

Do Female Judges Judge Better?

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Do Women Change the Legal Profession?

In the last two decades the question came up whether an increase of women would change the nature of traditionally male-dominated professions.

From a male point of view this question was legitimate, as the access to certain professions was denied for women until the beginning of the 20th century. They were considered unsuitable due to gender characteristics and it was presumed that a higher percentage of women would jeopardize status, prestige and income levels of those professions.

In the 1980s the debate about gender disparities was picked up again by the new (in Europe: second) Women's Movement; this time with a different aim: The discussion was focused on the question whether women would be the "better" (ironical) persons whose participation in the power positions of society would positively influence the world order.

Whether at all and in how far the participation of women changes specific job profiles and whether the public image of femininity and women influences the perception of a profession will be exemplarily dealt with here using the example of female jurists in Germany.

1. The Advancement of Women into the Legal Profession

First of all a look back: In 1900 for the first time ever women had the chance to enroll in law faculties in Germany, by 1912 they took part in the first state examination following legal education at university for the first time and only in 1919 were they admitted to practical legal training.¹ This was followed by an intense debate about whether women could and should practise law. The arguments were:

- that women would not be able to judge objectively due to their emotionality and their biologically based mood swings. Therefore it would be unthinkable to let them speak justice at court. But also
- that women would be too precious for the tough legal world and that they would need to be protected from it.

Also in respect of complaints about an overcrowded legal profession which have already been uttered at that time, the hidden fear was that the economic situation of lawyers would further deteriorate with the influx of women.

¹ About the structure of legal education in Germany, comp.: Schultz 2011

After the *Weimar Constitution* was passed in 1919 which gave women the right to vote and proclaimed the legal principle of gender equality,² it was still necessary to pass an explicit act which regulated the admission of women to the legal professions in 1922. The women's way into legal professions was thereby opened but not facilitated. The number of women increased slowly, female lawyers disappeared again nearly entirely during the *Third Reich*. In 1936 Hitler had passed a decree that women had to be removed from legal occupations.

After the second world war a very conservative family ideology kept women from professional work (Schultz 2003 b). In 1960 less than 4% women practised law. Only after campaigns for tapping the full educational potential in society in the 1960s and 1970s did the numbers of female (law) students increase, more rapidly since the mid-1980s. Nowadays even more women than men study law. Law has developed into a favourite choice for women; a development which has not happened in other male-dominated subjects as for example natural sciences where the percentage of women in spite of all campaigns of "Women in Male Professions" is rising still slowly. With a bit of delay the share of women in the legal professions has risen as well and again very rapidly in the past two decades. The percentages below do not reflect the actual share of the job market though, as considerably more women than men work part-time.

Share of women in legal professions

	judges %	public prosecutors %	advocates %
1961	2.6		>2.0
1971	6.0	5.0	4.5
1981	13.0	11.0	8.0
1989	17.6 = 2,109 of 17,627	17.6 = 661 of 3,759	14.7 = 7,960 of 54,108
1995	26.3	28.9	19.3
2001	27.7	30.9	25.3
2009	35.79 = 7,195 of 20,101	38.71 = 1,983 of 5,122	31.08 = 46,736 of 150,377
2011	38.45 = 7,848 of 20,411	41.03 = 2,152 of 5,246	32.04 = 49,872 of 155,679

Official statistics: Federal Ministry of Justice, Federal Chamber of Advocates

The increase of around 3.000 judges and attorneys shortly after 1989 is a consequence of the German reunification. Otherwise the number and proportion of judges and prosecutors has remained remarkably stable since the foundation of the German empire in 1871.

² Dogmatically it was considered to be a "programme sentence", i.e. a rule the state should implement over time. Only the Bonn Basic Law, the German Constitution (Grundgesetz) which was passed in 1949 when the German state was rebuilt after the second world war, finally gave women an individual right to equality which could be claimed at court.

After all women have reached the „critical mass“ for effective participation in the legal occupations. Around a third had been regarded as standard by the women´s movement.

2. Theoretical Groundwork of a Research Hypothesis

In the 1980´s I initiated a big and international comparative project „Women in the World´s Legal Profession“. (Schultz 2003 a-c) The question whether the growing share of women would change the legal practice was central.

Therefore we phrased our research hypothesis: „Will women change the legal profession? Will the profession change women?“ (Menkel-Meadow 1985, 1987, 1989)³

A part of the women´s movement at the time was strongly influenced by Carol Gilligan´s book: *The other voice* (1984).⁴ Gilligan tried to rebut Kohlberg´s condemnation that women don´t reach the same level of moral development than men. In her book she reaches the conclusion that Kohlberg drafted a model which mainly encompassed the male way of moral thinking, but which falls short of specifically female reasoning. She claims that men rather follow a logic of justice, which implies that they refer to principles of „blind justice“; that they are bound to a way of thinking which is strongly influenced by norms and rules, and that they rely on abstract rules and universal principles in order to solve conflicts in an impersonal and unbiased manner. Women rather use logic of care; their moral way of thinking and acting is typically more geared towards taking responsibility and care and the relatedness with others. It becomes clear that Gilligan considered “the other voice” as more humane, livable and likeable.

The female orientation towards relatedness is also the leading topic of the book: *You just don´t understand. Women and Men in conversation* published in 1991 by the linguist Deborah Tannen, which became another milestone of feminist literature. Based on empirical research she established that the male style of speech corresponds to a report format which aims at preserving their own independence and that conversations mainly serve as agents for negotiating and establishing the own position in the social hierarchy. The female style of communication by contrast is characterised by establishing a relation with the dialogue partner and aims to build bonds, create communality, create intimacy and avoid isolation. These findings suggest the pair of opposites: cold (inhumane) and warm (humane) style of communication.

Gilligan´s work is specifically relevant for the evaluation of which impact the increase of women in legal occupations has, as lawyers are regarded as guardians of morality and the value system in society. In respect of Tannen´s work, the fact matters that

³ cf. also Jack and Jack 1989 and Harrington 1994

⁴ Gilligan is a developmental psychologist, former student of Kohlberg´s. Kohlberg developed a differentiated graded scale to classify the moral reasoning according to level and stage of development. His findings were based on empirical research on male children and adolescents, like those of Piaget and Freud as well. In comparison girls often did not reach the same level of development and were therefore considered „retarded“.

language is lawyers' main tool and working equipment. So when women are "different" in these respects this cannot be without consequence for legal practice.

The German feminist mainstream criticised these books plus those of other so-called *difference-theorists* (Field-Belenky 1984 amongst others) as essentialist as they assigned women gender specific characteristics.⁵ In the 90's German feminism committed itself to structuralism and deconstruction of gender. Its aim was to overcome the social gender with traditional gender roles and character constructed by patriarchy, (Ben-Habbib 1993) although many feminists cherished a „we, the women“-rhetoric which in itself presupposes difference.

After the Turn of the Millennium Theories Stressing Diversity Prevailed.

As a matter of fact, if differences between men and women are pointed out, one immediately drifts towards the „patriarchal dilemma“ and tends to reinforce those men, who always knew that „women are different“ (in the sense of weaker). As a consequence my research on the impact of feminisation on the legal profession was not welcomed in German mainstream feminism.

At Least I had a Prominent Confederate:

In a speech at the German *Judges Day* 1995 which was focusing on the topic of "the changing judiciary" the president of the Federal Constitutional Court, Jutta Limbach, talked about the „trends“ within the judiciary, including the increasing numbers of female judges and prosecutors. She put forward the following questions: *Do women change the judiciary? Will women influence jurisdiction with empathy and leniency? Will penalties become softer? Or indeed do law schools and the judiciary initially attract women that are similarly authoritarian as men?*

For that same *Judges Day* Renate Jaeger, judge at the Federal Constitutional Court, later the German judge at the European Court of Human Rights, had been asked to discuss the topic "Women change the judiciary – do women change the judiciary?" She criticised the way the question was put as she feared that this would bring up the same expectations and attitudes that refused women access to legal occupations at the beginning of the century, and also that outdated gender characteristics could be revived. She held that lawyers (whether female or male) choose a certain profession due to individual characteristics and character traits (logic, abstract thinking skills, eloquence) and that men and women would equally be exposed to and socialised by the influence of the male-dominated judiciary. She concluded that therefore male and female lawyers would not be that different from each other after all.

3. Do Women Change Legal Practice?

1. Legal practice changes women

Renate Jaeger makes an important and correct point: female lawyers are being "moulded" – in the course of their 7-10 years of legal education, the famous "*formation*

⁵ Nunner-Winkler 1995 criticised Gilligan severely, also methodologically.

professionelle". They are going through character forming processes (Schultz 2003 c, 301), which are still organised and led by men who in turn are influenced by traditional ideals and paradigms (Schultz 2012). Up until today there are not more than 9 % of women law professors holding a "full" chair.⁶

Besides the necessary acquisition of knowledge and practical skills these adjustment processes lead to a homogenisation of attitudes and opinions; this equally applies to men and women.

Women in legal occupations also adapt their outward appearance, like women in other male dominated professions as well. Women at work usually speak with deeper voices than their mothers and demonstrate their incorporation by their clothes: for at least three decades skirts were hardly found, being replaced by discreet pantsuits. Meanwhile dresses and skirt have come back but in unobtrusive forms and colours in the legal world. Professional women overall show different behavioural patterns than their preceding generations, a different "habitus", although the adaptation to the male model is no longer as marked as it used to be. Men *and* women have changed.

Nonetheless not all differences are blurred, in whatever way they could be quantified. Specifically obvious are still differences in the style of speech and body language.⁷

Which impacts of the feminisation of the legal professions can be identified then?

3.2 The subjective perspective

To find out whether there are differences in attitude I analysed biographical reports of female lawyers (Fabricius-Brand 1986; Deutscher Juristinnenbund 1984), conducted questionnaires, took part in female lawyers' gatherings as a participating observer and made notes of impressions and observations during teaching and „informal“ conversations. (Schultz 1990, 1994, 2003)

Female lawyers in the 1980s definitely considered themselves different to the men in their field; they claimed to work in a more flexible and patient and less formal manner (Schultz 1990, 346). This also applied to female lawyers who I talked to and discussed with in the 1990s. They named further female attributes: Sensitivity, compassion, understanding, willingness to compromise, social skills, charm, perfection, reliability (Schultz 2002, 2003 c). An American research about how (female) divorce lawyers self-assess their behaviour resulted in a similar list of attributes (Mather 2003).

During a founding meeting of a network for female attorneys in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1999 one of the attorneys stated: *My way of working is totally different to that of my male colleagues. For me the most important thing is quality, only then I think of the money. After I opened my practice I had a financially tough time for quite a*

⁶ The overall statistical number for 2012 is 16% including junior professors and professors with a less well equipped chair.

⁷ This is my experience as a communications' trainer for young lawyers and the judiciary.

while. By now people know that I am particularly motivated and as a result I now have a number of loyal clients and my accounts are straight.

One female defence lawyer from Cologne who is specialised in the defence of youths accentuated in 1995, during a talk about her profession, how different she felt compared to her male colleagues in her way of working. She pointed out that for her the most important thing would be to create an agreeable atmosphere at court and to be fair towards all parties involved. She would feel responsible for the course and the outcome of a trial and she would try to help her clients on an interpersonal level, take care of them, even mother them and follow the moral aim of bringing them back on track.

In a questionnaire implemented during a training for attorneys in 1997 the female attorneys claimed that they had the impression that their male colleagues would treat their clients differently, e.g. not taking female clients seriously or treating them in a dominant, patriarchal or paternal way.

Female judges and prosecutors also claimed that their style of working was different to that of their male colleagues. Evidence for this was obtained from a small research project with female judges in the federal state of Hessen in 1988. The women specified as feminine elements that should be incorporated into the administration of justice: Improving the emotional climate, strengthening communication and cooperation between the involved parties in the trial, reduction of authority towards the parties, reduction of competitiveness between colleagues.

Surprisingly congruent with this were statements from a group of mainly male judges and prosecutors during training in the Academy for the Judiciary in Treves in June 1993 whom I asked which characteristics (of their colleagues) they considered specifically feminine. The main answers were: emotionality, a high level of sensitivity, empathy, preparedness to solve problems on an emotional level, a lower risk of restricting oneself to juristic dogmata.

The female judges and prosecutors from Hessen stated furthermore that on the one hand they were expected to behave in a gender specific way, like e.g. showing understanding, empathy, charm, a higher level of collegiality, a certain level of feminine reservation, on the other hand they were confronted with negative prejudices as e.g. incompetence, an inability to cope with workload, adapted behaviour, subordination, a lack of authority and a lack of career ambition.

Inversely the male participants at this training in Treves answered the question which evaluations and prejudices towards female lawyers they had encountered. They added diligence and ambition to the list of expected behaviour though not for themselves and their colleagues but for the lawyers, the non-legal personnel and further parties to the proceedings. One participant, who apparently had some frustrating experience, wrote: frequent rigidification, especially when pursuing a career, adaptation of a negative male attitude.

During gender trainings in the Academies for the Judiciary in Eastern Germany and Treves in 2003 and 2004 I realised that these perceptions may have become less marked but are still existent (Schultz 2013 b). In any case it had become more difficult to talk about them. Since 2005 I have organised a one week seminar on Judicial Decision Making annually, and in my units on communication and decision making any mention of gender is met with hostility from a good part of the participants, although most of the women in the group signal that they perceive differences in style and behaviour (Schultz 2013 b). In the narrative interviews for our research into women judges' careers in the judiciary in the Federal state of Northrhine-Westfalia not much was mentioned in the sense of these differences. Meanwhile it was always stressed by men and women that women are as good as men. No mention any more of women being incompetent or too slow at their work. The female president of one of the appeal courts stated that women bring more colour into the administration of justice. Unchanged was that women complained about career deficits due to male dominant behaviour (Schultz 2013 a), arrogance and a too high self-esteem.

3.3 Research results

The subjective perceptions are being supported by socio-linguistic analyses of communication in court hearings in Israel (Bogoch 2003). Female attorneys were more likely to deal with the emotional needs of their clients during the court proceedings than their male counterparts.⁸ Female state attorneys had a more agreeable style of interrogation. During divorce proceedings and in divorce mediation cases it was rather obvious that female attorneys discovered and denominated disadvantages for the women involved quicker than male attorneys, (Bogoch 2007) which shows that they better understood their clients' needs.

The question was also whether female attorneys behave more ethically than their male counterparts, i.e. if they less often get in conflict with the rules and regulations of vocational and professional law. Data from the Netherlands confirmed indeed that female lawyers were less often subject to disciplinary proceedings. This could match the general results of the criminal statistics. The overall share of women in criminal sentences is up to today less than 20%.⁹ A clear interpretation of these results is however still not possible.

A hypothesis verbalised by American sociologists of law that female attorneys might try to avoid legal proceedings more often than their male colleagues due to less contentious attitudes was not fully confirmed. The study by Mather (2003) came to the conclusion that attorneys, both male and female, prefer amicable solutions. In Germany it became evident though, that considerably more female lawyers than male lawyers show an interest in training in mediation. To what extent this in turn effectively translates into their professional strategies and behaviour cannot be answered clearly.

⁸ Clients also confirmed that they experienced more respect and sympathy when being consulted by a female lawyer.

⁹ Feminist criminologists advance the view, that this is not necessarily because women are the „better“ part of mankind but rather because the specific forms of female misbehaviour are not being captured as legal wrong by criminal law.

3.4 Do female judges pass judgments different from those of male judges?

Some aspects of the question whether women are better judges was investigated in Germany by Regine Drewniak at the beginning of the 1990s in an empirical research study about gender-related attitudes in the judiciary and respectively different ways of passing judgments between female and male judges. The research hypothesis employed was fully influenced by Gilligan and the 1980's *Zeitgeist*. It assumed that female judges would show more sympathy and sensitivity for the individual situation of the accused rather than strictly being focused on enforcing legal principles.

Her research led to the result that female judges had a distinctly more negative attitude towards practice as a criminal judge than their male colleagues, but that there was not generally a higher preparedness to take the accused's individual personality and situation into account.¹⁰ Regine Drewniak left the question open whether the specific judge personalities are created by an individual's choice of profession or by juristic socialisation.

Quite the opposite was found out by the leading German feminist Alice Schwarzer in 1977 by analysing criminal court verdicts in manslaughter cases: she established that indeed there were gender-specific perceptions to be found and that some kind of "male-justice" (Raab 1993) could be detected. These gender-specific perceptions influence the description of the accused's personality profile. She kept on criticising this fact several times in verdict reviews in the feminist magazine "EMMA". Quote: *In Germany the risk for a woman to be killed by her husband is 10 times higher than for the husband to be killed by his wife. In court the risk for the women is higher as well: The murderess usually obtains a prison sentence of ten to fifteen years, if not a life sentence; the murderer not rarely obtains a sentence of acquittal or just a few years on probation.*

She had to leave open at the time whether women in the judiciary would make a difference and if consequently there would be "female-justice" as there were so few women judges and prosecutors at the time. There are statements in regard to this from Dagmar Oberlies (1995) who analysed, motivated by Alice Schwarzer, 177 penalties in manslaughter cases against women and men. Dagmar Oberlies observed that there would be *an influence on the legal evaluation of a case and the sentence when female professionals were part of the proceedings. The involvement of a female defence lawyer correlated with the conviction for murder (instead of the less serious crime of manslaughter.)* It can therefore have a negative effect for the accused. *The participation of female prosecutors and women in juries had a moderating influence on the sentence whilst the participation of female professional judges remained without influence* (Oberlies 1995, p. 188 ff). These results are not necessarily a proof of differing attitudes of women in the proceedings, but as well of men preventing them from achieving their professionally desired result (higher sentence for the female prosecutor, lower sentence for the female defence lawyer).

¹⁰ Furthermore she found out that criminal judges (both female and male) in general had a different offender-society-orientation and different intentions in sentencing than other judges.

Slightly deviating are the results that were reported from Poland (Fuszara 2003) and from Brazil (Junqueira 2003) in our comparative volume on Women in the World's Legal Professions. In those countries differences in decisions were observed in two areas: Female judges were more likely to show empathy with male accused persons, e.g. in the evaluation of personality factors which are taken into account in the calculation of the sentence. Only in cases of physical violence the female judges tended to have a more rigid approach than their male colleagues, possibly because they identified with the victims. But there was also proof for the opposite, namely that women judges tended to be milder in cases of violence to belie any prejudice that their judgment might be influenced by female empathy.

In alimony cases female judges – working women themselves – tended to be less generous to housewives than male judges. Apparently in these cases gender-specific attitudes which are informed by own personal experiences and life situations play a role for the female judges. This fits the general observation that especially women tend to regard consexuals more critically than members of the opposite sex,¹¹ and accordingly members of the opposite sex are treated more leniently (Raab 1993).

German judges reported during gender trainings at the Academy for the Judiciary in 2003 and 2004 that they observed something similar in themselves and in colleagues but were convinced that gender stereotypic perceptions and reactions could only become apparent in the way they led the trial but would not influence the outcome of the trial.¹²

A rich source for reflections on differences in attitude and decision making is the comparative volume on Gender and Judging (2013): In family law there may also be a gender effect in decisions on custody; also in these cases female judges tend to better identify with women's interests. The same holds true for sex discrimination and sexual harassment cases in labour law. There is an extensive research in the US on these cases which also have shown the troubling effect that women judges in a minority position on panels tend to decide with their male colleagues (Boyd, Epstein, Martin 2010)¹³ In administrative law, women judges have extended the right of asylum to cases of threatening female genital mutilation. The most prominent example is given by the first female judge at the House of Lords, now Constitutional Court in the UK, Brenda Hale. In the Constitutional Court of South Africa the women judges have effected an extended interpretation of rules in cases of (sexual) violence; it was their influence that rape now also encompasses non-consensual anal penetration, that prostitution does not only incriminate the prostitute but also the customer, that also non-married widows can benefit from pensions of their partners (Cowan 2013). In Germany the female judges at the Social Appeal Court differed in their vote whether Viagra should be paid by the health insurance from their male colleagues, and the German General Attorney Juliane Kokott at the European Court of Justice has advocated the uniform tariffs in insurances for men and women – just to give a few examples.

¹¹ Which is also described in management literature (Schultz 2013 a)

¹² Differences in behaviour were mentioned in many reports of my project (Schultz 2003 c)

¹³ Comp. also Field-Belenky et al.

The interactions of judges, state attorneys and witnesses in courts in Israel from a sociolinguistic point of view were described in-depth and differentiated by Bryna Bogoch (2003). In the lawsuits she examined she discovered that each sort of male statement towards female parties to the proceedings was geared towards establishing male power and hierarchical status.¹⁴ Interestingly the statements women made (witnesses and female judges) towards other women (prosecutors and lawyers) were likewise less respectful than those towards men.¹⁵ Altogether the statements made by women found less consideration.

These communication structures had tangible results comparable to the ones from Oberlies in her research: sentences turned out higher, when an accused had a female defendant but lower with a female prosecutor. In regard to representation and power assertion in the course of the court proceedings this means that women were weaker (Bogoch, 2003, p. 265; Schultz 2003 a, p. XLI) Female judges tended to pass lower sentences and treated female and male attorneys leniently, though they did not show specific sympathy for female victims. This could be seen as the effort of not wanting to seem biased and not acting differently compared to colleagues, as this could make them seem unprofessional.

Bogoch inferred that this reflects the still ambivalent situation of women in society in which their competency is still being questioned and their self-confidence undermined.

4. Changes

The research presented is not statistically representative. The collected statements and results cannot be quantified as most of the research samples are too limited. Furthermore the reference period has to be taken into account. This still does not considerably lower their significance. The influence of women in the system of justice should not be underestimated even though it is not downright measurable. An argument in favour is the striking accordance with comparable data from countries and states with a completely different societal structure and cultures.

The conclusion that suggests itself is that not the female lawyers' work results are different but their attitudes, their communicative behaviour and style of work. First and foremost they feel obligated to do their job properly and to employ whatever they learned at law school and also to fit in with the rules and norms. Men do not need to fear to be treated less equitable by female judges, rather the opposite is true as the previous examples showed.

The culture in the judiciary and in the legal profession has changed, as in other professions as well. A "de-formalisation" of juridical work can be observed and a higher level of service-orientation. The classical male-breadwinner-model is diluting

¹⁴ Which can be connected to Tannen's work.

¹⁵ This could argue for an imitation of behavioural patterns.

and the organisational structures in advocacy are changing rapidly. To what extent this can be attributed to an increase of women jurists cannot be estimated reliably. It would therefore be speculative to assess the effect of increasing numbers of women jurists on status, prestige and reputation of the legal occupations. Too many factors are playing a role. Europeanisation and globalisation are intense agents of change - especially in the advocacy – in addition to feminisation (Schultz 2003, 2004).

The women in the legal professions are not speaking with one voice either. A “female jurists’ movement“ as such does not exist, as there is no clearly defined and locatable female culture in legal practice. There are female jurists which are part of the feminist movement and others that are totally indifferent towards questions of women’s rights. Female lawyers can hardly be seen as a homogenous group but rather fragmented. There are completely different patterns of professional identity: ranging from the edgy female attorney that is represented in the glossy legal magazines of the internationally networked global law firms to the motherly female judge that is interested in the individual good of those who are entrusted to her; both also with reversed attributes plus many different “types” in between.

It could be complained that there is no “female jurists’ movement”. The women of the Second Women’s Movement were in agreement that they wanted to search for a different and a better way out of the traditionally male-dominated world with violence and wars. Women should become visible as women in society, male power monopolies should be broken up and female alternative drafts to the male designed world should be implemented. This goal has partly been reached but partly it also seems to have been forgotten over time; maybe it is also outdated. In the foreground for female and male jurists is the aim to reach financial independence through their professional work and to participate in the prestige and power that the legal professions offer. A reform of the professions and the practices carried out which is geared towards a better morality is hardly under discussion these days. With a heightened orientation towards commercial interests, particularly from lawyers (Schultz 2003 d, 2005) it could be said that rather the opposite of the feminist vision set in. At least there is a vivid discussion in the judiciary – from men and women equally –about the importance of quality control and citizen orientation.

There is one point that female jurists influence clearly and sustainably: They change the law. Female judges at the Federal Constitutional Court often on motion of female lawyers check the constitutionality of legislation and adapt it to modern ideas of equality (Jaeger 1996, S. 123 ff), female politicians with legal qualifications integrate women’s interests and needs into the legislative process towards a redistribution of goods and to facilitate women’s participation in societal functions and in the power structure of the state. Prerequisite for this was and is work at grass-roots level: that the increasing number of female lawyers has picked up and dealt with the multiple legal questions concerning women in everyday life.

What is the conclusion?

Do women judge better or differently? In spite of the evidence given, no clear answer is possible.

Renate Jaeger concluded in her article for the *Judges Day 1995: We will realise that the judiciary has changed when we will stop reassuring ourselves about the share of women and stop speculating about it. The judiciary will have changed when both female and male lawyers together with female and male judges will fend for a humane judiciary* (1996, S. 125).

Let us wish and work for a humane legal practice.

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