

BOOK REVIEWS

Eva Spangler, *Lawyers for Hire: Salaried Professionals at Work*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. 245 Pp. \$25.00 (cloth).

In *Lawyers for Hire*, Eva Spangler offers an in-depth analysis of how shifts from "free professional" to salaried status is effecting changes in the structure of and control over the work of the lawyer, the ramifications of such changes for the lawyers' professional life, and the implications of such changes for the rest of society. She prefaces her discussion by demonstrating that, in a move away from the traditional patriarchal type of law firm that operates with a powerful senior partner who delegates little power in maintaining control over the firm, an increasing number of lawyers have come to work as salaried employees in large firms and other work environments which manifest the characteristics associated with bureaucratic organizations. Positing the hypothetical "professional-bureaucratic conflict" which assumes inherent conflict between professionalism and bureaucracy, she sets out to explore the ways in which attorneys are required to conform to organizational demands. New findings obtained through more than 100 interviews with staff lawyers in large law firms, corporate, governmental, and legal aid settings in the New England area are analyzed by addressing issues regarding how these lawyers organize their work in balancing accountability to an employer with both professional judgment and their clients' interests. Other issues addressed include the possibilities of the salaried attorney becoming de-skilled, the increasing trend toward specialization, and how the two may be related.

Spangler devotes one chapter each to salaried attorneys in four diverse settings presented in the following order: associates in large law firms (75 or more lawyers); house counsel in business corporations; attorneys in various branches of government; and attorneys who work for local affiliates of the Legal Services Corporation (a/k/a "Legal Aid"). As the type of attorney with which we are most familiar, associates in large law firms are descriptively distinguished from those with memberships in traditional law firms. This informative profile is then used as a basis for making comparisons to and contrasts with corporate house counsel. Both analyses then serve as bases for discussing the two types of civil service attorneys: those who represent the government itself, and those who provide services for indigent citizens. Throughout the book, Spangler relies heavily on the professionals

themselves to give accounts of their experiences in their own words, effectively impressing upon the reader the varied personal styles, thoughts, concerns, and orientations of the attorneys categorized as salaried professionals.

Spangler's data analysis shows that lawyers can and often do remain intellectually autonomous of the bureaucratic structure imposed for meeting the need to rationalize the business aspects of firms' operations. Conversely, she shows how the rise of the staff professional can also represent the subordination of a former elite to corporate or governmental entities. To account for these contradictory outcomes, she illustrates how, historically, professionals have often relied upon bureaucratic procedures to accomplish their ends in legal practice. Moreover, she contends that the organizational structures of the large corporate and governmental agencies in which lawyers work today are not inconsistent with organizational structures of large law firms of the past, when one frequent result of large numbers of lawyers working together in a firm was the development of a sharply-graded hierarchy of several classes of associates and several classes of partners in the firm. She therefore concludes that bureaucratic and professional elements may be successfully combined in structural arrangements which permit either their fusion or the accommodation of such structural patterns. Further, the employment of these professionals need not impose unmitigating restrictions on the essence of the work—use of their specialized knowledge in providing a service.

In the course of her analysis, Spangler investigates the lawyer-client relationship and the role each plays throughout the handling of the client's legal matter. One salient point concerns a change in the nature of much of the work performed by corporate lawyers, both those in firms retained by businesses and those employed as in-house counsel, from litigation to prophylactic law, which is in part due to increasing complexities in governmental regulations affecting businesses. Her further discussions in this regard include questions focused on the extent to which a lawyer is a vendor of services in a buyer's market. Themes of economic considerations are woven into her analyses of the strategies of the employing agencies in hiring and managing these professionals, as well as the motives behind attorneys' choices of working environments, and the manner and degree in which each participates in the structuring of the organizational milieu.

In her summary, Spangler (191) comments:

Certainly the history of the legal profession has been one of gradual changes rather than notable events. Perhaps one of the most significant changes in lawyer's experiences

is the transformation of a profession of independent practitioners into a profession of employees. In this development, lawyers greatly resemble doctors, and both are coming to be more like engineers, professors, clergy, and scientists—highly trained people who are answerable both to the canons of their profession and to the demands of their employers.

Arriving at the conclusion that attorneys pay much more attention to the substance of their work than to its organization, Spangler speculates on the possible future of law as a profession.

This book contains two appendixes, including a chapter on the solo practitioner in the legal profession to provide a vivid contrast to the experiences of salaried attorneys, and a listing of the interview questions used in the course of Spangler's study.

It is evident that the legal profession is transformed with changes in the employment status of lawyers, and Ms. Spangler has presented us with information which could provide the impetus for further exploration of the outcomes of a profession's responses to growth in the number of its members, to changes in work settings, to shifts in the nature of the work performed, and to the complexity of the economy of the societies in which professionals work. *Lawyers for Hire* should prove extremely useful to students of organizational behavior, organizational structure, business, economics, work and the professions. The book will certainly also be of interest to lawyers and anyone who is interested in the legal profession.

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Hua Wu Yin, *Class and Communalism in Malaysia*, London: Zed Books Ltd., 1983. 246 Pp. \$9.25 (paper)

Hua's book should interest all scholars of the sociology of development. This book investigates the continued repression in Malaysia and links it rather impressively to communalism. It includes a lengthy and comprehensive description of the significance of British imperialism, its relation to international dependency, and to present day communalism in Malaysia. In brief, the book adds much to the debate on dependency.

The first chapter is a useful and in-depth history of pre-colonial Malay society. Two significant points are that Islamic religious ideology was a crucial