The internationalisation of Higher Education & Faculty Mobility Report

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Executive Summary

It is said that higher education has 'gone global' but internationalisation and globalisation have distinct meanings which point in different political directions. Globalisation has cooperative and collectivist tenets, and the drive to establish strategic partnerships is at the heart of the international strategies of many universities.

Private sectors have grown vigorously and may be more ready to meet demand by exploiting the potential of the internet than public sectors. This is positive, but the idea of higher education as a public good is being eroded, which is less worth celebrating. Technology is changing pedagogy but not as fast as some think. The main trends in international higher education can be presented in a number of ways, and there is no such thing as a definitive list. The following focuses on trends which will have international relevance and sustained impact:

Spreading and deepening competition

Many countries (especially in Asia) are engaged in a process of transformation from higher education importers to exporters. There are a range of motivations for this, wrapped up in national economic goals and international competitiveness in the knowledge economy.

The rise of education hubs

As particularly evidenced in the rise of Asia, there are marked moves to create education hubs at a national level, and movements for economic cooperation at a regional level. In both cases, it would be reasonable for countries to try to retain highly qualified staff in their own systems or at least encourage them to return after gaining qualifications abroad.

External influences

Government schemes for focusing research funding on fewer universities are couched in terms of attaining 'world-class excellence' and are driven by the international rankings. Lavishing money on new infrastructure is one thing but attaining excellence depends on attracting the right people. The 'Excellence Initiative' in Germany shows that it had a positive impact on attracting staff from abroad.

Mobility

Some factors that directly affect international flows of students and faculty are beyond the ability of universities to control, though of course HE associations of various types engage in political lobbying as a matter of course. Immigration regimes and visa rules are subject to the government policies which come and go. The relative advantages that countries have in regard to each other change constantly.

Support for new faculty critical

New faculty members require appropriate induction, support and guidance. This is important for retention as well. New academic staff often come in pairs, and some universities in the US, Australia and New Zealand appear to accommodate their needs well.

Recruiting the best talent

Even where international recruitment is an accepted strategy there is a reluctance to claim that hiring international staff is a priority. Aiming for the best was articulated. The main issues in regard to recruitment at some institutions in the US and UK were the search for excellence and increasing the number of women and academic staff from under-represented ethnic minorities.

Introduction

Internationalisation within universities has developed from a focus on international student recruitment to a more mature agenda that includes recruitment, research collaborations, different forms of partnerships and capacity-building. Universities in developed countries have established physical presences in many parts of the world; in recent years institutions in developing countries are doing likewise.

The result is a more internationally competitive landscape particularly demonstrated by the rise of Asian institutions in the rankings. Technology is changing pedagogy but not as fast as some think. The open content movement has been re-energised by technology and the MOOCs phenomenon, and we are yet to see the full effects on traditional education.

The patterns of international student mobility are changing as a consequence of both demographics and government policies, and it is reasonable to assume that patterns of academic staff mobility will change too.

As more countries engage in Higher Education (HE) export, it will mean more international competition for qualified academic staff. Just as with students, countries will try to retain faculty in their own systems or at least to encourage them to return after studying overseas. Indeed this is already happening with mature systems. But international students will continue to be a major source of new entrants to the academic profession in many countries and recent graduates will be more likely to seek opportunities abroad.

Government policies can have an impact on how welcoming a country appears to be, to both students and staff from abroad – and there is usually little that HE sectors can do to address this directly. But there is plenty that can be done at sectoral and institutional levels. How welcoming is your political culture? Your institutional culture? These are important questions for prospective academic staff from another country.

Section 1: Headline Trends in International Higher Education

"The ongoing student demand and increased mobility has led to a surprising shift in academic delivery. Technology, regionalisation and a true global faculty perspective are the themes we now see." Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

Demand and participation

Mass higher education now occurs everywhere except parts of sub-Saharan Africa. UNESCO and the OECD provide slightly different statistics and projections for higher education participation worldwide. But the message is the same: a continuing demand, especially in Asian and African countries with rapidly growing populations.

According to the Economist, the global tertiary-enrolment ratio—the share of the student-age population at university—went up from 14% to 32% in the two decades to 2012. For the UK it was 60%, US 89%, China 30%, India 25%, Southeast Asia 31%, and sub-Saharan Africa 8%. This rise was unimpeded by the 2008-10 financial crisis. There is no reason to believe that the rise in demand will end, though the rate of growth should ease off by 2020.

Mobility

Student mobility is also expected to increase. In 2012, more than 4.5m students studied abroad at HE level and Asian students accounted for just over half of these.

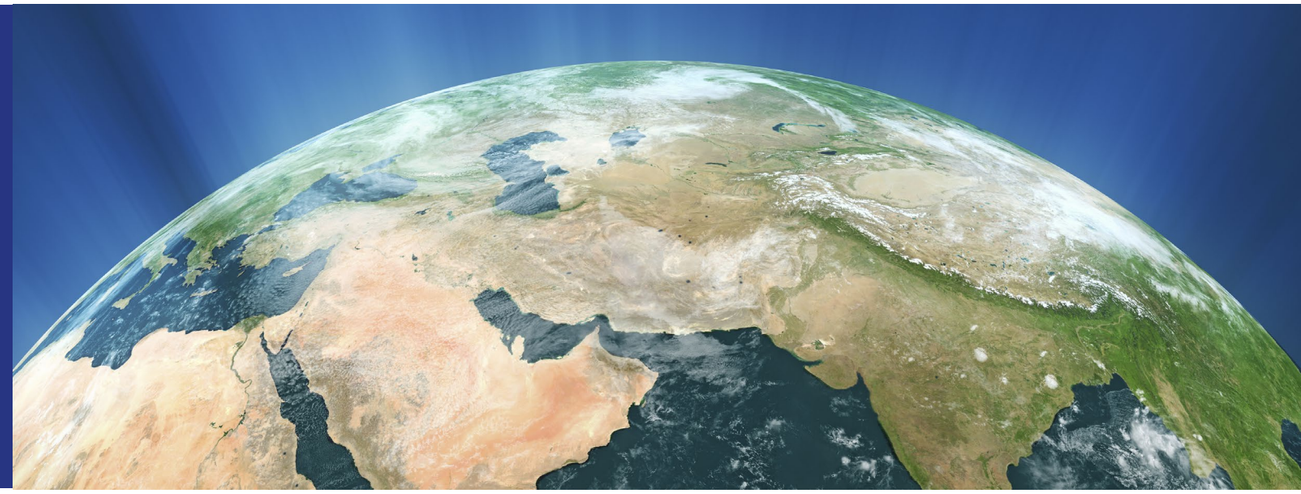
But will international mobility keep pace with expanding demand generally? Possibly not, for two reasons:

- the increase in domestic capacity in some importing countries (China is a good example)
- the growth of transnational education (TNE) options, including online

The regionalisation of higher education is a further consideration. The patterns of international mobility are likely to change, and mobility within regions is already becoming more important. 81% of international students in Japan and 75% in Korea come from other East Asian countries. China is investing heavily in higher education and aims to host 500,000 international students by 2020, up from the current level of about 275,000; most of these are Asian students.

Education hubs in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore and consortium models in the Middle East such as Qatar are designed to attract a majority of students from within the region.

"Distance education, which some consider to be a form of 'virtual mobility' is combining with the need for a physically located international faculty to provide the blended learning experience today's student demands." Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk



The trend seems to be an increasing number of mobile students who will choose destinations nearer to their home countries, rather than the US and Europe. This sets up a more complex global flow of students rather than a traditional south-to-north flow.

Education importers are now becoming exporters. The Southeast Asia (ASEAN) integration project is modelled on European integration and is not motivated by education concerns. But it is about knowledge and retaining skills in the region, and its future impact on mobility flows is worth watching. It is worth keeping in mind that the vast majority of students are not internationally mobile.

The outbound mobility ratio (mobile HE students divided by total HE enrolments) has been stable at just over 2% for more than two decades. Even across the European Higher Education Area, only 4.5% of European students pursued studies in another European country in 2014.

Lack of access to physical mobility drives up demand for online and distance education, which some consider to be a form of 'virtual mobility'. Of course this also means that institutions are becoming even more aware of the need to bring globalised teaching talent to their changing student population.

Transnational education (TNE)

Transnational education is the delivery of higher education degree programmes in a different country from the one where the awarding institution is based. TNE includes high-profile international branch campuses (IBCs) but the vast majority of TNE is delivered through partnership models, such as joint degrees, validation arrangements, flying faculty arrangements, articulation deals, and online and blended provision. The UK is by far the biggest exporter of higher education via TNE.

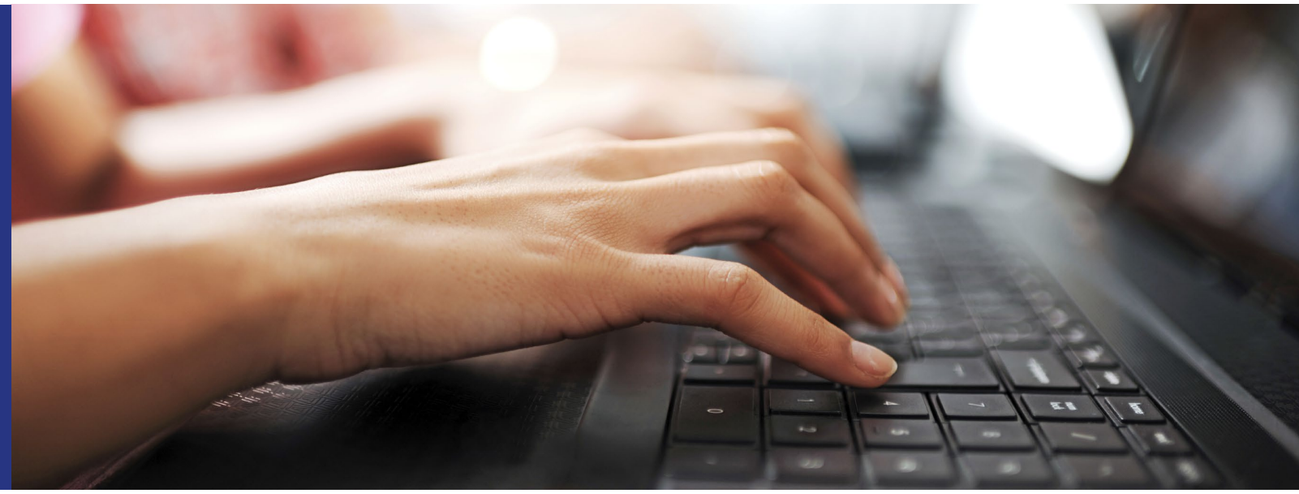
TNE represents a progression from the competitive practice of international recruitment to a more balanced and collaborative partnership approach to internationalisation. This finds favour with host governments to the extent that they compete to host such operations by offering incentives.

TNE will continue to expand as a response to a range of factors. These include:

- regionalisation: TNE is a rational response if Asian students become more mobile within their own regions and consequently become less likely to travel to traditional HE destinations like the US and the UK;
- the perceived need for institutions to have international presence;
- the opportunity it presents to solidify and monetise international partnerships;
- pull (demand) factors, not least the appetite by many Asian governments and some African governments to have such international activity in their countries;
- stricter immigration regulations in traditional destination countries.

"Just as technology in life takes an unexpected direction, then technology in delivering meaningful HE outcomes is always surprising. One thing remains consistent – the huge value of the inspirational, world-experienced academic."

Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk



Technology

The impacts of technology on education are probably both overestimated and underestimated. They are overestimated in the first instance, and the hype surrounding MOOCs in 2012-13 is a fine example. But in the longer run, education will not be the same. The gradual integration of formal and informal delivery methods will be disruptive to traditional institutions.

Online courses and degrees, and blended variants, are now normal: even traditional elite universities offer some of their courses online, and some offer whole degree programs. Although 100% online degrees remain uncommon, blended provision is common and there is evidence that it is more desired by students in the US and UK. The future is blended.

Virtual learning environments (VLEs) are now commonplace and are used for both domestic and distance students – for synchronous teaching when broadband capacity allows.

The impacts of VLEs on pedagogy could be profound when realised: the re-emergence of the co-creation of knowledge, by which students do not see themselves primarily as consumers.

One legacy of the MOOCs phenomenon is the growing legitimation of online learning. In many parts of the world, an online degree is less valued, and one can always find evidence - even in the US - that the perception by academic staff of the value and legitimacy of online learning is declining.

There can be specific reasons for not recognising online qualifications: e.g. the Ministry of Health in the UAE does not recognise online degrees or accept distance learning for clinical practices. In India, there is a widespread understanding that online provision, delivered by domestic and foreign private providers, is the only possible answer to growing demand and a big capacity deficit. But it is not wholeheartedly embraced for fears of poor and corrupt practices.

Informal and formal teaching and learning

An important trend is the blurring of the line between open-access and paid-for higher education. The integration of open provision into formal credit was accelerated by MOOCs, even if only a minority of MOOC students actually seek credit or a qualification. Over half the 4,500 undergraduate students at MIT take a MOOC as part of their degree, and many other universities in the US now accept MOOC credits toward degrees. This means the emergence of parallel non-credit and for-credit streams, each for a distinct constituency of learners.

'Digital badges' are a consequence of this. Badges are a way of giving recognition to non-degree learning, and are usually described as a means of providing evidence of 'competency-based learning' (hands-on stuff, job training, fieldwork) and/or marketable skills to potential employers.

Universities will begin to accept digital badges for credit, and this will drive up the exchange value of informal education.

We are not near the point at which the perceived legitimacy and exchange value of a three- or four-year degree can be replicated with a buffet of online offerings. But when employers decide that a collection of credits or badges acquired in different ways is evidence of credentials and skills needed for a job, this will have a disruptive effect on mass higher education. This could have a positive impact in the developing world if the gaps between regional skills requirements and skills provision could be closed more easily through the non-formal route.

"What all serious HE institutions are realising is that the building of a diverse, balanced and internationally experienced faculty is now a fundamental requirement of a rapidly changing student population."

Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

The for-profits

Partnerships with for-profit private companies have long been part of higher education: in catering, computing, payrolls, residences and security services. But international competition, the demand for education by older students, skills deficits and – above all – funding cuts all drive the increasing role of private actors in higher education provision.

A challenge for governments is how to open up higher education to a more diverse range of providers without compromising quality. India is an example of a country in which private provision is needed and already widespread. But poor provision is also widespread and this colours perceptions of the for-profits and indeed of anything that looks like 'commercialisation', i.e. a departure from the ideal of higher education as a public good.

For-profit providers have transformed the US sector in the past two decades. The adult (25+) education market exploded from 38,000 to 840,000 between 1987 and 2009, and there are now more than 1,600 degree-granting for-profit institutions in the US (30% of the total). Much for-profit provision is online. The UK is ahead of the rest of Europe in the growth of alternative providers, some with degree-awarding powers. Some are for-profit and some are not-for-profit. Parts of continental Western Europe represent clear resistance to the privatisation currents and are increasingly an anomaly in its taxation-funded higher education systems.

The withdrawal of the state from HE funding in a number of countries suggests to many that the ideal of education as a public good is under attack. But the private companies' relations with the traditional sector – via 'public-private partnerships' (PPPs), for example – permit universities to focus on excellence in teaching, learning and research within a secure fiscal and organisational structure. PPPs can therefore be responses to scarcity in public funding that demonstrate a determination to sustain the ideal of HE as a public good.

Outsourcing of administrative functions at traditional institutions is underway: in marketing, recruitment, admissions, and IT network management. Companies offer solutions in data analytics for tracking student progress, assessment, and behavior for customised interventions.

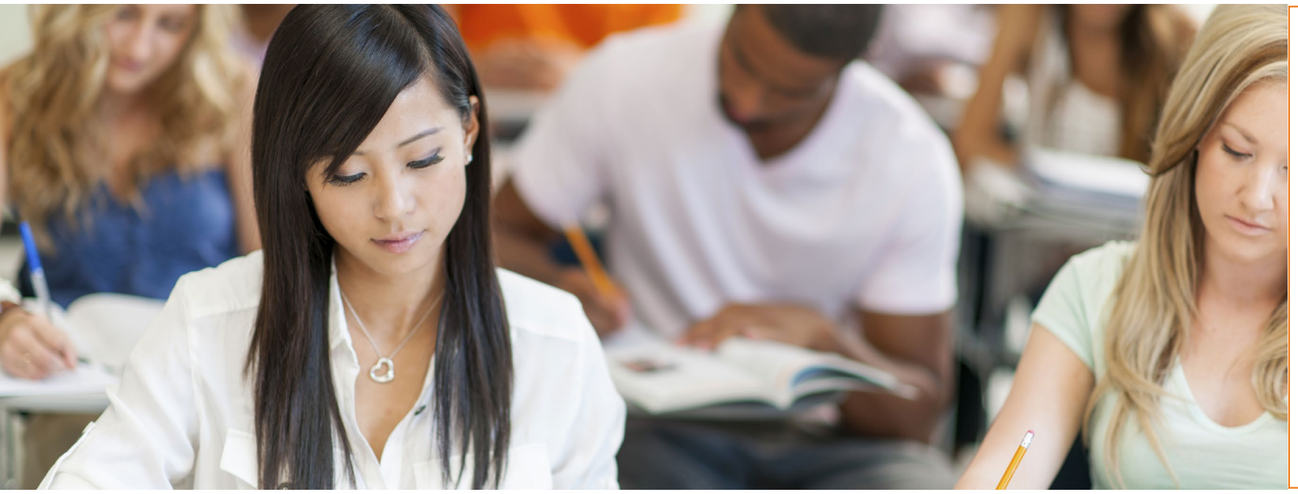
Conclusion

A big question in regard to the regionalisation phenomenon is whether its potential impact on student mobility will be mirrored in faculty mobility. There are of course links between student and staff mobility.

This means that the patterns of international academic staff mobility must be tied to some extent to the patterns of student mobility – although no data is available on this. Government policies can impact on this – for example, by incentivising post-study work in the country of study.

What all serious HE institutions are realising is that the building of a diverse, balanced and internationally experienced faculty is now a fundamental requirement of a rapidly changing student population.

Section 2: The International Mobility of Faculty



Greater depth on the issues surrounding the international mobility of faculty particularly was gained through a series of interviews in September 2015. Those consulted were senior academics and a mobility professional, all of whom have extensive international experience, whether through operating and staffing branch campuses or other TNE arrangements, operating mobility programmes at institutions, or conducting international mobility research.

Recruitment trends in the context of higher education internationalisation

Over the last decade or so, higher education internationalisation had directly impacted on faculty mobility. This can best be conceptualised as a series of links between HE internationalisation, internationalisation strategies at institutions, and increasing the number of international academic staff. Direct means of achieving such 'comprehensive internationalisation' (see Hudzik 2011) include internationalising the curriculum and hiring more international staff.

Internationalising the campus ('internationalisation at home') is also seen as a means of internationalising the experience of domestic students who do not have the opportunity to study abroad themselves.

Moving in closer from the global context, the diversification of faculty and the increase in international recruiting are driven partly by the increase in English-language instruction by institutions in non-anglophone countries. This has driven up demand for English-speaking lecturers – not just from the UK and US, but from Asia. This anglicisation means that some Dutch universities, for example, have more than one-quarter international academic staff (or more than half if you include their PhDs). This includes senior administrators at the top.

The internationalisation of faculty is also driven by international student mobility. International PhD students staying on to teach and research at the same institution after graduation is a growing phenomenon. This is in spite of the fact that some universities have a policy not to employ their own graduates.

It was highlighted that faculty mobility also means a more globalised market for research career tracks. It was noted, for example, that Asian staff at a UK branch campus would be serious candidates for positions at most UK universities, for which a research track record or potential is normally required.

Given that a big part of the international market for academic staff is comprised of young, recent graduates, recruitment strategies that make provision for 'accompanying partners' and then for subsequent integration were seen by interviewees as essential.

The methodologies of the main international rankings of universities incorporate the proportion of students and staff that are international for measuring the level of internationalisation. In the case of the QS World University Rankings, the international faculty and student ratios each contribute 5% to the overall score.

In the case of the Times Higher Education rankings, each ratio contributes 2.5%. There is a positive correlation between faculty mobility and global ranking (the top research universities also have more student mobility) but it is not simply the case that highly ranked universities attract more international faculty; it is also the case that they are highly ranked because of those faculty.

The President of China University of Political Science and Law presenting Dr Eugene Clark a certificate commemorating his receipt of the Global Experts Program

"International hiring no longer needs to be expensive, long winded and risky. By using technology, global networks and good old fashioned rigour an international hire can be as assured as a local one."

Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

Prioritising international faculty at institutions

For some respondents in both the US and UK, it was felt that the profiles of their faculty was already highly internationalised; some felt that their whole institutions were 'already there' in a more general sense.

The level of internationalisation can vary markedly by discipline, department or faculty. Law and certain social sciences were seen as less internationalised because their subject matters are more closely tied to national jurisdictions; business, management and engineering faculties were more internationalised.

Even where international recruitment is an accepted strategy there is a reluctance to claim that hiring international staff is a priority. Aiming for the best was articulated.

The main issues in regard to recruitment at some institutions in the US and UK were the search for excellence and increasing the number of women and academic staff from under-represented ethnic minorities. These were all higher priorities than upping the international numbers *per se.*

Hiring international academic staff: advantages and challenges

The advantages to institutions of having international faculty might seem self-evident. Ideas offered were variations on 'gaining new perspectives' and 'enriching the university'. It was also suggested that internationally mobile staff offer good role models for students.

Discussing the difficulties threw up more substantive issues. One is cost. The recruitment process is more costly for international staff, notably if it involves flying candidates in for interviews and covering expenses for a few days. Relocation costs can be substantial. Another was longer lead times, mainly because of immigration regulations, other related bureaucracy and paperwork, and family issues. The lead time between offer and starting work can be one year for hiring US staff abroad. The selection process was also more difficult: it can be hard to convince staff to come, and this difficulty often relates to arrangements for partners.

Other challenges that take time, resources and cultural sensitivity to resolve are welcoming new academic staff and the subsequent integration. The latter refers to both in the institution and in the community.

There can be discrepancies between countries in regard to how new international staff and their partners are welcomed and settled in. Australia and New Zealand institutions were cited as doing well by providing coordinated support, including social events beyond the campus and in the wider community. Australian and American institutions are offering more comprehensive support to partners and spouses as part of their international faculty recruitment strategy. Evidence was also given from Germany of a government-funded research programme that successfully attracted recently graduated husband and wife teams back to Germany.

"Every country with a developed HE structure has to accept the wider political context and seemingly ever changing direction governance take on working visas. Our consistent advice is that for a quality candidate an institution has to engage fully and in accordance with legal requirements as part of a long term talent strategy. The benefits in the long term far outweigh the seemingly onerous process" Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

Profile of internationally mobile academic staff

A typical 'two peaks' pattern in regard to the age profile of academic staff seeking opportunities abroad was noted. The first peak is composed of early-career candidates, typically new PhDs, often with partners but without children. Early-career academics were typically given increased responsibilities, including decision-making powers, which they otherwise would not have had. An interesting variant on this was the case of new PhDs coming from the US but not US citisens; these were international doctoral students who did not secure green cards upon graduation.

A second peak composes of established academics in their 50s whose children had left home and whose pension arrangements were already secure (some tenured American academics qualify for a full pension at age 55).

Some senior hires are sought by institutions with low international profiles specifically as a shortcut to enhancing these profiles. While the two peaks rule seems to apply to China and international branch campuses (Dubai was particularly mentioned) it was not evident at some UK institutions, which exhibit a more even profile for international academic staff across the age ranges.

The two peaks phenomenon could therefore pose a challenge to staff retention and begs the question of how best to pitch jobs at mid-career staff.

The gap between the two peaks was explained with reference to both family-raising responsibilities and the pressures on scholars to build a research profile and reputation to qualify for promotion. These responsibilities and pressures were greatest during a scholar's 30s and 40s.

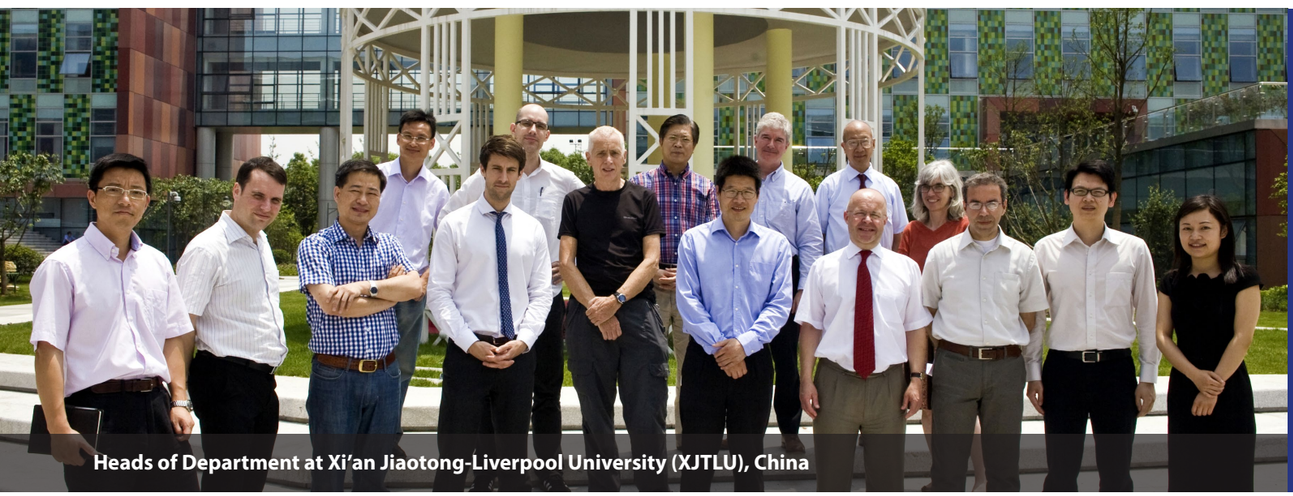
Barriers to hiring international faculty

In the US the immigration and visa regime can be seen as an obstacle though this is usually seen as surmountable and there were cases in which potential hires had been lost as a consequence of such difficulties. One could never know which potential applicants were put off before actually applying.

It was also found that the 'Outstanding Research Professor' route can be easier for gaining permanent residency.

The visa landscape in the UK has been a moving target for some years but the most profound change in the last couple of years was the abolition, in April 2012 (four years after its introduction), of the 'Tier 1 Post-Study Work Visa', which gave the automatic right of employment in the UK for a period of two years after graduation from a UK university. The marked decline in the number of Indian students coming to the UK is attributed to the removal of this right.

Real Life Benefits



Heads of Department at Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU), China

UK branch campus in China:

- jobs.ac.uk managed a successful staff recruitment campaign for a Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) – a branch campus of a UK University in China
- jobs.ac.uk produced a campaign website which included job opportunities and helpful information on China for prospective foreign staff
- The number of staff increased from 100 to 400 in four years
- jobs.ac.uk was the top source of candidates
- The age profile of these academics fit the two peaks pattern
- By 2014, two-thirds of the faculty were non-Chinese, from 45 countries.

Taiwan to USA:

- The University at Buffalo hired an all-star faculty member from Taiwan
- Over his 50 year career the Professor had a huge impact on the university's engagement in China and international profile
- In 2014-15, the university enrolled nearly 2,000 students from China and maintained academic and scholarly exchange agreements with five Chinese universities
- This has also helped advance the scholarship of numerous students and professors who travel to China each year for collaborative research projects, educational exchange, and language learning.

Netherlands to the USA:

- A Dutch medical professional with a particular clinical expertise was experiencing obstacles in the Netherlands, including lack of finance for a research center
- He was recruited by University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) where there was a generous grant to get it going
- The research output of UCLA benefited, as did the professor's own citations score
- Relocation expenses were covered for his whole family by UCLA, and his wife secured the right to work outside the university.

Conclusions

"Our shared challenge is to address greater demands in a globally competitive arena. Throughout we have to remember it's not about 'winning', rather it's about excellence. A truly international faculty provides a vital element in that excellence." Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

Spreading and deepening competition

Many countries (especially in Asia) are engaged in a process of transformation from higher education importers to exporters. There are a range of motivations for this, wrapped up in national economic goals and international competitiveness in the knowledge economy. For the traditional exporters such as the US and UK, it means, that universities in countries like China, Korea and Singapore are competitors for the best academic staff, and they may have deeper pockets to secure them. ***But alternatively it may also mean that the talent pool itself is bigger, wider and more diverse.***

The rise of education hubs

As particularly evidenced in the rise of Asia, there are marked moves to create education hubs at a national level, and movements for economic cooperation at a regional level. In both cases, it would be reasonable for countries to try to retain highly qualified staff in their own systems or at least encourage them to return after gaining qualifications abroad. Anecdotal evidence from the interviews for this paper suggests that international PhD students staying on to teach and research after graduation is a growing phenomenon, even if some universities, notably in the US, have a formal or informal policy of not employing their own graduates. Indeed, these graduates may secure employment at a different institution in the country of graduation. ***Retaining their own nationals and attracting foreign nationals will be an essential part of these strategies.***

External influences

Government schemes for focusing research funding on fewer universities are couched in terms of attaining 'world-class excellence' and are driven by the international rankings. Lavishing money on new infrastructure is one thing but attaining excellence depends on attracting the right people. The 'Excellence Initiative' in Germany shows that it had a positive impact on attracting staff from abroad. The international rankings present a chicken-and-egg problem. ***Having more international staff drives institutions up the rankings but institutions need good rankings to attract the best international staff.***

"We are the world's most trusted means of attracting quality international academic staff. Our blend of expertise, global reach and sector heritage give all our customers the absolute assurance they need in such a crucial area." Nick Brian, jobs.ac.uk

Three questions which resonate in everything jobs.ac.uk does are:

1. Where will the future markets for faculty be?
2. To what extent will mobility be predicated on the provision of higher education in English?
3. Does the 'two peaks' phenomenon of young and older academic staff being mobile mean that institutional faculty recruitment strategies should ignore the age groups in between?

Mobility

Some factors that directly affect international flows of students and faculty are beyond the ability of universities to control, though of course HE associations of various types engage in political lobbying as a matter of course. Immigration regimes and visa rules are subject to the government policies which come and go. The relative advantages that countries have in regard to each other change constantly. For example, the difficulties experienced in the US may be less of an issue in five years. The perceived welcome in Canada is currently deteriorating.

The UK is considered less welcoming now to international students than pre-2012 but there is no real evidence that prospective staff see it the same way. There is a whole industry based on analysing data on the decision-making processes of prospective international student opinions and turning enquiries into registrations. There is no equivalent for prospective international staff, and no comparative data on the benefits offered in different countries. Greater understanding of underlying influences on staff mobility would also be useful.

Support for new faculty arrivals is critical

New faculty members require appropriate induction, support and guidance. This is important for retention as well. New academic staff often come in pairs, and some universities in the US, Australia and New Zealand appear to accommodate their needs well.

Recruiting the best talent

The simplistic answer to the future markets for faculty is...everywhere. Our experience is a little different. We are uniquely placed to observe and map academic migration patterns, to discover the motivations for different groups and types, and to share our learnings with our clients. What we see right now is a real move towards individuals moving regionally rather than globally, a consistent cultural alignment rather than financial aspiration and institutional success being driven by a consistent (and often centralised) international hiring strategy. Taking control and concentrating on aligned geographic and cultural regions seems to be working for many, rather than a 'scatter-gun' approach.

As for language as an influence, English, rightly or wrongly, is still the major linguistic player. International mobility and the hiring requirements governing it are still mostly predicated on English as the common enabler. This affords the US and UK an advantage, but this is rapidly eroding as time passes and arguably in the next five years it will be largely gone.

We're intrigued by the 'two peaks' phenomenon we outlined earlier. Many institutions are largely ignoring the 'passive middle' but we think this is a mistake. We think there is huge potential in addressing this immensely talented group. The task for institutions is to present are far more rounded view of themselves as destinations not only for academic advancement but as communities for individuals and families to thrive as a whole. Some are beginning to do this to great effect now and we are seeing them reap the benefits in international attraction accordingly.

The whole area of international academic mobility is one that is constantly changing. In this short report we have attempted to map some of our wider learnings onto a global landscape in a very brief way. We hope you have found real value here and would love to discuss any particular issues with you in far greater detail.

With special thanks to the following:

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Professor John Wood, Senior Associate Vice-Provost for International Education, University at Buffalo (SUNY)

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William Lawton has worked in higher education for 25 years, as a university lecturer and more recently as a researcher and writer. His main areas of expertise are higher education internationalisation – especially transnational education, the interplay of TNE and mobility, and the digital HE revolution. He has a longstanding interest in government policy and higher education, especially in regard to the UK, US, Canada, Southeast Asia and India.

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