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PROFESSIONAL FORMATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN LAW SCHOOL

Louis D. Bilonis

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PROFESSIONAL FORMATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN LAW SCHOOL

LOUIS D. BILIONIS*

INTRODUCTION.....	895
I. FORMATION THEN: THE ORDINARY RELIGION OF THE LAW SCHOOL.....	896
II. FORMATION NOW: MOVEMENT.....	900
III. FORMATION NEXT: AN EMERGING MODEL	903
A. <i>Vision</i>	903
B. <i>Strategy</i>	904
C. <i>Program Features</i>	906
1. Self-Awareness, Leadership-of-Self, and Self-Directed Learning and Development	907
2. Increasingly Sophisticated Understanding of Professional Environments.....	908
3. Core Values of the Profession	908
4. Competencies	909
5. Mentors and Role Models.....	910
6. A Reinforcing Understanding that the Program's Features are Important, Intentional, and Coherent ..	910
D. <i>The Approach to Roles and Resources</i>	911
IV. HABITS OF THE HEART AND HABITS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY.....	913

INTRODUCTION

American law schools appear to have turned the corner in their search for ways to make formation of the student's professional identity a meaningful objective of their educational programs. Whether under the banner of leadership development,

* Dean Emeritus and Professor of Law, University of Cincinnati College of Law. I wish to thank Douglas A. Blaze, the University of Tennessee College of Law and its Institute for Professional Leadership, and the *Tennessee Law Review* for the opportunity to participate in the 2016 Symposium on Professional Leadership Education. The ideas reflected in this paper have taken shape thanks to the insights of numerous friends and colleagues, and I am especially grateful to Neil W. Hamilton, Jerome M. Organ, and Judith Welch Wegner for their generous sharing of time, wisdom, and interest.

professionalism, an apprenticeship of professional identity and purpose, or competencies and soft skills, more schools are becoming more active and proceeding with more sense of purpose. The movement—along with the collaboration among like-minded law professors from numerous schools that has taken on the character of “a movement”—encourages optimism.

I want to venture further here and propose that a comprehensive model for doing professional formation in law schools is now in sight. The model can work for formation—which is to say that it has the right vision of the fundamentals, program features, and pedagogies to effectively support students in the development of their professional identities. The model also can work for the political economy of the typical American law school—which is to say that its strategy and approach to roles and resources makes it congenial to postulates about power, resources, work, and governance that shape relations inside a law school.¹ The model can work because it leverages and reinforces the existing efforts of the law school's faculty, staff, and external stakeholders, and unites those efforts in an enterprise-wide program that students can appreciate and use to their benefit. What is more, the model holds out valuable side benefits. The habits a law school would cultivate through applying the model could well improve the school's political economy in ways it will appreciate when tackling the sizable challenges ahead for legal education.

To appreciate where we stand and better see the model for professional formation that is emerging, it will help to reflect first on the considerable distance that has been traveled.

I. FORMATION THEN: THE ORDINARY RELIGION OF THE LAW SCHOOL

In 1978, Roger Cramton, then the Dean of Cornell Law School, published a thoughtful meditation on the American law school titled *The Ordinary Religion of the Law School Classroom*.² Scanning the typical law school of his time for what was present as well as what was absent, Cramton sought to identify the value system that the law school communicated to its students.³ The “ordinary religion” of the American law school, he called it, included “not only the more or

1. Cf. VINCENT MOSCO, *THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNICATION* 24 (2d ed. 2009) (“One can think about political economy as the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources.” (emphasis omitted)).

2. Roger C. Cramton, *The Ordinary Religion of the Law School Classroom*, 29 J. LEGAL EDUC. 247 (1978).

3. *Id.* at 248.

less articulated value systems of law teachers but also the unarticulated value assumptions communicated to students by example or by teaching methods, by what is *not* taught, and by the student culture of law schools.”⁴ To discern the ordinary religion, one must attend to the “hidden curriculum” as well as the formal curriculum—the acts of commission and omission within the institution that can signal meaning every bit as powerfully as a lesson in the classroom.⁵

What Dean Cramton documented would not be unfamiliar to us today. With their heavy curricular and pedagogical stress on the cognitive and analytical—viz., “thinking like a lawyer”—the law schools of Cramton’s day exalted the following qualities as the essentials of their educational work and the well-educated lawyer. The ordinary religion of the law school dictated:

[A] skeptical attitude toward generalizations; an instrumental approach to law and lawyering; a “tough-minded” and analytical attitude toward legal tasks and professional roles; and a faith that man, by the application of his reason and the use of democratic processes, can make the world a better place.⁶

Cramton would not gainsay the usefulness of these qualities.⁷ But law schools asserted their “‘tough-minded’ and analytical attitude toward legal tasks and professional roles” to a fault,⁸ discouraging and actively avoiding questions about values other than reason⁹ to the point of a “systematic neglect of values.”¹⁰ The said and unsaid in law school left students with two models of the legal professional, neither laudable. One might be a value-bracketing “hired gun,” who applies legal technique to achieve the client’s goals and “can’t worry too much about right and wrong.”¹¹ Or one could become a “social engineer” in the law, “dealing with issues and interests rather than with individuals” in a role that has a “somewhat lifeless, bureaucratic and technocratic flavor.”¹²

4. *Id.*

5. *Id.* at 253.

6. *Id.* at 248.

7. *See id.* at 261 (“The utility of ‘tough minded’ characteristics in many settings is not an issue.”).

8. *Id.* at 248.

9. *See id.* at 254–56.

10. *Id.* at 256.

11. *Id.* at 259–60.

12. *Id.* at 260.

Cramton found the moral implications of framing law and lawyering that way disturbing.¹³ Both entail more than cognitive discipline, and law schools were neglecting those additional dimensions. "[T]he legal enterprise has moral principles of its own, wholly apart from the substantive goals of society," and a lawyer's work of "[r]esolving problematic situations involves moral responsibility and must be faced with resources other than reason alone."¹⁴ Dean Cramton expressed his disquiet about the ordinary religion and its missing elements in a few painful questions:

The question is whether the selection and training of law students does not neglect humane aspects of personal development and experience, the emotional aspects of the professional relationship, and the development of capacities of imagination, empathy, self-awareness, and sensitivity to others. Are law students encouraged to be indifferent to character, insensitive to human problems, lacking in human concerns? Are they educated in accordance with an unreal professional model of detachment, non-involvement, and insensitivity?¹⁵

And Cramton could not suppress his sympathy for the students and young professionals who suffer the consequences:

Whether or not legal education is harmful in these respects, little guidance and help is provided to the law student who is attempting to cope with the moral and personal problems of detachment and objectivity in the professional role. . . . Too often the young lawyer must grope alone toward an effective strategy for mingling humanism and professionalism in the lawyer-client relationship.¹⁶

In contemporary words, Dean Cramton was regretting the failure of law schools to accept educational responsibility for the formation of a student's professional identity. Nine years later, Cramton took up the theme again with a declaration of duty and an appeal for action.¹⁷ "[T]rue professionals," he reasoned, combine multiple roles—"healer, helper, defender, mediator, and teacher"—

13. See *id.* at 253.

14. *Id.* at 257 (citing Harry W. Jones, *Law and Morality in the Perspective of Legal Realism*, 61 COLUM. L. REV. 799, 800-02 (1961)).

15. *Id.* at 261.

16. *Id.* at 261-62.

17. See generally Roger C. Cramton, *Beyond the Ordinary Religion*, 37 J. LEGAL EDUC. 509 (1987).

and pursue their professions as a “calling . . . to serve the public weal,” not just as a “station in life.”¹⁸ “[A] sense of calling is essential for law teachers and students,” Cramton stressed, and “law schools have an educational responsibility to deal with the larger normative issues that infuse the application and use of legal technique.”¹⁹ No minor order, the obligation goes to the very mission of a law school and its academic *raison d'être*:

My defense for putting larger normative questions on our teaching agenda rests on a notion that a university law school has a broader function than a cooking institute, a barber college, or some other trade-oriented technical school. A school for the tonsorial arts is not expected to help students develop their ‘moral and political judgments’ or their ‘commitment to love and justice.’ It would be absurd to charge such job-oriented training programs with these undertakings. Imposing the responsibility on university law schools rests on a claim that they have a larger obligation, one that includes the probing of love and justice as well as the development of civic virtue and a sense of public duty.²⁰

The more difficult question, in Dean Cramton’s view, was not whether law schools have an obligation to make the formation of professional identity an element of their programs; “there would be no excuse for housing them on the university campus if they did not,” he remarked.²¹ It was the practical question of how to *do* professional formation effectively in the law school. “How to do it is a serious question; and doubts about our capacity to do it well may lead conscientious teachers to exercise caution in undertaking the effort to deal with fundamental questions of professional identity, purpose, and meaning.”²² But the task cannot be avoided or even postponed because inaction is not neutral in the ordinary religion of the law school. “The dilemma is that if teachers and students do *not* address these questions and struggle to articulate the best answers they can discover and defend, they answer the questions by ignoring them. There is (to borrow from Sartre), quite literally, ‘no exit.’”²³

So stood the status, a generation or more ago, of the quest for an educationally purposive effort in the American law school to focus on the formation of professional identity.

18. *Id.* at 510–11.

19. *Id.* at 511.

20. *Id.* at 510 (footnote omitted).

21. *Id.* at 511.

22. *Id.*

23. *Id.* at 513 (emphasis in original).

II. FORMATION NOW: MOVEMENT

Since Dean Cramton wrote, changes in legal education have mitigated the shortcomings he identified. Law schools still concentrate heavily on getting students to “think like a lawyer”—the intellectual and cognitive “first apprenticeship” of the students’ educational experience, to use the formulation of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching’s study of legal education.²⁴ But schools now depict a more well-rounded image of the professional. Clinics, externships, and practicums reflect the importance of the students’ “second apprenticeship . . . of expert practice shared by competent practitioners.”²⁵ Critical legal scholarship—nascent when Dean Cramton detailed the ordinary religion of the law school—is today an element of the ordinary religion. Courses may not leave students with easy answers on how to reconcile their conceptions of justice with their roles as lawyers, but the injustices created, abetted, or unremedied by law and legal systems are frequently questioned, and the habit of posing those questions is valued. Centers and institutes devoted to the study and improvement of areas of the law engage students more concretely in projects to pursue a more just reality, summoning qualities that Cramton saw lacking in models of the lawyer as a morally detached “hired gun” or technocratically abstracted “social engineer.”²⁶ Pro bono work by students figures significantly in legal education today; schools encourage it, and in some cases require it, and students undertake it with passion. All told, these developments have introduced into the ordinary religion some cognizance of the “humane aspects of personal development and experience, the emotional aspects of the professional relationship, and the development of capacities of imagination, empathy, self-awareness, and sensitivity to others.”²⁷ They signal that a healthy professional identity is not to be found in “an unreal professional model of detachment, non-involvement, and insensitivity.”²⁸

Building on the foregoing is a more recent turn—the development of programs to more purposively assist law students in the “third apprenticeship” of their development into professionals, their formation of a professional identity and sense of purpose.²⁹

24. WILLIAM M. SULLIVAN ET AL., EDUCATING LAWYERS: PREPARATION FOR THE PROFESSION OF LAW 28 (2007).

25. *Id.*

26. Cramton, *supra* note 2, at 251.

27. *Id.* at 261.

28. *Id.*

29. See SULLIVAN ET AL., *supra* note 24, at 28, 129.

These initiatives are, if you will, efforts toward a comprehensive, satisfying answer to the practical question that Dean Cramton posed years ago: how to *do* professional formation effectively.

Some law schools opt to speak in terms of leadership when styling their initiatives.³⁰ Others choose a professional formation phrasing³¹ or some combination of the two.³² The points of connection with students—formally curricular³³ and co-curricular³⁴—vary. So do the focal points. Transmitting the core

30. Baylor University Law School, Elon University School of Law, Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, and Santa Clara University Law School are examples. See *Leadership Development Program*, BAYLOR L. SCH., <http://www.baylor.edu/law/cs/index.php?id=863260> (last visited May 6, 2016) (describing activities of Baylor's Leadership Development Program); *Center for Leadership*, ELON UNIV., <http://www.elon.edu/cweb/students/leadership/default.xhtml> (last visited May 16, 2016) (describing activities of the Elon Center for Leadership); *Program on Law and Leadership*, OHIO ST. UNIV. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing activities of Ohio State's Program on Law and Leadership); *Leadership Initiative*, SANTA CLARA L., <http://law.scu.edu/leadership/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing activities of Santa Clara's Leadership Initiative).

31. Pepperdine University School of Law is an example. See *Parris Institute for Professional Formation*, PEPP. SCH. OF L., <http://law.pepperdine.edu/parris-institute/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing activities of Parris Institute for Professional Formation).

32. The University of St. Thomas School of Law and the University of Tennessee College of Law are examples. See *Welcome to the Holloran Center*, UNIV. OF ST. THOMAS SCH. OF L., <http://www.stthomas.edu/hollorancenter/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing activities of St. Thomas' Holloran Center for Ethical Leadership in the Professions); *Institute for Professional Leadership*, UNIV. OF TENN. C. OF L., <http://law.utk.edu/centers/leadership/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing activities of Tennessee's Institute for Professional Leadership).

33. See, e.g., *Professionalism and The Work of Lawyers*, WILLIAM H. BOWEN SCH. OF L., <http://ualr.edu/law/academics/professionalism-and-the-work-of-lawyers/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing University of Arkansas Bowen School of Law one-credit elective for first-year students); *Becoming a Professional: Exploring Skills & Transition Into Practice*, UNIV. OF CIN. C. OF L., <http://law.uc.edu/sites/default/files/BECOMINGAPROFESSIONAL.pdf> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (three-credit capstone course developed and co-taught by the University of Cincinnati College of Law and the University of North Carolina School of Law); *The Legal Profession*, UNIV. OF THE PACIFIC MCGEORGE SCH. OF L., http://www.mcgeorge.edu/Students/Academics/Courses/Course_Descriptions.htm?course_number=104 (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (one-credit first-year course offered by the University of the Pacific McGeorge School of Law).

34. The programs at Baylor Law School and the Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, for instance, feature suites of programming outside the formal curriculum. See *Leadership Development Program*, BAYLOR L. SCH., <http://www.baylor.edu/law/cs/index.php?id=863260>

values of the legal profession,³⁵ strengthening essential personal leadership capacities,³⁶ deepening cultural awareness of the profession and the forces shaping its future,³⁷ and pressing the importance of personal responsibility for ongoing development as a professional³⁸ are just some of the targeted objectives.

There is movement and, to judge from the communing taking place, the sense of “a movement.” Symposia such as this one, summer workshops convened by the Holloran Center for Ethical Leadership in the Professions at the University of St. Thomas Law School,³⁹ sessions at professional meetings, and bench-bar-academy programs have been bringing together faculty and staff from

r.edu/law/cs/index.php?id=863260 (last visited Apr. 27, 2016); *Program On Law and Leadership*, OHIO ST. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016).

35. The University of St. Thomas School of Law for instance, emphasizes these considerations in its “Foundations of Justice” course for first-year students. See *Complete Course Catalog*, UNIV. OF ST. THOMAS SCH. OF L., <https://www.stthomas.edu/law/jd/full-timeprogram/completecoursecatalog/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (course syllabus on file with author).

36. See, e.g., *Leadership Development Program*, BAYLOR L. SCH., <http://www.baylor.edu/law/cs/index.php?id=863260> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (noting Baylor program’s requirement of participation in a leadership development class and course in personal development and team building); *Program on Law and Leadership*, OHIO ST. UNIV. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/about/initiatives/workshops/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (noting Ohio State program’s workshops on personal strengths development, communication, and group decision making).

37. Mentoring programs are one means toward the development of professional cultural awareness, and they abound at law schools today. Lectures, curated conversations, and roundtables, such as those brought together under the auspices of Ohio State’s Program on Law and Leadership, are another. See *Speaker Series*, OHIO ST. UNIV. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/about/initiatives/speaker-series/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (noting speaker programs); *Conversation Series*, OHIO ST. UNIV. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/about/initiatives/conversation-series/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (noting conversation series); *Dean’s Roundtable*, OHIO ST. UNIV. MORITZ C. OF L., <http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/pll/about/initiatives/deans-roundtable/> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (noting dean’s roundtable).

38. These considerations have been a principal focus in the University of St. Thomas School of Law’s first-year “Foundations of Justice” course, see *supra* note 35, and are now formalized for use by other schools in NEIL W. HAMILTON, ROADMAP: THE LAW STUDENT’S GUIDE TO PREPARING AND IMPLEMENTING A SUCCESSFUL PLAN FOR MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT (2015).

39. See HOLLORAN CTR. FOR PROF. LEADERSHIP IN THE PROFESSIONS, REPORT ON 2014–2015 ACADEMIC YEAR, 7–10 (describing five workshops held in 2013, 2104, and 2015, attended by teams from 23 law schools and focusing on the advancement of professional formation in the curriculum, pedagogy, and culture of law schools).

numerous schools, along with supportive practitioners, to share ideas, brainstorm strategies, and pool resources.

III. FORMATION NEXT: AN EMERGING MODEL

My sympathies lie with Dean Cramton and those in legal education today who think law schools, law students, and society benefit from making the formation of professional identity a clearer, stronger element of the ordinary religion of the law school. And I see an opportunity to make real progress.

The activities we just reviewed suggest the makings of a *model that can work for professional formation and work in the typical law school's political economy*—the power, resources, work, and governance considerations that shape relations inside the law school.⁴⁰ What follows is a blueprint of the model, the spelling out of a logic that not only unites the various formation-oriented activities we are seeing, but projects how they can expand and strengthen. To keep matters simple, let me suggest four cornerstones to the model: vision, strategy, program features, and the approach to roles and resources.

A. Vision

Whether stated explicitly or implicitly, the formation initiatives we see today share a vision about professional formation and its place in the lives of students and the law school. It is a matter of responsibility—to be precise, three such responsibilities, each of which must be recognized and assumed by the party who rightly should shoulder it. The first two responsibilities lie with the student on her or his way to becoming a professional. The student must accept and internalize a personal responsibility for her or his continuing development toward excellence at all of the competencies of the profession and also must accept and internalize a responsibility to others whom one serves as a professional, including clients, colleagues, and society.⁴¹ The third responsibility lies with the law school. It must accept and internalize a responsibility to assert the student's responsibilities and then to guide and support students as they take on their responsibilities. In fulfilling that responsibility, the law school ensures that its ordinary religion

40. See MOSCO, *supra* note 1, at 24.

41. See WILLIAM M. SULLIVAN, TEACHING MEDICAL PROFESSIONALISM, at xi, xv (Richard Creuss et al., eds. 2009), for a good statement of the core responsibilities of a professional and how they constitute the “chief formative challenge” for developing professionals.

communicates to students that their professional formation, and the dual responsibilities it entails, matters.

B. Strategy

Today's formation initiatives also map well to a strategy that makes sense for the typical, contemporary law school. Strategic planners like to begin with strengths, but let us go first to the typical law school's self-perceived weaknesses and threats faced, as they constrain the range of opportunities: a challenging employment market for graduates; a significantly smaller pool of applicants nationally; tight resources; less than rosy revenue forecasts; stiff competition for enrollment, reputation, and rankings; a limited ability to take on additional personnel, whether faculty or staff; attrition in recent years that has made it tougher to meet basic established priorities; circumstances that make never-easy reallocations even harder and which demand even more careful evaluation of investments with an eye to the highest returns.

Taking more initiative in the professional formation area, however, need not be a zero-sum venture. Considerable strengths within the law school and within its reach can be leveraged. As noted earlier, changes in law school programs and culture since Dean Cramton wrote have yielded an environment more conducive to supporting formation. Faculty already touch on formation—whether in moments of critical inquiry in a traditional doctrinal class or seminar, in clinical coaching on client counseling and active listening, in ethics and professional responsibility classes that do not stop with the law of lawyering, in reflection exercises associated with externships, or in projects to reform the law to better serve society that are undertaken by institutes or centers. Adjunct faculty members contribute practice-area expertise, to be sure, but they also are role models of how professionals strive to grow continually, achieve excellence, and serve others. The numerous visitors each year who deliver lectures and talks and participate in panel discussions convened by schools or student groups also are role models. The strengths to be leveraged also include the law school's staff. Even the most rudimentary career and professional development office (CPD) engages in activity that is foundational to formation, such as coaching and guidance on presenting oneself to the professional world and connecting students to the professional environments they might inhabit. CPDs that push themselves for superior performance undertake more to position their students better in the marketplace and much of it is formation-oriented—for example, introduction of strategies to foster student ownership of her or his career planning and development; leadership-of-self programming (such as assessment of personality preferences and

skills); comprehensive student exposure to various practice sectors and career paths, with attention to the varying competencies and conditions that are needed for success; and the facilitation of extensive networking opportunities for students.⁴² When counting strengths within the school that arc toward formation, one should not overlook the formation-oriented work already undertaken in academic or student affairs (e.g., counseling and advising), academic support (e.g., time and stress management), and the admissions and financial aid offices (e.g., financial well-being programs). There are also the strengths to be tapped beyond the school's four corners. Alumni, practitioners, judges, government officials, the organized bar, and professional affiliation groups clearly desire to see more attention paid to the values of professional formation and want to participate.

Given these strengths and the aforementioned constraints, the opportunity is easy to see. *Major building blocks of a purposive formation program happen to be best practices for the pursuit of other dimensions of the typical law school's mission.* Some schools may have more of them in place than other schools, but their presence is bound to spread as deans, faculty, and staff look each year to improve performance in a competitive legal education market and meet student expectations for gainful employment at graduation. The law school has the opportunity to capitalize on them and mold them into a purposive formation program.

How can a law school do that, again being mindful of the constraints it faces? It needs to supply the *purpose*, which like most things is easier said than done but still not altogether hard. I find it helpful to liken the effort to the work of a curator. Imagine the law school, thanks to a good leadership team drawn from its ranks, crafting the program much as a curator assembles and maintains an ongoing exhibit.⁴³ The curating law school scans its activities, seeing

42. Mina Jones Jefferson, Senior Assistant Dean and Director for Professional Development at the University of Cincinnati College of Law, has incorporated these and other initiatives as core work of the school's Center for Professional Development. Students, faculty, and employers welcome the expanded efforts and elevated vision of CPD's role in professional development.

43. The culture and circumstances of the law school naturally will have a significant impact on the form leadership may take. In choosing the form, the importance of effective communication between the program participants and within the law school as a whole should not be taken lightly. The curating approach depends upon good sharing of information and activities, the ability to frame diverse activities as a coherent whole, and the articulation of scripts that the school's faculty and administration use to support the program and mutually reinforce their respective activities. Governance and management factors also are important to the leadership

that different works by different actors in the law school (shall we call them artists, keeping with the curating image?) share the common formation theme. It names the theme and elaborates its meaning. It pulls the works together, at least conceptually, so students may experience them as the equivalent of a curated exhibit. It guides students through the exhibit, communicating to them how the various works they are experiencing relate and contribute to the theme. It encourages students to reflect on the theme and make it their own.

With formation-oriented work across the law school assembled into focus this way, improvements can be pursued with purpose. The curating law school can assess the quality of the exhibition, looking to exhibitions that other schools have assembled for inspiration. The contributing artists can revise or add to their works to reinforce the exhibition's theme. The existence of gaps in the exhibition—opportunities to strengthen it—likely will surface. New artists, inside or outside the law school, can be invited to contribute. Resources permitting, a new work might even be commissioned from time to time—especially when it does double-duty to promote other priorities that the school has identified. Sponsors to underwrite particular works, or perhaps the entire exhibition, can be sought.

As projects in higher education go, a formation initiative founded on this strategy is quite inexpensive and free from disruptive reallocation. Significant progress can be made on a significant challenge that has been recognized for decades by harnessing existing efforts in the law school and directing them to better serve formation through forethought, communication, and coordination. And because many formation-oriented efforts are, or will become, best practices for the pursuit of other law school objectives—the work of CPDs being a prime example—intentionality on the formation front also can drive improvement on other fronts.

C. Program Features

Curating a comprehensive formation program that works for students can be a stimulating creative exercise. No school starts

choice. As an element of the school's program of legal education, the formation program rightly demands the faculty's effective supervision. Effective supervision, and indeed the program's success, will hinge on maintaining a clear understanding of the individual program activities and the assignment of responsibility for each of them, periodic assessment, and exploration of means for improvement.

Whatever form of leadership is chosen, the model's dependence upon coordination across the law school suggests some place for a working group representative of the various faculty and staff members most directly involved.

from scratch, however, and there are ample resources and exemplars available to help launch the project. Literature on effective formation pedagogies exists, and the early experimenters and adopters in the law school community are unselfish sharers. Scanning the activity to date, one sees features that may work together to promote a student's acceptance and internalization of the dual responsibilities necessary to the formation of a sound professional identity. They cluster into categories that correspond to key dimensions of the process of formation. For our purposes, recitation of the categories with some illustration and brief comment will suffice. It might help to think of them as elements of the well-curated formation exhibition.

1. Self-Awareness, Leadership-of-Self, and Self-Directed Learning and Development

If one cannot lead and serve one's self effectively, hopes of assuming the further responsibility to lead and serve others in a professional role seem vain. As faculty and CPDs know, students come to law school with considerable ground still to gain on the path of self-direction.⁴⁴ Leadership development practices are important here—e.g., self-assessment of strengths and preferences; establishing competency-building and employment goals and developing plans to achieve them; and awareness of the importance of resourcefulness and the identification of resources, such as mentors and networks.⁴⁵ School-wide steps to reinforce personal accountability for the responsibilities and expectations imposed upon a student also can play a helpful role.⁴⁶ The dividends flow not only

44. Self-directed learning refers to "a process by which individuals take the initiative, with or without the assistance of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying the human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes." See Neil W. Hamilton, *Half of 1L Students Are Still at Early Stages of Taking Ownership Over Their Professional Development*, NALP BULL. 17 (January 2016) (quoting MALCOLM KNOWLES, *SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING: A GUIDE FOR LEARNERS AND TEACHERS* 18 (1975)). As Professor Hamilton notes, "[i]t is widely accepted that self-directed learning promotes adult learning success in both academic and practice work." *Id.* (citing Stephane Boyer et al., *The Moderating Effects of the Self-Directed Learning Measurement Tool*, 10 INT'L J. SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING 21 (2013)).

45. See HAMILTON, *supra* note 38, for a comprehensive compilation of these and other elements that is tailored for use by students in conjunction with their CPD.

46. The University of Cincinnati College of Law, for instance, now requires as a condition for graduation that the student attend an annual professional planning meeting with the Center for Professional Development and implement a professional

to the formation ledger. Students who are more advanced on the self-direction continuum should be stronger job-seekers, readier learners in classrooms and clinics, and more engaged users of the resources made available to them to succeed.

2. Increasingly Sophisticated Understanding of Professional Environments

Effective professionals navigate their environments well. That takes knowing each environment's features and what it takes to succeed in it, along with the ability to recognize the environments that play to one's strengths or test one's capacities. Activities that can serve this goal include a guided series of presentations by representatives from various practice sectors, clinics and externships that include well-conceived reflection assignments, mentoring and networking programs, and workshops on the economics of practice and the future of legal services. In addition to promoting formation, such efforts bolster CPDs by sharpening a student's job-seeking abilities and by allowing the CPDs and students avenues to cultivate relationships with employers. Students acquainted with the real world also bring this knowledge to the betterment of their studies.

3. Core Values of the Profession

Although the concept of core values of the legal profession is not beyond dispute in academic circles, consistent expressions amenable to cogent, useful synthesis exist.⁴⁷ The dual responsibilities with which we began (responsibility for one's continuing development toward excellence in the competencies of the profession and responsibility to others whom one serves as a professional) can anchor an elaboration of values and obligations that include the responsibility of lawyers as stewards of the legal system to ensure access to justice, fidelity to the rule of law, and commitment to justice and its improvement. Considerations marginalized in Dean Cramton's day, such as personal conscience and tensions between the role of a lawyer as a client representative and as a proponent of justice, need conscious inclusion in the ordinary religion that students perceive.

development plan in conjunction with the center. See *J.D. Degree Requirements*, UNIV. CIN. C. OF L., <http://www.law.uc.edu/degree-requirements> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016).

47. See, e.g., Neil Hamilton, *Professionalism Clearly Defined*, 18 PROF. LAW. 4 (2008) (surveying academic and professional discussions of core values and offering synthesis).

A steady and pervasive diet seems called for here, with multiple participants and diverse formats. Staples within the curriculum (legal ethics and professional responsibility courses, classes exploring dimensions of justice from different vantage points) need conscious reinforcement by faculty across the academic enterprise and curated programs featuring perspectives from the profession.

4. Competencies

The professional lawyer's responsibilities include the development of the competencies necessary to effectively serve others. Recently revised accreditation standards require the articulation of learning outcomes and assessment of student learning, providing new impetus for law schools to attend more purposively to competencies.⁴⁸ Many of those competencies are traditional objectives of a law school's program that the accreditation standards specifically delineate: knowledge and understanding of substantive and procedural law; legal analysis and reasoning; legal research; problem-solving; written and oral communication in the legal context; and the exercise of proper professional and ethical responsibilities to clients and the legal system.⁴⁹ However, the standards also require the law school's program to reach "other professional skills needed for competent and ethical participation as a member of the legal profession."⁵⁰ Those competencies include the fundamentals discussed earlier—self-awareness, leadership-of-self, and self-directed learning and development. Other skills important to becoming a well-formed, emotionally intelligent professional who can navigate professional environments effectively also are relevant here, such as teamwork and collaboration, client counseling, active listening, communication outside the formal and adversarial contexts, taking and receiving feedback, working across differences, and management of ethical or moral tensions, to name some.⁵¹ An

48. See *2015–2016 Standards and Rules of Procedure for Approval of Law Schools*, A.B.A. SEC. OF LEG. EDUC. AND ADMISSIONS TO THE BAR, ch. 3 http://www.americanbar.org/groups/legal_education/resources/standards.html (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (Standard 302 (requiring and specifying learning outcomes); Standard 314 (requiring assessment of student learning); Standard 315 (requiring evaluation of program of legal education, learning outcomes, and assessment methods)).

49. *Id.* at Standard 302.

50. *Id.*

51. See, e.g., HAMILTON, *supra* note 38, at 251–57 (gathering empirical evidence on competencies important to legal employers in their hiring decisions); Marjorie M. Shultz & Sheldon Zedeck, *Predicting Lawyer Effectiveness: Broadening the Basis for Law School Admission Decisions*, 36 L. & SOC. INQUIRY 620, 623–25, 630 (2011)

expanding literature is at hand to aid law schools in those competencies and supporting pedagogies.

5. Mentors and Role Models

Effective professionals pull it all together, leading themselves with awareness, adherence to core values, and an ethic of life-long improvement of competencies in pursuit of excellence. They embody the integration of the qualities that a formation program, along the lines we are sketching here, seeks to foster. High-functioning professionals will tell you that mentors and role models were integral to their development and achievement and that they continue to accumulate mentors and role models as the years pass. No one does it alone.

Law schools present professional role models every day in the form of the full-time faculty and staff, adjunct faculty, guest lecturers and speakers, judges and practitioners in residence, volunteer competition judges, and others who engage students in their journey. Some of these people become mentors. Formal mentoring programs that connect students to practitioners have become common, and pedagogies for making them more effective are developing.⁵² With a little intentionality, all these engagements can be drawn into clearer view for students to reinforce the entire process of forming a professional identity. The relationships they foster also can be leveraged for employment and externship opportunities and the broadening of networks supporting the law school.

6. A Reinforcing Understanding that the Program's Features are Important, Intentional, and Coherent

The ordinary religion of today's law school pronounces that the school's efforts to get students to "think like a lawyer" and "do like a lawyer"—corresponding to the first and second apprenticeships in the Carnegie Study nomenclature⁵³—are important, intentional, and

(reviewing research on lawyer effectiveness and identifying effectiveness factors).

52. See, e.g., *Lawyer to Lawyer Mentoring Program*, THE SUP. CT. OF OHIO AND THE OHIO JUD. SYS., <http://www.supremecourt.ohio.gov/AttySvcs/mentoring/default.asp> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (describing Lawyer to Lawyer Mentoring Program administered by Supreme Court of Ohio); *Lawyer to Lawyer Mentoring Program Orientation*, THE SUP. CT. OF OHIO AND THE OHIO JUD. SYS., <http://www.supremecourt.ohio.gov/AttySvcs/mentoring/orientation.asp> (last visited Apr. 27, 2016) (downloadable orientation manual with resources).

53. See SULLIVAN et al., *supra* note 24, at 28.

coherent. Faculty and administration design, deliver, and oversee the program of legal education with those expectations. From recruitment to matriculation to orientation, from the first day of class to the commencement celebration, the air is filled with communications to students that convey and reinforce the message. A formation program with the foregoing elements, built on the curating strategy, affords a way to pull together the school's efforts to get students to "*be a lawyer*"—corresponding to Carnegie's third apprenticeship⁵⁴—and treat them as an important, intentional, and coherent correlative of the other apprenticeships.

D. The Approach to Roles and Resources

Reading Roger Cramton's ordinary religion reflections, one can detect an unarticulated postulate about the law school's political economy. On the practical question—how to do formation in the law school—it is as if Cramton assumed that all the work would take place in classrooms with professors leading students in exploration of the nature of law, justice, the human condition, and what these concepts mean for being a professional.

The various formation program features we just surveyed would not exceed the *abilities* of a good law faculty today. But in their entirety, they might well outstrip the faculty's available time and energy. A viable model for today's generation of law schools, however, faces a different political economy from the one that prevailed decades ago, and it is a political economy affording a wider range of motion. Responsibility for the various program features can be distributed to a variety of actors across the law school in a purposive way that aligns them with existing responsibilities and abilities while also generating the benefits of leverage.

To be sure, law schools vary in the particulars, and each will know best the distribution that suits its circumstances. What is more, most program features can and should fall on more than one group of law school actors. Possibilities for intelligent and practical distribution in the typical law school nonetheless stand out.

Let us begin with the foundational competencies of self-awareness, leadership-of-self, and self-directed learning and development. CPDs seem to be naturals for assuming responsibility for these. The competencies at issue affect the student's strength as a job seeker and effectiveness as a user of CPD services,⁵⁵ and administering the exercises and activities that can help improve

54. *Id.*

55. See *supra* notes 42, 44 and accompanying text.

those competencies falls well within a good CPD's skillset. (A quick aside: Those working in the academic success area might collaborate with the CPD here.) CPDs need ever better and more numerous employer networks, and they also possess a strong interest in helping students acquire better understanding of the legal marketplace and what different types of employment entail. CPDs thus are natural coordinators for two other formation program features: efforts to instill in students an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the professional environments they might encounter in their careers, and mentoring and role model initiatives.

The competencies supporting emotional intelligence and the effective navigation of professional environments—we earlier spotlighted as examples teamwork and collaboration, client counseling, active listening, communication outside the formal and adversarial contexts, taking and receiving feedback, working across differences, and management of ethical or moral tensions—seem well-suited to development in clinics, practical skills courses, and in-class components of externship programs. It makes sense to turn to faculty teaching in these areas to bear the laboring oar on this dimension of the formation program; indeed, many already make the development of such competencies an educational objective in their courses.

The remaining features of our model formation program—core values of the profession and a reinforcing understanding that the formation program's features are important, intentional, and coherent—will be only as good as the support shown for them by the law school's faculty, deans, and program heads. As institutional leaders, as teachers, and as role models and mentors, they have the greatest opportunities to express values, interrogate their meaning, explore their implications, and question the absence of their fulfillment. As architects and overseers of the educational program, they should demand intentionality and coherence from the formation program and ensure that appropriate leadership is in place to turn the program's strategic promise into reality.⁵⁶ In governing the school's affairs and when talking about its mission (and *especially* when the audience comprises students), these leaders should affirm, by word and deed, the formation project's importance, intentionality, and coherence. With the right mindfulness, they can make the formation of professional identity a correlative priority in the ordinary religion, rather than a matter for the margins.

In short, the program that works for formation and for the political economy of the law school is an enterprise-wide affair.

56. See *supra* note 43, on the matter of program leadership.

Faculty play important roles, and so do members of the law school staff, with external stakeholders woven into the endeavor as well. The program unleashes talents latent in the school and within its reach in the community. It takes possession of underutilized resources—the time and space in a student's law school journey that we loosely label the co-curricular and extracurricular—and presses them into efficient, productive service. It dips into a font of renewable resources that grow stronger the more frequently they are used: the capacities of people to communicate with one another and work in concert.

IV. HABITS OF THE HEART AND HABITS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Forging one's professional identity might be said to be a project in developing habits of the heart.⁵⁷ An effective formation program on the model just outlined can help nurture such habits, a good enough result itself. The work of establishing and delivering such a program, however, also can cultivate a different set of habits that will serve the law school well. We can call them habits of the law school's political economy, and we conclude with a few words in their favor.

Make no mistake: The typical law school of the next quarter century needs an active faculty that leads with ambitions for the school that the faculty could never attain solely on its own. It is not just the imperative of doing more with less in an era of stiff competition and market realities that dictate containing the cost of a J.D. degree. The economics of higher education stipulate that even those law schools within a university must learn to stand on their own proverbial bottoms. That means finding their own resources, which means finding ways to grow revenues with new programs for a broader array of learners who deserve tailored curricula and pedagogies separate and distinct from those of the J.D. program. Irrespective of those unavoidable financial factors, law schools that wish to remain paramount as educators of those who serve law and society will likely be spreading their programs' reach into less familiar places. Forces currently at play portend major changes in how our nation and the world take their legal services that parallel changes already experienced in the health care field. Society's demand for law's benefits will not abate, but neither will its demand for getting those benefits faster and more cheaply. Just as a range of specially educated individuals other than doctors now participate in

57. See ROBERT N. BELLAH ET AL., *HABITS OF THE HEART: INDIVIDUALISM AND COMMITMENT IN AMERICAN LIFE* (1985).

serving society's health care needs, a range of specially educated individuals other than lawyers will join in serving society's legal needs.⁵⁸

For a law school to thrive (and perhaps just to survive) in the years ahead, the faculty members who lead it need to be good at governing, managing, overseeing, assessing, and improving things that others do and that they themselves do not. They need to be good at distinguishing the school's necessary and properly high ambitions from their own individual and limited reach, seeing and seizing opportunities to better the school by incorporating the work and contributions of others. The ability to create, and work with and in, teams of diverse membership will matter more. And as the law school's slate of activities and players expands and diversifies, the faculty's capacity to curate the works of many into a comprehensive meaningful whole—ideally greater than the sum of its parts—will carry a premium.

In its own modest way, the formation program modeled in this article requests precisely the same behaviors. Law school leaders might see it as a habit-forming practice ground for the future. In the years to come, law schools also will need faculty, deans, and staff who reaffirm and reinforce the school's fundamental convictions in unison, even as the school itself changes. We in the law school community believe in law as a public good; in the academic study of law, by students and faculty alike, as a public good; and in the professionals we educate as practitioners of law for the public's benefit, not only their personal reward. We and others believe so, but some think differently and less of law schools, the work they do, and the value they contribute. To withstand the ongoing challenge, law schools can ill afford weaknesses in their ordinary religion that belie commitment to the public purpose of their mission.

Here, too, the purposive program of professional formation that we have modeled calls for the same essential habit and presents an opportunity to cultivate it. In naming it, we travel full circle to Dean Cramton. We are talking about the habit of working together to create, maintain, and sustain an ordinary religion of the American law school that withstands our own conscionable scrutiny.

58. Richard Susskind's assessments of the forces driving change (among them, the globalization, commoditization, and deregulation of legal services) and what they harbor remain illuminating. See RICHARD SUSSKIND, *THE END OF LAWYERS? RETHINKING THE NATURE OF LEGAL SERVICES* (2008); see also RICHARD SUSSKIND, *TOMORROW'S LAWYERS: AN INTRODUCTION TO YOUR FUTURE* (2012).