Gender identity and mode-switching behavior:

Evidence from the human voice*

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Abstract

Using voicemail greetings of lawyers at top U.S. law firms–a male dominated work environment–I show that 36 percent of females alternate between a primary frequency of about 200 Hz and a secondary frequency of about 100 Hz. The mode accounts for 8.5 percent of the signal and is coextensive with the unique male voice frequency mode. Survey data suggest that human listeners can detect the bimodality and perceive this group of females to be lower ranking. Likewise, the tendency to *mode-switch* is stronger among junior than senior females. Evidence from auxiliary data provides external validity for the phenomenon.

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Conforming to norms in a heterogenous workplace has been shown to have unequal consequences for different types of workers: workers whose natural behavior is similar to that prescribed by norms are less affected than those with dissimilar behavior. In recent years, however, there has been growing concern about the built-in disadvantages out-groups (i.e., minorities, or marginalized groups) face at work. Specifically, because norms in the workplace are often driven by the in-group, they are relatively more costly for the out-group to follow and further hamper these workers from reaching their labor market potential. This work seeks to highlight these disparities and the need to focus on policies that level the playing field in a diverse workplace.

Studies of discrimination against the out-group typically focus on fixed attributes of workers, such as sex and race. Yet, malleable worker characteristics–such as human voice–may reflect, rather than determine, outcomes in the labor market. Indeed, pressures to conform with market norms may influence identity choices (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). Although research on conformity to social norms at work is not new, an increasing number of anecdotes, especially among African American and female workers in the U.S., describe a new type of behavioral response to these pressures that neither uniquely conforms to in-group nor out-group norms.

In this first large-scale study of the human voice, recordings of workers in a male-dominated work environment show that about one third of females subtly alternate between two distinct frequencies—100 Hz and 200 Hz—within a fraction of a second, and survey data confirm that human listeners can distinguish between the bimodal and unimodal speech patterns and perceive the latter females to be more dominant and high-ranking than the former. Combined with auxiliary data I collected from other work contexts, there is some evidence showing a higher prevalence of *mode-switching* among females in more vulnerable positions. In contrast, I find no evidence of bimodal speech patterns among male workers. Although adapting one's behavior can foster better communication among diverse individuals, this unilateral practice of assimilation imposes an unfair burden on female workers.

These findings connect to a phenomenon, popularly referred to as *code-switching*, which has gained traction, reviving a literature at the intersection of linguists and anthropology.[1] Unlike conforming with the norms of a single group, workers signalling deference to multiple groups endure additional psychological costs of keeping their identity hanging in the balance (McCluney et al., 2019). Put differently, identity-switching at work may result from out-group employees experiencing competing pressures. This non-standard type of conformism, whereby workers briefly yet regularly express multiple social identities in a single utterance is significantly more challenging to detect, let alone empirically document. This paper begins to fill this important gap.

Economists have studied the role of assimilation in identity formation. Specifically, Austen-Smith and Fryer (2005) developed a two-audience signalling model to explain the pressures faced and choices made by out-group members when in-group norms dictate behavior that conflicts with out-group norms. In their paper, one may only conform to the norms of a single group. In contrast, mode-switching can be seen as a hybrid: marginalized workers shifting between their native out-group and the in-group market norms, thereby simultaneously, but not fully, conforming to divergent norms. Several recent papers have examined the role of social influence in under-achievement of out-groups in educational attainment (Fryer and Torelli, 2010) and professional identity choices (Bursztyn et al., 2017). Evidence from these papers implies that

[1] Growing attention in media (e.g., www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/, www.girlboss.com/identity/code-switching-at-work, and www.linkedin.com/news/story/the-cost-of-code-switching-5434538/) and in arts (e.g., Boots Riley's film "Sorry to Bother You").

conflicting social influences puts members of the out-group at a relative disadvantage. However, even the benefits that typically come with group membership are unlikely to be realized for workers who oscillate.

1. Background and Preliminary Findings

The evidence on neural processing of vocal cues has improved markedly in recent years (Scott, 2019). fMRI analysis has enabled significant scientific progress in understanding how the human brain distills meaning from sound (e.g., McGettigan and Scott, 2012; Formisano et al., 2008; Mathias and von Kriegstein, 2014; Creel and Bregman, 2011; Weston et al., 2015). This new research now provides a rigorous framework for a large literature in the social sciences on snap judgements (Creel and Bregman, 2011; Weston et al., 2015), which draws connections between vocal cues and listeners' subjective perceptions of a speaker's attributes (Imhof, 2010; Baus et al., 2019; Grogger, 2011; Chen et al., 2016; Buller et al., 1996; O'Hair and Cody, 1987). In contrast, measurement of human voice production has remained, for the most part, static.

This study breaks new ground by unlocking a dimension of microbehavior, which facilitates new inquiries and challenges our pre-existing beliefs of human behavior. To date, studies of human voice comprise a limited number of subjects (e.g., Leongómez et al. 2017; Pisanski et al., 2016; Smith and Patterson, 2005; Banse and Scherer, 1996), preventing researchers from detecting robust distributional patterns in human speech. Specifically, human anatomy enables one to manipulate the vocal cords finely and rapidly; however, existing studies have largely focused on a person's *mean* voice frequency (Klofstad et al., 2012; Apple et al., 1979; Tigue et al., 2012; Ekman et al., 1976; Mayew et al., 2013), treating pitch as a unimodal characteristic of speech. This study shows that *modal* frequencies can illustrate a richer set of vocal phenomena. In the context of the male-dominated law industry on which I focus, a significant proportion of female lawyers alternate between a primary female mode at about 200 Hz and a secondary mode at about 100 Hz that is coextensive with the primary (and only) male voice frequency mode. This suggests that male vocal frequencies have a dominant influence in the workplace.

To begin, I collected a large sample of voicemail greetings of workers. The main sample comes from lawyers at top private law firms in the United States. The Vault 100 firms that I study account for about 25 percent of total revenues in the legal services industry.[2] Firm-level descriptive statistics gathered from external sources of data about law firms are presented in Table 1A.[3] The average number of lawyers per firm is 941. The average profit per partner is $1.3 million. The oldest firm in the dataset was established in 1792 and the youngest in 2013. Although these firms vary along several dimensions, they are extremely homogenous with respect to female representation. On average, 36 percent of lawyers within a firm are female. Among partners, 21 percent are female. The standard deviation of each of these two measures is 3 percent. This imbalance is typical of other high-skill professions and corporate roles in the U.S., where females are significantly underrepresented in top positions.

The data assembly entailed scraping the phone directories from each firm's webpage, using a call management software to call each phone, and recording the voicemail greeting once the call was connected. The calls were made in early 2018, primarily during weekend nights to maximize the chances of reaching the lawyers' voicemails. Each of the recordings I obtained

[2] The Vault 100 is a ranking generated from survey responses of approximately 20 thousand associate lawyers each year and is highly correlated with firm revenues. Based on the Census NAICS (North American Industry Classification System) Code 5411 ("legal services"), total revenue in this industry is approximately 1/3 trillion dollars (2019 Quarterly Services Survey) generated by over 1.1 million employees across 175 thousand law offices in the US (2016 County Business Patterns).

[3] Based on a pilot study, I dropped firms that either had a live receptionist 24/7 (3 firms) or firms that had less than 10 percent of voicemail greetings self-recorded by the lawyer.

was then trimmed to contain only the first 3 seconds. This timeframe minimizes the likelihood of capturing silence or machine-generated audio, such as generic instructions for leaving a message. My final sample comprises 39,962 lawyers across 690 offices employed by 84 law firms that were listed in the annual Vault 100 prestige rankings between 2016 and 2018 at least once. For these lawyers, I merged demographic information obtained from the ALM Legal Compass database, a leading directory of lawyers, into the dataset by phone number and lawyer name. Table 1B summarizes these data by title and gender. The share of female lawyers in the data is consistent with the externally obtained firm-level data in Table 1A referenced above. Most striking is the difference between female representation at the Associate level (45 percent) relative to the Partner level (23 percent).

Standard quality digital recordings provide one data point per 1/8 of a millisecond of playback time, each representing the approximate amplitude at that specific moment. These samples comprise the raw digitized audio data. To estimate the audio frequency at a given point in time, I use a 60-millisecond analysis window containing 480 amplitude data points split evenly on either side of the estimation point. This window length corresponds to three cycles of a 50 Hz signal, the minimum detectable frequency I set for this analysis and well below the range of frequencies in the natural voice register. To account for the local nature of estimating the frequency, amplitude data closer to the estimation point receive more weight than those farther out in the analysis window. See the Online Appendix for technical details and robustness checks.

The frequency is defined as the inverse of the time (in seconds) it takes for a soundwave to repeat itself. As is standard in studies of the human voice, the frequency used in this study is the fundamental frequency, which is the lowest frequency of a periodic waveform. Mersenne's law is often used to model the connection between the frequency and one's vocal cord properties, tension (T), tissue mass (μ) and length (L):

$$F_0 = \frac{1}{2L}\sqrt{\frac{T}{\mu}} \tag{1}$$

The basic approach involves finding a set of frequency candidates that produce the highest autocorrelation, adjusting for the fact that the autocorrelation function mechanically favors lower frequencies (e.g., a signal that repeats itself every 5 milliseconds, also repeats itself every 10, 15, 20, and so on milliseconds).

The first step is computing the autocorrelations of the analysis window for each 1/8 of a millisecond lag—the sampling rate—until a maximum lag of 20 milliseconds. This corresponds to the range of 50 to 4000 Hz (the Nyquist frequency). Areas where the autocorrelation values switch from increasing to decreasing are identified as local maxima, and the corresponding frequencies are used as frequency candidates.

Using 5-millisecond time steps, where the analysis window is shifted 5 milliseconds (or 40 data points) at a time, three seconds of playback translate into 589 frequency estimates, where the first and last estimates are given at points 0.03 and 2.97 seconds, respectively. To select the most likely frequency estimate at each point in time, I impose a post-estimation ceiling of 400 Hz, which is well above the range of human voice frequencies produced by the natural voice register, and choose the candidate (if any) associated with the highest strength, subject to exceeding a minimal strength threshold. Because the 3-second clips contain periods of silence and noise, the actual number of frequency estimates per clip is significantly lower than 589 and varies from clip to clip.

Finally, given that not all workers personally record their voicemail greeting, I combine machine learning techniques with biographical information about the lawyers as well as verbal and nonverbal characteristics of the greeting to isolate greetings that were self-recorded from greetings in third person made by assistants or generic automated call management operators. Each recording is assigned a number from 0 to 1 representing the likelihood that the voicemail greeting was personally recorded by the lawyer. Table 1C summarizes the results of this classification by lawyer gender. Approximately one-half of the voicemail greetings are classified as self-recorded with a probability greater than 0.5, whereas about one-third of the recordings are assigned a likelihood greater than 0.95.

There are several challenges to visualizing the frequency data. First, there are millions of frequency estimates and plotting them all would result in an incomprehensible figure. Second and more substantively, audio clips with minimal noise and periods of silence result in many frequency estimates but others result in a significantly smaller number of estimates. Not accounting for these differences would overweight the former clips relative to the latter in the figure. Further, as mentioned above, not all greetings are self-recorded. To address these issues, for each of the 589 points in time, I scatter frequency estimates from 1,000 lawyers with the highest probability of self-recorded greetings. Because periods of silence and noise vary from recording to recording, the clips from which the estimates come vary from point to point.

Figure 1A shows this subsample of frequency estimates for female and male lawyers separately. The horizontal axis in the figure represents time lapsed from the beginning of the recording, whereby frequency estimates are given every 5 milliseconds of playback time. As expected, most estimates for females are significantly higher than those for males. However, a band of significantly lower estimates for females (approx. 100 Hz) is also apparent. This is the key finding that motivates the analysis in the study.

2. Between- or Within-Person Bimodality?

Does this secondary mode reflect females that vocalize like males or bimodal vocalization of females (or both)? I undertake the following steps to answer this question. First, to address the variability in the total number of frequency estimates obtained from each recording, precisely 100 estimates are selected from each clip. Specifically, each of the selected estimates corresponds to a percentile, thereby retaining acoustic information necessary to consistently represent the shape of each clip's density. In contrast, random sampling is unsuitable because it tends towards a unimodal or uniform density, thereby obscuring the true shape of each clip's density. Let $h_i()$ be the empirical voice frequency density function for clip *i*. Then, for $p = 1, ..., 100$, each lawyer's voice frequency percentile in Hz, $F_0^{i,p}$, is a number defined as the highest frequency estimate of clip *i* such that:

$$\int^{F_0^{i,p}} h_i(v)\mathrm{d}v \leq p/100 \tag{2}$$

Second, the mean frequency estimate of each clip is subtracted from each of the individual percentile estimates ($F_0^{i,p} - \overline{F_0^i}$). These demeaned estimates neutralize level differences in pitch between voicemail greetings.

Figure 1B presents results of kernel density estimations and histograms using these data. To directly compare females to males, the density of each group is shifted by the group's mean frequency estimate. Using the probability assigned by the machine learning model, the subfigure on the right uses data from clips of 21,403 voicemail greetings that *more likely than not* were recorded in first person by the lawyer, whereas the subfigure on the left uses data from a subset of these clips where this likelihood exceeds 95 percent (n = 14,365). The latter figure provides a more accurate representation of the density albeit at the cost of using a smaller sample. In both subfigures, the female density has a small "bump" around 100 Hz, which is where the modal male voice frequency lies – a phenomenon I call *mode-switching*. In contrast, no such secondary modes are detected among the male densities. These figures indicate that the secondary mode is not entirely driven by differences between voicemail greetings or by differences in the number of frequency estimates per greeting. I next investigate how prevalent this phenomenon is among female lawyers in my sample.

3. Is Mode-Switching Widespread?

My empirical approach to answering this question involves two steps: first, estimating the location of a low frequency mode in each individual clip. Second, classifying clips into groups based on the estimates from step one. In both steps, I use finite mixture models (FMM), a methodology extensively used to classify observations into groups (Deb, 2012; Deb and Trivedi, 1997).

To estimate the frequency modes in each recording, an iterative procedure flexibly searches for the best fit between the 100 percentiles described above and a mixture of normal distributions. Specifically, I approximate the density of each clip i using the following model:

$$h_i() = \sum_{k=1}^{g} \pi_{i,k} N\left(\mu_{i,k}, \sigma_{i,k}^2\right) \tag{3}$$

In this model, g is a predetermined number of components in the mixture, and $\mu_{i,k}$, $\sigma_{i,k}^2$ and $\pi_{i,k}$ are the component-specific mean, variance, and the share of component k ($\sum_k \pi_{i,k} = 1$) respectively, to be estimated from the percentile data.

To increase precision, each clip was screened by (at least) one human listener. I focus on the sample of recordings classified as self-recorded by female lawyers. This process yielded 6,399 voicemail greetings. The *mean* voice frequency in this sample is 195 Hz. Some experimentation indicated that five components ($g = 5$) were optimal to fit the individual densities and detect the secondary mode.[4]

In Figure 1C, I present clip-level estimation results of the lowest frequency mode location (i.e., $\min_k \hat{\mu}_{i,k}$). The histogram shows two distinct clusters of estimates consistent with two types of frequency densities. To group the estimates, I use a two-component mixture model ($g = 2$). The predicted density based on this model is depicted in the same figure with a solid line along with the predicted individual normal distributions in the mixture. The implied cut-off of 115 Hz between both groups indicates that 36 percent (0.7 delta method standard error) of female lawyers (Group 1) have low mode estimates more than 80 Hz below the *mean* frequency estimate.

Using the demeaned percentiles described above, I plot the histograms of each group of female lawyers in Figure 1D. The histogram of female lawyers associated with the high values of low mode estimates (Group 2) shows no sign of bimodality, whereas the histogram of Group 1 clearly displays a bimodal density. For this group, the primary mode is located at 197 Hz and the

[4] Model fit is maximized at $g = 5$ according to the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), and the marginal improvement from five components onwards is below 1 percent according to Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC). Details and robustness to alternative FMM specifications are in the Online Appendix.

secondary mode is located at 96 Hz, where the latter accounts for 8.5 percent (0.2 delta method standard error, adjusted for clip-level clustering) of the 5-component mixture density.

4. Human Detection of and Perceptions from Bimodal Vocalization

The findings above indicate that a significant proportion of female lawyers in the sample mode-switch. However, because the secondary mode is relatively small in magnitude, it is not clear whether a human listener is able to detect this brief yet significant change in pitch (80 Hz from the mean), at least consciously.

Previous studies using fMRI show how the human brain distinguishes between high and low frequency signals and uses this information to discriminate between males and females. Specifically, high frequencies consistently evoke a greater degree of cortex activation (e.g., Weston et al., 2015). However, these studies focus on level differences in pitch across speakers (i.e., voice frequency means). fMRI is less suitable for measuring brain activity in response to subtle changes in frequency modes due to limited resolution and the significant background noise generated by the machinery. Plus, even though the human brain distinguishes between brief and subtle audio signals, it does not follow that people can consciously tell them apart (Lehiste, 1970; Klatt, 1973; Kollmeier et al., 2008) or perceive them differently.

For these reasons, I recruited 200 female and 200 male workers on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to test whether one can distinguish between audio clips, and, if so, how this distinction is perceived. The recruitment was based on first-come-first-served and was limited to U.S. residents who completed at least 10,000 tasks on the platform with approval rating of 99 percent or more. The age distribution of the workers by gender is shown in Figure 2A. The workers ranged from age 18 through 74 with the median age being 36.

I paired 250 clips from Group 1 with 250 clips from Group 2, where each pair had nearly identical mean frequency (within 1 Hz of each other). Each worker was assigned 50 pairs. The selection of the pairs, including the order in which they appeared both within and across pairs, was randomized across workers. To neutralize any possible effects of verbal content on the listeners, the clips were reversed and played from finish to start keeping the key acoustic features intact. The audio timeframe of 3 seconds is short but consistent with previous studies focusing on listeners' snap judgements and perception elicitation (e.g., Klofstad et al., 2012). After answering each question, the workers received immediate feedback on whether their answer was correct, along with their cumulative success rate to that point. Before starting the classification task, the workers were given instructions and three paired clips for practice.

Given the way the survey was set up (and unknown to the workers), random classification results in a success rate of 0.5, in expectation, whereas choosing the same answer throughout the survey is guaranteed to result in a success rate of 0.5. To increase the chances that the workers exert effort on the task, I provided a monetary incentive in the form of bonus payment for workers who correctly classify more than half of the pairs.

The survey results are shown in Figure 2B. First, both male and female workers were able to distinguish between bimodal (Group 1) and unimodal (Group 2) clips slightly but statistically significantly better than chance (i.e., more than a 0.5 success rate), obtaining a mean success rate of 0.525. Second, worker age does not appear to be a main driver in distinguishing between clips: workers above and below the median age in the sample performed equally well. Third, the righthand side of Figure 2B shows that workers who spent above the median time of 33 minutes on the task performed about 1 percentage point better than those who completed the task earlier; however, this difference is not statistically significant. Overall, despite the challenges stacked against distinguishing between clip types (e.g., quality of Internet connection and background noise), the findings suggest that, on average, human listeners may have the capacity to consciously and systematically isolate the unique acoustic signal embedded in the bimodal vocalization of female lawyers. Additionally, as the confidence intervals suggest, there is substantial variation in performance: the average success rate by worker quartile is 0.62, 0.55, 0.50 and 0.43, respectively, and is essentially identical across gender groups (within 1 percentage point).

Still, this does not rule out the possibility that the survey findings are spurious. Further, despite early failure, can humans learn to detect the bimodal speech pattern over time? Likewise, does early success revert to the mean? To answer these questions, I invited all workers in the top and bottom quartiles to complete a follow up survey. This survey was shorter, containing only thirty questions, but had an identical format otherwise. Nearly all 100 workers responded to the invitation: 39 females and 45 males. In Figure 2C, I show the relative performance of workers over questions and across surveys, where each marker represents a given group's cumulative share of correct answers until that question in the survey. The evolution of performance in the initial survey spans questions 1 to 50. Alongside it, the figure shows results from the follow up survey (questions labeled 51 to 80).

Several key points emerge from the figure. First, the evolution in performance differs between male and female listeners: the female quartiles become disparate groups only halfway through the survey, whereas males diverge into distinct groups within the first few questions. This distinction is characteristic of the follow up survey as well. Second, there is some evidence for learning. The bottom quartile of workers performed substantially better in the follow up exercise than in the initial survey and completed the task with a success rate above 0.5. Third, top performers in the initial survey subsequently experienced some reversion to the mean in the follow up. Overall, however, all groups in the follow up survey performed better than chance.

Although humans may detect subtle acoustic differences between unimodal and bimodal clips, this does not imply that these differences provide meaningful cues. In a separate survey, comprising the remaining 100 females and 100 males, each participant received a random set of 10 paired clips (described earlier) to rate on a 7-point Likert scale. In this survey, each pair of clips was played (not reversed) and participants were asked to provide their relative impression of the lawyers on five attributes: competitiveness, dominance, risk-taking, seniority, and trustworthiness. Results from this survey are presented in Figure 2D. Each point in this figure represents the mean deviation from a neutral rating (i.e., point 4 on the scale), scaled by the standard deviation of the attribute. A point to the left of the vertical red line means that workers perceived the attribute to resonate more strongly with lawyers from Group 2 than Group 1. The results suggest a similar pattern for both male and female listeners: female lawyers with unimodal densities are perceived more competitive, dominant, risk-taking and senior (but slightly less trustworthy) than female lawyers with bimodal densities. The differences perceived by females are significantly larger than by males. Females perceive unimodal vocalization approximately one quarter of a standard deviation more dominant and senior than bimodal vocalization. For male listeners, the perceived difference is about half that size.

In sum, results from the initial survey and follow up suggest that humans can learn to consciously detect subtle acoustic differences between the bimodal and unimodal clips even if they have failed to do so initially, albeit some human listeners may have greater detection capacity than others. Results from a separate survey suggest that humans use the acoustic signal to inform their perceptions of the speaker. Group 2 lawyers are perceived as significantly more dominant and senior than Group 1 lawyers.

5. Is Mode-Switching Context-Specific?

So far, this article has documented a new type of expression among female lawyers. I next examine whether the prevalence of this pattern varies by worker or firm characteristics. Subsequently, I analyze data from several additional sources to explore the external validity of my findings in other workplace contexts. Using the same mixture model methodology described earlier, I summarize the estimation results in Figure 3. In this figure, I show the estimated fraction of females with bimodal speech including 95 percent confidence intervals. In each row, the total number of recordings used to estimate the mixture model is indicated in parenthesis.

In Figure 3A, I present results using the main sample of 6,399 female lawyers. Starting at the top of the figure, I show estimation results for lawyers who include litigation as one of their practice areas versus those who do not. I hypothesize that litigators may differentially interact with clients and judges relative to non-litigators; however, I find no difference between both groups. In contrast, the incidence of bimodal voice patterns does significantly vary by seniority. Voice frequency densities of 31 percent of senior lawyers, including Partners and Counsels, are classified as bimodal, yet 43 percent of all Associates mode-switch. Clearly, there are many reasons that can drive this difference, but years since graduation from law school, a common proxy for both experience and age, is not among them. The correlation between the individual low mode location estimates and the residuals from running these estimates on graduation-year, firm, title, and litigator fixed effects is 0.985 (Table S8).

The subsequent categories in the figure focus on differences between firms. In general, I find no evidence for variation in the incidence of mode-switching based on firm prestige, age or female representation. One reason for this could be that the firms that I study represent a very homogenous sector. For example, based on 2016 headcounts, the average share of females in these firms was 0.36 with a standard deviation of 0.03 indicating limited between-firm variation (Table 1A). Likewise, also with a standard deviation of 0.03, the average share of female partners was 0.21. This homogeneity may be reflected in the distribution of behaviors in these firms, including speech patterns.

I next turn to estimation results using auxiliary data. These samples are significantly smaller in size than the main sample of female lawyers as reflected in the wider confidence intervals in Figure 3B relative to Figure 3A. Nonetheless, these data are meant to address three related questions: First, is the relatively lower incidence of mode-switching among senior lawyers reflected prior to or only after a promotion? Second, does the tendency to mode-switch persist after switching jobs or beyond the first few seconds of an introductory sentence? And third, do similar findings emerge in other professions, specifically female-dominated ones?

To answer the first question, it would be ideal to compare the voicemail greetings of workers before and after they get promoted. However, it is rare for a worker to change their voicemail greeting immediately following a promotion (and in general). Instead, I analyze the set of Associates from the main sample that were subsequently promoted the following year. The estimates indicate that approximately 40 percent of this subsample mode-switch, which is not significantly different from the estimated 43 percent of all Associates. This suggests that the lower incidence of mode-switching among female senior lawyers is not explained solely by selection (i.e., mode-switching prior to promotion), and may instead indicate a behavioral response to a change in the workplace environment following promotion.

One context that forces a worker to change their voicemail greeting is switching jobs. One year after the initial data collection, I recruited MTurk workers to check the lawyers' webpages and follow up on broken links. I was able to analyze the voicemail greetings of 198 female lawyers at their new place of work. Overall, slightly more than one third of voicemail greetings from each period of collection are bimodal (Group 1). Figure 3C shows the before versus after histograms of the demeaned frequency percentiles for a subset of 79 female lawyers who switched group status. Despite the small number of observations, the distinction between the before vs after shape of the densities is clearly visible: bimodality turns to unimodality and vice a versa for those who switched from Group 2 to Group 1. The difference accounts for the average within-lawyer change in vocal behavior at the current firm. In terms of persistence, 2/3 of lawyers in Group 2 remained Group 2 in their current firms. In contrast, only 48 percent of those in Group 1 remained Group 1 in their current firms.

To investigate persistence in mode-switching over the duration of a speech, I use data from oral arguments at the U.S. Supreme Court. In these arguments, the opening sentence of each lawyer is: "Mr. Chief Justice, may it please the Court" and the time allocated to each lawyer is 30 minutes. Although the set of lawyers who argue in the Court are highly specialized, this context allows me to examine lawyers outside their firm as well as whether my findings extend beyond introductory sentences in an equally male dominant environment (Biskupic et al., 2014). Data from 129 oral arguments made by female advocates between 1985 and 2005 suggest that they do.

Recordings of these arguments are publicly available. I collected three voice samples from every recording, each trimmed to 3 seconds. The samples are from the opening sentence, closing sentence, and one sentence taken from the middle of the argument (approximately minute 15). Using the opening sentence data, I find similar results to those of senior lawyers in the main sample: 33 percent of the advocates were classified as bimodal. Beyond the first 3 seconds, the estimates suggest that 38 percent (41 percent) of the middle (end) argument sample is estimated to have a secondary mode; the differences are statistically insignificant. Overall, the findings identify mode-switching as a phenomenon outside the office and beyond the introductory sentence.

The next set of results comes from two female dominant professions: executive assistants, and real estate agents. Beginning with the former, I analyzed voicemail greetings recorded by female executive assistants on behalf of a lawyer. Given the salience of gender identity in this article, I estimate the mixture model for assistants employed by male and female lawyers, separately. I find that assistants employed by female lawyers mode-switch at a rate of 39 percent. However, assistants employed by male lawyers are significantly less likely to mode-switch: only 26 percent are classified as bimodal.

Finally, I analyze data from RE/MAX, a large American real estate franchise. Like lawyers, real estate agents must be licensed to practice. Females comprise a large majority of the sector (58.9 percent of 1.1 million workers based on the 2019 Current Population Survey). Overall, I find the lowest incidence of mode-switching among this group of female workers. Bimodal vocalization is detected in voicemail greetings of only 21 percent of residential agents and 18 percent of commercial agents.

In sum, my findings on bimodal vocalization of female workers externalize beyond lawyers and the first few seconds of speech, suggesting the existence of a widespread phenomenon among females in the labor market.

6. Between-Person Frequency Variation

To provide context for my findings, I conclude with a description of the cross-sectional variation among female lawyers in the law firms that I study. For this exercise, I use the mean voice frequency estimate ($\overline{F_0^i}$) in each voicemail greeting. As mentioned, a large literature studies the relationship between a person's mean voice frequency and other attributes of the speaker. Numerous studies have found that listeners tend to judge speakers with deeper voices more favorably.[5] As a result, workers may choose to lower their voice to exploit these perceptual biases (Smith and Patterson, 2005). Particularly in the context of the male-dominated work environment that I study, females may wish to permanently adopt a "male" voice frequency. Figure 4A shows the histogram of the mean voice frequency for all 6,399 female lawyers in the main sample. As seen, the distribution is bell-shaped centered around 200 Hz, the female vocal mode, with no evidence of females permanently adopting a male voice frequency. This figure underscores how the use of the mean can be misleading, where the econometrician may conclude that the data generating process is unimodal.

Finally, I do not find strong evidence for a "deep voice premium" among female lawyers. Although the mean voice frequency is strongly positively correlated with being an Associate (Figure 4C on the left), the relationship becomes insignificant when controlling for years of experience (Figure 4C on the right).

[5] See Online Appendix for a literature review.

7. Conclusion

Conforming to norms in the workplace is a greater task for out-group individuals because market norms are often driven by the preferences of the in-group (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). For example, in a male-dominated workplace, females may experience greater modifications to their behavior and more pressures to "fit in" than males. The manifestation of these pressures in behaviors can be subtle and challenging to detect.

Just as language can reflect identity (Auer, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1995), so can nonverbal vocalization (Argyle, 1972). This new evidence on voice frequency mode-switching by female workers connects to the social phenomenon of codeswitching, a concept that originated in the linguistics literature (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Heller, 1992). More recently, codeswitching has been extended to describe a subtle and brief form of out-group expression (e.g., Jeffries et al., 2015), possibly to signal the recognition of, deference to, or resonance with in-group norms. Unlike other accommodative behaviors (Giles and Powesland, 1997), codeswitching preserves the integrity of each underlying norm and the prescribed conventions associated with it (Heller, 1988).

In the male dominated work environment, I find robust evidence for mode-switching behavior among female workers, particularly those in relatively vulnerable positions. A growing number of anecdotes suggest that this unilateral form of accommodative behavior comes at a cost with little evidence of a benefit. More than celebrating diversity, awareness of these inequities and the unique cultural capital one brings to the workplace are necessary.

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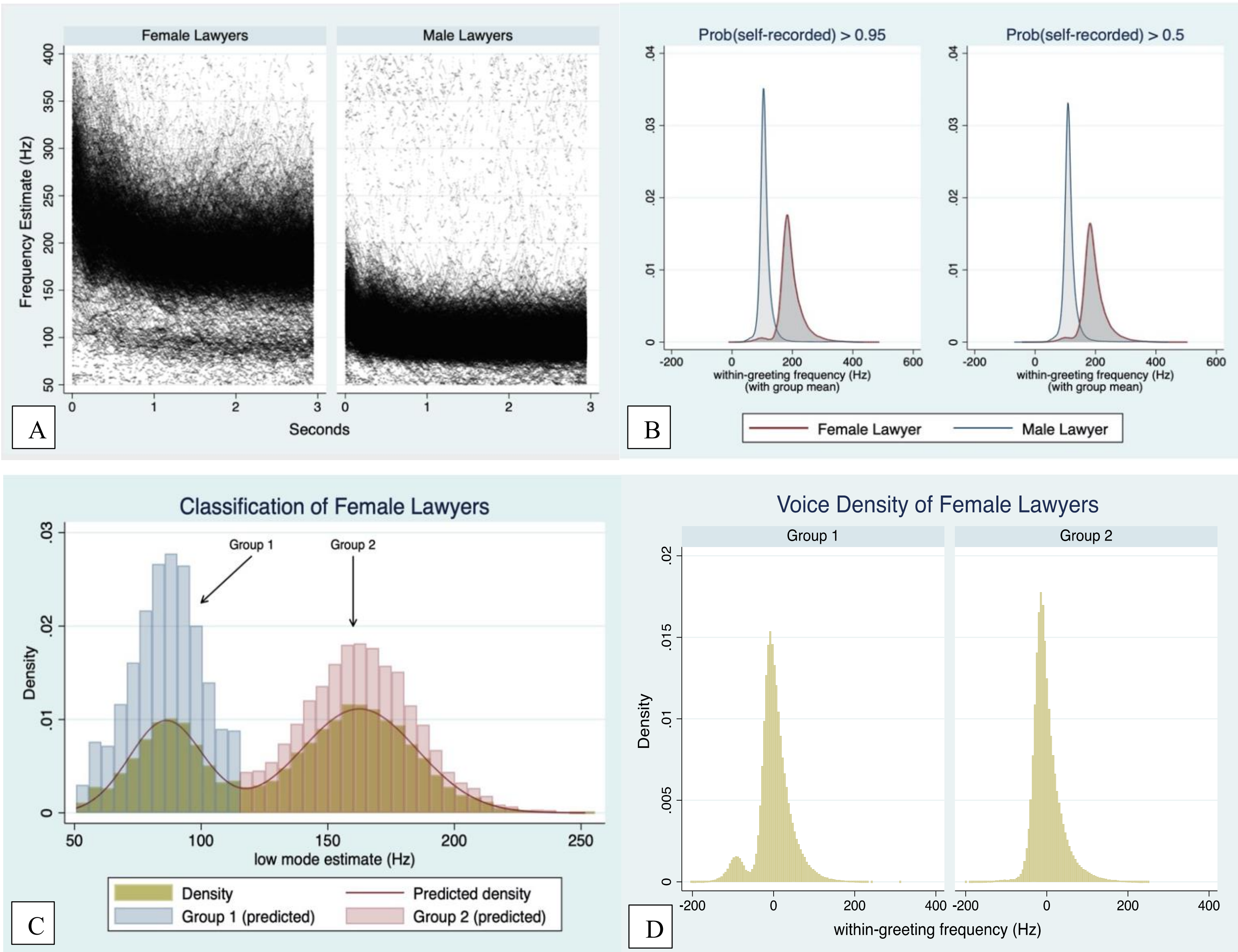

Figure 1. Bimodal voice frequency of female lawyers. A. For each 5-millisecond point in time running from 0.03 to 2.97 seconds, there are 1000 frequency estimates scattered for females (left) and males (right), respectively, from recordings assigned the highest likelihood of containing a self-recorded greeting. **B.** To remove the influence of level differences between lawyers, *recording-level* demeaned frequency estimates are used to estimate the density of the voice frequency. Results are shifted rightward by the overall average frequency estimate of each gender group. The left graph uses recordings with a high (95%) threshold of the probability that the greeting was self-recorded by the lawyer, and the right graph uses recordings with a low (50%) threshold. Kernel densities (in solid lines) and histograms with 5 Hz bin widths (in gray bins) are indistinguishable. **C.** The location of a low mode is individually estimated for each of 6,399 verified self-recorded greetings of female lawyers. The estimation results indicate two clusters of estimates defining two groups, where Group 1 comprises 36% of the recordings. **D.** Based on this group classification, histograms of the demeaned frequency estimates are shown for each group of female lawyers. The results show a unimodal density for Group 2 and a bimodal density for Group 1 with a low secondary mode accounting for 8.5% (standard error 0.20) of the density.

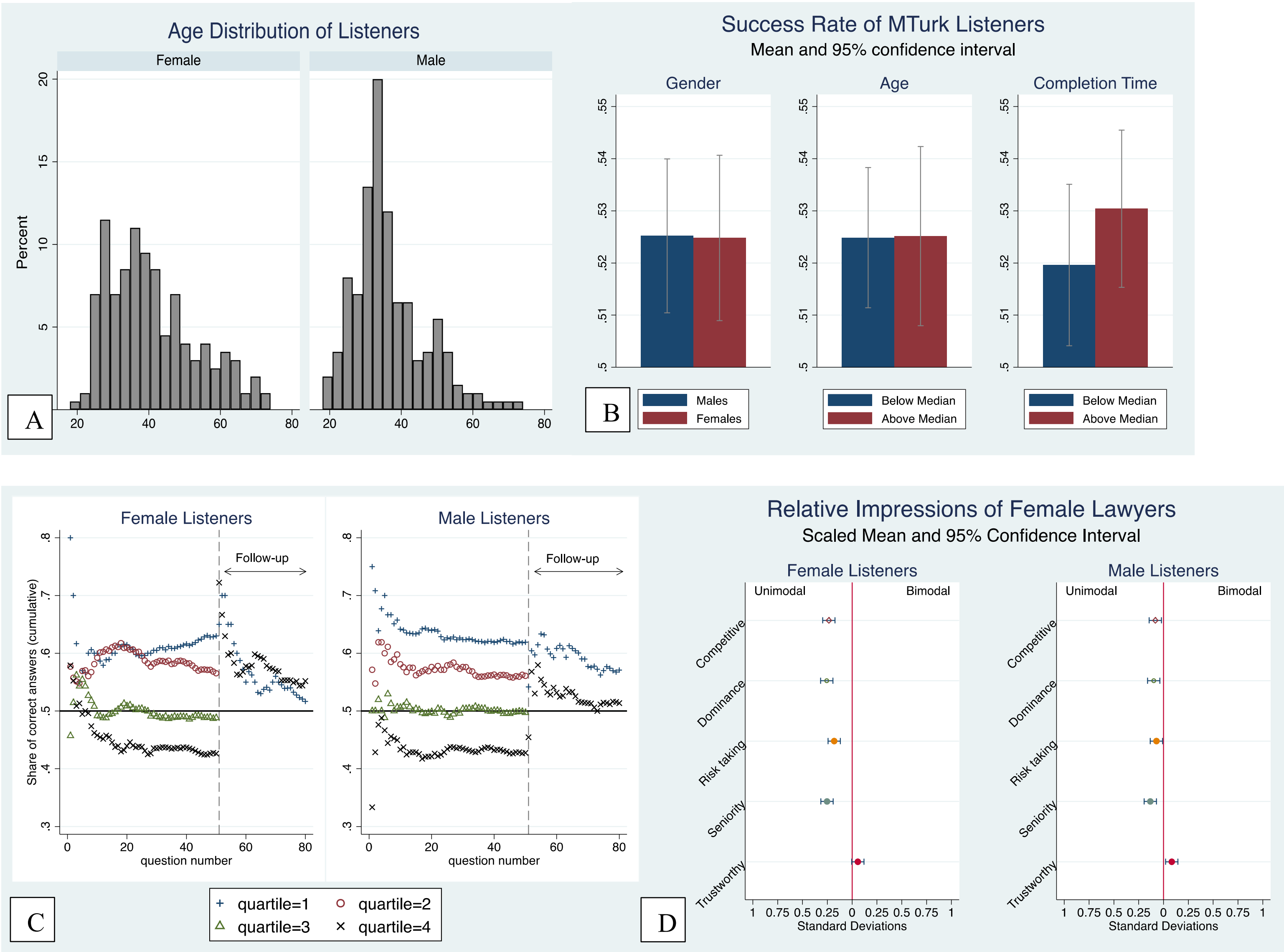

Figure 2. Human detection and perception of bimodal voice frequency. A. 200 female and 200 male U.S. survey participants were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Half were used to test a human listener's ability to distinguish between bimodal (Group 1) and unimodal (Group 2) vocalization, and the other half provided their first impressions of the lawyers. The median age of recruited workers was 36. **B.** Each worker received 50 paired clips (< 1 Hz difference in frequency means) to classify. Survey results indicate that humans can discern better than chance between bimodal and unimodal clips (i.e., success rate greater than 0.5). Performance does not substantially differ by worker gender, age, or time spent on the task. **C.** Each marker in the figure denotes the average share of paired clips that workers in a given quartile group successfully categorized to that point in the survey. Likewise, markers corresponding to questions 51-80 denote performance in the follow-up survey of workers who completed the original survey in the top (+) or bottom (×) quartile. **D.** Each worker received 10 paired clips (< 1 Hz difference in frequency means) to rate on a relative 7-point Likert scale. The distance between each point and the red vertical line is the perceived difference between Group 1 and Group 2 in terms of standard deviations of each attribute. Survey results suggest that humans, especially females, perceive unimodal vocalization more dominant and high ranking than bimodal vocalization.

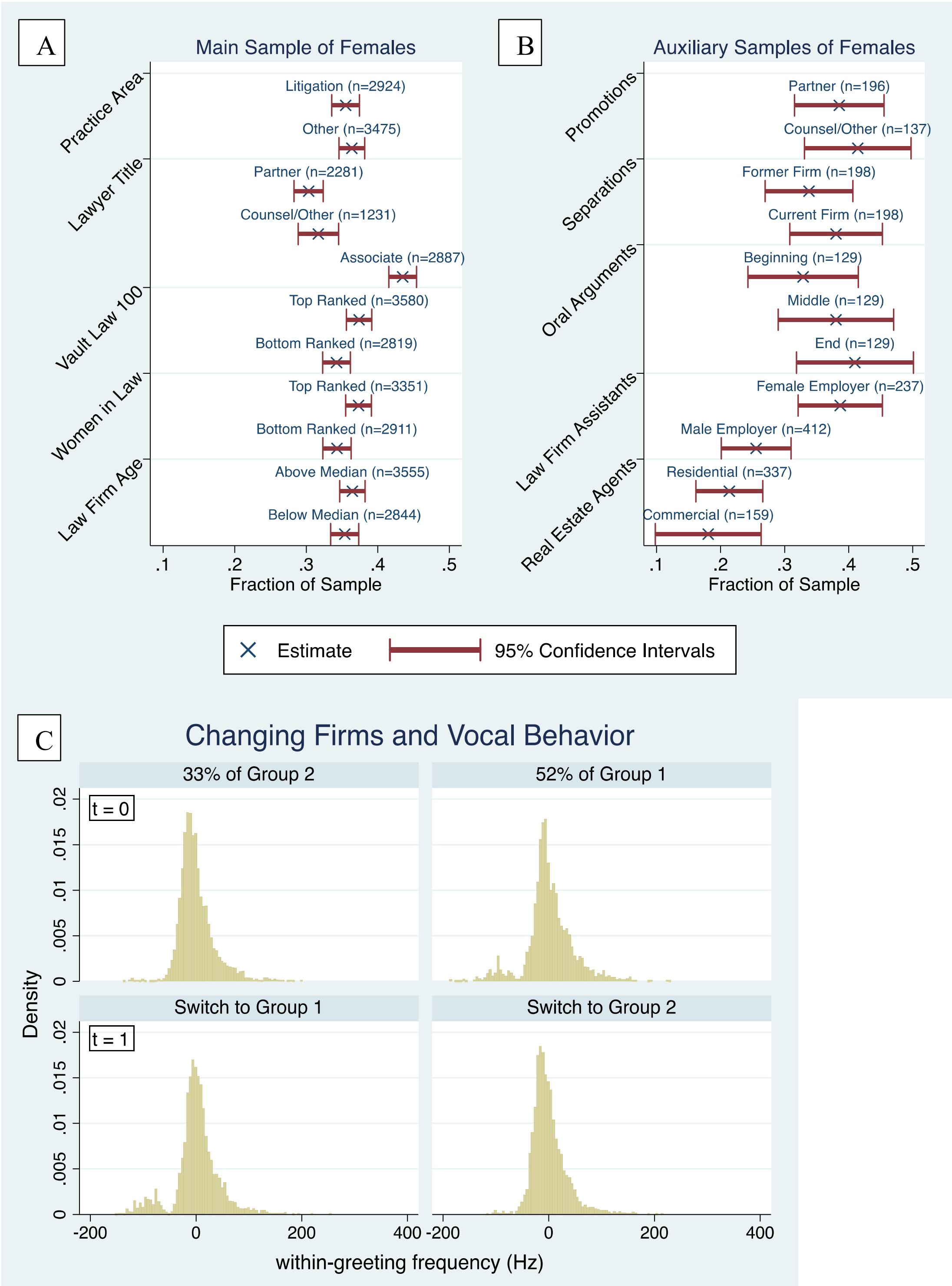

Figure 3. The incidence of a bimodal voice frequency among females. This figure displays the estimated share (with associated 95% confidence intervals) of recordings in each sample that contains bimodal frequency densities. The estimation procedure is based on a finite mixture model (FMM) methodology further explained in the text. **A.** This figure uses the sample of 6,399 self-recorded voicemail greetings of female lawyers (Main). The number of clips in each subsample is indicated in parentheses. Six unranked firms were omitted from the Women in Law comparison. See text for description of subsamples. **B.** This figure uses supplemental data (Auxiliary). The number of clips in each subsample is indicated in parentheses. See text for description of subsamples and Table S8 for more statistics. **C.** Histograms (5 Hz bins) of demeaned frequency percentiles of 79 female lawyers from the Separations Sample who switched group classification in their current firm voicemail greeting (t=1).

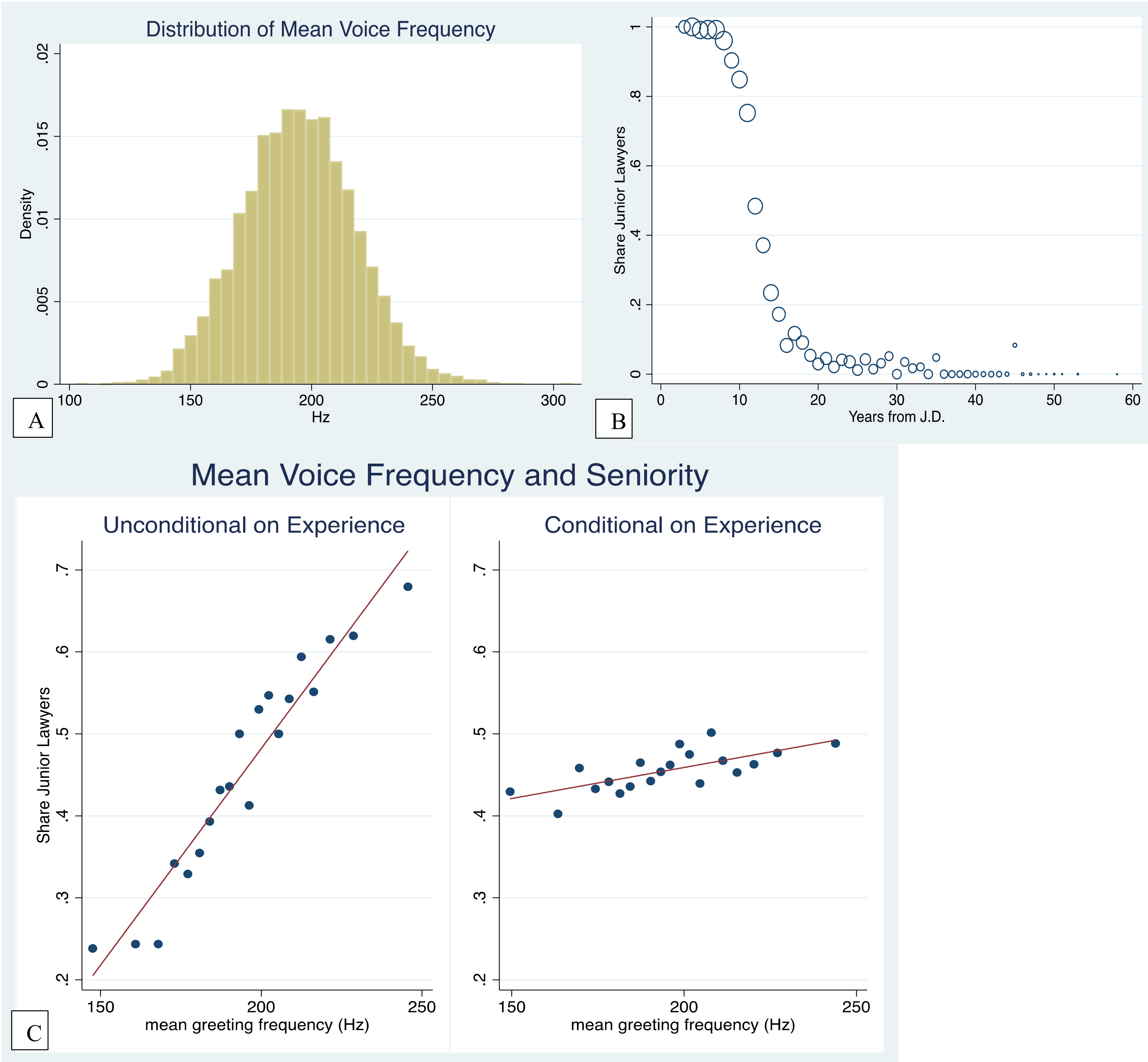

Figure 4. Mean voice frequency, experience, and seniority among female lawyers. A. This figure shows the histogram of mean frequencies for the 6,399 verified self-recorded female lawyer clips from the main dataset. The histogram shows a normal distribution around approximately 200 Hz, the primary female vocal mode. **B.** This scatterplot shows the relationship between the share of Associates and experience (years from J.D.) among 4,682 female lawyers from the main dataset with experience data. The size of each circle is proportional to the number of female lawyers at each experience-year level. **C.** This figure shows binned scatterplots of an indicator for "Associate" and the mean frequency of 4,682 female lawyers from the main dataset with experience data. The plot on the left shows a strong positive correlation between the mean frequency and the likelihood of being junior; however, as seen on the right, the relationship becomes significantly weaker when controlling for experience.

A: Firm Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Firm Rank	84	54.67	30.40	3	100
Share female	77	0.36	0.03	0.25	0.44
Share partners female	77	0.21	0.03	0.13	0.28
Total lawyers	80	940.96	785.76	106	4719
Lawyers per office	80	62.98	41.64	21.33	331
Revenue rank	78	54.63	36.34	1	155
Total revenue (billions US$)	78	0.92	0.68	0.18	3.16
Profit per partner (millions US$)	78	1.30	0.98	0.20	4.55
Year established	84	1918.58	46.26	1792	2013

B: Lawyers by Title and Gender

	Associate		Counsel/Other		Partner		All	
Gender	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Female	7,435	44.67	2,407	38.96	3,902	22.77	13,744	34.39
Male	9,209	55.33	3,771	61.04	13,238	77.23	26,218	65.61
Total	16,644	100	6,178	100	17,140	100	39,962	100

C: Likelihood of Self-Recorded Voicemail Greeting

	Prob > 0.95		Prob > 0.50		Prob < 0.05		All	
Gender	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Female	3,711	25.83	7,545	35.25	3,551	28.15	13,744	34.39
Male	10,654	74.17	13,858	64.75	9,065	71.85	26,218	65.61
Total	14,365	100	21,403	100	12,616	100	39,962	100

Table 1. Descriptive statistics. A. This table shows summary statistics for the final 84 firms used in the main dataset. The data were collected from several external sources. Firm rank comes from Vault.com, where 76 firms were among the top 100 in 2017, and 8 firms were among the top 100 in adjacent years: 3 in 2018, 3 in 2016, and 2 firms appeared in both years (but not in 2017). Productivity measures come from the 2018 Am Law 200, data on lawyer counts and gender composition come from the 2018 NLJ 500 and 2018 NLJ Female Scorecard. Year established for merged firms is based on oldest firm at time of merger. Because not all 84 firms disclose these data or are ranked there are some missing values in the table. **B.** This table presents the number of recordings in the main dataset of lawyer voicemail greetings by lawyer gender and job title. **C.** This table summarizes the distribution of voicemail greetings in the main dataset by lawyer gender and the probability that the greeting was self-recorded by the lawyer. See OA Section 3 for details on the machine learning classification for the probability that a voicemail greeting was self-recorded by the lawyer.