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Perceptions of Teachers at the International Institute of Sociology of Law of International Student Diversity: Barriers, Enrichment or Cosmopolitan Learning?

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Abstract

One of the main activities of the International Institute of Sociology of Law (IISL) is its International Master's program in Sociology of Law. This program is highly innovative, in that rather than having any in-house teachers, the program is delivered by leading scholars from around the world. In 2014, the IISL celebrated its 25th anniversary, which provided an ideal opportunity to reflect upon the Master's program. Teachers were invited to provide their views on teaching at the IISL, and the strongest theme that emerged was student diversity. This paper considers why student diversity struck teachers so strongly, and how has the IISL achieved such a highly diverse student body.

It then explores teachers' perceptions of diversity, revealing responses ranging from seeing diversity as a barrier to embracing diversity as enriching for students and teachers alike. Teaching was largely conceived as a form of 'engaged pedagogy' (hooks 1994), which involved drawing on a genuine dialogue with students, embracing multiple perspectives, challenging that challenge hegemonic understandings of sociology of law, and interaction beyond the classroom walls. We argue that this model of teaching produces a global community of cosmopolitan, reflective, self-aware, critical, culturally sensitive and caring sociology of law scholars.

Key words

Engaged pedagogy; student diversity; internationalisation; globalisation; sociology of law; legal education; cosmopolitan citizenship

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Resumen

Una de las actividades principales del Instituto Internacional de Sociología Jurídica (IISJ) es su programa de Master Internacional en Sociología Jurídica. Este programa es muy innovador, en él, en lugar de tener profesores propios, son destacados académicos de todo el mundo los que imparten el programa. En 2014, el IISJ celebró su 25 aniversario, lo que supuso una oportunidad ideal para reflexionar sobre el programa de Master. Se invitó a los profesores a que ofrecieran su punto de vista sobre la enseñanza en el IISJ, y el tema más importante que surgió fue la diversidad del alumnado. En este trabajo se analiza por qué la diversidad del alumnado llamó la atención de los profesores, y cómo ha logrado el IISJ un alumnado tan diverso.

A continuación, explora las percepciones de los profesores sobre la diversidad, mostrando respuestas que van desde ver la diversidad como una barrera, hasta contemplar la diversidad como enriquecedora para estudiantes y profesores. En gran medida, la enseñanza se concibió como una forma de "pedagogía comprometida" (hooks 1994), que implicaba establecer un verdadero diálogo con los estudiantes desde múltiples perspectivas, desafiando la visión hegemónica de la sociología jurídica, y continuar la interacción más allá de las paredes del aula. Se defiende que este modelo de enseñanza produce una comunidad global académicos sociojurídicos cosmopolitas, reflexivos, conscientes de sí mismos, críticos, culturalmente sensibles y solidarios.

Palabras clave

Pedagogía comprometida; diversidad de estudiantes; internacionalización; globalización; sociología jurídica; educación jurídica; ciudadanía cosmopolita

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1. Introduction

The International Institute for the Sociology of Law (IISL) was founded in 1989 by the International Sociological Association's Research Committee on the Sociology of Law (RCSL), and the Basque Government. The IISL celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2014, which provided an ideal opportunity to reflect upon the Institute's key activities. Since its founding, the IISL has become the home of the international sociology of law community, and one of the way in which it has achieved this reputation is through its International Master's program in Sociology of Law.

The Master's degree is a one year program, taught in English, and awarded as an official Master of Arts degree of the University of the Basque Country. The program has two major components: twelve intensive coursework units; and an individual research dissertation. The program is highly innovative, in that rather than having any in-house teachers, the program is delivered by leading scholars from around the world. This unique format means that students are exposed to outstanding international scholars, rather than the program being limited to teachers that are available within an institution.

The teachers are not paid a salary although costs, such as airfares, accommodation and meals, are covered. Teaching on the program is seen to be a mark of recognition of the international standing of a scholar, and positions on the program are highly sought. For the most part, teachers present a two week course. Courses consist of interactive seminars run for two hours every morning, and students then do further reading and other work in the afternoons and evenings. Courses are also highly intensive, with classes held every day for two weeks. Teachers are also asked to supervise students' dissertations.

Up until 2014, the Master's Program has involved 163 teachers from 32 different countries. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the countries from which the teachers were based. This diversity would suggest that students are not only exposed to teachers from different geographic locations, but also to differing expectations, teaching modalities, assessment, and underling conceptions of pedagogy. The unique format of the Master's program has also provided a unique research opportunity to compare the views of a highly diverse set of teachers. This paper presents analysis of a survey of teachers who have been involved in the Master's program since its inception. Teachers were asked to identify aspects of their experiences of teaching at the IISL which were positive, challenging, and memorable.

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Table 1: Domicile of teachers, 1998/99-2013/14

Country	Number of teachers	Country	Number of teachers
United Kingdom	23	Portugal	2
USA	21	Sweden	2
Spain	21	Argentina	1
Germany	17	Brazil	1
Italy	13	Colombia	1
Canada	9	Venezuela	1
Australia	8	Puerto Rico	1
Poland	7	Peru	1
France	6	Singapore	1
Mexico	4	Kenya	1
Israel	3	Nigeria	1
Holland	3	Greece	1
Belgium	3	Hungary	1
Switzerland	3	Czech Republic	1
India	2	Finland	1
Denmark	2	Republic of Ireland	1

Our analysis reveals a central theme that appeared in the replies of almost every teacher, namely, the highly diverse nature of the study body. The first part of this paper considers why teachers were struck so strongly by diversity, especially as many work within universities with a high proportion of international students, and examines how the IISL has succeeded in attracting such a diverse student population. Our analysis also revealed a range of responses by teachers towards student diversity, and the second part of our paper considers these different views. A few teachers perceived student diversity as a barrier which needs to be overcome. Most teachers, however, saw student diversity as enriching, with their teaching methods drawing on students' individual experiences as a means of developing student's voice and participation within the course. Even further, the majority of teachers perceived that their interaction with students as a two-way dialogue, with students and teachers alike undergoing a process of transformation and self-actualisation. We draw on bell hooks' (1994) 'engaged pedagogy' and Martha Nussbaum's (1997) conceptionalistion of cosmopolitanism to argue that the Master's program at the IISL is creating a global community of cosmopolitan graduates who are self-aware, culturally sensitive, empathic and caring.

Whereas hooks (1994) and Nussbaum (1997) both argue that teaching has transformative potential, they focus only on the interaction between teachers and students. Our analysis also reveals that the entire experience of being an international teacher contributes to this transformative process, including working within an unfamiliar cultural environment, interacting with the local community, feeling supported and cared for by administrative staff, achieving work-life balance, and being in a stimulating physical environment. Through these experiences, teachers at the IISL also become engaged in a process of being cosmopolitanised.

2. Methodology

In September 2013, previous teachers were asked to complete a short survey about their views of teaching on the program. We received a total of 26 replies

from 13 different countries. Responses were received from teachers who taught from the very first program as well as across the other years. This paper presents a discourse analysis of these replies.

Adler and Adler (1987) would describe our role as researchers as 'complete-members', as we are pre-existing members of the social institution under investigation, we are fully affiliated within this setting, and we share the Institute's values and goals. This position has a number of advantages, most notably that as insiders we also able to understand the context in which the teachers have worked, including the way in which the student body has changed since the founding of the Institute in 1989. This lends a more nuanced understanding than that potentially produced by someone who is not so embedded within the IISL.

Insider research, however, also has its risks. In this case, there is a risk that the research will lack objectivity, and will either consciously or unconsciously be biased towards painting the Institute in a favourable way. Our analysis followed Glaser and Strauss' (1967) process of grounded discourse analysis to identify themes which emerged from the data. Once we had reached 'theoretical saturation' (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 107), which is the point at no new analytical categories can be identified, we then started to incorporate our analysis into a theoretical framework. This inductive approach is also vulnerable to subjectivity. We recognise that our research cannot be value-free, and rather than strive for analysis that is entirely detached and objective, we prefer to conduct research from a reflexive position which makes clear our own position.

Some authors have strongly asserted that objectivity, neutrality and detachment are all essential to the conduct of research (eg Gold 1958, Cowles 1988, p. 177, Demi and Warren 1995, p. 199). Others, however, have argued that complete objectivity is neither possible nor desirable. For instance, Adler and Adler (1987) argue that the assumption that being a complete-member will compromise validity is false. Instead they contend that more, rather than less, immersion is necessary for greater validity. In addition, it has been argued that it is not possible for social researchers to be complete insiders. Social distance, and to some degree objectivity, is created by need to collect information, write up for an academic audience, and apply theory to that observed (Srinivas 1966, p. 157, Aguilar 1981). In this vein, Lather (1986) argues that researchers who embrace rather than deny subjectivity should be judged against three conceptualisations of validity. First, their work should have 'construct' validity, meaning that there should be a valid relationship between the empirical findings and a theoretical framework. Second, research should have 'face' validity, meaning that conclusions should be compared against the findings of previous studies. Finally, research should have 'catalytic' validity, which requires research to lead to new insights and support social transformation. We hope that our research has been successful in achieving these standards.

3. Student Diversity

Teachers predominantly focused on the diverse range of student's geographical and cultural background. On the one hand, this is hardly surprising considering that the student body comes from a wide range of countries. Since the inception of the Master's program in 1990 until 2013-2014, and as shown in Table 2, there have been 431 students from 63 countries.[1]

[1] This includes students who have studied a single course as well as student who have studied in the full Master's program.

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Table 2: Domicile of students studying on the International Master's in Sociology of Law, IISL, 1990/91-2013/14

Country	Number of students	Country	Number of students
Spain	67	United Kingdom	3
USA	60	Bangladesh	2
Italy	39	Cambodia	2
Argentina	24	Chad	2
Mexico	20	Chile	2
Brazil1	19	Costa Rica	2
Colombia	17	Sierra Leone	2
Germany	14	South Africa	2
Hungary	12	Switzerland	2
Finland	10	Zambia	2
Canada	9	Australia	1
Poland	9	Belarus	1
India	8	Cameroon	1
Indonesia	8	Croatia	1
Puerto Rico	8	Cuba	1
Peru	6	El Salvador	1
Sweden	6	Estonia	1
Venezuela	6	France	1
The Netherlands	5	Georgia	1
Ghana	4	Greece	1
Norway	4	Guatemala	1
Romania	4	Iran	1
Belgium	3	Jordan	1
Bulgaria	3	Latvia	1
China	3	Lithuania	1
Denmark	3	Moldova	1
Ecuador	3	Phillipines	1
Liberia	3	Taiwan	1
Nigeria	3	Uganda	1
Portugal	3	Uruguay	1
Russia	3	Vietnam	1
Turkey	3		

On the other hand, it is notable that teachers focused so strongly on the diversity of students considering the increasing internationalisation of higher education. In this paper, we make a distinction between internationalisation and globalisation. Within the sphere of education, internationalisation refers to the process by which international dimensions are integrated into education institutions. This could include designing programs aimed primarily at international students, embedding

international dimensions into the teaching curriculum, and in the case of the IISL, having international teachers deliver the program. Internationalisation of higher education can be seen as one of the many outcomes of globalisation. Put rather simply, globalisation can be understood as the process by which the borders between nation-states become fluid, allowing for the flow of technologies, trade, knowledge, people, norms and values across borders.

In recent years, increasing numbers of universities have sought to enrol international students, especially at postgraduate level where students can often be charged higher fees compared to undergraduate and domestic students, for political and economic reasons (Jones 2000). It could be expected that this would have exposed teachers to a diverse range of international students. However, it appears that this process is not even. The UK, Canada, US and Australia dominate postgraduate student markets, which have rapidly expanded in recent years (Binsardi and Ekwulugo 2003, Morgan 2014). From 2003/2004 to 2008/09, postgraduate enrolments in Australia increased by 19.4%, in Canada by 19%, and in the US by 18%. From 2003/2004 to 2008/09, postgraduate enrolments in the UK increased by only 2.5%, however the UK already had a well-established international study body (Morgan 2014, p. 1152). The proportion of international students studying for postgraduate degrees has also dramatically increased in recent years. In Australia in 2000, 27% of postgraduates awards were made to international students, and this had increased to 43.5% by 2010 (Morgan 2014, p. 1157). In the UK in 2003/04, 24.3% of postgraduate awards were made to international students, and by 2010/2011 this had increased to 35.3% (Morgan 2014, p. 1158).

The domination of the international postgraduate market by a small number of countries, however, was not reflected in the teacher's comments. Teachers, regardless of geographical origin, appeared to be equally struck by the wide diversity of students at the IISL. This suggests that even in countries which dominate the international student market, teachers still find internationalisation of the student population remarkable. There may be several explanations for why student diversity at the IISL received particular attention.

First, student diversity is not truly international. International students are often described in the higher education literature as if they are homogeneous (Madge *et al.* 2009, p. 37). In fact, the international student market is quite heterogeneous although it is also patterned, as demonstrated in the UK. In the UK in 2013-2014, 43% of non-EU students were from China. The other main non-EU sending countries were India, Nigeria, Malaysia and the US. In 2013-2014, the main EU countries to send students to the UK were Germany, France, the Republic of Ireland, Greece and Cyprus. Second, international students are not evenly distributed across subjects, with a large majority of international students in the UK studying business and administration. Third, teachers' exposure to student diversity will also depend on which institute they are based. In the UK, the University College London, University of Manchester and University of Edinburgh attract the highest proportion of international students.[2]

4. How has the IISL achieved student diversity?

While the international student market is dominated by students from specific countries (Madge *et al.* 2009, p. 36), the student body at the IISL is much more diverse than that in many other institutions. This unique geographical diversity of students highlights both 'push' and 'pull' factors that influence students to study overseas (Mazzarol and Soutar 2002). Push factors refer to social, political and economic factors that motivate students to look for education outside their home

[2] http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/Info-for-universities-colleges--schools/Policy-research--statistics/Research--statistics/International-students-in-UK-HE/#Top-non-EU-sending-countries. Accessed 26th February, 2015.

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countries. International students see that holding a well-respected international qualification will increase their employment opportunities, improve their own and their family's quality of life, and provide an escape from political turmoil (Maringe and Carter 2007, p. 265).

While push factors vary depending of the domicile of students, an important factor is the lack of availability of high-quality education in home countries (Maringe and Carter 2007, p. 265). International students are often not from the wealthiest countries. Many developing countries, are unable to accommodate increasing demand for higher education (Lee and Tan 1984, Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin 2002), and students from developing countries embrace higher education opportunities away from home in order to improve their life chances (Naidoo 2007).

For students from developing countries, however, economic barriers often prevent participation in higher education. The main barrier to higher education participation has been shown to be the high costs of tuition (Naidoo 2007), which can then be exacerbated by high costs of living in the host country (Morgan 2014). In 2013-2014, the fees for international students at the IISL was 3000 euros (approx. $3,200USD). Table 3 shows the average annual fees and costs of living for postgraduate students studying in 2013. The IISL's tuition fee is low compared to the fees charged in most other countries.

Table 3: Annual fees and cost of living for international students, 2013[3]

Country	Annual fees (USD)	Annual cost of living (USD)	Total (USD)
Australia	23,375	13,140	38,516
United States	25,226	10,479	35,705
United Kingdom	19,291	11,034	30,325
United Arab Emirates	19,291	11,034	30,325
Canada	18,474	7,537	26,011
Singapore	14,885	9,363	24,248
Hong Kong	13,182	9,261	22,443
Japan	6,522	12,642	19,164
Russia	3,131	6,310	9,441
China	3,983	4,783	8,766
Taiwan	3,270	4,987	8,257
Spain	1,002	6,004	7,006
Germany	635	5,650	6,285

The high costs of studying abroad means that potential students often need to obtain funding (Morgan 2014), and concern about the financial risk of committing to overseas study is a major source of stress for international students (Maringe and Carter 2007, p. 268). The majority of international students rely on personal loans, overdrafts, savings, support from employers and parents, as well as scholarships (Stuart *et al.* 2008, Boorman and Ramsden 2009). The need to offer scholarships in order to support international students has long been recognised by the IISL, and acts as an important 'pull' mechanism.

The Institute offers either full or part scholarships which are taken up by a high proportion of students. In recent years, up to 62% of students have received some

[3] http://www.hsbc.com/news-and-insight/2013/study-costs-most-in-australia, accessed 26th February, 2015.

form of grant from the IISL. Prior to 2000, teachers at the IISL were paid a wage, but it was decided that to redirect the funding into scholarships. The scholarship fund is also made up of personal donations to the Institute, including from many of the teachers, and the Research Committee of the Sociology of Law. In addition, the Town Hall of Oñati offer scholarships for local students to attend the Master's program, and some students have obtained scholarships from their home countries. The value of the scholarships in opening up opportunities for students from developing countries to study at the Institute was acknowledged by several teachers.

One of the dangers of relying on attracting a high proportion of students from developing countries, is that as a country's domestic higher education infrastructure improves, students will start to remain at home rather than seek out international opportunities (Naidoo 2007, p. 299), and this has been evident at the IISL. For instance, in 2006 a student from Indonesia found the program when searching the web for master's programs in sociology of law. Further Indonesian students followed every year until 2010, although since 2010 there has only been one additional Indonesia student (in 2014-2015).

One of the reasons for this drop off may be the development of Indonesia's higher education system (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011). Indonesia now has a flourishing socio-legal academic community, for instance, Universitas Indonesia, a prestigious state university established in 1849, hosts the Centre for Sociolegal Studies and the Institute for Sociology of Law and Constitutional Studies. The development of Indonesia's socio-legal community has also been supported by graduates from the IISL. Several graduates are now lecturers in law schools in Indonesia. In the past, Indonesian lecturers often did not have postgraduate qualifications (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011), whereas the IISL graduates all have a Master's degree and some have enrolled in PhD programs.

The other major 'pull' factor for the IISL consists of word-of-mouth recommendations. The IISL tracks the way in which students first hear about the Institute. For the most part, students discover the IISL through one of their teachers, and often this teacher has presented a course at the Institute, been a visitor, or is a graduate. To a lesser extent, students hear about the program through other students or from the internet. The result of these word-of-mouth recommendations is that the IISL often has 'waves' of students from the same sending countries. The enrolment of an initial student from a new source is usually followed by further students from the same country, and often from the same city or university.

An example of the way in which this word-of-mouth market operates is the successive enrolments of students from Mexico. The IISL has had 20 students from Mexico, and an initial student discovered the IISL from a former Scientific Director. From there, most successive waves of students heard directly about the program from graduates although personal contacts also work in other ways. One student discovered the program after searching on the internet, and then contacted a graduate. Another had found about the program from a brochure, and had been impressed to discover that an important Mexican socio-legal scholar had graduated from the Institute.

Word-of-mouth recommendations are also precarious, and after several years the successive waves usually 'dry up.' For instance, in 1991 a group of five students from Hungry enrolled, followed by further enrolments of Hungarian students in 1992 and 1993. Since 1993, however, there have not been any further Hungarian students.

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5. Perceptions of student diversity: deficiency model

Not only are students at the IISL diverse, teachers also differed in their approaches to dealing with student diversity. There appeared to be three main types of attitudes towards student diversity. First, a small proportion of teachers responded that student diversity presented "barriers". A few teachers described the student body as "uneven," with "weaker" students being seen to "lack" academic skills, including English language, critical analytical and independent research skills. The "least able" students were also described by several teachers as carrying "cultural baggage", meaning that some students had a "limited" or "restricted" view on a subject, they "failed" to appreciate the perspectives of others, and could not apply critical analysis.

Teachers who described facing uneven student ability explained this challenge in individualistic terms. This suggests that this group of teachers conceive student diversity within a deficiency model. Black and Yasukawa (2013) explain the deficiency model as being based on a victim blaming discourse, where students are held responsible for their own failures rather than understanding the influence of structural inequalities. The potential challenges faced by students, which are an outcome of structural rather than individual inequalities, are most starkly illustrated in the case of students from Sub-Saharan countries. In Sub-Saharan countries, international donors have focused on supporting primary and secondary education, whereas tertiary education institutions have received little support. Consequently, enrolments in tertiary education are the lowest in the world (Bloom *et al.* 2006). Universities in Sub-Saharan countries report suffering from over-crowding, inadequate facilities, inefficient use of what resources are available, poor quality courses, and a lack of focus on skills (Bloom *et al.* 2006, pp. 4-5). Students at the IISL from Sub-Sahara countries have reported not having previous access to a library, having had limited opportunities to develop their research and analytical skills, and being unsure how to write for a western academic audience.

According to Black and Yasukawa (2013, p. 577), the types of remedies available through the deficiency model largely consist of helping students to "catch up" on their basic academic skills. Remedial programs usually focus on discrete and atomised skills, such as offering basic numeracy or literacy training, which are then seen to be transferrable to all other life contexts. IISL teachers who identified that some of their students were "lacking", also appeared to be concerned that they provided remedial support for individual students. These teachers described providing additional one-on-one meetings with students, setting extra reading, going for walks and having meals with students in order to discuss topics in further depth and assisting students to develop their critical thinking skills.

While this extra support demonstrates teachers' concerns that students are not disadvantaged, a remedial approach can be problematic. According to Miller and Satchwell (2006, p. 143), the deficiency model can lower teachers' expectations. In turn, teachers are likely to use a less challenging curriculum, instructional teaching methods and teach to assessment (Delpit 1995). Students who receive remedial help can also be left feeling singled out, low expectations can undermine students' sense of self-esteem (Rosenthal 1994), and students' views can be undervalued (Brophy and Good, 1974, Cooper and Tom 1984).

Tange (2010, p. 144) argues that inexperienced lecturers are more likely to feel overwhelmed by the cultural differences presented by international students, and to see diversity as an obstacle. However, teachers at the IISL are usually highly experienced, which may also explain why only a few teachers perceived student diversity as presenting barriers. Teachers who saw diversity as an obstacle were all from well-established European universities. In order to categorise some students as 'lacking' it is necessary to compare these students against a normative construction of what it is to be a 'good' student. It seems that for some teachers, a 'good' student is someone who is well versed within western learning traditions.

Madge *et al.* (2009) warn that the globalisation of education can be understood as a colonialising project, where conceptions of knowledge and models of learning are disseminated from the core of western Europe to the periphery of developing countries. An uncritical and unreflective acceptance of this one-way flow of knowledge supports a hierarchical construction of educational traditions, with western Europe at the apex and students from developing countries.

6. Diversity as enriching: teaching as social process

Only a few teachers saw diversity as deficiency, and for the most part teachers saw student diversity as a valuable resource which could facilitate student participation and learning. Student diversity was most commonly described as being "enriching." It should be noted that some of the teachers who felt that student diversity was challenging and that weaker students should be offered remedial support, also identified advantages associated with student diversity. There did not appear to be any geographical pattern in terms of which teachers saw diversity as enriching, and instead this view was held by a large majority of teachers.

Most teachers stated that they drew on their students' "rich" personal experiences as a means of ensuring that all students participated in class. Teachers commented that they especially enjoyed the "interactive" nature of the class and the "active participation" from students, and perceived students' input to be "substantial." Teachers also drew on students' experiences in order to find a "common level of communication" that "connected" students, and allowed them to "feel confident" that they could participate.

Common communication runs deeper than participation, and teachers also used their student's personal experiences to build connections between their student's culturally specific understandings and their course material. For some teachers, their student's culturally specific contribution to their course consisted of their fondest memories of teaching at the IISL. As one teacher stated:

> I particularly remember a seminar on Marcel Mauss's famous essay on 'The Gift'; we had a delightful discussion of the significance of wedding gifts, animated by the fact that one of the students was about to get married soon after the course ended.

The use of student diversity as an enriching resource suggest that most teachers at the IISL take a 'social process' approach to their teaching. Black and Yasukawa (2013) describe the social process approach as conceptualising teaching as facilitating students to become members of a specific knowledge community. Students do this by moving from the periphery of this community, where they have little in-depth or complex understanding, towards the core of the knowledge community. The role of the teacher is to facilitate this process, and one of the teaching tools used to do this consists of drawing on students' personal experiences in order to make connections between the periphery and the core.

According to Miller and Satchwell (2006), teachers who apply a social process approach encourage their students to draw on their rich everyday experiences and to contextualise their learning in order to make it meaningful. By starting with familiar elements, students are engaged, their knowledge will deepen and they will become increasing competence. According to Northedge (2003), sharing experiences also ensures that all students can express a voice within the learning process, and empowers students to develop a sense of identity as a core member, rather than an outsider, to the knowledge community. Northedge (2003, p. 28) also argues that traditional teaching approaches often present students with "a single, continuous, authoritative voice presenting a controlled, polished account. Here, the only sense of a knowledge community is of an elite of supremely confident experts." In contrast, a social process approach recognises that the knowledge community contains multiple and often contested voices. Under a traditional approach, students who are deemed "lacking" in skills are left with no discursive

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space in which in participate. A social process approach provides all students with the sense that they have valuable knowledge to contribute.

7. Engaged pedagogy: diversity as facilitating self-actualisation

Although the social process approach to teaching embraces student diversity rather than seeing it as restrictive, there are still some potential limitations. Most teachers acknowledged that students bring valuable individual experiences to their class, and that these experiences can act as a pathway into the discursive community and give students voice. However, there is a risk that this form of teaching is a one-way process, with the student as the learner and the teacher as the expert whose role involves facilitating the student in the learning process. This conceptualisation can maintain a hierarchical relationship between teacher and learner, with students' individual experiences only valued as a means of moving students from culturally specific understandings towards a broader sociological perspective.

The majority of teachers at the IISL, however, appear to see their teaching as involving more than imparting knowledge. For many, teaching at the IISL was a learning experience for teachers as well as students. Teachers described feeling that they had been "enriched" or "transformed" due to being exposed to such rich student diversity, for instance: "As for my own learning, I found the experience enriching." It appears that for most teachers, student diversity allows for two-way communication, which one teacher described as a "rich exchange of experiences and information." Teachers stated that they had gained a "greater familiarity", "understanding" and "experience" after interacting with students from diverse cultures.

For some teachers, the learning experience appears to go further than this two-way dialogue, and possibly into the realm of self-actualisation. Several teachers described their teaching at the IISL as involving "firsts." It was the "first time" that they had taught in English, taught an interdisciplinary class, experienced such a diverse group of students, or taught beyond their home country. These teachers stated that their experience of teaching at the IISL had helped them to develop as scholars, and provided a "new dimension" and an "incredible source of learning" that informed their own research.

These comments suggest that there is a third way to approaching student diversity. In *Teaching to Transgress* (1994, p. 13), bell hooks uses the term 'engaged pedagogy' to describe a progressive, holistic and participatory approach to teaching, where the teacher as well as the student is engaged in a process of self-actualisation. Engaged pedagogy involves teachers being aware that their student's experiences enrich their own understanding, not just about the topic being taught, but also of their own cultural assumptions and normative constructions. In this way, cultural diversity informs every aspect of learning, and teaching becomes non-threatening, anti-discriminatory and empowering. Extending on hooks' work, Madge *et al.* (2009) has identified five elements of using an engaged pedagogy in order to embrace student diversity. All of these elements appeared in the teachers' comments.

7.1. Addressing holistic needs

First, Madge *et al.* (2009) identifies that engaged pedagogy requires teachers to be attentive to student needs, which includes being responsible for and responsive to student's holistic needs rather than just focusing only on academic skills. In bell hooks' (1994) terms, teachers should care for the 'souls' of their students, not just their minds. This ethic of care is apparent at the IISL in a number of ways. The Master's cohort at the IISL is small, with a maximum of 20 students. For many teachers, the small class allowed them to develop a "special relationship" with their students. This meant that they were aware if any student was not participating or feeling marginalised.

Teachers' relations with students also often continued outside of the classroom. Several teachers commented that they had stayed in contact with many of their former students. A few have published with graduates, and continue to see their former students at conferences, or in the words of one teacher "whenever I travel there is someone from Oñati, who is a friend and makes a contribution to the discussion."

The ethic of care also appeared to be extended *to* teachers. While most teachers described the administration of the program as "efficient", many teachers viewed the professional support that they received as going beyond efficiency. For some teachers, their strongest positive memory consisted of the "personal commitment", "dedication", "unsurpassed conviviality", "friendliness," and "helpful, supportive welcome" from the administrative staff. As one teacher described:

> My most important memory is of [staff's] wonderful commitment to the IISL, to the students and the Master's Program, and to helping those of us who came to teach. [They] seemed to be always enthusiastic, always able to solve any problem and always smiling and friendly, however busy [they] might be.

Teachers described the photographs they have of the administrative staff from outside working hours, their "long talks" with staff, and the way in which the staff facilitated interaction with the local Basque community.

7.2. Genuine dialogue

Second, an engaged pedagogy requires a genuine dialogue. This dialogue needs to not only draw on students' rich diversity of culturally specifically experiences, it also needs to contest the hegemonic discourse of western teaching traditions as best practice. Teaching which draws on student diversity as a resource recognises that knowledge is not hegemonic, and that there may be multiple perspectives. It also recognises that rather than drawing students from a peripheral towards a single centre, that there may multiple centres and peripherals (Madge *et al.* 2009).

Most teachers showed a desire to challenge hegemonic western discourses, and identified a number of reasons why an international curriculum which presented a range of perspectives was desirable. They saw that an international curriculum would engage students and reflect their research interests, and recognise that sociology of law issues extend well beyond the "global north." The higher education literature also suggests that these reasons are important. An international curriculum has been described as best fitting the diverse learning needs of all students regardless of nationality, ethnicity, culture, gender, and social class. It values social inclusion and cultural pluralism, and provides equal opportunity for success to every student, rather than providing an advantage to students from a particular social group (Surian 1996, Callan 2000, Haigh 2002, p. 51).

The development of an international curriculum was also identified as the greatest challenge facing teachers. For instance:

> The main challenge for me, I think, was ensuring that there was enough material on the course guide that relied on examples from different countries, and not just the United States or the United Kingdom (or Australia), though the reading material had to be in English. I was very conscious of usually relying on material that was based on research in English speaking countries. And I am not sure how successful I was in finding material from diverse countries…

These concerns may reflect deeper problems that many teachers face when trying to develop a holistic curriculum that caters to the needs of international students. Universities recruit international students primarily out of a desire to attract fees (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, Stromquist 2007, Jiang 2008). In many universities, the teaching of international students is seen as an aside to the core business of teaching domestic students, and staff are not trained or even encouraged to think about the needs of a diverse student body (Haigh 2002, p. 52). For instance, in

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Australia all degree programs must include an international dimension in their curriculum, however it has been argued that these efforts are largely superficial (Back *et al.* 1996). Similarly, the majority of US universities mention internationalisation in their mission statements and strategic plans. However, international students are then often not offered an international curriculum and appear to be valued largely for their contribution to revenue (Siaya and Hayward 2003).

There may also be reasons specific to the sociology of law that hamper the internationalisation of the curriculum. In many ways, there is no doubt that sociology of law is an international discipline. The pioneers of the RCSL were from Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Poland, Japan and Poland,[4] and the RCSL continues to provide a forum for the international exchange of ideas concerning sociology of law. The Scientific Directors at the IISL have also come from different geographical settings, for example, Europe, the US, South America, and Australia. Other international sociology of law organisations include Études Socio-Juridiques et Sociologie du Droit, which is a research committee of the Association Internationale Des Sociologues de Langue Française, the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism which was established by the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, and the Red de Sociología Juridíca en Amércia Latina y el Caribe. There are important sociology of law journals published in a number of languages, for example Droit et Société and Sociologia del Diritto. There are also country specific law and society journals, which publish articles that relate to their own jurisdiction as well as international issues, for instance Zeitschrift für Reschtssoziologie and the Canadian Journal of Law and Society.

Despite this, the teachers' comments suggest that the internationalisation of sociology of law has been uneven. There is additional evidence that supports these views. In relation to teaching at the IISL, the uneven internationalisation of sociology of law has resulted in a mismatch between the domicile of teachers and students. A total of 107 teachers (65.6%) have come from Europe, including 23 from the United Kingdom. In contrast, 191 students (44.3%) have come from Europe,[5] and it was not until 2013-2014 that the IISL admitted its first English student. In contrast, while there has been a steady flow of African students, there have only been two African teachers.

The IISL also hosts the Consortium of Law and Society, which provides information about a large variety of law and society associations. Associations connected with the Consortium come from Japan, UK, Australia and New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, US, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom.[6] This list, however, also reveals some geographical gaps; most notably there is no listed law and society association from Africa.

There have been some other criticisms concerning the uneven internationalisation of sociology of law. For instance, in 2003, Lynn Mather used her Presidential Address to the Law and Society Association (LSA) to warn that "assumptions of universality" on the behalf of the LSA could "get us into trouble" (Mather 2003, p. 264). The LSA is the world's largest law and society association and is based in the US. She observed that in 1975, at the LSA's first conference which attracted 100 participants, only three were from outside the US, and by 1980 only 15% of the

[4] http://rcsl.iscte.pt/rcsl_intro_Tribute.htm, accessed 30th March 2015.

[5] There may be additional reasons for this Eurocentric focus, for instance the IISL has a strong connection with the University of Milan through the Renato Treves International PhD Program in Law and Society (http://159.149.15.42/projects/trevesphd/contents/brochure_treves_2010.pdf), and the University of the Basque Country, which confers the degree. As the IISL also has to cover the costs, including airfares, of teachers there are also financial reasons for having a relatively high percentage of staff from Europe.

[6] The World Consortium of Law and Society provides a relatively comprehensive list of law and society associations. http://www.lawandsocietyworld.org/, accessed 20th March 2015.

LSA's members were not based in the US. She also noted that the majority of prizes awarded by the LSA were made to scholars from the US. Thus it appears that at least initially, the LSA had a strong US focus.

Currently, however, over one quarter of LSA's membership and a third the elected to the Board of Trustees are from outside the US. The LSA has held a number of its annual conferences outside of the US, including jointly hosting meetings with the RSCL. In 2001, the meeting in Budapest attracted almost 1,500 participants from 57 countries, and in 2002 the meeting in Vancouver attracted over 1,200 participants from 46 countries. A joint conference with the RCSL held in Berlin in 2007 attracted over 2,400 participants from 70 countries.[7] The 2015 annual meeting will be held in Seattle, and its theme is "Law's Promise and Law's Pathos in the Global North and Global South."

The LSA has also been engaged in a number of international initiatives, most notably International Research Collaboratives (IRCs), which are described by the LSA as:

> … a highly successful mechanism for bringing scholars together from low, middle, and high income countries (as classified by the World Bank) for a specific research project that leads directly to a defined scholarly product to advance sociolegal theory, methodology, and policy. Scholarly products have included articles, journal issues, books, conferences, and collaborative research projects.[8]

Mather (2003, p. 268) reported a number of other initiatives that could potentially expand the LSA's international reach. These included the move to the online distribution of the *Law and Society Review*, the LSA's journal, which would increase subscription and readership outside the US. The LSA also now has an international prize, intended to recognise outstanding scholarship from outside the US.

These initiatives, however, arguably still do not get to the heart of why US perspectives continue to dominant law and society scholarship. Bryant (2007) argues that the LSA has sought greater participation from outside the US as it lends credibility to the LSA, and that it continues to only recognise research that is akin to its own traditions. These traditions include a focus on empirical research, whereas outside the US there has often been a stronger focus on theoretical perspectives. The LSA also tends to focus on themes that are specific to the US, such as the importance of legal activism and the role of cause lawyers in achieving social change.

7.3. Beyond the classroom walls

Hooks (1994) argues that engaged pedagogy requires commitment from teachers that goes beyond the formal teaching content. She uses the metaphor of porous lecture room walls in order to call on teachers to bring what happens outside the classroom into their classroom pedagogies. Teachers need to do more than bring in their students' individual experiences into the classroom. Hooks calls for teachers to also understand how the experiences of international students are shaped by political structures, institutional cultures and higher education policies. They also need to be aware that normative constructions of the 'good' student are located within hierarchical power relations.

For a few teachers, giving a course at the IISL was the "first time" that they became aware of this normative constructive, as stated by one teacher:

> I fully realized how different teaching, tutoring and marking are in the UK, the USA etc. and Continental Europe.

[7] http://www.lawandsociety.org/intl-initiatives.html, accessed 20th March 2015.
[8] http://www.lawandsociety.org/news.html#NSF-IRC, accessed 20th March 2015.

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In addition, most teachers seem to consider that it was their responsibility, rather than the students', to ensure that the curriculum embraced diversity and students were empowered to participate.

While hooks (1994) discusses the need for engaged pedagogy to bring students' outside experiences into the classroom, one of the major contributions of the Master's Program is the spread of knowledge in the opposite direction. For the most part, literature on the need to develop an international curriculum assumes that students are passive recipients of knowledge. In contrast, the teachers' comments made it clear that students are also mobile agents of knowledge, and that students allow for the flow of knowledge from their site of study to many diverse locations (Madge *et al.* 2009). The way in which students disperse knowledge internationally was reflected upon by several teachers, for example:

> I have kept in touch with about five students who took my courses, and in our correspondence I can see the influence that some of the ideas mooted in those courses continues to inform the scholarly work of these students. So I assume that these same students will also have carried insights from their other IISL professors, and that the Institute serves to create an international, multidisciplinary community of socio-legal scholars.

It appears that for many teachers, the IISL does not simply assist in the global dissemination of knowledge, but also plays a key role in ensuring the globalisation of sociology of law. Teachers praised the IISL for "fostering" and "developing" an international sociology of law community that consists of critical, reflective and self-aware scholars and practitioners. For instance, for one teacher the greatest benefit of teaching at the IISL was that it provided an opportunity "…to create a community of young scholars who question and debate the role of law in society."

7.4. The importance of context

The fourth element of an engaged pedagogy consists of being mindful of context. Madge *et al.* (2009, p. 43) describes this as:

> Here we are not simply talking about institutional and national context, but the varying contexts, hierarchies and sometimes competition between students (who occupy varying positions in terms of class positions, material resources, funding opportunities, language abilities, familial support…, opportunities to work, age based hierarchies, etc.) and the varying context of academics (sexuality, class, race, gender and power hierarchies, differential insertion into institutional structures, varying non-work commitments, etc.). Here we not are suggesting an endless (longing) search for difference but rather an acceptance of the possibility of both commonalities and differences at all times.

For the most part, the type of difference recognised by teachers consisted of geographical and cultural diversity. To a lesser extent, teachers also recognised differences between students in terms of disciplinary background, professional backgrounds, expectations and motivations. However, there were other aspects of diversity that were not mentioned at all, such as age, sexuality and religion. It would appear that international students are identified first and foremost as fitting within the category of 'international' (Madge *et al.* 2009), and that other identifies are overlooked. In addition, beyond recognising the domination of western perspectives in their curriculum, teachers also did not comment upon the influence of their own backgrounds upon their teaching. However, they did reflect upon how working within an unfamiliar cultural context contributed to developing self-awareness.

For the most part, research into the internationalisation of higher education has assumed that the students come to the teachers, although there is a growing body of work looking at universities setting up branches in students' home countries and cross-border collaborations (eg Altbach and Knight 2007). The program at the IISL, however, does not fit into either of these models. Both students and teachers travel

to the IISL, which is located in a small town in the centre of the Basque country. For many teachers this experience had a profound impact upon their own learning.

Many teachers identified that one of their strongest memories of teaching at the IISL consisted of working in an academic environment where they were "able to think." The IISL is located in the Santi Spiritus University, which is a magnificent Spanish Renaissance building completed in 1543 as a law school. The IISL also hosts an internationally recognised sociology of law collection, and many scholars travel to the Institute to use the library. Teachers described working at the IISL as being "culturally and intellectually evocative", providing a "special atmosphere" and that "most of my work over a decade [has been] developed in Oñati."

The town of Oñati also provides a unique learning context. Most university campuses are located in cities, whereas Oñati has a population of approximately 10,000 people. The town has a rich architectural history, with a number of significant buildings apart from the Santi Spiritus University, and is located at the foot of a spectacular mountain range called Aloña Mendi. Only 10 kilometres from Oñati stands the Santuario de Arantzazu, which is an important Catholic pilgrimage site. The Santuario is surrounded by a number of reknown Basque restaurants, and numerous mountain walks are accessible from the site. Many teachers noted that working at the IISL offered a "work life balance" that was missing from their usually working life. Teachers reflected on way in which the "idyllic", "stunning", "beautiful", and "magical" surroundings of Oñati inspired their own work. They described being about to work intensely, but at the same time being able to take "long walks" and "long lunches."

Oñati is also a Basque town, and many teachers commented that interaction with the local community acted as muse for their work. The locals were described as being "friendly", "welcoming", "helpful", "convivial" and even "wonderful." However, teachers were most strongly struck by the opportunity to participate in Basque culture, such as eating Basque food and attending festivals. Some teachers found that they did not just enjoy Basque culture, they also found it intellectually stimulating. A few teachers described visiting local authorities, a local gastronomic club, or doing a tour of Mondragon Cooperative Corporation, which is the international point of reference for cooperative enterprises (Errasti *et al.* 2003).[9] This interaction was seen to stimulate important sociological questions about identity, social and economic organisations, and the relationship between law and society. As one teacher commented:

> Social organisation of the Basque people poses many questions for sociology of law, especially relation between soft and hard law, and law on the books and law in action.

7.5. Quandaries

The final aspect of an engaged pedagogy identified by Madge *et al.* (2009) consists of "quandaries". Madge *et al.* (2009) warn that an engaged pedagogy is potentially risky and unstable, and requires constant dialogue, emotional investment, and developing caring relationships which extend beyond the classroom. The majority of teachers at the IISL, however, appeared to fully embrace these challenges. For some, the demands of caring beyond the classroom walls were the aspects of teaching that they most appreciated.

The Town Hall of Oñati has provided the IISL with an 18th century Basque palace, Palacio Antia, which provides accommodation for students, teachers and visiting scholars. The shared accommodation means that there is often a high degree of interaction outside of the classroom. Teachers are provided with a self-contained apartment, whereas students and other visitors share a kitchen, dining room and

[9] For an indepth analysis of specifically Basque social institutions see for instance, Errasti *et al.* (2003), Mees (2004), Hess (2007), Ridley-Duff (2010), and Altzelai Uliondo and Terradillos Ormaetxea (2012).

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other common rooms. Nevertheless, some of the teachers described their strongest memory of teaching at the IISL as sharing meals with the students. As one teacher stated: "discussing, singing, laughing and eating together is a wonderful experience."

Interactions between students and teachers also extended beyond the residence. Teachers described going for walks with students, travelling with students on weekends, and sharing meals outside the residence. In addition, some teachers also have developed enduring relationships with people from the village. For instance, the children of one teacher have attended the local school and have been learning Euskara (the Basque language).

8. Cultivating cosmopolitan citizens

Our analysis of teachers' perceptions of their pedagogic practices, their sense that they are contributing to the building of an international community of sociology of law scholars, and their own sense of self-transformation, suggest that teaching at the IISL may be best conceived as cultivating cosmopolitanism. The term 'cosmopolitanism' has become highly fashionable within the social sciences and humanities. The term is also highly contested, and there is no unified interpretation of how cosmopolitanism should be defined. Nor is it always clear how it can be distinguished from similar terms such as globalisation, transnationalism, universalism and glocalization (Beck and Sznaider 2006, p. 2).

One conception of cosmopolitanism that is especially relevant to higher education has its roots in Kant's call for world citizenship (Held 1995, Linklater 1998, Osler and Starkey 2003). Many scholars define cosmopolitanism in opposition to nationalism, with cosmopolitan citizenship involving a shift from the prioritising of rights and duties associated with a sovereign nation-state towards having duties towards all human beings. This shift towards cosmopolitan citizenship has been associated with the rise of universal conceptions of human rights, shared support for the principles of democracy, and the increasing recognition of and respect for cultural differences (Beck 2002a).

Applied to higher education, cosmopolitan citizenship can be understood as a normative or ethical framework which calls for the production of "planetary citizens" who are "…tolerant of pluralism, [and] understand that world's economic, political, social, cultural, technological and environmental processes" (Haigh 2008, p. 427). Likewise, Jones (2000) distinguishes between "internationalisation", which is manifested in higher education as efforts to attract international students for economic and political reasons, and "internationalism." Internationalism refers to the building of an international community which protects the international dimensions of the common good. McIntosh (2005, p. 25) also argues that education should be aimed at producing 'global citizens', who are able to see pluralities and to balance an awareness of their own realities against the realities of others.

The strongest call for education to produce cosmopolitan citizenship comes from Martha Nussbaum (1997), who argues that education must endow the cosmopolitan graduate with three attributes. First, they must have the capacity for critical examination and self-reflection. This requires knowing and recognising one's own world-view, and then being able to become detached from and critique one's own ideologies and illusions. Second, cosmopolitan graduates must possess narrative imagination, meaning that they need to cultivate empathy, tolerance and respect for diversity. Nussbaum (1997, p. 85) calls on teachers to use narrative forms of pedagogy which allow for greater emotional connections with others, and breaks down resistance to difference. Finally, cosmopolitan graduates needs to identify as such, and to be able to imagine and prioritise the position of others, regardless of distance, over local perspectives (Nussbaum 1997, p. 9-10).

This ethical conception of cosmopolitanism looks to the future, and it is also important that the IISL reflects on future challenges that potentially limit its ability to produce cosmopolitan graduates. These future challenges come, in part, from criticisms of Nussbaum's work. Robbins (1999) argues that Nussbaum asserts a singular conception of a worldwide citizenship which is founded on assumptions that western norms should be universalised. According to Robbins (1999, p. 148), Nussbaum is unaware of the paradox created by her efforts "to defend the rest against the West only by the means of an unrepentant reassertion of Western philosophical universalism." Similarly, Papastephanou (2002, p. 74) argues that Nussbaum's assumption that we share a common humanity that goes deeper than our cultural differences is problematic. For Papastephanou (2002, p. 74), this assumption presents the risk of producing a "common yardstick" of humanity against which cultures can be measured, and possibly found deficient.

Robbins' (1999) critique provides a useful reminder for the IISL to ensure that it does not favour a singular and absolute conception of sociology of law, but instead continues to embrace complexity and diversity. As we have highlighted above, embracing diversity has proven to be the main challenge facing teachers, including barriers to developing an international curriculum. Diversity should also extend beyond interacting with perspectives from different geographies, and arguably more could be done to recognise different positions in relation to class, gender, ideologies, etc.

Papastephanou (2002, p. 75) also critiques Nussbaum's (1997) support of narrative imagination on the basis of empathy, arguing that this has the risk of minorities being spoken for, rather than being able to speak for themselves. Applied to the IISL, it is one thing to ask students to read material from a range of different perspectives, it is another to have teachers who embody different perspectives presenting their own material. For instance, during the Institute's 25 years history, there has only been one female Scientific Director, and the recently announced program for 2016-2017 features only four female teachers from a total of 15.

The tendency by cosmopolitan theorists to rely on a binary opposition between universalism and nationalism has also been criticised (Beck 2002b, Beck and Sznaider 2006, Donald 2007). Beck (2002b) claims that cosmopolitanism produces entanglements, intermingling, connectedness, and interaction, rather than strict divisions between the local and the global. For Beck (2002b), new forms of entanglements are produced by the growing awareness of global risks, including the global financial crisis, new forms of technology, and global communication. The way in which global risks produce interconnected global and local impacts is evident at the IISL. The IISL has been hit by the global financial crisis, with the Basque government reducing the budget to most state-funded institutions, and faces the constant risk of fluctuating student numbers which reflect the ebb and flow of the international student market.

The uncertainty of continuing funding and stable student numbers may push the IISL to become entangled with other higher education institutions. Currently, the Master's program is accredited by the University of the Basque Country, although a few students attend single units. For Beck, cosmopolitanism offers a constant shifting and re-shifting of allegiances between the local and the global, and the IISL could explore teaching in partnership with other institutions, co-enrolment and co-certification, as well as distance learning options. The potential for new allegiances has already been demonstrated to some degree at the IISL, which is a member of the Renato Treves International PhD Program in Law and Society. The program is organised by a consortium of European universities and is administered by the University of Milan.

9. Conclusion

An analysis of the perceptions of teachers who have taught on the Master's Program at the International Institute of Sociology of Law has provided a significant contribution towards understanding how higher education institutions and teachers relate to student diversity. Whereas previous analysis of the growing market of international students has tended to assume that internationalisation is an even process, our analysis suggests that this conceptualisation is overly simplistic. In most other higher education institutions, international students come from specific home countries, their destinations are typically limited, and for the most part the teaching of international students continues to be seen as an aside to the main services provided by universities. In contrast, the IISL provides an innovative program which attracts a highly diverse student population and has been specifically designed to cater to the holistic needs of international students.

For many teachers, delivering a course at the IISL is their first exposure to such a rich diversity of students. Our analysis reveals a number of different approaches towards addressing student diversity. A few teachers appeared to conceptualise diversity as an obstacle, however, for most their teaching adopted a social process approach which embraced student diversity as a resource that enabled learning and provided students with a voice. Even further, many teachers appeared enriched by their experiences of dealing with cultural diversity. They attempted to engage in genuine dialogue with students, drew on multiple perspectives to challenge hegemonic understandings of sociology of law, and interacted with students beyond the walls of the classroom. In this way, teaching at the IISL is as a form of engaged pedagogy which produces cosmopolitan citizens.

Whereas bell hooks (1994) and Madge *et al.* (2009) discuss engaged pedagogy largely in terms of the relations between students and teachers, teachers' comments reveal that pedagogy extends beyond this dyad. Teachers discussed how they found their own understandings of sociology of law to be enriched by their interactions with Basque culture. This suggests that being an international teacher helps to develop reflective and critical self-awareness. This also points towards arguably the greatest contribution of the IISL, which is to produce self-aware, culturally sensitive, caring sociology of law scholars in the form of both teachers and gradates. These scholars can create and disseminate knowledge from the core of the IISL to all of the world's multiple centres and peripheries.

This does not mean that the program at the IISL is without its risks, for instance the uneven internationalisation of teachers and the underrepresentation of women on the program present a danger that teachers will 'speak for' rather than embody difference. There is also a risk that the economic pressures means that the IISL succumbs to the 'internationalisation' rather than 'internationalism' of higher education (Jones 2000), and that ethical dimensions of producing cosmopolitanism students (and teachers) is lost. Further embracing globalisation, including using online and distance learning resources, combining the Master's program with local programs, and other forms of local/national/global 'entanglements' may offers a way forward that allows to the IISL to continue as a site for the production of cosmopolitan citizenship.

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