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## The Constituencies of Elite Urban Lawyers

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This study analyzes Chicago lawyers' networks of relationships with a selected set of prominent practitioners, drawing on 1994–95 interviews with 788 randomly selected respondents. Since the same technique was used 20 years earlier, the research sheds light on the extent to which the constituencies of elite Chicago lawyers have changed. The network is organized in three principal sectors—liberals, trial lawyers, and corporate lawyers. The structure implies a lack of integration within the bar. Minorities and women are now more widely dispersed across the segments of the network than they were in 1975, but they still have relatively few connections in the corporate sector of the bar.

**I**n the process of settling cases, referring clients to specialists or to friends, recruiting new lawyers for their firms, seeking public office, resolving matters of common concern within the profession, and generally getting things done, lawyers develop distinct networks of association and communication (Laumann 1973; Laumann & Pappi 1976). The structure of these networks is likely to reflect the forms of differentiation within the local bar, including political interests. Many of the interest groups present in the community, especially the more powerful ones, will have agents or advocates among the lawyers, and lawyers who speak for powerful interests will, themselves, be regarded as people of consequence. And so they are. The extent and character of the interaction among these prominent lawyers, then, probably shapes the outcomes of the issues at stake.

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Support for this work was provided by grants from the American Bar Endowment, Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research, the National Science Foundation (#SBR-9411515), and the Chicago Bar Foundation. The article is based on a report presented at the Law and Society Association Annual Meetings, Glasgow, Scotland, July 1996. The authors acknowledge, with gratitude, the contributions to this work of Brian Gran, Kathleen Hull, Rebecca Sandefur, and Stephanie Walke. Address correspondence to John P. Heinz, American Bar Foundation, 750 N. Lake Shore Dr., Chicago, IL 60611 (e-mail: j-heinz@nwu.edu).

Local bars that are characterized by strong, reliable, stable, and well-defined ties among their elites may be characterized as “tightly coupled” social systems (March & Simon 1958; Weick 1976). Bars where the ties are weaker or shifting are “loosely coupled.” In tightly coupled systems, outcomes will be relatively predictable—the application of pressure of a certain type and intensity at a particular point in the system may be expected to have consequences, foreseeable within a range, at other points within the system. In loosely coupled systems, the effects of similar pressure are less foreseeable—indeed, there may be no movement at all because the essential linkages are lacking.

To the extent that communication among the elites of contending groups occurs, then, it will provide connections that may facilitate the resolution of issues. If we are able to specify which constituencies have ties to which others, we will know something important about the system. The places where ties are absent are, of course, at least as important as those where they are present. The divisions in the network may constitute structural barriers or gaps that are difficult to cross. The first step in any analysis of such phenomena is to associate the prominent lawyers with the constituencies that they represent. Their constituencies constitute bases of power or influence, and the nature of the constituencies will reflect the arenas within which they are active and, perhaps, the types of resources they are able to mobilize.

The constituencies might be formed around any or all of several sources of association. Some kinds of lawyers, for example, will be brought together by their clients. This is more likely to occur in the business world, where trade associations and other industry groups pursue common agendas, than it is when lawyers represent plaintiffs in personal injury cases or former spouses fighting over child custody. The latter lawyers, however, may meet in courthouses where their cases are tried or in the institutional settings where such cases are settled. Other lawyers will form ties through partisan political activity or through participation in civic enterprises or charitable causes. Still others will be recruited for leadership roles through their association with ethnoreligious or fraternal groups, veterans organizations, law school or university alumni groups, and so on. Then, too, there are the bar associations—national, state, and local, representing the profession as a whole as well as many specialty groups—all of which provide opportunities for recognition as a leader of the bar. But the term “leader of the bar” might have several meanings. It could be applied to any especially skilled practitioner, who drafts a sound debenture or impresses juries, or it could refer to lawyers who are more broadly influential and who function as brokers or advisors. It is the latter that concern us here.

In a recent survey of Chicago lawyers, the respondents were asked about their connections with a selected list of prominent

attorneys of varying types. The same technique had been used 20 years earlier, in a survey conducted in 1975, and the resulting data produced a depiction of the networks of association of elite or “notable” lawyers at that time (see Fig. 1). Those findings were published in *Chicago Lawyers: The Social Structure of the Bar* (Heinz & Laumann 1982, 1994), and we will not recount them all here, but it may be useful to summarize the broad outlines of those networks in order to provide a basis for comparison to our present findings.

### The 1975 Data

Figure 1 is a three-dimensional smallest space analysis solution (Guttman 1968). The third dimension is indicated by arrows next to four points indicating that those points lie substantially below the plane of the page—all of the other points are relatively near the plane of the page (Heinz & Laumann 1982:291). As in all such solutions, points that are more similar are more proximate. Here, similarity means that the notable lawyers represented by the points share circles of acquaintance among the respondents to the survey. That is, if the same respondents indicate connections to each of two notables, that pair of notables will be close together in the space, but if the sets of respondents that choose them are disparate, the two notables will be widely separated. The locations of those points will also be determined, however, by their similarity to or difference from the circles of acquaintance of every other notable in the space. Thus, the solution seeks to optimize the representation of the relationships among all of the pairwise comparisons, considered simultaneously.

To represent all of these relationships with complete accuracy might well require numerous dimensions; in fact, it could require as many dimensions as the number of points in the space, minus one. The degree to which the solution fits the full complexity of the data is measured by statistics referred to as indicators of “stress.” That is, the degree of stress in the solution is a measure of the amount of error in the representation—of the degree to which the distances among the points in the solution fail to capture the full extent of the similarities and differences among all of the points. In this solution, Kruskal’s stress is .148 (Kruskal 1964).

The labels placed on some of the areas in Figure 1 are intended to indicate characteristics of the notables located within those regions. (The persons’ names are pseudonyms.) The boundaries and labels are based on inspection of the notables’ characteristics rather than on more formal statistical procedures, but there is not much ambiguity in the classifications. The letters “CBA” and “CCL” refer to the Chicago Bar Association and the

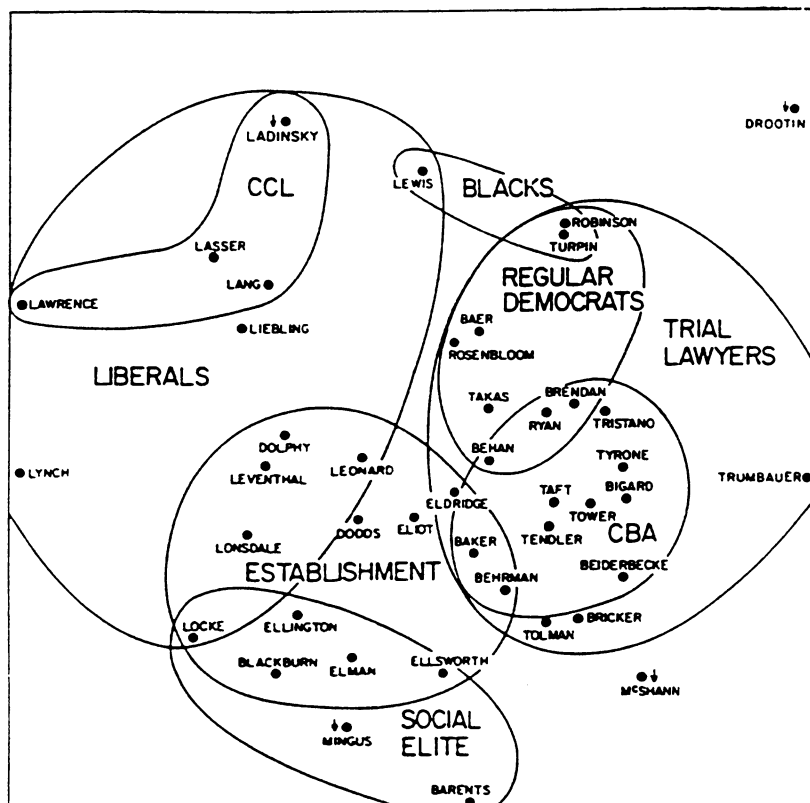


Fig. 1. Patterns of acquaintance with 43 notable Chicago lawyers, 1975 (three-dimensional smallest space solution).

Chicago Council of Lawyers, respectively; many of the notables found within those areas had served as presidents of the organizations. The Council was founded in 1969 as a liberal, reformist alternative to the established Chicago Bar Association (Powell 1979).

The overall structure of the space is organized into three sectors, roughly in the form of a Mercedes emblem (or a peace symbol, perhaps depending on one's age or political predilection). The characteristics identified in Figure 2 primarily describe the constituencies rather than the notables; that is, they describe the characteristics of the respondents who indicated connections to the notables located within those regions of the space (Heinz & Laumann 1982:299–309). Nonetheless, most notables shared the attributes of their constituencies. As Figure 2 makes clear, political preference, religious identification, and law practice characteristics tended to be coterminous. Thus, the constituencies had multiple bases of affinity, and this no doubt enhanced the likelihood of cohesion within them. Notables who were more centrally located in their constituencies were likely to exemplify the defining traits of the constituency; that is, they were likely to be more

homogeneous types than those located near the boundaries of the constituency.

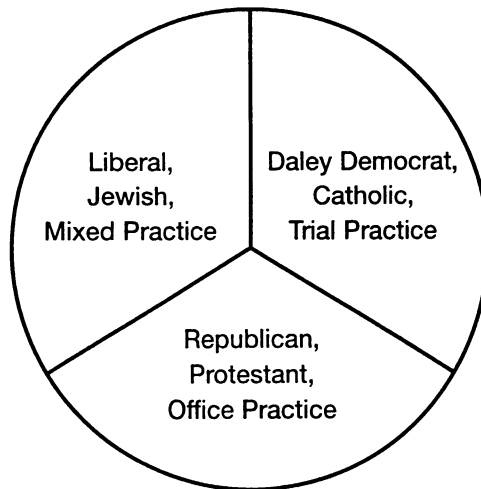


Fig. 2. General structure of the notables network, 1975

The three black notables were, to some extent, exceptions to this latter principle. Although they had the political and law practice characteristics of their respective constituencies, they were located at the boundary between the Liberal/Jewish/Mixed Practice sector and the Daley Democrat/Catholic/Trial Practice sector. In 1975, Robinson was closely aligned with the late Mayor Daley and Lewis was aligned with Jesse Jackson and Operation PUSH. Despite this extreme political difference (extreme, certainly, in the context of the Chicago of the 1970s), they were drawn into close proximity in the space—and, thus, each was pulled toward the boundary. Quite clearly, the circles of acquaintance of Chicago lawyers in the mid-1970s were importantly defined by race, and the strength of these racial ties appears to have been sufficient to overcome political and professional affinities. Note, also, that the location of the three blacks in the space is diametrically opposite to the region occupied by the social elite (Fig. 1). In analyzing the 1995 data, therefore, we will want to try to assess the salience of race in the relationships among Chicago lawyers, to determine whether it diminished over the 20 years or whether it remained strong.

More generally, how might we expect the structure of the networks of elite Chicago lawyers and the definition of their constituencies to have changed, if at all, since 1975? Given the great growth in the size of the bar during the past two decades, it will surely have become more difficult for the elites to keep in close touch with any broad segment of the profession. The number of lawyers with offices in the city increased from approximately 15,000 in 1975 to 30,000 in 1995. This increase in scale almost

certainly makes integration more difficult.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the network structure may well have become more diffuse or, perhaps, more specialized. The notable lawyers might now represent only much more narrowly defined constituencies, and the difficulty of bridging those constituencies—of mediating among them—may thus be exacerbated.

### The 1995 Data

In 1994 and 1995, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 788 randomly selected Chicago lawyers, constituting 82% of the target sample.<sup>2</sup> The names of these persons were drawn from the state's official list of licensed lawyers.<sup>3</sup> They include solo practitioners, lawyers in firms, corporate house counsel, government lawyers, public defenders, judges, and law professors, as well as lawyers who were retired, unemployed, or engaged in occupations other than law.<sup>4</sup>

During the interview, the respondents were given a list of 68 notable Chicago lawyers. The names had been selected after extensive consultation with informants who are familiar with various segments of the Chicago bar. An effort was made to list prominent lawyers representing a considerable range of social and professional categories, including the following: bar association leaders, Democrats, Republicans, academic lawyers, lawyers engaged in legal services work (i.e., "poverty law") and those representing public interest or not-for-profit organizations, lawyers in very small firms or solo practice, corporate inside counsel (i.e., "house counsel"), corporate outside counsel (i.e., lawyers in firms, practicing corporate law), criminal defense lawyers, lawyers engaged in personal injury litigation (from both the plaintiff and the defense sides), labor lawyers (both the union and the management sides), tax, divorce, real estate, antitrust, and mu-

<sup>1</sup> As the number in the population increases, the number of possible dyadic ties increases exponentially. When the number in the population ( $N$ ) doubles, as it did here, then the resulting number of dyads will be four times the original number of dyads plus  $N$ . It is highly unlikely that individuals will even attempt to increase the number of their personal ties in proportion to that growth.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the members of the target sample who refused to be interviewed or did not respond to messages, another 8% of the original targets had died, were over age 80 (the eligibility limit), had moved out of the Chicago area, or could not be located after an exhaustive search of directories (and were thus assumed to have moved to another region). This 8% was therefore excluded from the target sample.

<sup>3</sup> All lawyers admitted to practice in Illinois are required to be registered with and to pay an annual fee to the Attorney Registration and Disciplinary Commission, an agency under the supervision of the Illinois Supreme Court. A lawyer who is not registered with the ARDC is not in good standing. Although the official list maintained by the ARDC is not made public, even for research purposes, the agency agreed to draw a random sample of names and addresses from the list, following our procedures and specifications. We are grateful to the Illinois ARDC and its staff for their cooperation in this project.

<sup>4</sup> Of the 788 respondents, 75 (9.6%) told us that they devoted less than 10 hours per week to the practice of law.

municipal bond lawyers, women, WASPs, Irish Catholics, persons of southern and eastern European descent, and Latino, Asian, and African Americans. Each notable will, of course, fit more than one of these categories. Government officials were not included among the notables because we did not want to conflate personal or professional notability with the powers of a public office. Care was also taken to avoid the inclusion of more than three lawyers from any one law firm or an excessive number of the alumni of any one school—though some law schools are, in fact, more likely to produce prominent graduates.<sup>5</sup>

Note that we did not attempt to create a list of the *most* notable, successful, or influential lawyers in Chicago. Rather, the list includes a selection of lawyers, of varying types, who are prominent in one respect or another but not necessarily more prominent than others. It would, in any event, have been problematic to attempt to specify “notability” with precision. What criteria should be used? Breadth of acquaintance is one possible measure, and it is probably associated with the sort of notability that concerns us here. It may be possible to be a prominent artist or poet while living as a recluse (though the Andy Warhol model seems to be more common at present), but it is hard to imagine a lawyer who could achieve great prominence without associating with his professional colleagues. To measure breadth of acquaintance, however, one must do a survey of some sort—similar to the one done here—and one can therefore not be at all certain about the extent of acquaintance when the list is compiled, before that survey has been done.

In the interview, the respondents were asked to go through the list and mark the names of the persons with whom they were personally acquainted. They were then asked to place a second mark by the names of lawyers with whom they had stronger ties.<sup>6</sup> These data give us two measures of connections between the random sample of respondents and the selected list of elites.

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<sup>5</sup> Of the 68 notables on the list, 11 received their law degrees from Harvard, 10 from Northwestern, 9 from the University of Chicago, 7 from Loyola, 5 from De Paul, 4 from the University of Illinois, 3 from Yale, 2 each from Michigan, Columbia, and Wisconsin, and 1 each from University of California-Berkeley, Chicago-Kent, Cincinnati, Georgetown, Indiana, Iowa, John Marshall, Miami, Notre Dame, Pennsylvania, Valparaiso, Washington (St. Louis), and Wayne State.

<sup>6</sup> The interview items were as follows:

So that we can analyze communication among various sectors or segments of the Chicago bar, we would like to have you go through this list of Chicago lawyers and indicate which ones you know. Please place a check in column A by the names of persons you know well enough to call by their first name when you see them.

[After completion of that task:] Now, please place a second check in column B by the names of lawyers with whom you are more closely acquainted—those you know well enough to be sure that they would take the time to assist you briefly without charging a fee, if you had a question or minor problem.

The first thing to note about the responses is that most Chicago lawyers do not know most of the notables. In answer to the first question, which asked the lawyers merely to indicate personal acquaintance, 245 respondents (31%) said that they knew none of the notables. Another 35% knew from 1 to 3, and only 9% of the respondents knew more than 10 of the notables. Only 5 respondents claimed to know as many as 35 notables. When we asked about the stronger type of connection, only a minority of the respondents indicated that they had any such ties to the notables—420 of the respondents (53%) indicated no strong ties, 24% indicated such ties to 1 or 2 notables, and 23% indicated strong ties to 3 or more. Only 2 respondents claimed to have strong ties to as many as 25 of the 68 notables.<sup>7</sup>

The respondents who know more notables are, in some respects, systematically different from those who know fewer. There is a strong correlation between the income level reported by respondents and the number of notables with whom they have ties (on both measures of acquaintance).<sup>8</sup> Thus, as one might anticipate, respondents who are more financially successful are more likely to move in circles of acquaintance that include notables. Older respondents are likely to know more notables than are younger lawyers,<sup>9</sup> probably because people acquire an increasing number of acquaintances during the course of their lives. Women know somewhat fewer notables than do male respondents, but the female respondents are younger, on the average, than the males. When we control for age, there is not a significant association between gender and the number of notables known. Also, contrary to some expectations, lawyers who practice in large firms are not more widely connected among the notables. The size of the law firms or other organizations within which the respondents work is not significantly correlated with the likelihood of knowing notables.

As noted above, it is difficult at best to determine the extent of the notables' circles of acquaintance before doing the survey, especially when one is striving to include notables of widely varying types. Consequently, 3 of the persons on our list of 68 proved to be only narrowly acquainted within the bar—these 3 had fewer

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<sup>7</sup> In the 1975 data, although the list of notables was shorter (43 notables) and somewhat less diverse, the likelihood of knowing notables was greater. At the stronger level of connection, only 38% of the respondents reported knowing none of the notables in 1975, 37% knew 1 to 3, and 25% knew 4 or more. Ten respondents claimed to know half or more of the notables. Thus, the doubling in the size of the Chicago bar since 1975 has probably made it less likely that lawyers will be personally acquainted with the elites of the bar.

<sup>8</sup> The correlation between respondents' incomes and the number of notables known is .52 at the weaker level of ties and .53 at the stronger level, both significant at .001.

<sup>9</sup> The correlation between age and the number of notables known is .44 in the measure of simple acquaintance and .37 in the measure of stronger ties, both significant at .001.



than 15 connections each at the weaker level and only 3 connections each at the stronger level. In a sense, then, these persons were misspecified, and they have therefore been dropped from the network analyses reported below. Surprisingly, two of these three persons were vice-presidents and general counsel (i.e., the top inside lawyer) of major corporations headquartered in Chicago. Apparently, some of the persons who run the legal departments of the largest corporations do not find it necessary to be widely acquainted within the bar. The other narrowly acquainted person was an African American lawyer in a very small firm.

### The Structure of the Notables' Networks, 1995

Figure 3 presents a smallest space analysis of the structure of the notables' networks. The analytic technique used here is essentially the same as that used with the 1975 data (Fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> That is, the degree of proximity in the figure indicates the degree of overlap among the sets of respondents acquainted with each pair of notables. If two notables share few acquaintances, they will be farther apart in the space. As was true of Figure 1, this is a three-dimensional solution—the third dimension of the space is, again, indicated by arrows next to some of the points. The six points with arrows are located substantially above or substantially below the plane of the page; the other points are relatively near the plane of the page.<sup>11</sup>

We again assign pseudonyms to the notables, but this is not done for reasons of confidentiality. The locations of the notables in the network were computed through the compilation of data gathered in interviews with the random sample of Chicago lawyers, not through interviews with the notables themselves, and the biographical information about the notables included in the appendix (and sometimes referred to in the text) came from public sources such as directory listings and newspaper articles.

<sup>10</sup> The analysis uses the data on connections to the notables at the weaker, "acquaintance" level (i.e., the first question). The principal reason for this choice is that the number of ties falls off considerably at the stronger level of connection, which would require us either to drop several of the notables or run the risk of instability.

The proximity estimator used here is the Jaccard similarity measure, also known as the similarity ratio:

$$\text{Jaccard}(x, y) = a / (a + b + c),$$

where in the contingency table for cases  $x$  and  $y$ ,  $a$  is the value for joint presences, and  $b$  and  $c$  are the values for nonmatches. Note that joint absences (the  $d$  cell) are not used in the Jaccard measure.

In two dimensions, the degree of fit (or its opposite, the amount of stress) is unsatisfactory—Kruskal's stress is .27 and the  $R^2$  is .67. In the three-dimensional solution presented here, stress decreases to .20 and the  $R^2$  improves to .76. In solutions with a greater number of dimensions, fit continues to improve—in four dimensions, stress = .16,  $R^2 = .81$ ; in five dimensions, stress = .14,  $R^2 = .84$ .

<sup>11</sup> The six outlying cases indicated by arrows account for 33% of the total range on the third dimension. The other 59 cases occupy only two-thirds of the range on that dimension.

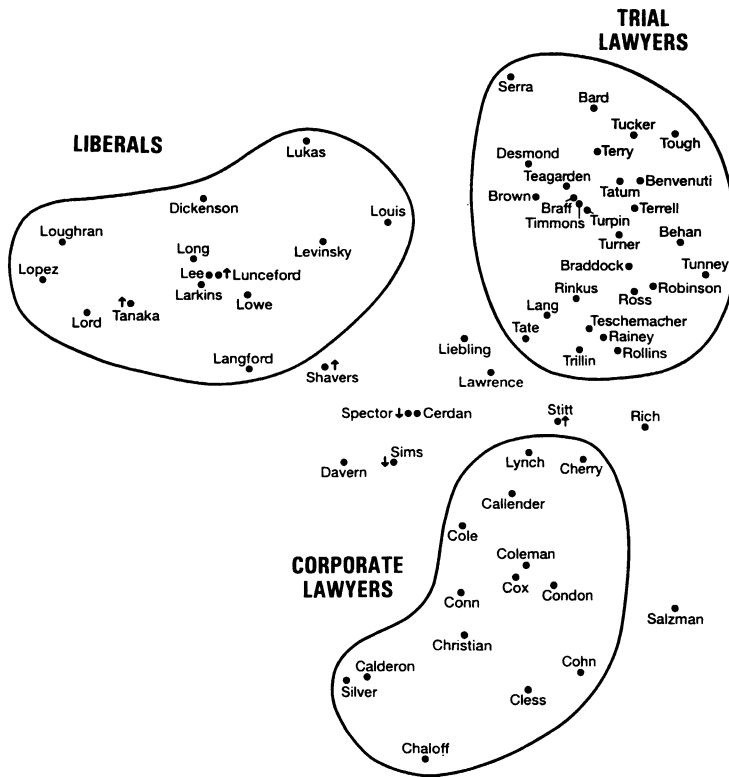


Fig. 3. Patterns of acquaintance with 65 notable Chicago lawyers, 1995 (three-dimensional smallest space solution).

Indeed, the biographies in the appendix usually permit the notables to be identified.<sup>12</sup> The use of pseudonyms, however, permits us to give the names initial letters that indicate some of the categories of notables. We hope that this device may serve to clarify the depiction of the network structure and make the relationships among the categories more comprehensible.

In this presentation, names beginning with the letter B are assigned to notables who had served as president of one of the principal, general-membership bar associations—that is, either the Chicago Bar Association (CBA) or the Illinois State Bar Association (ISBA). Names beginning with C are given to corporate lawyers, both those inside the corporation (i.e., “house counsel”) and those in law firms. Names with the initial D are given to the deans of three law schools. Liberals of various stripes are assigned the initial L, and a subcategory of these, former presidents of the Chicago Council of Lawyers (a liberal organization), got names beginning with La. Names beginning with R are used for both Republicans and Regular Democrats (i.e., Democrats of a less lib-

<sup>12</sup> But most of these notables are not famous. Even knowledgeable Chicago lawyers would surely be unfamiliar with many of the names.

eral stripe, especially those who were affiliated with the late Mayor Daley's "Regular Democratic Organization"). S is used to identify specialists in particular areas of law, and T is used for trial lawyers (when they serve a corporate clientele, these lawyers are often called "litigators"). The B, D, L, La, R, and T designations were also used in the presentation of the 1975 data. Seven of the persons who were included on the 1975 notables list—Behan, Lang, Lawrence, Liebling, Lynch, Robinson, and Turpin—were also included on the 1995 list. We will thus be able to compare their positions in the two networks and to observe how their constituencies changed during the intervening 20 years.

The basic structure of the 1995 network is quite similar to that of the 1975 network, illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. Given the dramatic changes in the profession over the past 20 years—the rapid increase in the size of the bar, the entry of women into the profession in large numbers, the "litigation explosion," the expansion and branching of large law firms, the great growth of the corporate sector of practice, the continuing attrition among solo practitioners—it is perhaps somewhat surprising that the network structure does not exhibit greater change (Nelson 1994). Once again, the analysis indicates three principal regions of the space—a set of trial lawyers (overlapping with bar leaders and political figures) located at the upper right, a group of liberals (less tightly clustered) located at the upper left, and a set of corporate lawyers (including both house counsel and lawyers in large firms) located in the lower half of the space, toward the middle. In the 1975 network, these categories corresponded closely to the predominant religious and political affiliations of the notables' constituencies (Figure 2). We present, below, some analyses that assess the extent to which this was the case in 1995. First, however, let us comment on the characteristics of the notables found in the several regions of the space.

Figure 4 identifies the locations in the structure of the 13 notables who are women and the 11 who are members of minority groups (i.e., African Americans, Latinos, and an Asian American). In the 1975 data, only 2 women were included in the notables set (reflecting their small percentage among Chicago lawyers at that time). Both were located in the top half of the network structure. The women among the 1995 notables were somewhat more widely distributed throughout the space but still predominantly located in the top half. Of the 13 women, 7 are found in the trial lawyers sector, 3 among the liberals, 2 in the corporate sector, and 1 near the center of the space. Note that several of the women who serve a corporate clientele do not have their principal constituencies within the corporate region of the network—Lunceford, for example, is employed by a traditional, established corporate firm, and she handles the work of corporate clients, including Lloyd's of London, but she is an African

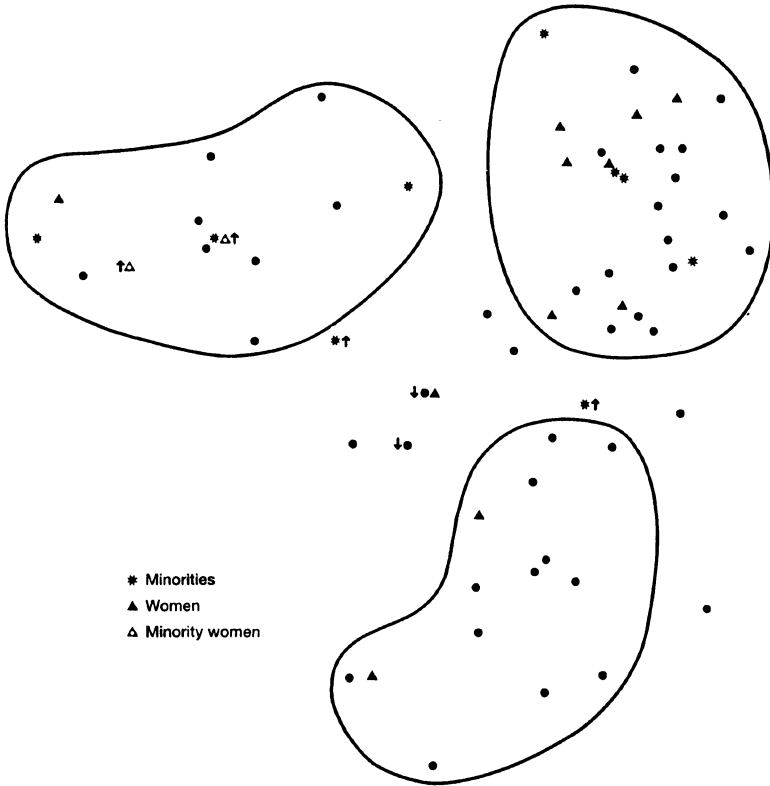


Fig. 4. Locations within the network of women and minorities, 1995

American and is active in issues concerning minority lawyers; Tate and Teschemacher are both partners in major law firms that serve a corporate clientele, but they are litigators and have political connections that draw them into close proximity to notables who formerly held political office (i.e., Lang, Rinkus, Ross, Rainey and Rollins); Cerdan is employed by the Motorola corporation, but she was formerly the executive director of the American Bar Association, which brought her into contact with broader constituencies. Thus, many of the women with a corporate law practice occupy positions in the network that are not well integrated into the corporate notables group. It may be that women lawyers in Chicago still find that their opportunities to achieve prominence are greater in bar association work or in political activity than in corporate law practice.

The 11 notables who are members of minority groups are all located in the top half of the space.<sup>13</sup> Note that the 2 who are lowest in the two-dimensional representation (Fig. 3) both have arrows indicating that they are located substantially above the plane of the page in the third dimension. In fact, the four points

<sup>13</sup> Although Calderon has a Spanish name, she is not of Latin American ancestry. She is a Harvard Law School and Wellesley alumna who is active in the Episcopal church. See appendix.

that are high in the third dimension are all occupied by minorities, 3 blacks and 1 Asian. (The two points that are low in the third dimension are both white male labor lawyers.) Thus, the third dimension of the space would appear to have a racial component. The minority notables are almost evenly divided between the liberals sector (with 5) and the trial lawyers area (with 4), the two specialists (Shavers and Stitt) being outside any of the designated regions.

In the 1975 data, only three members of minority groups were included among the notables, all of them African American. Two of the three, Robinson and Turpin, are also in the 1995 set. As noted above, in 1975 the three were tightly clustered (Fig. 1), and this was remarkable because of the differences in their political allegiances (Heinz & Laumann 1982:295–96). The more general spread of the minorities across the top half of the 1995 space suggests that race was a less salient factor in structuring professional relationships among Chicago lawyers in 1995 than it was in 1975. But the 1995 set of minority notables is larger and more diverse than it was in 1975. The increase in the percentage of minorities on the notables list somewhat exceeded the growth of the minority bar—which increased from 2.9% of Chicago lawyers in 1975 to 7.8% in 1995—but was not greatly out of proportion to it. Arguably, many more minority lawyers have now achieved positions of prominence than was the case 20 years earlier. But more significantly, perhaps, the 1995 minority notables are drawn from a more diverse range of practice settings than were the three included in 1975.<sup>14</sup> This greater diversity in practice settings is probably also representative of changes in the situation of minority lawyers in general; in 1975, most of the private practitioners were found in solo practice or in very small firms; by 1995, a considerable number had positions in large law firms, serving a corporate clientele (but see Wilkins & Gulati 1996). Like the women among the notables, then, lawyers in Chicago who are African American, Latino, or Asian American may still be more likely to acquire visibility through politics or bar association activity—perhaps especially through politics—than in the precincts of the corporate bar.

Of the other five notables included on both the 1995 and the 1975 lists (Behan, Lang, Lawrence, Liebling, and Lynch), only Behan has remained in much the same location in the network. He is a very prominent personal injury lawyer, was president of the CBA decades ago, and remains clearly within the trial lawyers sector near other past presidents of the CBA and ISBA, but he is not as close to the center of the network as he was in 1975. This may be attributable, in part, to his age—50 in 1975 and 70 in

<sup>14</sup> Compare, for example, Robinson and Turpin with Stitt, Shavers, Lunceford, or Lee; see appendix.

1995. But Liebling is only three years younger than Behan, and he has moved from a much less central location in the 1975 network, at the upper left of the space, to a quite central position in 1995.<sup>15</sup> In this respect, Liebling's movement over the two decades is similar to that of Lang, Lawrence, and Lynch. As indicated by their initial, all of these four are liberals. All of them were located at the upper left of the 1975 space, and Lawrence and Lynch, especially, were near the left margin. In the 1995 data, all are much closer to the center of the space.

Lawrence and Lang were presidents of the Chicago Council of Lawyers in the early 1970s, and both were still in their mid-30s at the time of the 1975 survey. In the ensuing 20 years, both acquired considerable additional prominence. Lawrence became dean of the Northwestern University Law School and Lang became Corporation Counsel (i.e., chief counsel) of the City of Chicago during Harold Washington's tenure as mayor. Thus, both came into contact with broader constituencies. Lang, especially, moved into closer proximity to the city's political elites, and Lawrence was brought into contact with a diverse set of Northwestern law alumni, including the corporate lawyers and firms that are important contributors to the school. Lynch had achieved prominence in 1972 as one of the principal lawyers for the delegation of reform-minded Democrats that successfully challenged the seating of the Regular Democratic delegation, headed by Mayor Daley, at that year's presidential nominating convention. In 1984, he was one of the principals in the founding of the Chicago office of a major New York law firm, and he subsequently became the leading partner in that office. Thus, Lynch moved from a position of prominence as a political maverick in 1975 to an established and powerful position in corporate law practice.

The 7 specialists (names beginning with S) are all located in relatively marginal positions in the network. Three are found in the outermost ring of points, and the four that appear to be closer to the center in the two-dimensional figure all have either up or down arrows, indicating that they are distant from the center in the third dimension of the space. While the median number of respondents acquainted with each of the 65 notables is 40, overall, the median number acquainted with the seven specialists is only 20. Only one of the specialists was known by more than 25 respondents. Thus, although the specialties of these 7 lawyers vary widely—labor law, municipal bonds, antitrust, personal injury defense, commercial real estate, constitutional law (see appendix)—the narrowness of their work tends to bring them into contact with a more restricted set of professional col-

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<sup>15</sup> The center of the space is referred to as the centroid of the solution. In a two-dimensional solution, it is the point at which the structure would balance if all the points were equal weights resting on a weightless plane.

leagues, which in turn tends to make them more peripheral in the network. The specialists, then, are in a real sense structurally disadvantaged with respect to power or influence. Their locations and breadth of acquaintance indicate that they would be unlikely to be able either to mobilize large constituencies or to mediate among conflicting sectors of the network.

Notables who possess characteristics associated with more than one region of the space tend to be located between those regions of the network, and they may thus be in a position to convey information from one sector to another and perhaps to mediate conflicts or controversies between the sectors. For example, Davern, the dean of the University of Chicago law school, was in touch with corporate lawyers and law firms who were important donors to the school, but he was also a member of the board of the ACLU and a former clerk to Justice Brennan. His position in the network, we might note, is almost equidistant between two other members of the Chicago law school faculty—Silver, who is at the lower left boundary of the corporate lawyers sector, and Louis, who is at the upper right boundary of the liberals region. Louis, in turn, was probably drawn toward the trial lawyers because he was director of the school's legal clinic and was formerly the Public Defender for Cook County. Thus, whether notables are closer to one boundary or another of the three labeled sectors is affected by the degree to which their personal or practice characteristics correspond to those in another region. Note that most of the notables located in the lower quarter of the trial lawyers sector—from Rinkus and Ross on down—are corporate litigators who are partners in large firms.

The principle that notables with multiple affinities will be placed in an intermediate position, between constituencies, is demonstrated most clearly by the cases of the notables who are in the center of the space. We have already observed that Lawrence and Lynch had backgrounds in liberal politics but that they subsequently came into greater contact with the corporate bar and with politicians aligned with the Republican and Regular Democratic organizations. Thus, they are located between those constituencies. Similarly, Liebling was formerly a partner in a major law firm, serving a corporate clientele, but for the past two decades or more he has headed a "public interest law" organization and has been active in reform litigation. He has affinities, therefore, with all three of the major sectors—liberals, trial lawyers, and corporate lawyers. Cerdan also has an unusually varied set of credentials and experiences. Now an officer of a major corporation, she was formerly a litigator, public official, and executive director of the American Bar Association. Consequently, she was brought into contact with an extraordinarily wide range of different types of lawyers.

Because they are in touch with the broadest range of constituencies, these central actors have the potential to be able to act as mediators among the various interest groups found in the several regions of the network. But note that they might be called upon to mediate or to facilitate relationships only between or among the several sectors, *not* within a sector. Thus, a problem occurring within the corporate sector would probably be mediated by someone who is more centrally located within that particular region—by Cox, Condon, or Coleman, for example, rather than by Liebling or Lawrence. Thus, one should not assume that the central actors will be useful as all-purpose mediators or message carriers, good at all times and places. Rather, their utility will be limited by the particulars of the controversy or problem at hand, as will that of other actors in the space.

Research on networks of relationships among political actors in Washington, D.C., and in the Cook County criminal justice system found structures in which there were no central actors (Heinz et al. 1993; Heinz & Manikas 1992). Those political networks were organized as rough spheres, but they had “hollow cores” or empty centers. The reports of the findings of those studies include a modest amount of theorizing about possible reasons for the absence of central mediators in the networks. In essence, we speculate that in a political network, where the principal activity is competitive, the central position in the network will be unstable. Actors in the center will be in a position to be able to control the flow of information from one side of the network to the other and, perhaps, be able to determine outcomes (i.e., winners and losers) through that information control or by shifting their weight to one side or the other. Any actor would probably be happy to occupy the central position, but might well be uncomfortable with having someone else there. If one actor or a small set were permitted to occupy the central position consistently, across a range of issues, the others might become subordinate. Competitors will, therefore, have an incentive to keep the center open or to keep the situation in flux; they will not want to permit other actors to acquire the power that comes with the center position. In a more cooperative system, however, central actors might be seen as facilitators.

Thus, if the networks among Chicago lawyers primarily serve to expedite referral of cases, transmission of professional information, management of firm business, and rationalization of court procedures, these activities might be more often characterized by cooperation than by competition. And if this is so, then the presence of central actors might be valued rather than feared. Note that central notables were found in the networks in both 1975 and 1995. This basic characteristic, apparently, has not changed.

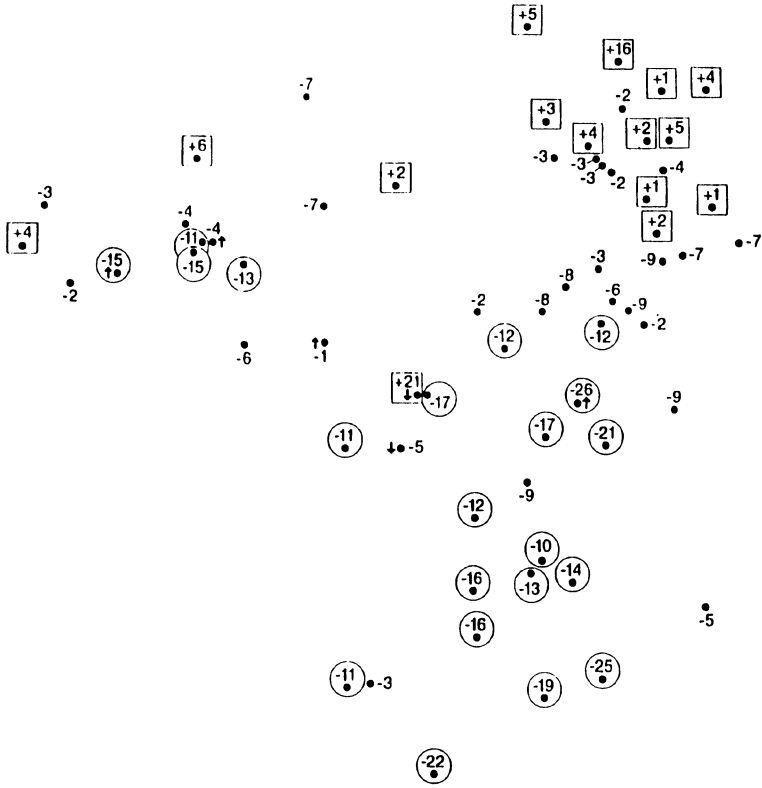


## Ethnoreligious and Political Divisions

The 1975 network was divided along ethnoreligious and political lines. As we saw in Figures 1 and 2, the structure of relationships among the notables was organized not only by practice settings and types of clientele but by the religious affiliations and ideological allegiances of the notables and their acquaintances. *Chicago Lawyers* includes a set of figures presenting analyses of the extent to which the representation of adherents of the various religious and political categories among the acquaintances of each of the notables either exceeded or fell below the proportion found in the random sample. The patterns were very clear. Thus, for example, a figure presenting the percentage of Catholics among the acquaintances of the 1975 notables showed a substantial overrepresentation in the constituencies of notables located at the right side of the space, and these percentages then decreased in a very orderly fashion across the space, from right to left, culminating in a marked underrepresentation of Catholics among the acquaintances of the notables at the left margin (Heinz & Laumann 1982:306 Fig. 9.5).

Figures 5 and 6 use this same technique to analyze the degree to which the 1995 network is organized by religious affiliations. As was done in *Chicago Lawyers*, the figures present the difference from the percentage in the random sample—that is, the degree of either overrepresentation or underrepresentation. Thus, Figure 5 indicates the number of percentage points (rounded to the nearest full point) by which the acquaintances of each of the notables diverge from the percentage of Catholics in the random sample, which is 33%. The -22 next to the point at the bottom of the space, therefore, indicates that only 11% of the respondents reporting acquaintance with that notable are Catholics.

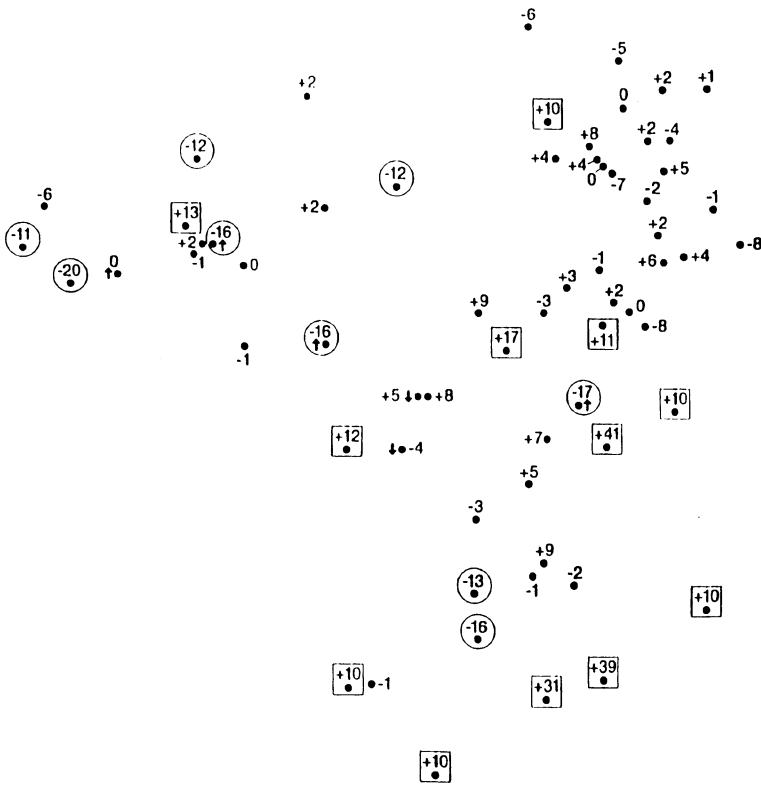
In the 1995 data, analysis of the percentage of Catholics among the constituencies of the notables (Fig. 5) again shows a definite pattern, though not as sharp as the one in 1975. Most of the points with positive numbers are clustered at the upper right of the space. The exceptions are three points in the liberals sector and the point near the middle of the figure that is very low on the third dimension (+21). Note that, of the 65 notables, only 15 have positive percentages—indicating that Catholic lawyers are less likely to be included among the acquaintances of the notables. The large negatives are, in turn, predominately found in the corporate sector, with another small cluster at the center of the liberals region. Thus, it appears to be reasonably clear that the trial lawyers and bar association leaders found at the upper right of the space are more likely to move in circles of acquaintance within the bar that include substantial numbers of Catholics, while the constituencies of notable corporate lawyers typically underrepresent Catholics, as do those of some (but not all) liberals.



**Fig. 5.** Characteristics of the respondents acquainted with each of the 65 notables: percentage difference from total percentage of Catholics. Boxes enclose all positive numbers; circles indicate 10 or more points negative.

Keep in mind that this is not an analysis of the *social* circles or residential neighbors of these lawyers but of their professional acquaintances. Some of their professional associates may also be social friends, of course, but work context is surely an important determinant of these patterns.

Figure 6 shows the percentage of the notables' acquaintances who are Jewish. The first thing to note is that far more of the numbers are positive, indicating that Jewish respondents are more likely to be included in a notable's circle of acquaintance. The pattern of distribution in the space, if there is a pattern, is much less distinct. All the sectors include both overrepresentation and underrepresentation of Jewish acquaintances, without marked regionalization. If we wished to be somewhat more speculative, we might suggest that there is a rim or center/periphery effect in the corporate sector: The points around the outside rim of the sector exhibit a substantial overrepresentation of Jews, while the points closer to the center have lower percentages. But, overall, Jewish respondents are acquainted with notables in all regions of the space, in more or less equal measure.



**Fig. 6.** Characteristics of the respondents acquainted with each of the 65 notables: percentage difference from total percentage of Jews. Boxes enclose all positive numbers; circles indicate 10 or more points negative.

When we do the same sort of analysis on the partisan political affiliations of the respondents, we find that there are some distinct tendencies, but the divisions are not rigid. As might have been anticipated, Republican acquaintances are usually overrepresented in the corporate sector (especially at its center) and are underrepresented among the acquaintances of almost all the notables in the liberal sector. More surprising, however, is the fact that Republicans are also overrepresented in the constituencies of most of the notables in the trial lawyers region. This is a striking change from the 1975 findings, where Regular Democrats clearly predominated among the trial lawyers' professional associates. Analyses of identification as Democrats and independents exhibit less distinct patterns. Apart from the overrepresentation of Democrats among many (but not all) of the notables in the liberal sector, the distribution of both independents and Democrats throughout the space appears to be essentially random.

## Conclusion

While the organization of the three basic sectors of the network remained stable from 1975 to 1995, the positions of individual notables often changed substantially. Thus, of the seven notables included in both sets, four moved into a more central position in the network as they matured and gained prominence, while one became somewhat more peripheral (see text at note 15 above). This suggests that, although individual actors change their roles within the network, the central principles organizing the relationships among elite lawyers and their several constituencies appear to have remained constant during this 20-year period.

But in spite of the similarity in the broad outlines of the structure at the two points in time, the dynamics of the networks differ in important particulars. First, the number of respondents knowing each of the notables is, on the average, smaller. In part, this might be attributable to the use of a larger and more diverse list of notables in the 1995 study, but it is probably also attributable to the great increase in the number of Chicago lawyers and the consequent decrease in the probability that any given lawyer would, through happenstance, come into contact with one of the notables. The growth in the size of the bar and the increasing specialization in lawyers' work is likely to mean that both the overall network and its three sectors will be less tightly connected. Each lawyer will have ties to narrower slices of the whole—and, indeed, these slices might be increasingly defined by the lawyers' work settings and by the clientele that they serve. We believe we see evidence of these processes in our findings. Thus, religious affiliations and partisan political allegiances appear to be less salient in organizing the network in 1995. As law firms, corporate law departments, and government legal offices expanded, employers recruited more broadly than they had previously. Many of the employers found that they could no longer limit their hiring by the restrictive criteria used in the past—especially by social criteria that were unrelated to the work product. The offices had more clients and more cases, and they needed people to do the work. Ethnoreligious and political homogeneity, then, came to have a diminished role in the organization of lawyers' work and in their professional lives.

But we should not overstate this. Work is clearly not the whole story. That is, it is not the only variable generating the structure of the network, as the distinct identity of a liberal sector makes clear. There are, to be sure, some forms of work, work setting, and clientele associated with the liberal sector—especially, work provided by not-for-profit legal services agencies to persons of limited means—but political issues appear to be the principal force defining this constituency and bringing it to-

gether, including issues concerned with the funding of legal services to the poor but extending more broadly to issues such as civil rights and abortion.

The small cluster of politicians near the bottom of the trial lawyers sector, by contrast, is defined principally by work and client type rather than by ideology. These politicians are a mixture of Republicans and Regular Organization Democrats, rather indiscriminately lumped together. Apparently, for these purposes, the difference between those two categories is not very important. What these notables (and perhaps their constituencies) have in common is that they serve governmental clients (chiefly state and local) and that they work on projects that benefit from superior access to government agencies and public officials—matters such as bond issues, real estate development, zoning, and the defense of governmental agencies in litigation. Many of these notables are, themselves, former political officeholders. Ideology is much less salient within this group.

One of the more remarkable changes in the nature of the networks, from 1975 to 1995, is the extent to which Republicans have become overrepresented in the trial lawyers sector. As noted above, in 1975 that region was dominated by Regular Democrats. *Chicago Lawyers* said (1982:314):

The trial lawyers/CBA sphere has clear political ties to the Regular Democrats. It is probable that one of the principal sources of the influence of this sphere within the profession is its ability to mobilize the resources of the city and county governments, to secure the benefits that it is within the power of City Hall to confer.

The change since 1975 is, we think, attributable to the decline in the fortunes of the Regular Democratic organization in Chicago politics and to the Republicans' control of the state governor's office. The first Mayor Daley died in 1976, and during the late 1970s and 1980s the organization suffered a series of electoral losses. A challenger (Jane Byrne) defeated the organization candidate for mayor; Chicago elected its first black mayor (Harold Washington); and the current Mayor Daley (the late mayor's son) was then elected with liberal support after a split within the black political forces. The new Mayor Daley does not enjoy anything like the hegemony of his father's tenure. The first Daley worked closely with Chicago's business elite, had strong ties to real estate developers, and did much to earn the gratitude of downtown business interests. His son might like to do that, but he does not have the wherewithal. The son is a more public politician, with tenuous ties to a considerable range of constituencies. During the same period, the Republicans continuously controlled the governorship. The lawyer labeled "Rainey" in Figure 3 was governor from 1977 to 1991, and he and several of his proteges are found near the bottom of the trial lawyers sector. Thus,

as the power of the old Democratic organization waned, the Republican Party reasserted its traditional position among the downtown business interests, which have always been strong within the legal profession.

The changes in the network, then, were principally generated by these changes in the political context and by changes in the market for lawyers' services. The latter, we have suggested, rendered race, gender, and ethnicity less significant in relationships among lawyers. The 1975 network included only a handful of notables who were black or female, and they were confined within a very limited region of the network, indicating the salience at that time of those characteristics. In the 1995 data, many more of the notables are minorities and women, and we find that both are more widely distributed in the space, though still largely concentrated in the top half (i.e., not in the corporate sector). Idiosyncratic characteristics of individual notables—such as their personalities—appear to play less part in placing them within the network than do their organizational affiliations, the nature of their clients, or the identity of the candidates with whom they cast their lot in state and local politics. The location of particular notables can be accounted for, quite persuasively, in general structural terms. In 1995, as in 1975, the structure of the network appears to have been determined, for the most part, by the law's markets and by local politics. When those variables change, the networks respond.

The network structure may have broader significance for politics within the bar. The fact that there are three distinct sectors, rather than more or fewer, has implications for the extent of the coherence of the bar—that is, for the degree of consensus within it, and for the likelihood of accommodation and bargaining among the sectors. If there were a considerably greater number of well-defined clusters, concerted action would probably be even more difficult; and if the network were more unified, then consensus or common action might be more likely. Moreover, the arrangement of the three sectors in a triangular (or, at least, three-sided) structure is also significant. This structure was not inevitable. We might, for example, have found the three sectors lined up in a row. It would have been quite reasonable to expect to see a structure in which the liberal sector was at one end of the row and the corporate sector at the opposite end, with leaders of the organized bar (principally the CBA and the ISBA) in the middle, between the two antagonists, in a position to mediate. But that is not what we found. Rather, the CBA and ISBA presidents appear to be firmly embedded in the constituencies of the personal injury and criminal defense lawyers, suggesting that they are aligned with those interest groups. Thus, the network structure indicates that liberals within the bar can (and perhaps do) reach their own accommodations and understandings with

the corporate sector, without seeking the intervention of bar leaders. Similarly, the corporate sector may independently strike bargains with the trial lawyers, or the trial lawyers may reach out to either of the other two sectors. This suggests a rather fluid situation with shifting alliances. Or, as is perhaps the case most often, each of the three sectors might simply choose to go its own way, pursuing its own agenda and remaining largely indifferent to the activities of the other sectors. The network structure, therefore, has implications for the integration of the bar—or, more likely, for the lack of it.

## Appendix: Biographies (1994–95)

### Bar Presidents (CBA & ISBA)

**Bard.** A solo practitioner specializing in the representation of plaintiffs in personal injury cases, especially medical malpractice and products liability. He was president of the Illinois State Bar Association in 1991–92 and a member of the board of managers of the Illinois Trial Lawyers Association (an organization that speaks for plaintiffs' lawyers). He is 47; law school: Indiana University.

**Behan.** The most prominent plaintiffs' personal injury lawyer in Chicago, he is the senior partner of a small firm. He was president of the Chicago Bar Association more than 20 years ago and was a member of the House of Delegates of the ABA and chairman of its litigation section. He is general counsel of the Illinois Democratic Party. Age 70; Irish Catholic; law school: Loyola University (Chicago).

**Benvenuti.** Partner in a large Chicago firm. His specialty is consumer finance law, and he represents banks and other financial services firms. He was a justice of the Illinois Appellate Court in the 1970s and a representative in the Illinois legislature in the 1960s. Just before going on the bench, he served as president of the Illinois State Bar Association (1975–76). He is executive vice-president and general counsel of the Illinois Financial Services Association. Age 63; Republican; Catholic; law school: De Paul University.

**Braddock.** A sole practitioner specializing in the representation of plaintiffs in class actions and in "mass tort" product liability cases. He was president of the Chicago Bar Association in 1981–82, and he shares a suite of offices with two other former CBA presidents. He chairs the Illinois Compensation Review Board, which recommends to the legislature salary increases for judges and other state employees. Age 56; Regular Democrat; law school: Loyola (Chicago).

**Braff.** A senior partner in a small general practice firm. She does primarily real estate work, probate, and some litigation. She was the first woman to become president of the Chicago Bar Association (1977–78), and she has also served as president of the Women's Bar Association of Illinois. She is a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois Institute of Technology and was the first woman on the board of Illinois Bell Telephone. Age 70; law school: Chicago–Kent College of Law.

**Brown.** Partner in a small firm with a business litigation practice. She specializes in securities broker fraud cases and commodity futures trading regulation. The second woman to serve as president of the Chicago Bar Association (1991–92), she has also held leadership positions in several commissions and committees dealing with law reform, especially in juvenile justice, and now chairs the American Bar Association's Commission on Women. She is in her mid-40s, earned her J.D. from Loyola (Chicago), and has ties to the Democratic Party.

### Corporate Lawyers

**Calderon.** The managing partner of a large corporate firm. (She is the only woman who is managing partner of a major Chicago law firm.) She specializes in banking law, particularly in international transactions. She is a member of the boards of the Evanston Hospital, the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago, and the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce, and is assistant Chancellor of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago. Age 41; Episcopalian; Wellesley undergraduate; law school: Harvard University.



- Callender.** A long-time member of the faculty of Northwestern Law School and its former dean, he has just returned to full-time teaching after retiring as a partner of a large multinational law firm headquartered in Chicago. His specialty is securities law. In the late 1980s, he chaired the federal Securities and Exchange Commission. Age 65; Republican; law school: University of Wisconsin.
- Cerdan.** Vice-president of Motorola, in charge of cellular overseas investments. She found fame early in her career as an assistant special prosecutor in the Watergate investigation. During the Carter administration, she served as general counsel of the Department of the Army, and in the mid-1980s she was deputy attorney general of Illinois. From 1987 to 1990, she was executive director of the American Bar Association. Age 51; law school: Columbia University.
- Chaloff.** Executive vice-president and general counsel of the First National Bank of Chicago (First Chicago Corporation). He oversees a staff of 76 lawyers. Age 53; law school: University of Cincinnati.
- Cherry.** The senior partner of a major, new Chicago-based law firm that has grown quickly to include offices in Washington, New York, and Los Angeles. His specialty is corporate tax law. He is a member of the boards of Amalgamated Bank, Roosevelt University, and IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law. Age 58; law school: John Marshall (Chicago).
- Christian.** A senior partner of a major corporate law firm headquartered in Chicago. Although he has been at the firm since 1956, in the 1980s he served as vice-president and general counsel of International Harvester, then (briefly) as special counsel to Ameritech and then as general counsel and executive vice-president of General Motors, all the while remaining a partner in the law firm. He is chairman of the board of the Chicago Lighthouse for the Blind and a trustee of the University of Chicago and the Aspen Institute. Age 62; Republican; Presbyterian; law school: University of Chicago.
- Cless.** Chairman of the executive committee at a major Chicago law firm. He is principal outside counsel for McDonald's Corporation and is a member of the McDonald's board. He is also a director of several other corporations and of civic and cultural organizations, including the Art Institute and the Orchestral Association. Age 60; law school: Harvard University.
- Cohn.** A senior partner of a 95-lawyer firm. He specializes in corporate tax and in merger and acquisition work. This is the kind of work that lawyers call "doing deals." He regularly represents, among others, the Pritzker family, owners of the Hyatt Hotel chain and of numerous other properties. Age 50; University of Illinois, both undergraduate and law school.
- Cole.** President and director of the Metropolitan Planning Council, a nonprofit organization that advocates policies on health care, housing, transportation, and other civic issues. Before taking this position, she was a partner in a major corporate law firm in Chicago. Before that, she was vice-president for business and finance at the University of Chicago, and in the 1960s was general counsel (i.e., inside counsel) for the Maremont Corporation. She is on the boards of Commonwealth Edison, LaSalle National Bank, and other companies, and was a founder and first chair of the Chicago Network, a group of highly placed women executives and lawyers. She is 70; law school: University of Chicago.
- Coleman.** Chairman of a firm that has 400 lawyers in its Chicago office and about 300 in other cities. He does corporate, securities, and public utilities work, and has chaired the ABA's section on public utilities law. He is a director of the Chicago Stock Exchange, the Northern Trust Company, and several other corporations. He was president of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago from 1973 to 1975, has chaired the lawyers' division of the Jewish United Fund in Chicago, and is a trustee of the Chicago

Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Institute. Age 60; Jewish; law school: Northwestern University.

**Condon.** Senior partner in a 700-lawyer firm. Until September 1993, when he reached age 70, Condon was chairman of the firm's executive committee, a post that he had held for 18 years. He is the chairman of the board of Northwestern University. He has represented the Chicago Tribune Company, among many other corporations. From 1980 to 1986, he was vice president and general counsel of AT&T, while retaining his position in the law firm. Age 71; law school: Northwestern University.

**Conn.** Vice-president and general counsel of FMC Corporation (a Chicago-based chemicals and defense conglomerate) and, formerly, of Montgomery Ward. Chairman of the board of Northwestern University's corporate counsel center and a member of the board of regents of Georgetown University. Age 62; Democrat; Catholic; law school: Georgetown University.

**Cox.** A senior partner of one of Chicago's leading firms, he is a tax specialist. He is chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Chicago and a director of Encyclopaedia Britannica. Age 60; law school: University of Chicago.

### Deans of Law Schools

**Davern.** Dean of the University of Chicago Law School from 1987 to 1994. (He became provost of the university just before the survey.) His specialty is constitutional law, especially civil liberties issues. He has been a member of the board of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties Union, and he strongly criticized the "ideological" judicial appointments of the Reagan and Bush administrations. He was one of Justice Brennan's clerks at the U.S. Supreme Court in 1972–73. Age 48; law school: University of Chicago.

**Desmond.** The dean of the Loyola (Chicago) University Law School and former chair of the American Bar Association's Section on Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar. She teaches in the area of torts and products liability. Before joining the Loyola faculty 21 years ago, she was an administrator at Stanford. She is in her late 50s, Jewish; law school: Columbia University.

**Dickenson.** Dean of the De Paul University Law School. His principal field is administrative law. Before becoming dean at De Paul in 1986, he was dean of Wayne State's law school—and before that, he was associate dean at Yale. From 1977 to 1980, he was general counsel of the Armed Services committee of the U.S. Senate. He is a member of the advisory committee of the Illinois ACLU. Age 54; law school: Yale University.

**Lawrence** (see below)

### Liberals

#### *Presidents of the Chicago Council of Lawyers (La)*

**Lang.** A senior partner in a small firm specializing in the representation of plaintiffs in employment discrimination cases. He also represented a group of minority and independent aldermen in an effort to overturn a redrawing of ward boundaries that was supported by Mayor Daley. During a portion of Harold Washington's tenure as mayor, he was head of the city's legal department. He was a founder and first president of the Chicago Council of Lawyers. Age 53; Jewish; law school: University of Chicago.

**Langford.** A partner in the Chicago office of a large firm that started in Cleveland and now has offices in several cities. He does securities and corporate work. He is president of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago and was president of the Chicago Council of Lawyers in 1981–83. He has been a

member of several law reform commissions and of the boards of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the American Judicature Society. Rhodes scholar. Age 44; Democrat; Presbyterian; law school: Harvard University.

**Larkins.** A partner in a 30-lawyer Chicago firm. He started his career in the civil rights division of the U.S. Justice Department. His specialty is litigation, and the firm has a general civil litigation practice. From 1991 to 1993, he was president of the Chicago Council of Lawyers. Age 40; Yale undergraduate; law school: Harvard University.

**Lawrence.** Dean of the Northwestern University Law School. He teaches contracts and constitutional law and formerly worked both in broadcast regulation and in poverty law. He was the second president of the Chicago Council of Lawyers (in the early 1970s) and has been a member of the Northwestern faculty for 25 years. Age 54; Jewish; liberal Democrat; law school: Harvard University.

### *Other Liberals (L)*

**Lee.** General counsel of the American Bar Association. Before going to the ABA in 1988, he was a litigation partner at a major Chicago firm. He is president of Leadership Greater Chicago and a member of the board of the Migrant Legal Action Program. Age 39; African American; Harvard University, both undergraduate and law school.

**Levinsky.** Legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Illinois. A recent political cartoon showed him walking over dead bodies as he tried to protect the rights of public housing residents who objected to warrantless searches of their apartments. Age 47; law school: Northwestern University.

**Liebling.** For the past 24 years, he has been executive director of Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, a "public interest law firm" that pursues reform on a number of fronts—public housing and environmental pollution being most prominent among them. Before moving to this organization in 1970 (the year after its founding), he was a highly successful partner in a major Chicago law firm, where he had been for 17 years. Age 67; Jewish; law school: University of Chicago.

**Long.** Director of the legal clinic at Chicago–Kent College of Law. He formerly directed the legal clinics at Northwestern and at Boston College, and he has long been prominent in issues concerning the delivery of legal services to persons of limited means. Age 57; law school: University of Miami.

**Lopez.** The current president of the Mexican-American Lawyers Association. He is an associate at a very large firm that specializes in international business transactions. He has been an outspoken supporter of the appointment of Latino judges and strongly advocated the elevation of a Latino appellate judge to a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. He is a member of the board of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago. A 1988 University of Michigan Law School graduate, at age 31 he is the youngest person on the notables list.

**Lord.** Executive director of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago, an agency providing legal services to indigent clients. The agency is supported by private charity and by grants from the federal Legal Services Corporation. Age 53; law school: Washington University.

**Loughran.** The director of the Reproductive Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Illinois chapter. She has been the lead counsel in several high-profile abortion cases. Age 39; law school: University of Iowa.

**Louis.** Director of the legal clinic at the University of Chicago. He was formerly the chief public defender for Cook County, after having served as deputy

director of the public defender service in Washington, D.C. He recently chaired the Criminal Justice section of the American Bar Association, and he is a member of the advisory board of the Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem. Age 48; African American; law school: University of Wisconsin.

**Lowe.** Director of the Environmental Law and Policy Center of the Midwest, a new public-interest group. Until recently, he was general counsel of Business and Professional People for the Public Interest. An environmental law specialist, he is the son of an executive in a local steel company. The Chicago newspapers called him "a consumer hero" because of his leading role in negotiating \$1.34 billion in rebates by Commonwealth Edison, the largest utility rate refund in history. He is a director of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs. Age 39; Harvard undergraduate; law school: University of Michigan.

**Lunceford.** President of the Cook County Bar Association (the African American lawyers' association) and a partner in a major Chicago law firm. She does corporate and insurance work, and in 1987 she co-founded the Chicago Committee on Minorities in Large Law Firms. Age 38; African American; University of California Law School (Boalt Hall).

**Lukas.** He was executive director of the Illinois Supreme Court's Special Commission on the Administration of Justice, which recently completed its work. (The Commission was appointed in the wake of judicial corruption scandals and was chaired by Trillin; see below.) Lukas now holds a research position at the De Paul Law School, and he formerly held a similar post at Northwestern's Institute for Policy Research. During the 1980s, he served as staff director of another law reform commission chaired by Trillin, and he then became director of administrative operations for the Cook County Public Defender's office. He is a former vice-president of the Chicago Council of Lawyers. Age 48; law school: De Paul University.

**Lynch.** Partner in charge of the Chicago office of a large law firm headquartered in New York. He was a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1970 and chaired its drafting committee. His wife was director of programs and policy on the staff of a Republican Governor, but he has given money and advice to Democratic candidates. He specializes in corporate financial transactions, including mergers and acquisitions. Age 55; law school: Northwestern University.

### Republicans and Regular Democrats

**Rainey.** Chairman of the executive committee at a major Chicago law firm. He was governor of Illinois from 1977 to 1991 and now specializes in government regulatory work. Earlier in his career, he was a criminal lawyer—he started his career as an assistant state's attorney, and he taught criminal law at Northwestern. In the early 1970s, he was the U.S. Attorney for the Chicago region. He is a director of the Board of Trade, FMC Corporation, the Sun-Times Company, other corporations, and several arts organizations including the Lyric Opera and the Museum of Contemporary Art. Age 58; Republican; law school: Northwestern University.

**Rich.** Probably the most prominent zoning lawyer in Chicago. From 1970 to 1994, he was a partner in a major Chicago law firm. He has just moved to a smaller firm. *Chicago* magazine called him "a fixture in the intersecting worlds of Chicago building construction and politics" and noted that he "has been a friend and campaign worker for both Mayor Daleys." From 1975 until 1987, he chaired the city's zoning appeals board. Age 56; Democrat; law school: Yale University.

**Rinkus.** Partner in a major Chicago firm. He specializes in litigation, both criminal and civil. In the early 1970s, when Rainey was the U.S. Attorney, Rinkus

was an assistant in that office. In 1985, he became the U.S. Attorney, succeeding Ross in the post. In the early 1990s, he chaired a state commission on crime and corrections, which recommended the construction of a new, "super-maximum security" prison. Age 52; law school: Northwestern University.

**Robinson.** The senior partner of a small firm, he is a trial lawyer. In recent years, his firm has done bond issue work for both the City of Chicago and the State of Illinois. He has also handled zoning cases for local real estate developers. He was president of the board of trustees of the University of Illinois (a statewide elective office), commissioner of the Chicago Housing Authority, and president of the Chicago Metropolitan Housing Development Authority. Age 66; African American; Democrat; law school: University of Michigan.

**Rollins.** Partner in a major corporate law firm. He was Attorney General of Illinois from 1980 to 1983 and chairman of the state's Judicial Inquiry Board (the body that investigates misconduct by judges) from 1988 to 1992. A litigator, he has represented the Illinois Republican congressional delegation in a redistricting case and the Chicago Board of Trade. Age 52; Republican; Lutheran; J.D. from Wayne State University and an LL.M. from Northwestern University.

**Ross.** Partner in a major Chicago firm. During Reagan's first term, he served as the U.S. Attorney for the Chicago district, but in 1990 he was a special counsel in the Iran-Contra investigation and prosecuted Admiral Poindexter, Reagan's national security advisor. In recent years, he has represented several politicians accused of crimes, including former U.S. Representative Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), and has handled civil litigation as well. Like Rollins and Rinkus, he served in the U.S. Attorney's office in the early 1970s when Rainey headed the office. Age 49; Republican; law school: Loyola (Chicago).

## Specialists

**Salzman.** A senior partner at a small firm specializing in the representation of plaintiffs in antitrust cases. He and his partners also have an "of counsel" relationship with a general practice corporate law firm. He was one of the lawyers for plaintiffs in an antitrust class action against the manufacturers of folding cartons, which resulted in a \$200 million settlement in 1979. Age 57, University of Chicago, both undergraduate and law school.

**Serra.** Senior partner in a 25-lawyer firm representing defendants (i.e., primarily insurance companies) in personal injury cases. The firm also does some health care and municipal bond work. He is a member of the board of Wheelabrator Technologies, Metropolitan Bank and Trust, Holy Trinity High School, Holy Cross High School, Illinois Benedictine College, and several civic organizations. He was a founder of the Mexican-American Lawyers Association and of the Latin-American Bar Association. He served as president of the Trial Lawyers Club of Chicago and as secretary of the Hispanic National Bar Association. Age 47; law school: University of Pennsylvania.

**Shavers.** Partner in a large Chicago firm. His specialty is municipal bond work. He was acting head of Chicago's legal department in 1986 and chair of its Planning Commission from 1986 to 1990. He is a trustee of the Goodman Theatre and of Columbia College of Chicago and a member of the National Forum for Black Public Administrators. Age 42; African American; law school: Harvard University.

**Silver.** Professor at the University of Chicago Law School. His fields are constitutional law and administrative law. After clerking for Justice Thurgood Marshall at the U.S. Supreme Court, he worked briefly for the Justice De-

partment before joining the University of Chicago faculty in 1981. Age 40; law school: Harvard University.

**Sims.** A labor law specialist representing unions and employees, he is the senior partner of a 15-lawyer firm. Author of several scholarly articles on labor law. Age 63; University of Chicago, both undergraduate and law school.

**Spector.** A senior partner in the same firm where Cless is chairman of the executive committee and where Cole was long a partner. He is a labor law specialist, representing the management side in employment and labor relations cases. Among his clients is the Yellow Cab Company. Age 56; law school: University of Chicago.

**Stitt.** The senior partner of a 17-lawyer firm with a varied commercial practice. He specializes in real estate and commercial lending work. His firm, founded in 1981, is one of a small handful of prominent minority-owned law firms in Chicago and has represented Montgomery Ward, Amoco, General Motors, Ford, and Allstate Insurance, especially in real estate and breach of warranty cases. Late 40s; African American; law school: De Paul University.

### Trial Lawyers

**Tanaka.** An associate in a 35-lawyer firm. She specializes in litigation. She was a founder of Chicago's Asian American Bar Association and was its president from 1992 to 1994. In 1989–90, she was the central region governor of the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association. Age 35; law school: Harvard University.

**Tate.** Partner in a major Chicago law firm. She is a corporate litigator and served as chair of the American Bar Association's litigation section. She has also been a member of the ABA's House of Delegates (the governing body) and chaired the committee on "character and fitness" that reviews applicants for admission to the Illinois bar. Age 55; law school: Yale University.

**Tatum.** A senior partner of a divorce specialty firm. His partners have been quoted as saying that the firm "rarely" takes a case where the assets at stake are less than \$1 million—ordinarily, the assets are much greater. He was elected to the state legislature at the age of 31 and became presiding judge of the domestic relations (i.e., divorce) division of the Circuit Court of Cook County at age 38. Now 55; law school: Valparaiso University.

**Teagarden.** Senior partner in a five-lawyer Chicago firm. In recent years, he has represented plaintiffs in class action litigation. In the 1960s, during the administration of the late Mayor Daley, he was head of Chicago's legal department, and he later served as president of the Chicago Park District. He is president of the Helen Brach Foundation (the Brach candy company family), a \$70 million foundation that primarily supports Roman Catholic educational institutions. Age 62; Democrat; law school: Loyola (Chicago).

**Terrell.** One of the most prominent criminal defense lawyers in Chicago. He recently joined a 70-lawyer firm, after having practiced in his own small firm for 25 years. He specializes in white-collar crime and has represented accused lawyers, judges, and organized crime figures. Age 57; law school: University of Illinois.

**Terry.** The senior partner of a small firm specializing in the representation of plaintiffs in personal injury cases, especially medical malpractice. She began her career as a prosecutor in the state's attorney's office, and she has been an officer of the Chicago and Illinois bar associations, the Illinois Trial Lawyers Association, and the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. She chaired the judicial evaluation committee of the Chicago Bar Association, a politically sensitive post. Late 40s; J.D. from Notre Dame University.

**Teschmacher.** Partner in the Chicago office of a large New York-based firm specializing in corporate takeovers, real estate syndications, and other ma-

for financial transactions. She is a litigator and a former federal district judge who resigned from the bench in 1987, saying "it's not where the action is." She represented the president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners when his authority to order the resumption of abortions at the county's public hospital was challenged. Age 55; law school: Loyola (Chicago).

**Timmons.** A trial lawyer who is best known for his criminal defense work and for his prominent role in local politics. He is a former justice of the Illinois Appellate Court, and he made an unsuccessful run for the mayor's office. Age 69; African American; Democrat; law school: Northwestern University.

**Tough.** A founding partner of a small personal injury firm, he represents plaintiffs in medical malpractice, product liability, and other personal injury cases. He has been president of the Illinois Trial Lawyers Association, a member of the board of directors of Trial Lawyers for Public Justice, and chairman of the Insurance Practices Committee of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. In 1989, when he was the youngest person on *Forbes* magazine's list of the nation's highest paid lawyers, Tough claimed to have never lost a case. Mid-40s; University of Notre Dame undergraduate; law school: Loyola (Chicago).

**Trillin.** Chairman of a major Chicago law firm. He specializes in complex corporate litigation, including merger and acquisition work. He chaired two "blue ribbon" commissions created by the Illinois courts to recommend reforms (and to assuage public opinion) in the wake of judicial corruption scandals. He has also chaired the Cook County Judicial Advisory Council. Age 64; Jewish; law school: Harvard University.

**Tucker.** The senior partner of a small firm specializing in personal injury work for plaintiffs. She formerly worked in the office of Behan (see above). She has a radio call-in talk show where she answers questions concerning medical malpractice, product liability, and general negligence law. She has been a member of the governing boards of the Illinois Trial Lawyers Association and of the Illinois State Bar Association and has chaired the tort law section of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. Age 45; law school: De Paul University.

**Tunney.** Senior partner of a 60-lawyer litigation specialty firm. He represents defendants in personal injury cases—thus, most of his clients are insurance companies and corporations. He served as president of the American Board of Professional Liability Attorneys in 1985–87 and of the International Association of Defense Counsel in 1993–94. Age 50; law school: Northwestern University.

**Turner.** A partner in a medium-sized litigation firm, he specializes in criminal law. Now doing high-profile criminal defense work, he began his career as an assistant public defender and then worked as a prosecutor for 13 years, ending as First Assistant State's Attorney of Cook County from 1983 to 1985. In 1990, he was appointed chairman of the Illinois Gaming Board. He is probably best known for his work as chief prosecutor of mass murderer John Wayne Gacy. A strong advocate for the death penalty, in 1983–84 he was president of the Association of Government Attorneys in Capital Litigation. Age 53; Republican; law school: Northwestern University.

**Turpin.** A solo practitioner specializing in criminal defense work. More than 20 years ago, he was president of the Cook County Bar Association (the African American lawyers' association). When Harold Washington first became mayor, he headed the city's legal department. (Lang was his successor in that position.) More recently, he represented Jabir Herbert Muhammad, Muhammad Ali's former manager, in a contract dispute with Ali. Age 62; African American; law school: University of Illinois.

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