



Economic Shock and Gender Specific Labor Market Outcomes: Evidence from Young Lawyers

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ECONOMIC SHOCK AND GENDER SPECIFIC LABOR MARKET OUTCOMES:

EVIDENCE FROM YOUNG LAWYERS

by

Pengfan Zhang

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MASTER OF SCIENCE

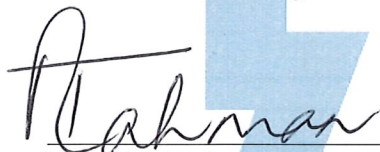
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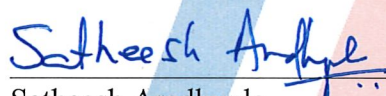
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As members of the Master's Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by Pengfan Zhang , titled "Economic Shock and Gender Specific Labor Market Outcomes: Evidence from Young Lawyers" and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Master's Degree.


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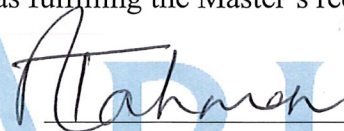
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Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the thesis to the Graduate College. 

I hereby certify that I have read this thesis prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the Master's requirement.


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Abstract

Studies have shown that the great recession of 2007-2009 had huge impact on labor market in the United States. Studies also show that the gender gaps in the US continues to be serious problem. In this thesis, we test if the great recession had gendered effect on labor market outcomes among the highly educated, professional group of people---young lawyer who graduated and admitted to the bar in 2000s. Using individual level panel data, we estimate a difference-in-difference model and find that female lawyers more likely to drop out of the labor market and less likely to leave the practicing lawyer profession during and immediately after economic recession despite contraction in law profession. Our result also provides evidence in the support of Bambauer and Rahman (2019)'s theory of asymmetric cultural acceptance female underemployment as one of the explanations of gender gaps in the labor markets of lawyers.

1. Introduction

Studies show that negative economic shocks have gendered impacts on labor market outcomes (Gonzalez & Surovtseva). Studies also show that labor market recovery from negative economic shocks has a strong gender dimension (Sabarwal, Sinha & Buvinic 2012). However, most of these studies have examined the impacts of economic crises in Latin American and South East Asian countries. In recent years, researchers have examined the impacts of 2008 recession on labor market outcomes in US and few European countries. But these studies consider and compare the labor market outcomes of all adults (male and female).

In this study, we examine the labor market impacts of 2007-2009 Recession in the United States. We look at the gendered effects of the Recession among one of the highly educated, elite group of professionals: lawyers. Using longitudinal data on lawyers' labor market outcomes collected by the American Bar Association, and utilizing difference-in-difference methodology, we find that 2008 recession has gendered effect on labor market outcomes of lawyers, confirming the findings of some of the earlier studies but contrary to others.

The Great Recession of 2007-2009 was the lengthiest economic downturn since the 1930s Great Depression. The Great Recession has been especially worth of its title since, even after the recession was officially over, the decline in employment persisted, with men being hit the hardest. This major impact on men was due to the fact that the hardest hit sectors were construction and housing, which disproportionately employ higher number of men. On the other hand, women employment is more concentrated in the public sector, where employment was upheld by stimulus spending up to the spring of 2010 (Kalleberg & von Wachter, 2017).

Gender disparities in labor market has been and continues to be a problem of key significance. While gender equality has been a focus of development policy across the world,

gender disparities have persisted (ILO, 2017). The impacts of Great Recession have not been gender neutral. Some researchers have characterized as a “he-cession”, impacting male workers disproportionately (Christensen, 2014). However, he-cession is not a new occurrence since the sectors which are mainly dominated by male workers, such as construction and durable goods manufacturing, are more susceptible to the business cycles.

The literature on gender disparities has focused on gaps in labor force participation. More and more literatures have found the gender’s convergence in labor market outcome. Male in labor force became more likely leave their job and not re-enter the labor force attachment. In Albanesi & Sahin (2013) paper, they found there is a highly correlated connection between labor force attachment and the unemployment rate and “almost all of the convergence in the unemployment rate by gender”. The increase of female labor force attachment was the key to remain the low unemployment rate. They also found the man has higher unemployment rate than female during the recession. But the factor does not provide the explanation about the gender difference in employment while during the recoveries. Similarly, according to Şahin, Song, & Hobijn (2010) paper, the BLS (Bureau of Labor Statistics) described each person in three labor force states: Employed, unemployed and not in the labor force. The Unemployment inflow represents people either employed or not in the labor force but move into unemployment. They found the unemployment inflow level increased almost twice as much for men compared to the women during the Great Recession. This uneven rise for men suggests the following: the sectors which had a high concentration of male workers, were hit harsh by the recession and a rise in the percentage of men who entered or reentered the labor market after some time of no participation but failed to find a job. This move could have been driven probably by a fall in their family wealth and savings; and then was unsuccessful to secure employment. Since it was concentrated

in the struggling construction and building trades, the slump was sufficiently extensive that it also impacted the economic industries in which women were concentrated. These results in order can offer a deep understanding of the reasons for the irregular labor outcomes of women and men during the last recession.

2. Motivation

Gender gap in the US labor market is a serious issue for many reasons. While the joblessness rate for men rose more than for women when the 2008 economic downturn began, it reversed when the economy began recovering jobs. Men recovered about 5.5 million jobs and women 3.6 million between 2010 and 2014 (Hout & Cumberworth, 2012). Kalleberg and von Wachter (2017) reported that this gender difference in employment recovery was the first of its kind in about forty-five years, which means that women used to get more jobs during economic recoveries for a significant economic period. The unique characteristic of this recovery is emphasized by the joblessness rates for men in general dropping faster than for women. More importantly, it emphasizes the importance of addressing the gender gap in the labor market because it implicitly forecasts how unequal employment in the country could become if it continues as it is.

The gender gap in the labor market is also important because women bear uneven proportions of job losses in different industries. Women are undoubtedly becoming attached to the labor market, which affects the economy positively through growth. However, gender segregation can account for job loss across industries when examining the demand-side of economic changes in the labor market. This illustration manifested between 2009 and 2010 in the form of continuing buffer roles for women in some employment sectors. In addition, women's concentration in secretarial and administrative lines of work stopped being a source of their job

protection. Only the public sector secured women's jobs and helped to contract the gender gap, particularly during the Great Recession (Rubery & Rafferty, 2013). However, a different path of work quantity and quality development transpired in the years following 2013 because of stricter policies. This path did not secure women's jobs in the private sectors and thus continued the disproportionate job loss experienced during and after the last recession.

Consideration of gender disparity is also important because the Women's eligibility criteria are higher than men in similar positions. In the past three decades, women have undoubtedly made progress in many senior positions. In other words, their representation in special senior leadership positions is still insufficient. In the government and business sectors, women are underrepresented in senior management positions. They still account for one-fifth of the members of Congress, accounting for about 25% of state legislators. In the private sector, women accounted for only 5% of the CEOs of Fortune 500 companies in early 2017, while directors of Fortune 500 companies accounted for about one-fifth in 2016. It is agreed that women lag behind the public and employers in this respect. They achieve higher standards than their male counterparts to gain their recognition (Geiger & Parker, 2018).

Women's labor force participation in US increase from 37% in 1960 to 61% in 2000 and but fell to 57% in 2016. Men's labor market outcomes, and especially income, are superior to that of women. This situation is irrespective of the classical association of women in labor with academic and employment opportunity improvements during the second half of the twentieth century. More than half of American women would be paid more if they assumed the same jobs as men with the same academic levels and work hours. Furthermore, their economic insecurity increases with their age because women make less money over their lives despite longer lifespans. The marriage tax penalty exclusively for women hurts their labor force

participation because they are statistically the lower earners in most marriage households. To date, the United States is the only developed country without a federal policy for paid leave for employed mothers.

The current situation of the gender gap in the United States labor market is dire. Women of all ethnic, age, education, and marital backgrounds are bound to suffer in one form or another from a plateauing and reversing labor force participation. The millions of women who acquired higher education and entered the labor market successfully at the end of the twentieth century are yet to earn the same as men in the same professions and with similar achievements. This specific gender difference is attributable to vocational segregation, educational specialization differences, work-home balance duty hardships, and gender-based income discrimination. The current laws and labor institutions are outmoded because they repress women. The situation worsens when data shows that simply addressing these problems would be insufficient for closing the gender gap because discrimination would persist. This finding points to a stronger driver of the gender gap in the American labor market worthy of exploring to and any consequential connections to economic shocks such as the Great Recession.

Labor market discrimination against women contributes to the gender gap labor market outcomes in the United States. Labor market discrimination against women manifests in three ways. First, women recover from unemployment following an economic shock much slower than men for the first time in decades. Second, women also bear an unequal share of job loss in different industries across the United States. Finally, women face higher standards for employment scrutiny than men, which especially inhibits their chances for holding high leadership posts. Together, these elements contribute to the gender gap in the labor market in the

United States, which, if addressed and mitigated by all major stakeholders, including governments, private enterprise, and social institutions, can significantly narrow the gap.

In this study, we examine the impacts of the great Recession on gender differences in labor market outcomes of young lawyers in the US. Related studies on labor market outcomes of lawyers, focus on gender differences in performance, gender discrimination, and self-selection. Azmat and Ferrer (2015) find significant gender gap in performance of young lawyers in the US and utilize this to show that a significant portion of gender gap in earnings can be explained by gender gap in the performance, accounting for the contribution of gender discrimination. However, to best of our knowledge, no study has examined the causal impact of great recession on gender differences in labor market outcomes of lawyers.

Thus, in studying the impact of 2007-2008 recession on labor market outcomes of lawyers in the US, we provide evidence on causal evidence on gendered impacts of the recession.

Finally, addressing this research topic is crucial because it can help to determine whether law companies still employ competitive meritocracy in their employment and promotion of young female lawyers. A major transformation occurred after the Great Recession that saw merit-based ideologies dominate the promotion of young lawyers in big law companies. Wald (2010) found that this change was disadvantageous to the companies because they could no longer freely carry out their “elite work...recruit and keep elite lawyers, and, ultimately, the credibility of their claim for elite status” (p. 2061). The high competitiveness that replaced this system equalized the law labor market. Determining the degree of influence this replacement had on young female lawyers specifically is important because it will reveal the broadness of the gap at play in the labor market. Knowing whether employers apply competitive meritocracy today in

the lawyer labor market will contribute to understanding the influence of employment policies following the Great Recession.

3. Literature Review

The financial calamity starting late in 2007 was definitely a game-changer for most lawyers, provoking radical actions as businesses fired thousands of acquaintances, de-equitized associates, and reduced budgets and new hires. However, most hoped, and still do, that the impacts of the recession would recede, and that the line of work, which had just faced a golden age of opulence unmatched by any other sector, would re-occur intact. The golden era is in the past. However, this is not because the law is gradually becoming irrelevant. To be precise, the sea variation echoes the vital need for better and affordable legal services that can be competitive with the demands of a swiftly globalizing world. Additionally, the variations impacting the legal profession are undeniably an indication of market cycles or a whole paradigm change. The Great Recession, a catalyst for transformation, offered a chance to re-scrutinize some established assumptions with respect to lawyers and the clients they work for.

Christensen (2014) evaluates the assertion that the Great Recession has had uneven effects on men. She argues that the feminist movement and anti-racist movements have facilitated different groups of women to achieve significant economic gains in the past two generations. The first employment effect of the Great Recession fell primarily on men due to their concentration in regularly sensitive occupations. This source is important to meeting this research's aims because it deliberates gender-specific job-related distribution to find the status of women in the modern American economy. The finding that female lawyers made 87% of what their male equivalents is direct evidence of a gender gap in our target market.

Edwards and Weller (2010) argues that young people have entered a period of economic recession, and that previous resources and specific trajectories have played a role in their lives. Therefore, for young people in this study, it is not the economic recession that causes the path to change or break in adulthood, but rather provides some conditions for embedding a specific, pre-existing trajectory. This study is important because the lawyer profession as one of the case studies for demonstrating young applicants' long trajectories. The female young aspirants who are interested in law are examined in their brief youth occupational path and became a discouraging adult because of a harsh labor market following the Great Recession.

Elsby et al. (2010) argue that the path of change displayed significant departures from that witnessed during and following early deep recession slumps during the last half of 2009. They established that the challenges facing the labor market in the United States are improbable to be as brutal as the European joblessness crisis of the 1980s. This article is important to tackling our research topic because it establishes that the Great Recession was not special compared to other past economic downturns because young workers were among those who suffered sharp employment rises. Therefore, a literary provision for expecting a pattern to arise in the labor market outcomes for young female workers in the united states after the Great Recession.

The economic downturn and the legal profession symposium led by Wald (2010) concentrated on:

- i. The variety of transformations it caused to, and enhanced in, the structure and firm models of big businesses and the legal services sector
- ii. The change of philosophy and cultural identity of big businesses

- iii. Transformations in the institutional and psychological infrastructure for principled decision making in and outside law firms
- iv. The effect the recession has had on the delivery of pro bono services by big law firms and by conventional pro bono providers.

The symposium's conclusions contribute to this research by demonstrating the influence of top large firms on the labor market outcomes of young female lawyers from the Great recession to date.

Joyce and Nancy (2010), they used After Juris Doctor data set and points out After the economic downturn, mass layoffs and postponement of promotions have exacerbated this problem. For a class 2000 lawyer who is in a holding mode, demoted, dismissed or fled a large company, becoming a partner is elusive and it is difficult to seek professional status. The study is important not only because the dataset was related to this paper, but also showed the evidence and their finding about the impact of recession to the legal profession and what those young lawyers are facing with.

Markovic and Plickert (2018) test if the recession has made law an unsatisfying career. They discovered that the newer lawyers report more career discontent than more skilled lawyers, yet they too are mostly content. Similarly, significant, debt and lower class position only marginally raise the odds of career displeasure while race, length of practice experience, gender, and the size of the business have no impact. This research is important because it provides recent empirical findings on the state of the attorney profession from the perspective of young female lawyers. Their survey findings of job satisfaction among this demographic across different states will contribute significantly to understanding the attitude of women lawyers toward the gap.

Harper (2016) argues how a culture of temporary thinking has blinded some of the best minds in the country to the long-run repercussions of their actions. Nowadays, it is full of sinister, rash and deceptive shocking summons of the legal profession. This insider description is an important interpretation for those who want to discover the origin of professional crisis, and the way it can correct all mistakes. This book is an important source because it proves how the last recession has exacerbated the trend of young applicants pursuing the law, despite their high risk of depression and inadequate guarantees of currency stability.

Henderson (2011) outlined a simple historical scale whereby the typical lawyer in the United States has transformed from a generalist working as a lone specialist to a professional working in a law firm with other professionals. He foretold that lawyers serving big clients will progressively layer the expertise of project manager in addition to their specialized legal expertise. This research is contributory to our research by tracking the generational differences of three of the most prominent variations of American lawyers before and through the Great Recession. His discovery that clienteles were driven by the struggling economy in the aftermath of the recession to look for more quality legal service providers at cheaper and predictable fees would illustrate the potential for young lawyers to equivalently rise and dominate the industry despite the gap.

Kondo (2011) explores the long-term consequences of this marriage. Despite the significant impact on marriage time, the labor market conditions of young people do not affect the likelihood that women will marry before the age of 30. In addition, the labor market conditions at the time of marriage are not related to the possibility of divorce, spouse characteristics, or the number of children. These findings suggest that fluctuations in the labor market will only lead to intertemporal adjustments to the timing of marriage, without affecting

the quality of retention or total fertility. This article is important because the intertemporal changes in marital status do not affect the retention of the corresponding quality, indicating the gender gap inherent in the industry.

Seron (2013) studied the legal career track related to women, which was similar to their understanding of male mobility trend. Moreover, as the structure of the legal profession changes in response to economic demands and globalization, business will continue to revolutionize by creating new opportunities and career trajectories. She called on them to continue looking at cultural barriers and stereotypes, as well as the more pronounced prejudices experienced by women in the legal field. This source is important because it reveals a distorted phenomenon that exempts part-time lawyers from firing from the trend in the ratio of lawyers to partners. From 2008 to 2010, a growing percentage of women were out of work, a finding that is one reason to examine sexist factors in the gender gap experienced by young lawyers in the U.S. labor market.

According to Thies (2010), the economic recession poses an exceptional chance for legal education to change its priorities. It will be necessary for professors in successful learning institutions to look for new ways to train students in practical expertise to continue enticing qualified students. He recommends legal professors to stop using a lot of time reflecting on how to incorporate practical training into the law school program. This study is crucial to our research because it connects the perception of lawyers, especially younger ones, and their roles in the enterprise world by employers. The treatment of the young lawyer by the patriarchal private enterprise leadership sharply widens the gender difference between young female and male lawyers after the Great Recession.

In Martha (2013) paper, she argued during the recession, female employment rate whose husbands were unemployed had significantly higher which explained female took on additional facility responsibilities to support the family. But men's probabilities of nonparticipation did not rise either compare to other men. This study gave us the empirical study about how female employment rate relate to their husband during the recession. Also, it is helpful to give us the idea about the connection between female employment status and their family situation.

In a recent study, Bambauer and Rahman (2019) advance a theory that the gender gaps in labor market outcomes among lawyer is partly explained by asymmetric cultural acceptance of female underemployment. In the support of their theory, they provide anecdotal evidence, but it falls short of a rigorous, causal evidence on the role asymmetric cultural acceptance of female underemployed as an explanation for gender gap in the labor market outcomes in the US.

In this study, we build upon Bambauer and Rahman (2019) and provide evidence that supports their theory.

4. Data and Empirical Strategy

4.1. Data

We use After the JD (AJD) data, the project of the American Bar Foundation, an independent, nonprofit national research institution, founded in 1952, Chicago. AJD is an empirical study of the career outcomes of nearly 5,000 new lawyers, providing a nationally representative representation of lawyer career trajectories and an in-depth description of the careers of women and ethnic and minority lawyers. The research design is longitudinal, following the career of a new lawyer in the first ten after graduation from law school and admitted to the bar since 2000s; The first wave of research (AJD1) provided a snapshot of the personal life and career of this

cohort, about three years after they began practicing the law. The second round of research (AJD2) examined the development of a lawyer's career in practice for about seven years. The third wave of research (AJD3) provides 12 years of career data for this cohort. All the surveys provided through online surveys, mailing or phone call.

Dinovitzer et al. (2009) used the first wave of AJD data and Ghazala et al. (2016) used the second wave of AJD data to analyze the gender gaps in lawyers' performance and earnings. In this study, we utilize wave 2 and wave 3 data, construct individual level panel, which allows us to investigate the impact of a negative economic shock generated by the great recession of 2007-2009 on labor market outcomes of lawyers. The Wave 2 survey was collected in 2007 before the onset of the great recession, while the Wave 3 survey data was collected in 2012 after official end of the great recession. Thus, the individual level panel, constructed from combining the data from Wave 2 and 3, allows us to compare examine the potential gendered impacts of the recession.

In Wave 2, 3,705 lawyers participated in the survey, whereas in the Wave 3, 2,984 lawyers took the survey. Individual matched data consists of 2,452 lawyers (1,203 male and 1220 female). 44% lawyers took online surveys, around 33% lawyers took surveys by mailing and around 22% lawyers took surveys through phone call.

Table 3 shows labor market outcomes of the lawyers before and after the great recession. As we can see from the table, the overall rate of employment (i.e., currently employed or not) is decreased by 1 percent from 96% in 2007 to 95% in 2012. However, the rate of full-time employment declined by 2 percent over the same period. More interestingly, percent of lawyers who were unemployed but were looking for a job increased significantly from 22 percent in 2007

to 38 percent in 2012. Additionally, approximately 85 percent of the law graduates were practicing lawyers in 2007, which declined to 82 percent in aftermath of the great recession. Overall, Table 3 shows that the great recession did in fact adversely impact the employment outcomes of lawyers, despite 3 years of recovery period since the recession was declared officially to over by 2009. These highlight the fact that the adverse labor market impacts of the economic shock have persisted, even though markets recovered significantly.

However, observations from Table 3 are interesting in their own, they portray average pictures of female and male lawyers examined together. In Table 4, gender difference in employment outcomes are presented. From Table 4, for example, we note that there is not too much difference in male lawyers' employment status and working a full-time between before and after recession. But this is not the case with female lawyers. Employment outcomes of female lawyers have worsened significantly after the recession. One explanation could be since the recession, there is less business needed to deal with, some lawyers laid off by their companies, we can find that story by looking the increasing number of people looking for job. So that some female lawyers got fired rather than male lawyers. We also find male lawyers have more percentage to be a practicing lawyer than female before and after recession, even there is an obvious decreasing percentage for being a practicing lawyer to both gender after recession. These are also suggestive of slow recovery of female lawyers from the economic shock of the great recession.

The figures from 1 to 4 show the difference in difference of the mean for each dependent variable between genders. For the figure 1, we find there is no difference of mean between genders before and after recession in current employ status (male and female both drop 1 percent). Figure 2 present difference in full-time job status, we find there is 4 percent more

decreasing in female compare to male. Unemployment but looking for job in figure 3 showed male and female both increase significant percent after the recession, but male has 30 percent more increase than female. In figure 4 showed even total percentage of be practicing lawyers decreasing and percentage of male chose not to be a practicing lawyer higher than female, but still the total percentage of male lawyers is higher than percentage of female.

4.2. Empirical Strategy

In order to estimate the gendered impact of the great recession on labor market outcomes of lawyers, we estimate the following difference-in-difference model.:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 * female_i + \beta_2 * recession_t + \gamma_3 * (female_i * recession_t) + \beta_3 * control_{it} + \epsilon_{it},$$

where Y_{it} is employment outcome of lawyer i in time period t . Here employment outcomes include a lawyer's current employed status, full-time job status, unemployed but looking for job status, and whether currently practicing as a lawyer. $female_i$ is gender dummy which takes the value of 1 if the lawyer is female, otherwise it takes the value of 0. $recession_t$ is a binary variable, which takes the value of 1 if Wave 3. $control_{it}$ represents a vector of control variables, including time-invariant fixed effects. The influence of these factors can be in terms of the likelihood of an employer to hire someone, the kind of job a person chooses or gets, the working shift which a person chooses, the number of opportunities that someone has in the job market, and so on. The factors can determine whether a person chooses to work full- or part-time, whether they can change their profession or place of work, and so on. In this model we think age, race, family situation, education and gender discrimination have tremendous influence on the job market and take those as control variables.

Our primary interest is in γ_3 , which represents the gendered impacts of the great recession.

Age: Age determines the choice of work, place of work, and possibility of a change in career. It is always rare to see older people change their professional ambitions; however, this is a common practice among the young adults who are always seeking greener pastures, more satisfaction. Millennials, young adults all of whom belong to the birth period 1981 and 1997, are an ideal reference in the social mobility, career expectations and financial management (Fry, 2015). It may be a perception that the millennials do not have organized career lives but a research by Cho, Gutter, Kim, and Mauldin (2012) show otherwise. They are more interested in financially rewarding employment opportunities. The young adults are more concerned with achieving financial satisfaction. Therefore, they are more likely to change careers as time permits.

If young adults think that a career is not rewarding, then they will switch careers to achieve the desired reward. Employment status is key in determining social mobility as well as financial satisfaction among the young adults (Szendrey & Fiala, 2018). Accordingly, they will easily change careers if they think that the current position does not foster growth. Another striking feature of young adults is their adventurous nature; they yearn for exploring the world beyond their local surroundings. Therefore, they are more influenced by a desire to change jobs so they can experience a new environment than their older counterparts.

Race: Race has been a source of great disparity in the American job market in terms of employment. The people of color have had historically higher unemployment rates, unemployable due to inadequate education, and underemployed due to racial discrimination. We account for the contribution of race.

Family Situation: Family situations influence the labor market participation significantly by determining how long a person gets to work. Between 1975 and 2009, there was a general increase in employment of mothers (Bianchi, 2011). This was attributed to changing families, whereby it was becoming more prevalent for only the mother to raise the children. The result of that trend in family changes was that mothers had to juggle work and home responsibilities. Because of the demands to fulfill financial obligations of the family, these mothers progressed to work full time. According to Bureau of Labor Statistics, 71% of mothers who lived with children under that age of six were working full time; on the other hand, 94% of all fathers that lived with their children worked in the job market, with 94% of them working full time (Bianchi, 2011). Even in the modern USA, an unmarried mother assumes the responsibilities of main caregiver and even in some extent the sole breadwinner. This implies that they will seek high-paying jobs, most of which are full-time.

Education: Education is an important factor that determines the position a person occupies in a job market as well as the characteristics of a country's job market. Education has led to development all over the world. Therefore, the level of education of a society determines how more advanced it is than the surrounding communities. Education is the bridge between people and the working fields as well as other areas of life (Yabiku, & Schlabach, 2009). Higher education is a predictor of success for many people in the job market. it determines their areas of specialization as engineers or medical doctors or teachers, just to mention but a few. Similarly, higher education determines how much a person will earn once they land in the job market (Ali & Jalal, 2018). It follows therefore that countries that have educated population have a job market that is characterized by skilled workers. Additionally, it is possible for a job market to get

flooded with so many professionals in one field, especially if the field is known to offer higher pay. Many nations thus use higher education as a means of preparing youths for the job market.

Gender Discrimination: Gender discrimination is still a major cause of bias at workplaces, thereby denying some genders employment in certain fields. Many countries are today promoting gender equality at workplaces to end gender discrimination. Unfortunately, sexist ideologies at workplaces watering down these efforts. A measure of a working job market maybe in terms of how effective it is reducing poverty. There measurable in this case would be that if a section of people is not living in poverty then they are employed. Conversely, if people are living in poverty, abject or not, then they are not employed. This simple test proves useful in the case of women in Spain. According to the VII Report by European Union, there is a higher percentage of poverty among women and the number keeps rising (Suarez-Ortega, 2016). This implies that gender discrimination is imitating the employability of women in the Spanish job market. While this is true about Spain, it unfortunately can be true for any country that practices gender discrimination, in that the gender against which there is discrimination does not get employment.

Suarez-Ortega (2016) identifies certain factors which influence the employability of women. These factors are job type and instability. There are certain kinds of jobs which do not permit hiring of women. According to Le Feuvre & Roseneil (2014), these factors result in a job market that has a specific female job profile outside of which women cannot secure employment. Most importantly, Suarez-Ortega holds that Welfare States, countries where governments proved certain services, are the biggest promoters gender discrimination against women in the job market. According to Torns, Carrasquer, Moreno, and Borrás (2013), political systems help create gender discrimination, in that dictatorships do not encourage liberty of women (Cited in

Suarez-Ortega, 2016). Instead, dictatorships divided the job market along gender lines, thereby ensuring that there are barriers for women.

In conclusion, such variables as age, education, family situation, gender discrimination and race influence the labor market in terms of employment and conditions of employment. Gender gap in the US has been closing but still there is a long way to go. Family situations have seen single parents seek fulltime employment so they can provide for their families. The level of education determines the position a person occupies in the job market. Also, the quality of education of an individual determines the labor market outcomes.

5. Discussion of Results

Currently employment status: Table 5 contains the result on the current employment status of lawyers. Column 1 refers to the basic model. We observe that the interaction coefficient, which is our treatment effect, is negative and statistically significant. This implies that the great recession has impacted female lawyers more adversely than male lawyers. This is quite interesting given the fact that gender and recession variables are statistically insignificant, which imply that on average gender and recession did not have significant effects on employment status of lawyers. However, the recession did in fact adversely affect female lawyers' likelihood of currently being employed.

The Column 2 contains the results when for the demographics of lawyers (age and race). We find that the treatment effect is still negative and statistically significant, even after accounting for the influences of lawyers' age and race. In Column 3, we present the result from the model that also accounts for important family characteristic that influence a person's labor supply. Again, we find that the adverse impact of the great recession on female lawyers'

employment is significant. In column 4 we additionally control for ability and human capital of lawyers. Column 5 presents the results from the model that includes all the covariates that may affect a lawyer's labor supply and employment. We note that gendered effect of the great recession remains significant and robust to the inclusion of the covariates.

Full-time employed status: Table 6 shows the result of full-time employed status. Column 1 contains the results of the basic DiD model. We find that the great recession has more adverse effect on the full-time employment status of female lawyers than their male counterparts. Equally interesting finding is that while on average the great recession does not have statistically significant negative effect on full-time employment status, gender does. Female lawyers are less likely to be in full-time employment (by the margin of 12.6%) than their male counterparts. This result is robust to controls for age and race (column 2).

Column 3 presents the results of the model that also accounts for marital status, spouse income and children. This completely reverses the sign of the treatment effect (interaction effect between female and recession). This suggests that conditional marital status, spouse income, and children, female lawyers are more likely to be full-time employed during the recession than male lawyers. This result holds even after additional controls for ability, education, and gender discrimination (columns 4-5).

Unemployed but looking for job: In Table 7 presents the result of the model examining the factors of lawyers who are unemployed but looking for a job, which indicates that they have not completely dropped out of the labor market. We find three interesting results. First, in the recession lawyers are more likely to be unemployed but looking for a job. Second, on average, female lawyers are less likely to be unemployed and looking for a job, even though the coefficient

is statistically insignificant. Third, more importantly, the interaction between female and recession is negative and statistically significant. This implies that immediately after the great recession, unemployed female lawyers are less likely to be looking for a job, which suggests that female lawyers are more likely to drop out of the labor market because of the economic recession than their male counterpart.

Currently a practicing lawyer: In Table 8 we present the result from the model that examines the gendered impact of the great recession on whether a trained lawyer is less or more likely to be a practicing lawyer. We observe the following notable results from Table 8. First, female lawyers were more likely to be practicing lawyers immediately after the great recession. Second, on its own, gender is not a statistically significant covariate of whether a trained lawyer is practicing lawyer or not. Similarly, on average, the great recession does not have any significant effect.

6. Conclusions

In this thesis, we study the gendered impact of the great recession on labor market outcomes of lawyers in the US. Utilizing longitudinal data on lawyers from the American Bar Association, we estimate difference-in-difference models, which allows us to estimate causal impacts. Our main findings are as follows. First, the great recession of 2007-2009 has gendered effect on labor market outcomes of the young lawyers in the US. More specifically, female was less likely to be employed immediately after the great recession than male. Second, female lawyers, in general, are less likely to be full-time employed. Third, accounting for the roles of ability/education, family characteristics (children and spouse income), and gender discrimination, female lawyers are more likely to be in full-time employment status than their male counterparts. Fourth, female lawyers are more likely to drop out of the labor market during and immediately after economic

recession. Finally, female lawyers are more likely to be practicing lawyer during and immediately after the great recession than their male lawyers.

Our findings support previous studies that showed that women are more vulnerable in recession. Also, female lawyers' recovery after the recession is slower than males even after recession nearly 4 years. The interesting parts are female lawyers are more likely have full-time jobs during and after the recession and they are more likely continue practicing law than male lawyers. One possible explanation of this result is that during the recession female lawyers may have more difficult time in changing their career from practicing law to a non-legal career. Another note result is that the great recession does not appear to have any significant effect on overall employment outcomes of lawyers. The possible explanation is the wave 3 was collected in 2012. The great recession happened in 2007-8 and it was declared officially to be over by 2009-2010. Thus, there is a 4-year gap between wave 2 (before the recession) recession and wave 3 (after the recession) data collection, which suggests 4 years of the recovery period. That is, some lawyers may have lost their jobs during the recession but found another by 2012.

6.2 Limitation and future work

This study is limited by following considerations. In constructing the individual level panel data, some important variables were lost due to lack of the data (the actual billing hours, the number of new clients, and income, among others). Secondly, because of the lack of data, we were unable for control some important fixed effects (e.g., region). Third, because the survey is filled out online and self-reported. The basic information may not match because people did not pay attention to survivors at the time. So, the result is an inevitable bias. Finally, people may change jobs or change family status between two services. But the data does not show the difference. Therefore, this result can only provide a conceptual impact of the economic downturn.

Table 1. Variable Definition

	code name	Definition
Dependent variable	dep_var_employ	if the person's current state is employed, then equal 1, else is 0
	dep_var_employfull	if the person's current state is full-time employed, then equal 1, else is 0
	dep_var_noemp_lookjob	if the person is not employed but looking for job, then equal 1, else is 0
	dep_var_practicinglawyer	if the person is practicing lawyer, then equal 1, else is 0
Independent variable	Female	if the person is female, then equal 1, else is 0
	age	age
	Whitee	if the person's racial is White, then equal 1, else is 0
	married	if the person married or not, married equal 1, else equal 0
	SPOUSE_INCOME	spouse annual income before taxes
	live_child	if people live with child, yes equal 1, otherwise equal 0
	child_threeplus	number of children live with, 3+
	DISCRIM_HARASSMENT_COMMENTS	Experienced demeaning comments or other types of harassment
	DISCRIM_MISSOUT_ASSIGNMENT	Missed out on a desirable assignment
	DISCRIM_REPLACED_CLINET	Had a client request someone other than you to handle a matter
	DISCRIM_REPLAVED_COWORKER	Had a colleague or supervisor request someone other than you to handle a matter
	DISCRIM_OBTAIN_ASSIGNMENT	Obtained a desirable assignment
	UNDERGRAD_GPA	undergraduate GPA
	LAW_GPA	law school GPA
	OTHER_DEGREE	if obtained any other degrees or certifications
	recession	if data collected before or after recession

Table 2 --- Descriptive statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.
Current employ status	4902	0.95	0.21
Full-time job	4676	0.91	0.28
No employment but looking for job	226	0.31	0.46
Practicing lawyer	4805	0.84	0.37
Female	4846	0.5	0.5
Age	4882	38.34	4.21
White	4894	0.69	0.46
Married	4881	0.74	0.44
Spouse Income	2875	85106.96	67726.04
Living with Child	4867	0.6	0.49
Living with 3+ Children	3734	0.18	0.38
Undergrad GPA	3474	2.81	1.49
Law GPA	3232	3.66	1.69
Acquired other Degrees	4484	0.12	0.32
Demeaning comments	4768	0.13	0.34
Missed desirable assignment	4749	0.1	0.29
Client request another	4730	0.08	0.26
Supervisor request another	4732	0.05	0.22
Other discrimination	4618	0.22	0.41

TABLE 3

	Wave 2 before recession			Wave 3 after recession		
	N	MEAN	STD	N	MEAN	STD
Current employ status	2450	0.96	0.2	2452	0.95	0.22
Full-time job	2353	0.92	0.27	2323	0.9	0.3
No employment but looking for job	97	0.22	0.41	129	0.38	0.49
Practicing lawyer	2353	0.85	0.36	2453	0.83	0.38

TABLE 4

	WAVE 2 BEFORE RECESSION						WAVE 3 AFTER RECESSION					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	N	MEAN	STD	N	MEAN	STD	N	MEAN	STD	N	MEAN	STD
Current employ status	1202	0.99	0.1	1219	0.93	0.25	1203	0.98	0.14	1220	0.92	0.28
Full-time job	1189	0.98	0.13	1136	0.86	0.35	1179	0.98	0.15	1118	0.82	0.38
No employment but looking for job	13	0.23	0.44	83	0.22	0.41	24	0.63	0.49	102	0.32	0.47
Practicing lawyer	1189	0.87	0.34	1136	0.83	0.38	1203	0.84	0.37	1220	0.82	0.39

TABLE 5-----Currently Employed					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Female*Recession	-0.0549*** (0.0082)	-0.0539*** (0.0082)	-0.0511*** (0.0127)	-0.0535*** (0.0164)	-0.0521*** (0.0171)
Female	0.0035 (0.0059)	0.0027 (0.0059)	0.0103 (0.0104)	0.0101 (0.0137)	0.0069 (0.0147)
Recession	0.0059 (0.0059)	0.0056 (0.0066)	0.0101 (0.01)	0.0148 (0.013)	0.0176 (0.0134)
Age		0.000012 (0.0006)	0.0012 (0.0009)	0.0012 (0.0012)	0.001 (0.0012)
White		-0.0096** (0.0045)	-0.0135* (0.007)	-0.0142 (0.0095)	-0.0124 (0.0098)
Married			-0.0064 (0.016)	0.0151 (0.0205)	0.0151 (0.0211)
Spouse Income			-0.0199*** (0.0048)	-0.0275*** (0.0062)	-0.0282*** (0.0064)
Living with Child			0.0144 (0.0098)	0.0248** (0.0123)	0.0249** (0.0124)
Living with 3+ Children			-0.0178** (0.0082)	-0.0131 (0.0106)	-0.0127 (0.0109)
Undergrad GPA				0.0006 (0.0028)	0.0009 (0.0029)
Law GPA				-0.0025 (0.0025)	-0.003 (0.0025)
Acquired other Degrees				-0.003 (0.0122)	-0.0038 (0.0124)
Demearing comments					0.0125 (0.0129)
Missed desirable assignment					0.0136 (0.0155)
Client request another					-0.0137 (0.0158)
Supervisor request another					0.0087 (0.0192)
Other discrimination					0.0055 (0.0102)
Intercept	0.7867*** (0.0076)	0.7958*** (0.0238)	0.7534*** (0.0426)	0.7285*** (0.0548)	0.7258*** (0.0563)
Firm control	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4744	4719	2315	1470	1429
R Square	0.2285	0.2262	0.239	0.2561	0.2624

Note: In table 5~8, * denotes significance at the 10% level, ** denotes significance at the 5% level, and *** denotes significance at the 1% level. Spouse Income is expressed in 100,000s of U.S dollars.

TABLE 6-----Full-Time Employed					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Female*Recession	-0.0275* (0.0159)	-0.0276** (0.016)	0.0579** (0.0261)	0.0776** (0.033)	0.0874** (0.0339)
Female	-0.1266*** (0.0112)	-0.1279*** (0.0113)	-0.2111*** (0.0213)	-0.2212*** (0.0275)	-0.2445*** (0.0289)
Recession	-0.0075 (0.0112)	-0.0167 (0.0127)	-0.0179 (0.0205)	-0.0181 (0.026)	-0.0109 (0.0265)
Age		0.0019 (0.0012)	0.0018 (0.002)	0.0004 (0.0024)	-0.0001 (0.0025)
White		-0.0229** (0.0087)	-0.0152 (0.0146)	-0.0366* (0.0192)	-0.0279 (0.0196)
Married			-0.0273 (0.0333)	-0.0339 (0.0422)	-0.0472 (0.0426)
Spouse Income			-0.0709*** (0.0102)	-0.0805*** (0.013)	-0.0743*** (0.0131)
Living with Child			-0.0459** (0.0204)	-0.0323 (0.0252)	-0.035 (0.0252)
Living with 3+ Children			-0.0094 (0.017)	-0.0126 (0.0216)	-0.0151 (0.0217)
Undergrad GPA				-0.0116** (0.0057)	-0.0105* (0.0058)
Law GPA				0.0111** (0.005)	0.0099* (0.0051)
Acquired other Degrees				-0.04552* (0.0248)	-0.04429* (0.0249)
Demeaning comments					0.0433* (0.0257)
Missed desirable assignment					0.0033 (0.0307)
Client request another					0.1056*** (0.0314)
Supervisor request another					0.0087 (0.038)
Other discrimination					0.0023 (0.0203)
Intercept	0.9873*** (0.0157)	0.9344*** (0.0465)	1.0533*** (0.0886)	1.1105*** (0.1116)	1.1252*** (0.1129)
Firm control	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4618	4595	2249	1426	1385
R Square	0.0925	0.0942	0.1556	0.172	0.1863

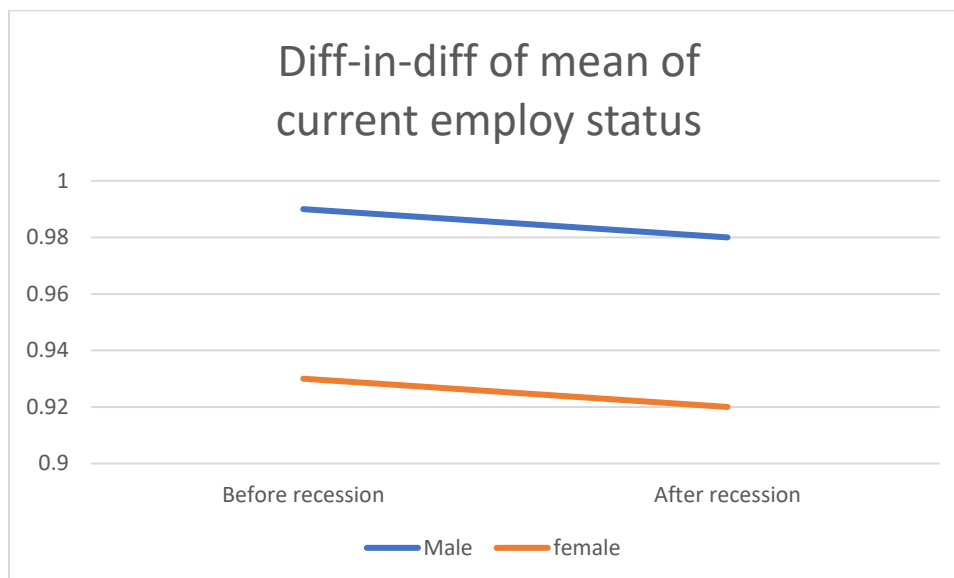
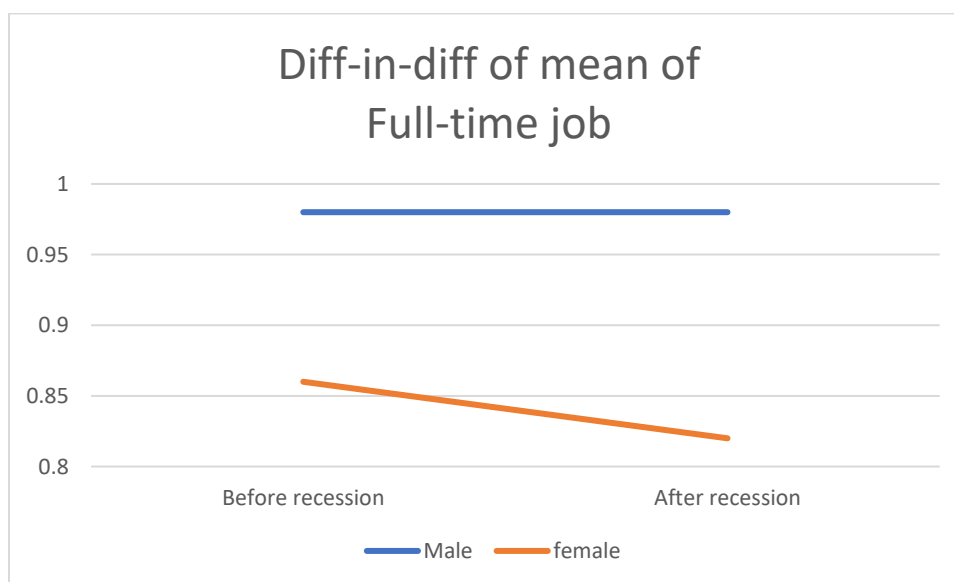
Note: In table 5~8, * denotes significance at the 10% level, ** denotes significance at the 5% level, and *** denotes significance at the 1% level. Spouse Income is expressed in 100,000s of U.S dollars.

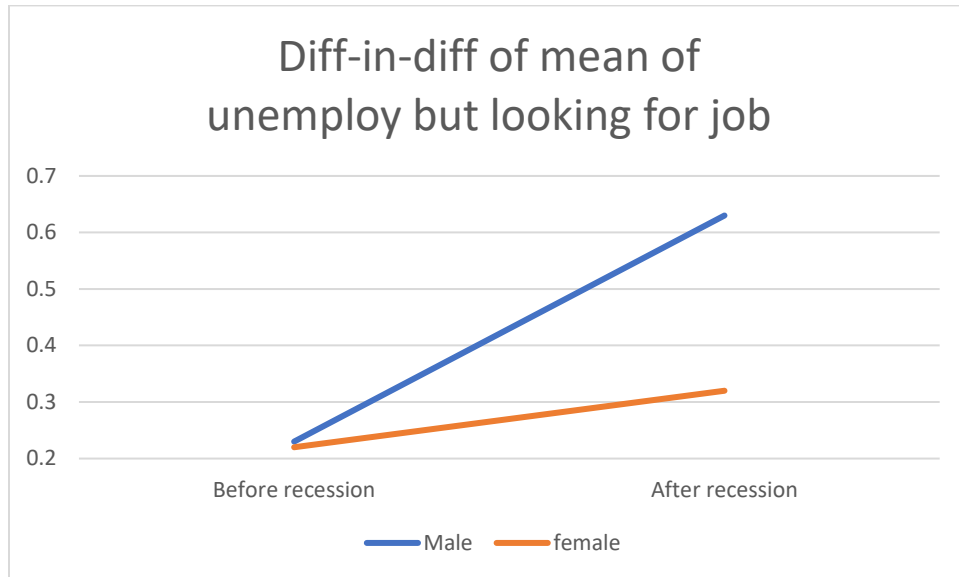
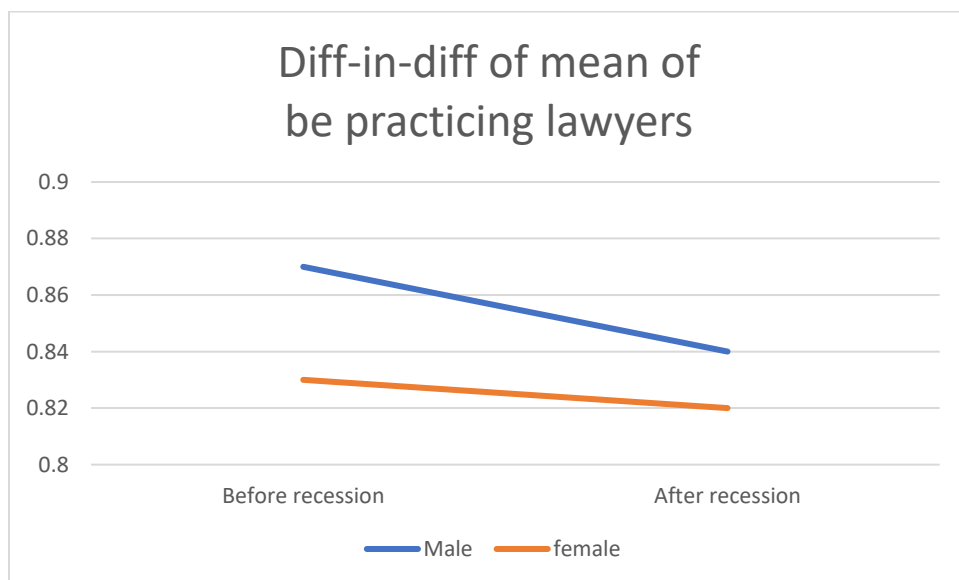
TABLE 7----- Currently Unemployed but Looking for a Job	
	(1)
Female*Recession	-0.2876* (0.169)
Female	-0.0139 (0.1345)
Recession	0.3942** (0.1553)
Intercept	0.2308* (0.1251)
Firm control	No
Observation	222
R Square	0.0673

Note: In table 5~8, * denotes significance at the 10% level, ** denotes significance at the 5% level, and *** denotes significance at the 1% level. Spouse Income is expressed in 100,000s of U.S dollars.

TABLE 8----- Currently a Practicing Lawyer					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Female*Recession	0.0372** (0.0184)	0.03813** (0.0185)	0.056** (0.0272)	0.0596* (0.0337)	0.0693** (0.0348)
Female	-0.0144 (0.0132)	-0.0201 (0.0133)	-0.0378* (0.0223)	-0.0295 (0.0282)	-0.04 (0.0298)
Recession	-0.02 (0.0131)	0.0098 (0.0148)	0.015 (0.0214)	0.0217 (0.0266)	0.0148 (0.0273)
Age		-0.0063*** (0.0014)	-0.0068*** (0.002)	-0.0073*** (0.0025)	-0.0069*** (0.0025)
White		-0.0078 (0.0101)	0.0013 (0.0151)	-0.0045 (0.0194)	-0.0055 (0.0199)
Married			0.0213 (0.0343)	-0.0237 (0.0421)	-0.0361 (0.0428)
Spouse Income			0.0123 (0.0104)	0.0042 (0.0128)	0.0056 (0.0129)
Living with Child			-0.0055 (0.021)	0.0055 (0.0252)	0.0061 (0.0253)
Living with 3+ Children			-0.0142 (0.0175)	-0.0319 (0.0218)	-0.0351 (0.0221)
Undergrad GPA				-0.0004 (0.0058)	0.0006 (0.0059)
Law GPA				-0.0105** (0.0051)	-0.0097* (0.0051)
Acquired other Degrees				-0.0762*** (0.025)	-0.0803*** (0.0252)
Demeaning comments					0.0323 (0.0261)
Missed desirable assignment					-0.0126 (0.0315)
Client request another					0.0637** (0.032)
Supervisor request another					-0.0657* (0.039)
Other discrimination					-0.0398* (0.0207)
Intercept	0.7395*** (0.017)	0.9736*** (0.0533)	0.9534*** (0.0914)	1.0861*** (0.1124)	1.0783*** (0.1144)
Firm control	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4744	4719	2314	1470	1429
R Square	0.0024	0.2681	0.3039	0.3324	0.3346

Note: In table 5~8, * denotes significance at the 10% level, ** denotes significance at the 5% level, and *** denotes significance at the 1% level. Spouse Income is expressed in 100,000s of U.S dollars.

Figure 1**Figure 2****Figure 3**

**Figure 4**

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