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Law teaching for sale: legal shadow education in Denmark: from historical and current perspectives

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Abstract

This study examines the use of supplementary private teaching ('shadow education') within the field of legal education in Denmark from historical and current perspectives. The aim is to estimate the extent of this phenomenon in a Danish context and understand why law students chose to pay for private teaching services. The study documents that practices presently labelled as shadow education are as old as the University of Copenhagen (1479) and the formal legal education (1736). During a period of around 150 years (1780-1930), the exam-oriented private teaching (manuduction) was, in fact, the backbone of legal education. Sources show that the poor state of the university education, including archaic teaching methods, was the primary reason for this: private teaching was the market's solution to a broken public education. Educational reforms during the first half of the 20th century challenged the raison d'être of the private manuduction industry, and the Danish welfare state provided the fatal blow in 1960: free university manuduction. However, the private teaching industry was resurrected in the 21st century in a more corporate, professional, and aggressive form. The study indicates that currently around 60 percent of law students have paid for private teaching services during their legal education. Moreover, the study shows that it is no longer the quality of university teaching that is the main catalyst, but rather the appeal of very exam-oriented courses and the students' insecurities, especially the first-years. The study links this development to the emergence of the competition state. Finally, the study recommends that the findings are taken into account in future reform endeavours and suggests directions for further research into shadow education in law, including through comparative analysis.

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Introduction: aim and methodology

Why do Danish law students readily pay for private teaching services? This question has always been enigmatic to me. It seems illogical. By all measures, the universities of the Danish welfare state provide high quality legal education – and it is even entirely publicly financed. Why, then, do far more than half of the students spend time and money elsewhere? In this study, I examine the Danish private legal teaching industry from historical and current perspectives to approach an answer.

In Denmark, legal education is adapted to the common framework of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and consists of a bachelor's degree (180 ECTS points) followed by a master's degree (120 ECTS points). By standard measures, this is the equivalent of 5 years, but many students postpone parts of their education. Unlike many other countries, the bachelor's degree in law (BA.jur.) is practically useless in Denmark, as it does not qualify for entry into the legal profession. Consequently, the vast majority pursue the master's degree and become candidatus/-a juris (cand.jur.). In 2021, a total of 1,209 lawyers graduated in Denmark.[1]

Private providers play an increasingly important role in the general educational systems throughout the world with Asia and North America as epicentres.[2] Consequently, one can detect a growing interest in the phenomenon of private supplementary teaching, often labelled as *'shadow education'* and mostly associated with the works of Professor Mark Bray.[3] Previously, comparative

[1] 613 from the University of Copenhagen, 367 from the University of Aarhus, 118 from the University of Southern Denmark, and 110 from the University of Aalborg.
[2] M. Bray, *Shadow Education: Comparative Perspectives on the Expansion and Implications of Private Supplementary Tutoring*, Procedia, 2013, 412-20, and M. Bray, *Shadow Education in Europe: Growing Prevalence, Underlying Forces, and Policy Implications*, ECNU Review of Education, 2021, 442-475.
[3] M. Bray, *The shadow education system: private tutoring and its implications for planners*, 1999, International Institute for Educational Planning, M. Bray, *Researching shadow education: methodological challenges and directions,* Asia Pacific Educ. Rev., 2010, 11:3-13, M. Bray et al. (eds.), *Researching Private Supplementary Tutoring: Methodological Lessons from Diverse Cultures*, 2016, M. Bray, *Shadow Education in Europe: Growing Prevalence, Underlying Forces, and Policy Implications*, ECNU Review of Education, 2020, 442-475, and W. Zhang & M. Bray, *Comparative research on shadow*

mapping studies have detected a scarce presence of this phenomenon in Scandinavia.[4] A recent Danish study even establishes that "shadow education is fairly new and upcoming in Denmark".[5] While this may be a fair conclusion to draw from a general perspective, it is plainly wrong in the context of Danish legal education where private teaching and tutoring has been a prominent feature since the Middle Ages and, at times, even the backbone of the education.

As mentioned, the aim of this study is to explain *why* Danish law students opt for supplementary private teaching services – and, as a precondition, to estimate the *extent* of this phenomenon. I aim at keeping the examination neutral and descriptive rather than normative, although I disclose my – critical – opinion in the end of the piece. My approach differs from traditional shadow education research both in terms of scope and methodology: the scope is narrow (Danish legal education) and the methods applied are quite diverse.

As far as I can tell, no one has systematically examined shadow education within the field of law before. To demarcate the study, I have chosen to focus on private providers of law teaching services specifically aimed at law students, not continued education courses or courses focusing on more general skills such as rhetoric or grammar. This demarcation is somewhat narrower than the traditional characterisation of shadow education.[6] I concentrate on the service of teaching, lecturing, or tutoring although these have historically been accompanied by alternative textbooks, course notes or the like. The teaching may be in person or online (synchronous or asynchronous), collective or

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education: Achievements, challenges, and the agenda ahead, European Journal of Education, 2020, 322-341.

[4] D.E. Southgate, *Determinants of shadow education: A cross-national analysis*, 2009 (doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University), 161, et passim, S. Christensen & W. Zhang, *Shadow Education in the Nordic Countries: An Emerging Phenomenon in Comparative Perspective,* ECNU Review of Education, 2021, 431-441, S.R. Entrich, Worldwide shadow education and social inequality: Explaining differences in the socioeconomic gap in access to shadow education across 63 societies, International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 2021, 441-475, D. Baker et al., Worldwide shadow education: Outside-school learning, institutional quality of schooling, and cross-national mathematics achievement, Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 2001, 1-17, and W. Zhang, *Modes and Trajectories of Shadow Education in Denmark and China: Fieldwork Reflections by a Comparativist*, ECNU Review of Education, 2021, 615-629.

[5] S.H. Mikkelsen & D.T. Gravesen, *Shadow Education in Denmark: In the Light of the Danish History of Pedagogy and the Skepticism Toward Competition*, ECNU Review of Education, 2021, 546-565 (547).

[6] Bray (1999), op.cit. and Zhang & Bray (2020), op.cit.

individual. Only the commercial undertakings are of interest, ie the teaching services provided with the aim of gaining profit, not open source materials or non-profit services. The study takes its point of departure in the oldest and largest legal education institution in Denmark: the Faculty of Law at the University of Copenhagen. Consequently, the study does not take into account potential regional variances or similarities within Denmark. Today, however, legal shadow education is a nationwide phenomenon. Moreover, I know as a matter of fact that similar services are provided in other countries such as Norway, Germany, and the Netherlands, but it falls outside the scope of this study to venture into a comparative analysis. In any event, the Danish case appears unique in the sense that the education is publicly funded in its entirety, and the students even receive a monthly grant from the state.

Traditional shadow education research tends to ignore the cultural heritage of its research object.[7] It is a self-contained point of this study to show that important knowledge is hidden in university archives and the history of education in general. I investigate the emergence and persistence of the 'private' features of legal education in Denmark from the establishment of the University of Copenhagen in 1479 and onwards. It is an obvious anachronism to label these historical facts a 'shadow education' in the present sense. However, I submit that it is justifiable to draw certain parallels from the historical practices to the modern phenomenon. Moreover, it is important to account for the development of Danish legal education more generally in order to understand the context of private legal teaching. The analysis is based on a parallel reading of existing literature (mostly in Danish) and primary sources, including official university sources and private testimonials from students and teachers alike. By combining these 'subjective' and 'objective' sources, I hope to mitigate the uncertainties pertaining to each. I have translated the source quotes into English.

Building on the historical backdrop, I analyse the current state of affairs both from the perspective of the *seller* (the private providers) and the *buyer* (the law students). I outline the private provider perspective through basic market and business analysis instruments, focusing specifically on business models and marketing strategies. I concentrate on the two dominant market players, Aspiri A/S and My Law Story ApS. The analysis is based on publicly available sources, including in particular websites, social media, and marketing materials

[7] There are, of course, exceptions, eg A.K. Sorensen, *A History of Shadow Education in Japan and South Korea*, English and English-American literature, 2019, 1-42.

as well as annual accounts. I have chosen this strategy rather than the traditional interview or survey approach to avoid certain well-known bias issues pertaining to that type of data collection.[8]

I examine the law student perspective primarily through a survey. I collected the data on an anonymous basis via the programme *Sendsteps* during my four identical lectures (with different sets of students) in week 18 of 2022 at the University of Copenhagen. I chose this approach to obtain more and better data by being present and having the opportunity to clarify the questions etc. (in a strictly neutral manner, of course). The lectures were a part of the mandatory course on general administrative law which is placed on the fourth semester of the bachelor programme. I informed the students that participation in the survey was entirely optional and that I would use the anonymized data to conduct this study.[9] It is a predominantly quantitative survey based on seven closed-ended questions related to two main topics: the respondents' use of private teaching services and their motivation. The respondents had the opportunity to supplement their responses by answering an open-ended question, thus, adding a bit of complementing qualitative data. In total 214 respondents participated in the survey with a response ratio to each question of 206-210. There are 689 students formally enrolled in the course, but this figure does not reflect the number of students attending the non-mandatory lectures. Although, the data might be categorised as a convenience sample, I estimate that the respondents are fairly representative of their year. If anything, I would suggest that the tendency of using private teaching services is greater amongst the students not prioritising the lectures. Regardless, it is hard to tell if the respondents are representative of the law students as such since this particular class year (2020) has been studying law during the COVID-19 pandemic. By comparing my data to the sparse already existing data, it seems that the pandemic and the accompanying restrictions have intensified the use of private teaching services. It is difficult to assess whether this reflects a COVID-19 related peak or rather a new normal. The survey study has been carried out in Danish and, for the purpose of this study, I have translated the results into English.

[8] Bray (2010), op.cit., 6.
[9] I have also informed the students about the main results in their student magazine *Stud.Jur*, 2022, no 3, 20-23.

The rise and fall of legal shadow education

Origins: dictation lectures and collegia privata (1479-1736)

Although The Faculty of Law was one of the original faculties when the University of Copenhagen was founded in 1479, it does not make sense to talk about a legal education as such this early. The curriculum was designed for the theology students, not practicing lawyers, and the administration of justice was at the hands of laymen. The faculty of law hosted just one full professorship with an obligation to lecture on canon law and later, after the Reformation (1536), elements of Roman law.[10]

From the university's charter of 1539 and other sources, we can gather a few fragments of the teaching methods at the law faculty. Lectures (*lectiones* or *prælectiones*) were held four times a week and normally by reading aloud from the professor's manuscript for the students to transcribe, since they did not have the luxury of textbooks.[11] The bad reputation of these so-called 'dictation lectures' is as old as the method itself, and a contemporary theologian, Jesper Brochmand (1585-1652), advocated an outright ban.[12] As we will see, this didactical malpractice came to haunt the legal education for centuries. One day a week – Wednesday – was reserved for more engaging learning activities: *disputationes* (academic disputes) and *repetitions* (repetitions and exercises).[13]

While the lectures were held publicly and free of charge, the professors were permitted to host private lectures in exchange for money (*collegia privata*).[14] Other graduates were only allowed to facilitate private lectures upon the approval of the rector.[15] The prevalence and importance of these embryonic practices of shadow education in law is uncertain. However, the popularity of private teaching grew in the beginning of the 17th century under the influence

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[10] P.J. Jørgensen, *Retsundervisningen og Retsvidenskaben ved Københavns Universitet 1537-1736: Forordningen af 10. Februar 1736*, in E. Reitzel-Nielsen & C. Popp-Madsen (ed.), *Festskrift i Anledning af Tohundrede Aars Dagen for Indførelsen af Juridisk Eksamen ved Københavns Universitet*, 1936, 11-114 (12-23), D. Tamm, *The Faculty of Law: Law teaching at the University of Copenhagen since 1479*, 2010, 11-30 and D. Tamm et. al, *Juraen på Københavns Universitet 1479-2005*, 2005, 1-70.
[11] Jørgensen (1936), op.cit., 30 & 70-72.
[12] H.F. Rørdam: *Aktstykker til Universitetets Historie i Tidsrummet 1621-60*, Danske Magazin, 5. rk., vol. 1, 1887-89, 36-72 (37).
[13] Jørgensen (1936), op.cit., 30.
[14] H. Matzen, *Kjøbenhavns Universitets Retshistorie 1479-1879*, vol. 1, 1879, 55.
[15] Ibid., 70-73.

of a methodological shift: in Continental Europe, legal scholars replaced the fragmentary medieval approach derived from the Bologna school (*mos Italicus)* with a more systematic approach to the law. Whereas the professors were required to apply the traditional approach in their public lectures, they were free to apply the new method in private.[16] The systematic approach was not only a paradigm shift in jurisprudence; it was a pedagogical breakthrough that eventually penetrated the walls of the public lecture halls. The new approach was most clearly reflected in the legal education at the Knightly Academy of Sorø as evidenced by the introductory textbooks *Catholica juris* (1634) and *Methodus discendi juris civilis* (1647) by Professor Henrik Ernst (1603-65).[17]

A bad reputation seemed to stick to the public lectures. For instance, the famous Danish-Norwegian dramatist and polyhistor, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) noted: "when a law professor … wants to give a public lecture, he is nothing but content with an audience of three to four".[18] Later, the historian Hans Gram (1684-1748) was appointed to examine the causes of the poor attendance. In his report from 1741, he suggested that the popularity of *collegia privata* had damaged the public law education. He found that both the students and the professors generally preferred the private lectures over their public counterpart: the professors did not have to spend the same amount of preparation time, and the students were under the impression that the learning outcome was greater.[19]

Examinibus juridicis and the privatisation of legal education (1736-1800)

The absence of professional lawyers in the executive and judicial branches of government caused increasing concern.[20] As a consequence, a formal examination in law (*examinibus juridicis*) and thereby an actual legal education was introduced by royal decree of 10 February 1736. However, the university had no intention of 'degrading' itself to educating the bourgeoisie in Danish law. The result was a 'caste system': the Latin students who attended the

[16] Jørgensen (1936), op.cit., 36.
[17] K. Waaben, *Jura på Frue Plads*, 2005, 40-42 and H. Vogt, *Den juridiske undervisning på det andet ridderlige akademi i Sorø*, Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap, 2007, 579-613.
[18] L. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 1729, reprinted in *Ludvig Holbergs Samlede Værker*, vol. 5, 155-723 (298-99).
[19] Jørgensen (1936), op.cit., 67-68.
[20] Ibid., 90-93 &113-14, K.F. Hammerich, *Juristerne og Embedslivet*, in E. Reitzel-Nielsen & C. Popp-Madsen (ed.), *Festskrift i Anledning af Tohundrede Aars Dagen for Indførelsen af Juridisk Eksamen ved Københavns Universitet*, 1936, 259-307 (285-95) and D. Tamm, *Juridisk eksamen i 250 år*, Ugeskrift for Retsvæsen, 1986, 41-42.

professors' lectures and eventually obtained an academic degree in law (*candidatus juris*) as opposed to the so-called 'uneducated' lawyers who passed a more practice-focused Danish language exam and earned the degree *examinatus juris* (exam.jur.). In turn, different categories of public functions were reserved to these two kinds of professional lawyers. In the years to come, far more 'Danish' than 'Latin' lawyers graduated.[21]

Since it was not the university's task to educate the examinati, the legal education remained highly theoretical and primarily focused on natural law, Roman law, and moral philosophy. Danish law played a subordinate role as reflected, inter alia, in the university charter of 1732.[22] The exam questions were abstract in form.[23] Some students took it upon themselves to remedy this and established *The Legal-Practical Society* ('Det juridisk-praktiske selskab') in 1750.[24] The ambition was to train practical skills as a supplement to the formal legal education. As we will see, this gap between *law-in-theory* and *law-in-practice* still is a fundamental problem in legal education.

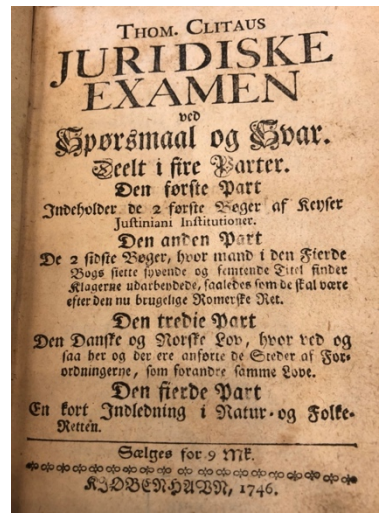
THOM. CLITAUS
JURIDISKE EXAMEN
ved
Spørsmaal og Svar.
Deelt i fire Parter.
Den første Part
Indeholder de 2 første Bøger af Keyser Justiniani Institutioner.
Den anden Part
De 2 sidste Bøger, hvor mand i den Fierde Bogs siette syvende og femtende Titel finder Klagerne udarbeydede, saaledes som de skal være efter den nu brugelige Romerske Ret.
Den tredie Part
Den Danske og Norske Lov, hvor ved og saa her og der ere anførte de Steder af Forordningerne, som forandre samme Love.
Den fierde Part
En kort Indledning i Natur- og Folke-Retten.
Sælges for 9 Mk.
KIØBENHAVN, 1746.

Figure 1: Exam-oriented private textbooks emerged as early as 1746, where Thomas Clitau (1694-1745) published the rather comprehensive "Juridisk Examen ved Spørsmaal og Svar" (Royal Library).

The most prominent contemporary law scholars began incorporating more elements of Danish law into their academic works and lectures. Andreas Hojer (1690-1739) opined as early as 1736 that "a lawyer first and foremost ought to familiarise himself with Danish-Norwegian law and thereby form a general view of our domestic legal science".[25] This

[21] Tamm (2010), op.cit., 47.
[22] Also, see F. Dahl, *Hovedpunkter af den danske Retsvidenskabs Historie*, in E. Reitzel-Nielsen & C. Popp-Madsen (ed.), *Festskrift i Anledning af Tohundrede Aars Dagen for Indførelsen af Juridisk Eksamen ved Københavns Universitet*, 1936, 115-225 (117-19).
[23] Handwritten compilation *Juridisk Examen ved Spørsmaal og Svar over den danske og norske Lov* (Royal Library).
[24] H. Hjort-Nielsen, *Det Juridisk-Praktiske Selskab 1749-1863,* Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap, 1926, 84-130.
[25] A. Hojer, *Forestilling paa en Dansk Jurist, den 1. Part forfatted i en offentlig Disputatz,*1737 (translation by Peder Sommer of Hojer's doctoral dissertation *Ideæ jurisconsulti danici*, 1736), 43. Note: The notion of "legal science" does not entirely

'radical' idea is also reflected in the writings of Peder Kofod Ancher (1710-88).[26] In his autobiography from 1766, Henrik Stampe (1713-89) notes that "he was the first at the University of Copenhagen who rather systematically lectured on Danish and Norwegian law in their entireties".[27] Lauritz Nørregaard (1745-1804) put flesh on the bones of these efforts by publishing his lectures on Danish-Norwegian private law in seven volumes (1781-99). The value of this creation is known to be of pedagogical rather than scientific nature.[28]

The introduction of professional law degrees did not ease the demand for private lectures – quite the opposite: historical studies of this period support the impression that the private teaching played an increasingly important role in legal education.[29] The public lectures were often handled by *professores extraordinarii* or *designati* or philosophy professors rather than the law professors, who were often otherwise engaged.[30] The law professors were still allowed to host *collegia privata/privatissima* pursuant to the university charters of 1732 (§ 17) and 1788 (§§ 7 & 12). Accordingly, all the prominent professors of the era – namely Hojer, Stampe, and Ancher (all mentioned above) – took advantage of this option. The substitute professor B.G. von Obelitz (1728-1806) notes in an official report in the 1750'ies: "Sometimes many, sometimes few students attended my public lectures; however, most of the time just three to four … Fourteen attended my private lectures".[31] The later law professor J.F.W. Schlegel (1765-1836) recollects from his law studies in the 1780'ies that the private lectures were "so common that only exceptionally few students dared subjecting themselves to the exam without such guidance".[32] Other sources are in line with this assertion.[33]

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resemble the Danish word "Lovkyndighed", which literally translates into "knowledge of the law". See, also, T.G. Jørgensen, *Andreas Hojer: Jurist og Historiker*, 1961, 240-278.

[26] P.K. Ancher, *En kort Anviisning i sær for en Dansk Jurist, angaaende Lovkyndighed og Staats-Konstens adskillige Deele, Nytte og Hielpe-Midler*, 1755, 50-55.

[27] H.S. Stampenborg, *Statsminister Henrik Stampes Autobiografi*, Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift, 8. rk., vol. 3, 1924 (reprint of the original manuscript from 1766), 42-52 (45). The autobiography is written in third person.

[28] Dahl (1936), op.cit., 143.

[29] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 97 and Dahl (1936), op.cit., in toto.

[30] E. Slottved, *Lærestole og lærere ved Københavns Universitet 1537-1977*, 1978, 14-19, 44-46 & 88-104, and Waaben (2005), op.cit., 92-93.

[31] Konsistorium kopibog 1749-59, no. 232, cf. Waaben (2005), op.cit. 97-98.

[32] Universitetsdirektionens Forestilling 1839, nr. 2013, cf. Waaben (2005), op.cit. 98.

[33] Eg, H. Steffens, *Was ich erlebte: aus der Erinnerung niedergeschrieben*, 1840, vol. 2, 12.

The professors' double role as public and private lecturers was met with disapproval around the turn of the 19th century. For instance, the later philologist Jacob Baden (1735-1804) posed the rhetorical question: "Which reasons could possibly justify the academic teachers' privilege of demanding money for their lectures? They are hired to share their knowledge with the students, and their salary is paid by the state."[34]

It then became increasingly customary for other prominent lawyers than the professors to host exam-oriented lectures (so-called *manuduction*). For example, the later civil servant Jacob Gude (1754-1810), who enrolled in 1772, logged that he followed the private lectures of the Supreme Court attorney J.E. Colbjørnsen (1744-1802).[35] The official exam instruction of 1789 (§ 14) prohibited the law professors from hosting manuduction and mock exams for money. This ban left an unsatisfied market demand. Eventually, it became the norm that newly graduated lawyers and experienced law students advertised for private manduduction which could be a rather profitable enterprise. In turn, these private services outperformed the professors, some of whom had to cancel their private lectures due to lack of interest.[36] These fragments foreshadowed a fundamental shift in legal education, as private teaching services became genuinely private and detached from the formal legal education.

Legal education vs. private manuduction – confrontation and debate (1800-1850)

In a historical account of Danish legal education, it would be a crime to omit the most influential Danish lawyer of all time, Anders Sandøe Ørsted (1778-1860). His literary production as well as his influence as judge and high ranking civil servant triggered a tectonic shift in Danish jurisprudence: he insisted on a mutually fertilising relation between law-in-practice and law-in-theory and was a determining factor in the development of a pragmatic approach to law that is still the hallmark of Danish legal culture.[37] In my opinion, his approach sowed

[34] Kjøbenhavns Universitets-Journal, 1793 (vol. 1), 23-25.
[35] J. Clausen and P.F. Rist (eds.). *En kjøbenhavnsk Embedsmand: Jacob Gudes Optegnelser 1754-1810*, 1918, 65. Colbjørnsen later became a professor and celebrated educator, cf. J.F.W Schlegel: *Om Jacob Ewald Colbiörnsen som Videnskabsmand og Embedsmand*, 1802.
[36] Steffens (1840), op.cit., 12 and Waaben (2005), op.cit., 98.
[37] From English sources, see for instance D. Tamm, *Anders Sandøe Ørsted and the Influence from Civil Law upon Danish Private Law at the Beginning of the 19th Century*, Scandinavian Studies in Law, 1978, 245-65.

the seeds of the harsh criticism of the legal education that arose throughout the 19th century as well as the growing popularity of the private manuduction. Although Ørsted was a sought-after private lecturer (*manuducteur*) already as a student, he passed the law exam himself – with distinction, which was extremely rare – without ever attending private lectures and mostly by self-study.[38]

The high demand for private lectures does not necessarily mean that the private manuducteurs were better pedagogues than the professors. Rather, at least some manuducteurs took advantage of the vulnerabilities of the university: its openness and its study programmes' incentives to foster rote learning. As the later philosophy professor, Henrik Steffens (1773-1845), who studied law in the 1790'ies, notes in his memoirs: "The exams were public; a professor, who must examine a certain quantum of students twice a year every day for several consecutive weeks, often tends to fall back on the same set of questions, and these old gentlemen were pleased with the same particular answers to the same questions. The private manuducteurs never missed the chance to be a spectator to the examination; they carefully noted a few dozen questions that were repeatedly posed and the answers that the professors expected. This way, candidate NN was fully equipped for the exam, but learnt nought".[39] Other sources support this impression. For instance, the educationist Johan Henrik Tauber (1743-1816) used a striking imagery to denounce the private lecturers as "the Zimmer frames of science".[40]

For obvious reasons, this arrangement was intolerable to the university. To make matters worse, the legal education was increasingly out of tune with the demands of the labour market. The law maker sought to deal with these issues through a decree of 26 January 1821 on legal education. The overall objective is stipulated in the first paragraph: the students "should be able receive adequate and thorough knowledge of the law by attending the academic lectures in combination with appropriate self-study *without private manuduction*… The public lectures, the academic exercises, the law exam, and everything else are organised in accordance with this aim" (italics added). However, the university did not match the words with deeds, and the private

[38] A.S. Ørsted, *Af mit Livs og min Tids Historie*, vol. 1, 1851, 31 & 41, T.G. Jørgensen, *Anders Sandøe Ørsted: Juristen og Politikeren*, 1957, 16-22, Waaben (2005), op.cit., 167-69.
[39] Steffens (1840), op.cit., 12-13.
[40] J. Clausen & P.F. Rist (eds.), *Blade af Rector Joh. Henr. Tauber's Dagbøger*, 1922, 79.

manuduction remained an inescapable feature of legal education. For instance, a popular private manuducteur, P.V. Jacobsen (1799-1848), hosted as many as five parallel classes in 1834 and had to get up at 3 AM to prepare his teaching.[41]

According to the 1821 decree (§ 5), the professors were supposed to host both public and private lectures and produce textbooks covering the entire curriculum. Underprivileged students could apply for an exemption to the obligation to pay the professors. As a consequence, the professors experienced a substantial decrease in income. For instance, Schlegel asserted that he once earned 800-1,000 rix-dollars, but the revenue was diminished to 250 in the beginning of the 1830'ies. To make matters worse, the students normally paid their professors immediately before the final exam, which could easily give the wrong impression.[42] In 1857, some of these issues were debated in the Danish parliament (*Folketinget*).[43] The decree had also introduced the element of 'legal-practical exercises', which in turn was outsourced to The Legal-Practical Society from 1751 (mentioned above).

An entry in the memories of the later statesman Orla Lehmann (1810-70), who studied law in 1830-33, indicates a change in the study pattern of the law students in a more professional, rather than academic, direction: "Most law students just wanted to get the exam over with and enter the 'forecourt' of civil service, and most private manuducteurs took pride in helping them achieving this goal as swiftly and easy-going as possible… This custom took form during a period in which the Faculty of Law failed its duties".[44]

The year of Lehmann's graduation, a member of the university management Andreas Bjørn Rothe (1762-1840) launched an attack on the students' use of private manuduction which he found utterly superfluous and contrary to the spirit of academia.[45] A counterstrike was soon circulated by a young lawyer, Frederik Emil Elberling (1804-1880), with the message that private manuduction was necessary because of the poor state of public legal education. Elberling criticised the lack of textbooks and the archaic teaching methods,

[41] J. Clausen (ed.), *Breve fra P. V. Jacobsen: Udgivne i Anledning af Hundredeaarsdagen for hans Fødsel*, 1899, 209.
[42] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 163
[43] Rigsdagstidende 1857, Anhang A, 465-556, and Folketingets forhandlinger, 529-74 & 2913-81.
[44] H. Hage (ed.), *Orla Lehmanns efterladte Skrifter*, vol 1, 1872, 37.
[45] A.B. Rothe, *Bemærkninger angaaende Privat-Manuduction til den fuldstændige juridiske Examen ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet*, 1933.

namely the dictation lectures: "One might as well send a recorder to transcribe everything as doing it themselves".[46] He also claimed that the education was far too theoretical and did not equip the students to meet the professional expectations; the Legal-Practical Society was nothing but a "forced labour camp".[47] His criticism provoked two polemic reviews, one of which was written under the shelter of pseudonymity, but most likely by a law professor.[48]

Tage Algreen-Ussing (1797-1872), who had lectured privately himself, took part in the dispute and opined that neither the private manuduction nor the performance of the professors were the real issue, but rather students themselves, namely their lack of culture and diligence. To Algreen-Ussing the solution was simple: "You get up at 5 AM and immediately sit down at your study desk. You stay there, without breaks, until 11 AM. Then you attend lectures and eat lunch. At 3 PM, you get back to your books and stay there until 9 PM. Then you may go for a walk before heading to bed at 10 PM. The next morning you get up at 5 AM again and repeat. While you read, you are fully focused on your books and do not think about excursions to *Dyrehaven*, dance balls, horses, dogs, or girls".[49]

Later that same year (1833), Rothe was appointed as chairman of a committee that was to deliberate on legal education. The committee produced a report in 1834 that, inter alia, recommended the introduction of university employed manuducteurs ('repetitors') and the establishment of a formal approval procedure for private manuducteurs. The university rejected the former as incompatible with the ideals of academia while the King's chancellery deemed the latter at odds with the freedom of trade.[50] The outcome was an insignificant reform (decree of 30 December 1839).

Two protest petitions and a shrug (1850-1900)

During the following decades, the law students' dissatisfaction with the legal education grew, in particular, due to the ever-growing curriculum and

[46] F.E. Elberling, *Om det juridiske Studium ved Københavns Universitet: Sendebrev til Geheime-Conferentsraad A.B. Rothe*, 1933, 9.
[47] Ibid., 25-30.
[48] Maanedsskrift for Litteratur, vol. 9, 1933, 526-54, cf. the reply F.E. Elberling, *Fornøden Oplysning til Recensionen i Maanedsskrift for Litteratur*, 1933, followed by Maanedsskrift for Litteratur, vol. 10, 1933, 483-529.
[49] T. Algreen-Ussing, *Ogsaa nogle Bemærkninger om det juridiske Studium ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet,* Bibliothek for dansk Lovkyndighed, vol 1, 1933, 602-406 (617).
[50] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 171-72.

demands.[51] The public debate reignited in 1860 when an experienced external censor anonymously accused the professors of not being compliant with their duties under the 1839 decree.[52] This was seconded by a young civil servant and manuducteur, P. Schjørring (1831-1913), who went as far as calling the law professors criminals. Moreover, the professors failed as pedagogues: "The professors used to be aware of the fact that they talked to beginners… they offered their audience a short and concise presentation … which sufficed in combination with the students' ability to think independently. Now, on the other hand, the professors want to share all of their thoughts and dictate their entire knowledge… The students get headaches from the mere glance at the heavy reading materials… Therefore, they seek the private manuducteurs; and the manuduction industry is flourishing while independent self-study has become a rarity".[53]

In other words, the private manuduction was a necessary evil; the free market's solution to a broken education. In the years to come, an abundance of newspaper articles and manuscripts followed in support of these critical opinions.[54] The message was clear: the status quo was harmful not only to the students but also the public good as such. Several politicians agreed, and Member of Parliament A.F. Tscherning (1795-1874) was a particularly strong proponent of a reform.[55]

[51] O. Müller, *Om det juridiske Studium og den juridiske Examen ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet*, 1867, 8.
[52] Dagbladet, 19 June 1860 (No. 141).
[53] Fædrelandet, 27 October 1860 (No. 252), 1029.
[54] Dagbladet, 19 & 20 September 1861 (No. 218 & 219), Dagbladet, 7 & 8 November 1861 (No. 260 & 261), Dagbladet, 19 September 1862 (No. 218), Dagbladet, 9 January 1863 (No. 7), P.C, *Hvorledes er det fat med det juridiske Studium og hvad kan der gøres derved?*, 1861, L.N. Friis, *Den juridiske Examen og det juridiske Studium*, 1862, P. Schjørring, *Om det juridiske Studium*, Tidsskrift for Retsvæsen, 1863, 64-104, and L.N. Friis, *Universitetsspørgsmaalet og Examenscommissioner*, Tidsskrift for Retsvæsen, 1863, 405-40.
[55] Rigsdagstidende 1860, Anhang A, 1469, and Folketingets forhandlinger, 1512-1612.

In 1862, a protest petition signed by 151 students was circulated in which they asked for more guidance to young students and proper textbooks instead of dictation lectures.[56] The faculty rejected both of these reasonable wishes although they acknowledged the burden of the dictation approach which was "no less exhausting for the lecturer than the students".[57] This rather arrogant answer was met with swift indignation.[58] In 1873, a new petition, this time signed by 128 students and graduates, was sent to the faculty demanding new teaching methods and, in particular, a ban on the dictation lectures. The faculty, once again, refused to interfere with the professors' didactical methods.[59]

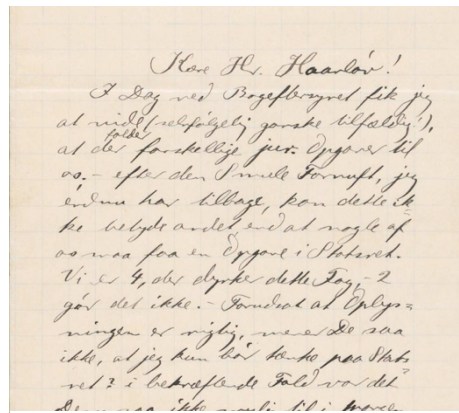

Figure 2: The later civil servant Viggo Rothe Haarløv (1872-1931) graduated in 1895. Letters from his manuduction students are kept in the National Danish Archive for the period of 1894-1900. Above is a copy of the beginning of a letter from a student who "by coincidence" had eavesdropped some information about the exam topic. "Do you have time tomorrow (Tuesday) at 6 to help us identify the questions that you think are most relevant?" Rothe's reply is not available.

In spite of the rejections, the sources reveal continuous deliberations behind the scenes.[60] Two reforms were implemented in 1871 and 1890, but they did not break the old habits. Moreover, it is hard to follow the rationale behind the decision to remove the practical elements from the exam.[61] An act was passed in 1871 that prohibited the professors from requiring payment for any of their teachings. In the beginning of the 1880'ies, the influential legal scholar and politician Carl Goos (1835-1917) strongly opposed the idea of

[56] Dagbladet, 7 November 1862 (No. 260).
[57] Dagbladet, 24 January 1863 (No. 20).
[58] Dagbladet, 31 January & 1 March 1863 (No. 26 & 27).
[59] Aarbog for Kjøbenhavns Universitet 1871-1873, 44-46.
[60] Eg, Aarbog for Kjøbenhavns Universitet 1864-1871, 63-72 & 241-47 and E. Koppel et al. (ed.), *Andreas Frederik Krigers Dagbøger 1848-1880,* vol. 5, 171.
[61] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 207-08, and V. Bentzon, *Juridisk Studium og Eksamen fra 1879 til Dato*, in E. Reitzel-Nielsen & C. Popp-Madsen (ed.), *Festskrift i Anledning af Tohundrede Aars Dagen for Indførelsen af Juridisk Eksamen ved Københavns Universitet*, 1936, 413-88 (417-30). Examples of the abstract nature of the exam questions can be found in *Examensopgaver givne ved "fuldstændig juridisk Examen" fra 1848-1888*, 1888 (Royal Library).

employing university manuducteurs.[62]

Important insights into the private manuduction industry during the last decades of the 19th century can be gathered from an account from the later dean, Viggo Bentzon (1861-1937): "The daily manuduction was the bedrock to the vast majority of law students. Many did not even show up at the university, and the faculty … did no attempt to offer the kinds of teaching that (perhaps) would make this daily hour of private manuduction redundant. Students applied for classes hosted by a few especially 'famous' manuducteurs… No one ventured into more independent or deeper studies, not even in the best of classes." [63] Archival fragments support some of these observations. Although Bentzon hosted private classes himself, in hindsight he condemned it as a "far-reaching and extremely harmful phenomenon".

In sum, the main structures of legal education stemming from the 1821 decree remained in place throughout the 19th century despite harsh and returning criticism from students, practicing lawyers, and politicians. As a result, the private manuduction remained a pivotal, although informal, part of legal education.

The 1902 reform and university manuduction (1900-1950)

Critical voices were raised once again around the turn of the century. A recent graduate, and later Supreme Court assessor, Erling Tybjerg (1863-1925), was particularly blunt: "Legal education consists of a more or less superficial rote learning of an overwhelming curriculum, while it ought to focus on training those exact proficiencies and developing the capabilities that the practicing lawyer needs".[64] These words resonated broadly amongst the stakeholders. The dean, Bentzon, took the lead on the much-needed reform and received public funding to visit German universities and research their approach to legal education. He concluded that the Danish legal education was in poor shape: "not only does it dry out the spirit of the students, it makes many of them physically ill".[65] This time, the professors, the students, and the practicing

[62] Rigsdagstidende 1880-81, Folketingets forhandlinger, 601-02.
[63] Bentzon (1936), op.cit., 435-36 & 440-41.
[64] E. Tybjerg, *Det juridiske Studium ved Københavns Universitet*, Tilskueren, 1890, 609-618 (609).
[65] V. Bentzon, *De juridiske Eksaminer i Tyskland og Danmark*, Ugeskrift for Retsvæsen, 1900, 657-95. Cf. also M.S.L. Henriksen, *Om Reformer ved det juridiske Studium og vor*

lawyers worked closely together in a committee that agreed on both the diagnosis and the cure. In accordance with much of the earlier criticism, the report from 1901 observed that the existing programme promoted an unhealthy study culture of mechanical rote learning with a narrow-minded focus on exam.[66]

After almost a century of denial, stalling, and half measures, the solution was swift and thorough: the reform of 1902 (ordinance of 1 December 1902). Some of the major changes included significant curricular reductions, more pedagogical textbooks, and increased focus on concrete practical exercises (cases), both as a part of the learning activities and in relation to the exam.[67] The university established the so-called Law Laboratory (*Juridisk Laboratorium*) as an independent institution under the faculty. The purpose was to facilitate a deeper understanding of the law and the legal method through practical and theoretical exercises and by making library resources available. The Law Lab's first headmaster, professor Hans Munch-Petersen (1869-1934), had been a pioneer in this aspect as a university employed teaching assistant on a trial basis already in the mid 1890'ies.[68] The lab was run by a so-called 'practical docent', and Oskar Johansen (1860-1942) was the first to fill this new position.[69] His successor, Ernst Møller (1860-1916), formulated the theoretical and pedagogical foundation to this new teaching method in *Konkret retsundervisning,* 1912 ('Concrete legal teaching'), which is still worth reading today. Møller wanted the students to grasp the interaction between theoretical knowledge and practical circumstances and, thus, to be able to critically apply and combine deductive and inductive approaches. O.K. Magnussen (1881-1973) took over in 1916 and became a respected and influential educator during the course of the 36 years he held this position.[70]

In short, the new study programme aimed at bridging the gap between law-in-theory and law-in-practice. No doubt, the 1902 reform was a major step

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Eksamensordning, 1900, and N. Lassen, *Om Uddannelsen af Juridiske Embedsmænd i Preussen*, Ugeskrift for Retsvæsen, 1871, 1025-35.

[66] Det juridiske Studium: Beretning fra det paa Juristmødet den 10. Oktbr. 1900 nedsatte Udvalg and Aarbog for Kjøbenhavns Universitet, 1902-1903, 463-500 (464-65).

[67] Early examples of concrete exercises can be found in H. Munch-Petersen, *Retstilfælde for yngre juridiske Studerende*, 1st ed., 1901, 2nd ed., 1911 – and the exam cases in O.K. Magnussen, *Konkrete Opgaver stille ved juridisk Eksamen i Aarene 1907-1943,* 1943.

[68] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 247-49.

[69] Aarbog (1902-03), op.cit., 432-33 & 577.

[70] A. Vinding Kruse in *Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet i anledning af universitetets årsfest (Den unge Henrich Steffens 1773-1811)*, 1973, 131-34.

forward from a pedagogical standpoint and, accordingly, several elements of the current Danish approach to legal education build on these breakthroughs. Several aspects of the new approach are in line with principles of modern university pedagogy such as problem based learning (PBL), focus on method over rote learning, constructive alignment, and Bloom's taxonomy. The use of dictation lectures decreased steadily, and Bentzon "shamefully" admitted to being the last to systematically apply this method.[71]

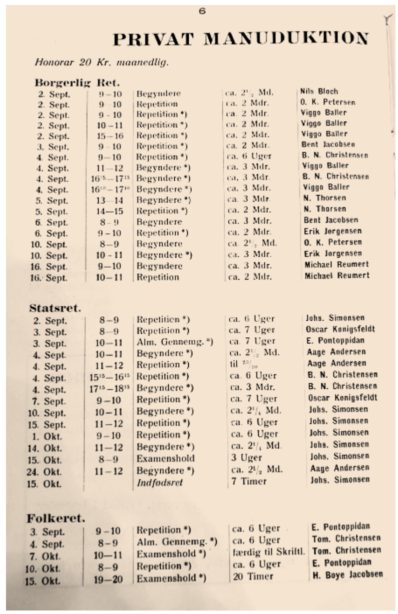
The university expected the new measures to "reduce the superfluous use of private manuducteurs to the benefit of the study programme in general and the less privileged students in particular".[72] However, it turned out to be wishful thinking. Apparently, the private manuduction was too deeply embedded into the educational structure to get rid of by mere pedagogical reform. A concrete example is found in a small student guide from 1912 published by a private manuducteur by the name J.L Buch: *Det juridiske Studium: En skematisk Vejledning* (Royal Library). In reality, it was an advertisement. The introduction reads as follows: "The exam is the primary goal of the study in law. It is important to recall this truth on a daily basis. Every measure that serves to reach this end ought to be used." Buch claimed that private manuduction was an "inescapable necessity" for parts of legal education. He then introduced the specifics of his services, including comprehensive study plans, professional study notes, and discount agreements with book sellers. Buch hosted classes consisting of six to seven participants in his office at *Gammeltoftsgade* 10 in Copenhagen. A class cost 600 crowns a year (≈ 38,000 DKK or 5,000 EUR by 2020 standards), and each participant had to pay between 10 and 15 crowns monthly (≈ 630-950 DKK or 84-125 EUR).

In 1918, the student association, *Studenterådet,* urged the university to introduce university manuduction as a part of the formal legal education. Almost a century after Rothe's suggestion of hiring 'repetitors', the faculty gave in, and in 1921 the first four university manuducteurs were employed.[73] This was an important milestone that broke the monopoly of private manuduction. The faculty explicitly informed the students that the use of private manuducteurs was no longer necessary.[74] However, private teaching

[71] Bentzon (1936), op.cit., 420-26.
[72] Aarbog (1902-03), op.cit., 457.
[73] Aarbog for Københavns Universitet 1920-23, vol. 3, 107-19.
[74] *Vejledning ved det juridiske Studium, udgivet af Det Rets- og Statsvidenskabelige Fakultet*, 1926, 14 (Royal Library).

services did not disappear overnight. The university manuducteurs had a relatively weak market position: the students had to pay for this service, and the university struggled to offer price competitive salaries.[75] During this period, it was common to attend one or two hours of manuduction daily.[76] In the mid 1920'ies the normal monthly tariff was 25 crowns (≈ 850 DKK or 115 EUR by 2020 standards), which some students complained about.[77] The tariff stabilised to 20 crowns (≈ 700 DKK or 95 EUR) in the mid 30'ies. During the German occupation of Denmark 1940-45, it was decided that the university manuducteurs were to host the examinations of the students, since most of the professors had fled to Sweden.[78] The private manuducteurs called it unfair competition.


VI
QUOD FELIX
Nr. 6
MANUDUKTION
Juridisk Manuduktion
Borgerlig Ret og Folkeret:
Sekretær, cand. jur.
H. C. BRYLD
Holsteinsgade 19
Kl. 10—4 • Central 10093
Efter 6: Øbro 55 99
Nationaløkonomi med Statistik:
Sekr. cand. jur.
ALBERT LARSEN
Lykkesholmsallé 7 a. Kl. 9—4.
Central 14287.
Lokale nær Universitetet. Nye Hold straks efter Sommerferien. Skriftlige Indmeldelser modtages til ovenstaaende Adresser.
Jura I. & II.
H. O. Fischer-Møller
Cand. jur., Sagførerfuldm.
Mathildevej 2, F. Tlf. Goth. 13 51 y
Stephan Hurwitz
Cand. jur., Sagførerfuldm.
H. Steffensvej 6, V. Tlf. V. 59 41 y
Alf Ross
Cand jur.
Nørresøgade 49, K. Tlf. Byen 866 y
Nye Hold begynder i Novbr.
Turnus- ikke Turnustvang.
Lokale nær Universitetet.
Indm. modt. til ovenst. Adresser.
Manuduktion til FILOSOFIKUM
(alle tre Professorer)
Dr. Sigurd Næsgaard
Rosengaarden 14, 3. Telf. Byen 3677
Træffetid 4-5.
Tysk
OVE HOFF
Kgl. aut. Translatør og Tolk
Taasingegade 18
Tlf. Strand 1640y
Juridisk Manuduktion
til 1. og 2. Del.
CHR. REPPIEN
cand. jur.
Frederiksborggade 41⁴
Telefon Byen 4118
LATIN
WEDIN
Aabenraa 31
Telefon Byen 4794
Politiassessor
AXEL NIELSEN
SKINDERGADE 24
Telefon Byen 6448 eller Central 8538
Juridisk Manuduktion
Manuduktion til Statsvidenskabelig Eksamen
og i
Nationaløkonomi m. Statistik til juridisk Eksamen.
KJELD JOHANSEN
Fuldmægtig i Statistisk Kontor
Blegdamsvej 8⁴ N.
(Tlf. Nora 4192 y.)
Juridisk Manuduktion
Landsretssekretær
VAGN BRO:
Statsret med Folkeret og Proces
Adresse:
Østre Landsret, Fredericiagade 24
Central 200. Kl. 10—4.
Enhver Akademiker
køber Smørrebrød
- i Forretningen -
„Avanti",
Nørregade 38. Telef. 13784
Hebraisk - Græsk
Theologisk Manuduktion.
Gammel og Ny Testamente.
Cand. theol.
Peter de Hemmer Gudme
Manuduktion til FILOSOFIKUM
Tager Hold til enhver Tid
(ogsaa Aftenhold)
FINN HØFFDING
Sct. Jacobsgade 11, 4.
(lige ved Trianglen)
Tlf. Øbro 35 31 u
Træffes bedst om Morgenen og fra 6—7½.
Bethesdas Boghandel
(ved E. Neuhaus)
Rømersgade 17, København K.
Telefon 11 096 • 11 96
Alle Universitetets Lærebøger
Udenlandsk Litteratur og Lærebøger.
Boglegater ekspederes.
Konti aabnes efter nærmere Aftale.
Frederiksberg Bogtrykkeri, Falkonerallé 11.



6

PRIVAT MANUDUKTION

Honorar 20 Kr. maanedlig.

Borgerlig Ret.				
2. Sept.	9—10	Begyndere	ca. 2½ Md.	Nils Bloch
2. Sept.	9—10	Repetition	ca. 2 Mdr.	O. K. Petersen
2. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	Viggo Baller
2. Sept.	10—11	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	Viggo Baller
2. Sept.	15—16	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	Viggo Baller
3. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	Bent Jacobsen
4. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	B. N. Christensen
4. Sept.	11—12	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	Viggo Baller
4. Sept.	16^{15}—17^{15}	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	B. N. Christensen
4. Sept.	16^{10}—17^{10}	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	Viggo Baller
5. Sept.	13—14	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	N. Thorsen
5. Sept.	14—15	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	N. Thorsen
6. Sept.	8—9	Begyndere	ca. 3 Mdr.	Bent Jacobsen
6. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 2 Mdr.	Erik Jørgensen
10. Sept.	8—9	Begyndere	ca. 2½ Md.	O. K. Petersen
10. Sept.	10—11	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	Erik Jørgensen
16. Sept.	9—10	Begyndere	ca. 3 Mdr.	Michael Reumert
16. Sept.	10—11	Repetition	ca. 2 Mdr.	Michael Reumert
Statsret.				
2. Sept.	8—9	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	Johs. Simonsen
3. Sept.	8—9	Repetition *)	ca. 7 Uger	Oscar Konigsfeldt
3. Sept.	10—11	Alm. Gennemg. *)	ca. 7 Uger	E. Pontoppidan
4. Sept.	10—11	Begyndere *)	ca. 2½ Md.	Aage Andersen
4. Sept.	11—12	Repetition *)	til $^{23}/_{10}$	Aage Andersen
4. Sept.	15^{15}—16^{15}	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	B. N. Christensen
4. Sept.	17^{15}—18^{15}	Begyndere *)	ca. 3 Mdr.	B. N. Christensen
7. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 7 Uger	Oscar Konigsfeldt
10. Sept.	10—11	Begyndere *)	ca. 2¼ Md.	Johs. Simonsen
15. Sept.	11—12	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	Johs. Simonsen
1. Okt.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	Johs. Simonsen
14. Okt.	11—12	Begyndere *)	ca. 2¼ Md.	Johs. Simonsen
15. Okt.	8—9	Examenshold	3 Uger	Johs. Simonsen
24. Okt.	11—12	Begyndere *)	ca. 2½ Md.	Aage Andersen
15. Okt.		*Indfødsret*	7 Timer	Johs. Simonsen
Folkeret.				
3. Sept.	9—10	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	E. Pontoppidan
4. Sept.	8—9	Alm. Gennemg. *)	ca. 6 Uger	Tom. Christensen
7. Okt.	10—11	Examenshold *)	færdig til Skriftl.	Tom. Christensen
10. Okt.	8—9	Repetition *)	ca. 6 Uger	E. Pontoppidan
15. Okt.	19—20	Examenshold *)	20 Timer	H. Boye Jacobsen

Figure 3: Examples of manuduction ads in student magazines, here from 'Quod Felix' (1926) to the left and 'Stud. jur.' (1935) to the right. Note that the ad to the left (top, center) is from Alf Ross and Stephan Hurwitz, two of the greatest Danish legal scholars of the 20th century.

The fact that the private manuduction industry was still flourishing is reflected in the abundance of advertisements in the student magazines that came into existence in the first half of the 20th century, such as *Akademisk Ugeblad,*

[75] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 252-53 and Bentzon (1936), op.cit., 461-62.
[76] Bentzon (1936), op.cit., 456.
[77] Quod Felix, 23 October 1926 (No. 4), 35-36, and 8 November 1926 (No. 5), 49.
[78] Tamm (200), op.cit., 329-30.

Quod Felix, and *Stud.jur.* From 1935 onwards, the latter was the primary marketplace and even provided thorough timetables (see illustration)

Not all manuductuers were worth their pay and some used rather aggressive (and peculiar) marketing strategies. For instance, a university manuducteur gave this account: "The private manuducteurs are entirely self-appointed… which naturally means that not all of them are worth the fee. Some manducteurs have established the most ingenious beer [sic!] and discount schemes, by which they lure innocent – or reckless – students, often with the result that they have to pay for a retake by a proper manuducteur".[79] Naturally, these circumstances were grounds for conflict. A remarkable example made headlines in the national media outlet *Politiken* in 1929.[80] Three students publicly accused three private manuducteurs, V. Baller, Boye H. Jacobsen, and Paul G. Rohbeck, of whom the two latter were students themselves, of abusing their position toward first year students by exaggerating the effect of manuduction and paying the student magazine *Den akademiske Borger* to recommend their manuduction business and write disparagingly of competitors. The two student manuducteurs and the editors of the magazine were temporarily expelled from the university as a consequence.

In 1931, the 'uneducated' law degree was abolished, and the last exam.jur. graduated in 1936 – at the 200 years anniversary of Danish legal education. The study programme was modernised again in 1937, 1944, 1948, and 1956, inter alia, by putting further emphasis on the university manuduction, hiring more manuducteurs and external teachers, and introducing elective courses.[81] Some professors pushed back on the reform agenda to avoid "the extinction of the university teaching and the revitalisation of private manuduction".[82] It was the dawn of a new era.

The Welfare State and the fading of private manuduction (1950-2000)

The university manuduction was not an instant success. Around 1950, merely 10 percent of the students apparently made use of this new offer.[83] During the

[79] Abel (1945), op.cit., 11.
[80] Tamm (2005), op.cit., 320.
[81] Waaben (2005), op.cit., 265-71 & 310-11, and Tamm (2005), op.cit., 330.
[82] A. Ross, *Reform af den juridiske Uddannelse*, Ugeskrift for Retsvæsen, 1948, 145-90 (150 & 186-87).
[83] Ibid., 150 and M.C.A. Bjerre, *Reform af den juridiske Uddannelse*, Ugeskrift for Retsvæsen, 1948, 241-49.

first half of the 1940'ies, as many as 80 manuducteurs paid for ads in the student magazine *Stud.jur*, but already in 1949, the number had fallen to 30.[84] Rough data on this matter can be extrapolated from the biographical data compilations on the legal profession (*Juridisk Stat*) from the period 1928-1965:[85]

	Private manuducteurs	**University manuducteurs**
1928	23	6
1935	24	11
1940	37	19
1946	42	33
1952	48	49
1965	51	73

The numbers indicate how many of the *living* lawyers in the specific years that offered manuduction at some point in their careers and, therefore, the numbers are significantly delayed compared to the listed years. Some lawyers are represented in both categories. Moreover, the data is inconsistent. Although, this only paints a very rough picture, it is fair to draw some conclusions: private manuduction was still relatively prevalent after the introduction of university manuducteurs (1921), but steadily the university manuduction took over a significant portion of the market share.

[84] V. Abel, *Det juridiske studium: En lille introduktion*, 1st ed., 1943, 11; 2nd ed., 1945, 11; and 3rd ed., 1949, 10-11. A review of the *Stud.jur.* magazines from this period roughly confirms these estimates.

[85] A. Falk-Jensen, *Juridisk og statsvidenskabelig Stat*, vol. 18-22, 1928, 1935, 1946 & 1952 and T. Holmboe, *Juridisk-Økonomisk Stat*, vol. 23, 1965. Vol. 24, 1981, does not distinguish clearly between the two categories.

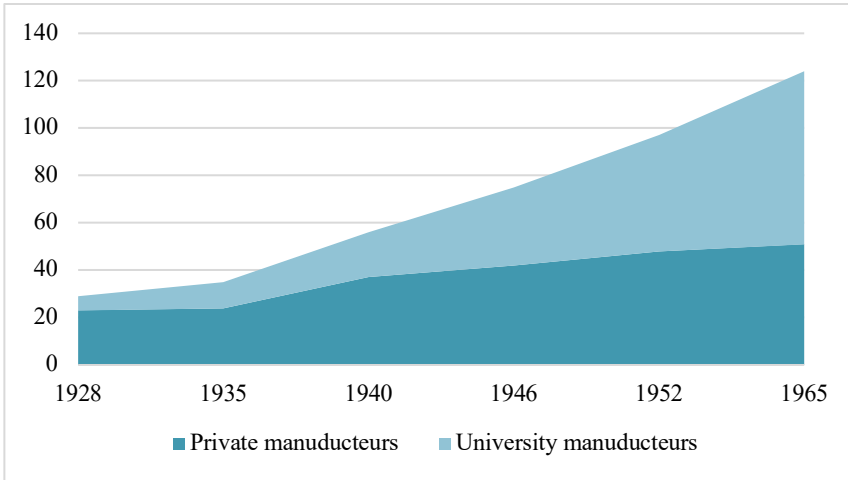


Figure 4: Estimate of the relative relation between private manuduction and university manuduction over time

In accordance with tradition, the business of private manuduction was normally strictly personal – almost like apprenticeships. However, the advertisements in the student magazines (mentioned above) reveal that the manuducteurs were still professional and specialised and that they sometimes joined forces and formed partnerships. Although, the brand value was normally connected to the specific names of certain popular manuducteurs, a more commercial approach was lurking. For instance, there are trails of an enterprise called *Juridisk-økonomisk Kursus* ('Legal-economic Course') from 1940 to 1965.[86]

The private manuduction faded away during of the following decades (1960-80), which happens to coincide with the golden age of the Danish welfare state. Education became one of the many services that was offered by the universal welfare system – usually free of charge. Accordingly, in 1960, the minister of education decided to exempt the law students from paying for the university manuduction.[87] Apparently, this was a fatal blow to the private manuduction. No doubt, private teaching services still existed in some form, but its importance and popularity was decimated. This is reflected in the ongoing debate about legal education as it did not address the use of private teaching

[86] Ibid. (under the name "Holst, Hans Poul") and Kraks Vejviser, 1948, II:388 and 1960, II:618.
[87] Juristen, 1960, Foreningsmeddelelser, 34 & 100.

services.[88] Informal talks with older colleagues confirm the impression that private manuduction had lost its relevance.

However, as we will see, this was not the end.

The revival of legal shadow education in the 21st century

Revitalisation – background and numbers

History tends to repeat, or rather mimic, itself. The shadow education industry began thriving again in the 1990'ies with Copenhagen Business School (CBS) as its nest.[89] However, this time, the undertakings were organised as actual corporations (limited liability companies), and the major players were Complet A/S and Manu Kurser A/S (later Aspiri A/S). During the mid-00's these companies entered the market of legal education. In 2006, a group of law students complained to the faculty of law about the companies' predatory marketing strategies which included placing brochures on the students' chairs right before class, recruiting some of the university teachers and making them advertise for the private courses, and paying students to recommend the private courses to their peers.[90] This new wave of private legal education focused more exclusively on exams, and the main product was exam preparation courses. Some of the entrepreneurs behind the companies mentioned the use of private supplementary teaching in Asia as a source of inspiration.[91]

The Faculty of Law expressed strong discontent with the development and introduced a clause in employment contracts prohibiting the internal and external university teachers from offering private teaching services on the side. The then head of studies Mette Hartlev added: "We think that the students are cheating themselves, and that the private course providers are taking advantage of the insecurity of the young students. Grades are perceived as very important

[88] Eg, B. Gomard, *De samfundsvidenskabelige studier*, Juristen, 1968, Foreningsmeddelelser, 139-49, B. Christensen, *Den juridiske uddannelse: Et indlæg i en debat,* Juristen, 1968, Foreningsmeddelelser, 246-57, and Betænkning 1062/1985, *En reform af den juridiske kandidatuddannelse*. A study survey from 1992 (N. Krarup, *Studiestart på jura 1992*, 1992/93) does not mention private manuduction at all.
[89] *Privat undervisning giver millioner,* Berlingske Tidende, 3 June 1997.
[90] *Privatundervisning I: Betalingsundervisning boomer*, Information, 12 February 2007, *Bred kritik af eksamensindustrien*, Jyllands-Posten, 1 March 2008, and *Studerende betaler for en god eksamen*, Djøfbladet, 26 October 2012.
[91] *Privatundervisning II: Der er penge i eksamenspres*, Information, 12 February 2007.

by the students, and we understand their worry, but the private courses are superfluous from a learning perspective".[92]

It ignited a new public debate in 2011-12, when the trade union in social sciences, business, and law, *Djøf,* published an analysis according to which around 1/4 of the responding students – and around 40 percent of law students – had paid for private courses during their current education.[93] The Faculty of Law at the University of Copenhagen sought to remedy this unfortunate trend with the study reform of 2012 which to a great extent replaced the large-scale lectures with smaller 'seminars' and put more emphasis on group work, PBL, active student participation, and concrete exercises (cases). However, the figures did not change significantly: in 2018, 39 percent of law students had paid for private teaching services.[94] These are the most recent numbers from Djøf.

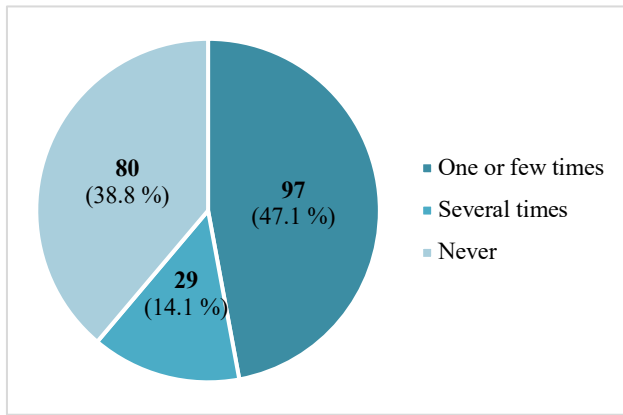


Figure 5: The use of private teaching services in relation to legal education (4th semester)

My survey study from 2022 suggests a drastic increase: 61.2 percent of the law students on the fourth semester of the bachelor programme at the University of Copenhagen have used private teaching services during their legal studies – including 14.1 percent who have used it "several times". 90.5 percent answered that they knew people who had purchased private teaching services as a part of

[92] *Interview*, Politiken, 18 February 2007.
[93] Djøf's studielivsundersøgelse, 2012, cf. *Undervisning forn egen regning* and *Jura vil bremse karakteræset,* Universitetsavisen, 1. March 2012, *Studerende køber privat undervisning*, MetroXpress, 21 October 2011, and *En ud af fire køber stadig privatundervisning*, Universitetsavisen, 16 October 2012.
[94] Djøf's studielivsundersøgelse, 2013-18.

their legal education (56.7 percent selected the option "numerous", 33.8 percent chose "some"). When asked if they had *ever* made use of private teaching services, ie also before starting university, the positive answers accounted for 72.2 percent. I also asked if they would consider using private teaching services in the future, irrespective of their previous answers. A total of 70.4 percent replied positively (48.6 percent "to some extent" and 22.4 percent "to a great extent"). Only 13.8 percent replied "not at all".

It is obvious to hypothesise that the substantial increase from 2018, at least to some extent, is linked to the COVID-19 pandemic and, more generally, the growing availability of online content. However, this does not necessarily mean that a decrease can be expected in the years to come.

Outlining the business model of shadow educators: Aspiri A/S and My Law Story ApS

As mentioned, the private teaching industry has been resurrected in a new and more corporate form. I have limited my further study to the two current dominant market players, *Aspiri A/S* and *My Law Story ApS*, although there are other providers, eg *Studie Akademiet ApS*. No doubt, more informal arrangements, such as one-on-one assistance from older students, still exist, but they are harder to research and are not advertised to any extent comparable to what has previously been seen.

Aspiri A/S was founded in 1993 and focused on CBS until the 00's. Its primary products are exam preparation courses and alternative textbooks aimed at the mandatory law courses. Until recently, Aspiri's courses were held physically, but now it offers them in an online synchronous format through their own platform *AspiriPlay* (www.play.aspiri.dk). The COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated this transformation.[95] According to its own website counter (as per 15 January 2023), Aspiri has assisted 447,664 students since 1993. According to the public annual accounts, Aspiri's gross profit in 2021 amounted to almost 6.2 million DKK (≈ 830,000 EUR) and the net profit before taxes to almost 2.6 million DKK (≈ 350,000 EUR).

The fourth semester respondents to my survey can buy a 15-hour exam preparation course in general administrative law for 749 DKK (≈ 100 EUR).

[95] *Kursusvirksomheden Aspiri har succes med online-undervisning*, Omnibus, 18 February 2021.

They get discounts if they buy all the courses of the semester or the academic year, and they may postpone their payment via an instalment plan. Aspiri's strong exam focus is its main selling point. As the CEO puts it: "People will happily pay a penny to do well at the exam. In our courses, we review a lot of earlier exams… It's all handed to the students on a silver platter".[96] He admits that legal education is particularly well fitted for their products since, apparently, the exam can be reduced "to a formula with a single correct answer".[97]

Aspiri has a history of aggressive advertising. Aspiri advertises that it effectively raises the grades of its customers by 1-2 levels.[98] In another context, they argue that the customers receive grades that are 1-2 point higher than their peers.[99] Both of these assertions are hard, if not impossible, to verify. Analyses carried out by CBS suggest that the students attending the private courses systematically get lower grades.[100] In any case, these findings cannot be transferred to the law faculty without further proof.

Since the university has effectively barred Aspiri and other private providers from the university area, Aspiri primarily reaches its target group through

[96] Jyllands-Posten (2008), op.cit.
[97] Djøfbladet (2012), op.cit. See also *Undervisning for egen regning*, Universitetsavisen, 1 March 2012.
[98] See the video advertisement uploaded on 20 November 2020: https://youtu.be/Jx4kV3tQ-_U (accessed 01-15-2023).
[99] *Privatkurser har tvivlsom effekt*, Universitetsavisen, 1 March 2012.
[100] *Analyse af karaktereffekten af deltagelse i manuduktion på HA 2. år*, Evalueringsenheden, Copenhagen Business School, 23 January 2009, and M.M. Nielsen, *Analyse af manuduktionsdeltagelse i faget Finansiering på HA 2. år – 2011, 2012 og 2013*, CBS Evaluering og Akkreditering, 2 December 2015.

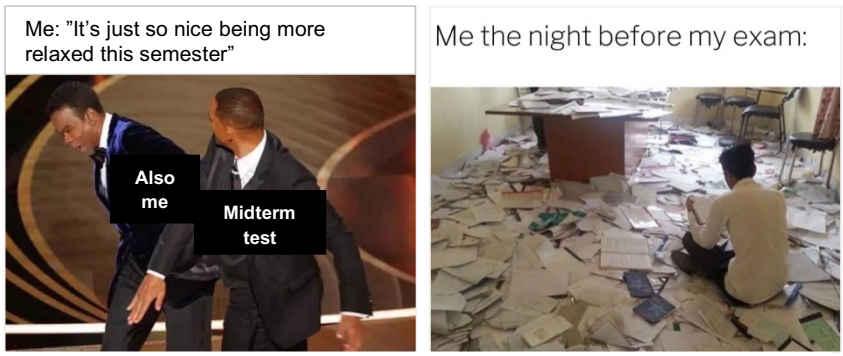


Figure 6: Examples of memes form Aspiri's Facebook page. The one on the right (1 June 2021) went viral with more than 2,000 likes and 7,800 comments. I have translated the left one (28 March 2022) from Danish to English.

social media, especially Youtube and Facebook. Lately, Aspiri has launched a meme campaign that is focused on typical student issues related to exams and performance anxiety.

My Law Story, on the other hand, is a new start-up with a novel approach. While Aspiri and other traditional private course companies are mostly frank about the fact that they are running a business for profit, My Law Story seemingly has made an effort concealing it. It has marketed itself as almost an NGO involved in the well-being of law students. The following is an example of the storytelling from the website: "It all started when our CEO… noticed the misery amongst the students. She met with students who suffered from performance anxiety, were stressed out, or simply lonely. [She] started meeting with a group of students every once in a while to talk about their struggles as law students… At My Law Story, we wanted to tell more stories, create bigger projects, and gather more people in diverse communities. That's why [the CEO] chose to go all-in on My Law Story, which today offers a broad range of networks bringing people together".[101]

My Law Story has created an online platform (www.mylawstory.org) for students and professional lawyers. It has introduced a membership model (My Law Story Club) that gives the paying members access to exclusive content, including online course reviews and exam preparation courses. The monthly student price is 49 DKK (≈ 6.5 EUR). However, the members must pay additional amounts to become a part of a professional network. Moreover, they

[101] www.mylawstory.org/vores-historie (accessed 01-15-2023). See, also, *Mødet med de store personligheders sårbarhed skal øge juristernes trivsel*, K-News, 16 October 2019.

offer certain specialized services, such as a three-hour master thesis supervision for 2,000 DKK (≈ 335 EUR). My Law Story markets its product on all the major social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, and LinkedIn.

It seems that My Law Story gets professional lawyers, law students, and even some professors to produce content for free, which My Law Story then uploads to the students. Some of the content is publicly available, but some of it is behind paywalls. My Law Story's public accounts reveal that the entire revenue is spent on salaries to the employees, which until recently consisted of one person (ie not the content creators). It can only be speculated where this money ends up. In any case, the accounts show a rapid growth from a gross profit in 2019 of 60,000 DKK (≈ 8000 EUR) to 937,000 DKK (≈ 126,000 EUR) in 2021. In 2021, staff expenses accounted for 991,000 DKK (≈ 133,000 EUR)

The 'mass university' and student motivations

What comes after the welfare state? – The competition state, many political scientists would argue: "The basic institutions of the welfare state remain in place but are gradually trimmed, rearranged, and "refunctionalize[d]"… to serve a new purpose: to make society fit for competition".[102] In this context, the main task of universities is to cater to the labour market by providing as many productive individuals as fast as possible.[103] Legal education and the legal profession have always been highly competitive. But the new approach to university education (the so-called 'mass university') has probably intensified the side-effects of this inherent competitive culture.

While the competition state hypothesis seems like an attractive explanation, I am interested in more specific answers from students themselves. According to the annual analyses carried out by *Djøf*, there are three main reasons why the students (ie students in law, social sciences, and business) buy private courses: Grade competition, inadequate teaching, and insufficient teaching.[104] In 2014, two students published a critical feature in which they claimed that the private providers were taking advantage of the students' exam anxiety: "… when the

[102] P. Genschel & L. Seelkopf, *The Competition State: The Modern State in a Global Economy*, in S. Leibfried et. al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, 2015, 234-49 (234) with further references.
[103] See, eg, A.M. Mai et. al, *Imod en ny videnskabelig dannelse: Sider af universitetets undervisning og kultur*, 1997.
[104] Djøf (2012-18), op.cit.

well-known exam panic hits us… we can't help the temptation to sign up for Aspiri courses. Our nervousness and despair take control… In the moment, it feels like this particular course will secure us the grade we desire. The course becomes a key that unlocks a world of excellent grades although we know that only diligence and thoroughness can get us there".[105]

In my survey study, I asked the students who had used or wanted to use private teaching services what their primary motivation(s) was/were. Each respondent could pick up to three options. The three most important motivations were the opinions that 1) the private courses are more exam-oriented, 2) they are a great supplement to the university teaching, and 3) they give the students a sense of security. Many (106) explicitly opted for options about exam anxiety or performance anxiety. As one respondent put it: "In general, the exam demands are too high, and I need help to pass". A fair share (30) of students admitted that they attended the courses because they had not paid enough attention during the semester. This figure is probably underreported considering precisely the students who did not attend the lecture. 17 deemed the private courses better than university teaching. However, the open-ended answers indicate that inadequate teachers may be an issue. For instance: "If you get a bad teacher, some of us feel the need to pursue other options to get a sense of security".

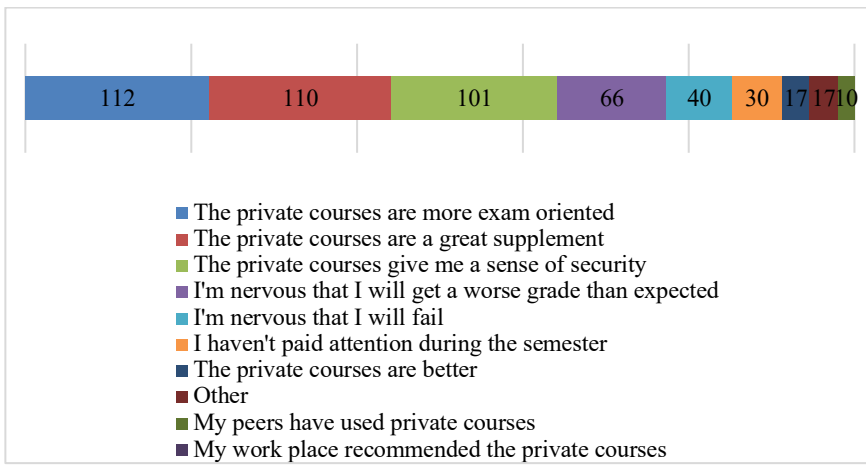


Figure 7: Student motivations for using private teaching services

[105] *Aspiri spinder guld på studerendes nervøsitet*, Universitetsavisen, 27 November 2014.

I also examined the primary reason(s) for the students who had *not* and did *not* want to use private teaching services. The vast majority (52) responded that they simply felt capable of attending exams without. However, around 1/6 of the students (31) gave the reason that they cannot afford the private services. Roughly 1/8 of the students (25) are fundamentally against the use of private teaching services. As one respondent framed it: "The private courses contribute to the growing inequality." However, moral convictions like these do not always keep the students from giving in to the pressure: "I'm fundamentally against it, but for the first time I have bought an Aspiri course this semester [the 4th semester] due to the course on property and creditor law."

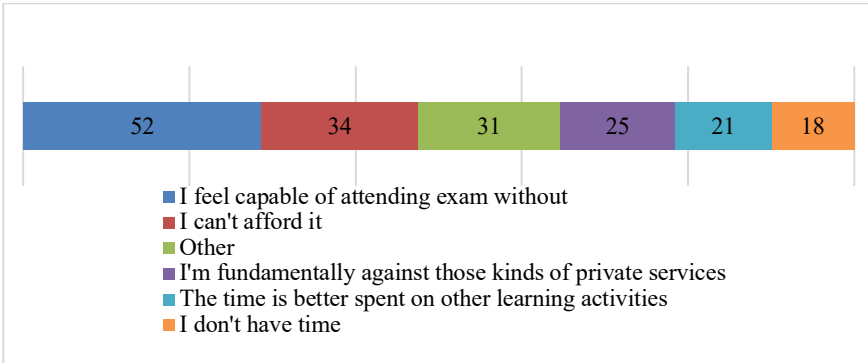


Figure 8: Student motivations for not using private teaching services

Finally, I asked the students who have used private teaching services to rate their experience. 48.7 percent were satisfied (including 7.4 percent who were "very satisfied"). However, 39.7 percent were neutral and 11.6 were dissatisfied. Against this background, it is paradoxical that 70.4 percent of the respondents are considering using the services in the future and that according to Aspiri's own numbers, 80-98 percent of their customers return.[106] It seems that some students are paying for the private teaching services as a mere precaution. Several open-end responses show that the courses are particularly popular in the very beginning of the education, for instance: "I used it [private teaching services] to begin with. I was pretty disappointed. You are able to obtain the same knowledge by yourself. They take advantage of our exam anxiety and our fear of getting a bad grade." Another respondent put it this way: "To a great extent, I think that first year law students are insecure about

[106] *Jura på KU har høj kvalitet – men vores kurser er stadig relevante*, Universitetsavisen, 1 December 2014.

their ability to perform without private courses due to the many ads and the fact that their peers are talking about them all the time." This is in line with a third response: "I attended them [the private courses] on the first semester because I didn't want to miss out on anything that might be an advantage at the exam. It wasn't the case – won't use it again."

In sum, it seems that the students' motivations to a high degree are aligned with the business models of the private providers: the private providers have a narrow focus on exams and tap into the students' negative emotions related to their performance combined with a prospect of raising their grades. Correspondingly, the students opt for the private services because of their strong exam focus and as a tool to manage their insecurities. Overall, the growth in the use of private teaching services does not seem to be caused by inadequate or insufficient university teaching. Moreover, from a welfare state perspective, it is discouraging that several students have chosen not to use private services because they cannot afford it. Finally, the demand seems unaffected by the fact that more than half of the students who have used the private teaching services were not particularly satisfied with them.

Conclusion and perspectives

This study has examined private teaching services within the field of Danish legal education from historical and current perspectives. The aim was to estimate the extent of legal shadow education and understand the students' motivation. Although there are some inherent uncertainties related to the findings, it is possible to outline certain trends and to pinpoint some significant push and pull factors.

In Denmark, legal shadow education is as old as the university (1479) and legal education (1736) alike and, as such, deeply embedded in the educational culture. The main providers of private teaching services have shifted from professors (1479-1800) to private individuals such as professional lawyers and experienced law students (1800-1960) to commercial corporations and online platforms (1900 onwards). During a period of around 150 years (1780-1930), the private teaching services were more than supplementary in nature; they were the backbone of legal education. The relationship between the university and private teachers has been antagonistic most of the time. Only in a relatively short era (1960-2000), private teaching services were irrelevant. A rough timeline may be illustrated thus:

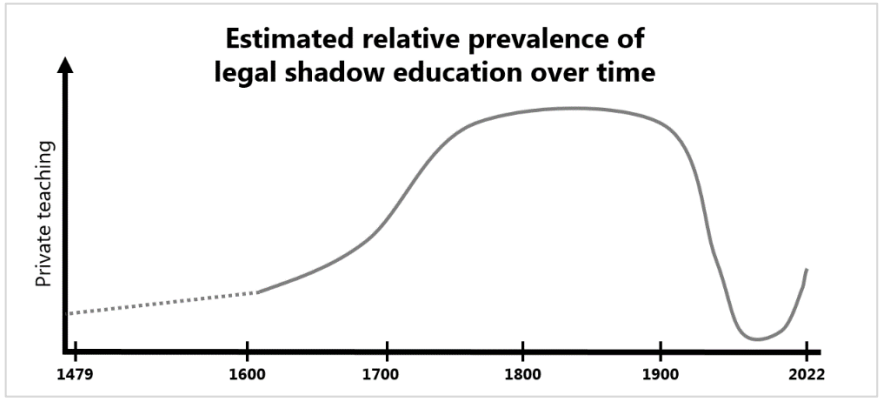


Figure 9: Estimated relative prevalence of legal shadow education over time

Originally, it was a part of the professors' privileges to offer private lectures for money. Information about these *collegia privata* is scarce, but we know that their popularity grew in the 17th century as professors were free to apply new and better teaching methods. When a formal legal education was introduced in 1736, a demand for more exam-oriented teaching (*manuduction*) emerged. However, by the end of the 18th century, professors were banned from using this kind of teaching method. Accordingly, a genuinely private shadow education industry grew as professional lawyers and, to some extent, experienced law students began hosting private manuduction. Although it was the university's proclaimed ambition in the beginning of the 19th century that the students were to complete their legal education without resorting to private manuducteurs, the private manuduction sector remained a pivotal feature of legal education throughout the century. The university deflected the countless complaints about university education voiced by both students, professional lawyers, and politicians. The reform of 1902 was a turning point as it to a higher degree focused on practical problems and cases and established the Law Laboratory. The reforms continued, and from 1921 the university employed university manuducteurs. However, the private manuduction remained popular until the Danish welfare state provided the fatal blow in 1960: free university manuduction.

Numerous contemporary student accounts and other sources point to the assertion that the poor state of university education, mainly the lack of (proper) textbooks and the use of archaic teaching methods, such as dictation lectures, is the historical raison d'être of the private teaching services. Moreover, the exam questions were normally abstract and highly repetitive which promoted

rote learning and exam-oriented private manuduction. The private manuduction was simply a necessity; the market's solution to a broken education.

The private teaching industry was brought back to life in the 1990'ies in the form of corporations that penetrated the market of legal education from the mid-00's. Throughout the 2010's, around 40 percent of the Danish law students attended private courses. My survey study from 2022 shows that more than 60 percent of the more than 200 participating 4th semester law students at the University of Copenhagen have paid for private teaching services, and that more than 70 percent are considering using such services in the future.

The new wave of legal shadow education in the 21st century is fundamentally different from its origins. Today, students receive free legal education and, by all measures, university teaching is generally of a high quality and mainly organised in smaller classes, not in large lecture halls. There is always room for improvement, of course, but the data indicates that the quality of university teaching is not a key issue anymore. From a historical perspective, the private teaching industry is thriving against the odds. The emergence of the competition state and its impact on the university might serve as a structural explanation. The private providers are now organised as highly professional commercial entities. Their main products are exam preparation courses and online content. They have a track record of rather aggressive campaigning that, inter alia, taps into the student's negative emotions related to exams, and they offer the prospects of raising their grades. And it works: the main reasons behind the students' purchase of such products are their strong exam focus and the first-years students' sense of insecurity. The companies also managed to benefit greatly from the COVID-19 pandemic by developing their online businesses.

History bears witness to the assertion that legal shadow education is not inherently bad. It falls outside the scope of this study to pass sentence on the appropriateness of the private teaching services in current society. Personally, however, I find it questionable, and I think that the university ought to work proactively on minimizing the use of private teaching services.[107] In any case, the results of this study are relevant for future debates and reform considerations. It all boils down to fundamental market mechanisms – the laws

[107] R.G. Nielsen, *Mellem profession og videnskab*, in M.B. Andersen et al. (eds), *Festskrift til Peter Pagh*, 2023, 487-512.

of supply and demand. The principal take-away from this historical account is the dynamic relationship between the three actors: the university, the students, and the private providers. The action of one may affect the others in relation to the prevalence of shadow education. This may be illustrated thus:

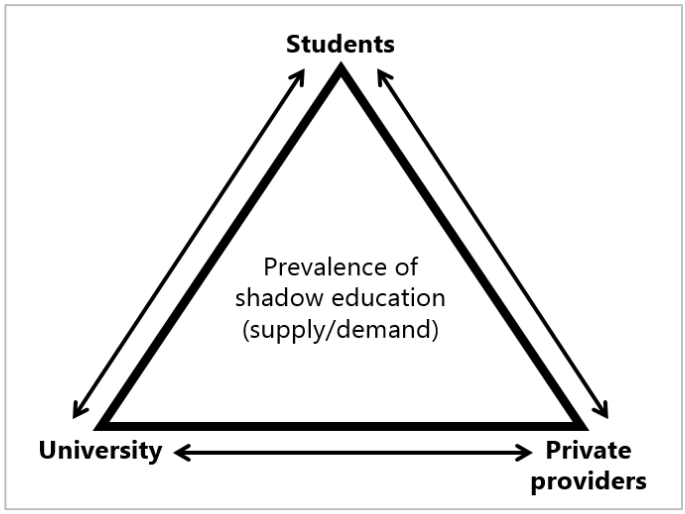


Figure 10: Prevalence of shadow education (supply/demand)

For instance, I suspect that the exam format is crucial to shadow education. The private providers are benefitting greatly from the use of the same exam 'script' year after year. If we develop more dynamic exam formats, it will be harder for the private providers to create and sell their products. However, this may have unwelcome side-effects, such as hindered foreseeability and less constructive alignment, which might foster a new market for other types of private services. Moreover, in my opinion, the Danish law faculties ought to adopt a strategy for producing e-learning content of a quality that can compete with the most recent developments within the shadow education industry.

For now, it suffices to remind the law students of a Roman legal principle: *Caveat emptor!*

My study is coming to a close. However, it is my humble hope that I can inspire more researchers to venture into the niche of shadow education in law. We need to collect more and better data and monitor the developments in Denmark and elsewhere. Moreover, there ought to be conducted comparative analyses, both by comparing the law education to other types of university educations, and by

comparing the Danish example to experiences in other jurisdictions. Such studies would help achieve a deeper understanding of the dynamics of shadow education in law and, indirectly, help improve legal education.