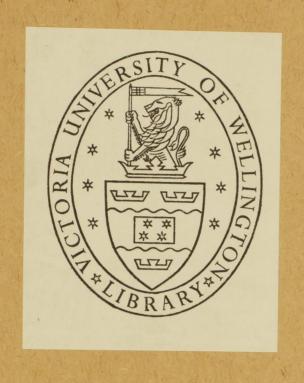
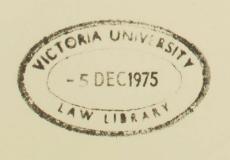
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Section 1:

Introduction.

The general aim of this study is to examine some of the processes occurring in legal education beyond the mere acquisition of skills and "learning the role of law in society". It is primarily argued that legal education integrates the individual both into an occupational community and into society at large (in terms of the conception of the relationship of the legal community with society, and of the formation of a "weltanschauung" 1). It is also argued that legal educators rarely, if ever, make this type of analysis of the results of their efforts, and that consequently the integration of the individual into the professional community takes place in an almost totally undirected fashion. To examine these questions the following points are to be considered;

- the concept of "profession", its major features, and some theories as to the function of professions in society.
- some aspects of the purposes, common features, and effects of professional education processes.
- the expressed and unexpressed aims of legal education in New Zealand as seen by legal educators and the practising Profession.

Clearly the assertions made above are meaningless without some form of empirical data from which inferences can be drawn that support the argument. To this end a survey was conducted among law students at Victoria University, with the object of obtaining information about the effects of legal education on students' personalities. More detailed objectives of this survey are set out in section five.

¹ Translated, "world outlook", though including the concepts of ideology and personal philosophy as well.

Section 2:

The Concept of "Profession".

(i) Characteristics of Professions.

The examination of the concept of "Profession" and the characteristics of professions enables an analysis to be made of the manner in which professional training and education inducts the recruit into the community of the profession and into its world-view and ideology.

No definition of "profession" exists that all sociologists would agree on, though most definitions have a few overlapping characteristics. Some writers, in fact, see "profession" as a useless device for any meaningful analysis, arguing that it is no more than a status claim. The writer believes that utilising an "ideal-type" definition, while recognising its limitations, enables a useful analysis of social reality to be made, by, as it were, abstracting from that reality and examining the part that "profession" as defined plays within it.

The characteristics of professions identified by Elliot² would probably be a fair amalgam of those set out by other writers. A profession wil usually have;

- a special skill
- a lengthy period of intellectual training
- autonomy and responsibility
- control on methods and behaviour of members
- control of recruitment and education
- collective responsibility for members' actions
- a fiduciary relationship with clients.

Other commentators emphasise that the professions are occupations where practice is founded on an understanding of the theoretical or conceptual structure of some department of knowledge. The importance of this characteristic will be pointed out in due course, suffice it to say presently that the heavy emphasis on conceptual, analytical, and theoretical

¹ R.W. Habenstein, "ACCritique of 'Profession' as a social Category." (1963) 4 Soc. Quarterly 291

²P.Elliot, Sociology of the Professions. 1972.

³For example, M. Cogan in Vollmer (ed.), <u>Professionalisation</u> at p.49 Also M. Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession" (1967) 2 Social Work

exercises in legal education indicates the existence of this characteristic in the legal profession.

Some importance is alsoplaced on the length of of schooling for professions, and the fact that professionals are always in favour of selecting their own future colleages through control of admittance to practice.

Cogan suggests that an additional characteristic of professions is that they consider their first ethical imperative to be altraistic service to the client. This is accepted by few writers however .Goode, for example, points out that the claim of professions that they "serve the client" is not true altruism but merely a reflection of the fact that their ethical codes are such that conformity with these codes rewards more handsomely than ignoring them. It is also worth pointing out that the service to the community that professionals envisage is still the service rendered by individual professionals to individual members of the public. Thus the values and organisation of the professions tend to favour some individuals over others by concentrating on the individualistic conception of service mentioned to the detriment of concern with the overall distribution of social services. The altruism of professions is thus merely "service orientation" as Schein⁸ puts it - the use of skills for the individual client, with absence of self-interest or moral judgment.

Of the characteristics of professions mentioned above, those of principal interest to the present study will be the theoretical basis of training, the extended period of training, and the control of education and training.

(ii) Professions in Society.

The roles of professions in society as perceived by sociologist and the professions themselves also give useful perspectives

⁴ See E.C. Hughes, B. Thorne, et al., Education for the Professions of Medicine, Law, Theology, and Social Welfare. 1973.

⁵ In Vollmer op.cit.

⁶ Valdmer op.cit.
7 Thorne op.cit.

⁸ E.H. Schein, Professional Education - Some new Directions. 1972.

on professional education. It should first be noted, however, that it is difficult to find statements by legal educators as to what they actually see as the role of the profession in society. Most confine themselves to statements such as "a function of legal education is to develop in students an appreciation the role of the lawyer in the development of society's goals", without stating what that role is, or what they perceive "society's goals" to be.

Sociology has developed several approaches to studying occupational groups in society. Durkheim, 10 for example, saw the increasing division of labour in modern "organic" society, and its consequent anomie, as tending to lead to occupational groups becoming social institutions which acted as mediators between the individuals within them and society at large. For a society characterised by "organic solidarity", Durkheim maintained, there must be a series of secondary groups interposed between the state and the individual for society to function. An extension of this analysis might be that occupational groups (especially professions) are social institutions within which "mechanical solidarity" may be found, corresponding to the non-alienated work of pre-industrial society.

By way of contrast, however, it has been argued that the growth of professions and similar groups tends to increase fragmentation in society. ¹¹ Elliot observes that "the more professions achieve the status of a community within a community, the more likely they are to have a divisive a well as a cohesive influence". ¹²

Elliot goes on to point out that the basis of analyses such as Durkheim's is essentially structural functional theory, This method of analysis concentrates on the basic needs or requirements which must be satisfied if a social group is to survive. It posits that social systems need systematised sets of roles and relations if they are to exist atall. In fact

⁹See Studying Law V.U.W. Law Faculty handbook 1975 pp.7-8.
For one interesting view of the lawyer as an avoider of disputes by "evidenc ing and establishing shared understandings sem

The Solicitor's Law Job. Unpublished dissertation 1973. A.S. Hawley.

¹⁰ E. Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society.

¹¹ T. Parsons, "Frofessions and Social Structure" (1939) 17 Social Forces 457.

¹² Elliot op.cit. p.12

some functionalists assert that if a structure or institution has survived in society it must serve a function.

The study of function involves the study of the specific role that structures or institutions play in a social group. The study of structure, on the other hand, draws our attention to the interests or values which determine social relations. Since institutions are to be understood in terms of the needs they fulfil (i.e. their function), an understanding of the function of a social institution or structure is said to lead to an understanding of how such institutions are established as behavior patterns which conform to certain norms and values.

Consequently, the use of structural functional theory, positing as it must a certain role that professions play in society, tends to lead to a belief that professions are "doing what they say they are doing", or an acceptance of professional ideology at face value. In fact, the needs of society (and of individuals) which the professional group is supposedly fulfilling may not be met by the <u>overt</u> ideology of the profession at all, but by processes and values bearing little relationship to that ideology.

(iii) Ethics and ideology - Socialisation and Integration.

Some of the points made above can now be drawn together.

If a "professional ethic", either overt or covert, can be discovered, assertions about the socialisation processes to which

^{13&}lt;sub>G.Millerson, Education and the Professions.</sub> 1973
14_{D.C.lortie, "Law School and Professional Socialisation"} (1959)

²⁹ Harv.Ed.Rev. 352
Two Slient studies of professional socialisation have been;
R.K.Merton et al., Student Physician. 1957
H.Becker etal., Boys in White. 1961

recuits to professions are subjected can be made.

The following definition of "socialisation" has been appted in this connection;

"The process by which people selectively acquire the"

"values and attitudes, the interests, XXX skills and

knowledge - in short, the culture - current in the

groups of which they are, or seek to become, members.

It refers to the learning of social roles." 16

Another way of understanding socialisation is to regard conscious thought and awareness as being organised in "categories of perception". 17 Some of these categories (i.e. time) may be common to all men. 0 thers may be so specific as to form conceptual systems peculiar to what will be, in effect, sub-cultures within a society (for example, an poccupational group). An individual within a particular social group will be forced, by a process of social conditioning, to utilise the categories of that group. The process by which the individual comes to utilise these categories rather than others is that of socialisation. In the process of socialisation the individual enters a "universe of discourse" where his modes of experience and awareness are similar to those of his peers. As we shall see, the legal profession employs certain "categories of thought", and can in this sense be viewed as a "universe of discourse".

What, then, are the roles and categories of thought that are learned in professional (and, move specifically, legal) education? If professional work is indeed some sort of contemporary equivalent of non-alienated labour, then professionals can be expected to share certain beliefs. Obviously some of the characteristics of professions spring to mind. Autonomy is said to be a cherished and central value toprofessionals. So also is control over other members, and of recruitment and education, for a profession will claim that it is uniquely responsible for a particular sphere of action in society, and will consequently jealously guard against the incursion of "unqualified" outsiders.

Further to these rather obvious points, the very nature

¹⁶ Merton op.cit. p.287

¹⁷ E. Fromm, D.T. Suzuki, Zen Buddism and Psychoanalysis. 1960 p.98 et sec

and intent of legal training serve to impose an ideology and categories of thought almost by default. "Learning to think like a lawyer", the acquisition of analytical skills, and, most significantly, the understanding of the theoretical and conceptual basis of the various law subjects, all serve to get the individual to develop, it is suggested, within a groove", taking on the narrow weltansch and modes of experiencing life derived from one profession. This conception of the socialisation process at work in professional education does not entail the individual adopting and internalising the "overt" beliefs and norms mentioned above, but rather involves the moulding of the way in which he responds to social stimuli, and formulates his own goals. This aspect of socialisation cannot be examined by merely referring to the overt norms and ideology of professions.

It is XXXX suggested that the "world-view" thus instilled is so convergent with the basic knowledge and techniques of the profession itself that the mere imparting and exercise of such knowledge and skills neccessarily carries with it such a "world-view".

The overt ideology of a profession, consequently, will not reveal the world-view and values that professional social--isation imparts, and indeed may not even contain them. Moreover, the socialisation process, in addition to being carried on by the conceptualand analytical teachings of professional education, may also be carried on by the role-identification of the student within the social nexus of the professional school. The student is in a social setting where, to be accepted, to feel that he belongs, he must accept or seem to accept the values and norms his peers appear to hold. His relationships with staff and students mould his perceptions of and reactions to this situation. 18 The individual thus develops a commitment in terms of self-identification to the role he sees himself in, and indeed there may be considerable social pressure on him not to deviate from this role. The extent to which the values and norms internalised in this fashion are shaped by the active process of professional education is unknown. (As is the extent to which they correspond to the overt ideology of

¹⁸H.S.Becker, J. Carper, "The development of identification with an occupation." (1956) 61 Am.J.Soc. 289 see also R.M. Pavalko, Sociology of Occupations and Professions.

the particular profession.)

There is also evidence that the development of identity is not only a process of "adopting a role", but also a process of "discovering who you are". This view has important implications for the present study, in as much as family background, ¹⁹friends, and other influences outside the law school may shape the current identity of the student as much as the law school itself does. Socialisation may thus be an extension of existing tendencies as much as a changing process.

In summary, it might be ******* said that socialisation in professional education, to the extent that it is not an extension of existing characteristics, is a three tiered system. Firstly, there is the overt ideology of the profession, as presented by the educators. Secondly, there is the role imposed on students by the social situation of the law school, and the norms and values absorbed from this situation. Thirdly, there are the world-views and categories of thought imposed by the actual theoretical and conceptual basis of the skills taught - the "covert ideology" of the profession.

(iv) Limitations of the Study.

There are some important matters it is now neccessary to stress. It should be made clear that the writer's point of departure for this study has been structural functional theory. The writer is alive to the problem of an overly whole—hearted acceptance of professional ideology mentioned above, and has attempted to indicate alternative theories as to the sources and nature of this ideology. Indeed, a salient finding of the survey was that some of the values thought to be included in the overt ideology of the legal profession were precisely those which legal education does not appear to inculcate. In this connection it must be emphasised that much socialisation probably takes place outside the formal education process, possibly in the first few years of practice.

A further important limitation is that, beyond the brief consideration in section XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 2 (ii), this article is not concer ned with examining the present situation of the legal profession in society as such, but only as ameans to formulating hypotheses about socialisation. In this regard the limitations of structural functional theory are recognised, and the conclusions reached are subject to the reservations mentioned.

¹⁹ The survey revealed that of 75 students, 34were of "white-collar" backgrounds, 28 "professional", and 13 "blue-collar".

Section 3:

Professional Education and Legal Education.

Since the mid-nineteenth century the professions have increasingly established qualifying organisations and examinations. University degrees are usually at least initial requirements for qualification, and in many ways professional education might be viewed as the summit of the education system. It is certainly the last contact with formalised education for a group of people who tend to be "leaders in society".

There is usually a preliminary year of rather general courses that loosely relate to the particular profession involved. Then a series of "core subjects" follow. These are subjects regarded as essential if skills and powers of analysis are to be developed. Following this, elective subjects are offered. Finally, some in-practice or "mechanics" education is usually required.

It is suggested that for students, as opposed to actual entrants to practice, it is the phase of "core subjects" that is most important. It is in this period (i.e. the second and third year of the law course) that the most dramatic effects might be expected, for it is in this period that professional education implants its perceptions of society, knowledge, and culture as they impinge on legal work. "Much that passes for theory (and practice) is the ideology of the profession, including its conception of the nature of the phenomena its deals with." 1

It is commonly accepted among students that the core subjects of the law course (at Victoria University at least) are the most difficult, in terms of both conceptual understanding and workload. The reason for this should be clear from the above comments.

The socratic method of teaching commonly adopted in legal education has been severely criticsed in recent years.Nader sees it as a pedagogical system that humbles the student into accepting its premises, levels of abstraction, and choice of subject. Thorne discovered that many students at Yale University viewed socratic teaching as an assault, causing

¹ Hughes, op. cit. p. 16

²R.Nader, "law Schools and Law Firms" (1969) 11 New Republic 20

tension and fear of public humiliation, sarcasm, and ridicule. Socratic teaching further impresses upon the student that if he does not do the prescribed work and analyse it in the prescribed manner, he can have nothing worthwhile to contribute. While the writer s experience of the socratic method as practiced in New Zealand is that only rarely do individual teachers inspire extreme reactions to the method, it cannot fail to leave some impression on students, as a political model if nothing else.

As will appear from the following section, no conscious decision appears to have been taken, in New Zealand legal education, to adopt the specific analytical approach used. At least, no such decision seems to have been made on the basis of a full knowledge of its implications. (Few legal academics are trained educators.) Yet, as Redmount observes. the end result of this type of approach may well be that the indiv idual's mode of experiencing becomes almost exclusively intellective. "The outcome is a relatively high degree of thinking and reasoning skill that serves as a system for identifying and interpreting experience." As Redmount points out, this at least raises a question as to whether such emphasis on the intellect inhibits or even destroys sensibilities for gauging and dealing with experience. Such a question, of course, ultimately gets back to the debate about the appropriateness, or even the value, of rationality as the sole or principal organisational basis for society. The writer sees no reason why this debate should be the exclusive province of the philosopher or psychoanalyst. Educators have a responsibility to formulate and declare views on this matter.

A final aspect of professional education in general is the question of motivation. The lengthy training involved requires a motivation that will generate suffici ent stamina to successfully complete the course of study. Hall⁵ notes that present conduct must be disciplined in the interest of the future goal, and maintains that this explains in part why most professional students come from professional and middle—class backgrounds. He argues that only in such families are the mechanisms neccessary to generate the requisite

³see <u>Hughes</u>, op. cit.

⁴R.S.Redmount, "Transactional Emphasis in Legal Education."

^{(1974) 26} J.Ieg.Ed. 253. at p.255 O.Hall, "The Stages of aMedical Career." (1948)53Am.J.Soc.327

ambition. Vollmer develops this point, in noting that professionals have usually learned principles of "deferred gratification" to a high degree, being, typically, "inner-directed" personalities. These observations again point out the impact of professional education on the development of personality.

6 Vollmer, op. cit.

Section 4:

The Aims of Legal Education in New Zealand - Expressed and Unexpressed.

While legal educators in New Zealand have been silent as to the process of socialisation involved on legal education, they have been willing to express the aims of legal education in more general terms. A brief survey of what has been said on the subject follows.

(i) The Academics.

The aim of legal education at Victoria University is said to be the combination of a "general liberal education" with practical requisites for practice. The course seeks to develop;

- an understanding of the role of law in society
- knowledge of the institutional environment
- analytical skills
- research and communicative skills
- practical knowledge of the law
- professional knowledge and skills
- public responsibility.

These goals are very general and do not require teachers to really come to grips with the aims of legal education. In fact, some may receive little, if any, attention in the course at all.²

Professor J.F.Northey of Auckland Law School considered in 1962 that the Universitys concern was with; 3

- the study of principles and theory
- legal reasoning
- the development of reasoning and communicative powers
- the production of "men who are educated in the most general sense"
- the provision of the neccessary foundation for the "apprenticeship" in law offices.

Doctor I.L.M.Richardson, a former Dean of the Victoria University law school, maintains that the first role of the

¹ Studying Law, 1975 Faculty of Law Handbook V.U.W. p.7

² As pointed out by J.C. Thomas in Legal Eduction- The Role of a Law School. Unpublished paper at 1975 ANZALS Conference.

J.F.Northey, "Legal Education and the Universities." (1962) N.Z.L,J.9

law school is to provide a flow of properly qualified recruits to the profession, and that the second is to provide a multipurpose degree suitable as an alternative to the B.A. He points out that law has an increasing concern with social and economic policy and the current fabric of society.

Professor Sim maintains that the law school must give the student a value system. "The law student will go out with, in a sense, a built-in value system derived from his study of law.....a lifelong intellectual framework." However this framework should, according to Professor Sim, come out of the study of the required courses, rather than be a primary aim. Professor Sim also cites the aims of the Ormrod Report, these aims being;

- to give a basic knowledge of law
 to give an understanding of the relationship of law to the social environment
- to teach ability to handle facts and skills of analysis.

Academic observers thus in general seem to see the role of the law school as being based on a balance between the practical requirements of the Profession, and the more academic requirement of "placing law in its social context." But nowhere, except in the remarks of Professor Sim, is there any recognition that the process of legal education is, at least in part, a process of socialisation. The only reference to this process is the side-long one contained in such phrases as "the development of social responsibility", or "public responsibility".

(ii) The Profession and the Judiciary.

Not unnaturally, the Brofession is primarily concerned with the development of skills and practical expertise. At a Forum on legal education at Auckland in 1970, several practising Barristers and Solicitors maintained that the basic role of the

⁴These remarks were made in a discussion between the writer and Doctor Richardson, now in practice and in fact the Wellington representative of the Profession in the Council of Legal Education.

⁵Professor P.B.A.Sim, of Otago University, in <u>Proceedings of the Forum on LegalEducation</u>. Legal Research Foundation Occasional pamphlet. 1970

^{6 &}lt;u>Ibid.p.35</u>

⁷ In "Legal Education in New Zealand - aSymposium."(1973) 3 Otago I.R

⁸ Report of the Committee on Legal Education. 1971 U.K. Cmnd.4595

law school was to cater for those who intended to enter practice, and criticised the Univerities for placing too great an emphasis on the theoretical. At the 1973 Symposium similar sentiments were voiced. The general acceptance of this view seems to be borne out by the results of the 1970 Legal Resarch Foundation survey on legal education, where 52% of practitioners surveyed thought law courses should be primarily to provide professional training.

Ferhaps by way of counterpoint, the comments of the Judiciary, and , curiously, of writers in the New Zealand Law Journal prior to about 1960, place greater emphasis on the ethical values that they feel legal education should inculcate. In fact these were the only really direct comments on "value formation" that the writer could find anywhere in the New Zealand literature.

Haslam J. supports those who maintain that legal education should be a synthesis of academic and practical training, but also asserts that, "a wisely selected law course should awaken the student to the greatness of his calling, and in those who by nature and temperament are fitted for the law, inspire a loyalty that should endure for a working lifetime".

Again, "do not some of our subjects offer a guide, even a philosophy, for all who seek them.....the worthwhile practitioner must stand committed to the eternal quest for justice....". 10

It is suggested that these comments are the most unequivocal of any of those examined so far, firstly in articulating the "ethical aims" of legal education, and secondly in hinting that in some sense legal education socialises requits into the world view and "philosophy" of the Frofession.

Earlier commentators have stated that some kind of ethical socialisation should be an aim of legal education.N.Wilson 11 in 1960 maintained that legal education should guide the student in his professional and ethical relationships with clients and colleagues. Even earlier, in 1934, it was said that "an experienced practitioner examining a candidate in this subject (professional

⁸a See footenote 7 ante.

⁹Haslam J., "F.W.Guest Memorial Lecture." (1970) 2 Otago I.Rev. 113 at p.117

^{10 &}lt;u>Ibid</u> p.117

¹¹ N.Wilson, "A New Look at Legal Education." (1960) N.Z.L.J.148

ethics - a proposed new paper) should be able easily to learn whether he is of the type desired in the profession". 12Writers in the intervening years spoke in similar terms.

In summary the Profession in general appear to see the aim of legal education as primarily that of preparation for practice in terms of skills et al., though accepting the need for some "liberal arts" or "cultural" content. The Judiciary, and perhaps writers in earlier years, place more emphasis on questions of responsibility and ethics.

(iii) Expressed Aims - Unintended Effects.

The preceding survey of the expressed aims of legal education in New Zealand, it is argued, supports the thesis that many of the actual effects of legal education are unknown and unintended. The aims expressed by most contemporary legal educators in this country can be summarised thus;

1.To train for practice.

2.To enhance social understanding and re-examination

3.To explore the possibilities of the subject matter. 13
But rarely is any concern exhibited for the actual effect
of legal education on the personalities of students, even
though these aims neccessarily carry with them specific world-views, or approaches to social reality. There appears to be
a general hope, though it is unexpressed, that if legal educators
address the more general aims mentioned above, the student
will automatically have instilled in him the values, norms,
and ethics that so few legal educators are willing to discuss
openly yet appear, from the hints given in the literature,
to support. It is the writer's contention that this is a far
from automatic process. The survey (section 5) was designed
to produce empirical evidence that would demonstrate the
truth or falsity of this contention.

¹² Editorial, (1934) 10 N.Z.L.J.250

These categories are used by M.Cohen in, "Objectives and Methods of Legal Education - an Outline." (1954) 32 Can.Bar Rev. 760

Section 5:

The Survey

(i) Objects of the Survey.

The basic object of the survey was to examine some of the questions raised above as to the socialisation of law students by the Law School. The survey attempts to discover whether the following aspects of students' personalities are changed as students move from junior to senior years of study:

-acceptance by students of some of the

ethical values that law schools seem (on the basis of the previous section) to be trying to promote.

-changes in students' position on a liberal-conservative continuum of political attitudes.

-changes in the anxiety levels of students.

The survey also attempted to discover whether the social background of students had any relationship with these variables.

(ii) A Caveat.

The survey methods used were crude and the results roughly processed, in terms of strict research methodology. The writer believes that the results indicated as significant are significant. However it must be emphasised that the survey is intended to operate only as a rudimentary measure in order to suggest possible effects of legal education that are presently unknown.

(iii) Some Predictions.

Socialisation: It was predicted that if a measure of socialisation into the professional community and its ethical norms could be constructed, three trends would become apparent. First, students would exhibit increasing involvement, in senior years, with the law school community. Second, students would increasingly accept, in senior years, the norms and values of the profession that the law school may be trying to promote. Third,

that the law school may be trying to promote. Third, students would increasingly think of themselves as "professionals".

The "Socialisation Scale", which attempts to examine these variables, is comprised of questions 10-16 of the questionaire. (Appendix A).

To meet the objection that this type of approach, based

on the theorised "internalising" of norms and values, depends too much on a conception of man as a passive recipient of "given" values, many of the remaining sections of the survey attempt to gain more information about the common experiences of students within the social nexus of the law school.

Liberalism-Conservatism Scale:

If indeed the conceptual and theoretical aspects of legal study do impart a world-view, it can be surmised that the process will tend to move students towards the conservative end of the political continuum, if the assertion that the conceptual perspective of law is a narrow one is well founded. Again, if students are socialised into a community, it may be that they become less liberal, in view of research findings that liberals tend to express greater feelings of social alienation. 2

The Liberalism-Conservatism scale is comprised of questions 28-32 of the questionnaire.(Appendix A.)

Anxiety Scales:

One anxiety scale seeks to measure anxiety related specifically to law school studies. The other scale attempts to measure manifest anxiety levels in the personality generally. It was thought that the second scale, if not the first, would show a marked decrease in mean scores in senior years, as students' conceptions of their roles matured and their anxieties about identity were alleviated by their taking on the professional identity and norms in the socialisation process. A further prediction was thus that students exhibiting high socialisation scores would exhibit lower anxiety levels. The work/study related Anxiety scale is comprised of questions 17-22. The Manifest Anxiety scale is comprised of questions 23-27.

(Appendix A.)

Social Origins:

If socialisation is not so much and intrnalising of norms as an extending of identities and roles already latent,

¹ Elliot op.cit., among others, makes this objection, contrasting the "internalising" approach of R.K.Merton et al., in Student Physician 1957, with the more role-orientated study of H.S.Becker, E.C. Hughes et al., Boys in White 1961.

^{2.}W.R.Rambo, "Validation of a Scale measuring Liberal-Conservative Attitudes". (1973)36(1) Perceptual Motor Skills 103.

students from professional backgrounds should exhibit higher socialisation scale scores than students from white-collar (non-professional) and blue-collar backgrounds.

A further aspect of the social nexus of the law school that was felt worthy of exploration was the extent to which students perceived the structure of student relationships as a hierarchy. Question 6 (Appendix.A) examines

this. It was thought that relatively "uninitiated" junior students would respond more positively to the notion of a "hierarchy" than would seniors.

Question 9 was intended to operate as a measure of political extremism/dogmatism. It was surmised that junior students, if more anxious and less well socialised than seniors, would exhibit more extreme political views.

(iv) Survey Method.

The survey was conducted by interviewers taking verbal responses to questions on a cue-card (appendix A). Eighty-one responses were elicited, comprising;

first year students - 10
second year - 19
third year - 20
fourth year - 13
fifth year - 19
81

These respondents were selected at random.Likert-type scales were used for most questions, and where neccessary these were scored trichotomously 4 to simplify processing.

All of the scales except the socialisation scale consist of selected items drawn from existing scales of high reliability and validity, adapted slightly where neccessary. The work-related anxiety scale was based on a scale developed by Sarason.

The Manifest Anxiety scale was based on the Taylor M.A. Scale.

The Liberalism-Conservatism scale derives from a scale developed by Rambo. The writer believes that the measures provided are crude but sufficient for present purposes.

³R.Likert, "A technique for the measurement of attitudes"(1932) Arch.Psyc.140.

⁴ See score sheet, appendix B. Also Matell, "Fsycometric Characteristics of Likert-type rating scales."(1970)30(9-B)Diss. Ab. Int. 4406.

⁵ S.B. Sarason, Anxiety in Elementary School Children. 1960 p. 306

⁶J.A. Taylor, A Personality scale of Manifest Anxiety (1953)48J.Ab. Soc. Psyc. 285.

⁷W.Rambo, "Neasurement of social attitudes."(1973)35 Ferceptual Motor Skills463

The Socialisation scale was developed by the writer, as were the remainder of the questions. The kind of ethical norms that were investigated in the socialisation scale were those that appear to be in the minds of legal educators, on the basis of research for section four - i.e. dedication to justice, sense of purpose in society, self-image as a professional, and so on. Every attempt was made to eliminate extraneous factors, and a number of similar scales were examined. However this scale has not been subjected to reliability and validity testing.

No control group was used, and it must be emphasised that the writer makes no assertions about the anxiety, conservatism et al. of law students in relation to the outside community,

Identification of the social group to which students belonged was made on the subjective basis of "fathers occupation". This is an extremely crude determinant of social position, but it was found on pre-test that the more precise methods available were cumbersome and evoked several refusals by students who perhaps felt threatened by probes into family background and finances.

To ascertain the significance of the mean group scores obtained F-ratios and t-tests were computed. These calculations enable assertions to be made as to the probability that the difference between two means is caused by sampling error or natural fluctuations of response. Thus if we have two scores of "10" and "12", and a to find 1.5 is computed at probability "p"=0.05, the probability is only 5% that the difference between the scores' being greater than 1.5 is due to sampling error. Statisticians usually treat a difference between scores with less than a 5% probability of being due to sampling error as being a significant difference about which assertions can be made. In the example given, the difference between the scores would thus be treated as significant.

⁸For example; Wallace, "Institutional Socialisation of College Freshmen."(1964)70 Am.J.Soc.303

also Hadja, "Alienation and integration of Student Intellectuals."(1961)26 Am. Soc. Rev. 758

⁹ For example, A.B.Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position. (1965)

¹⁰ Calculated on the basis of Bruning and Kintz, Computational
Handbook of Statistics 1968 p.22

¹¹ Ibid p.112

(v) The Results of the Survey. Socialisation:

The mean scores were;

year: 1 2 3 4 5 score: 13.80 13.89 12.50 13.08 13.00

The differences in scores were only marginally significant at t=1.27 p=0.10. It was suspected that the two factor nature of the scale might be responsible and consequently separate means were derived for scores on Questions 10-12-the "Social Involvement" questions, and for Questions 13-16, the "ethical norms" questions.

There was found to be no significent difference upward or downward in the mean scores on the "Social Involvement" scale. Junior and Senior students seem to exhibit about the same degree of involvement.

However the mean scores for the "ethical-norms" scale were;

year: 1 2 3 4 5 score: 9.90 9.36 7.90 8,38 8.15 t=1.25 p=0.05.

Here the trend towards rejection of these "ethical norms" in the senior years of study is clearly significant, especially the "bottoming-out" in the third year. These scores indicate that students in the third, fourth, and fifth years are significantly less willing to accept the type of values set out in the questions than more junior students. In this respect at least they might be said to be poorly socialised in the ethical norms that are often asserted to be one aim of legal education. This does not accord with the predictions made on the basis of theory, and it must be concluded that whatever socialisation is taking place the inculcation of such values is not part of it.

Ferhaps one suggestion as to what <u>is</u> taking place is given by a separate analysis of question 16, which asked for agreement/ disagreement with the statement that "the rule of law is nothing more nor less than the rule of force." Mean scores were;

> year: 1 2 3 4 5 score: 2.30 2.57 1.75 2.23 1.79 t=0.64 p=0.05

Agreement being represented by a low score, it appears that there is a significant increase in agreement with this statement in the third and fifth years, again with a "bottoming out" in the third year.

The statement might perhaps be taken as a measure of cynicism. Why then does the trend not accord with the decrease in cynicism from junior to senior years observed by Eron and Redmount in one study of law students? One tentative answer might be that the younger New Zealand law students (U.S. law students are already graduates.) find it harder to cope with the disillusioning experiences Redmount attributes to the Law School elsewhere in his study. Liberal-Conservative scale:

None of the differences in scores (by year of study)on this scale were found to be significant at p=0.10. This failure of any significant change in Liberal-Conservative sentiments to emerge, contrary to predictions, is to some extent explained by the responses to Question 9, dealing with Folitical orientation.

In most years, about 30% of students classed themselves as left of centre, 30% centre, and 30% right. The interesting feature here is that, in senior years, while the proportions to left and right of centre do not shift markedly (except in the fifth year when only 5% classed themselves as "centre", the two sides increasing about equally) the number prepared to label themselves as <u>far</u> left and <u>far</u> right (ie., extreme views) increased. Thus, while an <u>average</u> position remained about the same, extreme views at both ends of the continuum increased. It might be inferred from this that while direction of political leaning may not change, the dogmatism with which political opinions are held increases in the senior years.

Anxiety Scales:

Law School Work-Related Anxiety.

year: 1 2 3 4 5 meanscore: 3.20 3.00 3.00 2.77 2.42

^{12.} L. Eron and R.S. Redmount, "The effect of Legal Education on Attitudes" (1957) 9J.L.Ed.431.

None of these differences were significant at p=0.10 though a clear downward tendency appears. It can tentatively be asserted that work-related anxiety does not increase or decrease significantly with year of study. One explanation of this result may be that those who do not achieve the optimum anxiety level for productive work are weeded out by failure, as are those who exceed that level, the overall average thus being homogenous.

Manifest Anxiety:

mean score: 1.70 2.26 3.25 1.77 2.11

Manifest anxiety was found to be significant between several years at t=0.83, p=0.01. The trend is to increase to a peak at third year, then to drop away again to levels not significantly different from those of the first year.

This can be read with the tendency of the third year to be a low point in terms of "ethical-norms" socialisation. It may be tentatively asserted that anxiety and the socialisation process are correlated, for it appears from these results that, in terms of general personal anxiety levels, law school is an anxiety provoking experience. Yet the failure of any significant differences to appear in the work-related a xiety scale suggest that it is not the <u>fact</u> of law school work which provokes this anxiety but its content. (Age and the Social role of the Student may also be factors however).

Further Analysis of Anxiety Scale:

Responses were now grouped according to their score on the Manifest anxiety Scale, six groups being created, comprised of the possible scores 0-5. On deriving means for the "ethical-norms" socialisation scale for each of the groups thus created it was found that the lowest scoring group on the anxiety scale had the highest mean on the socialisation scale, significantly different from the other groups at p=0.05. It can reasonably be inferred that students who have accepted the type of norms exemplified in the socialisation scale have significantly lower manifest anxiety levels than those who have internalised these norms less successfully. Since these norms are increasingly rejected by senior students, the higher anxiety levels in later years take on new meaning. However,

the tendency of the anxiety level to drop in the fourth and fifth year leads one to believe that some new set of norms has filled the anxiety provoking gap left by the rejection of those in the socialisation scale.

To check whether age had any effect on anxiety scores, the mean age for each anxiety group was calculated and an F - ratio computed. The variance of these means was found to be non-significant (p>0.20.) Age, it appears, is not the primary factor that determines anxiety level in the law school environment.

The response to Question 8, on the degree to which emotional reactions affected work was also calculated for each anxiety group. The low anxiety—level groups felt that emotional reactions interfered only to a small degree with their work, while the high anxiety—level groups felt that their reaction interfered to a greater degree. This trend was generally significant at p=0.05.

Career Intentions - Question 5.

year: 1 2 3 4 5

Proposed career:

(a) Private Practice 30% 42% 40% 54% 60%

(e) Legal Aid, Social Work 10% 5% 35% 8% 5% Community Services.

(f) Other. 20% 21% 10% 30% 25%

Proportions of students intending careers in the other options offered (see Appendix A) remained fairly constant. It will be seen that while a fairly constant rise in those intending to enter practice occurred, 13 the number of those intending to do "philanthropic" work peaks in the third year (coinciding with the high anxiety and low socialisation scores). This increase is, it seems, comprised of defectors from the "other," "business," "civil service," and "politics" categories, i.e. those with a less strong commitment to practice, and perhaps to the profession generally. The increased

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^{13.} This was also the tendency disclosed in a recent study at Auckland Law School. R.M. Noakes, <u>Law Careers</u> L.L.B. (Hons) dissertation. Auckland 1973.

number of philanthropic-type work responses in the third year might be interpreted as a "rebellion" against the socialisation that successful adoption of the conceptual modes of legal thought entails, When students realise that they must master these modes of thought to succeed at even philanthropic law-work, they perhaps begin to consider other possible careers, including private practice.

Effect of Emotional Reactions on Work.

Question 8 results revealed a clear tendency for senior students to feel that their emotional reactions affected their work less. It might be inferred from this that they are becoming more "hardbitten" (or more competent), but a more likely inference is that those students whose reactions affect their work too badly are eliminated by failure. Redmount 14 suggests that there is an "optimum" level of anxiety which spurs work effort, but which reasoning and conceptualising ability is progressively destroyed. The results of question 8 perhaps suggest that such a process is at work among students.

Perception of student social structure:

About 10 - 15% more senior students than junior students agreed that there was an "inner circle" of senior students in the law school. Some polarisation of views on this question occurred, with 0% in the fifth year undecided, compared with 30% in the first year. This suggests that while students perceptions of the social nexus of the law school as a hierarchy increase only slightly, their perceptions of it as a social nexus of roles etc. do increase.

Student Idealism:

Agreement with the statement in question 33, that law school dampens student idealism, showed a fairly steady increase f rom junior to senior years (reaching 74% in the fifth year). This is perhaps especially significant with regard to the trends in the ethical-norms socialisation scale and the anxiety scale.

Analysis by Social Group:

Of 75 responses to the question as to fathers occupation,

¹⁴R.S.Redmount, "A Conceptual View of the Legal Education Process."
(1972) 24 J.Leg.Ed.129

28 were found to be "professional", 34 "white-collar", and 13 "blue-collar" (including farmers, tradesmen etc.).

The mean score on the ethical-norms specialisation scale was calculated for each group. An F-ratio was computed and the variance of these mean scores found not to be significant. (p> 0.20) This result suggests that changes in the "ethical" aspects of socialisation have normalization to social background.

The responses to question 4, reasons behind the decision to study law, were;

Social Group:	Professional	White-collar	Blue-
Reasons: (a) Drifted into it.	11%	21%	collar 38%
(b) Law offers certainty.	7%	6%	0%
(c) Interest in law.	46%	38%	31%
(d) Autonomy and respect.	11%	21%	8%
(e) Other.	25%	15%	23%

The most distinct difference between the groups is that many more students of blue-collar backgrounds "drifted into" law school. This would accord with theoretical assertions as to the direction and impetus that middle-class families give to their offspring. Support for this interpretation comes from the finding that many more professional than blue-collar students entered law school because of "interest in law", perhaps reflecting a more intellectual orientation in the professional group. The white-collar group, on the other hand, placed more importance on the "autonomy and respect" aspect of a professional career, perhaps reflecting the "upward aspirations of the amiddle-class" that some commentators hypothesise.

Question 5, relating to the career aspirations of students, revealed that while about the same number of students in professional and white-collar groups intended to enter practice, only about a third of this number in the blue-collar group so intended. "Other" and "don't know" responses were, in the blue-collar group, double those in the white-collar group. In turn, white-collar responses of "other" and "don't know" were double those of the professional group. These results seem to confirm that students with professional and, to a lesser extent, white-collar backgrounds are more highly directed and, perhaps, motivated than those from blue-collar backgrounds. This gives some support to the theory that socialisation is

in part an extension of what the individual already is, though the results vis-a-vis the socialisation scale suggest that, in respect of the types of values contained therein at least, there are no predispositions according to social background.

Finally, the results of Question 7, on the extent to which student expectations of the law course had been fulfilled, indicated no significant differences by social group. This result suggests that expectations about the law course are not instilled to any greater degree by professional background than by any other. Overall about 70% of students stated that their expectations had been "partly fulfilled".

Section 6:

Conclusions:

In inferring conclusions from the survey the caveat as to methodology must be repeated, as must the warning that correlations do not demonstrate causes. The results are only intended to be indicators of possible effects, and tentative evidence in support of theories.

While they are at law school, significant changes occur in students' anxiety levels, in their socialisation into some of the "ethical norms" of the legal profession, in their work intentions, in their level of idealism, and, perhaps, in their level of cynicism. All of these changes except those relating to ethical norms are changes which the stated aims of legal education in New Zealand take no account of . Indeed, with respect to some ethical norms, it seems that students are "de-socialised" in terms of the stated aims. The general picture is that students go through a period of increased anxiety in the middle years of the law course, and emerge from this period more committed to private practice (or to its avoidance as a career option), more polarised and dogmatic politically, and less willing to say that the lawyer upholds ideals of justice and ethical conduct. They are perhaps more cynical and certainly less idealistic.

Overall, while it cannot be conclusively proved that the law school is responsible for these changes (the analysis of social origins suggests these are a force at work also) it seems that one of the following processes may be occurring. Either the legal education process is rejecting those who do not exhibit or cannot take on the characteristics found in senior years, or legal education actually fosters these qualities in individuals. The social setting of the law school plays a part, but this social setting is largely dictated by the structural nature of legal education. (Many law teachers recognise this in their emphasis on the need for "community in the law school". 1

The third year seems to be something of a watershed. Thorne

¹ For example, K. Llewellyn, Bramble Bush. 1930 and also in A Statement of Concern. Unpublished paper of the V.U.W. Law Faculty, on the threatened demolition of its "home" in the Hunter Building. 1974 p.4

speaks of a "third-year malaise", which on the data of the survey seems a more than apposite description. The conceptualty taxing third year subjects, taught by socratic methods (in the main), and following a year of similarly difficult core subjects, seem to be the main mechanisms by which students are forced to accept the conceptual premises of law, and whatever welt-anschauungen these premises carry with them.

The contention of the writer is that legal education has effects which are largely unconsidered and unplanned, and that some of these effects are of great importance in the formation of personal and professional identity. If legal education is to be continued on its present basis the writer believes that students should consciously be started on the development of a coherent social and moral philosophy of their profession, at her than continuing the present practice of allowing these values to grow in a totally undirected and unconscious fashion, at least during the period of law school training. Alternatively, some other basis of legal education might be sought, perhaps a "transactional" basis, or a "functional - informational" approach, seeing law more interms of social engineering.

If indeed social relations within professional communities resemble Durkheim's pattern of mechanical soldarity, and if the relationship of professional communities to society is in the pattern of organic solidarity, then in a sense the identification with a profession forms the basis of the societal life of members. In a world of anomic relationships this becomes even more important, and partly explains the professions' strenuous defence of their prerogatives. Given the important and specialised role of professions in modern society, more information should urgently be sought about the formation of the professional identity that governs the relationship of the professions to that society. What is the professional identity and role that law schools develop in students? Whatever it is, it may be very different from that which legal educators suppose.

²B. Thorne, Education for the Professions of Medicine, Law, et al. op.cit.

³ See W.Katz, "Human Nature and Training for Law Practice." (1948) 1 J.Leg.Ed.205

⁴ Redmount, "Transactional Emphasis in Legal Education." (1974)
26 J.Leg.Ed.253

"When the Pyrot case was brought to the Supreme Court by the Lord Chancellor, it fell to Justice Chaussepied to examine it for errors, if there were any.....After much difficulty and repeated refusals by General van Julep, Justice Chaussepied obtained access to the files. As he studied them, the Judge was filled with wonder. He found in the files advertisements of novelty shops, newspapers, fashion illustrations; gocery bags, old business letters, school notebooks, and paper for polishing floors, playing cards, drafts, and six thousand copies of the 'Key to Dreams', but not a single document concerning Pyrot."

from Anatole France, Penguin Island

Survey of Law Student Opinion

This survey is being conducted as part of an honours research paper. Its purpose is to examine students opinions about legal education and to examine stresses on students. The results may be used by the faculty and it is consequently in your interests to answer as accurately and frankly as possible. However, if you do not wish to answer any question please simply state "object". Your name is not required and your responses will in no way be identified with you. Please work through the paper as quickly as possible to allow the maximum number of responses to be collected.

Question No.

- 1. Please state what year of study you are currently engaged in. (i.e. 1st, 2nd, etc.)
- 2. Please state your age.
- Please state your father's occupation.

 GENERAL ATTITUDE TO LEGAL EDUCATION.

 In this section please respond by stating the letter preceding the statement which you feel most represents your opinion.
- 4. Which of the following most represents the reason behind your decision to study law?
 - (a) I made no conscious decision I drifted into it.
 - (b) Law offers certainty and clarity.
 - (c) Interest in law, intellectual challenge and stimulation.
 - (d) Autonomy, respect, and a responsible position.
 - (e) Other:please specify.
- 5. What type of work do you anticipate doing when qualified?
 - (a) Private Practice
 - (b) Commerce, Business.
 - (c) Politics.
 - (d) Civil service.
 - (e) Legal aid, social work, community srevices.
 - (f) Other: please specify
- 6. What is your reaction to the assertion that "senior students in the law school form an 'inner circle' of relationships and friendships".
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree

- 7. Since being in law school, have our expectations of law and the study of law been fulfilled, whatever they may have been?
 - (a) Not at all fulfilled
 - (b) Partly fulfilled
 - (c) Completely fulfilled
 - (d) Had no expectations
- 8. Genrally, in your law school work, to what extent do you feel that your emotional reactions interfere with and lower your performance?
 - (a) Not at all
 - (b) Tola small extent
 - (c) To some extent
 - (d) To a moderate extent
 - (e) A great deal.
- 9. In your own view, would you say that your personal philosophy is:
 - (a) Far left of center
 - (b) Left or Liberal
 - (c) Middle of the road
 - (d) Conservative
 - (e) Far right
 - (f) Don't know.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH STAFF AND OTHER STUDENTS.

- O. To what extent do you have contact outside lectures and tutorials with faculty staff?
 - (a) Very often
 - (b) Often
 - (c) Sometimes
 - (d) Infrequently
 - (e) Never
- 11. To what Extent are your friends and aquaintances law students and lawyers?
 - (a) Almost all
 - (b) Most
 - (c) Some
 - (d) A few
 - (e) Almost none
- 12. How often do you feel uncomfortably different outside the law school in the presence of non-law students or lawyers?
 - (a) Very often
 - (b) Often
 - (c) Sometimes
 - (d) Infrequently
 - (e) Never.

- 13. To what degree do you think of yourself as being in training for a profession?
 - (a) To a great degree
 - (b) To a moderate degree
 - (c) To a small degree
 - (d) Hardly at all
 - (e) Never
- 14. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
 "The worthwhile lawyer must, in his work, stand committed to
 the eternal quest for justice, wherever it may be sought."
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree
- 15. "The young entrant to the legal profession brings with him from the university a profound sense of dedication and of the long-term purpose which he is trained to fulfill in society."
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree.
- 16. "The 'rule of law' is nothing more nor less than the rule of force."
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree.

The next section is concerned with the amount of stress which legal education puts on students. You are reminded that your responses are completely anonymous, and are again requested to be as frank and accurate as possible.

Please respond by stating "yes" or "no".

- Please respond by stating "yes" or "no".
- 17. Do you worry when lecturers who expect students to prepare for class are likely to call on you?
- 18. Do you worry about passing end of year examinations?
- 19. Do you think you worry more about your work than other students?
- 20. After you have sat a terms test or examination or handed in a piece of written work, do you worry about how well you did in it?

- 21. Do you frequently wish you did not worry so much about your work?
- 22. Do you often feel in class that most other students understand better than you do?

Please respond to the next set of statements by stating whether they are "true" or "false" as concerning you.

- 23. I work under great deal of strain.
- 24. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or a job.
- 25. I am very confident of myself.
- 26. I often find myself worrying over something.
- 27. Life is often a strain for me.

YOUR GENERAL VIEWS.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- 28. Basic changes in peoples character cannot be made by carrying out reforms.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree
- 29. Breaking the law can never be justified on grounds of conscience.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly Disagree
- 30. Power in society has shifted from practical hard-headed men to wooly idealists who know little about the real world.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree
- 31. Social reformers are prepared to destroy both good and bad to achieve their objectives.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly Disagree.

- 32. There are natural leaders and followers and society would be better off if people accepted this.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Diagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree.
- 33. One of the stabilising effects of law schools is to dampen Undergraduate idealism and ardour for causes in favour of ardour for professional success in the established community, and acceptance into the law world.
 - (a) Strongly agree
 - (b) Agree
 - (c) Undecided
 - (d) Disagree
 - (e) Strongly disagree.

Thank you for your co-operation.



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