

Journal of the Motherhood Initiative

Maternal Activism

Fall 2021

Volume 12, Number 2



Daena J. Goldsmith, Leah Lovett, Jinny Menon, Trina Greene
Brown, Josephine L. Savarese, Tiffany Anderson and many more

REBECCA JAREMKO BROMWICH, ANNE-MARIE MCELROY,
AND JULIET LUCY CHANG KNAPTON¹

Mothers in Law: Towards Equality within the Profession for Lawyer Mothers

Mothers who work in the legal profession face a wide range of obstacles to their success. This article reports on a qualitative study of lawyer-mothers in Ottawa, Ontario, that problematizes and calls into question the widely held assumption that the law profession is on a path of progress towards better accommodation for the needs of mothers, thereby troubling assumptions that gender equality in the legal profession is generally improving.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has thrown into harsh relief the challenges parents, disproportionately mothers, face when they try to balance professional work in the legal field with caregiving and emotional labour obligations at home. The findings presented in this article underscore that these challenges are not transient symptoms of the pandemic but are visible manifestations of ongoing problems in the legal profession, which are not improving.

In September 2015, a study published on LeanIn.org made the bold claim that “contrary to popular belief, corporate America is not on the path to gender equality” (Thomas). The study, massive in its scope, found that women are not voluntarily leaving American workplaces and are not being pushed out as much as they are being held down by stress, discrimination, bias, and other systemic barriers. The study found that conditions are not actually improving for women workers and that the assumed slow progress towards gender equality in paid workplaces is simply not underway.

However, just over a month later, on the Canadian side of the border, the newly minted Liberal government swore in a diverse cabinet comprised, by design, of precisely 50 percent women and 50 percent men. Justin Trudeau,

the new prime minister, explained his commitment to gender parity with a shrug, an eye roll, and a phrase that would become a viral hashtag: “because it’s 2015.”² In Ontario at the time the study was undertaken, there was a female Premier who is a mother and grandmother, and a female Provincial Attorney General, also a mother, as well as a female Federal Attorney General. At the time this paper is being published, the Premier and Attorney General in Ontario are both again men. As lawyer-mothers, we are concerned with the question of whether lawyer-mothers are moving forwards in terms of their relative equality to men within the legal profession.

In early 2016, we met with and interviewed ten lawyer-mothers in a diverse range of fields in the legal profession, all based in the Ottawa region. Interviews took place in person, in offices, over kitchen tables, and over the phone. We learned that while conditions for some Canadian woman lawyer-mothers are improving, the situation, at least anecdotally described by the interviewees, is actually worse than in the past. Our study confirms that, anecdotally, the numbers provided by prior quantitative studies about challenges faced by lawyer mothers continue to ring true. The lawyer-mothers we spoke with are not experiencing overall better conditions within the legal profession than those in decades past. The progress that has been achieved is uneven, arbitrary, and ad hoc, and it really depends upon the whims and negotiations of individuals.

Despite the efforts of generations of feminists and activists—and support in those efforts from mainstream elements within the legal profession such as the various professional bar associations and provincial and territorial law societies—it remains true that lawyer-mothers face high barriers when they seek to be included in the legal profession as colleagues who share power, pay, prestige, professional responsibility, and are able to advance in their careers.

The statistical studies we reviewed in preparation for our study, as well as the qualitative participant interviews we carried out with Canadian lawyers who are also mothers, do not support the widely accepted cultural grand narrative that women are on a path towards equality in the profession overall, at least not where private practice is specifically considered and the women concerned are mothers. To address the situation, active systemic and cultural changes need to be intentionally made. We cannot rest on the supposition that progress for some will inevitably lead to progress for all, as it is abundantly clear from this study that this is not the case.

The Study

We decided to look at the question of mothers’ equality within the legal profession from both statistical and qualitative angles. To do so, we reviewed literature documenting statistical studies of woman lawyers in Canada. Since

a lot of quantitative research about women in the legal profession has already been done, we decided to complement this statistical data with a qualitative data set concerning the experiential knowledge of a group of our colleagues, as well as ourselves, who are all mothers and lawyers working in Canada's capital, Ottawa. We conducted participant interviews with ten lawyer-mothers. Our group of informants includes diversity in ethnicity, race, age, marital status, and socio-economic background, as well as in terms of practice areas. Two informants work as civil litigators, two work as criminal lawyers, one has a policy role with an NGO, three work as part-time and full-time legal academics, one is a long-time public prosecutor, and one has left the legal profession, at least for the moment. Informants vary in age from their mid-twenties to their mid-forties. They have varying levels of experience working as lawyers—from four to fourteen years. Participants in the study were asked to describe and discuss the following questions:

1. What was your experience in terms of announcing your pregnancy and negotiating leave?
2. How did having children affect your practice? What happened that aligned with what you expected? What surprised you?
3. What sort of barriers have you encountered with respect to being a mother in the legal profession? Were you expecting to face these challenges?

This article reports on the responses we received to our questions and provides an analysis of those responses. From our study of mothers' experiences in the legal profession, it is evident that their situation is complex. Our conversations revealed that the narrative of mothers' progress in the legal profession and the claim that such progress is stalled or nonexistent coexist together; they are incomplete truths. Yes, there is some progress, but a grand narrative of overall progress is oversimplistic and unduly optimistic.

Considering Equality—A Caveat

Choosing how to define terms is important. Equality can be a question of numbers (statistical parity), or status (e.g., partnership), or remuneration or control. If we were to bring into being a legal profession where gender equality generally, and specifically equality for lawyer-mothers, it would be equitable remuneration, control, and participation regardless of gender. And let's keep in mind what is assumed in this research and the questions we asked: the idea that the legal profession should be maintained—that it is coherent, and it should promote equality. Trying to improve the legal profession accepts the existence of the legal profession, and this acceptance as a starting point implies a whole series of capitalist assumptions about how work should be conceived

and how mothers should be involved in it. Mothers are also assumed to be a monolithic category when, in fact, great diversity exists—single mothers, young mothers, older mothers, LGTBQ2S+ mothers, married heterosexual mothers, immigrant mothers, and others who identify differently.

To investigate mothers' position within the legal profession is to assume a liberal feminist framework in which mothers want to be lawyers and should want to be them. We acknowledge the legitimacy of the critique that analyses levels of equality within professions that do not trouble the professions themselves run the risk of being an example of what Anne-Marie Slaughter calls "plutocrat feminism" (Slaughter, *Unfinished Business*). However, we are prepared to start for analytical purposes—while reflexively acknowledging our social position as lawyers—with the position that participating fully in the legal profession is socially desirable for mothers.

Prior Studies

Much has been made about the changing face of the legal profession, with increasing racial and gender diversity featuring prominently in this change. Women have made up roughly 50 per cent of the student body of Canadian law schools for a generation (Ornstein). Correspondingly, Canada's legal profession is increasingly diverse at its entry point of the Call to the Bar, after articling.

However, while the demographic makeup of the legal profession is changing, this change is uneven. Men, women, Indigenous, and otherwise racialized people tend to be found in different niches within the profession. As is noted by the Law Society of Upper Canada in its *2013 Snapshot of the Profession*, "Men are more likely to be in sole practice and law firm partners, while there is a higher proportion of women in all the other statuses, especially in-house, in clinics, in government and in education."

Catalyst, a consultancy, like the LeanIn study, has also concluded that optimistic projections about progress towards equality between men and women in the Canadian and American legal profession have been overstated. According to its study of gender and the positions of women in the Canadian and US legal profession, Catalyst estimates "that it will take more than a woman lawyer's lifetime to achieve equality."

The burden of childcare faced by lawyer mothers was precisely what was at stake in *Symes v. Canada*, [1993] 4 S.C.R. 695. In that case, lawyer Beth Symes, later a bencher with the Law Society of Upper Canada, was successful at the trial level, but the judgment was reversed on appeal. A majority of the Supreme Court of Canada, with Justices L'Heureux-Dube and McLachlin notably dissenting, held that a woman law partner's expenses in relation to her nanny's pay were not deductible from her income tax. Rebecca Johnson's book exploring this case describes a social context that is not at all dissimilar to one faced by lawyer-

mothers today.

Over the last several decades, a number of initiatives have been introduced and implemented to strive for better levels of equality for women generally and mothers specifically in the profession. In 1993, the Canadian Bar Association put forward its Touchstones Report (1993). More recently, in 2008, the Law Society of Upper Canada (LSUC)³ initiated its *Justicia* Project. The LSUC now offers a coaching project for women expecting a child. According to recent media reports, however, take up of the program has been low.

In March 2016, the Criminal Lawyers' Association released a report to address the issue of women leaving the profession (Madon). The report looked at quantitative data from the LSUC and Legal Aid Ontario as well as qualitative data from focus groups and surveys. The unpredictability of work hours influences childcare obligations, and some women felt excluded from their referral networks because they were viewed as having other priorities at home. The study found that the most commonly cited reasons for leaving included the need for greater job security and financial stability, and it identified the need for more support for women with children or other family obligations.

Our Findings

“Your working ovaries are a major career liability.”

As mentioned in the introduction, we spoke with a wide range of mothers who are Ottawa-area lawyers. It is a relatively small legal community, so we reached out through our networks to speak with acquaintances and colleagues. Among our respondents were a former public prosecutor, a qualified mediator, a former civil litigator, a current civil litigator, a solicitor, a criminal defense lawyer, a contract lawyer, and a legal academic. Several respondents said that anonymity would be crucial to their continued work in their practices, and we have therefore agreed not to reveal further information about our respondents.

What follows are some highlights of our findings. First, the good news. The mothers who continued to practice as lawyers said they enjoyed their work, felt fulfilled by it, and even said comments like “I love my work” and “I love my job.” They were powerfully attached to their identities as lawyers. Considering the high levels of depression in the legal profession, it is quite striking that these mothers reported high levels of job satisfaction—for them, it is a job worth fighting for. And perhaps that grit is some of the value they bring to the profession.

The more challenging news from our interviews is more complicated. What we heard about was a culture of secrecy, in which pregnant women are disempowered, motherhood is stigmatized, and accommodation decisions are arbitrary and ad hoc. And in all of this, race is interwoven with disempowerment

in complex ways.

In describing their experiences announcing their pregnancies and negotiating maternity leave, the mothers had a diversity of stories. Some were very positive. For example, one respondent working in private practice said: “I felt wonderfully supported. My mentor bought me flowers. We worked out a plan.” Other stories indicated ambivalence. One respondent characterized her experience as stressful: “Everyone was positive and supportive, but there was no concrete plan in place. I was less than three months from birth when a maternity policy was announced.” Still another said, more ominously: “Things went well initially. The trouble came later, when I reentered the workplace after a maternity leave.” However, many more responses were alarmingly negative. For example, one respondent said: “I was told: ‘Your working ovaries are a major career liability.’” Another said, “The response was overtly humiliating.” And still another, “The response was passive aggressive.”

As demonstrated by the above, the responses the women received from their workplaces when they became pregnant varied, but virtually all described responses that were arbitrary and ad hoc. Although the public sector and some firms have clear policies in place, the range of responses from our interviewees demonstrates that equality has not floated all boats. There was a common theme of pregnancy being a sort of surprise or even crisis. Some firms or organizations were not equipped or prepared to handle an impending parental leave, and they scrambled to adjust. At worst, the announcement was seen as a sort of betrayal of the investment the firm made in the lawyer. Furthermore, despite the public service being viewed as a more accommodating place of work, the public sector lawyer we spoke to found that the culture very much discourages flexible work arrangements. Employees were discouraged from even asking to be able to work from home or access measures—such as income averaging—that would allow unpaid time off.

The mothers interviewed reported feeling vulnerable in terms of their maternity leave. Few workplaces had written policies surrounding leave and what happens to an individual’s files when they are gone. Meanwhile, women who are in solo practice reported having no recourse to income replacement and being faced with a stark choice of either trying to maintain a practice or taking a brief leave, with neither option palatable. They described how the LSUC’s Parental Leave Assistance Program provides some support to parents to cover costs while they are on leave. It is not, however, intended to be an income replacement program; it is instead an expense recovery program that allows sole practitioners and partners to cover their overhead. Although the program is helpful to some, its eligibility requirements are stringent, and it stipulates that lawyers cease all work while collecting any money. This model is particularly difficult for practitioners in criminal or family law, who often need to manage files while on leave. LawPro, the company that manages

insurance for lawyers in Ontario, also requires that lawyers cease all work when they are on leave. Again, this puts many mothers in a difficult position of having to choose between maintaining their practice and managing their clients or saving money on their insurance premium. The scheme seems to be modelled for a workplace where another lawyer could completely take over the practice without any input or support from the lawyer on leave. However, this does not reflect the reality of many parents who are taking short leaves and may wish (or need) to stay connected to their clients and work.

There was some concern expressed about accommodation fatigue, where firms had accommodated a mother in the past but had little interest or plan to support more. This was particularly problematic in a context of unwritten maternity or parental leaves, in which lawyer-mothers cannot plan on receiving a particular response or on receiving a particular level of support.

Competitiveness and a fetishization of toughness in workplace cultures were also reported to be problematic. In some instances, positive role models and mentors were present, but for many mothers, they were not. The presence of more senior women lawyers in legal workplaces did not ensure a supportive environment. Interviewees reported receiving advice to “look into boarding schools” for their kids and to simply “buck up.” The women interviewed were a bright, personable, composed, and articulate group. It does appear that there is a risk for the resilience of high-achieving women to be exploited by legal profession employers who understand that it is not culturally condoned for workers to ask for support or accommodation.

Interviewees reported losing access to career-advancing work once they became mothers. Although many women in private practice look to the federal government as a safe reprieve from ad hoc or nonexistent policies, the mere fact of having a robust maternity scheme does not preclude discrimination. One woman we spoke to who works as a lawyer in the public service spoke of larger, more complex files being redistributed while she was pregnant, before they really needed to be. It seemed as if pregnant women are written off despite their ability to work. Similarly, upon returning to work, she noted an attitudinal shift, as if she were somehow now less capable: “Women need to really prove themselves and take on big files in order to show that they are back in the game.”

Some spoke of the availability of part-time contract-based work, which had flexibility as an advantage but precarity and invisibility as disadvantages. Respondents also indicated that the delegation of work is often still informed by stereotypical assumptions as to what mothers can handle based on their families being the priority. One interviewee said, “The good work would just drift away.” One woman commented on how she was not given a certain file that involved some travel, even though she had relevant experience. Her manager asked if she could “guarantee” that her children would not be sick.

Our study's obvious conclusion is that progress for mothers in the legal profession has been uneven. Clearly, there remain a number of barriers to progress. Written maternity and parental leave policies continue to be done on an ad hoc basis, leaving many women to negotiate the terms of their leave and return on an individual basis and from a position of vulnerability (Knapton and Flaherty).

Quite frankly, our findings are not, on the whole, surprising. Motherhood transforms a person's identity, their physicality (at least for a time), and changes their availability for paid work. We are always inside capitalism. Certain forms of difference have proven, if not easier, at least more manageable for business to accommodate than motherhood. A business case, for example, can be made for including racial and ethnic diversity and has been made. It is difficult for a mother if she conforms to traditional role expectations consistent with the ideology of intensive mothering (O'Reilly) to simultaneously conform to role expectations of the ideal worker, who is always available. Motherhood becomes a simultaneously valorized and stigmatized identity for women in the paid workplace, and the legal profession is a space where the double-bind position of lawyer-mothers is particularly pronounced.

Furthermore, our findings confirm our individual experiences because we are lawyers and mothers. Challenging work circumstances are a day-to-day reality we live. However, Rebecca, in particular, whose children are the oldest, was surprised by how challenging the more recent circumstances of newer mothers have been. The stories of our colleagues confirm the systemic dimensions of our individual experiences. Since neither the presence of lawyer-mothers in the profession nor study of it is new, it is thoroughly unacceptable that legal sector employers are in many cases still not ready for discussions about maternity and parental leaves and accommodating childcare responsibilities.

Suggestions for Change

Clearly, both policy and cultural change are needed in order for mothers to attain full equality within the legal profession. Action needs to take place from the top down and the bottom up. At the level of policy, we suggest that regulated leaves with transparent policies should be implemented across the legal profession. Accommodation of family responsibilities is already mandated by federal, provincial, and territorial human rights legislation. However, lawyers as professional workers are exempted from much of this, and law firms are not regulated as entities. This leaves a gap which regulators should fill. Furthermore, the culture of the legal profession, including its highly competitive work environments, militates against women stepping forward to ask for help when they become, or as they continue to be, mothers.

It is clear that in some workplaces within the legal profession, progress has been made for mothers. Several of Canada's largest firms ("Bay Street firms") not only have maternity leave policies but have more recently introduced parental leave policies aimed at new fathers. This has become the norm expected in Bay Street firms, but, in smaller firms, it is more rare. Of course, having a policy is one thing, and availing oneself of parental leave is another. Law firms need to develop a culture of normalizing it for fathers to take the leave. And much like the larger, predominantly Bay Street firms have done with their female lawyers, firms need to provide support to fathers to help them transition in and out of a leave period.

As women lawyers advance in their careers to become partners, support for taking maternity or parental leave becomes even more precarious. Unable to receive employment insurance and with varying levels of support from fellow partners, these lawyer-mothers also need to contend with maintaining a client base. It is one thing to support a year-long maternity leave by an associate who can be loaded up with work again once she returns, but it is quite another to hand over your clients to other partners to manage and expect that they will be returned. Supports need to be put in place for partner-level mothers.

It may be that the current regulatory movement towards entity regulation holds promise for potential increases in mothers' level of equality within the legal profession. Adam Dodek asks why firms are generally not directly regulated and contends that there is a need to check the power of firms: "The absence of law firm regulation creates a problem of legitimacy for Law Societies mandated to regulate the practice of law in the public interest."

In Ontario, the LSUC is currently reviewing the option of pursuing compliance-based regulation and entity regulation (*Compliance-Based Entity Regulation Task Force*). Although there is some disagreement as to whether entity regulation is a necessary part of the process, there is broad support for compliance-based regulation. The idea that lawyers and firms should proactively adopt best practices can be supportive of mothers in the law. If firms were required to self-evaluate and report to the Law Society as to how they are meeting their equality, equity, and diversity goals, it would be a step in the right direction to removing the otherwise ad hoc nature of addressing parental leaves.

The solution of regulated leaves with transparent policies needs to be accompanied by larger cultural shifts in how we perceive and treat parental leaves. The women interviewed in our study expressed relief and gratitude to have an opportunity to talk about the challenges they have faced. Within the profession, we need to end the silence and stigma around mothers' experiences.

Furthermore, caregiving needs to be re-conceptualized as work that is not necessarily gendered. As US Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg said in 2001: "Women will have achieved true equality when men share with them

the responsibility of bringing up the next generation” (“A Conversation”). If partners switch up their roles in the home, they can develop more empathy for one another and work towards parity in domestic labour; diversification of modes of performance of domestic labour can go a long way towards helping women advance in the legal profession (Bromwich).

A great deal of public attention has been attracted by lawyer-mother Anne-Marie Slaughter’s 2015 book, *Unfinished Business: Women, Men, Work, Family*. The aspect of Slaughter’s argument that most seamlessly crosses national boundaries is her perspective on care and gender. One especially salient quote from the book is actually the title of chapter six: “The Next Phase of the Women’s Movement Is a Men’s Movement.” Slaughter develops a convincing and timely argument that conceptualizes care in a way that includes and encourages carework done by men, which can help move conversations and plans around work-family balance forwards to the great benefit of all concerned. Although policy changes are worth fighting for, influencing how partners of whatever gender approach domestic work and carework on a day-to-day basis is a microintervention worth engaging in if we seek to bring about a social revolution.

The notion that carework is not automatically or inherently gendered is not a new idea. Queer theory has discussed it (Jagose) as well as motherhood scholarship (O’Reilly). Joan Brockman, in her 2001 book *Gender in the Legal Profession* made substantially the same point for which Slaughter is now being credited: For women to attain equality in the legal profession, perceptions of the role of women in the family also need to change. Since childcare remains disproportionately shouldered by women, it is incumbent on male lawyers to engage themselves in conversations and advocacy about childcare as well as actually do the work.

Equality for mothers within the legal profession will not be achieved by firm policies, employment equity initiatives, and certainly not by pledges alone. Although these initiatives move lawyer-mothers towards more equality in terms of power, prestige, pay and practice, the legal profession is not separated from social life. Social movements striving towards more equal sharing of caregiving labour between genders and social actors and towards measuring and valuing care in economic equations and reframing the paid workplace to accommodate the reality of carework will be important to changing women’s—and especially mothers’ roles—within paid spheres, including those work spaces across the field of the legal profession.

To bring about change, legal employers should have dedicated paternity leave and written, transparent, and consistent maternity leave policies and should develop a culture that encourages men and women to take their full-leave entitlements. Government and regulators should put frameworks in place to make this mandatory as well as broaden the eligibility requirements

for programs, such as PLAP (Ontario's Law Society's now-defunct Parental Leave Assistance Program), to allow more lawyers to access the funds and maintain their practices more effectively. Colleagues and legal sector leaders should work to support, mentor, sponsor, and collaborate with lawyer-mothers. There needs to be strategy and support for ramping down and up one's practice. Recognition should be given for the value mothers bring to the table. It is clear from our life experiences and the conversations in this study that parenting helps people develop skills by helping people prioritize and set bigger goals, and it inspires them to work harder and smarter. The lawyer-mothers we spoke to had many different things to say, but the one common thread holding together their comments was their determination to continue working in the legal profession while striving to parent well.

Conclusion

Our study has confirmed that in the Canadian legal profession, an assumption of progress lulls us into complacency about, and denial of, the barriers women who are mothers continue to face when they seek to attain full equality within the profession. The grand narrative of gender progress can alienate mothers who are experiencing systemic challenges and lead them to individualize their experiences and feel depressed, inadequate, and isolated. Although there are many woman lawyers doing important work in a variety of fields across the legal profession, the qualitative and quantitative studies we report on in this article speak to conditions in which mothers are not being fairly treated and are not on a general path or trend towards equality within the legal profession. Policy changes at the regulatory, government, and corporate levels, as well as cultural shifts within the profession and in how caregiving is valued and gendered in society, are necessary to improve the working conditions of lawyer-mothers.

Furthermore, we contend that the barriers lawyer-mothers face are concerning not just because they affect the mothers who form part of the statistical samples shown in various studies, or of the interviewees we spoke with in our qualitative study but rather because a loss of their labour is the profession's loss. We cannot honestly tell talented first-year law students, or the promising articling students and junior woman lawyers that we mentor, that the conditions they face will be better than those we walked into. Women who enter the legal profession today and become mothers while they are lawyers are better off than Beth Symes was in the early 1990s and when Rebecca was when she first had children in the early 2000s. In some ways, and in some sites within the profession, positive change has happened. However, mothers are actually worse off in others. This dynamic has been thrown into sharp relief in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, but the issues being

faced by lawyer-mothers in the context of this pandemic are not passing or transitory symptoms of the current context: They are long-term problems. The passage of time itself guarantees no progress. If we are to effectively move towards equality for lawyer-mothers, further regulatory, governmental, and cultural changes must be made.

Endnotes

1. All views presented in this paper are the authors' own. The authors do not speak on behalf of any association or organization.
2. Now, there are some limitations to the depth of the equality seen in the Liberal cabinet—all of the junior ministers are female, for example.
3. The LSUC is now called the LSO (Law Society of Ontario).

Works Cited

- "A Conversation with Ruth Bader Ginsberg." (2001) 56 *The Record of the Association of the State Bar of New York* 1.
- Baby Centre Canada. "What You Need to Know About Parental Leave and EI." Baby Centre, 2021, www.babycenter.ca/a538833/what-you-need-to-know-about-parental-leave-and-ei-in-canada. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Brockman, Joan *Gender in the Legal Profession*. UBC Press, 2001.
- Bromwich, Rebecca. "Child Care and Women's Equality." *The Common Room Newsletter* CBA (June 2011).
- Canadian Bar Association Task Force on Gender Equality. *Touchstones for Change: Equality, Diversity and Accountability—The Report on Gender Equality in the Legal Profession*. The Canadian Bar Association, 1993.
- Catalyst. "Women In Law In Canada and the US." Catalyst, 2015, www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-law/. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Dodek, Adam. "Regulating Law Firms in Canada." *Canadian Bar Review*, vol. 90, no. 2, July 2012, pp. 383-440.
- Fierlbeck, Katherine. *Health Care in Canada: A Citizen's Guide to Policy and Politics*. University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Government of Canada. "Federal Labour Standards in Canada." *Canada*, 2021, www.canada.ca/en/services/jobs/workplace/federal-labour-standards.html. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Jagose, Annamarie. *Queer Theory: An Introduction*. New York University Press, 1996.
- Johnson, Rebecca. *Taxing Choices: The Intersection of Class, Gender, Parenthood and the Law*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.
- Kay, Fiona M. "Lawyers: The Social Organization of the Profession." *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by Levine

- Kay, Rosann Greenspan, and Barbara Painsack, Elsevier, 2015, pp. 1021-1047.
- Knapton, Juliet, and Michelle Flaherty, “Turning a Blind Eye: Maternity, Paternity and Family Leave in the Practice of Litigation.” *The Litigator*, Ontario Trial Lawyers Association, 2008.
- Law Society of Upper Canada. *2013 Snapshot of Lawyers in Ontario from the Lawyer Annual Report*. LSUC, lawsocietyontario.azureedge.net/media/lso/media/lawyers/practice-supports-resources/equity-supports-resources/2013_snapshot_lawyers.pdf. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Law Society of Upper Canada. *Compliance-Based Entity Regulation Task Force “Call for Input Consultation Paper: Promoting Better Legal Practices.”* LSUC, [www.advocates.ca/Upload/Files/PDF/Advocacy/Submissions/Law SocietyofUpperCanada/LSUC_Consultation_Document-Compliance-Based_Entity_Regulation.pdf](http://www.advocates.ca/Upload/Files/PDF/Advocacy/Submissions/LawSocietyofUpperCanada/LSUC_Consultation_Document-Compliance-Based_Entity_Regulation.pdf). Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Law Society of Upper Canada. *Justicia: Leading the Way: Fact Sheet*. LSUC, lawsocietyontario.azureedge.net/media/lso/media/legacy/pdf/j/ju/justicia14-factsheet-web-eng-final.pdf. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Madon, Natasha. “The Retention of Women in the Private Practice of Criminal Law: Research Report.” Criminal Lawyers, 2016, www.criminallawyers.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/CLA-Womens-Study-March-2016.pdf. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Ornstein, Michael. “Racialization and Gender of Lawyers in Ontario.” *Report for the Law Society of Upper Canada*, 2010, lawsocietyontario.azureedge.net/media/lso/media/legacy/pdf/r/racialization_gender_report.pdf. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- O’Reilly, Andrea. *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings*. Demeter Press, 2015.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. *Unfinished Business: Women, Men, Work, Family*. Penguin Random House, 2015.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All.” *The Atlantic*. www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/. Accessed 21 Aug. 2021.
- Symes v. Canada*. [1993] 4 S.C.R. 695.

