who have it are perceived as superior in status to those who do not. Beyond these more objective observations, however, voting is much more significant on a subconscious level and it should be sought for these reasons rather than for power alone. For the determination of who votes is, at its core, a determination of who is considered competent to govern and those considered competent to govern will be those who are believed to be good, moral people. Conversely, those denied this opportunity are inherently considered something less. Thus, in those schools in which the members of the legal writing faculty are not permitted to vote, the "immorality of the other" is inherently demonstrated at each and every faculty meeting.

Nathanson Dismantling, supra note 160, at 106. The lack of the franchise and academic freedom at one law school led to students voting to demand a switch in citation textbook and the faculty committee deciding to impose the choice on the legal writing program against the judgment of its experienced legal writing director. Id. at 263. All of these hallmarks of repression are noted and can be acted upon by students. "The doctrinal faculty's treatment of the legal writing faculty provides a bad example for students to do likewise. All too often when law students are frustrated with law school, the legal writing teacher is the cat that gets kicked!" Lynch, supra note 4, at 16.
and sabbaticals, which can have obvious implications for their professional development, furthering the gap between them and their casebook colleagues.\footnote{Durako} \footnote{Dismantling Hierarchies, supra note 164, at 269.}

The consequences of this discrepant treatment indeed takes many different forms:

How can we expect law students to become competent and ethical practitioners when the faculty members best suited to teach them the necessary practical skills and ethical lessons from real-world cases . . . are marginalized and even openly held in disdain by some members of the "main" faculty? What message is being communicated to law students by their primary faculty role models?\footnote{Newton, supra note 151, at *58. See also Gordon, supra note, at 155 ("Law schools fail to value legal research and writing instructors as part of the mainstream tenure track faculty. Research and writing is not taken seriously as a legal-teaching status, and legal writing instructors are placed lower on the law school faculty hierarchy . . . . Law schools should treat legal research and writing professors like all other tenured and tenure track faculty, but the ABA has undercut such a system by allowing law schools to provide only short-term contracts for research and writing."); Levine, supra note 160, at 530-31.}

On the subject of orthodoxy and marginalization, it should not be overlooked that there is a homogeneity of an additional kind at play in the legal academy. "Legal education has traditionally been a white male affair, to which women and people of color have only recently gained entry."\footnote{Nancy E. Dowd et al., Diversity Matters: Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Legal Education, 15 U. Fla. J. L. & PUB. POL'Y 11, 12 (2003).} Perhaps because they are recently entrants in the history of the academy,\footnote{In this regard, Professor Lynch notes:} the discipline of legal writing is dominated by women:

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Teachers of legal research and writing have long been considered second-class members of the law school academy. Historically, most law schools devoted inadequate resources to LRW programs and assigned research and writing teachers to low-status positions. Tenure-track appointments were virtually unheard of, and most full-time writing teachers, a rare group, had short-term appointment-by virtue of program design, resource allocation, and organizational or administrative structure.

The message of communicated at many schools very clearly to students. First, as Professor Durako points out, at many schools, legal writing faculty are segregated together in other parts of the building from their casebook colleagues. Durako Dismantling Hierarchies, supra note 164, at 255-56. Do torts faculty find themselves housed on the "Torts" floor? \textit{Id.} Naturally, these impedes the legal writing faculty and the casebook faculty from getting to know each other and each other's work, allowing stereotypes to continue unchallenged. \textit{Id.} Inferior academic titles, like "Professor of Legal Writing," or "Legal Writing Instructor," rather than "Professor of Law," are also patent to students; casebook professors are not designated "Professor of Contracts," indicating to the world that their expertise is somehow circumscribed. \textit{Id.} at 258.
Since 1999, the Association of Legal Writing Directors and the Legal Writing Institute have administered an annual survey with 100 questions on many aspects of legal writing programs, including staffing. In recent years, this survey has received responses from over 90% of all ABA-accredited law schools. And so we know with confidence that the typical legal writing professor is a white female, hired off the tenure-track with a multi-year contract, earning significantly less than the typical tenure-line law faculty hire.169

Large numbers of non-tenure-line legal writing positions were created in the 1980s and women entered these positions "at very high rates." Law schools simply took advantage of the situation, ignoring the undercurrent of gender discrimination. Legal writing became entrenched as a non-tenure-line pink ghetto, and most law schools and their national accrediting agency still appear comfortable with this reality.170

"Legal writing may have been, perhaps unconsciously, an economical strategy to accomplish the positive goal of adding more women quickly to law school faculties."171

And it worked. In Professor Liemer and Temple's 2008 study of legal writing professors, 74% of the 428 respondents were female.172

The gender discrepancy in a demonstrably lower-status cadre of the legal academy is troubling. "[T]he predominantly female legal writing cohort endures a

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Lynch, supra note 4, at 14-15.


170 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 415-16 (quoting Richard H. Chused, The Hiring and Retention of Minorities and Women on American Law School Faculties, 137 U. PA. L. REV. 537, 539 (1988)). This "pink ghetto" phraseology has been used in several articles to refer to women in legal writing. See Jo Anne Durako, Second-class Citizens in the Pink Ghetto: Gender Bias in Legal Writing, 50 J. LEGAL EDUC. 562, 562 (2000) [hereinafter Durako Pink Ghetto]. Noted legal writing expert Bryan Garner concurs: "The status of today's LRW programs also gives law schools an appearance of sex discrimination." Garner Legal Writing, supra note 140, at 10.

171 Durako Pink Ghetto, supra note 169, at 580. For many legal writing professors, including this author, motherhood played a significant role in their transition to teaching. Lynch, supra note 4, at 12.

172 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 418.
version of gender discrimination that no law firm or corporation would dare institutionalize or rationalize, let alone put into print." 173 Moreover, a gender discrepancy even exists within legal writing itself:

In American law schools today, about three-quarters of the doctrinal faculty--these teaching such subjects as contracts and constitutional law--are men. Suppose it were discovered that those men had been systematically treated less well in terms of salary and status than one-quarter of doctrinal faculty who are women. Suppose further that these men had been paid, on average, 80 percent of what the women earn, and that the men were awarded tenure at lower rates than the women. Would this be a problem? Would law schools take notice? Take action? What would deans and faculties do about this? What would the academic community, the legal profession, and wider audiences say about it?

The 1999 and 2000 surveys of legal writing programs revealed such a pattern of gender bias--not among doctrinal faculty but among legal writing directors and not against men but against women. The two most recent national surveys of writing programs found that although women made up 70 percent of the legal writing field and of its directors, law schools paid women directors about 80 percent of male directors' salaries. Law schools awarded tenure to a smaller proportion of women. Law schools less often assigned women the traditional legitimizing academic title of professor. Law schools less often gave women teaching opportunities beyond first-year courses. And law schools less often awarded women voting rights at faculty meetings or on faculty committees.

The 1996 Report of the American Bar Association's Commission on Women in the Profession urged law schools to 'maintain employment environments that are free of both actionable discrimination and subtle barriers to equal opportunity that operate to create a 'pink ghetto' for women faculty." The recent surveys of legal writing programs found that the specialized teaching area of legal writing has become just such a pink ghetto and that, within the ghetto, women directors are treated like second-class citizens. 174

Professor McGinley illustrated these differences with qualitative data:

173 Lynch, supra note 4, at 13 (quoting Kathryn Stanchi & Jan M. Levine, Gender and Legal Writing: Law Schools [sic] Dirty Little Secrets, 16 BERKELEY WOMEN'S L.J. 1, 4 (2001)).
174 Durako Pink Ghetto 169, supra note, at 562-63 (quoting COMMISSION ON WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, ELUSIVE EQUALITY: THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN IN LEGAL EDUCATION 4 (Chicago, 1996)).
While I have not conducted a comprehensive empirical study, I created a questionnaire that I sent to two listservs that are directed at legal writing faculty. I received thirteen responses that provided anecdotal evidence. The anecdotal evidence suggests that, at least in some schools, either unconsciously or consciously, other faculty, administrators, and students have different expectations regarding gendered work done by male and female legal writing instructors. The anecdotal evidence suggests that tenure track faculty more frequently consider male legal writing faculty members than females to be in the job temporarily as a means to an end. Moreover, it suggests that other faculty members accept the male legal writing professors as equals more than they accept their female counterparts as equals. It also appears that at least some deans are uncomfortable paying male legal writing professors the low salaries earned by women in the same jobs, that faculty and administrators offer to mentor male legal writing faculty members more often to do research, and that, on at least two occasions, the male legal writing professors were granted research stipends that had been previously unavailable to the women occupying the position.\textsuperscript{175}

The sexism within legal writing itself has unfortunate consequences on the quality of student education:

Failure of women directors to have power and status results in their having less authority over and less impact on the very legal writing programs they must oversee. This lack of power has the unfortunate consequence of perpetuating problems of sexism in legal writing programs themselves. Women directors’ lack of professional authority strips them of the power to shape the law schools where they work and the courses they teach. Without job security or the protection of academic freedom, women writing directors are less likely to challenge such traditions as the male model of oral argument or the overemphasis on litigation rather than transactional documents in legal writing courses.\textsuperscript{176}

One might argue that:

[s]ome of the discrepancies may be explained by the very real pressures, both external and internalized, that our society still places on women, more than men, to put family concerns before their own professional ambitions. These pressures limit the geographic mobility of some women faculty candidates, who may take a non-tenure-line teaching job over no teaching job. These same family pressures also may cause some women lawyers to seek the scheduling flexibility of teaching jobs, including legal


\textsuperscript{176} Durako \textit{Pink Ghetto}, supra note 169, at 585.
writing positions. In fact, some highly-credentialed women may be consciously choosing to avoid the extra time constraints of traditional tenure-line positions.\(^{177}\)

However, Professor Lynch responds: "While apparently gender-neutral, this 'magic of the marketplace' standard has insidiously permitted law schools to exploit the disadvantages of women in the legal employment market to obtain first-rate teachers at bargain basement wages."\(^{178}\)

Whatever the reason for the second-class citizenship of legal writing professionals, the relegation is marked and enduring:

[\text{\textit{W}}\text{hen legal writing professors' requests for improved status have been denied, several themes have emerged. One frequent comment made by deans and faculties is that market forces are at work. Others say that the law school just does not have the resources now. And quite often, legal writing professors hear that upgrades cannot be made for them because, after all, they were not hired with the same credentials as the tenure-line faculty.}^{179}]\]

With regard to the first two arguments:

Yes, it would cost more not to discriminate against these women lawyers with tenure-line credentials. It seems hypocritical, however, for law schools to teach courses on employment discrimination while rationalizing their own employment discrimination as a great money saver. Law school development offices have long raised money for endowed chairs and other salary supplements for professors. Those same offices could address this funding issue, too, particularly as the bar continues to call for greater skills training and a focus on developing legal research and writing skills.\(^{180}\)

The marketplace argument:

\textit{do[es] not withstand close scrutiny. Law schools may make marketplace arguments that they can attract highly qualified writing teachers for depressed salaries, but these same arguments have not decreased salaries}

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\(^{177}\) Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 426-27.

\(^{178}\) Lynch, supra note 4, at 15.

\(^{179}\) Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 387-88. Professor Ramsfield has remarked: "Historically, the driving force in creating [legal writing] programs has been to find the cheapest, not the best, structure and method." Jill J. Ramsfield, Legal Writing in the Twenty-first Century: The First Images-A Survey of Legal Research and Writing Programs, 1 LEGAL WRITING 123, 125 (1991).

\(^{180}\) Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 428.
for doctrinal teaching positions by comparable amounts despite the extremely high number of applicants for those jobs. While law schools may respond that they must pay to attract the best teacher-scholars and do not want to teach Contracts on the cheap, that concern for quality instruction apparently does not carry over to ensuring high quality in legal writing courses and scholarship. The related assumption that any lawyer can teach legal writing does not appear to carry over to the idea that any lawyer can teach Torts.\footnote{Durako \textit{Pink Ghetto, supra} note 169, at 584. Professor Beazley also refutes this market-based argument:}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Tenure-track positions are inappropriate because you can't attract 'tenure quality' people to them, OR they are unnecessary because we are already attracting high-quality people even without the lure of tenure . . . .}

[N]o sane person with any options really \textit{wants} to teach legal writing. Those who do must have some ulterior motive, or are too incompetent to get any other sort of job. When it's pointed out that many highly qualified people already teach legal writing - including people who have the good "paper credentials: of federal clerkships and high class rank - the [argument] shifts shape and declares that tenure-track positions are not needed because we're already attracting well-qualified people . . . .

We need tenure-track positions in legal writing not just to benefit highly qualified people who are already teaching in it, but also to attract even more of these qualified people to the field. With the current state of affairs, it's no wonder that few so-called "quality" candidates have sought out legal-writing jobs. The conventional wisdom is that teaching legal writing - or even expressing an interest in teaching it - sounds the death knell of any chance for a tenure-track position. Not surprisingly, people deny any interest in this undervalued discipline. If, however, legal writing becomes valued, if there is an opportunity to build a worthwhile career teaching legal writing, then valuable people will seek out those positions.

As for the reverse argument - that tenure is unnecessary because we are already attracting good people without it - law faculty would be wise not to discuss supply and demand too loudly. We create tenure-track positions for law professors not because it is the only way to attract good teachers, but because it is the best way to attract the best teachers. Certainly, in the current market, law schools could find good teachers of contracts, torts, constitutional law, and many other courses without offering tenure-track positions. But the academy's cost-benefit analysis has always been that the benefit of committed, secure, full-time faculty with academic freedom is worth the cost of tenure-track positions.

A tenure-track professor is an incredible resource, and not just for the law school. The three elements of the tenure-track positions - scholarship, teaching, and service - produce concrete, tangible benefits for law students, the legal community, and the public at large . . . .

The lack of tenure-track positions in legal writing denies the bench, the bar, and the public the opportunity to benefit from the work of experienced writing teachers. Like any other professor, legal-writing professors can conduct CLE seminars and sit on bar committees. They can analyze how writing is best accomplished in law firms and propose training programs for new attorneys. They can study how lay people read and use legal documents, and they can suggest improvement. The possibilities are endless.
"Although it may be implicitly sanctioned by ABA Standard 405(d) [which requires some measure of job security for legal writing professionals, but which implicitly does not promote their tenure-track appointment], 'take it or leave it' is not an appropriate condition of employment when it is applied only to one cohort of the law professoriate."  

The status of legal writing professionals appears to be an anti-competitive collusion on the part of law schools and their administrations, not unlike the 1985 Major League Baseball efforts to boycott free agents. The entire market-based debate must also recognize that attrition of lawyering skills professionals, the recruitment and training of replacements, is also extremely expensive, so efforts to cut corners in lawyering skills salaries are not necessarily ultimately paying off, either as money-saving device or as sound educational policy.  

Finally, arguments regarding the inferiority of legal writing professionals as compared to their casebook colleagues are so universally mentioned as to take on the aforementioned shibboleth-like status and it is shibboleths of this kind to continue to


Professor Lynch also points out the incongruity in corner-cutting when it comes to legal writing programs, as it is for legal writing, of all law school subjects, that the ABA has perhaps the most rigorous requirements for the nature and quality of instruction. Lynch, supra note 4, at 10. "Although ABA standards pertaining to legal writing programs require law schools to provide students with an educational Mercedes, they require schools to pay only for a Hyundai." Id. at 10-11.  

182 Lynch, supra note 4, at 15.


184 See Rideout & Ramsfield, supra note 139, at 87-88:

Staffing models contribute to turnover . . . . In all models except the full-time tenure track model, the turnover is high. Establishing a sound pedagogy is next to impossible under these circumstances, which may explain why so many schools have attempted to restructure their programs each year. Instead, law schools should consider hiring and training professors who have the job security that allows them to develop programs and generate scholarship in legal writing.
require demystification. "Devaluation of either the teacher or the subject hurts, not helps, legal education." 

1. Shibboleth #1: Lawyering Skills Professors are not Intellectual.

This is Professor Beazley's first "boggart:" "The It's-Not-Intellectual Boggart" - "Legal writing lacks enough intellectual substance for a tenure-track position, OR it's so hard to teach that burnout is inevitable, making contract caps necessary."

Legal writing is just a glorified grammar course. Because it's a simple course to teach, it can be taught well off the top of your head, with no preparation, training, or experience. Thus, there is no need for teachers who have developed any sort of expertise or for any scholarship in the field.

The authors of the Carnegie Report corroborate that these sentiments run rampant in the legal academy: "In many of the schools we visited, students commented that faculty

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185 Professor Mary Beth Beazley, in homage to the Harry Potter series of books, refers to these shibboleths as "boggarts:"

In the third book of the popular Harry Potter series, Harry and his classmates at the Hogwarts School for Witchcraft and Wizardry encounter a scary creature called a boggart. A boggart isn't confined to one creepy form but "shape-shifts," taking "the shape of whatever it thinks will frighten us the most." Boggarts hide in enclosed spaces like wardrobes, grandfather clocks, and the shadowy spot underneath your bed.

Law-school faculties face boggarts too. These boggarts are the living myths that pop out and whisper in faculty ears whenever someone suggests that law schools should create tenure-track - or even permanent - faculty positions in legal writing. Although some faculties have defeated those boggarts, they are still out there, popping out not from under the bed or from behind the closet door, but at lunch in the faculty lounge, after the committee meeting, and during the conversation in the hallway. When challenged, these boggarts shift their shapes, twisting their logic until they are almost unrecognizable, exploiting the fears of those who debate the inclusion of legal-writing professionals in the academy.

Beazley Riddikulus!, supra note 181, at 79 (quoting J.K. ROWLING, HARRY POTTER AND THE PRISONER OF AZKABAN 133 (Scholastic Press, 1999)).

186 Durako Pink Ghetto, supra note 169, at 584.

187 Beazley Riddikulus!, supra note 181, at 80 (emphasis in original).

188 Id.

189 Id. at 80-81.
view courses directly oriented to practice as of secondary intellectual value and
importance.”¹⁹⁰

However, there is great rigor in both the pedagogy and scholarship of legal
writing. With regard to accusations of a feeble-minded pedagogy, Professor Beazley
replies:

Riddikulus! Legal writing is not focused on grammar any more than tax
law is focused on math. Legal-writing faculty teach communication skills,
it's true, but they teach those skills in the context of substantive issues of
legal doctrine, professional responsibility, and legal practice. Legal-
writing courses aren't the dirty diapers of legal education. Instead, they
embody the very essence of what lawyers do: identify relevant authorities,
synthesize legal rules from those authorities, and apply those rules to the
relevant facts, all in a particular jurisdictional and procedural context.
This is what ‘thinking like a lawyer’ is all about, and it is what legal-
writing professionals teach their students every semester.¹⁹¹

With regard to scholarship, it is first manifest that lawyering skills professors do
scholarship. A 2005 bibliography published by Professors Terrill Pollman and Linda H.
Edwards is revealing:

The list contains entries for nearly 300 authors. It includes more than 350
books, book chapters, supplements, and editorships, and over 650 law
review articles. It includes at least that many articles in peer-reviewed
academic journals, specialty journals designed primarily for practitioners,
and other kinds of publications. By any criteria, the content of the list is
impressive.

Law review placements span the spectrum of the academy and
include journals at such schools as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, N.Y.U.,
Cornell, Georgetown, Minnesota, Virginia, California, Michigan, Duke,
Wisconsin, Notre Dame, Stanford, and Chicago.¹⁹²

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¹⁹¹ Beazley Riddikulus!, supra note 181, at 81.
¹⁹² Terrill Pollman & Linda H. Edwards, Scholarship by Legal Writing Professors: New Voices in the
Legal Academy, 11 J. LEGAL WRITING INST. 3, 8 (2005).
Furthermore, while legal writing professors can and do write scholarship in a broad array of legal fields, legal writing also has its own distinct and rigorous brand and body of scholarship. In fact, a 2004 article by Professor Michael R. Smith identified five sub-categories of legal writing scholarship, distinguishable by substantive content and audience: scholarship on program design and administration of legal writing programs; scholarship on legal writing pedagogy; scholarship on legal writing as a

[193] Id. at 8-9.


[195] Id. at 6.

[196] Id.

In some ways, the legal writing professor's focus on pedagogical scholarship is understandable. Because of the inherent nature and quality of teacher-student interaction in legal writing instruction, many people who are drawn to legal writing as a profession are dedicated "teachers" who put a high value on effective teaching. In fact, I would surmise that legal writing teachers are among the most conscientious teachers in the legal academy. It comes as no surprise then that many legal writing professionals write about teaching, for it is natural to write about what one cares about the most.

Id. at 23. Indeed, legal writing professors are leaders in the academy on writing about legal pedagogy: a leadership that becomes crucial at a time when, as this article has been discussing, economic conditions and intensive critique are compelling a fundamental change in how we prepare our students:

The value of scholarship about pedagogy is the subject of debate within the legal academy, but a compelling case can be made for including pedagogical analysis as part of legal scholarship. Judge Harry Edwards begins his well-known critique of modern legal scholarship with an epigram from Felix Frankfurter: "In the last analysis, the law is what the lawyers are. And the law and the lawyers are what law schools make them. He returns to Frankfurter again in the article's conclusion and argue for "practical scholarship and pedagogy." He writes "I earnestly believe that much of the growing disarray that we now see in the profession is directly related to the growing incoherence in law teaching and scholarship.

Judge Edwards is writing primarily to criticize highly theoretical scholarship not readily usable by the profession, but his criticism also says something important about taking seriously our role in "making lawyers." Tellingly, in this same article, Judge Edwards decries inadequate law school attention to legal writing and asserts that "far too few law professors recognize the gravity of the problem." He notes problems with matters of style and presentation in the practitioner writing he sees, but observes that "[t]he more serious problem is . . . lack of depth and precision in legal analysis.

If Felix Frankfurter and Judge Edwards are right that the lawyers we "make" define the future of the law, then surely pedagogy should not be excluded from our close, critical scholarly examination. Careful analysis of legal pedagogy serves all the identified values of scholarship. It identifies and proposes solutions for a serious legal problem; the problem of bad legal writing with its attendant effects on clients and on the
profession; and scholarship on the substance of legal writing.199

In many instances, much of the scholarship on the substance of legal writing is "informed by composition theory" and "[t]he core of such study and practice is rhetoric, and in particular, the rhetorical concept that meaning is constructed out of the interaction of reader and writer, text and context."201

When legal writing professors took a turn towards scholarship, the prevailing view in the legal academy was that theoretical scholarship based on the study of legal doctrine was preferred over pedagogical or skills- or practice-based scholarship. At the same time, within academia more generally, the interpretation of 'texts' was favored over the composition of texts. In both cases, the more respected professors were those whose scholarship focused not on how to write or how to teach, but instead on how to interpret, analyze, and critique the written product.202

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legal system. It improves the performance of tomorrow's legal decision-makers far more directly than can a doctrinal article about a particular, often esoteric legal issue or highly theoretical article addressed largely to other highly theoretical scholars writing in the same specialized field. It advances knowledge about one of our own professions, the profession of teaching. And given the marginalized status of legal writing programs and faculty members at many schools, scholarship about legal writing pedagogy often must speak truth to power.

The claim that scholarship enhances teaching is one of the primary justifications for devoting so many institutional and personal resources to the scholarship project. It is difficult to square that claim with institutional policies declaring pedagogy categorically off limits as an area of scholarly inquiry. If serious scholarly treatment of law teaching is outside the boundary of acceptable scholarship, we cannot claim truthfully that we write to improve our teaching.


197 Id. at 7.
198 Id. at 8. This realm of scholarship can be further broken down into "best practices of legal writing," id., scholarship about audience, id. at 11, "rhetorical analysis scholarship," id. at 12, "scholarship on ethics and professionalism in legal writing," id. at 13, "[s]cholarship on legal method and the nature of legal authorities," id. at 14, and "[s]cholarship on appellate practice and procedure," id. at 16.
202 Id. at 4.
The rejection of rhetoric by the legal academy as a subject worthy of intellectual exploration is ironic, given that "[l]awyers are rhetors. They make arguments to convince other people. They deal in persuasion." As with so many other intellectual pursuits connected with legal writing the argument has been advanced that writing about legal writing is not a sufficiently rigorous scholarly topic:

One rationale sometimes offered to support a policy discounting legal writing topics is the sweeping generalization that writing on legal writing topics does not constitute scholarship. Even assuming the possibility of a static and universal definition of "legal scholarship," this assertion cannot sustain reasoned analysis.

First and at the very least, the assertion is overbroad. [Legal writing scholarship includes such categories] as the roles and functioning of the judicial and legislative systems; the doctrine of stare decisis; precedential values and appropriate uses of legal authority; the forms of legal reasoning; the principles of statutory construction; relevant ethical duties of lawyers; the standards of appellate review; and other doctrines relating to appellate practice. One can hardly deny that these topics qualify as subjects of legal scholarship. Some of them have been well established as subjects of legal scholarship for many years. Consider, for example, such classics as Judge Benjamin Cardozo's *The Nature of the Judicial Process*; Karl Llewellyn's *Bramble Bush* or his famous "thrust and parry" article; Edward Levi's classic book on legal reasoning; David Mellinkoff's *The Language of the Law*; or Robert Cover's famous Forward to the Supreme Court 1982 Term, *Nomos and Narrative*.

Now, in fact, many commentators are arguing that legal writing "scholarship should address the 'substance' of legal writing and be written for the broader audience of professional legal writers, including lawyers, judges, students, and other academics" to respond to criticisms of the legal academy that legal scholarship is esoteric and disconnected from the actual practice of law. Indeed, Professor Beazley argues:

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204 Pollman & Edwards, supra note 192, at 35.
205 Berger et al., supra note 201, at 10 (citing Smith, supra note 194, at 5-18, 20-22.)
[T]his field cries out for scholarship. Academics are people who apply research to problems. They evaluate the problem, propose solutions, and test those solutions with further scholarship. The problems in professional legal writing are severe, and the calls for help have come from many sources, from the MacCrate Report to the recent AALS speech of Attorney General Janet Reno. If the law schools are honestly committed to solving these problems, then they should create the tenure-track positions that will spur needed scholarship.\textsuperscript{206}

She further notes that legal writing scholars have already made enormous contributions to the profession of law: "Legal-writing scholars have already taken giant strides: they have analyzed myriad types of legal prose and created a legal-writing vocabulary that allows us to discuss what makes an analytical document complete or a drafted document comprehensible. But much remains to be done."\textsuperscript{207}

A step toward acceptance of the lawyering skills brand of scholarship came with:

[t]he twists and turns toward interdisciplinary legal scholarship [which] opened up a new direction for legal writing scholars. Since the late 1960s, articles featuring 'interdisciplinary' applications to the law and cognitive science. Some of these disciplines lend themselves to arguments that come naturally to legal writing professors, arguments about what language means or what decision-makers intended or how a decision was [sic] a reached and how it should be interpreted.\textsuperscript{208}

Legal writing scholarship now delves into such fields as linguistics\textsuperscript{209} and feminist theory.\textsuperscript{210} A mainstay of legal writing scholarship is interpretative works, one might argue akin to the traditional interpretative works of the legal academy, in which "linguistics, classical and contemporary rhetoric, social science, and cognitive science [are applied to explain] how and why particular texts [are] rhetorically effective."\textsuperscript{211}

\textsuperscript{206} Beazley \textit{Riddikulous!}, supra note 181, at 81-82.
\textsuperscript{207} Id. at 85.
\textsuperscript{208} Berger et al., supra note 201, at 4-5.
\textsuperscript{211} Berger et al., supra note 201, at 10.
Like the scholarship of casebook faculty, the work of legal writing professors is
well-researched,212 original,213 current,214 and creates a learned dialogue within the
discipline.215

A caution must be advanced when considering the merits of this relative
newcomer to the canon of legal scholarship. Dean Geoffrey Stone, then Dean of the
University of Chicago Law School, warned:216

First, we may undervalue "good" work because we do not understand it. Aficionados of law and literature may not appreciate the subtle elegance of a novel application of the Coase Theorum. They may not understand why the work is original or useful. Moreover, because they do not grasp the work's substance, they may tend to dismiss its significance. Even law professors fall victim to human nature.

Second, we may undervalue "good" work because it suggests, implicitly or explicitly, that the work we do is not valuable. Practitioners of law and economics may feel that feminist theory rejects the basic premise of their work. An all-too-human response is to dismiss those ideas that do not "appropriately" value our own.

Third, we may undervalue "good" work because it promotes a view of the legal system or society or human relations that is fundamentally inconsistent with our own world view. Such work may challenge not only the value of our work, but also our broader sense of the appropriate order of things socially, economically, politically, and personally. Work that casts doubt upon everything we cling to is not likely to be embraced enthusiastically.217

If an argument could be made that legal writing scholarship in any way lags
behinds that of its casebook cousins, a Catch-22 must be recognized. "Until an academic subject is professionalized, that is, until an academic subject is undertaken by people with

212 Id. at 17.
213 Id.
214 Id. at 19.
215 Id. at 17.
216 Pollman & Edwards, supra note 192, at 45.
the experience, time, and resources to explore its intellectual boundaries, the growth of its
document will be slow."

As an academic discipline, legal writing is a relative newcomer to the
legal academy. Over the last few decades, skilled attorneys have become
dedicated teachers and scholars, creating both a core pedagogy and a body
of scholarship that have given shape to the field of legal writing. At the
same time, these pioneering professors have shaped their own futures.
Legal Writing positions have evolved from short-term, stepping-stone jobs
into professional career paths. 219

In short: "[i]mproved conditions would . . . contribute to the intellectual
development of the field by increased output and recognition of legal writing scholarship,
a consequence that is already in evidence." 220 Indeed, Professor Beazley has pointed out
that the development of legal writing scholarship as a discipline has been deterred at
schools that do not credit this scholarship as part of a professor's qualifications for
tenure. 221

Moreover, it should further be recognized that"[b]ecause of the nature of their
work, [legal writing professors] spend their days differently from most law professors.
Teaching is at the center of their universe; that is much less so for other law
professors." 222 "Most law faculty acknowledge that writing teachers may well have the
heaviest workload at the law school." 223

The heavy workload of writing teachers stems from several
sources. Most required research and writing course curricula cover
research, analysis, writing, citation, legal discourse, and legal skills.
Students generally complete several assignments during the semester,
typically getting individual written critique on the assignments,
conferencing on some assignments, and perhaps rewriting assignments.

218 Smith, supra note 194, at 22.
219 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 383-84.
220 Durako Pink Ghetto, supra note 169, at 584.
221 Beazley Riddikulus!, supra note 181, at 84.
222 Lynch, supra note 4, at 4.
223 Durako Dismantling Hierarchies, supra note 164, at 270.
This style of individualized, responsive, recursive teaching is burdensome and time-consuming. But responsive teaching is required to be effective in teaching a complex set of lawyering skills.\footnote{Id. at 270 n.111.}

Furthermore, "[t]he numbers of students [lawyering skills professors] were assigned as well as the teaching and commenting practices they engaged in made it difficult to find the time to study and write."\footnote{Id. at 150-51.} "In the fall, LRW faculty members each . . . read 1,489 pages of student work, and held 49.13 hours of required or strongly recommended conferences. [In t]he spring semester, [they read] 1,520 pages . . . [and held] 45.05 conference hours."\footnote{2010 ALWD/LWI Survey, supra note 163, at ix.} Finally, emotional labor can disrupt the scholarly work of the legal writing professor: "The legal writing professor, like the mother in the traditional family who disrupts her own sleep to respond to her children's cries, is eternally interruptible. These interruptions come at the expense of other work such as class preparation or scholarly pursuits, and can also invade leisure time."\footnote{McGinley, supra note 175, at 131.} Professor McGinley also argues that female faculty in general might experience a disproportionately heavy service load as well: "Law faculties tend to emulate the family's gender divide. That is, women tend to do the housework--the committee work and the other internal work at the law school--men tend to do the outside work--more scholarship, more travel, more self-promotion, more blog entries and other "scholarly" career work."\footnote{Id. at 170 n.111.}
Perversely, this heavy workload itself has been cited as a reason to deny lawyering skills professors tenure-track status:

When challenged, this boggart shifts shape and says that legal writing is so hard to teach that a permanent position is unwise. Legal-writing teachers face inevitable burnout from the mental strain of correcting papers—certainly no one could stand doing it for more than a year or two. We must protect legal-writing teachers by using capped contracts that force them out into better jobs.\(^{229}\)

There are myriad other hallmarks of the intellectual rigor of legal writing as a discipline: two dedicated, peer-reviewed journals, the *Journal of the Legal Writing Institute* and the *Journal of the Association of Legal Writing Directors*, as well as a myriad of newsletters and other publications;\(^{230}\) two "flagship" organizations, the Legal Writing Institute (LWI) and the Association of Legal Writing Directors (ALWD), and other smaller organizations;\(^{231}\) dedicated and regular scheduled conferences, with either

\(^{229}\) Beazley *Riddikulus!, supra* note 181, at 81. Of course:

[T]eaching legal writing is no more likely to lead to burnout than teaching any other subject matter. Just as certain people enjoy the intellectual challenge of tax law or property law, some enjoy the challenge of studying and teaching legal writing. The growing number of experienced legal-writing teachers who have taught for 5, 10, 15 years or more prove the point. If a legal-writing teacher is not overwhelmed by too many students and has opportunities for professional development, burnout need never be a problem.

\(^{230}\) Berger et al., *supra* note 201, at 12.

\(^{231}\) *Id.* at 13. For instance, ALWD:

has diligently sought to improve legal writing as a discipline and as a profession. Up to now, ALWD has waged this battle on four primary fronts. First, recognizing the power of shared information, ALWD has organized legal writing directors and has created mechanisms through which they can exchange data, ideas, experiences, and strategies. These efforts alone have had a dramatic impact on the growth of our discipline. Second, ALWD has sought to improve the status and working conditions of legal writing professionals by actively participating in the American Bar Association's hearings on law school accreditation standards. Fourth, ALWD, along with Darby Dickerson of Stetson Law School, has revolutionized legal citation with the publication of the ALWD Citation Manual. The success and impact of this project has been dramatic. By clarifying and simplifying the rules on legal citation, the ALWD Citation Manual "became the most popular new law school book in Aspen [Publishers] history."
an LWI or ALWD meeting every year, and a myriad of smaller, regional conference;\textsuperscript{232} regularly convened writers’ conferences;\textsuperscript{233} and two dedicated listservs and a blog.\textsuperscript{234}

Few, if any, legal disciplines can boast such a wealth of fora and opportunities for intellectual exchange.

2. Shibboleth #2: Lawyering Skills Professors are Less Qualified than Casebook Professors.

A number of recent studies have examined the veracity of this supposition. It is true that in Professor Nathanson's 2004 study of fifty casebook professors and fifty legal writing professors, more casebook professors than legal writing professors had earned their initial law degree from a top twenty law school, although the discrepancy was not as great as some might suppose - 29 to 21.\textsuperscript{235} Professor Liemer and Temple's larger 2008 study found:

Of the 428 individuals who responded to our survey, 121, or 28%, received their J.D. degrees from a top twenty law school. Looking just at Harvard and Yale, the very top producer schools, eighteen (4%) and eight (2%) respectively of the respondents received their J.D. degrees there. Adding in other advanced degrees, a total of 155, or 36%, had post-undergraduate degrees from a top twenty law school.\textsuperscript{236}

It is difficult to argue that graduation from a top twenty law school is an indispensable criterion for holding a tenure-track position, as 42% of casebook professors did not either.\textsuperscript{237} However, even if it is: "[I]n total, 36% of the legal writing professors held the key tenure-line law professor credential: a J.D. or other advanced degree from a

\textsuperscript{232} Berger et al., supra note 201, at 13.
\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Id.} at 11.
\textsuperscript{234} \textit{Id.} at 13.
\textsuperscript{235} Nathanson \textit{Practical Scholarship, supra} note 152, at 337. If that law school credential is limited to graduating from Harvard Law School, the discrepancy between casebook professors and legal writing professors is quite large - 14 to 3. \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{236} Liemer & Temple, \textit{supra} note 169, at 418.
\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Id.} at 412.
top twenty school. But only 17% of them had a tenure-line position. Why were the other 19% not hired into tenure-line positions?"  

Moreover, legal writing professors have other compensatory credentials. "[L]egal writing professors tended to spend more years practicing law before becoming professors than other law professors did, and more legal writing professors spent those years in private practice," which is the practice setting in which most law students will find themselves. Professors Liemer and Temple found that legal writing professors had experience in a greater variety of practice settings than casebook professors. This additional experience in significant in an environment where "65% of law school students (and 90% of lawyers) say that school teaches students legal theory, but does not teach the practical business skills needed to practice law in today's economy."  

Professor Nathanson also found legal writing professors to have a similar number of judicial clerkships to casebook professors, although the clerkships for the casebook professors tended to be the more "prestigious" federal clerkships, as opposed the more frequent state clerkships held by legal writing professors. Professors Liemer and

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238 Id. at 420.
239 Id. at 411 (citing Nathanson Practical Scholarship, supra note 152, at 337). In fact, Nathanson's study found legal writing professors to have over double the practice experience as casebook professors, 4.5 years and 2.12 years respectively. Id. at 411 n.175.
241 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 424.
243 Nathanson Practical Scholarship, supra note 152, at 337 (reporting, in his admittedly somewhat limited sample, seventeen clerkships for casebook professors and nineteen for legal writing professors).
244 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 412.
245 Nathanson Practical Scholarship, supra note 152, at 178. It should be noted, however, that this may in part be accounted for by the gender disparity in legal writing, as women also hold a disproportionate number of state clerkships as opposed to federal. Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 412 n.178 (citing
Temple found an even greater number of legal writing professors to have worked for courts, mostly as law clerks. Again, over one third of legal writing professors clerked, but only 17% held tenure-line positions.

Professor Liemer and Temple's study revealed that legal writing professors exceed casebook professors in participation in law review while in law school - 67% versus 40%, 48.2%, or 58% for casebook professors in previous studies. Assuming selection for law review and law review participation to be a good proxy for high grades and strong writing skills in law school, this statistic again demonstrates a striking discrepancy between the 67% of legal writing professors who participated on law review and the 17% who hold tenure-line jobs. The fact that 22% of the legal writing professors surveyed had served as teaching assistants in law school and 36% had been research assistants provides further indication that these were strong students in law school. In fact, of course, legal writing professors have such strong legal writing and research expertise that they are not only able to perform these functions themselves, but can teach them successfully to others.

Finally, in this era of emphasis on humanizing legal education, which will be discussed at greater length later in this article:

\[\text{[t]here is ample evidence that legal writing professors are expected to have credentials not required of other law professors. Specifically, hiring committees seek certain personality traits and characteristics when interviewing and hiring legal writing professors. They are expected to}\]

246 Liemer & Temple, supra note 169, at 422.
247 Id. at 422-23.
248 Id. at 421.
249 Id.
250 Id. at 423. Comparably, previous studies had revealed that 27.2%, 27.0%, or 37% of casebook professors had any kind of previous teaching experiences prior to assuming their tenure-line positions. Id.
251 Id.
have strong interpersonal communication skills and to exhibit 'niceness, caring . . . [and] patience . . . .' They also are not likely to be hired if they exhibit 'arrogance or an inflated ego' or 'rigidity or inflexibility.' Would all traditional tenure-line law professors hold their current appointments if these requirements were a condition of their employment?252

The shibboleth that legal writing professors are less qualified than their casebook colleagues is very much called into question, unless the sole determinative criterion becomes the law school from which one graduated when they were twenty five years old.

e. The Need for Lawyering Skills Professors: The Indispensable Masters of Carnegie's Three Apprenticeships

1. The Intellectual or Cognitive Apprenticeship

While not credited by the academy with this mastery, legal writing professors daily contribute much to this apprenticeship. They have evolved away from being "'instrumentalists' - those who saw writing as merely a method for transcribing thought"253 to "'cognitivists' - those who [see] writing as a way of making meaning, as a method of thinking."254 "During the writing process, we learn more than we do by speaking, thinking, listening, or reading because we engage in all these activities and more when we write."255 Each writing and oral task required in a legal writing course

252 Id. at 425 (quoting Maureen J. Arrigo, Hierarchy Maintained: Status and Gender Issues in Legal Writing Programs, 70 TEMP. L. REV. 117, 158-59 (1997)). Professor McGinley elaborates:

Jobs that are gendered female on law school faculties are more interruptible, require much more student contact, and perform a high degree of emotional labor. Emotional labor is not recognized as work because it appears to come from the inherent qualities of the person, rather than requiring an effort to present a patient and caring response. Because legal writing professors teach in small groups and have twice or three times the number of office hours with students as doctrinal faculty, the administration and other faculty members expect them to be more personally connected to their students, and they often take on a counseling role.

McGinley, supra note 175, at 128-29.
253 Beazley Better Writing, supra note 160, at 32.
254 Id.
demands that the student analyze a legal problem and formulate arguments.256 Nowhere more than in legal writing class is the law student truly "thinking like a lawyer:"

What professors teaching legal writing know is that they must begin instruction by establishing a foundation of information and analytical skills for their students because adults learn by connecting information to what they already know. This requires assessing what foundational knowledge is needs and how to provide it so that the course goals and coverage are satisfied. The former is evaluated from the learner's point of view; only the latter is from the teacher's point of view.

What professors teaching legal writing also know is that they must layer material, from simple to complex, to maximize understanding and to provide a platform from which students can structure subsequent information. Learners can connect and structure new material only if it is appropriately layered. Material is appropriately layered when new material overlaps with old material enough for learners to connect new information to what they already know. However, material is not appropriately layered when new material is so unrelated to what learners already know that learners cannot determine with any certainty what the connection between the old and the new material might be. Whether material is appropriately layered must be evaluated from the learner's point of view.257

This layered pedagogy is intimately familiar to the legal writing professor as a means of teaching analysis. For instance, one "learning layer" used to excellent effect by legal writing professors is the simulation, a key pedagogy in legal writing that educates students "to think critically about practice."258 Moreover, the Carnegie Report notes that the import of legal writing's emphasis on critical thinking is felt beyond the legal writing classroom. "Many students with whom we spoke noted the ways in which their writing courses accelerated their progress in legal reasoning in their doctrinal courses."259

259 Id. at 108.
In the end, Professor Stuckey urges that law professors "[u]se context-based instruction to teach theory, doctrine, and analytical skills." and this is precisely what a lawyering skills professor does when working with students through the problem on which writing assignments are based.

2. The Expert Practice Skills Apprenticeship

The necessity of the effective teaching of skills is enshrined in the American Bar Association Standards that govern legal education. Law schools must ensure that each student has "substantial instruction in . . . professional skills generally regarded as necessary for effective and responsible participation in the legal profession." "[T]he syllabi for the best legal writing classes we encountered focused on learning tasks that are typical of legal work." "[T]he pedagogy [of lawyering skills] is . . . performative and learned in role." Professor Stuckey cites among his best practices "[using] [m]ultiple [m]ethods of [i]nstruction and [reducing] [r]eliance on the Socratic Dialogue and [c]ase [m]ethod," urging law teachers to be "multi-modal." Legal writing pedagogy is multi-modal by its very nature. "What the professor teaching legal writing knows is that information provided in only one way will benefit only one type of learner. Professors teaching legal writing have had to expand their teaching repertoire to benefit

260 STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32, at 146.
262 Carnegie Report, supra note 31, at 105.
263 Id. at 108.
264 STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32, at 132.
265 Id. Professor Wegner too urges reduced reliance upon the "signature pedagogy" of the "case-dialogue method," in particular as being unsuited to the teaching of skills, as well as to the environments of discussion settings, seminars, and clinics. Judith Welch Wegner, Reframing Legal Education's "Wicked Problems," 61 RUTGERS L. REV. 867, 888 (2009).
266 2010 ALWD/LWI survey, supra note 163, at 14-15
all types of learners because their students must master legal analysis and
communication, not just complete the course, to succeed in law school.”

An example of the multi-modal teaching employed by legal writing professors is,
as previously discussed, the "[s]imulation of legal tasks in context . . . [which] is the core pedagogical practice in lawyering courses." Legal writing professors are leaders on law school faculties in this and other experiential and innovative forms of teaching:

[L]aw faculty have had to fight the powerful force of inertia: the property of an object at rest to remain at rest, or the tendency of a Property teacher who was taught by the case method/final exam system to begin teaching and continue teaching using the case method/final exam system. We tend to teach the way we were taught, and casebook faculty were taught by teachers who gave exams, while Legal Writing faculty were taught by students, or not taught at all. Thus, we had no preconceived agenda to follow, and this lack of an agenda encouraged us to explore new horizons.

Not only are legal writing professors leaders in pedagogical methodology, but substantive experts in the teaching of skills indispensable to the practice of law:

In 2005 Gerry Hess and Stephen Gerst conducted a survey of the Arizona Bar. They asked those lawyers and judges to assess the importance of various professional skills to the success of an associate at the end of the first year if practice in a small, general practice firm. Twelve skills were rated by more than 70% of the respondents as 'essential' or 'very important,' and three more were rated that highly by more than 50% of the respondents.

1. Legal analysis and reasoning (96%).
2. Written communication (96%).
3. Drafting legal documents (92%).

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267 Jacobson, supra note 257, at 910.
269 Beazley Better Writing, supra note 160, at 32.
5. Listening (92%).
6. Oral Communication (92%).
7. Working cooperatively with others as part of a team (90%).
8. Factual investigation (88%).
9. Organization and management of legal work (88%).
10. Interviewing and questioning (87%).
11. Problem solving (87%).
12. Recognizing and resolving ethical dilemmas (77%).
13. Pretrial discovery and advocacy (64%).
14. Counseling (58%).
15. Negotiation (57%).

First year legal writing programs teach most and, in some cases, all of these skills.\textsuperscript{271}

Legal writing professors also figure prominently in teaching upper level course offerings in these areas.\textsuperscript{272}

Professor Judith Wegner, one of the authors of the Carnegie Report, decries the undervaluing of the essential contribution of legal writing professors to the teaching of the second apprenticeship:

Even first year legal writing programs (with legal research on the side or more central) have in many schools been relegated to the margin of the educational enterprise. Many law faculty members do not fully appreciate the importance of legal writing courses in bolstering students' analytical strengths, providing them with an important context in which to learn from experience, engaging them in solving poorly defined problems, exposing them to the art forms and acts required of lawyers in practice, and modeling fresh forms of lawyering (such as coaching and counseling). Similarly, courses that introduce legal research to first year students may be marginalized because they are seen as a venue for introducing very detailed information about sources (what sources exist, what is their value for diverse purposes, how should they be cited), rather than valued as emphasizing the exercise of professional judgment regarding what information is needed, how its quality is best assessed, and how diverse forms of knowledge should best be integrated and employed to accomplish important tasks. In short, legal education has not really embraced the need for students to learn to "do and act" or appreciated the ways in which...
"doing and acting" are powerful means to fuel learning of substance itself.273

Legal writing professors can also be of assistance to their casebook colleagues, as they are experts at the pedagogy of teaching lawyering skills across the curriculum.274

There is nothing but benefit to the entire faculty and legal education if course teaching cross-pollinates:

[I]t would help student learning if caste lines were blurred. Perhaps everybody could be a Brahmin, as some schools seem to be trying, and maybe, as at some new proprietary schools, the roles of each faculty member can be entirely scrambled. But it would be a more incremental step if we could just get the best faculty in each caste to teach periodically the classes traditionally assigned to the other castes. It should be encouraged and rewarded when a good tenure-track faculty member teaches a lawyering section or a legal writing faculty member teaches international law . . . That not only would help disseminate best practices, but would affect how students view the castes and the respect different types of faculty have for the challenges of others. Team-teaching across castes ought to be encouraged for the same reasons-what I call educational miscegenation. It should be encouraged by giving full teaching credit to both teachers.275

To some casebook faculty, the prospect of this cross-pollination is a fearsome thing:

Writing faculty may be restricted in their profession-restricted to teaching only one subject (legal research and writing) and to only one level of student (first-year students). Even those who had extensive practice experience in a substantive area of law before becoming writing teachers may not be able to break the bonds of the limits imposed by their law schools. Some schools would prefer to hire an adjunct professors or a new tenure-track professor with less experience in the area of the law to teach a subject rather than to allow a writing teacher to reach beyond the limits of writing courses.276

273 Wegner Wicked, supra note 265, at 888.
274 Carnegie Report, supra note 31, at 104.
275 Syverud, supra note 153, at 19.
276 Durako Dismantling Hierarchies, supra note 164, at 269. As for casebook faculty teaching legal writing courses, Professor Lynch reports:

There are other doctrinal faculty teaching legal writing, but not too many. Most doctrinal faculty are not eager to teach legal writing, which is a shame. It is actually great fun, especially when one teaches it in tandem with a substantive course. It is humbling, even
Professor Beazley further explored this boggart:

*Law schools shouldn't create tenure-track positions in legal writing because this will result in a "specialist" position, and law-faculty members are supposed to be able to teach everything . . . .*

This boggart shifts its shape based on two mutually exclusive myths about law faculty. The first is that faculty members routinely switch from teaching one subject to another at a moment's notice, moving effortlessly from criminal procedure to cyberlaw to environmental torts. The second is that, each year, tenured faculty present a list of their preferred courses to the associate dean, and the associate dean bows deeply and grants each request. No matter which myth prevails, tenured legal-writing professors would create a threat. They might be perceived as being unable to step into the breach and teach an unfamiliar subject . . . .

*Riddikulus!* The reality is that most law professors are mostly specialists, with one or two areas of particular competence in which they prefer to teach. But they are also realists, and they know that the law schools needs to have teachers for all its required and elective courses. So they are willing to teach a first-year required course—even though it's not their favorite, or a new upper-level course when curricular needs require it, this step is not taken lightly or routinely. Further, many legal-writing faculty are already teaching other courses, either because their law schools need them to so or because of their experience or interests—in other words, for the same reasons that all faculty teach different courses.

The other reality of that even tenured faculty have only limited power to choose the courses they teach. Academic freedom does not usually mean that you can teach whatever courses you want, whenever you want. At most law schools, the administration develops the course schedule by balancing faculty requests and curricular needs. If all the requests and needs can be met, fine. But if not, curricular needs will usually trump.277

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277 Lynch, supra note 4, at 17.

The corollary to this boggart is the notion that even bid on the part of a legal writing professor to get on the tenure-track is part of nefarious plot where "after deceiving the faculty by feigning an interest in this distasteful field, they would wield the enormous power of tenure and refuse ever to teach legal writing again." *Id.* at 83. Professor Beazley responds:

While it's possible that a small percentage of legal-writing faculty who get tenure will *ask* not to teach legal writing anymore, whether these requests are granted depends on the administration.
In short, "[t]he artificial lines drawn between doctrinal, clinical, and writing faculty do not help the goals of legal education." 278 Legal writing professors could be at the head of a collaborative law school team dedicated to ramping up skills education, as demanded by both learned critique of our field and economic imperatives.

3. The Apprenticeship of Identity and Purpose

"More than one-third of all students say that their legal education places little emphasis on acting with integrity in personal and professional settings." 279 Professor Wegner concurs: "This apprenticeship is the one that seems most absent and least well understood within the legal education universe of today." 280 She goes on to critique the "signature pedagogy" of the Socratic Method as being particularly unsuited to "opening up issues of professional identity and values, or fostering a critique based on social justice." 281

Students will drift to a worthy end, but they do not drift without guidance or influence. Students do not just "pick up" their development as professionals along the way. To the contrary, students will be formed by our teaching regardless of our intention. Professional development, like morals teaching, is more often "caught than taught." 282

That said, the fear of a request to stop teaching legal writing is probably overblown. When choosing, for example, a tax professor, law schools look for someone with a demonstrated interest in the field, as evidenced by teaching history, practice experience, scholarship, or all three. Schools should do the same when searching for legal-writing faculty. Of course, some legal-writing faculty will have multiple interests, just as some tax-law or civil-procedure faculty have multiple interests. Interestingly, some schools have even forced tenure-track legal-writing professionals to develop another area of specialization by refusing to accept legal-writing scholarship as part of the tenure-review process. While there’s nothing wrong with a legal-writing professor's having multiple interests, law schools could promote a commitment to legal writing by rewarding scholarship in the field.

Id. at 83-84.

278 Durako Pink Ghetto, supra note, at 586.


280 Wegner Wicked, supra note 265, at 888.

281 Id. at 890.

Legal writing class is a key locale for "catching" professionalism:

In view of the current structure of mainstream legal education—the focus on the casebook and Socratic and adversarial method—the legal research and writing course provides an excellent opportunity for first-year students to go beyond the confrontational casebook method by considering lawyer’s role as a problem-solver in society in relation to the personal, practical, professional, and institutional dimensions of the study and practice of law . . . Legal research and writing courses and the legal research and writing faculty are actively involved in addressing these issues, facilitating these discussions, and helping students to consider issues of professional development.²⁸³

Moreover, legal writing class provides students their first and an indispensable opportunity for practicing their emerging ethics and professionalism skills in context:

[T]here a variety of ethical obligations that [legal writing professors] currently address . . . The first obvious example is student performance--our primary goal is to assess a basic level of competency. This is the baseline competency that they are obligated to in practice. In the context of advocacy, we all certainly address the obligation of zealous representation, tempered by an obligation to advance only those claims and arguments that are meritorious. We expect our students to turn in assignments in a timely manner. This underscores their obligation of diligence. We undoubtedly require our students to behave toward one another in a way that behooves the profession. This identifies and enforces the community of professionalism we expect our students to observe while in practice.²⁸⁴

Finally, Professor Lynch argues that the modeling of equal treatment of legal writing professionals itself is essential to inculcating the values of this third apprenticeship in our students:

[T]he unequal treatment of legal writing faculty within the legal field represents a departure from an important mandate imposed upon law schools in the Carnegie Report. The third "apprenticeship" embraced by Carnegie is an ethical apprenticeship. As the report states: "Professional

²⁸³ Beth D. Cohen, Helping Students Develop a More Humanistic Philosophy of Lawyering, 12 Legal Writing: J. Legal Writing Inst. 141, 147, 151 (2006).
education is inherently ethical education in a deep and broad sense." Employing flimsy rationalizations, or no rationale at all, to treat one faculty cohort in an inferior manner patently does not fulfill legal education's mission to nurture professional ethics among lawyers-in-training. On the contrary, it showcases resorting to sharp practice with a disadvantaged group.  

Legal writing professors are both an authority and an object lesson on the importance of professionalism and ethical conduct.

e. Humanizing Legal Education and Educating Human Lawyers

Legal writing professors are also invaluable to the fundamental well-being of our students and to their future clients. We legal educators widely agree that "[l]aw schools should attend to the well-being of their students."  However, despite this conviction, "[s]omething distinctly bad is happening to the students in our law schools."  The problems with legal education extend far beyond educational shortcomings. There are clear and growing data that legal education is harmful to the motional and psychological well-being of many law students.

It is well-known that lawyers suffer higher rates of depression, anxiety and other mental illness, suicide, divorce, alcoholism and drug abuse, and poor physical health than the general population or other occupations. These problems are attributed to the stress of law practice, working long hours, and seeking extrinsic rather than intrinsic rewards in legal practice.

It is less well-known that these problems begin in law school. Although law students enter law school healthier and happier than other students, they leave law school in much worse shape. "It is clear that law students become candidates for emotional dysfunction immediately upon entry into law school and face continued risks throughout law school and subsequent practice."

The harm to students is caused by the educational philosophies and practices of many law school teachers. Educational theorists tell us that

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285 Lynch, supra note 4, at 16.
286 Stuckey et al., supra note 32, at 29.
we should strive to create classroom experiences where '[t]he classroom is and must be a protected place, where students discover themselves and gain knowledge of the world, where they are free of all threats to their well-being, where all received opinion is open to evaluation, where all questions are legitimate, where the explicit goal is to see the world more openly, fully, and deeply.' Instead, too many law school classrooms, especially during the first year, are place where students fell isolated, embarrassed, and humiliated, and their values, opinions, and questions are not valued and may even be ridiculed.  

Psychologist G. Andrew Benjamin and colleagues conducted a study in 1986, which found that "[l]evels of psychological distress rose significantly for first year students and persisted throughout law school and for two years after graduation. The results are especially strong because they remained consistent regardless of age, gender, and law

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288 STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32, at 29-30 (quoting Ann L. Iijima, Lessons Learned: Legal Education and Law Student Dysfunction, 48 J. LEGAL EDUC. 524, 526 (1998); JAMES M. BANNER, JR. & HAROLD C. CANNON, THE ELEMENTS OF TEACHING 37 (1997)). A review of the death certificates of over 26,000 white male suicide victims by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health suggested that the suicide rate for white male lawyers may be over twice that of other white males, although problems with the data made a firm conclusion impossible. Patrick J. Schiltz, On Being a Happy, Healthy, and Ethical Member of an Unhappy, Unhealthy, and Unethical Profession, 52 VAND. L. REV. 871, 879-80 (1999). Certainly, the mental health situation of practicing lawyers has not been helped by the recession. Several suicides of lawyers have been attributed to job loss and financial reversals in the wake of the economic crisis. See Richard B. Schmitt, A Death in the Office, A.B.A. J., Nov. 2009, at 30-36 (detailing the circumstances surrounding the suicide of Mark Levy, a partner at Kilpatrick Stockton who had been laid off); see also Marek, supra note, at 27 (reporting additional suicides of attorneys from Simpson Thacher & Bartlett and King & Spalding). The website Lawyers with Depression reported a 50% jump in hits in the months between November 2008 and May 2009. Id. "Lawyers . . . may be primed for depression because of their heavy workload and legal training that accentuates the negative . . . [T]he added stress of the economic downturn could be exacerbating that predisposition and pushing some people too far." Id.

[S]aid a longtime partner at a big New York litigation firm . . . "For the first time in their lives, people feel sort of useless. All of a sudden, you can go to lunch for two and a half hours and not really be missed. It's a blow to the ego. You're talking about people who have never really failed.

Feuer, supra note 35, at MB4. This situation is only exacerbated when firms are less than honest about the reason for layoffs.

Law firms' and corporations' supposed rationale for terminating their lawyers will differ greatly, depending upon whether you speak to management or read the law blogs. Although some firms are candid and say that staffing cuts have been caused by lack of business or internal issues caused by volatile financial markers, others insist the dismissals are performance-based and not motivated by budgetary issues.

Greenberg, supra note 49, at 56.
school grades.” Many students report that the law school environment results in loss of self-esteem and alienation. Large percentages believe they were more articulate and intelligent before beginning their legal education and that they felt pressure to put aside their values in law school. These negative effects appear to be especially prevalent among women and people of color.”

These problems persist after law students graduate and into their professional lives, even before the recession. From 2001-2004, associate turnover at large law firms was 19%, with one major firm at 30%.

Among Professor Stuckey’s suggested best practices for legal education are that the law teacher be aware of the damage they can do to students and that they endeavor not to harm students; that there be a mutual respect between students and teachers; among law students and practicing lawyers in Arizona discovered that when students enter law school, they suffer from depression at approximately the same rate as the general population. However, by the spring of the first year, 32% of law students suffer from depression, and by the spring of the third year of law school, the figure escalates to an astonishing 40%. Two years after graduation, the rate of depression falls, but only to 17%, or roughly double the level of the general population.

Schiltz, supra note 288, at 875 (citing G. Andrew H. Benjamin et al., The Prevalence of Depression, Alcohol Abuse, and Cocaine Abuse Among United States Lawyers, 13 INT'L J.L. & PSYCHIATRY 233, 234, 240). Schiltz also cites elevated anxiety in law students and lawyers, with of five percent of North Carolina lawyers in one study reporting physical symptoms of extreme anxiety, such as trembling and clammy hands, rapid heartbeat, and faintness, at least three times a month. Id. at 876 (citing N.C. BAR ASS’N, REPORT OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE TASK FORCE AND RECOMMENDATIONS 4 (1991)). He also cites to studies finding rates of 15% - 20% of lawyers with obsessive-compulsive disorder and 15% - 18% alcoholism. Id. Studies have also revealed increased instances of physical health problems, including, ulcers, coronary artery disease, hypertension, and miscarriage. Id. at 880.

Hess, supra note 289, at 77. It should be noted, however, that other commentators dispute the charge that lawyers and law students are disproportionately unhappy, mentally unhealthy, or dissatisfied with their choice to become lawyers. See Marc S. Galanter & Thomas M. Paley, Large Law Firm Misery: It’s the Tournament, Not the Money, 52 VAND. L. REV. 953, 954-55 (1999) [hereinafter Galanter & Palay Large Law Firm Misery].


Stuckey et al., supra note 32, at 111.

Id. at 114.
that law teachers "foster a supportive teaching and learning environment;" and that students should be made to feel "welcome and included," which includes teaching to a wide variety of learning styles.

Legal writing professors are experts at these core tenets of teaching. They are also at the beating heart of humane law school treatment:

Legal writing faculty are expected to act as mini-psychologists and emotional soothers for their troubled students. Their role, which resembles the behavior of a mother in a traditional family, is not only to teach, but also to guide with a gentle hand, to listen to complaints, to solve problems and to be available to respond to the students' emotional concerns about legal writing, law school, and, at times, life in general. Because legal writing is typically the first course from which anxious first year students receive grades and/or feedback, students often express frustration and complaints about legal writing and their other law school courses to their legal writing professor. The feedback legal writing faculty give students is provided early and throughout the semester and is "far more extensive, personal and troubling" for students accustomed to doing well and unaccustomed to extensive written criticism from faculty. Students resent the continuous time demands of legal writing assignments, and many of them see low grades for the first time in years in their legal writing papers. Moreover, legal writing professors note that students come to their offices to discuss their legal writing papers, but often conclude by discussing other problems. One legal writing director concludes that patience and enthusiasm are important qualifications for legal writing teachers. She advises that her legal writing faculty members keep tissues in their offices because it is likely that they will have students crying at least a few times a semester in their offices. Imagine the reaction that tenured faculty teaching substantive courses would have if they were told to keep tissues in their office for crying students! . . . The administration benefits from

294 Id. at 118.
295 Id. at 121-22. The Foreword to the 2009 Law School Survey of Student Engagement also noted: "A sense that professors were more available was linked to more positive views about the overall law school experience." LSSSE, supra note, at 8. However, unfortunately, "[n]early one-third of all students report that they never discuss ideas from their readings or classes with faculty members outside of class." Id.
296 STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32, at 121-22; see also Kirsten A. Dauphinais, Valuing and Nurturing Multiple Intelligences in Legal Education: A Paradigm Shift, 11 WASH. & LEE RACE & ETHNIC ANC. L.J. 1 (2005) (describing Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences, arguing for the importance of recognizing multiple intelligences in law school admissions, pedagogy, evaluation, and career counseling, and suggesting means by which to do so.)
having legal writing faculty provide counseling services that would ordinarily be the job of the Dean of Students.\textsuperscript{297}

Beyond this kind of counseling, legal writing professors also seem to engage in more than their fair share of mentoring.\textsuperscript{298}

Finally, there is an argument to be made that this modeling of humane treatment to law students has important effects beyond simply trying to keep our students healthy. Seeing compassion exhibited by their role models might tend to make students more likely in the future to be kind and sympathetic lawyers, a trait which is especially valuable in the wake of the recession. "[T]here is] the need for training in such 'softer' skills as listening to clients and emotional intelligences."\textsuperscript{299} An author of a recent study on success at large law firms stated "attributes such as ability to adapt and get along with people contribute to success more than technical expertise.\textsuperscript{300}

\textsuperscript{297} McGinley, supra note 175, at 129-30 (quoting Jan M. Levine, \textit{You Can't Please Everyone, So You'd Better Please Yourself: Directing (Or Teaching In) a First-Year Legal Writing Program}, 29 VAL. U. L. REV. 611, 615 (1995)). Professor McGinley continued anecdotally in a footnote:

During the six years I taught legal writing, students spoke to me about their fears that they would not be able to graduate from law school, their relationships with their spouses, children, and parents, their illnesses, and a host of other concerns. While the legal writing faculty member should not step beyond her expertise into therapy, she can help students get beyond those rough first year self-doubts and experiences and/or direct the student to a professional. From my discussions with colleagues during those years, I know that my experiences were not the exception. It was common knowledge that students often discussed professional and personal concerns with their legal writing teachers. This is a valuable role that legal writing faculty play at a time when their students are very vulnerable, but this work is time consuming and invisible. To a lesser extent, I still play this role for some of my first year Torts students, but they visit my office much less frequently, seem to view our relationship much more formally, and consume much less of my time than my legal writing students did. Even so, tenured women and untenured women on the tenure track appear to bear an inordinate amount of student counseling in law schools.

\textsuperscript{298} Id. at 131 n.163.
\textsuperscript{299} Id. at 130.
\textsuperscript{300} NALP, \textit{Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement} (June 30, 2009), \textit{available at} http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease.
Finally, legal writing professors can assist their students in developing into lawyers with a humane lawyering philosophy: "Assignments can be developed that incorporate considerations of the law as a healing profession where lawyers are viewed as humanistic and compassionate problem-solvers instead of solely as advocates wielding the sword for a client . . . Indeed, many legal research and writing programs incorporate negotiation, letter writing, and interviewing and counseling exercises into the first-year curriculum."\textsuperscript{301}

IV.

Counterargument

It might be argued that, especially in the wake of recession, we cannot afford to foster a better-paid class of legal writing professionals. It is true that tuition increases are due, in part, to an increase in skills education in law school:

A recent report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), tracking tuition and fee hikes at American law schools since 1994, noted that debt loads at graduation have risen most sharply since 2001. The study concluded that the principal drivers of increased costs have been 'hands-on' resource-intensive instruction . . . Increases in instructional costs were described as stemming from expanded clinical and skills offerings . . . \textsuperscript{302}

When the legal hiring boom was on, law schools could raise their tuition to support the rising cost of legal education and their graduates could still be assured of remunerative jobs that would support their debt loads.\textsuperscript{303} "The recession's effects-rising tuition, scarce student loans, and a poor job market- are pushing legal education to the breaking point . .

\textsuperscript{301} Cohen, \textit{supra} note 283, at 152. This list would include the University of North Dakota School of Law's Lawyering Skills program. \textit{University of North Dakota School of Law Lawyering Skills II Syllabus} (on file with author).

\textsuperscript{302} Wegner Response, \textit{supra} note 39, at 629.

\textsuperscript{303} Thies, \textit{supra} note 34, at 602.
Most law schools cannot expect to continue raising tuition indiscriminately while still filling their ranks with qualified students. The boundaries are shrinking.  

The cost of legal education has been rising steadily throughout the extended expansion of the legal market during the last thirty years. Beginning in the 1980s, law school tuition has consistently risen at a rate more than two times the rate of inflation. Between 1992 and 2002, inflation was 28 percent, while the cost of legal education rose 134 percent at public schools and 76 at private schools. Since 2002, tuition has continued to rise anywhere from 5 to 15 percent a year. In 2007, the average tuition at a private law school was $32,367, and at public law schools, $15,455. When one includes books and living expenses, the overall annual cost of attendance is $50,000 or more. As a result, many law students graduate today with more than $100,000 in debt, regardless of the rank of the school they attend.

Moreover, tuition will likely continue to rise as the effects of the financial crisis become fully apparent. The recession is driving a reduction in private donations to law schools and both public and private law schools are needing to cut their budgets. Many schools have no choice but to raise tuition by double digit amounts. There is also a serious question as to whether many law graduates will be able to pay back their educational debt:

There can be little doubt that students are, with reason, worried about the mismatch between income (job opportunities and pay levels) and future expenses (anticipated living costs and debt repayment obligations). The ABA reports that for students who graduated in 2008, the average debt load those who attended private schools was $91,506, while those who attended public law schools on average accumulated $59,324 in debt . . .

304 Id. at 599.
308 Thies, supra note 34, at 608.
Current monthly repayment levels thus approach the amount required to carry a house mortgage for those who graduated a few years before.\textsuperscript{309}

"In 2007, the median salary of new graduates was $62,000, a level at which servicing debt loads in excess of $100,000 is, at best, difficult."\textsuperscript{310} Since the advent of the recession, salaries are only going to decline from that point until the economy improves. In particular, this level of debt is burdensome to attorneys hoping to enter public interest law and can serve as a barrier to entering those practices.\textsuperscript{311}

Law school has recently been described as "an unfolding education hoax on the middle class that's just as insidious and nearly as sweeping, as the housing debacle."\textsuperscript{312} These conditions threaten back to strip away to progress of the profession and legal education to return to a time where access to the practice of law was restricted to the economic elite of this country with deeply troubling social justice implications.

Yet, "as job opportunities abate, law school matriculation rates rise unchecked:"\textsuperscript{313}

Despite the disheartening employment numbers, it appears that a growing number of people think they have what it takes. According to the Law School Admissions Council, applications for ABA-accredited law schools rose 3.9 percent in 2009. A \textit{New York Times} article in January said applications to Cornell Law School were up 44 percent, and the number of people taking the Law School Admissions Test rose 20 percent in October 2009.\textsuperscript{314}

\textsuperscript{309} Id. at 627.
\textsuperscript{310} Thies, \textit{supra} note 34, at 609. And most lawyers do not even make $100,000. The 2010-11 Edition of the Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook's section on Lawyers lists the median salary for all law graduates at $68,500, practice practitioners at $108,500, those practicing in business at $69,100, government attorneys at $50,000, and those in the academy or judicial clerkships at $48,000. Bureau of Labor Statistics, \textit{supra} note.
\textsuperscript{311} ABA COMMISSION ON LOAN REPAYMENT AND FORGIVENESS, LIFTING THE BURDEN: LAW STUDENT DEBT AS A BARRIER TO PUBLIC SERVICE 8 (2003).
\textsuperscript{314} Ward, \textit{supra} note 19, at 51.
Student decisions to apply to law school are driven by many considerations other than pure "economic analysis. Rather, college graduates are increasingly interested in law school enrollment either as a port in the economic storm or as a point of access to desired career opportunities." Jim Leipold, the executive director of the National Association for Law Placement, states that this behavior of consistent whenever there is a recession, but that the measure may not work as well this time because of the predictions that the number of lawyer jobs available have permanently contracted:

David Stern, CEO of Equal Justice Works, told the magazine that students hear of law graduates making $160,000—the going salary for associates at big law firms before the recession hit—and wrongly assume they will be making that kind of money.

"In their mind's eye, [law students are] thinking of hitting the lottery and getting one of these $160,000-a-year jobs, and it is a fiction," Stern said. "By and large, it's just like the lottery. You're spending a huge amount of money in the hopes of hitting the jackpot, and there's relatively small chances, and the chances have gotten a lot smaller." 

"[S]tudents graduating from college . . . are more likely applying a consumer mentality than an investor mentality in selecting a law school." "I don't know if we can take it for granted that a 22-year old knows what it means to borrow $100,000,' said Nora V. Demleiter, the dean of Hofstra Law School, where enrollment is up a relatively modest 5

School of Law, 65% at the University of Maine School of Law and 37% at the University of Illinois College of Law.

Sloan, supra note 1, at 1.

315 Wegner Response, supra note 39, at 628-29. Also, says Jim Leipold, executive director of NALP, law, more than medical or business school tends to attract college graduates with "vague career ambitions," due to the versatility of the degree, which allows the graduate to work in a wide variety of fields. Sloan Thinking, supra note 1, at 1.

316 Sloan Thinking, supra note 1, at 1.


318 Westfahl, supra note 90, at 647.
percent. They look at the $100,000 in loans, and then they look at the $160,000 salary. And they think, 'Well, that's not so bad.'"  

319 One commentator suggested the ameliorative measure of following the business school model and more heavily accentuating work experience and maturity in the law school admissions process to yield students who are exercising better and more informed judgment.  

320 So, where law students still flock to us in droves, while facing diminished prospects for economic prosperity upon graduation, how can we make law school a valuable experience? Aaron Latham, interim director of law advancement at Alabama, states: "In a climate like this one, we're seeing applicants who are conscientious shoppers looking to get the greatest value for their dollar."  

321 First and foremost, the greatest value for their dollar is the gift of the ability to pay off their debts upon graduation by ensuring that law students excel in each of the Carnegie Report's three apprenticeships, perhaps most significantly, practical skills. Legal writing programs is not the place to cut corners:

A law school undoubtedly saves money by stinting on LRW programs. But, you, the student, lose. No matter what other courses are offered, no matter what courses you take, if you can't reason out a problem, research it, and effectively explain the problem and its solution in writing, you haven't been adequately prepared for your career in law.  

319 Slater, supra note 313. Of course, it cannot be ignored that, even before, the recession many law graduates were making nowhere near $160,000. At 58 schools, the average starting salary was $60,000. Debra Cassens Weiss, Big Salaries Linked to Big-Name Law Schools; Small Pay is Larger Reality (Jan. 8, 2008 9:39 AM CDT), available at http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/big_salaries_linked_to_big_name_law_schools_small_pay_is_larger_reality/. In 2008, the graduates of the University of South Dakota School of Law earned an average salary of $38,251. Id.  

320 Westfahl, supra note 90, at 649.  

321 Sloan Thinking, supra note 1, at 1.  

322 Garner Legal Writing, supra note 140, at 10.
Moreover, Garner points out, "[I]nvestments in LRW would give the school a huge advantage in the marketplace over competing schools."\(^{323}\)

It could be further argued that, rather than investing in legal writing, law schools properly spend their money on those indicia that influence the school's *U.S. News & World Report* ranking, such as faculty scholarship and facilities. However, many are now arguing that the stranglehold of the rankings as a lodestar for law school decisionmaking should be reduced. Indeed, the same GAO study that cited an increase in skills education in law schools as a principal force behind tuition increases also cited "efforts to compete in national rankings."\(^{324}\) However, "[r]esearchers have concluded that the rankings misrepresent the quality of law schools by creating 'rigid and fine-grained distinctions' between schools that are not grounded in reality."\(^{325}\) There is an "emphasis of law school rankings on prestige and research output rather than practical skills and teaching"\(^{326}\) "Forty percent of the ranking score now comes from prestige, a factor often based on the amount and quality of scholarship a school produces."\(^{327}\)

Scholarship on the part of law academicians is indeed necessary to legal education and the profession:

Faculty scholarship is also important, in ways that may not always be apparent to those outside the academy. Scholarly work by faculty is generally subject to peer review (pre-tenure and to some extent post-tenure) to assure knowledge and competence within the field. Most universities expect faculty members to engage in meaningful efforts to probe the current limits of their fields and to push the process of inquiry

\(^{323}\) *Id.* at 11.

\(^{324}\) Wegner *Response, supra* note 39, at 629. The study also discussed the impact of "small advanced electives in such fields as international and environmental law, and enhanced academic support, career services, and similar activities. *Id.*


\(^{326}\) Thies, *supra* note 34, at 612.

\(^{327}\) *Id.* at 617.
forward so that faculty members are well-positioned to prepare their students for future challenges. Because the ethic of inquiry and discovery is so deeply rooted in the academy, strong law schools cannot expect to be taken seriously within their universities, and are unlikely to be able to attract top-flight faculty members without hewing to these significant norms.\(^\text{328}\)

However, it should be balanced with an emphasis on the primary mission of law schools: to educate law students and ready them for practice.

There are additional negative ramifications of the *U.S. News* regime:

[T]he *U.S. News* system gives positive weight to schools with larger budgets and greater costs, positioning private schools ahead of most public schools that offer an excellent education often at lower cost because of state-subsidized tuition. The rankings also rely on 'coaches' polls' whose respondents typically lack meaningful in-depth information about the schools they purport to judge, making such rankings ripe for 'gaming.' The rankings are also statistically suspect since they purport to treat minimal differences between schools as enough to justify substantial differences in the 'rank ordering' process, even though many American law schools tend to cluster much more closely on such variables as student-faculty ratios, student body characteristics, facilities and course offerings than the ranking would suggest.\(^\text{329}\)

The rankings tend to focus on input measures, like LSAT score and Undergraduate Grade Point Average, rather than the output measures captured by educational assessment. This is one reason why the ABA is now demanding law school assessment. And most of the legal academy is lacking in expertise and experience in this emerging best practice:

Law schools give less attention and emphasis in their formal procedures to the second type of assessment, called formative assessment. Here feedback is provided primarily to support students' learning and self-understanding rather than to rank or sort. Contemporary learning theory suggests that efficient application of educational effort is significantly enhanced by the use of formative assessment. For educational purposes summative devices have their place primarily as devices to protect the public by ensuring basic levels of competence. Formative practices


\(^{329}\) *Id.* at 634.
directed toward improved learning ought to be primary forms of assessment.\textsuperscript{330}

Stuckey cites as crucial "giv[ing] regular and prompt feedback,"\textsuperscript{331} as well as using multiple and formative assessment.\textsuperscript{332} "Students who got prompt feedback spent more time preparing for class and worked harder to meet faculty expectations . . . This year's report once again finds that feedback is critical to effective learning."\textsuperscript{333}

When the assessment culture takes hold, legal writing professors are going to be essential to insuring that a legal education measures up. Legal writing professors are experts within the legal academy on assessment because we have been doing particularly formative assessment from the beginning:

[B]ecause many Legal Writing courses were created with the more measurable goal of 'teaching students how to write,' Legal Writing faculty had an outcome-based goal of making good writers of all of their students, and they often looked for new teaching methods when this goal was not being met . . . Legal writing courses [display] the evident connections between teaching methods and student performance in the course, which contrasts strongly to the indirect connections between class discussion of cases and the written final examination. Legal Writing teachers could readily see what worked and what did not work in their teaching, and this transparency spurred further innovation.\textsuperscript{334}

The generation of assessment data by all law professors and law schools will not only be demanded by our accrediting body, but will also be helpful in facilitating law firm hiring on the bases of practice-readiness and merit in a brave new world where law firms hire associates based on their demonstration of core competencies.\textsuperscript{335}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{330} Carnegie Report, supra note 31, at 189. \\
\textsuperscript{331} STUCKEY ET AL., supra note 32, at 125. \\
\textsuperscript{332} Id. at 253-55. \\
\textsuperscript{333} LSSSE, supra note, at 2. \\
\textsuperscript{334} Beazley Better Writing, supra note 160, at 30-31. \\
\textsuperscript{335} NALP, Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement (June 30, 2009), available at http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease.
\end{flushright}
firms hire on the basis of practical skills and readiness to practice law when, other than summer associate work evaluations, they have no data to use to do so?":336

In reality, changes in law firm hiring pattern are an enormous opportunity for law schools to shake up the traditional hierarchy. Law schools that can demonstrate that their "outputs" - smart, motivated, well-trained, and versatile graduates - match up well with the needs of legal employers will inevitably create more job options for their students.337

Law schools need to invest in the educators who teach young lawyers how to fish.

Finally, even if equalizing legal writing professionals does prove costly, albeit necessary, treating well-qualified, mostly women, law professors on a par with their colleagues is also, from a social justice perspective, just the right thing to do, and may well be the only legal thing to do:

Perspective law students learn both the explicit and the implicit lessons about women's value and roles by observing how law schools treat their women faculty. If women are viewed as a less important part of the legal academy, students may infer that women are a less important part of the legal process. This fallacious reasoning appears to contribute to the pervasive patterns of gender bias found in all spheres of the law. Studies have indicated that discriminatory treatment of women in the courts may stem from law school experience. When law schools brand legal writing with the indicia of second- or perhaps third-class citizenship, students make value judgments about the importance of the people who teach them writing and about the skills they learn in writing classes.338

As Professor Beazley states, "Unfortunately, the boggarts do more than just hurt the careers of legal writing faculty: they stunt the progress of the very profession that legal education is meant to improve."339

336 Westfahl, supra note 90, at 646.
339 Beazley Riddikulus!, supra note 181, at 80. And the discrimination, of course, does harm the individual legal writing professor: "[T]he denigration entailed in being treated as doing a job that is less than that done by their doctrinal colleagues is harmful to legal writing teachers' sense of self-worth. As Professor
Throughout history, other forms of discrimination have been justified by expense, expediency, and custom:

I am old enough to remember when Jim Crow ruled a large part of America. I did not then live in that part of the country, and I have sometimes reflected gratefully that I did not. I did not have to choose whether to confront evil squarely or to find it distasteful, but passively accept it because, after all, it was created to benefit people like me.

Unhappily, legal education has a back of the bus, and it is legal writing. But today, those who keep the mostly female legal writing faculty in the back of the bus do not wear pointy white hoods. Mostly, they wear business attire, and mostly they have degrees from good law schools. In a sense, although my law school has placed its legal writing teachers on a tenure track, maybe I have enabled this discrimination by a lack of curiosity about it and by passive acceptance. If you can read this article, maybe you have too, in some way or another. Many scholars have decried it, but mostly they have not been senior doctrinal faculty. It is well past time we did.

Of course, no civilized lawyer (and most are) would intentionally discriminate against women. Some of our best friends are women. It is just that too many of us feel that our lower-paid, lower-status legal writing teachers do a job that is different from the job we do.

Such logic may explain ostensible gender discrimination in some businesses. For example, if airlines pay pilots more than flight attendants, one might imagine that they could readily prove that the pilots are not paid more because they are predominantly male and the flight attendants are predominantly female. Pilots play a role in the airline business that is completely different from that of flight attendants, one that requires a greater degree of training and expertise. The same cannot be said of the different 'jobs' done by writing and doctrinal professors. When I teach a legal writing course rather than federal income tax, I am teaching a different subject matter, but I am not doing a different job. It would be absurd to treat me differently for purposes of status and compensation because my teaching load includes legal writing than I am treated when I teach only doctrinal courses.

Notwithstanding its patent absurdity, much of legal education has entertained the notion that the work legal writing teachers perform is different from, and less valuable than, work done by doctrinal professors. The teaching of legal writing has been viewed as support for the real work

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Arrigo states, '[A] LRW (Legal Writing) instructor viewed and treated as a technician, may begin to view herself as little more.'” Lynch, supra note 4, at 16 (quoting Arrigo, supra note 252, at 176).
done by doctrinal faculty, much like the work done by flight attendants to placate passengers so that pilots can fly the plane in peace.  

Professor Lynch continues:

[L]aw schools have a responsibility to encourage their students to respect the law and to behave in a manner that encourages others to do so. The ABA Commission on Women in the Profession has noted the inappropriateness of tolerating unequal treatment of women in the law school community: "Gender bias that affects women students or faculty, at best, starts young male and female lawyers off on the wrong foot and at worst, fails to provide them with the tools they will need to overcome the barriers they will likely encounter during their careers." Although it is difficult to reconcile with Standard 405(d), which essentially enables law schools to treat legal writing teachers unequally, ABA Standard 211 requires law schools to embrace equal opportunity, including nondiscrimination based on sex.  

Professor Peter Brandon Bayer writes: "Having discarded the purported rational justifications [for disparate treatment of legal writing faculty], . . . the disparate treatment of writing professors is unfairly discriminatory under minimal equal protection standards, and thus should be considered not simply an unwise policy, but a patently unethical practice that contravene the standards set by the AALS, the ABA and the AAUP."  

Happily, many past discriminatory practices have ultimately been thrown on the ash heap of history. This one must be as well.  

V. Conclusion: Hope for the Future

"The silver lining, if there is one, is that the legal world may be inspired to draw blueprints for the 21st century."

340 Lynch, supra note 4, at 13-14.  
341 Id. at 16 (quoting CORY M. AMIRON ET AL., ELUSIVE EQUALITY: THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN IN LEGAL EDUCATION, A.B.A. COMM'N ON WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION 3, 4 (1996)). Ultimately, Professor Lynch argues that ABA Standard 405(d) should be "scrapped" and all legal writing professionals should be hired on the tenure-track. Id.  
343 Cohen, supra note 5, at A26.
[T]he legal profession, with its track record of adapting to changing practice realities while successfully maintaining its elite professional, financial, and cultural status atop U.S. society, may end up stronger than ever. The experience of the bar following the Great Depression is instructive in this regard, as lawyers eventually emerged from it not only as architects and leaders of the New Deal but also established themselves, over time, as principal actors in the administration of government and the (lucrative) implementation of administrative law. Of course, the bar may experience the Great Recession quite differently; yet the possibility of long-term growth, innovation, and resurgence should not be discounted, and claims regarding the death of the profession and some of its leading institutions may be premature.344

We also should not lose the opportunity to see potential upsides to the sea change in the legal profession. Perhaps there is wiggle room in the profit margin to pursue other imperatives. After all, before the recession, "[l]arge American law firms [were] just about the most profitable businesses in the world."345

But, in 1994, a study of California lawyers revealed that over half surveyed would not become lawyers if they had it do over again.346 Many studies over the years have revealed similar results, even for graduates of elite law schools.347 Professor Schiltz argues that lawyers' focus on money is at the root of their unhappiness and life imbalance:348

Big firm lawyers are, on the whole, a remarkably insecure and competitive group of people. Many of them have spent almost their entire lives competing to win games that other people have set up for them. First they competed to get into a prestigious college. Then they competed for college grades. Then they competed for LSAT scores. Then they competed to get into a prestigious law school. Then they competed for law school grades. Then they competed to make the law review. Then

344 Wald, supra note 6, at 2052-53.
346 Schiltz, supra note 288, at 882.
347 Id. at 883.
348 Galanter & Palay Large Law Firm Misery, supra note 290, at 953.
they competed for clerkships. Then they competed to get hired by a big law firm.

Now that they're in a big law firm, what's going to happen? Are they going to stop competing? Are they going to stop comparing themselves to others? Of course not. They're going to keep competing--competing to bill more hours, to attract more clients, to win more cases, to do more deals. They're playing a game. And money is how the score is kept in that game.\(^{349}\)

Schiltz continues:

It is very difficult for a young lawyer immersed in this culture day after day to maintain the values she had as a law student. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, young lawyers change. They begin to admire things they did not admire before, be ashamed of things they were not ashamed of before, find it impossible to live without things they lived without before. Somewhere, somehow, a lawyer changes from a person who gets intense pleasure from being able to buy her first car stereo to a person enraged over a $400,000 bonus.\(^{350}\)

When you are at that barbecue at the senior partner's house, instead of wistfully telling yourself, "This is the life," ask the senior partner some questions. (I'm speaking figuratively here; you probably don't want to actually ask these questions aloud). Ask him how often he sees the gigantic house in which he lives. If he's honest, you will find out that he hasn't his house during daylight in almost four weeks, and that the only reason he came home at a decent hour tonight is to host the barbecue. Or ask him how often he's actually sat on that antique settee in that expensively decorated living room. You will find out that the room is only used for entertaining guests. Or ask him about his beautiful wife. You will find out that she is the third Mrs. Partner and that the lawyers for the first two Mrs. Partners are driving him crazy. Or ask him about those beautiful children whose photographs are everywhere. You will find out that they live with their mothers, not with him; that he never sees one of them because she hates his guts; and that he sees the other two only on holidays--that is, when he is not working on the holidays, which isn't often. And then ask him when is the last time he read a good book. Or watched television. Or took a walk. Or sat on his porch. Or cooked a meal. Or went fishing. Or did volunteer work. Or went to church. Or did anything that was not in some way related to work.\(^{351}\)

\(^{349}\) Schiltz, supra note 288, at 905.

\(^{350}\) Id. at 915.

\(^{351}\) Id. at 923.
However, "[i]f a sufficient number of law school graduates were to insist on maintaining balance in their lives, 'big firms would be very different places today.'"\textsuperscript{352}

Perhaps that day has now come and this generation of young attorneys has "changing expectations"\textsuperscript{353} "Today's associates are a different breed from those of 25 years ago. Then, it was assumed that everyone was gunning for equity partnership and would work like crazy to get there. Now, associates are not as uniformly directed. Many demand a work/life balance that allows them to pursue other nonlegal interests or obligations. When they don't get that balance, they walk."\textsuperscript{354} "Lower pay should mean that associates will not need to work the grueling hours many have been forced to. And it will mean less pressure to go into private practice for law graduates who would rather do something else."\textsuperscript{355} More contented associates should help large law firms as well. After all, as of 2008, firms lost 80\% of their hires within five years.\textsuperscript{356} Such a recalibration should help law firms weather the current crisis as well:

It may seem counterintuitive, but flexibility and balance-oriented policies are tools that can help firms survive the conflagration. 'Eat what you kill' is traditionally associated with the most cutthroat, internally competitive firms. A compensation system where one's career survival depends directly and constantly on the dollars one brings in the door has been seen-historically, anyway--as inflexible. But 'eat what you kill' and 'work/life balance' (with its 'work less, make less' compensation system) share one goal: to pay lawyers only for work that enhances the bottom line. As a result, the two systems can live together very well. Layoffs cost firms, both financially (the lost investment in laid-off lawyers, and the premium often paid in ramping back up) and in terms of reputation (from 'They're going under' to 'Remember what they did to associates back in '09?'). When those costs are taken into account, scaling back lawyer hours starts to look better and better

\textsuperscript{352} Galanter & Palay \textit{Large Law Firm Misery}, supra note 290, at 954 (quoting Schiltz, supra note 288, at 942).
\textsuperscript{353} Wegner Response, supra note 39, at 626.
\textsuperscript{354} Dipietro, supra note 108, at 107.
\textsuperscript{355} Cohen, supra note 5, at A26.
\textsuperscript{356} Dipietro, supra note 108, at 107.
Deborah Epstein Henry, founder and president of consulting firm Flex-Time Lawyers, urges firms to open their eyes to the reality that, unlike layoffs, promoting reduced hours cuts costs now, prevents future recruiting and training expenses, engenders loyalty, improves morale, and quells the burnout and lack of productivity that may otherwise plague those left in a fragmented workplace . . .

Replacing layoffs with voluntary or mandatory hours reductions would start to generalize, institutionalize, and destigmatize work/life balance through the back door of economic exigency . . . [Denise Howell, Goodbye Economy, Hello Balance, Am. Law., June 2009, at 32 (emphasis in original)].

Moreover:

Law firms that offered deferred associates up to $80,000 to pursue public interest work may be in for a rude awakening: The future talent pool is happy and unwilling to return to private practice . . . [Georgetown University law graduate Russ Ferguson writes] "These new lawyers have found that their new jobs are more fulfilling and more interesting, and more importantly-they've seen that they can live on a smaller salary. As one of my classmates put it, "Add up the hours I worked this week and add up the hours that my friends at law firms worked. Divide our salaries by the amount of hours and you'll see-I'm rich."

Perhaps the recession will spark a shift in the paradigm where ")[law students in elite settings are socialized to believe that the appropriate way to begin their careers as lawyers is to work very hard for a decent period of time at a large law firm,"[Debra Cassens Weiss, Will Deferred Associates Idea Backfire for Law Firms? (Feb. 16, 2010 10:33 AM CDT), available at http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/will_deferred_associates_idea_backfire_for_law_....] an expectation perennially at best uncomfortable and at worst tragic for law students who do not wish to work in that setting or for whom it is not a healthy match, but who, nonetheless, feel pressured to seek those jobs.

For those who do remain at large firms, there should be other positive cultural changes. Hand in hand with progress in the skills portion of formal education, we should

358 Debra Cassens Weiss, Will Deferred Associates Idea Backfire for Law Firms? (Feb. 16, 2010 10:33 AM CDT), available at http://www.abajournal.com/news/article/will_deferred_associates_idea_backfire_for_law_.... Of course, this begs the question of whether this attitude will continue when these new lawyers are no longer being paid $80,000 by someone.
also embrace the growing trend of large law firms establishing their own
"apprenticeship" programs through which new attorneys are trained in tailored practical skills, law firm culture, and meeting client needs. Such programs have already been implemented at Howrey, Drinker Biddle, Frost Brown Todd, Ford & Harrison, and Strasburger & Price, and "so far firm leaders are giving them cautious thumb-up." 

"[L]aw firms are now intently focusing on how to develop their lawyers more effectively, because clients are increasingly resistant to paying for perceived training of junior associates." They are starting with their own form of assessment practices: competency models to identify successful skills and behavior.

"[A]pproaches like 'shadowing' senior partners are being revived." In Howrey's

\[\text{\textsuperscript{362}}\] Post by Ashby Jones, \textit{The Early Reviews on Law-Firm Apprenticeships: So Far, So Good}, WSJ Law Blog, http://blogs.wsj.com/law/2010/06/15/the-early-reviews-on-law-firm-apprenticeships-so-far-so-good/ (June 16, 2010 11:04 CST). However, many other firms have been reluctant to follow. "Part of it has to do with the salaries . . . [S]ome critics fear that the lower salaries commanded by apprentices will hurt an ability to recruit top prospects. Others wonder if the programs are worth the time devoted by partners and other higher-billers." \textit{Id}. Some consultants argue that if other big-name firms "make the leap," droves of other firms will follow. \textit{Id}. At least some clients are pleased with the programs, with the lead attorney at Hewlett-Packard calling them "a great thing." \textit{Id}.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{363}}\] Westfahl, \textit{supra} note 90, at 647. Westfahl, who is the Director of Professional Development for Goodwin Procter, points out: "Our clients are . . . forcing us to justify the value of our first years, so we've got to make sure they become economically viable faster." NALP, \textit{Industry Leaders Discuss the Future of Lawyer Hiring, Development, and Advancement} (June 30, 2009), \textit{available at} http://www.nalp.org/future_pressrelease. Furthermore, few years, some clients, like Viacom, have refused to be billed for the hours of summer associates. Nate Raymond, \textit{Clients Grow Cool to the Support of Dwindling Summer Classes}, N.Y. L.J., June 8, 2010. Others argue the attitude is not endemic. Kelley Walker, Senior Vice President and General Counsel for Diageo North America, notes: "[T]he press is saying that clients don't want to pay for brand new associates. That's not necessarily true. Clients want to pay commensurate with the value that they're seeing. And that's a very different concept . . . the apprenticeship model actually helps bring that fruition." \textit{Id}.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{364}}\] Westfahl, \textit{supra} note 90, at 647.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{365}}\] \textit{Id}. at 648.
apprenticeship program, which managing partner Robert Ruyak compares to medical residency of accounting secondment:366

During their first year at the firm, associates will take classes on legal writing and research and will work on pro bono projects to give them hands-on experience without charging clients. In the second year of the program, associates will be embedded at client sites for several months at a reduced billing rate of between $150 and $200 an hour. They will also continue to take classes on litigation skills such as trial tactics, cross examination, and mediation and arbitration.367

Ruyak states:

The old model is broken . . . You're bringing on these extremely bright individuals and letting them waste their careers buried in documents where they aren't really learning the practical skills it takes to be a lawyer . . . The way we see it through is that it's going to cost more in the beginning because we're creating something from scratch, but once we get going and we start having a group of young, experienced lawyers coming out ready to handle client matters, we're going to turn a profit much more quickly than we would under the old model . . . This way, we just get it out of the way in the beginning.368

These are all promising developments and there is light at the end of the tunnel.

NALP Executive Director James Leipold expects recruiting will still be sluggish through the Class of 20112, but states that "the worst does now seem . . . to be behind us."369 The 2010 Altman Weil survey revealed:

- About 50% of the firms indicated they will be more aggressive than last year in increasing headcount; and
- Billing rates went up this year by a median amount of 3%.370

Altman Weil concluded: "The legal profession is - and remains even after the Great Recession - tremendously stable."371

367 Id.
368 Id.
370 Id.
371 Id.
In a final, hopeful analysis, as we move forward both in prosperity and toward a paradigm of well-balanced legal education and practice, purged of unjustified and destructive stereotypes, we will find that the recent demands, both economic and critical, prompted a difficult but necessary reexamination of our profession that inures to the good of us all: a "sea-change into something rich and strange."\textsuperscript{372}.

\textsuperscript{371} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{372} \textsc{William Shakespeare}, \textit{The Tempest} act I, sc. ii.