

## Responding to the Market: The Impact of the Rise of Corporate Law Firms on Elite Legal Education in India

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Corporate law firms have emerged in the past twenty years as a small but economically important and growing part of the Indian legal sector (Chapter 3 of this volume). Their growth has been driven by corporate clients who demand the legal services necessary to operate in the increasingly deregulated, privatized, and globalized Indian economy, including transactional legal services related to foreign direct investment, mergers and acquisitions, project finance, and other complex legal needs. To provide the services that their clients require to do business in a liberalized India, corporate law firms have sought lawyers with a different skill set than typical (elite) lawyers had before liberalization. While elite lawyers in India have traditionally tended to be skilled oral advocates who had established “face value” with judges that enabled them to effectively advance their clients’ positions in court (Chapter 14 of this volume on grand advocates), Indian corporate law firms have employed lawyers who can effectively conduct rigorous legal research, write clear legal documents and memos, interact with corporate clients, work on teams with other attorneys, meet deadlines, and speak and write polished English (Gingerich et al. 2014).<sup>1</sup>

To find lawyers with appropriate skills to meet client demand, law firms have generally not turned to lawyers from the practicing bar, but instead have hired newly minted law school graduates. Corporate firms offer high salaries even at the entry level, genteel work that avoids the rough and tumble of the courtroom, and the promise of relatively meritocratic recruitment and promotion. To many law students these incentives have helped make jobs at these new types of law firms more attractive than jobs available in the legal sector before liberalization. Yet, because law firms and the corporate legal sector more broadly were seeking a different type of lawyer than had

traditionally practiced in India, the existing models of legal education in the country were not well prepared to meet this new development in the market.

In this chapter we explore three impacts on legal education in India caused by the growing demand for corporate lawyers. First, we argue that the prospect of high-paying prestigious corporate work has changed who applies to law school, how these prospective students pick the law schools they attend, and how much they are willing to pay for their education. Second, dividing elite law schools in India into three categories (“national law schools,” “legacy schools,” and “private law schools”), we find that these institutions have each changed the educational experience they offer as they have adapted to an increasingly corporate-oriented legal environment. Third, we claim that inside the institutional context of elite law schools, students have emphasized and shaped parts of their legal education they believe will be appealing to corporate firms. Together these three impacts have fundamentally altered the educational experience at elite law schools in the country.

To be clear, we are not arguing that all law students at elite law schools in India want to become corporate lawyers (although many do) or that those who enter corporate law upon graduation will spend their entire career there. Students and graduates have diverse goals, and many students seek to attend schools where they have a greater possibility of being offered a corporate law job not because they aim to work in a law firm, but because they wish to have a well-respected fallback option that offers secure employment if their other goals, such as working in government, going into litigation, or starting a business, do not succeed. Additionally, many students who pursue corporate legal positions do so not because they wish to spend their entire career in this work, but because they believe that working for a large firm for a few years before heading off on a different path will provide valuable legal experience, professional connections, or credentials. The corporate legal employment market therefore functions more as a background force that shapes how all, or almost all, students experience law school rather than as an ambition that all law students at elite schools aim for.

Although there has been considerable writing on legal education in India, much of this work has been historical (Krishnan 2004; Gupta 2006; Ballakrishnen 2008; Menon 2009) or prescriptive in nature – focusing on proposed reforms to improve teacher quality, curriculum design, infrastructure, or other aspects of the legal academy (Agrawala 1973; Avasthi 2004; Schukoske 2009). This chapter is instead largely descriptive, focusing on how the rise of law firms in India has affected the educational experience at the elite tier of law

schools. It is important to emphasize that although these schools – perhaps fifteen or so – are prominent within the legal academy, they represent only a small fraction of the 1,390 law colleges recognized by the Bar Council of India as of 2013.<sup>2</sup> These other law schools produce the vast majority of lawyers in the country and deserve considerably more scholarly attention. While sixty thousand to seventy thousand law students graduate annually in India, the available entry-level corporate positions number only in the hundreds in a given year.<sup>3</sup>

Law schools in India offer either a five-year (BA/LLB) or three-year (LLB) program for the study of law. These schools are regulated by a number of bodies including the Bar Council of India, the University Grants Commission, the Law Ministry, their respective state legislatures, and the Indian Supreme Court. Law colleges or law departments that are part of a university also have to comply with the rules of the larger university. The requirements of these different bodies have sometimes led to significant regulatory rigidity. Notably, the Bar Council of India prescribes twenty-six mandatory law courses for all law graduates, limiting the flexibility schools have over the curriculum they may offer to students (Bar Council of India).<sup>4</sup> The Bar Council also limits teaching at law schools by practitioners and caps the number of students who may sit in any class to sixty, creating hurdles for both clinical teaching and a disincentive for a school to institute a mixture of larger and smaller class sizes (Bar Council of India).

In 2010 the Bar Council introduced the All India Bar Examination. The exam is meant to screen out underperforming graduates from entering the profession and so may eventually lessen the perceived need for direct Bar Council supervision of the educational experience itself, shifting the regulatory focus from the educational process to educational outcomes. Students and lawyers upset about the introduction of the bar exam have challenged the legality of the Bar Council to require it, casting doubt on its continued existence (Ganz 2012). The Bar Council has also been criticized for poor administration of the exam and a corruption scandal that has led to the arrest of Bar Council members for accepting bribes to accredit a law school (Venkatesan 2011), both of which have weakened the credibility of the Council's claims that it can act as a competent authority to regulate entry into the profession.

## II. PROSPECTIVE LAW STUDENTS

In response to the growing demand for corporate legal talent, Indian students have attempted to develop the skills and credentials that law firms want in

order to secure highly remunerative positions as associates in corporate law firms. In this section, we discuss how *prospective* law students have responded to and been impacted by the emerging demand for junior associates prepared to work in law firms.

### A. Changing Student Demographics

In the 1980s law was not regarded as a particularly prestigious profession in India. Students who could gain admission to a medical school, an Indian Institute of Technology, or an Indian Institute of Management were unlikely to enroll in a law school, even a highly regarded school like Delhi Law Faculty or Government Law College–Bombay, unless they had family connections to law (Interview 6, 2012).

When the legal jobs available to lawyers graduating from elite law schools consisted largely of positions as junior advocates that paid little or nothing, law was a highly unattractive profession for students who did not have families that could support them financially for a long period of time while they developed the skills and reputation necessary to practice by themselves (Galanter and Robinson 2016). Law school had a reputation for being a last-resort option for middle-class students who did not have the grades to get into other, more prestigious fields of study. But with high remuneration available for entry-level associates at law firms, law has become a much more alluring profession for bright students, particularly from English-speaking backgrounds (Interview 10, 2012). Additionally, the growing esteem of law as a profession, due in part to the emergence of corporate firms, has made prestige-conscious students who want to obtain jobs in fields that are highly regarded in Indian society more likely to attend law school (Interviews 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 2012).

A 2010 survey of seventy-two students from the National Law School of India University (NLSIU)–Bangalore – a school whose graduates are heavily recruited by law firms – found that almost all had been instructed in English in their secondary schooling and only 3 percent had received their twelfth standard education in a rural area (IDIA Law Survey 2010). Students were drawn from across geographic regions of India and were predominantly the children of government employees or businessmen (only 7 percent were the children of lawyers). Most students came from a middle-class or wealthy background. Forty-four percent of students reported their family incomes as between 300,000 and 1,000,000 rupees a year (\$6,000–\$20,000), 15 percent between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 rupees (\$20,000–\$30,000), 21 percent more than 1,500,000 rupees, and fewer than 3 percent less than 50,000 rupees

(\$1,000). The average annual income in India in 2010 was slightly less than 50,000 rupees. Although there are reservations at NLSIU for traditionally marginalized castes (15 percent of the class), tribal groups (7.5 percent), and persons with disabilities (3 percent), there are no reservations for Muslims. The same 2010 survey found only 1.4 percent of the class were Muslim (although Muslims make up 13.4 percent of the Indian population).

A comparison of this 2010 survey of National Law School–Bangalore students to a survey of 383 Delhi Law Faculty students in 1968–1969 is telling even if there are obvious difficulties in comparing data across two very different, if elite, institutions (the history of both of these schools will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter). Yet, some insights can still be gleaned about how the student bodies at elite law schools in India have changed over these forty years. The 1968–1969 survey found that only 38 percent of Delhi Law Faculty students were educated in English in secondary school and more than half came from Delhi, with most of the others being from a small number of states in northern India around Delhi. Tellingly, only about a third of students in the 1968–1969 study claimed they even wanted to be a lawyer, with the rest saying they were planning on taking a civil service exam, entering business, or just hoping the degree might improve their employment possibilities. Contrast this with NLSIU, where more than 90 percent of the class will generally enter a job in the legal field after graduation. Notably, while today NLSIU, and the national law schools more broadly, has near gender parity in their student body (Agrawal 2013), in 1968–1969 the Delhi Law Faculty survey found that only 6.5 percent of students were women.

Although it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from such a limited data set, these two surveys do seem to support the idea, also supported by anecdotal evidence, that students at an elite law school like National Law School–Bangalore today are more female, educated, legal career focused, and geographically diverse than their peers from an elite law school like Delhi Law Faculty would have been forty years ago. While the rise in the number of women attending law school tracks is increasing female presence across higher education in India, the prospect of being able to be employed in corporate desk jobs rather than competing as a solo practitioner in the more male-dominated and entrepreneurial litigation world is one of many factors that has likely contributed to the growing presence of women in law schools.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the students at today's national law schools are likely to come from significantly wealthier backgrounds than were their counterparts at Delhi Law Faculty forty years ago, reflecting the increased prestige and desirability of law as a profession.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 1. *Common law admission test takers by year*<sup>7</sup>

Year	CLAT takers
2008	10,773
2009	12,270
2010	16,350
2011	21,353
2012	23,881
2013	27,627

### B. *Changing Demand for Elite Schools*

As firms have begun to offer high-paying, prestigious entry-level jobs to the graduates of a handful of law schools, students interested in corporate legal work have scrambled to gain admission to one of the small number of schools from which law firms hire associates. While there are almost 1,400 law schools in India, large and medium-sized corporate law firms in the country generally hire students from an elite cluster consisting of no more than twenty-five law schools, with most of the associates hired by corporate law firms coming from a group of about a dozen schools (Gingerich et al. 2014). Students are aware of which law schools corporate firms are likely to hire from and work to get into this small group that feeds into firms.

The Common Law Admission Test (CLAT) was implemented by the national law schools in India beginning in 2008 as a common admissions test for students seeking to attend a national law school, and it is now used as an admissions test by almost all national law schools. Since 2008 the number of CLAT test takers has dramatically increased.

To some extent, the growing number of CLAT takers reflects that the test is now needed for admission to a larger number of schools than in 2008 as new national law schools have opened, but it also likely reflects a growing student demand for positions in the law programs at the small number of national law schools that dominate hiring by law firms. Additionally, prospective law students from wealthy and middle-class families have recently shown a willingness to pay considerable fees for CLAT coaching, which many companies now offer, to help improve their scores on the CLAT (and get into higher-ranked law schools). In a 2010 survey of NLSIU students, more than 80 percent of students stated that they had paid for formal CLAT coaching to prepare for the exam (IDIA Law Survey 2010).

TABLE 2. *India Today's rankings for the past five years for select schools*

Law school/year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
NLSIU–Bangalore	1	1	2	1	2
NALSAR–Hyderabad	2	2	1	3	1
Campus Law Centre, Delhi University	3	4	4	2	3
NLIU–Bhopal	4	3	3	5	5
Symbiosis–Pune	6	5	5	4	7
NUJS–Calcutta	8	6	6	7	4
ILS–Pune	5	7	7	10	9
NLU–Jodhpur	7	8	10	6	8
Gujarat National Law University	–	9	12	9	6
Amity Law School–Delhi	9	10	9	12	12
Government Law College–Mumbai	10	–	16	11	14

In the past decade a market for law school rankings has also developed as aspiring students attempt to pick schools in what has increasingly become a national, and hierarchical, legal education market. Since 2003, India Today has published rankings of Indian law schools. *Outlook* began publishing rankings in 2009, as did Mint. The Week published rankings in 2010 and 2011. Law schools that routinely place their graduates into jobs in corporate law firms have dominated the top ten spots on these lists. While the rankings have not been uncontroversial, with questions raised over their methodology and accusations of school administrators unduly influencing the ranking process (Ganz 2010), there continues to be demand for rankings to help prospective students decide where to go to school, in part by indicating which schools are likely to help them secure the jobs that they desire.

### C. Greater Willingness to Pay for Law School

Prospective law students and their families have also shown a greater willingness to pay larger amounts in fees to attend a law school that they believe will provide them with a good chance at securing a job as an associate in a law firm. To some extent, growing law school fees predated the emergence of the corporate legal sector in India, with NLSIU charging higher tuition than other public law schools beginning in the late 1980s (Interview 12, 2012). While tuition and other fees at the Delhi University LLB program remains at about 5,500 rupees (\$89) per year and has changed little for years, tuition at elite national law schools and private law schools is now many times higher than

TABLE 3. *Annual fees by law school for undergraduate Indian students admitted in the general category to a five-year BA/LLB program entering in 2013*

Law school	Total fees in Indian rupees per year <sup>*</sup>	Total fees in US dollars per year <sup>**</sup>
Delhi Law Faculty	5,500	\$89
GLC–Bombay	5,520	\$89
Amity, –Delhi	66,200	\$1,068
GNLU	101,000	\$1,629
NLU–Delhi	110,500	\$1,782
NALSAR	115,000	\$1,855
NLSIU	119,000	\$1,919
NLU–Jodhpur	135,100	\$2,179
NUJS	140,000	\$2,258
NLIU–Bhopal	142,500	\$2,294
Symbiosis Law School–Pune	146,000	\$2,354
Jindal Global Law School	525,000	\$8,468

\* Indian rupees per year, excluding hostel and mess fees, refundable deposits, and onetime fee. \*\*Exchange rate of rupees 62:\$1

the tuition that elite law schools charged before the rise of corporate firms. While student loans remain uncommon, some law schools now offer to help secure student loans for their students.

With the possibility of much higher starting salaries than they could have earned working as juniors to senior advocates or in the government, prospective law students (and their parents) are willing to pay more to attend law schools that they believe will give them a better chance at securing remunerative legal jobs. While litigating advocates are sometimes able to run very lucrative practices later in their careers (Chapter 14 of this volume), the payoff from working in law firms comes much sooner and is more certain than the financial payoff from working in litigation, making a substantial investment in law school tuition a less risky calculation.

### III. INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Although law firms and corporate counsel have been significant beneficiaries of reform and changes in the law school model in India, they have generally been only an indirect instigator. The corporate sector has provided funding to some schools, but this has generally been limited and corporations have rarely become directly involved in reforms in the regulation of legal education or the

direction of particular schools. Instead, changes in the model of legal education have been initiated more often by reformers within the academy, government, and bar council–led initiatives, and the demands of students looking for a legal education that will best situate them for high-prestige postgraduation opportunities. The impact of the corporate sector on elite legal education in India has become increasingly apparent as more and more graduates enter law firms and the administration and faculty of law schools navigate how they wish to situate themselves and their students in relation to this lucrative section of the legal market.

We examine the impact of the rising corporate legal sector through the prism of three elite law schools, each representing different types of legal education available in India today. We begin with National Law School of India University (NLSIU)–Bangalore, the first of the national law schools. It is considered by many to be the top law school in the country, while several other national law schools are also seen in this highest tier. Out of all the law schools in India, these schools send the largest percentage of their graduates into the corporate law firm sector. We then look in detail at Delhi Law Faculty as an example of a legacy school, one of several law departments in historically prestigious universities, such as Government Law College–Bombay, ILS–Pune, and Aligarh Muslim University Department of Law. These academic institutions have storied traditions and continue to produce sought-after graduates despite often facing significant institutional rigidity and financial constraints, as well as new competitors like the national law schools. Finally, we turn to Jindal Global Law School as one of the latest and most prominent examples of a privately funded law school, joining others in this more recent private law school movement, including institutions like Symbiosis Law School, Amity Law School, and the School of Law at Christ University. The impact of these relatively new private players is yet to be fully seen, but they have already made their presence known in the elite tier of Indian law schools, and their institutional goals clearly include producing graduates for the corporate legal world.

#### A. *National Law School of India University–Bangalore and the Rise of the National Law Schools*

The National Law School of India University (NLSIU)–Bangalore is today widely recognized as the most prestigious law school in India. It is frequently ranked as the number one law school in the country; in its twenty graduating classes, it has produced twenty-four Rhodes scholars as of 2013; and its students are much sought after by law firms both domestically and abroad (E-mail from

Rhodes Committee in India, 2013). In 2012 the BA/LLB class had sixty-five graduates out of which forty-six went to law firms or major corporations (most of the others went into the civil service, studied abroad, or became litigators) (Gingerich et al. 2014). Yet, when NLSIU opened its doors to its first class in 1987, providing highly skilled graduates for the corporate legal sector was not the goal, nor did it even seem a significant possibility.

By the 1980s the low quality of legal education in India was a common lament. A large number of law schools had been founded in the decades after independence, helping increase access to the profession, but standards had suffered in the resulting explosion of law school students. Given this environment, the Bar Council of India convinced Madhava Menon (then a professor at Delhi Law Faculty) to found a “model” law school, which was envisioned as a “Harvard of the East” (Menon 2009, 40). Helping pioneer a newly minted five-year model of legal education, the National Law School recruited its relatively small class directly out of high school from across the country on the basis of a competitive exam and provided them a multidisciplinary education. Following the success of the specialized Indian Institutes of Technology for engineering and Indian Institutes of Management for business, the National Law School was to provide a similar high-quality education in law to a select and relatively small group of students.

The learning environment at NLSIU was a departure from traditional Indian law schools in more ways than its five-year model, multidisciplinary, or consciously all-Indian student body. In each class students were required to write a lengthy research paper, as well as pass a final. Oral presentations by the students were incorporated into student assessments. All this was a departure from classes in other law schools where lectures, rote memorization, and only a final at the end of the term were the norm. The school also broke new ground by requiring students to undertake internships during their breaks where they were exposed to litigators, judges, nongovernmental organizations, government offices, law firms, and companies.

This unique learning environment explains much of the school’s early success. Students were not only introduced to many different learning contexts, but the internship program showcased the students to potential employers, particularly in the suddenly booming law firm sector of the early 1990s (Interview 12, 2012). More early accolades and publicity were brought to the school and its graduates when a group of NLS students won the Philip C. Jessup moot in 1999, a major international mooted competition.

To pay for this new type of education, the school raised its fees in its early days from 2,500 rupees a year to 25,000 rupees – a tuition increase that seemed monumental at the time compared to that of other public law schools, yet

was largely accepted by parents of the students as a cost for increased quality (Menon 2009, 51). Today, tuition is about 80,000 rupees a year with total costs (including living expenses), coming to 159,000 rupees a year (or about \$2,565).<sup>9</sup> Importantly, the school received a large early grant from the Ford Foundation that allowed it to move from a cramped facility in the city of Bangalore to an eighteen-acre campus just on the edge of town in 1990 (Krishnan 2004, 492).

Although NLSIU was envisioned to be an elite law school, since its founding there has always been debate about what it should be elite at, leaving the school in seemingly perpetual uncertainty over its identity. The Bar Council had been primarily interested in creating NLSIU to increase the quality of lawyers becoming litigators and judges (the traditional career path of the overwhelming number of active lawyers in India) (Interviews 10 and 12, 2012). However, NLSIU's graduates soon began flocking to the law firm and corporate sector of the newly liberalized India, leading many in the legal profession, and even some of the school's professors, to lament that the school was not fulfilling its mission even as it gained international fame.

The school's unease with its relationship to the law firm sector is perhaps best typified by how law firm recruitment occurs. When firms first wanted to recruit on campus in the 1990s, they were refused space by the administration, who pointed to the bar's mandate for NLSIU of producing litigators, not corporate lawyers (Interview 12, 2012). The students instead organized recruitment themselves off campus, a tradition that continues today and is explained in detail in the next chapter of this volume (Gingerich et al. 2014).

An early professor at the school who supported firm recruitment and has since gone on to be a vice chancellor at another national law school expressed his frustration over the Indian bar's (and some faculty's) insistence that NLSIU and the other national law schools produce only litigators: "Whenever I go anywhere, I get this comment about the national law schools not producing litigators. . . . I don't understand why students have to go into litigation. Don't most top litigators appear for corporations? So why not work at a firm? This is hypocrisy. . . . [W]hy should any of the students join the bar? Is there any system in place by the government or the bar to hire these students?" (Interview 10, 2012).

Meanwhile, many of the founders of the school had envisioned a broader mission than preparing either litigators or lawyers for law firms – instead, wanting to use new teaching methods to create more well-rounded graduates. As one of the founders of NLSIU explained, "We didn't want to just produce litigating lawyers. We wanted to prepare a person to engage in policy or governance. We taught social science subjects – political science, sociology, history, economics, and psychology. . . . It was an exciting period. Something

novel was attempted. We did cooperative teaching, where you would have an economics and a contracts teacher in the same classroom together. The idea was to combine theory and practice. This was not comparable to the case method or the Socratic method. It was something different” (Interview 12, 2012).

As the prestige of NLSIU rose, it led to replication. Six years after NLSIU’s first class graduated, the National Academy of Legal Studies and Research (NALSAR) in Hyderabad and the National Law Institute University (NLIU) in Bhopal opened in 1998. The National University of Juridical Sciences (NUJS) in Calcutta was founded the following year. Today there are seventeen so-called national law schools, with one now planned for each state. Although their quality varies, and there is some structural variation, they are all founded on a similar model to the original National Law School of India University in Bangalore.

Almost all of these national law schools use the same entrance exam, the Common Law Admission Test (CLAT).<sup>10</sup> In 2013 there were 27,627 CLAT takers. Out of the fifty-nine highest scorers in the general (for example, unreserved) category, fifty-five chose to go to NLSIU (meaning the school’s acceptance rate was about 0.21 percent). NALSAR was the next most-sought-after school by students followed by NUJS, NLIU–Bhopal, and NLU–Jodhpur (Common Law Admission Test Revised Provisional Allotment List-1 for Under-Graduate Programme, 2013).

These schools attract many students lured by the prospect of high law firm salaries upon graduation. As one of the former vice chancellors of a top national law school said, “The national law schools are very firm oriented.” As he explained, the faculty and students often push for “marketability” in the education offered (Interview 5, 2012). In 2012, NLSIU, NALSAR, NUJS, and NLU–Jodhpur each placed over half their class in corporate positions upon graduation, with graduating class sizes ranging from sixty-five to one hundred (Gingerich et al. 2014).

As time has gone on, NLSIU has arguably become more welcoming of the corporate sector that courts many of its graduates. Unlike many other law schools, NLSIU’s curriculum requires students to take *two* corporate law classes, as well as classes in international trade law, intellectual property, banking law, and insurance law. Of the fifteen endowed faculty positions at NLSIU, two law firms have endowed chairs – Allen & Overy (a large British law firm) has a chair in international financial law, while Singhania & Company (an Indian law firm) has endowed a chair in alternative dispute resolution. A major Indian company, Reliance, has endowed a chair in corporate law and governance, while Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, a major state-owned defense

company, has a chair in business law, as does ICICI Bank.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, the law school's library, the most modern and impressive of the buildings on the school's well-equipped but understated campus, was made possible by a donation from the chairperson of Infosys, who named the building after her father (NLSIU, 2013).

NLSIU offers twenty-five slots each year in its two-year LLM program for business law (and offers an additional twenty-five slots in an LLM that specializes in human rights law). NLSIU's correspondence classes have multiplied in number over the years. Although hardly visible as a presence on campus, perhaps the largest revenue-raising operation for NLSIU is its master of business law. The master's (which does not qualify one to practice law) requires ten courses over two years, with an examination twice a year in Bangalore.<sup>12</sup> Students are often midcareer public service employees looking to add further credentials, commerce majors, or practicing lawyers wanting to fine-tune their skills (Interview 13, 2012).

At national law schools today, prestigious law firms support moot courts or send partners to teach compressed classes, while companies send representatives to lecture in areas of business law (Interview 5, 2012). Perhaps most importantly, alumni from national law schools who are now in the corporate legal sector communicate with current students about how to best position themselves for recruitment, adding to an overall firm-oriented culture at the schools.

Despite their obvious strengths, NLSIU and other national law schools have struggled to recruit and retain top law faculty. Not only are there a limited number of talented law school professors available in India, the schools are often very hierarchically organized, avenues of promotion can be unclear, and the schools are often overwhelmingly controlled by the vice chancellor, leading to sometimes dramatic unpredictability with the arrival of new leadership. Despite many of NLSIU's students going off to do further study abroad, in 2013 out of forty-two listed law faculty on the school's website, only two had pursued some type of higher-education degree abroad (while ten indicated some type of fellowship experience abroad).

### B. *Delhi Law Faculty and the Legacy Schools*

The Delhi Law Faculty has long occupied a privileged place in the history of Indian legal education. Founded in 1924, as part of Delhi University (one of the marquee institutions in Indian higher education), the school has produced a disproportionate share of prominent litigators and judges, from the district courts to the Supreme Court (University of Delhi 2015). Its alumni include law

ministers, solicitor generals, members of parliament, and chief ministers, as well as several prominent law firm partners. Many of the country's best-known legal academics have taught or been educated at Delhi Law Faculty. Today, it is consistently ranked among the top five Indian law schools in the country.

Yet Delhi Law Faculty's structure and the education it offers is markedly different than a school like NLSIU and, partly as a result, law firms rarely actively recruit out of its graduating class in any structured manner. While five-year BA/LLB degrees have come to dominate elite legal education in India, Delhi Law Faculty offers only a three-year LLB degree that students apply to after completing a degree from another college and taking the school's entrance exam (13,400 students took the exam in 2013 to fill about 2,400 seats).<sup>13</sup> The Delhi Law Faculty is actually comprised of three schools, each with its own faculty – the Campus Law Centre, Law Centre I, and Law Centre II. The Campus Law Centre, situated in North Delhi, holds its classes in the morning, is considered the most prestigious of the three, and has about eight hundred students in each class. Law Centre I, which is adjacent to the Campus Law Centre, offers afternoon and evening classes with a class size of about one thousand, while Law Centre II offers only evening classes (often catering to those who have full-time jobs) and is located on a South Delhi campus, with a class of about six hundred students a year.

The administration likes to make a point of the school's low costs, which are subsidized by the government (with tuition and fees at 5,500 rupees, about \$90, a year), and inclusiveness. As the dean of the Faculty of Law states in a prospectus to potential students: "The normal strength of a national law school is at best six hundred students compared to over seven thousand students we have. We do it consciously to cater to the large masses and deprived sections. I am confident that about 30 percent of our students outclass the best in comparison to national law schools with just about one-tenth of budget allocations and fee" (Delhi Bulletin 2013, 2).

If inclusiveness has been a strength of the institution, it has also been a challenge. Some students at Delhi Law Faculty are graduates of prestigious Indian colleges like St. Stephens or Lady Shri Ram, while others come from more peripheral schools and frequently have difficulty communicating fluently in written and even spoken English. This diversity has added to the intellectual and political ethos of the campus (where political rallies and campaigns are a common sight compared to the generally more apolitical environment of the national law schools). While the school may be alive with debates over identity and social upliftment, the academic environment at the school does not always provide the academic support that students need, particularly those from less privileged backgrounds. Writing and research is rarely stressed in

classes, meaning there are few opportunities to improve these skills. The syllabus for classes is identically set across the law centers by a joint meeting of the faculty, and the faculty similarly standardizes exams and their grading. While this process is undertaken in part to increase perceived fairness, as a result faculty have less room to innovate in their curriculum to meet the different needs of their class, as well as tailor courses to their own interests or specialties. Hiring of new faculty can be a drawn-out process, meaning the school often misses out on recruiting desirable law professors. Nor has the faculty had that much exposure to foreign educational or professional models. In 2013, out of fifty-three listed law faculty on the school's website, only four had pursued some type of higher-education degree abroad (although sixteen did indicate having undertaken some type of foreign fellowship abroad).

Given Delhi Law Faculty's extensive alumni network and location in the capital, the school is still seen as a gateway to a successful litigation career and has become a powerhouse in producing students who take the judicial exam to become lower court judges across the country. However, it has fared less well positioning itself in the law firm market. Courses involving corporate law are mostly optional, reflecting the school's focus on litigation (Interviews 2 and 5, 2012).<sup>14</sup> As one professor at Delhi Law Faculty described the challenges of the recruitment process: "The law firms never really touch us. They categorize us as a grade C law school. I used to get into arguments with them. Luthra [a managing partner at a top firm] is one of us. Sagar [the same] is an alumnus. I said, 'You are all from here. Why don't you recruit?' I think it's because they think our students are not good enough in researching and writing. I told them you need street smarts" (Interview 2, 2012).

Following the experience of NLSIU and other schools, during the last decade outside internships have become an accepted norm at Delhi Law Faculty. This change has occurred despite the Delhi Law Faculty's calendar not incentivizing internships as the school's break is during the court's break, meaning many students who want to intern with a judge or litigator must do so during classes.

Despite today having a reputation for institutional rigidity, Delhi Law Faculty's history is one of being a leading innovator in legal education. In 1966, Dean P. K. Tripathi transitioned the school from a two-year LLB to a three-year model, which was soon replicated widely. Faculty from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Michigan law schools frequently came to Delhi to share ideas and pedagogy throughout the 1960s and 1970s, producing an exciting period of collaboration and exchange (Krishnan 2004; Menon 2009, 34).<sup>15</sup> The development of the Socratic method, as opposed to pure lecturing, was pioneered in India at Delhi Law Faculty, and a number of professors were involved in

developing cases and materials for teaching law that are still used widely to this day (Menon 2009, 28).

Notwithstanding its inability to vigorously compete in the law firm recruitment market, Delhi Law Faculty has maintained its prestige far better than other schools that were once considered highly respected, like University of Calcutta or University of Madras, but are no longer regularly spoken of as in the top rung of Indian law schools at the national level. Some other legacy schools have also continued to maintain their reputations. Government Law College in Mumbai (founded in 1855), Aligarh Muslim University Department of Law (1891), and ILS Law College in Pune (1924) are all considered top Indian law schools, albeit each with distinct models of education. Government Law College, for example, has classes early in the morning so that students may spend most of their day in externships at law firms, litigation offices, and other employment venues around Mumbai, where much of their legal education occurs. However, like at Delhi Law Faculty there are laments at each of these legacy schools about antiquated instruction, the rigidity of having tests that are graded centrally, inadequate language and writing preparation, and poor infrastructure. At ILS–Pune, to bypass some of this institutional rigidity, diploma classes are now offered on campus in corporate law, medical jurisprudence, cyberlaw, and human rights, since it has proven too difficult to revise the universitywide curriculum to include these subjects (Interview 7, 2012). Importantly, these legacy schools also pride themselves on, and try to distinguish themselves from the national law schools by, their graduates' robust contribution to the litigating bar and bench and the arguably broader social and economic diversity of India represented in their student bodies.

### *C. Jindal Global Law School and the Private Law School Movement*

O.P. Jindal Global University rises out of the agricultural fields north of Delhi like a sleek office complex. An Indian flag on one of the largest flagpoles in Asia towers over its sixty-acre campus. Opening its doors in 2009, Jindal Global Law School (JGLS) was the first of four professional schools created as part of O.P. Jindal Global University (a business school opened the next year, an international affairs school the year after, and a public policy school the subsequent year, while a school of liberal arts and humanities is slated to open in 2014). Naveen Jindal, who is chairman and owner of one of the largest steel companies in India, has so far given at least \$60 million to the university, which is named after his late father (and sits in the constituency for which Naveen Jindal is a member of parliament) (Indian Express, 2009). Jindal also

presides as the chancellor of the university, which is a nonprofit educational institution unaffiliated with his company.

The university is the product of the entrepreneurial efforts of C. Raj Kumar, a former Rhodes scholar and Delhi Law Faculty graduate who returned to India to found the university after teaching law at the University of Hong Kong. As the name suggests JGLS has emphasized its global orientation from the beginning, with an international board of advisors, available online, that includes faculty from prominent law schools in the United States and United Kingdom. JGLS's own faculty, as represented on its website, is very much a creation of many of these same foreign education institutions. In 2013, out of sixty listed law faculty on the school's website, thirteen had received all of their higher education abroad (and many were foreign citizens) and thirty-nine had pursued some type of higher-education degree abroad (usually a master's or doctorate), while just eight had received all of their higher education in India (Jindal Global Law School). The law school consciously envisions its faculty as knowledge producers with clear expectations that they should publish and contribute to public debate.

Since its founding, the law school has undertaken numerous joint efforts with foreign universities. For example, it created a joint Centre on Global Corporate and Financial Law and Policy with the University of Michigan Law School. It also offers a double degree with the University of Arizona Law School where students can gain both an Indian LLB and an American JD in one year less than it would take to do them separately. An Oxford-Jindal summer school program has been created at Oxford for JGLS students. In its short history, JGLS has also held several joint conferences with visiting faculty, who have taught at well-known law schools in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia (Jindal Global Law School).

The school uses a specially designed Indian LSAT for admissions, although it also allows CLAT scores to be used as a substitute. Its first class in the BA/LLB program was about ninety students. By 2013 its incoming class size was about three hundred. The school also offers a three-year LLB program that attracts about fifteen to twenty-five students a year.

To support this globally oriented education, students pay the highest fee of any Indian law school. Tuition in 2013 was 525,000 rupees and accommodation an additional 125,000 rupees (or about \$10,500 a year total). The Jindal family provides scholarships to several students each year, while the law firm Khaitan pays for one scholarship. The school also has tie-ups with a number of banks to provide loans to students to attend, but many potential students, even from a middle-class background, still find these fees prohibitive, limiting the school's applicant pool.

JGLS has been aggressive in promoting internships and postgraduate employment opportunities for students, creating an active Career Development and Placement Division. The school has an agreement with the international law firm White & Case for a set number of students to intern with them and to pursue joint conferences and continuing legal education programs together (White & Case 2011). It also has a Memorandum of Understanding with a host of leading Indian law firms to facilitate internships while students are at JGLS (Jindal Global Law School). The first BA/LLB class has yet to graduate, and it will likely take a number of years after this first class to see how the law firm market responds to JGLS's graduates, but the school is clearly positioning itself as a conduit into these high-end jobs.

JGLS is not alone in carving out this niche but is instead part of a larger movement toward elite private law schools that has witnessed a noteworthy rise in the last fifteen years. Symbiosis Law School was founded in 1977 as part of the University of Pune and then broke off in 2002 to become a private law school to gain more control over its curriculum and become more internationally focus (it opened a second campus outside of Delhi in 2010) (Interview 8, 2012). Amity Law School in Delhi was founded in 1999, while the School of Law at Christ University in Bangalore opened in 2006. While JGLS is the best funded, each of these other schools also positions itself as an institution with a global outlook that is producing graduates capable of meeting the demands of the corporate legal sector. These new private law schools claim to be more flexible and innovative than schools affiliated with the government, as well as being more in tune with India's liberalized and more open economy.

However, private law schools like JGLS must also submit to considerable regulatory oversight. For instance, in order to be established as a new university and law school, JGLS not only needed to secure regulatory approval from the Bar Council of India and the University Grants Commission but also required approval by an act of the Haryana Legislative Assembly passed in accordance with the Haryana Private Universities Act, 2006.<sup>16</sup> Private universities seeking approval under the Haryana Private Universities Act, 2006 must submit to significant regulatory oversight and satisfy a wide range of requirements, including setting aside a large percentage of seats for admission for students from Haryana (Haryana Private Universities Act, 2006 § 35). This act also requires that significant decisions about academic policy made by private universities' governing bodies must be submitted to the Haryana state government for approval and requires that the governor of Haryana serve as the "visitor" of private universities established under the act, giving the governor a wide range of discretionary oversight powers (Haryana Private Universities Act, 2006 §§ 15, 33). While private law schools seek to be more flexible than public

schools, they must navigate a complex regulatory environment in which they often face struggles to maintain their autonomy.

Although they attempt to offer a globally competitive education, private law schools have often had difficulty recruiting some of the best-known faculty in the country. As one well-respected former vice chancellor said, “There is still a lot of suspicion among faculty about private universities in India” (Interview 5, 2012). Similarly, many prospective students and their parents are wary of private law schools in a country where the majority of prestigious institutions of higher education are government affiliated and there are a large number of disreputable private institutions of higher learning. For faculty there also may be concern that there is less job security in private institutions than at public universities, where it is exceedingly difficult to be removed once one becomes permanent faculty. JGLS’s connection with Jindal Steel has also complicated its image, as the steel company has been involved in controversial mining operations in the eastern part of the country that have led to conflicts with local community members.

### III. LAW STUDENTS AT LAW SCHOOL

For students the quest for a good job with a corporate law firm does not end with matriculation at the right type of law school. Outside of the three or four of the most prestigious national law schools, only some of the students of the class of an elite law school who want to will secure a “desk job” with a law firm or an in-house counsel’s office upon graduation (Gingerich et al. 2014). Even at a school like NLSIU, where almost all students who want a job with a law firm or corporate employer will be able to secure one, only some students will be able to secure jobs as associates with the largest, most prestigious, and highest-paying law firms (Gingerich et al. 2014). Unlike the legal market in the United States, where large law firms typically offer identical entry-level salaries, in India the best-paying entry-level jobs with law firms pay in the neighborhood of 100,000 rupees (\$1,610) per month, but jobs with second- or third-tier firms pay as little as 25,000 rupees (\$403) per month (Interview 10, 2012). Furthermore, in recent years, several London-based “Magic Circle” law firms have hired an extremely small number of Indian law students (typically one or two per firm per year) for jobs as trainee attorneys in London that pay internationally competitive salaries and offer the prestige of association with a large international law firm (Gingerich et al. 2014).

Because students attracted to the legal work, employment environment, prestige, and salary of law firm jobs are often drawn to the most prestigious and best-paying jobs, and because many students want to recoup the costs of law

school with the most lucrative job they can secure, students understand that the race to secure a spot at an excellent law firm is not over once they get to law school. Students interested in corporate legal employment therefore work during their time in law school to position themselves as attractive recruits for law firms.

Although grades are an important factor in firms' recruitment decisions, they are often not the decisive – or even the most important – factor when firms decide whom to hire as junior associates. For many firms, when selecting among the students at any given law school, students' work experience, extracurricular activities, interpersonal skills, and academic achievements not represented in grades are more significant than class rank (Interview 8, 2012). Aware of the factors that matter to firms in making recruitment decisions, law students have attempted to signal their suitability for a firm by building résumés that demonstrate writing, communication, and legal research skills; some expertise in areas of law practiced by corporate law firms; and an interest in corporate legal work. They do this along such set patterns that as a result students from prestigious law schools seeking jobs in law firms often have nearly identical CVs (Interview 3, 2012). In this section, we discuss several of the ways in which the law school learning experience has changed as law students have responded to the demand for junior associates.

### *A. Course Selection and Effort*

While the curriculum in Indian law schools is highly regulated by the Bar Council of India, how students who aspire to positions with corporate law firms experience the curriculum in action has changed significantly in the past twenty years. First, within the regulatory constraints imposed by the mandatory curriculum, students who aspire to work for corporate law firms have gravitated toward electives that they think are likely to prove attractive to recruiters from law firms and have pushed their law schools to offer more such electives. The head of an elite law school articulates a representative view when he reports that when students have an opportunity to choose electives, “eighty percent will take Mergers and Acquisitions over International Humanitarian Law,” because students and their parents think that completing course work on corporate subjects will make it easier to secure placement into a corporate desk job (Interview 6, 2012).

Aside from choosing electives that seem more likely to draw the attention of law firms, students also make strategic decisions about how to allocate time and effort among their electives and compulsory courses. Students at elite national and private law schools face many academic and extracurricular

demands on their time. For instance, at many national law schools, students are required to take five or six courses per semester and to write a five-thousand- or six-thousand-word research paper for each course in addition to taking exams (Gingerich and Singh 2010, 12–15). On top of this, students complete internships, compete in moot courts, run academic journals and conferences, play sports, and have social lives. When students have to make trade-offs between commitments, students will often decide to put less effort into courses that they think are less important to potential law firm employers, like Family Law, and more effort into classes like Company Law or Taxation in the hope that good results in classes about areas of law that corporate law firms practice will help them to land jobs or internships (Interview 14, 2012).

When students face pressure to develop CVs that look as impressive as all of the other CVs that firms receive and also maintain very good grades, law students may resort to plagiarism, which is widespread in many top Indian law schools. Students surveyed at several national law schools claimed they made strategic decisions to plagiarize papers for some of their classes, particularly for classes in which they believed the teacher was unlikely to read their paper anyway or for classes where they thought the teacher had a poor grasp of the law (Gingerich and Singh 2010).

When students think that their law school does not offer adequate course work to prepare them for a job as an associate in a corporate law firm, they will sometimes seek training and credentials from outside of their law school. For instance, of the students at ILS-Pune seeking placements with firms in the 2012–2013 placement season, the three students with the highest grades all listed “specialized courses” that they had taken outside of ILS-Pune on their CVs. Two of the three had taken courses to be certified as company secretaries; two had completed nondegree courses for certificates offered by the Asian School of Cyber Laws-Pune, a school that offers nondegree law courses on topics like mergers and acquisitions, corporate finance, and cyberlaw; and one had completed a diploma course at Symbiosis Law School-Pune (ILS Law College Pune Placements Booklet, 2013).

### B. *Extracurricular*

Students who aspire to desk jobs in law firms want to get good grades in law school, but they also believe that their grades poorly reflect their potential as lawyers in firms and understand that firms do not decide whom to hire exclusively on that basis (Gingerich and Singh 2010). Part of how students attempt to signal to law firms that they have skills that would make them successful in corporate practice is by participating in extracurricular activities, like moot

courts, journals, and conferences. Moot court competitions are particularly popular among students in India, where doing legal research, writing, and speaking provides an opportunity to gain more realistic legal experience than is provided by courses. Additionally, success at mooting provides a basis for potential employers to evaluate a law student's talent relative to students from other law schools (and, in the case of international moots, like the William C. Vis International Commercial Arbitration Moot and the Phillip C. Jessup International Law Moot, students from other countries). Such opportunities may be especially important for students from less well known law schools who hope to break into corporate legal practice.

Additionally, many students seeking to enter firms participate in extracurricular activities that provide an opportunity to develop their legal writing skills and demonstrate these skills to potential employers. While many law students are required to complete written assignments for their courses, these assignments often require students to only state legal standards rather than engage in legal analysis (Gingerich and Singh 2010). To show that they have more sophisticated legal writing and research skills, many students attempt to publish articles in academic journals or at least to present papers at academic conferences. Students interested in corporate legal work may be particularly likely to publish and present papers on topics of potential interest to employers, like finance or taxation, to demonstrate either an interest in the subject matter or some level of expertise (ILS Law College Pune Placements Booklet, 2013).

### *C. Internships and Externships*

Students who want to work for corporate law firms after they graduate frequently try to secure placements as interns or externs (lasting from one or two weeks to several months) with law firms, but also with banks, public-sector undertakings, legal nonprofits, international organizations, practicing advocates, judges, and large private corporations. As employers have moved toward making permanent job offers to interns, rather than running wholly independent hiring processes for interns and associates, it has become more and more attractive for law students to secure positions as interns during their time in law school (Gingerich et al. 2014). However, law students seek out internships not just as a promising path to permanent jobs but also to get experience that will better position them to get a good entry-level job, signal to employers their interest in corporate legal practice, and expand professional networks that may help them secure jobs (or clients) in the future. As a result of students' desires for internships, students are likely to spend more time away from their law school than in the past, leaving to take up short-term positions in different

parts of the country during every break between terms. Some law schools not only encourage but mandate internships during breaks. Notably, they generally require students to intern with nonprofits, judges, and government offices during the students' first years in law school, while during their later years, closer to hiring decisions for employment, they are mandated to intern at law firms and corporate offices.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The influence of corporate firms on the education of lawyers, of course, does not end with graduation from law school. Law firms arrange significant further training for their own lawyers, usually in house. While the Bar Council has no continuing legal education requirement, lawyers themselves are often interested in pursuing further professional development. Since the beginning of the 2000s some students have pursued clerkships with supreme court or high court judges after graduation for further training. Although these clerkship opportunities have multiplied in recent years, they are not seen as a gateway into a law firm job and instead are pursued more often by students trying to build their résumé for a LLM program abroad or those particularly interested in the judicial process (Chandrachud 2014).

Postgraduate training programs for lawyers have also multiplied. Law schools such as NLSIU, NALSAR–Hyderabad, and JGLS offer legal education or executive education courses for a fee. Companies like Rainmaker provide supplementary or continuing online legal education in subjects like drafting, reviewing commercial contracts, and mergers and acquisitions. These programs are in their early stages and, although often well subscribed among law students, are not yet widely popular among those actively engaged in work at corporate law firms.

Many recent graduates of elite law schools decide to pursue a LLM abroad, often after working at a law firm for a few years before. International LLMs, particularly those from top schools in the United States or United Kingdom, had traditionally been seen as a positive market signal and a way to secure a job at a leading domestic law firm. With the rise of national law schools and other screening devices, an international LLM has become a less important signal for the domestic market, although it can still act as a useful stepping-stone for those interested in jobs at international law firms, other opportunities abroad, or as a way to transition to other types of work within India (such as policy making, a position with a different type of corporate employer, or employment at an international NGO). Students who received an education at an elite law school rarely pursue LLM degrees offered within India at these same

top law schools. Instead, those who graduated from less elite schools more often pursue these degrees to gain further training and as a prestige marker. Graduates of these domestic LLM programs tend not to go to elite corporate law firms in India, but often an assortment of other corporate jobs, including at banks, public corporations, and smaller, more traditional law firms. However, Indian LLMs may become more appealing to Indian law students in the years to come as the Bar Council has allowed schools to offer the degree through a one-year program, rather than two years, as of 2013.

The rise of corporate law firms in India has clearly shifted the landscape of elite legal education. This shift has engendered debate over what the future of Indian legal education at elite law schools should look like. On the one hand, practitioners at corporate law firms and some faculty lament that legal education, even at the most reputed schools, still does not adequately prepare law school graduates with the legal skills they need for corporate work (Interview 8, 2012). They call for deeper partnerships between law schools and the corporate world and for faculty to be more responsive to the needs of corporate employers. On the other hand, some faculty and administrators express reservations that students and law schools had become too fixated on the priorities of corporate firms rather than trying to create more well-rounded or public-minded law graduates. They fear that a single-minded focus on corporate employment would limit the avenues graduates would or could explore later in their lives and have a larger negative impact on society overall. Still others are concerned that law schools are simply unclear about their core values. Charismatic leaders may come to head a school and leave their imprint, but these critics fear that many elite Indian law schools lack a long-standing institutional mission. As a result, their actions in relation to the new market created by corporate law firms are not based on values, but are often reactive and ad hoc (Interview 5, 2012). Some blame the perceived instability of these school's missions in part on limited alumni involvement in shaping and guarding their institutional goals.

The rise of domestic law firms has certainly not been the only driver of change in elite legal education in India in the past twenty-five years. The legal employment market has seen other notable shifts that have provided new opportunities to graduates and in the process impacted who enters law school and the education they receive there. For example, law graduates may now take the judicial service exam to become a judge in the subordinate judiciary immediately upon graduation (previously, one had to practice for several years before taking the exam). Starting in the 2000s students at top and mid-tier law schools have been actively recruited by an expanding legal process outsourcing (LPO) sector that services mostly corporate and law firm clients based in

the United States and United Kingdom. Although still a small sliver of the market, there are now more entry-level positions at public-interest-oriented organizations and human rights and environmental government agencies as these institutions have both multiplied and formalized employment opportunities. Even the famously traditional litigation world has seen shifts, such as the creation of new specialized tribunals, which have created new markets for litigators, more women entering litigation, and broader structural changes that have helped lower barriers to entry to litigation (see Chapter 14 of this volume). Importantly, with the rise in the prestige of the BA/LLB model, some students use their time at law school to receive a more general education that teaches critical thinking skills and then immediately or shortly after graduation choose nonlegal career paths. This route, although still considered untraditional, may gain more adherents in the future given the paucity of quality liberal arts programs in the country.

Beyond these broader shifts in the employment market for law graduates that have affected legal education, there have been important reforms in pedagogy and to specific institutions of legal education by the government, law school administrators, and legal academics, while exposure to foreign models of legal education has continued to have significant impact. Yet the demand of law firms for law graduates has perhaps been the most profound driver of change over this period. While law firms have done little to directly change legal education themselves, the market these firms have created for graduates has sent ripples throughout elite legal education, leaving it fundamentally altered and reoriented.

### Notes

- 1 It is important to avoid overstating the transformations that have taken place in the market. Before liberalization, there were a number of old, prestigious solicitors' firms in Bombay and Calcutta that performed primarily transactional work, although these firms were not as large as today's corporate firms and did not perform legal work of comparable complexity to the work that large firms in India now complete.
- 2 Recently there has been explosion of law schools in India. Of the 1,390 recognized law colleges in 2013, 246 had been founded since 2010 and 859 had been founded since 2000. Only 158 were founded before 1970 and just 23 before 1940. Bar Council of India, List of Law Colleges having approval of affiliation of the Bar Council of India on January 1, 2013.
- 3 Although the Bar Council of India claims there are approximately 1.2 million lawyers in India, in fact this number is likely considerably lower. The Bar Council tallies this number by compiling the number of lawyers provided by each state bar council. However, since there are no annual fees, the lists in many states include many lawyers who are retired, have stopped practicing, or have died. About

thirty thousand to forty thousand law students take the bar exam each year, and approximately 70% pass.

- 4 The story of the regulation of the syllabus of law schools by the Bar Council of India seems to be of mandating ever-more required classes. In 1975 the Bar Council of India required ten courses (including contracts, torts, property, criminal law, and constitutional law), as well as four more courses that were chosen from a list of nineteen subjects. By 1986 the Bar Council had mandated twelve courses and required six more from a list of twenty-three alternatives. The latest Bar Council Rules, published in 2008, mandate twenty courses as well as six more chosen from a list of one hundred subjects. Between 1975 and 2008 courses on topics such as administrative law, company law, public international law, taxation, environmental law, and labor and service law were all added to the required curriculum, while Indian legal history was removed. Many law schools mandate their students take other courses beyond those required by the Bar Council, meaning students have little discretion over which classes they take during their legal education.
- 5 Today, Delhi Law Faculty's student body is still majority male, but the school now has a much larger percentage of female students. For example, out of 718 students who took the fourth-term LLB exam at Campus Law Centre in 2013, 300, or about 42%, were women (Campus Law Centre Fourth Term Examination 2013). Delhi Law Faculty may lag slightly behind the national law schools in gender equity because, unlike the five-year national law schools, the three-year Delhi Law Faculty degree is completed later in life after completing an undergraduate degree at another college at which point there are more pressures on women in India to consider marrying and starting a family. Also, many more of Delhi Law Faculty's graduates enter litigation, which continues to be male dominated, while NLSIU's graduates are much more likely to enter corporate law firms, which have much closer gender parity not only at recruitment but also at the partner level (Chapter 7 of this volume).
- 6 In the 1968–1969 survey, about 16.5% of Delhi Law Faculty students stated that their parents made less than 3,000 rupees a year (about 58,000 rupees adjusted for inflation to 2010). The comparable cohort at NLS in 2010 was about 3% of the student body. In 1968–1969 only 3% of students at Delhi Law Faculty reported their parents made more than 50,000 rupees a year (about 1,000,000 rupees adjusted for inflation). At NLS this cohort in 2010 was about 36% of the student body. It is important to note that the nation also became significantly wealthier over this forty-year period between the two surveys. Anecdotally it seems that today Delhi Law Faculty students continue to come from generally poorer backgrounds than their NLS–Bangalore peers.
- 7 CLAT Results 2008, CLAT Consolidated Merit List 2009, CLAT 2010 UG Provisional Merit List, CLAT Consolidated Merit List 2011, CLAT 2012 Consolidated Merit List of Candidates for Undergraduate Programs, and CLAT 2013 All-India Merit List for Under-Graduate Programme.
- 8 Fees were compiled from online and print sources, including law school websites and CLAT materials.
- 9 More information about the National Law School of India University fees for 2013–2014 is available at [www.nls.ac.in/resources/UGSTUDENTS/FeeNotifito2yr2013.pdf](http://www.nls.ac.in/resources/UGSTUDENTS/FeeNotifito2yr2013.pdf).

- 10 National Law University–Delhi, which uses its own admissions test, is a notable exception.
- 11 Of the rest, five are endowed by different government ministries or commissions (for example, the Ministry of Commerce has a chair in international trade law). The Ford Foundation, the International Bar Association, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have each endowed a chair as have two private individuals (relating to constitutional law and public governance). More information can be found on the NLSIU Endowment Chairs website available at [www.nls.ac.in/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=31](http://www.nls.ac.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=31).
- 12 The master in business law generated 49,709,624 rupees in revenue for the year ending in March 2012. This is more than the tuition the school collected from BA, LLB, LLM, and PhD students combined for the same year. More information can be found at the Distance Education Programmes website, available at [www.ded.nls.ac.in/courses\\_available#mbl](http://www.ded.nls.ac.in/courses_available#mbl)
- 13 More information can be found on the University of Delhi LLB Entrance Exam is available at [www.du.ac.in/fileadmin/DU/students/Pdf/admissions/2013/PG/21062013LLBRSLT.pdf](http://www.du.ac.in/fileadmin/DU/students/Pdf/admissions/2013/PG/21062013LLBRSLT.pdf).
- 14 The school does offer optional courses on corporate law, intellectual property, international trade law, banking law, or insurance law (which are all mandatory at NLS). Some students supplement their course work at the India Law Institute in Delhi, which offers short courses in topics like cyberlaw that are popular among students aspiring to corporate opportunities after graduation.
- 15 Madhava Menon, who was an eyewitness to this period and traveled from Delhi Law Faculty to Columbia Law School for a year himself, writes: “The few changes that have come about in Indian legal education can largely be attributed to the role played by dozens of American educated law teachers . . .” (Menon 2009).
- 16 Jindal Global University was ultimately established by the Haryana Private Universities (Second Amendment) Act, 2009.

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