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WOMEN AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION
ENTERING THE PROFESSION –
A STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

by

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WOMEN AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION

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A STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

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Women and the Legal Profession: Entering the Profession

A Student Perspective

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The transformation of the legal system in line with the principles of the new South African democracy has been one of the more visible challenges for the new government, and for the Law Faculties and the legal profession. A central principle of this transformation is that of equality. Equality entails equal participation in making, interpreting and applying the law. In other words, women and men, Black[2] and White South Africans should participate equally in government, parliament, the courts and the legal system as a whole. This equal participation is not merely to achieve legitimacy through numbers, but to ensure that the country's laws and its legal system reflect, and are responsive to, the needs of the entire South African community.

The South African legal system has traditionally been the preserve of White men who have dominated parliament, the judiciary, the magistracy and prosecutors, and the legal profession. The following picture is testimony to this: Between 1993 and 1994, gender and racial composition of the judiciary was as follows; 179 White males, 6 White females, 1 Black male and no Black females.[3] In terms of regional magistrates there were 160 White males, 5 White females, 1 Black male and 3 Black females. In 1997, figures for judges and magistrates show a gradual increase; 156 White males, 7 White females, 20 Black males and 3 Black females. Gender differences are striking 10 females to 176 males. In the same year gender and race representation of regional magistrates is as follows; 164 White males, 7 White females, 19 Black males and 4 Black females. Again difference in gender is disproportionate, 11 females to 183 males. The figures for prosecutors however, can be seen as a gradual move away from White male dominance. There has been a 16% increase of Black prosecutors as compared to 2% for White prosecutors.[4] Gradual change is also evident in the Constitutional Court, for example there are 2 female judges (1 Black and 1 White) and 9 male judges (2 Blacks and 7 Whites). Clearly the change for race is visible, not so for gender.

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[1] Acknowledgement is due to the following people: Cathi Albertyn, Debbie Budlender and Likhapha Mbatha, who assisted in the shaping of this report.

[2] This report uses 'Black' to include African, Coloured and Indian.

[3] R Cochrane "Selected statistics on the South African criminal justice system" South African Criminal Justice 1995 (8) pg 359

[4] Central Statistical Services "South African Statistics" 1994. Figures between 1993 and 1994.

According to the Transvaal Law Society, the 1995 figures for serving articles of clerkship, in Gauteng were 315 women (39%) and 494 men (61%). During the same year, 132 women (31%) and 294 men (69%) were admitted to practise as attorneys.[5] In other words, more than two men are currently being admitted as attorneys for every woman, although the number of men and women actually serving articles is marginally better. National figures in 1995 for the number of admitted female attorneys were 1 812 (17,4%) compared with 8 587 (82,6%) men.[6]

A brief telephonic survey of the top ten law firms in Gauteng[7] revealed the following race and sex breakdown of candidate attorneys:

Table 1. Candidate Attorneys' in Gauteng's top law firms

Total Candidate Attorneys'	Black Female	White Female	Black Male	White Male
19	2	4	3	10
34	0	11	3	20
8	0	3	0	5
28	2	11	5	10
31	4	8	6	13
25	1	6	5	13
4	1	1	1	1
23	1	9	8	5
9	2	2	2	3
16	2	5	4	5
197	**15**	**60**	**37**	**85**
(100%)	(7.5%)	(30%)	(18.5%)	(44%)

	75 (38%)	122 (62%)

[5] Figures from the Transvaal Law Society 1995

[6] Figures from the Association of Law Societies, Continuing Legal Education, Pretoria

[7] The names of the firms were obtained from De Rebus November 1995. Criteria used by De Rebus in defining "top" number of staff employed by the firms, number of cases handled by the firms on a yearly basis and reputation of firm. These firms were Adams & Adams; Bell, Dewar & Hall; Cheadle, Thomson and Haysom; Denys Reitz; Edward Nathan & Friedland Inc.; Hofmeyr, van der Merwe; John & Kernick; Webber Wentzel and Bowens; Werksmans. All firms asked that the information supplied be treated with confidence, hence the figures are not matched to the actual firms

Whereas these firms employ more White women (30%) than Black men (18.5% Black women (7.5%) are the smallest group. Almost 6 White men for every Bla female are employed in these firms. Total percentages by sex are 38% women a 62% men and by race: 74% Whites and 26% Blacks. These figures do not refle total numbers of candidate attorneys, but suggest that the opportunities f women and particularly for Black lawyers in the more prominent firms in Gaute are unequal, although they do reflect regional figures.[8]

These statistics reveal a reality of women practising law that is a far cry from th days when women were refused permission to register as articled clerks as it wa believed that only men could practice law.[9] Later, not only could women n practice, they were not considered "persons" for the purposes of admission as a attorney[10] and more recently, the Group Areas Act prevented Black advocate from having chambers in Johannesburg and Pretoria. The figures suggest tha women are beginning to permeate the universities and at the lower levels of th profession. However, they suggest that the break down by sex only masks complex picture of sex and race, which finds Black women at the "bottom of th pile" and White women often doing better than Black men. Moreover, as on moves up the profession, the numbers of women and Black lawyers decrease, wit White men remaining the dominant group. The question is whether improvemer at lower levels will permeate to senior levels or does a glass ceiling exist in th profession? Part of the answer lies in the nature of barriers that exist to womens full participation in the profession.

Formal barriers no longer exist to prevent entry to the profession by women an Black people. However, many institutional and social barriers remain. We are ofte aware of these through personal experience or anecdotal information. Stories o prospective women candidate attorneys being asked when they plan to hav children are as legendary in Law Faculties as tales of sexual harassment of womer clerks are among candidate attorneys. It is also often said that women have to b exceptionally good to deserve recognition.[11] It is these institutional and socia barriers that are significant in preventing the advancement of women and Blac lawyers in the profession.

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[8] See page 2 for regional figures

[9] *Schlesin v Incorporated Law Society 1989 TPD*

[10] *Incorporated Law Society v Wookey 1912 AD 623*

[11] J van der Westhuizen "On Equality, Justice, the Future of South African Law schools and other dreams" Centre for Human Rights March 1993, found that women often cited this reason as a barrier that hampered access to the profession.

2. RESEARCH ON BARRIERS TO ENTRY

Little research has been conducted in South Africa on the individual and institutional barriers that women, Black and White, may face upon entering, or deciding to enter, the legal profession. The Law, Race and Gender Project at the Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town has been engaged in a research project which has sought to look at the following: the profile of law students; their entry into the profession; and the interview questions asked for articles of clerkship, to begin to understand gender differences in the selection process.[12]

Comparative legal research in other countries has tended to cluster around the following, often overlapping, areas:

2.1 Early research often concentrated on historical explorations of the kinds of formal barriers which existed to prevent women from attending law school or entering the profession.[13] The removal of these barriers has resulted in research that focuses on informal barriers and forms of indirect discrimination.

2.2 Several research projects have looked at the ways in which women and men experience law School differently.[14] This research has explored the differential experiences of women and men in law school, including their reasons for attending law school, their participation in class, and their degree of alienation from the law school curriculum and environment in the context of an adversarial mode of legal training.

2.3 Another area of research has considered different styles of lawyering, identifying these styles as "masculine" or "feminine" or merely different.[15] This literature has looked at issues such as women being more likely to negotiate or mediate cases than engage in the more traditional adversarial legal methods; the fact that women are more likely to appreciate the opposing party's perspective and the more altruistic reasons that women apparently have for choosing to be lawyers.

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[12] Law, Race and Gender Research Project, University of Cape Town - Interim Report on LLB Profile 1995 by Debbie Budlender

[13] B Babock "Gender Bias in the Courts and Civil and Legal education" *Stanford Law Review* v45 July 1993

[14] See J. Taber et al "Gender, Legal education and the profession: An Empirical Study of Stanford law Students and Graduates" in 40 *Stanford Law Review* 1209 (1988); S Homer and L Schwartz "Admitted but not accepted: Outsiders take an Inside Look at Law School' 5 *Berkely Women's Law Journal* 1 (1990); C. Weiss and L Melling "The Legal Education of Twenty Women" 40 *Stanford Law Review* 1299 (1988); and N Cahn "Styles of lawyering" in *Hastings Law Journal* vol. 43 1992 at 1039 - 1069; R Dhavan ad N Kibble "Access to Legal Education and the Legal profession" Butterworths 1989 London

[15] Cahn *op cit* note 14 at 1047

This research (2.2 and 2.3) relies on various explanations for the genc differences in the law students and lawyers. These range from the essentialist[16] the contextual.[17] For example, Weiss and Melling's research on the gender experience of law school draws on Gilligan's research into the different styles moral reasoning of women and men to suggest differences between male ar female students.[18] Cahn's research on styles of lawyering attempted understand the social relations and contexts in which the different styles we constructed, undermined and given meaning.[19]

2.4 A relatively new area of research has analysed the possible impact of th greater participation of women on the profession and the legal system. Researc has focused on what effect an increase in the number of women has on th profession. This looks at the kinds of changes which may occur in the professic in terms of methods of practising law; the substance of the law (more focus c discrimination, pregnancy, family law issues); and the changing values of wor within the profession as a whole (does the increase in women devalue th profession - as happened in the medical profession in the Soviet Union).[20]

2.5 Overlapping with some of the above areas of research is work o discrimination and gender bias in the profession. This research argues that wome encounter both direct and indirect discrimination and other barriers in accessin and advancing within the legal profession, and often move out of the professio in anticipation of such barriers.[21]

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The Gender Research Project at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies is committec to the advancement of gender equality. Within the legal profession, this translate: into the equal representation and participation of women in all aspects and level: of the legal profession. As part of a wider research project in which we intend tc explore the position of women in the legal profession as a whole, we embarked or a small project to identify some individual and institutional reasons why women

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[16] Weiss and Melling *op cit* note 14 at 1304

[17] Cahn *op cite* 14 at 1048

[18] Weiss and Melling *op cite* note 14 at 1308

[19] Cahn *op cit* note 14 at 1054

[20] C Menkel-Meadows "The comparative Sociology of Women Lawyers: The Feminization of the legal profession" *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 1986 vol 24 and K Mahoney "Disadvantaged Lawyers: Women in the legal profession" *Public lecture at the University of Western Australia Law School* June 1994

[21] Dhavan and Kibble *op cit* note 14 at pg 13

Black and White, may not be entering the profession from university in accordance with their numbers.

We conducted the research project among the final year law students at the University of the Witwatersrand law school during 1995. The objectives of this project were to research the students' attitudes and experiences relating to the decision to enter the legal profession and the perceived and actual barriers in accessing the profession.

In particular, we sought:

a to collect basic information on students;
b to identify social, institutional and financial barriers as access to the profession and as identified by the students themselves.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research site - A brief introduction to the University of Witwatersrand School of Law (Wits)

The establishment of the law school in the early 1900's was a momentous achievement for the South African legal profession.[22] Wits has produced many scholars who have been considered pillars of the profession.[23] (Noted are legal writers Hahlo and Kahn, amongst numerous others.) Women were initially excluded from studying law. It was only in the late 1910's that women began entering law school. 1926 saw the first woman LLB graduate and a decade later, the first Black man.[24] The position has changed significantly since then.

The following table shows the number of students admitted to study at the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1994 and 1995.[25]

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[22] See Professor Ellison Kahn 'The Wits Faculty of Law 1922 - 1989: A story with a personal touch' October 1989 *Consultus* at 103

[23] Kahn *op cit* note 22 at 35.

[24] University of Witwatersrand Archives. First woman LLB graduate was Frieda Ustieve and the first Black male student was A H I Mulla.

[25] Figures obtained from Academic Information and Systems Unit (AISU) University of Witwatersrand

Table 2. Law students at the University of Witwatersrand, 1994 and 1995

Year	Black Female	White Female	Black Male	White Male	Total
1994	124	192	227	268	811
1995	114	229	199	238	780
Total	238	421	426	506	1 591

It is interesting to note a decrease in Black students (male and female) admitted to law school as compared to an increase for White female students. Overall more White male students (32%) were admitted over the two year period as compared to Black female students (15%), White females (26,5%) and Black males (28%).

Final year law students in 1995 totalled 280 students with the race and sex break down as follows:[26]

Table 3. 1995 Final year LLB students

Degree	Black Female	White Female	Black Male	White Male	Total
LLB	34	61	44	76	215
B.Proc	18	9	28	10	65
TOTAL	52 (18,5%)	70 (25%)	72 (26%)	86 (30,5%)	280 (100%)

This table shows almost equal numbers of White women and Black men, with a majority of White males (nearly one third) and a minority of Black women (less than one fifth). However, a simple sex division shows more men (56.5%) than women (43.5%).

At the end of 1995 there were 269 graduates with a B.Proc. or LLB. The gender breakdown divides into, 117 females and 152 males.[27] This is a real advance if one considers that in 1926 the law school admitted its first women among 5 males.[28]

4.2 Methods employed

Information for the research had to be obtained from final year law students as we

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[26] All percentages are rounded off

[27] Figures from AISU. No breakdown is available for race

[28] The Star, 7 March 1926

believed that problems of access to the profession manifested themselves towards the end of their studies. The approach was to develop and distribute a questionnaire[29] to final year LLB students. Students participated in the formulation of the questionnaire.[30] We employed a consultant, Debbie Budlender, to assist in drafting the questionnaire and analysing quantitative data. We also referred to comparative international research and a shorter questionnaire from the Law, Race and Gender Project at the University of Cape Town.

68 filled in questionnaires out of a pool of 280 students formed the basis of our information.[31] As discussed below, the sample was slightly skewed in that men were under represented and women, especially White women, were over-represented. The nature of the sample means that the information collected from this research must be treated with caution, indicating trends and requiring supplementation from additional research. Some information was captured and analysed on computer by Debbie Budlender.[32] Qualitative information was analysed by the Gender Research Project.

5 PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

The University of the Witwatersrand Law School had 280 final year students in 1995.[33] The 68 responses received in this study were equally divided between 34 men and 34 women. These break down by race and sex as follows: 15 Black men (22%), 11 Black women (16%), 19 White men (28%) and 23 White women (34%).

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[29] The questionnaire is attached as "Annexure A"

[30] Students who assisted in developing the questionnaire were both final year LLB students, James Brady and Solange Rosa. Students who assisted in piloting the questionnaire were, Tebogo Mputhi (final year LLB student in 1995), Sylvester Ntsonkotani (first year LLB student in 1995) and Charlene Burger (second year LLB student in 1995)

[31] The questionnaires were distributed towards the beginning of study break and this explains why few were returned. Of the questionnaires returned most were incomplete.

[32] Budlender's report is attached as Annexure "B"

[33] See above at pg 7

Table 4. Profile of respondents

Race	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified	1	0	1
African	4	14	18
Indian	5	1	6
Coloured	1	0	1
White	23	19	42
Total	34	34	68

In other words, compared with the population, namely, the final year law class[34], men were under represented and women over represented. White women were more dominant in the sample.

5.1 Age and marital status

An overwhelming majority of students were in their twenties (born between 1966 and 1975), with women slightly older than men.
85% of the students were single and women were more likely than men to be married (six women and two men were married).

5. 2 Accommodation

The next table indicates where students were living while at University.

Table 5. Students' accommodation during University study

Domicile	Women	Men	Total
University Accommodation	5	10	15
Rented	7	4	11
Family home	22	19	41
Back room	0	1	1
Total	34	34	68

Nearly two-thirds of the students were living in a family home, the majority of whom were White. Men were more likely than women to have places in university accommodation.

[34] See page 7 - Table 3 for final year law students

This research did not measure the impact of the type of accommodation on the ability to study. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that distance from University coupled with a lack of transport reduces opportunity to use the library and takes up much time etc. For female students living outside of the University, the safety factor (not wanting to travel at night) also reduces chances of attending evening discussions.

5.3 Family background

5.3.1 *Family home*

We asked that students describe the area in which they lived as a child. Nearly 40% of students grew up in a city and a further 21% grew up in big towns. Only 10% grew up in rural areas and of this figure men were more likely than women to come from rural areas.

Table 6. Respondents' family home

Type of area	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified	3	2	5
City	17	9	26
Big town	7	7	14
Small town	2	7	9
Peri-urban	3	3	6
Rural	2	5	7
Other	0	1	1
Total	34	34	68

A race breakdown shows that most of the students from the rural areas are African (5 out of 7) although all but one of those who came from small towns were White. These figures suggest that it is more likely that African men from the rural areas attend law school than African women. One can speculate about the gender differences in the way in which men are more likely to be encouraged to study at tertiary level than women. National statistics on women and men studying at tertiary level show a marked difference, 56% for men and 46% for women.[35]

[35] J Schindler, S Chabane and A Arnott " The Women's Budget: Education" in *The Women's Budget* (1996) (ed) Debbie Budlender, IDASA, Cape Town , at page 11

5.3.2 *Care-givers*[36]

We asked the students who looked after them as children. More than 80% of the students were cared for mainly by their mother. Boy children were more likely to have been cared for by people other than their parents.

Table 7. Care-givers of respondents

Main care-giver	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified[37]	0	1	1
Mother	29	27	56
Father	3	0	3
Grandmother	1	4	5
Other	1	2	3
Total	34	34	68

Education levels of care-givers revealed nearly 18% with primary education only and 31% with tertiary education. As expected there were clear race disparities, 44% of Black care-givers did not reach secondary school compared with 9% of White care-givers. The majority of women, Black and White were more likely not to have reached high levels of education.

Table 8. Educational level of care-givers

Education level	Unspec care	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
Unspec	1	2	0	0	1	4
None	0	2	0	0	0	2
Primary	0	6	1	1	4	10
Secondary	0	4	3	0	22	29
Tertiary	0	4	2	0	15	21
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

Black care-givers were more likely not to have tertiary education. Black students are clearly making a significant leap forward in terms of education when compared to their parents.

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[36] For purposes of this study 'care-giver' is defined as primary custodian

[37] 'Unspecified' indicates that students answers were not included in the categories given. For example in this category no mention was made for care-givers who were still studying.

5.3.3 *Occupation of care-givers*

We needed information on the occupation of care-givers to determine what type of occupation student would choose in order to compare this occupation of care-givers.

Table 9. Occupation of care-givers

Occupation	Unspec	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total
Unspec	0	5	3	0	17	25
Domestic Work	0	3	0	1	0	4
Housewife	0	5	1	0	10	16
Admin	0	0	0	0	1	1
Librarian	0	0	0	0	1	1
Manager	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nurse	0	1	0	0	0	1
Architect	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sales worker	0	0	0	0	2	2
Secretary	0	0	0	0	1	1
Semi-skill	1	0	0	0	0	1
Teach preschool	0	1	0	0	0	1
Teach sec. school	0	1	1	0	2	4
Teach tertiary	0	1	0	0	0	1
Artist	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cleaner	0	0	0	0	2	2
Clerical	0	1	1	0	0	2
Computer	0	0	0	0	1	1
Medical Doctor	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

Here again we can see that Black students are making a considerable leap forward in occupation. The occupation of the care-givers of students demonstrates clear differences by race. For example, 10 of the 16 housewife care-givers of students were White, while the four domestic workers were Black.

5.4 Current family responsibilities.

Family responsibility reflects on the type of student attending law school. Our sample shows most students with no or low family responsibility. Family responsibility has a bearing on the availability for study time.

Four students (6%), two men and two women, had children while studying. One man had three children, all the others had one child each. All but one child was born while their parents were at law school. Only one woman student had a child living with her. The ages of the children ranged from two to nine years.

Three of the parents were partly financially responsible for children. One male parent bears full financial responsibility. No other student reported being financially responsible for another person while at University.

The woman who had her child living with her reported spending five hours on unpaid child care the previous day. Two other woman students reported spending one and two hours on unpaid domestic work the previous day, respectively.

Although these are small numbers, it is clear that there are law students with children and family responsibilities. This reflects a changing picture of students and requires the University to develop policies where necessary to accommodate this, whether through rules for admission to residence, provision of child-care or hours of lectures.

5.5 Family members in the legal profession.

We asked respondents whether any member of their family was in the legal profession. The next table shows the responses which were concentrated in higher status legal professions rather than at the level of departmental officials, paralegals, etc. 17 respondents (25%) indicated that family members were in the legal profession. There were no real gender differences.

Table 10. Family members of respondents in legal profession

Position	Women	Men	Total
Lecturer	0	1	1
Attorney	3	4	7
Advocate	0	1	1
Judge	1	0	1
Magistrate	1	0	1
Prosecutor	0	1	1
Public defender	0	0	0
Legal Advisor	0	0	0
Paralegal	0	0	0
Interpreter	0	0	0
Court Clerk	0	0	0
Court employee	0	0	0
Law firm employee	2	0	2
University employee	1	2	3
Total	8	9	17

When broken down by race, as shown in the next table, there were real racial differences. More White students had family members in the profession. However it is interesting to note that 4 African students had members in the upper end of the profession, such as advocate and magistrate.

Table 11. Racial composition of family members in the legal profession

Position	Unspec	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total
Legal lecturer	0	0	0	0	1	1
Attorney	0	2	0	0	5	7
Advocate	0	1	0	0	0	1
Judge	1	0	0	0	0	1
Magistrate	0	1	0	0	0	1
Prosecutor	0	0	0	0	1	1
Law Firm employee	0	0	1	0	1	2
University employee	1	0	1	0	1	3
Total	2	4	2	0	9	17

5.6 Education of respondents

The following table shows the type of educational institution attended by students.

Table 12. Education of respondents

High School	Women	Men	Total
DET[38]	41	5	19
House of Assembly	8	9	17
Hse of Representatives	1	0	1
Hse of Delegates	2	1	3
Private	13	6	19
Other	6	3	9
Total	34	34	68

More than a quarter of respondents attended private schools, particularly wom When broken down by race, the figures show 15 White students, three Indian a one African student attended private schools. The high number of stude attending private school may be an indication of their relatively privileg background.

5.6.1 *Previous university*

Two thirds of students (25 women and 29 men) received their degree from t University of Witwatersrand, with a further eleven graduating from historica White universities. Five graduated from the University of the North, two from t University of Durban-Westville and one at the University of Swaziland.

5.6.2 *Time-span*

51 respondents went straight from matric to university. Of the others fifte provided details of what they had done. Four had been in the Defence Force, fc had worked, three had been engaged in other studies and two had been overse Four of the six who worked were African.

[38] Department of Education. All schools were racially segregated previously, for example House of Assembly was for whites, the House of Representatives, for Coloureds and House of Delegates, for Indians.

5.6.3 *Summary*

The profile of students shows expected gender and race differences. Although a relatively small number, more women than men were faced with the challenge of pursuing legal education and raising a family. Domestic and child care responsibilities hinder effective studying. In particular, women's participation in evening discussions, seminars and lecturers is limited. This limitation puts women at a clear disadvantage to men. The university should take some responsibility for overcoming this limitation in its accommodation policies and the provision of day care facilities. University accommodation policies and practices must effectively cater for pregnant women and parents with children.

Another limitation is the safety factor that affects more women than men, when using university facilities such as laboratories and libraries after hours and in residences. Although students did not raise this in our research, the university needs to consider ways of dealing with this problem.

The university needs to recognize that its students are not a homogenous group. Provision must be made for diversity of needs.

The profile also showed the expected disparities between Black and White students in terms of family background and education. White students clearly remain more privileged and better equipped for tertiary education. The university faces a continuing challenge in considering this during selection criteria for admission.

6. THE DECISION TO JOIN THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Is career choice gendered? Comparative research[39] confirms this and provid some insight into possible reasons. Because law school has traditionally exclud women's opinions, the result has been (and still is) a dominance of male interes and values. An adversarial mode of legal training encourages aggressio confrontation and competitiveness at the expense of reconciliatory methods. La classes (and the court room) are perceived as battleground where the best studen are those who can defeat their opponents[40]. This approach is self-centre emphasising the individual and not the community. Feminine traits such a empathy, relatedness and nurture have no place in traditional lawyering. Given th background, women are alienated and "choose" appropriately. Women tend t engage in more public interest work whereas men tend to engage in commercia corporate work. This polarization of different value systems can account for wh women choose "safe, less adversarial work"[41].

We asked some questions about the choice made by law students in what the were to do after university.

6.1 Choices for 1996

The next table looks at the various choices students expressed for 1996. Only 3 students (51%) answered this question.

Table 13. Career choice of respondents

Plans for 1996	Women	Men	Total
Articles only	9	8	17
Articles/lecture	0	1	1
Articles/business	0	3	3
Articles/Bar/emigrate/study	0	1	1
Articles/further study	1	2	3
Legal Advisor for a Co.	0	1	1
Further study	1	2	3
Practical Legal Studies	1	0	1
Research/travel	1	0	3
Emigrate/work outside SA	2	1	1
Non-legal institution	1	0	1

[39] Cahn *op cit* note 14 at 1046 and Menkel-Meados *op cit* note 18 at 136

[40] Weiss and Melling *op cit* note 14 at 1309

[41] Cahn *op cit* note 14 at 1046

While a significant number of this group, 25 out of 35 said that they wished to do articles, eight of these only gave this as one of their options. However less than half of all student respondents positively indicated that articles was an option for them (25 out of the total sample).

Further questions tried to understand this decision and what factors had impacted upon it. The students gave a variety of reasons that can be grouped as follows; money, interest and preference and opportunities in the job market.

6.1.1 *Money*

At least six students cited money as a reason for their decision. Money motivated both Black and White male students (1 Black female, 3 Black males and 2 White males) to enter the profession (but money motivated more male than female students (5 males and 1 female)). One woman said that articles paid too little. It is interesting, as will be seen below, that African students and 4 out of 10 female students were encouraged to attend law school to make money.

6.1.2 *Personal interest and preference*

More females (6%) than males (2%) wanted to enter the profession because of an interest in the law. Two of these females stated that they "wanted to serve the community" and "teach people about their rights". Seven said that they made the choice out of interest, whereas two men said that their choice (not to do articles) was based on preference. Another woman stated that she did not like the law environment, while another said that the legal profession was not the "right choice". The above comparative research also confirmed that many women found law and the legal profession "alienating".

6.1.3 *Perceived and actual opportunities in the job market*

Half the sample of students enumerated problems which they foresaw with the job market. There were more males (58%) than females (41%) in this group. The most common concern was around finding articles or a job. Four students stated that the limited job market had influenced their choice. A few respondents cited reasons which had clear race and gender connotations. One White male thought that affirmative action ("racism") would work against him whereas a Black male believed that this would make it easier for him to enter the job market. A woman felt that her gender would count against her in obtaining articles and two women said that they had been unable to obtain articles, but gave no reasons.

We then asked that students identify problems with their chosen job. Half the sample responded to this question, citing the following categories of issues:

6.1.4 *Difficulties in accessing the workplace*

a) The most common concern expressed was difficulty in finding a job. Mo females than males stated that there was difficulty in accessing th workplace. Nine students, most of whom were female, identified this (26 of those who responded to this question).

b) A further five (3 White males and 2 White females) cited affirmative actio as a worry which falls into this broad category. Some of these worries wer strongly expressed. Two students said that affirmative action wa "degrading" and would "ruin" the profession. Another said that it was "th so-called liberal movement's attempt to strip away every standard c morality in South Africa".

c) Three Black women students expressed concerns about gende discrimination in securing articles and another said that only men benefitte from affirmative action.

6.1.5 *Perceptions from students on foreseeable problems within the workplace*

a) Three Black female students expressed concerns about gender discriminatior in the way that the work is organised and nature of the work environment

b) Two Black male students were worried about racism and a White mal student was concerned about "WASP domination" in firms.

c) Nepotism was cited by one White female student as a concern for job advancement.

6.1.6 *Problems in job performance and job satisfaction*

a) Several students, Black and White, male and female, were concerned about adequate training during their period at law school. Three White students noted that the degree would not be useful to them overseas, while another felt the need for more exposure in commerce. One White male student spoke about general lack of familiarity with the legal system. Also within this category were White and Black female students who expressed difficulty with the law degree having been stressful and requiring very hard work and too little time.

b) Financial reward. Three students were concerned about financial reward. They felt that they would not earn enough, at least at the beginning.

c) One female student was worried that law would not be sufficiently satisfying as a career.

The greatest concerns were, not surprisingly, expressed about accessing the profession, followed by apprehension about the type of workplace culture in the legal profession. Black and White women tended to express these concerns more than men. Males were more concerned with lack of financial reward and an ability to practice overseas. From this we can assume that more women in the sample viewed the legal profession as an unfriendly environment. However, the extent to

which these issues constitute actual barriers to accessing the profession needs to assessed by further research. It was interesting to note that two White female students saw affirmative action as an obstacle to obtaining employment. This suggests affirmative action emphasises race rather than gender in perception or reality and that White women may find themselves competing with Black men.

6.2 Applying for Articles:

Forty-six students (67%) said that they had applied for articles. 22 of these were women and 24 were men. Of this 46, ten (1 White female, 7 White males and 2 Black males) applied to five firms or fewer, six (4 Black females and 2 White females) said that they had applied to fifty or more. Sixteen out of the forty-six (2 Black females, 4 White females, 3 Black males and 7 White males) had received invitations to attend between one and eight interviews. Twelve (1 Black female, 2 White females, 5 Black males and 4 White males) had been invited to four or fewer interviews. The males in the sample were less likely to send in many applications as they had secured articles before the end of the year. Females applied to many firms in the hope of securing an interview and later perhaps, articles. These figures suggest that it is easier and quicker for men to obtain articles than women.

We can contrast the figures on the number of applicants for articles, forty-six, with the figure of career choice for 1996. Only twenty-five students indicated that they wanted to do articles. We can attribute the difference in the figures to the fact that though students applied for articles throughout the year, many were rejected and now had other plans.

6.3 Assistance in obtaining articles

We tried to identify factors that may have assisted students in obtaining articles and asked a range of questions on vacation work and personal contacts.

6.3.1 *Vacation work*

Fifteen out of nineteen students who had done vacation work of a legal nature said that this had assisted them in finding jobs for 1996. The following table describes the type of vacation work done by students.

Table 14. Vacation work undertaken by respondents

Type of Work	Women	Men	Total
Attorney's firm	8	9	17
Research assistant	1	1	2
Other research	0	0	0.00
Legal Aid	3	0	3
Volunteer	2	3	5
Other	0	3	3

"Other" included work for the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa, working as an examinations assistant and working in the legal division of a bank.

The students gave the following reasons why this vacation work had assisted them:

a) Contacts: Eleven students gave reasons which related to the contacts they had made in their vacation work. Two said that the job helped in terms of contacts, a further two said that they had obtained jobs in the same firm, yet two more said that partners or others in the firm had got to know them and a final two received letters of introduction and reference from former employers. Three more students said that they were able to impress their employers with their interest and competence.

b) Experience and confidence. Four students mentioned experience and confidence gained in the vacation work as helpful.

6.3.2 *Assistance in finding a job*

Forty-nine students said that one or another person had helped them in finding a job. The following table shows the results of this question. Women were more likely than men to rely on the assistance of family members, while men were more likely to rely on persons outside the family.

Table 15. Relationship between respondent and individual who offered assistance

Person	Women	Men	Total
Mother	9	5	14
Father	6	5	11
Relative	3	5	8
Friend	3	6	9
Family friend	0	1	1
Lecturer	1	2	3
Minister	0	1	1
Other	1	1	2
Total	23	26	49

We identified the nature of assistance as follows:

1. Contacts or connections: Fourteen students mentioned this of whom at least two males said the person was a client and another said that the person was the prospective employer. A further four students said the contact person gave them a reference.
2. Assistance with CV: Eleven students, the majority of whom were females, spoke about assistance with C.S. from others.
3. Advice: Three students (2 Black and 1 White female) cited advice as the type of assistance received from others.
4. Emotional support: One White female spoke about this as a form of assistance.

6.4 Summary:

Our research highlighted a partnership role that can be played by law school and the profession in addressing problems of joining the profession. It is clear that law school is partly determinative of the number of students entering the profession. We found that perceptions about the legal profession are formed during a student's legal education. This includes the type of workplace culture in the profession. We need further research on the extent to which these are shaped by experiences and nature of legal education. Also more research on barriers themselves.

The legal profession needs to tackle internal barriers, with the aim of transformation. The problem of finding articles for law students needs to be solved. Ideally this must be done in partnership with the law school and other interested parties. One solution is a bridging programme where law firms employ students during vacation. This programme is desirable in building greater understanding of the legal environment and a means of giving students much needed practical experiences. These, and other ideas are discussed in more detail at the end of this paper.

7. RESEARCH FINDINGS ON IDENTIFYING BARRIERS TO LEGAL EDUCATION AND THE LEGAL:

In the questionnaire we attempted to elicit information both directly and indirectly about the various incentives and disincentives that the students had encountered in deciding to embark upon their legal careers.

7.1 Social Barriers

7.1.1 *Family support*

We sought to identify whether there were any gender divisions in the support and encouragement, or lack thereof, that students received in making their decision to pursue a legal career. The results showed no real gender divisions with the majority of students receiving support from members of their families in deciding to attend law school. This support came from various quarters, including both parents (13), mother (5), father (9), an aunt (2), an uncle (3), a brother (2) and a sister (2).

The reasons for encouragement showed no gender distinctions and included affirming the student's decision (3 White females, 2 White males, 1 Black female and 3 Black males), financial benefits (2 White and 2 Black males), choosing a good profession or career (3 Black males, 4 Black females, 3 White females and 1 White male), the best career option (3), to get business knowledge (1 White male), to help communities (2 Black females), because of personal characteristics, such as "being able to communicate well with people" (4 White males and 1 Black male). An important difference that should be noted from the above is altruism of women, helping communities, although this number is too small to form any generalization.[42]

However, women were more likely to be discouraged from attending law school. Although the numbers are small, it is here that the expected gender stereotypes emerge. Seven women and five men students were discouraged from attending law school. Women were generally told that they should get married and have children (two Black students) or that women could not be lawyers (three students, one because she had no "contacts" and another because getting established was difficult). Reasons for discouragement of men included affirmative action (a White male student) and political reasons, citing the practice of law as dangerous (a Black male student).

We worked from a premise that nepotism and contacts may play a role in determining whether students were given articles. Students whose fathers were attorneys and advocates did not apply for articles as they were to serve in their father's company.

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[42] See page 4 at 2.3

7.1.2 *Educational background*

We asked respondents how well they believed their high school prepared them for University. There were no obvious gender distinctions, although the expected race differences emerged from the data.

Table 16. Respondents assessment of school preparation for University

Preparation	Women	Men	Total
No response	1	1	2
Very well	5	5	10
Well	10	12	22
Average	13	9	22
Badly	1	5	6
Very badly	2	0	2
Not at all	2	2	4
Total	34	34	68

The next table shows the responses by race. The overwhelming majority of students attended race classified schools with DET schools providing the worst picture. Only 15% reported good preparation and 47% poor preparation. None of those who attended House of Assembly or private schools said that the preparation was poor. Those who attended private schools were the best prepared for university.

Table 17. School attended and assessment thereof

Prep'tn	DET	Ass	Rep	Del	Private	Other	Total
Unspec	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Very well	1	0	0	0	5	4	10
Well	2	7	1	1	9	2	22
Average	6	10	0	1	4	1	22
Badly	5	0	0	0	0	1	6
Very badly	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Not at all	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
Total	19	17	1	3	19	9	68

7.2 *Economic Barriers*

As we were interviewing students who had already made it to law school, the value of the data on financial barriers is limited. It cannot show what prevents students from entering University, but it does show the kind of constraints that face potential and actual students.

Table 18. Source of funding for University education

	Tuition	Books	Travel	Accom	Other
Bursary	21	11	5	12	4
Parents	38	33	34	38	14
Self	3	12	14	4	5
Loan	10	4	3	3	1
Other	2	1	1	1	1
Total	74	61	57	58	25

The research shows that the most common form of funding derives from parents, with the second category of funding being bursaries and loans. While parents are the most common sources of all forms of funding, bursaries tend to be more likely to cover tuition only. As expected, Black students were more likely to be financed from bursaries and loans than White students.

Most of the students used the same source of funding for all years of study. 43% of students stated that they had been refused a bursary during their legal studies.

We assumed that if they lived in rented accommodation, this would be problematic in terms of access to study facilities like libraries etc. Further we assumed that if students stayed in residence this would increase the cost of financing their degree, unlike rented accommodation where students could share costs. We also assumed that more Black students would live in rented or university accommodation because they came from far away and even if they lived in nearby townships they would still try to live in residence to be closer to study facilities. This was borne out by our findings.

7.3 Summary

Our research identified three categories of barriers which hinder access to legal education and the profession; social, educational and economic. For example, we found that more women than men were discouraged because of gender stereotypes from attending law school. Discouragement from family plays an important role in as far as assistance throughout legal education, emotional and financial support.

We also found race disparities on the question of secondary school preparation for university. It is clear that the school system needs to look at ways of assisting students to make the transition into university education.

Economic barriers are important because the lack of financial assistance means that some students, particularly Black students, have to leave university. This can result in the profession remaining elitist. We need to find more creative ways of dealing with these problems.

8. CONCLUSION

Permeating the "glass ceiling" is a step South African women have boldly undertaken since the days of exclusion from the legal profession. The appointment of two women judges to the Constitutional Court is significant. However, their success does not remove the struggle of many women to enter and advance within the profession. It is here that obstacles firmly rooted in social inequality are evident. Improving women's access to the profession must begin by examining these obstacles and then trying to remove them.

It is clear from this limited study that barriers exist that impede women's access to the legal profession. An in depth study needs to be undertaken to give weight to recommendations that can be made on how best to restructure legal education and the legal profession.

Crucial to this enterprise is the need to examine sexist and cultural values which affect women's access. These values underpin the belief that women have no, or a limited place, in the legal profession. During interviews for articles of clerkship women are continually asked whether they plan to marry and have children. Men on the other hand are asked what sport they play. It is the responsibility of the profession to survey and change such attitudes in order to identify and remove hidden barriers.

This research on women and the legal profession has highlighted two key demands that are being made in South Africa, that of representivity and access. Gender and race representation is the key to ensuring a legal profession that is accessible to all. These demands are supported by the constitutional framework and other documents such as the Beijing Platform for Action[43] and the Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women[44]. The responsibility for

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[43] Beijing Platform of Action UN Document A/Conf. 177/20 (as adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women and recommended to the UN General Assembly by the Committee on the Status of Women on 7 October 1996)

[44] Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women UN Document A/Res/34/180 (1980) which was ratified by South Africa with effect from 14 January 1996

ensuring that the legal profession is representative of women is not only that law schools, law societies and the government but also of women themselve Responsibility should not be apportioned amongst the role players, suffice to s there must be collaboration in order to ensure success.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations look at responsibilities of the various role playe in ensuring a more representative legal profession. Specific role players include La schools and universities, law firms and societies and the Department of Justic These references are not to the exclusion of other organisations and groups wh may make valuable contributions to solving the problems of representivit Importantly, we link the recommendations, thus necessitating collaboration amor all the interested parties.

9.1 *Law school*

9.1.1 Diversifying career paths: There must be recognition of the diversity o students with different interests and needs. Diversity needs to be channelle into identifying different career paths students may wish to follow. Th practice of law as traditionally understood (lawyer, professor, judge) shoul be extended to include new approaches (researcher, lobbyist, mediator). diversity of career paths can be combined with bridging programme between schools and entering the profession. For example, students can b linked with NGOs that engage in training, lobbying, research and litigatio as part of vacation work. These programmes will assist students in gainin valuable experience. Law schools must initiate bridging programmes with th role players. In this regard the Department of Justice must be part of th programmes, both in terms of supporting existing programmes such a Integrated Bar Project, run by the University of Pretoria, and assisting i developing new ones.

9.1.2 Economic barriers faced by some students require continuous work. Law school must look beyond mere solicitation of more bursaries to innovativ ideas. Two examples that come to mind are a textbook loan scheme an part time vacation work. Allowing students to pay a minimal deposit for th use and return of books throughout the year can reduce financial costs.

Part time or vacation work can be undertaken by students at law school i exchange for free tuition. Masters students could be recruited to lecture fo a minimal fee.

9.2 The University

9.2.1 The university must scrutinise policies relating to students who are pregnan or who are parents with child care responsibilities. Policies or practices tha

prevent pregnant women from staying on campus should be reconsidered. Access to child care facilities must be accessible financially for students. The Students' Representative Council (SRC) could institute collective child care system that students share. Recognising its diverse constituency is equally important for the SRC. It must introduce programmes which deal with its constituency's specific needs.

9.3 The Legal Profession and Law Societies

9.3.1 Law firms should examine their environment to establish what race and gender barriers exist which affect the participation of women. Policies around sexual harassment should be encouraged.

9.3.2 There needs to be a clear understanding of what affirmative action means and that it includes race and gender but does not amount to tokenism or window dressing. Affirmative action includes an audit of existing discriminatory barriers and practices. Positively it should be used to give disadvantaged groups opportunities for advancement in the system, and thus to play a role in transforming the profession at the same time as providing role models for other members of their group.

9.3.3 The Law Societies must find new ways of accrediting students who undergo other forms of legal training, for example judges' clerks etc. Law Societies must work with law schools to ensure that students who do not complete their studies have an opportunity to continue working in a legal environment. For example two years at law school could be the equivalent of para-legal training.

9.4 Research

9.4.1 Research is needed at a national level, particularly at the historically Black universities, on barriers students encounter in entering and leaving law School. This needs to be addressed in the context of Affirmative Action programmes in selection criteria at entry level, more access to financial resources etc.

9.4.2 Research is needed on the role of women in the legal profession, their impact on the practice and interpretation of law.

9.4.3 Research is needed on how to develop a diversity of career paths in the legal profession.

9.4.4 Further research is needed to identify barriers in the legal profession.

ANNEXURE A

Gender Research Project
Centre for Applied Legal Studies
University of the Witwatersrand

Questionnaire No: 73
Date: _____

QUESTIONNAIRE ON JOINING THE LEGAL PROFESSION:

This questionnaire is part of a study being conducted at Law Faculties across the country. Individual information included will be confidential and not included in the resulting report.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Firstly, we would like to ask you some questions about your personal background.

1. Name: (Optional) . . . . . .

2. Date of Birth: . . . . . .

3. Race: | African | Indian | Coloured | White |

4. Sex: | Female | | Male |

5. Marital Status: . . . . . .

6. Where do you currently live?

a)	University residence	
b)	Rented Accommodation	
d)	Family home	
e)	A backroom	
f)	A shack	
g)	Other (Specify)	

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

7. Where did you spend most of your time as a child? Name the place:

. . . . . .

8. Would you describe the area as:

a) A city
b) A big town
c) A small town
d) A peri-urban area
e) A rural area
g) Other (Specify)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

9. a) For female students

How many children, if any, have you given birth to?

b) For male students

How many children have you fathered?

10. How many of these children were born while you were in law school?

11. How many of these children are living with you now?

12. Are you financially responsible for any children? (Please tick one)

a) Yes, I am solely financially responsible for my children
b) Yes, I am partly financially responsible for my children
c) No, I am not financially responsible for my children

13. If you answered yes to 13 a) or 13 b), how many children are you responsibl for, and what are their ages?

I am responsible for _____ Children

Their ages are: . . . . . .

14. How many hours did you spend yesterday on:

Unpaid child care: ☐

Unpaid domestic work: ☐

15. Please tell us how many persons, other than you and your children are dependant on you for financial support? ☐

FAMILY BACKGROUND

16. Please tell us who mostly looked after you as a child? (Choose 1)

a) Mother ☐
b) Father ☐
c) Grandmother ☐
d) Grandfather ☐
e) Other (Explain) ☐

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

17. What was the highest level of schooling passed by the person/s identified in question 17?

	None	Primary to (Std 5)	Secondary (to Matric)	Tertiary (University)
Mother				
Father				
Grandmother				
Grandfather				
Other (specify)				

18. What is or was the occupation of the person identified in question No 16? (Please tick where appropriate).

Accountant		Health technician		Researcher			
Administrator		Housewife - full-time		Sales worker			
Architect		Labourer		Scientist			
Artisan		Lawyer		Secretary			
Artist		Librarian		Semi-skilled worker			
Auditor		Machine operative		Service worker			
Cleaner		Manager		Social worker			
Clerical worker		Medical doctor		Student - full-time			
Computer worker		Messenger		Teacher - preschool			
Dentist		Nurse		Teacher - primary school			
Domestic worker		Personnel worker		Teacher - secondary school			
Driver		Police		Teacher - tertiary			
Engineer		Defence Force		Technician			
Farm worker		Quantity Surveyor		Therapist			
Farmer		Typist		Unionist			

Other (Specify) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

19. Are/were any members of your family, for example your uncle, or your father, one of the following? When ticking the appropriate box, please indicate in the space next to it which member of your family had this occupation.

- Legal lecturer/academic ☐
- Attorney ☐
- Advocate ☐
- Judge ☐
- Magistrate ☐
- Prosecutor ☐
- Public Defender ☐
- Legal Advisor ☐
- Para-legal ☐
- Court interpreter ☐
- Court clerk ☐
- Employee of Court (Specify) ☐

. . . . . .

- Employee of a law firm (Specify)

. . . . . .

- Employee of University (Specify)

. . . . . .

20. Did any member/s of your family encourage you to attend law school?

Yes, they did encourage me to attend law school. ☐
No, they did not encourage me to attend law school. ☐

Who encouraged you to attend law school? (Specify)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

21. If you answered "**YES**" to the above question, what reasons were given by this person/people?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

22. Did any member/s of your family try to discourage you from attending law school?

Yes, someone did try to discourage me from attending law school.	
No, someone did not try to discourage me from attend law school.	

23. If you answered "**YES**" to the above question, what reasons were given by this person/ those people?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Who tried to discourage you from attending law school? (Specify)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Please tell us about your educational background.

24. What high schools did you attend?

a)	DET	☐
b)	House of Assembly	☐
d)	House of Representatives	☐
e)	House of Delegates	☐
f)	Private	☐
g)	Other (Explain)	☐

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

25. What is the name of the school where you matriculated?

. . . . . .

26. What year did you matriculate? . . . . . .

27. How well do you believe that your high school prepared you for University?

Very well	Well	Average	Badly	Very Badly	Not at all

28. What year did you receive your Bachelor's degree? . . . . . .

29. At which institution did you receive your Bachelor's degree?

. . . . . .

30. Are you doing a BProc or LLB?

BProc ☐ LLB ☐

31. Did you go straight from matric to university?

YES ☐ NO ☐

32. If you answered "**NO**" to 30 and 31, what did you do between matriculating and starting university?

ACTIVITY	DATES

FINANCING OF LAW DEGREE

We would now like you to tell us something about how your law degree has been financed.

33. Please would you tell us how was your legal education and subsistence (travel, accommodation, books etc) paid for?

	Tuition /Fees	Books	Travel	Accommoda-tion	Other
Bursary					
Parents					
Self					
Loan					
Other					

34. Is this all years of study, only this year, or only "law years"? Please tick the appropriate block.

a) Is this all years of study	YES	NO
b) Only this year	YES	NO
c) Only "law years"	YES	NO

d) Other (Specify)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

35. Have you ever been refused a bursary for your legal studies?

YES NO

JOINING THE LEGAL PROFESSION

We would like to know something about your future plans and choices to join the legal profession?

36. Thinking about your future career, please tell us what you intend doing after completing your LLB?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

37. What factors influenced you in making this decision?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

38. If you are NOT intending to do Articles, please tell us why ?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

39. What problems, if any, do you foresee with your chosen career path in the legal profession?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

40. Have you applied for articles for 1996?

YES NO

41. If you answered "YES" to 40, tell us how many firms you have applied to?

. . . . . .

42. Tell us:

(a) how many interviews you have been invited to attend; and

. . . . . .

(b) how many interviews you have attended?

. . . . . .

43. We would like to know whether you have done any vacation work of a legal nature? Please tick one or more of the following:

- Attorneys firm ☐
- Legal Research assistance at University ☐
- Other Legal Research (Explain) ☐

. . . . . .

- Legal Aid Work (Explain)

. . . . . .

- Volunteer Legal work ☐

. . . . . .

- Other (Explain) ☐

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

44. Do you believe that this vacation work helped you get a job for 1996?

YES	NO	N/A

45. If you answered "**YES**" to the previous question, please will you tell us how you think it helped you to get a job?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

46. Please would you tell us whether any of the following people assisted you in applying for a job? (You may choose more than one).

- Mother
- Father
- Relative
- Friend
- Family friend
- Lecturer
- Minister of Religion
- Other (Explain)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

47. How did the above person/people assist you in applying for a job?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

LAW SCHOOL AND LEGAL EDUCATION

We would like to know a little bit about your views on law school and your leg education.

48. What obstacles or barriers have you experienced at Law School that may hav affected your choice of career?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

49. What could the law school do to overcome these obstacles / barriers?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

50. Were you involved in any additional activities/work while at law school?

- Law Clinic/Advice Office work ☐
- Law Students Council ☐
- Research jobs ☐
- Library work ☐
- Tuition (Explain) ☐

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

- Other (Explain) ☐

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

51. Do you think that this helped you get a job? | YES | NO |
Please explain.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

52. Are you doing any other work while studying? | YES | NO |

If "YES" Please explain.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

We have now left you a few lines in case you would like to add anything else or make any other comment.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

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YOU WILL BE ASKED TO FILL IN AN ADDITIONAL SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EACH INTERVIEW THAT YOU HAVE ATTENDED.

PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO ONE OF THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE:

Salange Rosa or James Brady at the Law Students Council

Naomi Webster, Gender Research Project, Centre for Applied Legal Studies (Rembrandt Gallery).

Thank you for your time.

JOINING THE PROFESSION :

SURVEY OF INTERVIEWS BETWEEN ATTORNEYS AND STUDENTS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

A. NAME : . . . . . .

Date of interview : . . . . . .

Name of Firm : . . . . . .

Location of Firm : JOHANNESBURG OTHER : . . . . . .

Number of people, besides yourself, present at interview: . . . . . .

Of above, how many were :

White men : . . . . . White women . . . . . Black men . . . . . Black women . . . . . .

Length of interview : . . . . . minut

Place of interview : CAMPUS FIRM'S OFFICE OTHER : . . . . . .

B. The following are areas which you may have been asked about in the interview. Please circ YES OR NO for each. Circle YES wherever the topic was raised, even it was not applicat to you. We would also appreciate any comments or clarification you want to add on any poi Write on the back of the form or attach a separate page for your comments.

Question in area of :

1.	Schooling	YES	N
2.	Parents	YES	N
3.	Academic achievement at university	YES	N
4.	Hobbies	YES	N
5.	Participation in sport	YES	N
6.	Previous practical legal experience	YES	N
7.	Previous non-legal employment	YES	N
8.	Current marital position	YES	N
9.	Current position as regards boy/girlfriend	YES	N
10.	Your plans as regards children	YES	N
11.	Preferred area of specialisation	YES	N
12.	Long-term plans for the future	YES	N
13.	Plans/possibility of moving from Johannesburg	YES	N
14.	Plans/possibility of leaving South Africa	YES	N
15.	Your personality	YES	N
16.	Other job offers	YES	N
17.	Politics	YES	N
18.	Practical Legal Training School	YES	N

19. Language ability YES NO
If YES, what were these areas:

Enlish, Afrikaans, Latin, Xosa, Other : .....

.....

.....

C> Did anyone suggest areas in which they would like you to specialise? YES NO
If YES, what were these areas:

.....

.....

.....

D. Was salary discussed ? YES NO

If YES, who introduced the topic? I THEY

E. Was affirmative action discussed ? NO YES: RACE YES: GENDER

If YES, who introduced the topic? I THEY

F. Were you offered a job? YES NO NO DECISION YET

If YES, what was your response YES NO TIME TO DECIDE

G. Were there any questions or aspects of the interview with which you were unhappy?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

IF YES OR DON'T KNOW, please elaborate:

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

ANNEXURE B

BACKGROUND

estionnaires were completed by 68 final year students - 34 men nd 34 women. The first table gives the breakdown by race. It shows that nearly two thirds of the respondents were white. There were markedly more male African respondents than female. Among other race groups there were more women than men. African students accounted for just over a quarter of respondents.

RACE	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified	1	0	1
African	4	14	18
Indian	5	1	6
Coloured	1	0	1
White	23	19	42
Total	34	34	68

The next table gives the age breakdown of respondents who indicated their year of birth. The overwhelming majority of students were born between 1966 and 1975. In 1995, therefore, they would have been in their twenties. The pattern suggests that women were, overall, slightly older than men in that more were born in 1970 or before whereas more men were born 1971 or later.

YEAR BIRTH	Women	Men	Total
1976-1980	1	0	1
1971-1975	11	15	26
1966-1970	14	11	25
1961-1965	2	1	3
Pre-1961	0	1	1

The next table shows marital status. 85% of the students were single. Women were more likely than men to be married.

Marital Stat	Women	Men	Total
UNSPECIFIED	1	1	2
MARRIED	6	2	8
SINGLE	27	31	58
Total	34	34	68

The third table indicates where students were living while at University. Nearly two-thirds of students were living in a family home. Men were more likely than women to have places in university accommodation.

Where live	Women	Men	Total

Accom	5	10	15
nted	7	4	11
amily Home	22	19	41
Backroom	0	1	1
Total	34	34	68

The race breakdown shows the majority of African students living in University accommodation while the majority of white students were in the family homes. This could account, at least in part, for the gender pattern noted above.

WHERE LIVE	Unsp	Afr	Ind	Col	Wht	Total
Univ Accom	0	12	0	0	3	15
Rented	0	3	1	1	6	11
Family Home	1	2	5	0	33	41
Backroom	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

Students were asked to describe or classify the area in which they lived as a child. Nearly 40% said they grew up in a city and a further 21% grew up in big towns. Only 10% said they grew up in rural areas. Men respondents were markedly more likely than women to come from rural areas and small towns.

Type Area	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified	3	2	5
City	17	9	26
Big town	7	7	14
Small town	2	7	9
Peri-urban	3	3	6
Rural	2	5	7
Other	0	1	1
Total	34	34	68

The race breakdown shows that the majority of rural students are African. However all but one of those who said they came from small towns were white.

Type Area	Unsp	Afr	Ind	Col	Wht	Total
Unspecified	0	0	3	0	2	5
City	1	6	1	1	17	26
Big town	0	4	1	0	9	14
Small town	0	1	0	0	8	9
Peri-urban	0	1	1	0	4	6
Rural	0	5	0	0	2	7
Other	0	1	0	0	0	1

Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

Four students said they had children - two men and two women. One man had three children. The others all had one child each. All but one of the children were born while the parents were at law school. The exception was the child of one of the female students. Only one of the students (a woman) had a child living with her while at University.

One of the men said she was solely financially responsible for the child. All of the other parents said they were partly financially responsible. The ages of children for whom students were solely or partly responsible were given as two, three, six (two children) and nine years.

The woman student who had her child living with her said she had spent five hours on unpaid child care the previous day. One woman student said she had spent one hour on unpaid domestic work the previous day and the other said she spent two hours.

No students said any other persons apart from themselves and their children were dependant on them for financial support while at University.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

The first table in this section shows the person whom students said mostly looked after them as a child. Over four-fifths were cared for mainly by their mother. Three women were the only ones to have been cared for by fathers. Boy children were somewhat more likely to have been cared for by people other than parents.

Main Carer	Women	Men	Total
Unspecified	0	1	1
Mother	29	27	56
Father	3	0	3
Grandmother	1	4	5
Other	1	2	3
Total	34	34	68

As regards educational levels, nearly three-quarters of the primary caretakers and 21 (30%) had tertiary education. Race-wise there are clear disparities. Eight of the eighteen caretakers of African students did not reach secondary school, compared to only four of the 42 caretakers of white students.

Educ Level	.	1	2	3	4	Total
Unspecified	1	2	0	0	1	4
None	0	2	0	0	0	2

Primary	0	6	1	1	4	12
Secondary	0	4	3	0	22	29
Tertiary	0	4	2	0	15	21
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

The first tables showing occupations of the main caretakers is by race. It shows distinct differences. For example, 10 of the 16 housewife caretakers are white, while three of the four domestic workers are African.

OCCUPATION	Unsp	Afr	Ind	Col	Wht	Total
Unspecified	0	5	3	0	17	25
Dom Worker	0	3	0	1	0	4
Housewife	0	5	1	0	10	16
Administrtr	0	0	0	0	1	1
Librarian	0	0	0	0	1	1
Manager	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nurse	0	1	0	0	1	2
Architect	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sales Workr	0	0	0	0	2	2
Secretary	0	0	0	0	1	1
Semi-skilld	1	0	0	0	0	1
Teachpresch	0	1	0	0	0	1
Teachsecsch	0	1	1	0	2	4
Teachtertry	0	1	0	0	0	1
Artist	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cleaner	0	0	0	0	2	2
Clerical	0	1	1	0	0	2
Computers	0	0	0	0	1	1
Med Doctor	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

The second occupational breakdown is by the relationship of the caretaker to the student. This shows the expected gender patters - all domestic workers, the nurses and housewives are female.

OCCUPATION	Unsp	Mom	Dad	GMom	Othr	Total
Unspecified	1	19	2	1	2	25
Domestic	0	2	0	2	0	4
Housewife	0	14	0	2	0	16
Administrtr	0	1	0	0	0	1
Librarian	0	1	0	0	0	1
Manager	0	1	0	0	0	1
Nurse	0	2	0	0	0	2
Architect	0	1	0	0	0	1
Sales wrkr	0	1	1	0	0	2
Secretary	0	1	0	0	0	1
Semi-skill	0	0	0	0	1	1
Teachpresch	0	1	0	0	0	1

Teachsecsch	0	4	0	0	0	4
Teachtertry	0	1	0	0	0	1
Artist	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cleaner	0	2	0	0	0	2
Clerical	0	2	0	0	0	2
Computers	0	1	0	0	0	1
Med Doctor	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	1	56	3	5	3	68

Respondents were asked whether any members of their family were involved in different aspects of the legal profession. The next table shows the responses. The connections are concentrated in the higher status legal professions rather than at the level of departmental officials, paralegals, etc.

POSITION	Women	Men	Total
Lecturer	0	1	1
Attorney	3	4	7
Advocate	0	1	1
Judge	1	0	1
Magistrate	1	0	1
Prosecutor	0	1	1
Public Def	0	0	0
LegalAdvisr	0	0	0
Paralegal	0	0	0
Interpreter	0	0	0
Court Clerk	0	0	0
Crt Emplyee	0	0	0
LawFirmEmp	2	0	2
UnivEmploy	1	2	3

The same breakdown by race is given in the next table. It shows a spread of legal connections across races.

POSITION	Unsp	Afr	Ind	Col	Wht	Total
LegalLectur	0	0	0	0	1	1
Attorney	0	2	0	0	5	7
Advocate	0	1	0	0	0	1
Judge	1	0	0	0	0	1
Magistrate	0	1	0	0	0	1
Prosecutor	0	0	0	0	1	1
Emp LawFirm	0	0	1	0	1	2
Empl Univ	1	0	1	0	1	3

Fifty-eight students - 29 women and 29 men - said they were encouraged by members of their family to attend law school. Of those who specified further, 13 mentioned both parents, 5 their mother, 9 their father, two an aunt, 3 an uncle, two a brother and two a sister.

Seven said they had been supported because it was their own decision. Four were encouraged by family members who were themselves studying or practising law. 4 were encouraged because of the financial benefits, 11 because it was considered a good profession or career, and 3 because it was considered better than other career options. 3 said family thought law provided a good education, and another said his family thought law gave a good business knowledge. Two said they were encouraged in order to be able to help their communities. One said his family thought it was a "relevant" degree. Another said he was encouraged to get a post-bachelor's degree because he would be up against affirmative action.

Five were encouraged on account of personal characteristics which family thought would ensure success. These characteristics included interest, drive, ambition and ability to debate.

Twelve respondents (seven women and five men) said they were discouraged by members of their family from attending law school.

In four cases the discouragement had a clear gender aspect. Thus one man had a baby, one woman was told that women get married and have babies, another was told that a woman couldn't be a lawyer and the fourth student was told that she had no contacts in the profession and would find it particularly difficult as a woman. On the other hand a (white) male was told that only affirmative action candidates get work.

Two students said they were discouraged on account of the money involved. A third - a woman - was told it was difficult to get established. Another woman was advised rather to do a technical course.

A male student was told he would get killed. A woman was discouraged because the law degree would not enable her to practice overseas.

Ten gave details of who had discouraged them. Both parents were said to have discouraged the student in one case, the father alone and the mother alone in another two cases each. Other people mentioned were grandmother, grandfather, uncle, and "family" more generally. The final student was discouraged by both the father and boyfriend.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

The next table shows the department under which the respondents' high schools fell. It shows over a quarter of respondents attending private schools. The pattern is particularly marked for women. When the breakdown in this table is compared with the race breakdown, however, it is clear those at private schools were not the African respondents.

High School	Women	Men	Total
DET	4	15	19
Hse Assembl	8	9	17
Hse Reps	1	0	1
Hse Dels	2	1	3
Private	13	6	19
Other	6	3	9
Total	34	34	68

The table by race shows the expected pattern, with the overwhelming majority of students having attended the race-classified department's schools. It also shows, however, that the majority of those attend private schools were white, but that half of the six Indian students were also at private schools. (It is probably that the two white and one coloured student who claimed to have attended DET schools marked this block in error.)

HighSchool	Unsp	Afr	Ind	Col	Wht	Total
DET	0	16	0	1	2	19
Hse Assembl	0	0	0	0	17	17
Hse Reps	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hse Dels	0	0	3	0	0	3
Private	0	1	3	0	15	19
Other	1	0	0	0	8	9
Total	1	18	6	1	42	68

Schools mentioned by more than one student were King David (five), Rand Park (three), St Stithians (two), St Johns (two - might be different), Cambridge (two), Capricorn (two)

One student matriculated as early as 1978. Six matriculated between 1982 and 1985. 43 matriculated between 1986 and 1989. Ten matriculated in 1990, one in 1991 and one in 1993.

Respondents were asked how well they believed their high school prepared them for University. The next table reflects the responses. As can be seen, overall there was a fairly good sense of satisfaction. Nearly half said they were well
or very well prepared, compared to 11 who said they were badly prepared or not prepared at all.

Preparation	Women	Men	Total
No response	1	1	2
Very well	5	5	10
Well	10	12	22
Average	13	9	22
Badly	1	5	6
Very badly	2	0	2
Not at all	2	2	4

Total	34	34	68

If the educational department and the level of preparation are cross-tabulated, the following pattern emerges. DET schools present the worst picture with nine of the 19 students saying they received poor preparation and only four saying the preparation was good. Conversely, none of those who attended House of Assembly, Representatives or private schools said the preparation was poor.

PREPARATION	DET	Ass	Rep	Del	Prv	Oth	Total
Unspecified	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Very well	1	0	0	0	5	4	10
Well	2	7	1	1	9	2	22
Average	6	10	0	1	4	1	22
Badly	5	0	0	0	0	1	6
Very badly	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Not at all	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
Total	19	17	1	3	19	9	68

Three students had obtained their bachelors prior to 1990, another six in 1990, 12 in 1991, 13 in 1992, 26 in 1993 and five in 1994.

Two thirds of the students (25 women and 20 men) obtained their degrees from Wits and three from Unisa. A further eleven received them from other historically white universities. Five graduated from the University of the North and two from UDW. One graduated outside South Africa at the University of Swaziland.

Six students (two women and four men) did a B Proc. The remaining 62 did an LLB. 51 respondents (27 women and 24 men) went straight from matric to University.

Fifteen students gave details of what they had done between matric and university. Four had been in the Defence Force. Six had worked, of whom one explained that this was to earn money to study. Three had studied - one at a technikon, one
for A levels, and another for a teaching diploma. Two had been overseas - one as an exchange student and another in travelling in Israel. One student had a break of a year on the recommendation of a doctor. Four of the six who worked were African.

The next table shows the method of financing legal education and subsistence. The table shows clearly that the most common source of funds is parents. In respect of tuition the next most common forms are bursaries and loan. For all other aspects, however, self-financing is the next most common option. (Some students obviously fund a particular aspect from more than one source and columns will therefore not necessarily sum to 68.)

	Tuition	Books	Travel	Accomm	Other

Bursary	21	11	5	12	4
Parents	38	33	34	38	14
Self	3	12	14	4	5
Loan	10	4	3	3	1
Other	2	1	1	1	1

The next table indicates that for 48 of the 58 students who answered this question the method of funding had been the same throughout their University careers. For seven it had been constant during their law years.

WHICH YEARS	Women	Men	Total
No answer	7	3	10
All years	24	24	48
Only thisyr	1	1	2
Only lawyrs	2	5	7
Other	0	1	1
Total	34	34	68

29 students (ten women and 19 men) said they had at some stage been refused a bursary for their legal studies.

JOINING THE LEGAL PROFESSION

When asked what they intended to do in 1996, a significant number of students intended to do articles. Seventeen indicated articles as their only choice and a further eight gave this as one of their options. Another fairly popular choice was further study. Three respondents gave this as their only choice, and a further four gave this as one option.

PLANS FOR 1996	Women	Men	Total
ARTICLES	9	8	17
ARTICLES/LECTURE	0	1	1
ARTICLES/BUSINESS	0	3	3
ARTICLES/BAR/EMIGRATE/STUDY	0	1	1
ARTICLES/STUDYING FURTHER	1	2	3
LEGAL ADVISOR FOR A COMPANY	0	1	1
NON-LEGAL INSTITUTION	1	0	1
FURTHER STUDY	1	2	3
PRAC LEGAL STUDIES	1	0	1
RESEARCH/TRAVEL	1	0	1
EMIGRATE/WORK OUTSIDE SA	2	1	3

Respondents gave a range of reasons for their choice. Money was a consideration for at least six students. Another seven said they made their choice out of interest. Several students referred to the job market. Four said it was limited, some referring in particular to articles. One white male said there were few opportunities for him because he was a WASP and thus a victim of racism, a woman said

it was difficult for her, as a woman, to get articles, while a black male said that admission to the profession was easier because of affirmative action. One of those who was emigrating was doing so in order to be with her husband.

Seven gave reasons as to why they were not planning to do articles. The two men said they were going to the Bar or preferred academic. Two of the women said that they could not get articles, one said articles paid too little, one said she did not like the law environment, and one said it was not the "right choice".

34 students (14 women and 20 men), constituting just over half the sample, enumerated problems which they foresaw.

The most common concern was around finding articles or a job - mentioned by nine students. There were further concerns for five students about affirmative action. Some of these related to the likelihood that the student would find difficulty in getting a job. Two students said affirmative action was "degrading" or would "ruin" the profession. One said that "so-called liberal movements attempt to strip away every standard or morality in South Africa". Two other students, on the other hand, were worried about racism, nepotism or WASP domination within firms. Two said that firms were generally conservative.

One woman said affirmative action was only applicable to males. A further three students were worried about various aspects of gender discrimination - whether in securing jobs or in the way work was organised and the work environment once employed.

A few students were concerned that their training was not adequate. Three noted that the degree would not be useful to them overseas. One said they needed exposure to commerce. One spoke generally about unfamiliarity with the system. Two wrote about problems of bureaucracy and red tape. One wanted to become a patent attorney but was worried that technology was not adequately developed in South Africa. Another was worried whether law would be sufficiently satisfying as a career.

Some students had difficulties with the course itself. Two complained of the stress and hard work involved in the degree and three said they had too little time.

Three students were worried about finances - that they would not earn adequately, particularly initially.

Forty-six (22 women and 24 men) said they had applied for articles.

46 answered the question as to how many firms they had applied to. Ten said that they applied to five or fewer. Six said they applied to fifty or more.

The sixteen respondents who said they had received invitations had been invited to between one and eight interviews. Twelve of the

sixteen had been invited to four or fewer.

Seventeen students said they had attended between one and eight interviews each. Fourteen had attended four or fewer.

Students were asked whether they had done any vacation work of a legal nature while a student. The next table indicates the responses.

TYPE WORK	Women	Men	Total
Attrny firm	8	9	17
ResrchAsst	1	1	2
OtherResrch	0	0	0
LegalAid	3	0	3
Volunteer	2	3	5
Other	0	3	3

The "other" included work for the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa, working as an exam assistant, and working in the legal division of a bank.

Fifteen of the students (six women and nine men) said that this work assisted them in finding a job for 1995/6. Two said it helped in terms of contacts, four mentioned experience, confidence or learning what to expect, two said they would be working for the same firm, two said that partners or others got to know them, three said their work impressed prospective employers by showing they were interested and/or competent. Two said they had received letters of introduction or recommendation from their past employers.

Students were asked which of a range of people had assisted in finding them a job. The next table indicates the responses for each type of person.

PERSON	Women	Men	Total
Mother	9	5	14
Father	6	5	11
Relative	3	5	8
Friend	3	6	9
Fam Friend	0	1	1
Lecturer	1	2	3
Minister	0	1	1
Other.....	1	1	2

They were asked how these people had assisted them. 14 spoke about the people having contacts or connections, of whom at least two said the person was a client of the firm, one said the person would be employing them and one said it was done "professionally". 11 spoke about assistance with cv's. 4 said the person acted as a referee. 3 wrote generally about advice or tips and one about emotional support. A few students gave other specific ways in which

the people had assisted.

LAW SCHOOL AND LEGAL EDUCATION

Respondents were asked what obstacles or barriers they hac experienced at Law School that may have affected their choice o career. Twenty-five - over a third - named at least one suc obstacle or barrier. Four mentioned race and/or gende discrimination. One said simply there were difficulties associate with entry. Another said lecturers were aloof and unapproachable. Two said the approach or institution was too rigid and resistant t change. Two mentioned funding or financial difficulties.

Several suggested problems with the curriculum. Four felt the course should be more practically oriented. One felt that lawyers should be required to study psychology and another wanted accounting for lawyers. Two suggested that the course was too intense, in one case leading to burn out and depression. On the other hand another student felt that standards were slipping. One respondent said simply that the curriculum must change.

There were several comments relating to lack of information, lack of "proper communication", and the lack of "transparency" of the Law Society.

When promoted as to how the law school could overcome these obstacles and barriers, 18 students had suggestions to make. In most cases these were the obvious counterparts of the obstacles - for example reducing fees, increasing bursaries, employing more blacks, introducing curriculum changes.

Several students also had additional suggestions. In relation to difficulties with law firms they suggested that the school arrange placements and bring firms to law schools. In relation to vocational guidance they suggested career options seminars, and better screening and selection of students.

Respondents were asked if they had been involved in any additional activities or work while at law school. The next table shows the responses:

ACTIVITY	Women	Men	Total
Law Clinic	13	10	23
LSC	1	4	5
Researchjob	3	0	3
Librarywork	3	2	5
Tuition	2	4	6
Other	0	5	5

The "other" here included one student who wrote a dissertation, one who managed a store, the student who worked on campaigns such as SADPSA, a student who had a service bursary and one student who set up a World Wide Web site.

Thirteen students (seven women and six men) said these additional activities assisted in getting a job. Two spoke about the practical experience, two said it enhanced their cv's, two said it resulted in their being offered articles, and one said it enhanced her marks.

Twenty-one students (nine women and twelve men) said they had done other work while studying. Seven students, in elaborating, said simply that they had worked part-time, or over weekends, or doing odd jobs. Three students worked as sales assistants and one as a waiter. Three did more clerical jobs - as a bookkeeper, in a bank and as a computer operator. A male acted as a driver. Finally four students did more legal or academically oriented jobs - one in the local advice office, one as a part-time lecturer, one as a volunteer teachers and the fourth as a student advisor.

Finally, students were asked whether they had any other comments. Seven of them took advantage of the opportunity. Two of the comments related to race - one said the law school should employ more African lecturers and the other added that the Law Society was WASP. Another student said that the legal profession needed to change. A male said something should be done about attorneys and articles.

Some of the remarks related to the course more directly. A woman student asked that more bursaries be provided for women. Another recommended that practical training be given to all those studying for an LLB. Finally one male student advised one not to study law.