Faculty Experience in Cross-Border Higher Education Projects

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Faculty Experience in Cross-Border Higher Education Projects

Qualifying Paper

Submitted by

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"People will never know it, but actions I take benefit 1,000 plus people. I'd like to think that I benefit in that benefit; that I strive to make other people's lives better. I think we're all fellow travelers, and one of the major points of life is to make the travels of our fellow travelers pleasant and good. This is a phenomenal opportunity to be able to do this." – MIT Faculty Member

Introduction

In the early 1930's, Florida State University began offering its educational programs to American military and civilian personnel living in the Panamanian Canal Zone, the first known offering of American higher education programs at locations outside of the United States (Lane, 2011). Over the last 85 years, these modest offerings have grown to form an industry of cross-border higher education (CBHE) in the United States, through which American universities set up faculty and student exchange programs, collaborative research or academic endeavors, or even new institutions abroad (Knight, 2011; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Through these projects, American colleges and universities earn revenue earmarked for research or education (of particular importance given recent cuts in U.S. government funding for academic research), increase their visibility and reputation both domestically and overseas, improve campus experiences for their students and faculty, and recruit top talent to support their programs either at home or abroad.

While faculty and student exchanges are the most common forms of CBHE, the largest and most time-intensive investments in CBHE are collaborations or partnerships to develop international branch campuses (IBCs) or new, independent institutions developed in collaboration with a foreign partner, called "cross-border institutions" or "cross-border colleges and universities" in this paper (Knight, 2011). Under these models, colleges and universities work to develop either branches of their own institution or a new campus in a different cultural imaginary from their "home" location, working to transfer or "transfuse"

their academic culture and approach to the new institution overseas (Bagiati, Sakhrani, Sarma, & de Neufville, 2012; Knight, 2011). Given the time and infrastructure required to develop these institutions, IBCs and cross-border colleges and universities are generally created to last long-term; as such, closures of these institutions – especially within several years of their founding – can cause damage to both the foreign institution and host nation's reputation and financial standing (Dessoff, 2011; Schlanger, 2013). Given these risks, institutions engaging in large-scale CBHE are motivated to ensure that these endeavors have the greatest chance of survival; as such, administrators of these campuses devote time, energy, and financial resources supporting stakeholders engaging in these projects, working to increase the likelihood of success of these endeavors.

While American institutions represent a large proportion of colleges and universities engaging in large-scale CBHE around the world, in recent years this growth has also expanded to include the global community, with Australian, British, and American campuses operating most international branch campuses (IBCs) and other large CBHE institutions (Lane, 2011). As of 2011, there were 183 IBCs in operation worldwide, with nearly half of these institutions developed as outposts of American, Australian, or British home campuses (Lane, 2011). Furthermore, IBCs and cross-border campuses now operate on every inhabitable continent – often in so-called regional education "hubs" such as Singapore, Qatar, or the United Arab Emirates – and within the last few years, countries known for "importing" higher education have begun to export their own CBHE as well (Lane, 2011). As of 2011, thirteen countries were both importers and exporters of large-scale CBHE: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Russia, South Korea, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Lane, 2011). While universities are generally interested in pursuing CBHE to improve institutional reputation or

generate revenue, governments are motivated to participate in these efforts in an effort to develop local high-quality educational institutions relevant to their domestic needs and develop local knowledge-based human capital in an effort to spur or maintain periods of economic growth (Knight, 2011; Wildavsky, 2010). To date, few universities have released data on the scope of the financial investments CBHE represent; however, media reports and leaked documents have illustrated the scale of university and government investments in CBHE. For example, New York University (NYU) reportedly received $40 million USD and $50 million USD gifts from the governments of Singapore and the United Arab Emirates, respectively, before the institution even formally began talks with these nations to create international branches of NYU's home campus within their borders[1] (Schlanger, 2013; Wildavsky, 2010), demonstrating the massive scope of the investments governments make to engage in these CBHE projects.

Despite the prevalence of CBHE institutions – as well as the financial costs and rewards associated with these endeavors – little grounded, empirical research has been performed to examine the experiences of faculty, staff, and students engaged in these projects, and this lack of knowledge limits the ability of leaders of higher education institutions to make informed decisions about the extent to which their institution and its stakeholder groups may or may not benefit from engagement in CBHE, or how they might manage some of the risks involved in establishing such ventures. This lack of scholarship is particularly concerning given notable failures of cross-border institutions in recent years – for example, the closures of Michigan State University's Dubai campus (Dessoff, 2011) and New York University's Tisch School of the Arts Asia (Schlanger, 2013) – as these closures

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[1] These donations most likely served as contributions to the university's endowment rather than as support for the future CBHE projects themselves, although exact information on their use is not publically available.

represent significant losses in terms of both real financial costs and the time faculty and administrators invested in these endeavors – and perhaps reputational costs – before they ultimately failed. Without investigating how faculty and staff experience work in CBHE, it is difficult to understand why some CBHE projects fail and others succeed, as well as whether or not investing time and financial resources in CBHE projects is worthwhile given the risk of closure. Currently, to my knowledge no scholarship investigates how faculty construe the personal and institutional benefits, costs, and ethical implications of participation in CBHE projects; therefore, it is impossible to understand whether or not these communities receive any benefit from risky institutional investments in CBHE, information and insight which could impact colleges' and universities' decision to enter into future large-scale cross-border higher education agreements.

To this end, this paper addresses two research questions of relevance concerning the experiences of senior faculty and staff in cross border higher education, as follows:

(a) What do faculty and staff of an institution engaged in large-scale CBHE projects perceive to be the benefits and costs of their participation in cross-border higher education projects?

(b) How do faculty and staff of an institution engaged in large-scale CBHE projects negotiate tradeoffs between these benefits and costs when making decisions to begin or continue their engagement in cross-border higher education work?

These questions address a gap in the current literature given that most scholarship in CBHE concerning faculty and staff addresses issues of teaching and pedagogy, largely ignoring these stakeholders' experiences outside of the formal classroom environment. Furthermore, empirical research in CBHE that does address faculty and staff experiences outside of the classroom generally only addresses a particular, non-generalizable context such as an

individual faculty member's experience or campus responses during crisis. My research will therefore provide more general insights as to the experiences of faculty and staff engaging in CBHE, albeit within the context of a particular higher education institution.

In addition to the importance of this work to the academic literature in CBHE, this work is also of practical importance given the prevalence and scope of CBHE initiatives. As described above, governments and other sponsoring bodies invest significant amounts of capital in large-scale CBHE, and factors such as poor faculty buy-in to CBHE projects can contribute to the failure of these projects. If more were known about the faculty experience of large-scale CBHE, these types of closures could potentially be prevented. Furthermore, on the academic side of these collaborations, faculty and staff spend countless hours invested in these projects, and it is unclear based on the current literature what – if anything – they get out of this time investment, providing little insight as to whether or not is it worthwhile to divert faculty attention from their primary responsibilities on the "home" campus to participate in CBHE. This research will work to illuminate what processes occur as faculty and staff members engage in CBHE, shedding light as to whether or not these projects are beneficial to these stakeholder groups as well as to factors that may contribute to faculty dissatisfaction in regards to these projects.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The majority of existing research in cross-border higher education concerns the policy mechanisms administrators may use to establish and maintain cross-border institutions, adopting a structural lens to investigate the CBHE phenomenon (Amthor & Metzger, 2011). This approach stems from Shils's (1972) "center-periphery" framework for the global cultural space. According to this framework, Western, dominant global actors sit at the "center" of the international cultural or educational space, with other actors –

specifically those in the developing world – are at the periphery, acting as receivers rather than generators of culture or ideas (Shils, 1972). Applying this phenomenon to the model of cross-border higher education, western actors – in this specific case, American, Australian, and British higher education institutions developing IBCs and cross-border institutions abroad – impose their cultural norms and values on actors in other cultural spaces, engaging in a form of educational neocolonialism in countries without access to or voice within the dominant global cultural space (Altbach, 1998). Under this model, it is assumed that actors at the periphery have little agency to construct a localized understanding of these predominant global cultural norms, simply accepting the dominant paradigm levied upon them by the "central" actors (Cichocki, 2005). Under this approach, the culture of the exporters of CBHE would be directly "transferred" to the campuses they help create; as such, local actors would simply accept the foreign educational model without adapting it to fit the needs and culture of the local context.

In recent years, the theoretical understanding of CBHE has shifted from this structural model described above to a post-structural approach, in which local actors are assumed to have agency to co-construct and interpret prevailing norms to fit the needs of their context (Amthor & Metzger, 2011; Montgomery, 2014). In contrast to the approach discussed above, this strand of analysis is "attuned to a multiplicity of meanings, nuances of context, and complex interplays of power and knowledge claims" (Amthor & Metzger, 2011, p. 66); under a post-structural understanding, actors that import CBHE have the agency to interpret and modify the Western educational model to fit their local context (Amthor & Metzger, 2011; Montgomery, 2014). Furthermore, under this post-structural perspective, faculty, staff, and students at an IBC or cross-border institution have the agency to respond actively to the homogenizing pressures of globalization, creating a bridge between the norms

of the global system and local needs, traditions, and understandings while working collaboratively with students, faculty, and staff at the partnering institution (Amthor & Metzger, 2011; Djerasimovic, 2014; Telafici, Martinez, & Telafici, 2014).

Despite this shift in theoretical understanding, however, little empirical scholarship in CBHE reflects the post-structural approach; rather, current scholarship generally focuses on the policies administrators develop to manage CBHE institutions rather than the experiences of faculty, students, and staff working "on the ground" in these efforts, providing little agency to these actors as they work to develop and manage CBHE institutions and partnerships, limiting perspectives represented in existing scholarly work (e.g. Cichocki, 2005; Eldridge & Cranston, 2009; Lane, 2011). This lack of knowledge about how faculty interpret their participation and interact with international partners in CBHE projects in turn limits understanding of the contributions of such projects to the academic life and trajectories of faculty, as well as understanding of how faculty and staff actors on the "home" campus contribute to work and cultural formation at the IBC or cross-border institution, or "host" campus.

Currently, most scholarship concerning the role of faculty and staff in large-scale CBHE concerns pedagogy and teaching practices in cross-national contexts, specifically at international branch campuses (e.g. Montgomery, 2014; Ziguras, 2008), rather than faculty and staff experiences working within the broader context of a CBHE project, which may take place at either the "home" or the "host" campus. One exception to this general rule is Feast and Bretag's (2005) study of faculty and staff responses to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) crisis at an Australian university with numerous CBHE outposts in Asia. This focus group-based study concerned faculty and staff interpretations of the economic and educational goals of CBHE in the context of an global health incident,

providing insights for how these actors perform their work in the context of crisis (Feast & Bretag, 2005). Another example of CBHE research focusing on the experiences of faculty and staff is Eldridge and Cranston's (2009) interview-based study of administrative staff working on an Australian-Thai CBHE project. In this study, the authors develop five categories of cross-cultural issues administrators identify as occurring in the context of their work at a cross-border campus; thus, this study provides no context for how the administrators navigate these issues in the context of a CBHE project (Eldridge & Cranston, 2009). Finally, perhaps the most descriptive study of the lived faculty experience in CBHE is Scott's (2013) auto-ethnography of her time teaching at a CBHE institution in China; however, this paper only addresses the institutional work associated with being "on the ground" at a CBHE campus, largely ignoring the efforts of faculty in the planning and early execution stages of these initiatives. Furthermore, the author's methodological technique of memoir as a form of auto-ethnography severely limits the extent to which her findings may be generalizable to other faculty or CBHE contexts (Scott, 2013).

Despite these limited examples of empirical research on this topic, the general lack of scholarship concerning out-of-classroom experiences of faculty and staff engaged in CBHE is particularly concerning given that faculty are often the drivers of institutional engagement in CBHE (Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Given the important roles of faculty and staff in these initiatives, more empirical scholarship should be performed to address the experiences of individuals on these projects in an effort to determine what benefits faculty and staff receive from these projects, what costs are associated with their participation, and how they interact with local partners to form new institutions in different cultural imaginaries than their home institutions. Here, I investigate these issues, with a particular focus on the costs and benefits of faculty and staff participation in CBHE as well as the ways in which faculty

and staff negotiate these positive and negative components of CBHE work. Should these findings indicate that faculty and staff perceive significant personal and institutional benefits of CBHE work, this research may support future engagement in large-scale CBHE initiatives; conversely, findings indicating that faculty and staff perceive few benefits of this work could lead American higher education institutions to reconsider large-scale CBHE engagement moving forward.

Methods

Participants & Setting

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) was selected as the research site for this project because it has one of the longest histories of international campus development of any American university. In response to calls for such efforts from U.S. policymakers and representatives from philanthropic foundations, MIT helped to develop new universities in India and Iran beginning in the 1950's and 1960's (Leslie & Kargon, 2006). While these types of international efforts waned from the 1970's to the late 1990's, MIT continued its engagement overseas through small-scale research collaborations and exchange programs (Bagiati, Sakhrani, et al., 2012). The most recent wave of major international collaborations began at MIT in 1999, through a joint research, academic, and innovation initiative with the University of Cambridge, called the Cambridge-MIT Institute (CMI) (Gregory & Crawley, 2007). Following the initiation of this project, MIT began a short-lived collaboration with the government of Malaysia to create the Malaysia University of Science and Technology, a postgraduate institution in Selangor, Malaysia (Bagiati, Sakhrani, et al., 2012). While both of these formal collaborations have ended, some joint research programs still exist between MIT and these foreign institutions; in addition, a Cambridge-MIT undergraduate exchange program also remains as a lasting product of CMI.

Currently, MIT operates four major international collaborations spanning three continents. The first of these projects is the MIT-Portugal Program, a collaborative venture between MIT and eight Portuguese institutions begun in 2006 (Pfotenhauer, Jacobs, Pertuze, Newman, & Roos, 2012). In 2009, the Masdar Institute in Abu Dhabi became first fully operational university collaboratively designed by MIT in the post-2000 wave of international collaborations, offering graduate and doctoral-level programs in fields related to energy and sustainability (Bagiati, Sakhrani, et al., 2012). Next, the Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD), which opened in 2012, became the first of MIT's major international collaborations to include both undergraduate and graduate curriculum components, and currently offers programs at the bachelor, master's, and Ph.D. levels (Bagiati, Sakhrani, et al., 2012). Finally, MIT began a collaboration with the Skolkovo Foundation in 2011 to create the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology (Skoltech), a postgraduate institution located outside of Moscow, Russia, focused on innovation and entrepreneurship ("About the Initiative," n.d.).

The majority of recent academic research on MIT's international collaborations is related to the MIT-Portugal Program and the MIT-SUTD Collaboration, the two projects with strong emphasis on educational research and publication. Given the emphasis of the MIT-Portugal Program on economic and industrial growth, however, much of the research performed on this project is related to the collaboration's potential to increase innovation in Portugal rather than on educational design or outcomes (e.g. Pfotenhauer, 2013). While research on the SUTD collaboration places slightly more emphasis on the educational experiences of students and faculty at the new university, to this point no qualitative, in-depth research concerning student, faculty, and staff stakeholder groups has been performed (Bagiati, Fisher, & Sarma, 2012; Fisher, Bagiati, & Brisson, 2014), reflecting trends in the

CBHE literature more broadly.

Study Sample and Interview Protocol

Research participants for this study were identified by two methods: (1) through my personal knowledge and experiences based on my previous work at MIT and (2) via websites, publications, and online resources associated with the various projects. Individuals selected to be contacted with interview requests were identified based on their significant experience on one of the five major MIT international collaborations since 2000, including in strategic planning, program administration, research support, and teaching during residencies at the foreign institutions or programs; in most cases, this experience also included frequent short term – and/or relatively infrequent long-term – stays on the foreign campuses. After potential subjects were identified using these methods, each was contacted via email with a request to participate in an interview. Those that agreed to participate were interviewed either remotely via phone or Skype or in-person in their offices at MIT between October and December 2014.

These semi-structured interviews each lasted for approximately 30-60 minutes, and were structured around three main topic areas informed by Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon's (2001) "Good Work" framework: (1) the individual's personal involvement in MIT's major international collaborations, (2) their views on the nature of MIT's involvement overseas, and (3) the moral and ethical implications of MIT's projects. A guiding interview protocol can be found in Appendix A; however, given time constraints or previous responses of participants, this interview protocol was adjusted in some cases, with either the addition of follow-up questions related to participant responses or removal of questions that would be redundant in light of topics previously addressed in the interview. In all cases, I followed Rubin and Rubin's (2005) technique of "responsive interviewing," encouraging

participants were encouraged to discuss their own experiences or viewpoints in lieu of simple descriptions of the projects in an effort to encourage personal reflection throughout the interview process.

In total, nineteen individuals were interviewed for this study, including fourteen faculty members; four non-faculty researchers, administrators, or staff members; and one visiting faculty member from one of the international collaboration campuses[2]. When asked to discuss their involvement with the various projects, one faculty or staff member described him or herself as involved with all five of the projects, three described themselves as involved with four projects, six described themselves as involved with three projects, six described themselves as involved with two projects, and two described themselves as involved with just one of the projects (the number of participants affiliated with each project is presented in Figure 1 below). These affiliations illustrate that the majority of faculty and staff interviewed for this sample were involved in at least three international projects, with three of the projects – Cambridge-MIT, MIT-Portugal, and SUTD – representing participation of at least half of the sample group. With regards to the gender distribution of the sample, 89% of those interviewed for this study were men and 11% were women[3], and a complete breakdown of participants by sex and role is presented in Table 1 below.

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[2] The collaboration faculty member was not a recruited participant for this study; rather, a recruited participant invited the collaboration faculty member to participate in our interview. Given that this individual was neither a staff nor faculty member at MIT, data from this individual's interview were not included in the analysis for this study.

[3] In comparison, in the 2014-2015 academic year, 75.5% of full-time instructional faculty at MIT were male, while 24.5% were female (MIT Institutional Research Office, 2015).
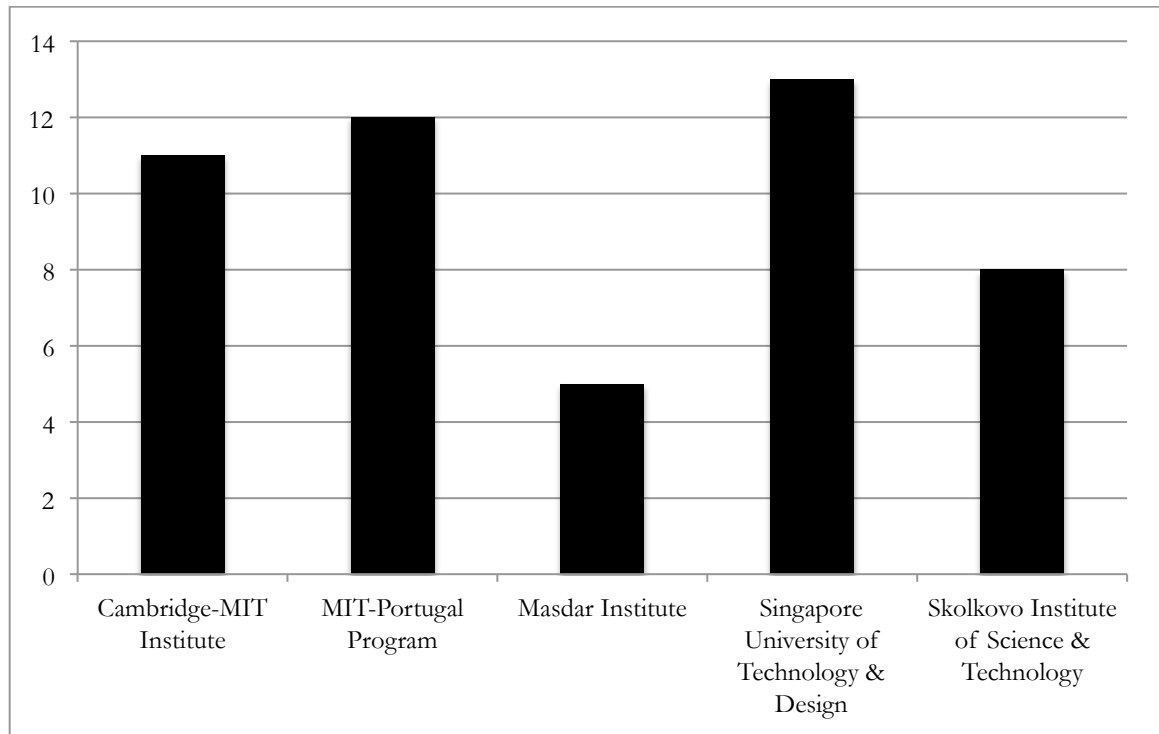
Figure 1. Bar graph showing the number of faculty and staff in the interview sample affiliated with each of MIT's major cross-border higher education projects

Table 1

Study Participants by Gender and Professional Role at MIT

	MIT Faculty	MIT Staff	Collaboration Faculty	Collaboration Staff
Men	14	2	1	0
Women	1	1	0	0

Data Analysis

After all interviews were completed, audio data were selectively transcribed to perform a preliminary analysis of the data, then fully transcribed to analyze for the purposes of this qualifying paper. To perform data analysis, coding was done electronically using the qualitative software program Dedoose, after which excerpts with associated codes were printed and further analyzed to develop and present as findings (below).

To analyze the data for this study, I employed the emic coding technique of thematic analysis (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Willig, 2013). Using this method, I first developed a coding scheme while reviewing the interview transcripts by identifying themes in the data roughly segmented by interview question, then developed structural and content codes and sub-codes associated with each theme (Guest et al., 2012). I then carefully reviewed each transcript, applying the codes to interview excerpts while simultaneously modifying and adding to my code structure, re-reviewing interview transcripts to apply the most up-to-date version of my coding scheme to the data (Guest et al., 2012). Throughout this process, I also received feedback on my codebook and code applications from peers in my reading group, using this feedback to adjust my codes and code definitions and to re-code my transcripts when necessary. In total, I developed 63 thematic, structural, and content codes and sub-codes, which are listed with their definitions and sample excerpts in Appendix B. In total, these codes were applied to 711 excerpts individually or in combination 1,029 distinct times. After all data were coded and reviewed, excerpts containing codes of relevance to this study's research questions were exported and used to develop final sub-themes, the basis of the findings discussed in the sections below.

Findings

The subsections below present main findings of this study in regards to faculty and staff perceptions of the benefits and costs of participation in large-scale CBHE projects, as well as the ways in which faculty and staff balance these benefits and costs throughout the course of their engagement. Overall, the results of the analysis indicate that faculty and staff believe that participation in large-scale CBHE projects provides personal and institutional benefits to faculty, staff, and other stakeholders; that faculty and staff construe the costs of participation in large-scale CBHE in terms of time spent devoted to these projects; and,

finally, that faculty and staff negotiate these costs and benefits through their allegiance to stakeholders and institutions as well as through mechanisms intended to maximize positive impact. These themes and their sub-themes are discussed in depth in the sections and subsections below.

Benefits of Participation in CBHE

Thematic analysis of coded interview transcripts revealed that faculty and staff perceive two types of benefits of their engagement in large-scale cross-border higher education projects: personal benefits (such as skills or relationships developed through participation in CBHE) and benefits to institutions or other external stakeholders. Faculty perceptions of these benefits are summarized in the subsections below.

Personal Benefits

In general, faculty and staff discussed the personal benefits of their participation in large-scale CBHE projects in response to the protocol question "What have you gained from your involvement on the [CBHE] project(s)?"; however, interviewees would often also discuss personal benefits in the context of the benefits they saw MIT receiving from these projects more generally. Overall, faculty identified six main personal benefits of participation in large-scale CBHE projects, including: growth in content knowledge either within or outside of their field of research, the ability to form relationships through CBHE projects, experience of the process of building something new, receipt of opportunities to learn about the world, development of managerial skills, and access to flexible research funding. These benefits are further discussed in detail in the subsections below.

Gains in content knowledge or professional development. Five respondents interviewed for this study described engagement in CBHE as a beneficial opportunity to gain content knowledge either within or outside of their professional or research disciplines.

With regards to research, several faculty respondents discussed CBHE projects as opportunities to engage with research areas outside of their traditional disciplines; for example, said one faculty member in regards to his participation in the MIT-Portugal, SUTD, and Skolkovo projects: "I got exposure to fields of research that I knew about but wouldn't have chosen, and sort of established on my own. And [I] didn't have a collaborator here who would have done that for me, so I found that really interesting." Similarly, said another faculty member: "Some of the research was, again, things that I wouldn't have gone into on my own but that [I] had an interest in, and so it enabled me to see those interests through." Through these comments, faculty and staff describe CBHE as a venue for intellectual "risk taking," illustrating the potential for CBHE projects to push faculty and staff outside of their traditional academic zones.

One specific example of this phenomenon was the case of an MIT staff member with interests in innovation and entrepreneurship, who participated in both the MIT-Portugal and Skolkovo projects. While this individual had personal experience working in startups and technology licensing before joining MIT's CBHE projects, MIT-Portugal and Skolkovo gave him the opportunity to engage more deeply with his academic and professional interests. When asked what he had gained through his engagement with these initiatives, this staff member responded as follows:

> A great deal of knowledge on the theory and practice of innovation, either within the framework of, say, Etzkowitz [and] the Triple Helix Model; operational knowhow of academic, curricular, [and] co-curricular educational programs for innovation and entrepreneurship; as well as the policy and administrative framework to stand up programs that could do everything from managing intellectual property – you know, from an idea to a patent – to sponsored contracts from solicitation to compliance, to

mentoring and nurturing programs that could help students move forward and gain

skill and practice in terms of developing their ideas and moving them out into the

marketplace.

While this response is only one example of gains in content knowledge as a result of

participation in CBHE, other interviewees expressed similar sentiments, discussing their

exposure to new fields, including academic administration. This was especially the case for

the staff members – as opposed to faculty – interviewed for this study, as several of these

individuals viewed these projects as opportunities to engage with the academic and

educational research in their area in ways that would be impossible in the course of their

"normal," day-to-day jobs at MIT.

Forming relationships.   Fifteen of the eighteen faculty and staff members

described forming relationships with educators, researchers, and students as a notable

benefit of participating in CBHE projects. Given the Institute-wide focus on research –

specifically multidisciplinary research – as an output of cross-border collaborations, it is

unsurprising that the most common type of relationship respondents discussed forming as a

result of engagement in CBHE were related to research. For example, said one faculty

member with experience on three of the projects: "I met and have continued to work with

many colleagues within my discipline and beyond my discipline. So the world is about

developing those professional networks and relationships, and this greatly expanded that."

Several faculty members also provided specific examples of collaborators they had initially

met through CBHE projects but continued to be colleagues for years to come; for example,

said one faculty member of the benefits of participation in the MIT-Portugal Program: "I

very early on was introduced to a faculty member at engineering systems at [the] Institute of

Superior Tecnico who wanted to do health work. I've been collaborating with him and his

group ever since." Expanding on these professional relationships, some interviewees also discussed how these collaborations had developed into friendships over time, an additional benefit of participation in CBHE work.

In addition to the professional relationships respondents described forming with academic colleagues, several faculty and staff members also discussed forming relationships with foreign students as a benefit of participation in CBHE. Said one faculty member of his work at SUTD: "In Singapore, I had the chance to work with students that I would not have seen in any other way." While discussion of student relationships was far less common in this sample than discussion of relationships with academic and research collaborators, it is worthwhile to note that several faculty in this sample also viewed these opportunities as a benefit of engagement in CBHE.

While most faculty and staff identified international connections as the primary type of relationship formed as a result of large-scale CBHE projects, several faculty and staff were careful to note that international collaborations also provide opportunities for faculty and staff within MIT to meet one another. Said one staff member with experience on the MIT-Portugal, Masdar, SUTD, and Skolkovo projects:

> The one that's a benefit for MIT, actually, that's hardly ever spoken [about] is that we end up meeting each other. […] So one of the best things I've gotten out of this program is I've met peers that I would not have met otherwise, really good collaborators that we've met only because we end up being involved in the same program, or the excuse of [creating a] new class [or] new program has forced me to look out[side of my normal group of collaborators] or has forced them to look out[side] for collaborations, then we found each other. Or maybe we've gone there for the purpose of one of these kinds of meetings, and then in the afternoons and

dinnertimes, it's when we've actually met and developed the first conversation. And so a very significant effect these programs have is surprisingly getting us closer, because when we are on campus, we don't. Not because we are bogged down, but, you know, everybody goes about their own activities, and these activities end up being activities that bring people together.

Interestingly, MIT staff members discussed these opportunities to network within MIT within the context of CBHE more than the faculty interviewed for this study; this may be reflective of the different roles that these stakeholder groups hold on the MIT campus, perhaps illustrating that faculty have more opportunities than staff members for cross-institute collaboration in their day-to-day activities.

Satisfaction of building something new. Although not a material skill or outcome of participation in CBHE, several faculty and staff members in this sample described the satisfaction of building a new educational institution or entity as a benefit of participation in large-scale international collaborations, illustrating Erikson's (1959) phenomenon of "generativity" as a developmental characteristic of adulthood. In the words of one staff member with involvement on one of the collaboration projects: "For me, personally, and for a lot of our students and faculty involved, it was wonderful to see a new entity take shape, birth[ing] a new entity is something inconceivable for most of us in our lifetime. And so for those of us who went through it, it's sort of very unique[ly] cherished." Similarly, other respondents expressed appreciation and wonder for the fact that they were given the opportunity to experience the nuances of developing a new academic institution, an opportunity rarely afforded in the field of higher education.

Interview respondents further described the satisfaction they felt as they watched programs or initiatives they developed be established as self-maintaining entities. For

example, one staff member said of his experience in innovation and entrepreneurship education in the context of CBHE work: "In Portugal we set up a national venture competition, and I had the opportunity to be its co-architect and, you know, design it from the ground up, launch it, and make it grow. I mean, it exists as a semi-independent thing now, quite—and I mean, and I feel [it] as a success, it didn't need me." Although the interview data collected for this study were unable to yield insights regarding changes in this sentiment over the duration of a CBHE project, it may be interesting to compare the prevalence of perceptions of this benefit across the timelines of different CBHE endeavors in the future.

Learning about the world. Thirteen of the eighteen faculty and staff members interviewed for this study discussed learning about and gaining exposure to the world as a benefit of their participation in large-scale CBHE projects; however, some respondents framed this benefit as purely in the professional realm, while others described personal benefits or growth they or their families had experienced as a result of CBHE projects. Professionally, most faculty and staff painted participation in CBHE as a means to learn about the professional or academic cultures of the countries with which MIT collaborates. Said one education-focused staff member when asked what successful outcomes of MIT's engagement CBHE could be:

> I don't mean to be critical, but I'm going to be, that MIT faculty of, say, my generation – even maybe into their forties and fifties, and I was the same – are rather parochial in their perspectives on higher education systems. They just don't really understand that those systems—that in some way the U.S. is the odd ball and that those—the other international systems have more in common with each other than they have with us. So I've learned a lot about that through these—not only through

these collaborations but, again, being now pulled into other international collaborations. And it helps to explain some peculiarities – which I don't mean negatively – but some peculiarities about U.S. higher education and why we have, sort of, the systems we do and why […] it has the problems that it does and how things could be done differently. So it's really, in that case, widened the scope of my understanding. And maybe it's done that for others as well. I hope so.

Several other faculty and staff also provided examples regarding how cross-border engagement had changed their professional or research practice, further illustrating the professional implications that global exposure as a result of CBHE projects can have.

In addition to these professional implications, several of the faculty members framed their exposure to new regions and cultures through CBHE as influential in terms of their continuing professional and personal development. Said one faculty member with extensive experience with the SUTD collaboration project:

I met a lot of people I wouldn't have met if I didn't [participate]. The Singaporeans—I like the Singaporeans. I have some that I consider to be very good friends there. And it's always interesting to see how they think. And sometimes unexpectedly, they'll come up with things and you sort of say, "Well, okay, explain this to me." I think it's—I think for me it has certainly—for someone who had gone to, [who had] gotten a technical education and was thinking that one would only do technical things, I think, you know, as I've grown, it's gotten to the point where the technical things are not enough. That the human skills are much more—have become much more important in my life. So it really is a certain turning of the page for me, and so I think there's just been a lot of personal growth in my view of what we do.

While few other respondents were as explicit as this interviewee when discussing their personal growth, many alluded to how cross-border experiences reshaped their personal and worldviews, illustrating different means by which CBHE may benefit stakeholders by exposing them to the world. Notably, several respondents also discussed the benefits their families had received from CBHE collaborations, as many faculty and staff members had been granted the opportunity to travel with their partners or children for stays on the foreign campuses. As such, these respondents constructed this benefit of exposure to and experience in the world not just as beneficial to themselves, but to their families as well.

Developing managerial skills. Many of the faculty and staff interviewed for this study – especially those with experience in administrative or managerial roles within CBHE projects – discussed the practical managerial skills they had developed as a benefit of cross-border work. The first such skill identified by faculty and staff was the ability manage individuals effectively across a university or a large academic program, an important component of CBHE work. In the words of a faculty manager of the Masdar Institute collaboration project:

> Personally, there's a whole new level of just professional development and learning [through these projects] on how you put together a brand new team, you know, how you define a very large project, how you go and build the staff […] and recruit a faculty team to carry it out, how you help facilitate this different level of reward in fostering and helping the research of, you know, 40 faculty at MIT, together with their 40 or 50 collaborators at Masdar Institute. So it's kind of a different level of reward—of fostering their careers in research and some of that. So that's just been a lot of fun.

In addition to this general knowledge of management within higher education organizations, other faculty specifically discussed learning to manage across cultures as a benefit of CBHE work. As one faculty member observed: "I think I gained an experience—an understanding of how these international relationships are best structured, you know, and what are some of the lessons learned and how they differ depending on the particular culture of the country." Given these insights, faculty and staff in this sample clearly viewed the development of professional skills – either within or across cultures – as a benefit of engagement in CBHE work.

In addition to these perspectives, faculty and staff respondents also discussed how working on a cross-border project taught them how to work within politicized organizations strategically. As one staff member with experience on the MIT-Portugal and Skolkovo projects described:

> What it has had is a component of strategy and a component of tactics, of operations. And what I mean by that is faculty like [the program director] have ideas that they'd like to implement. And so there's a great vision and concept of what these ideas are, but then they need to be translated into a set of strategies that are actionable, these being tactics. And so my role has been to define an administrative role.

Interestingly, these types of insights regarding strategies in engaging with local actors differed widely across interviewees with experiences in the different collaborations, illustrating that faculty and staff had different experiences collaborating with British, Portuguese, Emirati, Singaporean, and Russian colleagues. As such, while faculty and staff report gaining similar types of skills in managing across cultures, specific aspects of these skills may vary by the nation and culture of collaboration; for example, while interviewees with experience in Singaporean CBHE discussed frustrations with the need to rigidly plan

specifics of projects with their international colleagues, faculty and staff with experience in the Masdar project discussed uncertainty in developing agreements as a major challenge to their work in Russia.

Research funding. One third of interviewees cited the opportunity to secure research funding as a benefit of participation in cross-border projects[4]. For example, when asked to discuss the benefits of her participation in the CBHE collaborations, one staff member immediately responded, "One is they were offering money." According to faculty and staff, this funding is used to support educational efforts such as student exchanges, course development, or creation of new degree programs; research efforts; and to access facilities not available at MIT. Several faculty described this benefit as particularly important given recent changes in the federal government's support for academic – particularly basic – research; said one faculty member with experience with MIT-Portugal, Skolkovo, and SUTD: "Many of them [the collaborations] provided opportunities for supplemental funding, and government funding goes in such weird cycles that supplemental funding helps buffer the trunks in the federal funding." In addition to being cited as a benefit of participation in CBHE, six of the eighteen interviewees also discussed research funding as a factor that motivated them to begin their engagement in cross-border projects, illustrating the influence of this aspect of CBHE on faculty and staff engagement in these projects.

In addition, several respondents also specifically noted the flexible nature of funding from CBHE projects as a benefit of participation, as the money allocated to faculty and staff from these projects is often rather flexible, providing these individuals with opportunities to pursue creative projects in both education and research. Said one senior faculty member

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[4] In addition to funding for research, one faculty member also noted that bonuses are often paid to faculty willing to participate in short- or long-term stays at the foreign campuses.

with experience on the Cambridge, MIT-Portugal, and SUTD projects of the research

funding he has received from these collaborations:

> I have received […] reasonable buckets of money that were not very tightly
>
> controlled. I don't mean accountability—I mean, in terms of a research project,
>
> which will require for you to turn in reports at a particular time and do a very
>
> narrowly defined topic, [this is different]. Basically, [you received] money to sort of
>
> do what you thought was best professionally.

Other faculty discussed how this type of funding was particularly important given the strict

requirements of governmental and industry sources of funding in the United States, which

often require faculty to devote much time and energy to filling out documentation and

participating in the rigorous proposal-writing process.

In addition to flexible research funding, faculty also noted that CBHE projects can

serve as valuable sources of flexible funding for educational endeavors as well. As one staff

member with experience on the MIT-Portugal and Skolkovo projects described, as a result

of this funding source,

> We were able to provide funds to the administrative centers here at MIT so that they
>
> could grow ahead of what their organic growth would have been. So it provided
>
> them, I think, a valuable set of moneys to those administrative leads to be able to
>
> add capacity and, not always—often in universities, you're doing this "just in time."
>
> This gave them a little more latitude.

In this passage, the interviewee cites the flexibility of CBHE funding as instrumental in the

growth of MIT's academic administrative units, describing this funding source as not only

beneficial in its flexibility, but also important to the improvement of the Institute more

generally as well. The benefit of CBHE projects to MIT as an institution, a common theme

identified in many of the interviews, is further discussed in the section and subsections below.

Finally, some respondents also viewed the receipt of research funding as a necessary factor for MIT as an institution to engage in CBHE rather than as a benefit of engaging in these projects. Said one MIT administrator with experience in four of the five collaborations:

> They're paying for this. We don't actually put our own resources in [in] any deep sense. We do put some time into it, and some labor, and our lawyers have to be involved, so it costs money to get this going. But the fundamental projects themselves are almost exclusively funded from abroad. And, you know, that's our great advantage. We're MIT and we don't and shouldn't have to pay for this if people want us to do collaborative work. So that's one set of, you know, things that interest us and that we really want to look at very closely. What we do has to be good for MIT.

Although no other respondents discussed funding as a requirement to begin a large-scale CBHE engagement in this way, this omission could be as a result of the roles these individuals hold at the Institute; of the eighteen respondents, only two held administration-level positions in addition to their faculty or staff roles when the interviews took place. While it is difficult to identify systematic differences between faculty and administrators given the sample of and data collected in this study, this finding illustrates that these differences may exist, informing future CBHE research on differences in experience between faculty and administrator roles on these projects.

Institutional and External Benefits

In the course of their interviews, faculty and staff also discussed broader benefits of MIT's general engagement in CBHE, touching upon benefits experienced by other individual and institutional stakeholders outside of their own personal experience. These benefits included general benefits to MIT and to its educational programs, building of bridges across international communities, improvement in the host country and increased opportunities for its students, and positive impact in the world more broadly. These benefits are further discussed in detail in the subsections below.

Benefits to MIT. When asked how large-scale CBHE collaborations benefit MIT, faculty and staff respondents provided numerous examples of the ways in which the Institute benefits from its engagement in these efforts; of the eighteen faculty and staff interviewed for this study, sixteen discussed benefits for MIT that arise from CBHE collaborations. While many of the faculty and staff discussed these benefits in broad terms, many also discussed specific benefits felt by stakeholder groups at MIT, specifically in terms of MIT's educational delivery to students and the benefits felt by faculty and staff. While most faculty and staff benefits were described in depth in the subsections above, one faculty benefit identified as operating at an institutional level – the connection of faculty and staff through CBHE projects – is described in the following paragraphs.

When asked about the benefits MIT receives from large-scale CBHE partnerships, many of the faculty and staff interviewees were careful to note that the Institute receives many benefits from these projects, although these benefits were often described in general terms, such as "impact," "growth," or "added capacity." While many respondents did not provide more concrete examples of these benefits, several noted that general benefits to the Institute are themselves a requirement of CBHE engagement; these individuals believed that

MIT should not engage in these projects if the Institute is not receiving some added benefit in return for its investment in CBHE. Said one faculty member with past engagement in four of the five collaborations:

> I saw the international relationships as an opportunity to do innovative and creative things that would benefit not only the new institution being built but also benefit MIT here in 02139. And if I didn't see both of those, I would not have gotten involved. It has to be beneficial to us here, and it has to make a difference there in order to justify getting involved.

Based on these and other similar comments from faculty and staff members interviewed for this study, it appears that faculty and staff construct institutional benefits as imperative to CBHE engagement rather than as a simple byproduct of these efforts.

With regards to specific institutional benefits felt by MIT as a result of CBHE projects, four of the individuals interviewed for this study discussed the fact that CBHE partnerships afford the Institute the unique opportunity to reflect on its practices and experiment in its delivery of education and research, a process they deemed to be extremely beneficial to MIT as an institution. In the words of one faculty member with past engagement on the Cambridge, MIT-Portugal, and SUTD collaborations:

> When someone from another country comes, it's sort of like the proverbial joke about the person who goes to the psychiatrist and says, "I have a friend who has this problem," and then they're able to talk about it without actually admitting it's them. But that's the excuse through which MIT can have those conversations and say, "Oh, we've got these friends in Portugal who knew nothing about entrepreneurship. How would we help them?" And in reality, we're talking to ourselves as well. So it's both an opportunity to work on a new startup, but also, it's a way to have the

> conversation anew, which forces us to reexamine what we're doing here and gives us
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> an excuse to have the conversation again and turn the mirror on ourselves.

Similarly, other faculty and staff members used a rhetoric of experimentation and hypothesis testing to describe this process, discussing how MIT faculty and staff working on CBHE partnerships are able to look upon the Institute's own educational practices and identify ways in which they could be more innovative. Said one faculty member:

> One benefit is that we have an opportunity to learn how to do things differently –
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> teach, do research, organize programs – and we have the benefit of somebody else
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> paying for that. And the quid pro quo is we do something that will have lasting value,
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> that's the intent—and I believe that, in general, it will be true, and it will also have
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> the benefit of changing the way we do things here. You know, there's very little
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> money available in the U.S. to do educational experiments, [it's] miniscule. And this
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> is a way to fund doing educational experiments.

Based on these comments, another theme of institutional reflection and experimentation was identified as a benefit to MIT of CBHE engagement.

In addition to these broad, institutional benefits, MIT faculty and staff also discussed the benefits of CBHE to the Institute's students. Respondents constructed these benefits in two distinct types: (1) improvement of MIT's educational offerings, and (2) development of opportunities for student exchange. Based on the interview data, faculty constructed the first benefit as primarily arising through development of new and innovative courses and programs for the CBHE institution that were then brought back to MIT; as an example, one staff member described initiatives developed for the MIT-Portugal and Skolkovo projects: "[The partnership] was supposed to also create capacity in terms of new curriculum that would be designed and piloted here and transferred there, but that we would also keep."

With regards to student exchange, several respondents discussed the opportunities CBHE engagements provided for MIT students to go overseas, describing this as a notable benefit of these partnerships. Said one faculty member with significant experience on the SUTD project of this phenomenon: "[The Collaboration] allows us to hire grad students and fly our students over to Singapore to have a fun summer there, which adds to their education and breadth of experience. So it gives our student a wider palette, if you will, through which to experience the world." In the opposite direction of exchange, several other faculty members described how CBHE partnerships also benefit MIT by giving faculty "access to students who would never make their way to MIT otherwise," in the words of one interview respondent. In each of these cases, faculty and staff members constructed these outcomes of CBHE engagement as beneficial to MIT, illustrating additional means by which these projects may improve the institution.

Finally, several faculty also identified CBHE projects as facilitators of relationships among MIT faculty, especially among those from different departments or areas within the Institute who may not have met without the opportunities for collaboration yielded by CBHE projects, as described in the "Forming Relationships" subsection above. While some faculty described these connections as a personal benefit, others touched upon broader improvement of MIT as an institution arising as a result of these relationships, illustrating how building of connections within the Institute may be viewed as both a personal and institutional benefit.

Benefits to the host country. Given the fact that most CBHE collaborations are developed by governments as means to encourage economic growth and innovation, it is unsurprising that several of the faculty and staff interviewed for this study discussed these

outputs as the primary benefit for the host country emerging from CBHE. Said one administrator and faculty member with experience on four of the five collaboration projects:

> The governments that fund us are interested in returns on economic investment. They want to see [if] we are creating jobs. Start-up companies—they love the start-up culture of innovation that exists in this country, and they would love to have that reproduce[d] wherever they are. And so have we helped them to start up companies? You can measure by numbers how successful these companies [have] been.

Other interviewees also described area start-ups and spin-offs as a benefit of CBHE programs, reiterating the theme that economic growth and innovation is a resultant benefit of CBHE to the host country. This perceived benefit mirrors the rhetoric used to defend governmental investments in CBHE; it is therefore unsurprising that this theme would also emerge in the responses of faculty and staff with significant engagement in these projects.

Another theme that emerged in the context of benefits to the host country was faculty and staff member's beliefs that CBHE partnerships benefit faculty at the partnering institution, both in terms of research and instruction. In one case, a faculty member described these research relationships as so beneficial to local faculty that they prompted MIT to continue its collaboration with Portugal despite the country's economic struggles:

> The Portuguese faculty, they caught wind that MIT doesn't know if we'll go forward or not. And they – the new government […] – they weren't as enthusiastic, let's say, as the government who started it, so we thought that it might shut down from both sides, right, but mostly from the Portuguese side (since they fund it), but even from the MIT side. […] And we thought about it a lot, talked to them, and the Portuguese colleagues for sure convinced me. They said, "Please continue this program. We,

you know, we've met a lot of friends and colleagues, we're doing work, we need more time, we want to have more sealed […] relationships, publish more papers, do more research." So they—it was a one on—at the individual level that really impressed me; they really, really want this to go forward.

Similarly, another faculty member described how MIT faculty and staff developed mechanisms to support young faculty at the Portuguese institutions with which they collaborated. According to this faculty member, before the MIT collaboration, these individuals were given few resources – both in terms of funding and professional support – to conduct academic research, describing yet another benefit felt by host country faculty engaged in CBHE collaborations. In addition to these benefits to host country faculty in terms of research, another faculty member described how CBHE partnerships help faculty in the host country develop into better educators: "We've chosen a model where we can help others design to teach the teachers. I don't like that phrase, but it's working with other people collaboratively in the design, and putting together something new that's different than what was there before." These comments illustrate that faculty and staff perceived numerous benefits to host country faculty that arise from CBHE projects, in both the academic and research realms.

In addition to the benefits felt by host county faculty, MIT respondents were also careful to note the benefits CBHE partnerships provide to students in the host country, specifically by providing them with opportunities that they would have previously missed in the traditional higher education system of that country. Said one faculty member of the students he had worked with at Skoltech in Russia:

The students there are still in an environment where their futures are more planned further than ours; that is, the educational process there for decades has been built on

serving the needs of the community – educating people to meet the needs of the society – and so students were given the opportunity to go find their place to contribute to society. It wasn't about the students; it was about the needs of the society. And so from very early on, they would find out what contributions they were expected to make and what classes they had to take to make them—it wasn't about building up their capability to make contributions to a society as yet unknown. […] And so this was a chance to change the way that universities operate by creating a university that was all about building up the students' capabilities to address problems that we aren't aware of yet, you know: problem solving skills, confidence, all the things you need to take on new challenges instead of just giving them all the knowledge and skills they need to be a transmission engineer or whatever somebody perceived the need would be. […] The notion that their task was just to get, you know—to be ready to move on and to change the needs rather than just fulfill them was kind of a new idea [for the SkolTech students]. And to watch them change when they figured that out was a very rewarding thing. […] And to see the empowerment that came with that and watch them even become demanding, which wouldn't have occurred to them, I think – we're generalizing, of course – but watching them have the experiences that we were trying to build into their education has proven to be pretty rewarding. So that was an unexpected value for me, and it's probably one of the bigger ones of the things I'm getting back from doing it. They're great kids, and they now have opportunities they wouldn't have otherwise.

Similarly, respondents affiliated with some of the other projects also discussed the unique opportunities afforded by CBHE as beneficial to students in other partnership contexts. For example, one faculty member with significant involvement in the Singapore collaborations

discussed how SUTD attracts students who may not have been able to succeed under the models of the other colleges and universities in Singapore, and how the SUTD campus provides them with an opportunity to "thrive" in an academic environment in a way that they may not have been able to experience if not for the MIT-SUTD partnership. In addition to the benefits afforded to students due to the uniqueness of the CBHE campuses, other faculty and staff noted that these partnerships also benefit local students by proving them with opportunities to study and work at MIT, diversifying and broadening their perspectives. In both of these ways, faculty and staff identified benefits to host country students that result from large-scale CBHE partnerships, illustrating yet another means by which they perceive these projects as beneficial to the host country.

Finally, in discussing the benefits felt by a host country as a result of a large-scale CBHE project, six of the eighteen faculty and staff interviewed for this study were also careful to note that these benefits occur over extended timescales, and that few large-scale benefits to the host country will be felt in the first few years after a new CBHE project is launched. Said one faculty member of the CBHE partnerships:

> They're extremely complicated, and you['ve] got to recognize that they're going to take time to really get off the ground, that countries typically have totally unrealistic expectations of what can be achieved, you know. Their view of MIT is: 'I'm going to get all these startups and new technology.' And, you know, they fail to understand that what they see in MIT is a result of 30 years of investment and hard work and, you know, it's not going to take 30 years, but it's not going to be overnight either.

Similarly, said another faculty member: "You create the ideas, […] you create something that is sustainable and [has an] appropriate design fit for purpose. And it goes beyond a five- or ten-year or whatever length of time the contractor relationship is." In light of these and

other comments alluding to the theme of CBHE project timelines, it may be important for stakeholders on both partner campuses to keep the timeline of benefits to the host country in mind when assessing the success of a CBHE project or program.

Building bridges. MIT faculty and staff interviewed for this study also viewed CBHE projects as beneficial in their ability to build bridges between individuals of different countries, including students, faculty, staff, and other stakeholder groups; or in the words of one staff member, "it's about connecting a set of players in an economic ecosystem." The most-cited example of this phenomenon as a perceived benefit of CBHE engagement was the forging of relationships between researchers in different countries, specifically collaborations between MIT faculty and researchers at the partner institutions. For example, in the words of one faculty member with experience on the CMI and MIT-Portugal collaborations:

> We love, you know, the MIT-Portugal collaboration and our colleagues, frankly. And so when it was in jeopardy of maybe not going forward, lots of us – I say the core faculty at work – [said] we're going to continue these friendships and collaborations any way we can. So I think that would probably be number one from the faculty perspective, is friendships [and] collaborations.

It is worthwhile to note that this aspect of bridge building was also identified as a personal benefit (see the "Forming Relationships" subsection above); however, numerous other facets of bridge building were identified as benefits by the faculty and staff respondents, as described in the following paragraphs.

Several faculty and staff also discussed the building of connections between students across cultures as a positive benefit of CBHE partnerships undertaken by the Institute. Said

one MIT administrator when asked about the purpose of MIT's large-scale CBHE engagements:

> I think the fundamental purpose is one, to educate our students—to give them, in an increasingly global world—the more opportunities to get them abroad, engage in research and, you know, education projects in different places can only be good for our students, okay? Some of them will spend their lives working abroad, Americans. I mean, others will go there, learn something, come back, they may go to another place, but they'll have an international experience that has gotten their feet wet. And so that can only be good, I think.

In addition to this building of bridges between MIT students and other regions of the world, several other faculty and staff members discussed the bridges built by bringing foreign students to MIT through CBHE projects, some even going so far as to categorize these endeavors as increasing MIT's "access to talent worldwide." Independent of the direction of exchange, faculty and staff members described the bridges built by student travel and engagement as beneficial, as these relationships both broadened students' perspectives and increased the diversity of thought at MIT and on the partner campus.

In addition to those faculty and staff that identified connections forming between particular stakeholder groups, others discussed bridges built by MIT as an institution as a positive outcome of these collaborations; for example, in the words of one staff member: "I'd say that at the intellectual level and the connections level, it furthers the network of MIT in many ways; it creates new collaborations. And that's good, and I've seen that myself." Other respondents described large-scale CBHE projects as ways in which MIT can develop strategic partnerships in particular areas of the world, which in turn may benefit the Institute's academic and research enterprises by forging connections across previously

unconnected institutions and regions. Said one faculty member with experience on the CMI and Masdar partnerships: "I think part of the strategy – [as] much as it exists for the large international programs – was to say, 'Okay, we're not going to set up a separate MIT campus, a remote campus. What we'd like to do is work in building [a] long-term relationship within an important region and the system around that.'" While some respondents clearly identified this bridge building as a positive outcome of CBHE for MIT, others described the bridges built between MIT and these regions and partners beneficial in and of themselves, illustrating a unique perceived benefit of this phenomenon outside of the MIT-specific context.

Interestingly, several respondents with experience in the collaboration with the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology specifically addressed a particular aspect of this benefit, discussing CBHE as a means to build bridges across countries with historically fraught geopolitical relationships. Said one faculty member with significant experience on the Skoltech project:

> Building bridges among people, it just helps when you have nations who for their own reasons have these needs from time to time to struggle with one another. You get this sort of, you know, energy built up that's confrontational, and it propagates down through the culture. And the more relationships you have, the easier it is to work through those things. And this is standard State Department stuff—no matter, you know, how much at odds you are with a country, you still have your cultural exchanges with them. And they have protocols for just which things can continue to go on when the relationships get to be a certain amount of confrontational, and educational exchanges are on that list. They're not the top of it, but they're pretty

high up. And the reason for that is that they really are a good way to get through those confrontational times.

Similarly, another faculty member with experience on the SkolTech project described student exchanges between the two countries as "the threads that are going to keep this [geopolitical situation] together and enable, somewhere down the line, much better relations." These comments illustrate that some faculty members view CBHE collaborations as not only beneficial to the home and host countries, but also to the sphere of international diplomacy and foreign relations as well. While these insights were primarily limited to those with experience with the Skolkovo project (the relationship with the collaborator country most often at odds with the United States), faculty and stuff from other projects expanded upon this theme, classifying CBHE projects as beneficial to the world more broadly, as discussed in the subsection below.

Benefits to the world. Finally, ten of the eighteen MIT faculty and staff members interviewed for this study also noted that large-scale CBHE projects are beneficial to the world in general. Generally, comments related to this theme addressed so-called "global challenges" that MIT seeks to address through research and academic partnerships in CBHE; for example, said one faculty member who also holds an administrative role at the Institute: "Pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, addressing the great challenges plaguing this Earth of ours is, you know, the second great dividend [of these partnerships]." While the respondents who discussed this benefit alluded to several different aspects of improving the world – by educating globally competent students, performing research, or promoting innovation worldwide – numerous faculty and staff expressed the belief that the institute's CBHE collaborations are beneficial to the world in general.

Summary of CBHE Benefits

In the sections above, I identify fourteen personal, professional, institutional, cross-national, and global benefits of engagement in large-scale CBHE projects cited by MIT faculty and staff members. In the following section, I turn to an examination of the costs of CBHE engagement described by these individuals in an effort to identify the potential negative impacts these projects may have on institutional stakeholders within and outside of MIT.

Costs of Participation in CBHE

Over the course of their interviews, faculty and staff respondents discussed the time devoted to CBHE engagement as the sole "cost" of large-scale CBHE collaborations; however, faculty and staff described numerous challenges they face as they engage in CBHE, although the respondents did not explicitly describe these challenges as costs per se. These themes are explored in depth in the subsections below.

Time costs and associated professional costs. The cost of CBHE participation most discussed by faculty and staff was the time required of participants in CBHE projects; of the eighteen faculty and staff interviewed for this study, fourteen discussed allocation of time or resources as a challenge of CBHE work. While insights regarding time costs most often were discussed by respondents in terms of time spent away from the classroom, faculty and staff interviewed for this study discussed several facets of this theme throughout their interviews, including the differential effects of time costs on tenure-track versus tenured faculty, differences in costs associated with research and teaching responsibilities, and the relationship between time costs and internal discussion regarding the appropriateness of MIT's CBHE endeavors, as described below.

In general, faculty and staff viewed time spent away from MIT – specifically from teaching and mentoring MIT's undergraduate and graduate students – as the most important cost of CBHE work. In the words of one staff member with experience on all of the projects: "There's a challenge in having MIT faculty in residence in these other countries because, obviously, they're not here to teach MIT students." While several faculty also noted that time spent on the campuses of MIT's CBHE collaborators also could detract from faculty's focus on their labs and research, most discussed the costs associated with lost teaching time as more significant than opportunities lost for research. Summarizing this view, said one faculty member with experience on the SUTD collaboration project:

> We're using faculty time abroad. Why isn't the faculty here? Why isn't the faculty doing things with our students? We're paying their salaries and yet they're going abroad and teaching their other students or doing research abroad or whatever else. Research is less of an issue—most people understand that often [when] researching [you've] sort of got to go where things are ripe to be able to do research. Teaching is a much, much harder sell, and, in fact, I understand completely where my colleagues are coming from. In fact, [I] agree with them that there's got to be some […] sort of mitigation that occurs with these types of things.

While some faculty proposed some solutions to mitigate these time costs – for example, through developments in online education – most faculty and staff viewed time lost at MIT as a significant challenge of CBHE work that has yet to be resolved.

Interestingly, two of the interviewees were careful to note that these time costs may impact individuals at varying levels of academic seniority differently; however, these respondents disagreed on whether or not investing time in CBHE partnerships would benefit tenure-track faculty positively or negatively. One of these respondents, a tenured

faculty member, thought that time spent engaging in a CBHE project may benefit young faculty in the promotion process, as follows:

> Developing a community of peers in other places is valued here; at promotion time we might ask of the younger faculty, "Who around the world knows this person? Has this person's work had impact beyond just the U.S.?" And so there's this undercurrent that says you really want to get to know the world. It's part of your job to know the best people in your area outside the U.S. as well as inside [the U.S.] and to know what they're doing, you know—even if you have to get somebody to translate it, you're supposed to know. And you should visit them and so on. That's part of the way our job is defined.

Conversely, an MIT staff member with extensive experience on several of the collaborations viewed the time associated with these projects as a large cost for young faculty, as the findings, developments, and innovations arising from CBHE projects are rarely shared in the form of peer-reviewed publications, a major factor in whether or not a tenure-track faculty member receives a promotion. In his words:

> We still don't know how to translate that, and so the risk – what we haven't learned what to do – is that the more we engage in these international initiatives, the less we're sending people on a path where they can have promotion. So as we engage more and more with this, there's a huge question mark, because the people you need are not the people you want as an academic institution, right? And that may apply to me or it doesn't apply to me, but, you know, it's a fundamental question that nobody knows anything about.

Although no other respondents discussed this theme of costs specifically felt by tenure-track as opposed to tenured faculty, it is clear from these statements that some disagreement exists

among faculty and staff members regarding how time costs may be felt disproportionately by individuals at different stages of the tenure process, as the impact of the time associated with these projects may impact professional trajectories of these stakeholders differently.

Finally, it is worth noting that, in some cases, faculty and staff discussed the time costs of CBHE engagement as related to internal discussions within the Institute regarding the appropriateness of MIT's involvement in these large-scale cross border partnerships. When asked about controversy and pushback from the faculty on the MIT administration's choice to become involved in large-scale CBHE projects, for example, one faculty member responded: "There was quite a lot of pushback about how we can afford to do this, not in terms of money but in terms of faculty's time." In addition, many other faculty discussed how negotiating these conflicts was time consuming as a process in and of itself; however, these individuals also generally identified negotiating these conflicts as a necessary step to keep disagreements regarding these projects from entering the public sphere, as they did in the cases of NYU or Yale University's CBHE projects (Schlanger, 2013; Sleeper, 2013).

Other challenges to CBHE work. In addition to the straightforward time costs associated with CBHE work, faculty and staff also identified numerous additional challenges they faced as they engaged in CBHE activities, each of which required the individual's focus to mitigate potential negative impacts. These challenges included lack of pre-existing knowledge of the partnering country, communication within the CBHE project, cultural differences, geopolitics and international relations, moral and ethical conflicts, allocating resources among components of CBHE projects, faculty and student recruitment, managing relationships within the host country, risk and uncertainty, CBHE project scope, and securing faculty buy-in within MIT. Although the respondents did not describe these challenges as "costs" per se, they discussed the energy and focus required to consider and

mitigate these challenges as an important component of CBHE work. As such, while these challenges are not considered costs for the purpose of this research, future work investigating challenges in CBHE should be performed given the prevalence of these issues in the testimonies of CBHE-affiliated faculty and staff.

Balancing Costs and Benefits of Participation in CBHE

Based on the findings in the sections and subsections above, it is clear that faculty and staff engaging in CBHE experience both benefits and costs associated with this work. In their interviews, faculty and staff members discussed navigating and balancing these benefits and costs through two primary methods: (1) maximizing positive impact, and (2) negotiating personal responsibility. These balancing mechanisms are discussed in-depth in the subsections below.

Maximizing positive impact. When asked about the implications of their work on CBHE projects, several faculty and staff members discussed how they viewed these endeavors as opportunities to make the world a better place (see the "Benefits to the world" subsection above), using this idea as a mechanism to negotiate the balance between benefits and costs of CBHE participation. This concept of "doing good" or "making the world a better place" appeared repeatedly in the interviews as respondents discussed difficulties navigating conflicts in these projects, indicating that some faculty and staff believe that the costs of CBHE work are worthwhile if the world is improved as a result of the project. For example, said one respondent of his engagement in CBHE: "Certainly morally I believe we all agree that education is important, and making it available is important—that's a moral imperative, I think." These comments – as well as similar sentiments expressed by other respondents – illustrate that faculty view the benefits of CBHE as outweighing the costs as long as the positive impacts of these projects are also realized.

Expanding upon this theme, one faculty member in particular discussed at length how the concept of "impact" helps him negotiate the costs and balances associated with CBHE work, as well as the other work he does in his role as a faculty member at MIT. In his words:

I'm not sure this is the case in other places, but the ultimate metric here is how much different is the world because of what you did? And it almost doesn't matter what you do, but the question is, what's different because you did it? And so all of research is—it's not about what you have learned, although that's a part of it—but it's how is the world a different place because of the work that you did? […] So the question is always, what was the impact of that? Why did you spend your time on that? How is the world a better place? Which students benefitted? So they're always looking for the outcome, which is impact, and that really motivates all of our choices. Should we teach class A or class B? Well, where can I have the most impact? There are a bunch of people who can teach A; nobody else can teach B, but B is small. Should I teach B, those students who take it will get something they can't have otherwise, but there aren't many of them. [We're] constantly doing that. And most decisions I think that the faculty make are made around, where will I have the most impact? So the interesting part of this is—or particularly, let's say the Skoltech one— is that the impact is modulated by risk factors. So maybe it could be a lot, maybe it could be none at all. […] So there's an element of risk in it, and with that comes some excitement. Some people find that intriguing and others don't—I do. And so it's like, why not go for the big one? If you don't make it, so you didn't. But if you do, then you get lots of impact points.

In this passage, the faculty member discusses the costs and benefits of CBHE work as related to the uncertainty of these projects, citing the potential for broad impact as a reason to engage in this work in spite of both the known and unknown costs. As described in the introduction above, large-scale CBHE endeavors are inherently risky endeavors, as failures of these projects result in losses for both the home institution and the host country. This construct of "impact" can therefore both help guide institutional policymakers as they consider whether or not to engage in CBHE work and inform practitioners such as faculty or staff members as they decide whether or not to participate in these projects. Interestingly, these comments can also be generalized outside of the CBHE context, potentially informing how researchers or practitioners consider any type of decisionmaking within a higher education context, especially in terms of adopting innovative programs or practices that may carry significant financial risk.

Personal responsibility. In addition to the negotiation work performed by faculty and staff through the mechanism of maximizing positive impact, respondents also discussed how they negotiated the costs and benefits of CBHE engagement by relying upon their personal sense of responsibility towards certain actors or entities. When asked "To whom or what do you feel most responsible when working on CBHE projects?", faculty and staff identified numerous stakeholders to whom they felt responsible across different levels of context; in response to this question, faculty discussed responsibility to the self, responsibility to the research domain, responsibility to MIT and its leadership, responsibility to the collaborations themselves, responsibility to the partner campus and its students, responsibility to the partner country, responsibility to the United States, and responsibility to the world. While the actors and institutions to whom responsibility is felt differed significantly across the faculty and staff respondents, each interviewee was able to identify at

least two distinct entities – be they specific stakeholder groups or institutions – in answer to the responsibility question.

Given that all faculty and staff members felt responsibility towards at least two institutions or stakeholder groups, in many cases respondents discussed how they negotiated conflicts and outcomes across these entities, illuminating the ways in which these individuals balance cost and benefit between different actors in CBHE work. Said one faculty member with experience on the Cambridge-MIT and Masdar partnerships:

> [I'm] kind of 100% responsible to MIT and 99% responsible to our collaborator, but I really ultimately have to do what's right for MIT and MIT''s students at MIT. And so if there was ever a conflict between those two, that's who I'm responsible to. The trick is always [to] find the commonality so that everything you're doing is as positive for both partners as possible.

This quote illuminates one way in which responsibility may guide a faculty or staff member as they negotiate costs and benefits in CBHE work; in this case, the faculty member would value institutional benefits for MIT over benefits for the collaboration or the cross-border institution and, conversely, weigh costs for MIT more strongly than costs for the host campus. Additionally, this perspective of responsibility as a guiding principle may also help faculty negotiate different benefits – rather than benefits and costs – across stakeholder groups; given that benefits are unlikely to be felt equally by all actors, faculty and staff may use this concept of responsibility to focus benefits on one particular stakeholder group in lieu of others.

Several faculty and staff members discussed a specific example of this phenomenon occurring as MIT negotiated contracts for the CBHE projects. In their interviews, respondents discussed how if some component of a potential project was deemed to be

potentially damaging to MIT's brand, the CBHE project would not be pursued, despite potential benefits to the host country or its students. This scenario presents a clear example of how responsibility towards different actors or entities helps guide how faculty and staff negotiate cost and benefits in CBHE projects, further illustrating the mechanism of personal responsibility as a key factor in balancing costs and benefits.

Discussion

The findings presented above illustrate that faculty and staff engaged in large-scale CBHE projects at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology believe that there are numerous types of benefits and one type of cost associated with CBHE work; furthermore, these individuals appear to negotiate these costs and benefits through at least two methods, including attempts to maximize positive impact of engagement and alignment of actions with feelings of responsibility towards particular actors in the CBHE and MIT systems. Interestingly, respondents described these costs, benefits, and negotiation techniques as occurring at very different levels of context, from the individual, personal level to the context of the broad global community.

Figure 2 (below) illustrates an overview of the costs and benefits faculty and staff members associate with CBHE work, organized by level of context at which these costs and benefits are identified. In line with several of the findings presented above, numerous costs and benefits discussed by faculty and staff were identified as occurring across several levels of context, illustrating that these costs and benefits can be felt or experienced differently by different stakeholder groups. For example, faculty and staff discussed the benefit of "forming relationships" as beneficial at a personal level (through forming new friendships with individuals at the cross-border campus), at a professional level (through development of new research partnerships and collaborations), and at an institutional level (through

establishing connections across MIT's departments and units). Similarly, costs were also identified as occurring across levels of context; for example, time costs were felt by actors individually (as they negotiated their various professional responsibilities inside and outside of the CBHE projects) and institutionally (as MIT's administration reallocated responsibilities of personnel).

Interestingly, while faculty and staff identified benefits of engagement associated with all five levels of context, the costs they identified in their interviews were only associated with the personal, professional, and institutional realms. Based on the nature of the interview protocol used for this study, it is unclear if these findings indicate that faculty and staff believe there to be no costs associated with these projects in the cross-national or global contexts, or if respondents in this study simply did not mention them given that they were not specifically asked about costs in these contexts. Alternatively, it is possible that faculty and staff at the home institution are not aware of or do not consider costs of CBHE projects to the cross-border or global contexts; in future research, interviews with other stakeholder groups – for example, staff, students, and faculty at the cross-border institution – may be able to provide more insight into costs within these contexts.

Figure 2. Benefits and costs of engagement in large-scale cross-border higher education projects, as identified by MIT faculty and staff members.

With regards to the mechanisms faculty and staff use to negotiate costs and benefits of CBHE work, two were identified from the data collected for this study: (1) maximizing positive impact, and (2) negotiating a sense of personal responsibility. Interestingly, these negotiation techniques were most often framed as negotiating between stakeholders at different levels of context; for example, faculty and staff members discussed working to identify the areas in which they could have maximum positive impact (for example, by teaching students at MIT versus the cross-border campus) or their thought processes when balancing costs and benefits associated with different stakeholder groups to whom they felt responsibility. Future work in this area should more thoroughly investigate these relationships, perhaps by asking faculty and staff to negotiate theoretical tradeoffs between costs and benefits identified in this preliminary research explicitly in the course of an interview or focus group.

Conclusions, Limitations, and Future Research

Although the number of large-scale CBHE collaborations has experienced a boom in recent decades, relatively little is known about the experiences of faculty and staff as the engage in CBHE work. In this qualifying paper, I contribute to the literature by identifying the costs and benefits faculty and staff engaged in CBHE at one American higher education institution believe are associated with this work, as well as the means by which faculty and staff negotiate these costs and benefits in the course of their engagement.

<u>Limitations</u>

There are four primarily limitations of this study: (1) Institutional Review Board (IRB) restrictions on snowball sampling, (2) issues related to the researcher's pre-existing relationship with MIT and many of the subjects interviewed for this study, (3) MIT's unique

institutional culture and its applicability to other American higher education institutions, and (4) the use of only one coder to analyze the transcript data.

The primary limitation of this study stems from the IRB's restrictions on snowball sampling in interview-based studies. Ideally, at the conclusion of each interview respondents would have been asked for suggestions of other individuals that may be valuable participants in the study; however, this practice is disallowed under Harvard University's IRB protocol guidelines. As such, participants could only be identified through my personal knowledge or publically available documents, which are not comprehensive in their listing of faculty and staff engaged in these projects. Given this limitation regarding identification of participants, it is likely that some key actors involved in these projects were not contacted with requests for interviews, limiting the perspectives from which the data were collected.

The second limitation of this work relates to my role as a former employee of one of MIT's major international collaborations. Although this role likely aided me in gaining access to many of my interview subjects, it also has some effect on how I framed both the general research question for this study and the specific questions included in my interview protocol. In an effort to acknowledge and account for my personal perspective in performing this work, I received several iterations of feedback from fellow graduate students regarding the framing of my question and my interview protocol. Furthermore, I remained reflective about my own role and relationships when conducting and analyzing interviews, on numerous occasions challenging my own assumptions and beliefs regarding CBHE at MIT.

Next, the generalizability of this study may also be limited by MIT's uniqueness in the context of other American higher education institutions. In addition to its status as one of the most selective and prestigious universities in the United States, MIT prides itself as an

institution on its diversity of perspectives – in particular, the "quirkiness" of its undergraduate population – as well as its emphasis on science and technology. Furthermore, MIT's reputation allows the Institute's leadership to be extremely selective when identifying potential CBHE collaborators, an opportunity not afforded to most American institutions looking to engage in large-scale CBHE. As such, the particularities of the MIT context should be carefully considered before the findings of this study are applied to additional higher education contexts.

Finally, this work is also limited due to the fact that only one researcher coded the interview data due to resource restraints. In future iterations of this research, I hope to secure funds to support additional coders or analysts to help analyze this and other data sets, potentially improving the internal validity of my findings.

Future Research

This research may be used to inform future quantitative and qualitative work on CBHE collaborations. In the quantitative realm, future work should be performed to test the extent to which these perceived benefits and costs are actually felt across stakeholder groups in the different levels of context identified above, potentially across several colleges or universities engaged in large-scale CBHE. Additionally, while this research illuminates the experiences of faculty and staff from "home" institutions engaged in CBHE, further qualitative work is also necessary to investigate the views and experiences of other actors involved in CBHE projects. Similar to existing scholarship in CBHE, this research takes a Western-centric view of cross-border partnerships, focusing on American actors participating in large-scale cross-border partnerships. To reflect recent theoretical shifts towards a post-structural understanding of the CBHE phenomenon (Amthor & Metzger, 2011), additional qualitative work investigating the lived experiences of foreign partners

engaged in CBHE partnerships – for example, foreign students, administrators, staff members, and faculty – should also be performed. In addition to illuminating these stakeholders' perceptions of the benefits and costs across different levels of context, this work could also identify differences between the experiences and beliefs of domestic and foreign partners participating in the same CBHE endeavor, potentially identifying areas in which collaborators are not aligned in their perceptions of what may be considered effective or proper CBHE work. As such, this future research could both illuminate a multitude of processes that occur in large-scale CBHE partnerships and align current empirical scholarship with current theoretical perspectives in cross-border higher education.

Conclusion

The costs and benefits of large-scale CBHE identified by the interviewees in this study illuminate the ways in which CBHE engagement can support or detract from the work of faculty, staff, and other stakeholders at higher education institutions. Given recent notable failures of cross-border institutions such as NYU's Tisch School of the Arts-Asia in Singapore or Michigan State University's campus in Abu Dhabi, administrators at American higher education institutions may question whether or not engaging in large-scale CBHE collaborations would be beneficial for their campus. This research illustrates that faculty and staff engaged in CBHE at one American institution believe these endeavors to be beneficial in numerous ways for different stakeholders across and outside of higher education institutions; furthermore, these individuals discuss the costs of participation to be similar to the costs felt by all faculty and staff during the course of their day-to-day work, specifically the difficulties in allocating time to different projects. While these findings are not "generalizable" to every higher education institution that may be asked to participate in a

large-scale CBHE partnership, they may well serve an important first step to understand the

processes that occur as a CBHE partnership is developed and maintained.

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Part I: Personal Involvement in MIT's International Projects

- How did you get involved in MIT's international collaborations?
- What has been the nature of your roles and involvement in this/these project(s)?
- Why did you want to be involved in these projects?
- How much did you know about MIT's past involvement overseas when you decided to participate?
- How much did you know about this/these particular country(ies) when you began to work on the project(s)?
- How did you go about learning about the country(ies) in which you were working?
- What have you gained from your involvement on the project(s)?
- Did you see any recurring challenges on the project(s) on which you have worked?
- To whom or what do you feel most responsible in doing your work in these international collaborations?

Part II: View of the Nature of MIT's Involvement Overseas

- What is the purpose of the projects MIT is undertaking overseas?
- Why do you think MIT has taken the approach it has to international engagement?
- What benefits does MIT receive from these international collaborations?
- How do you define success in these collaborations?
- How would you determine if one of these projects is failing?

Part III: Views on the Ethical Implications of MIT's International Projects

- Is there anywhere in the world where you think the MIT model of education wouldn't work?
- Are there moral or ethical implications to your work in these projects?
- Can you think of an example of an ethical question (or dilemma) you have faced in your work with these projects?
- Some other universities engaging in collaborations with some of the same countries as MIT have faced a lot of public pushback from their faculty and students regarding these types of projects. Why do you think MIT has not had this type of public pushback?
- What would be your vision for MIT's international engagement over the next 5-10 years?
- How do you think this will compare with what the engagement will actually look like?

Wrap-Up

- Is there anything regarding these collaborations you think I've missed during this interview?

Appendix B: Codebook

Below is the codebook used for thematic analysis of interview data. Top-level codes are indicated in bold, second-level codes are indicated in normal text, and third-level codes are indicated in italics. For second- and third-level codes, example quotes of coded text are provided; in addition, when applicable, specific exclusions to the coding rule are provided to clarify the coding strategy.

Code	Definition	Example Quote	Exclusions (if applicable)
Interest in project	**Interviewee motivation for participating in cross-border projects or their impressions of their peers' reasons for interest in these projects**		**Does not include benefits of participation if not cited as a motivation to participate in CBHE**
Opportunity to do something unique	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project to do something different than their normal roles at MIT	"I've been doing research now for a long time. I know how to do it. I know I can do it. This had all the hallmarks of doing stuff that was outside of my comfort zone and, consequently, it was very attractive in that way."	
Improve teaching at MIT	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project to improve quality of teaching at MIT	"[These projects are] forcing us to have an excuse to reflect internally on how we do this so we can prepare to teach others."	
Innovation/ experimentation	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project to take advantage of an opportunity to do something that couldn't be done at MIT	"That's the mission—to do something new and exciting that you believe is the right thing to do. And I think designing a new university built around innovation is a really interesting opportunity."	

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Opportunity to contribute globally	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project to improve the world	"It really changes people's lives if you can invest patiently and understand it."
Build international network	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project to build a global professional network	"I had a colleague there that I was interested in working with, so I participated in it, but I participated in a very minor way personally, in terms of money received or things."
Opportunity to travel	Expressing interest in participating in across-border project because of the opportunity to travel	"Personally, it's been attractive to live in places, be in places."
Personal relationships	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project because of personal connections to those already working on the project(s)	"The people that asked me were interesting, people that I had either worked with in the past and wanted to work with at MIT or they were new people that I've always thought would be interesting to work with."
Research interest	Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project because of research interests relevant to the project(s)	"It's almost completely motivated by the research side. I got involved with them because I wanted to do research in this specific area."
Research funding	*Expressing interest in participating in a cross-border project because of the opportunity to receive funding for research*	*"One is that they were offering money."*

Benefits	Interviewee perspectives on the positive outcomes of MIT's cross-border initiatives	Does not include perceived benefits as motivation to participate in CBHE
Benefits to faculty/staff participants	Describing cross-border projects as avenues for personal gain, growth, or development	"When you say MIT, MIT is individuals, and so the individuals working on them [the projects] I think get tremendous personal benefits."
Independence/ flexibility work	*Describing cross-border projects as avenues through which to pursue independent, flexible work*	"I have received a reasonable buckets of money that were not very tightly controlled [...], basically money to sort of do what you thought was best professionally."
Content knowledge	*Describing cross-border projects as avenues to gain content knowledge in an academic or research area*	"Some of the research was, again, things that I wouldn't have gone into on my own but that [I] had an interest in, and so it enabled me to see those interests through."
Forming international relationships	*Describing cross-border projects as avenues to build networks across borders*	"I think that it's been a lot of fun meeting and working with new collaborators, some of which have lived just a short period of that sort of shared funded collaboration, but other ones that, you know, I still interact with in more informal ways. So building new relationships I think has been certainly a lot of fun in all these cases."
Building something new	*Describing cross-border projects as avenues to build something new*	"For me, personally, and for a lot of our students and faculty involved, it was wonderful to see a new entity take shape, birth[ing] a new entity is something inconceivable for most of us

Learning about the world	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to travel and learn about other cultures or the global community	"I have learned a lot about the regions, about the countries, about the culture, about the academia within those regions." "...in our lifetime. And so for those of us who went through it, it's sort of very unique [and] cherished."	
Managerial skills	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to develop managerial skills	"[In the] second phase, being the lead faculty for all of MIT—that's a lot of management responsibility."	
Research funding	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to secure research funding	"Many of them [the projects] provided opportunities for supplemental funding, and government funding goes in such weird cycles that supplemental funding helps buffer the trunks in the federal funding."	
Benefit to host country	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve institutions or stakeholder groups in the host country	"They would like to see economic shift in their country, often towards a more technology-based economy or development of new sectors in the economy spun out of a university."	Does not include explicit benefits for host country students or faculty
Benefit to host country faculty	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve the lives of the partner institution's faculty	"The young faculty whom we've worked with have been quite happy about the collaborations that we have done with them."	
Benefit to host country students	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve the lives of the host country's students	"Our graduates end up appearing in other topnotch universities, [...] we see them entering and moving up through the infrastructure of all sorts of corporations, [...] they start their own companies. We've already seen some evidence of that."	

Benefit to world	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve the world or the global community	"Pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, addressing the great challenges plaguing this earth of ours is, you know, the second great dividend, I think."
Benefit to MIT	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve MIT as an academic institution	"You can make the case for doing it [developing large-scale CBHE projects] just on the basis of its offering us a chance to be better. And that's kind of nice."
Improving MIT education	*Describing cross-border projects as avenues to improve the quality of undergraduate or graduate education at MIT*	*"I think the fundamental purpose is one, to educate our students; to give them, in an increasingly global world […] opportunities to get them abroad [and] engage in research. And, you know, education projects in different places can only be good for our students."*
Building bridges	Describing cross-border projects as avenues to build bridges between nations or communities	"Here, it's about connecting a set of players in an economic ecosystem that are professionals or might be investors or might be practitioners of entrepreneurship and innovation."
Challenges/conflicts	**Challenges, conflicts, and issues interviewees experienced (and saw others experiencing) in the context of cross-border higher education work**	
Recruitment	Conflict or challenge arising due to difficulties in attracting and recruiting	

talent to the cross-border institution

Hiring faculty	*Conflict or challenge arising due to the difficulties in hiring faculty at the cross-border institution*	"We have the students, but we don't have enough faculty."
Recruiting students	*Conflict or challenge arising due to difficulties in attracting and recruiting students*	"They're moving away from a technical focus for their education—not necessarily the government — [the] Ministry of Education — but the kids and their parents."
Communication	Conflict or challenge arising due to issues with communication between partners	"I think a big challenge is having a very, very clear policy and a very clear communication about what the relationship really entails and what it really allows."
Cultural differences	Conflict or challenge arising due to differences between national or organizational cultures between partners	"Another common challenge — one I spoke to — and that is the inadequacy of our understanding of our partner, whether it be politically, culturally, sociologically, [or] the business model."
Educational approach	*Conflict or challenge arising due to differences between national or organizational cultural views of the role and structure of higher education institutions*	"The Singaporean educational system and the university, especially, is relatively conservative. And the model that we have — that we put on paper, and I think that we're successful in implementing — is very different."
Geopolitics	Conflict or challenge arising due to international geopolitical issues between countries or groups	"When we started our involvement in Russia, things were going pretty well at the political level and then things deteriorated more recently with Ukraine and Crimea as examples."

Getting faculty buy-in	Conflict or challenge arising due to the difficulties in getting faculty "on board" to cross-border projects	"And we have to be cognizant on what our faculty want. Not everything we do internationally all our faculty like."
Allocating time/resources	Conflict or challenge arising due to difficulties allocating time and resources between cross-border projects and interviewees' other professional responsibilities	"There are other issues too that come up with the collaboration which is constantly, you know, faculty time. We're using faculty time abroad."
Lack of country knowledge	Conflict or challenge arising due to individuals' lack of prior knowledge about the partnering country	"What I think should be done is that when a university desires to have an international program, there should be an acknowledgement that they really do not understand the partner and then put in place a process of education of all the people who are going to be involved."
Relationships within host country	Conflict or challenge arising due to relationships between institutions, politicians, or other relevant parties within the host country	"That was also just how government—how the government works and how decisions get made and who has influence and who the real stakeholders are and how they measure success."
Risk/uncertainty	Conflict or challenge arising due to the uncertainty inherent to large-scale cross-border projects	"You want to hire the best faculty, and you want to get the best students, and in any given year, the best students may not be in the same area as the best faculty, and then who teaches what?"
Scope of project	Conflict or challenge arising due to how much/what MIT is asked to take on in a cross-border project	"Another challenge is we constantly make assumptions about what the relationship would be or do or what we

can do.”

Project timeline	*Conflict or challenge arising due to the timeline on which the cross-border project was developed*	*“So a problem with a lot of these programs is that the funders are ultimately politicians. And politicians have a time constant of three or four years. And the time constant for success of these investments is decades. So there's constantly tension between the metrics of success.”*
Responsibility	**To whom or what interviewees feel responsible in doing their work on cross-border projects**	
Responsibility to self	The self as the actor to whom responsibility is felt	“I'm serving my own personal agenda because they—you know, the mission and my own personal agenda becomes so intertwined.” “The goal is not spending money. I mean, the goal is causing some kind of change there.”
Responsibility to partner country	Citizens and institutions of the partner country as the actors to whom responsibility is felt	“It was an opportunity to, on the one hand, help them develop a more advanced, pragmatically different approaches, but in the same way by doing that—understanding better how to explain, transmit the kind of things that colleagues and I had been developing in the United States.”
Responsibility to research field	The research field as the entity to which responsibility is felt	

Responsibility to MIT	MIT as the entity to which responsibility is felt	"Ultimately, you know, my allegiance is MIT and what—and that MIT should be better for it in the end."
Responsibility to MIT project lead(s)	*Project leads or supervisors as the actors to whom responsibility is felt*	*"I was also, I suppose, responsible to the administration, you know, and make sure that we did sensible things for the people under MIT."*
Responsibility to the United States	The United States as the entity to which responsibility is felt	"I tried to do a partnership like this with a couple of universities in the U.S. and I did get pushback, which was interesting."
Responsibility to the partner campus	The partner campus as the entity to which responsibility is felt	"I want SUTD to succeed. I want SUTD to be a world-class university."
Responsibility to partner campus faculty	*The partner campus faculty as the actors to whom responsibility is felt*	*"One last community [to who I feel responsibility] would be the faculty, especially the junior faculty who were involved from these countries because some of them are making huge commitments to be involved."*
Responsibility to partner campus students	*The partner campus students as the actors to whom responsibility is felt*	*"I think the students are the ones that have – in a foreign country are the ones that really have the most to draw on – they're the ones that one feels the worst about if one can't come through for them."*
Responsibility to the program	The collaborative cross-border program as the entity to which responsibility is felt	"I think in both cases, like the other projects I've been involved in in my career, I've had a lot of affiliation with the project itself."

Morality/ethics	Interviewee reflections on the moral or ethical considerations and implications of working on a large-scale cross-border higher education project		
	Environmental impact	Difficulty in navigating the environmental impact of travel to cross-border campuses	"I think most of us environmentalists fly like mad and feel like we're still doing good for the environment, even though it's one of the most harmful things you can do for energy, and yet very few people ever think about it."
	Balancing MIT & other responsibilities	Ethical challenges in balancing responsibilities to MIT and to the cross-border campus or project	"One of the challenges for us is that every international program takes away from our Cambridge [Massachusetts] program."
	Ensuring progress	Difficulty in ensuring that the cross-border context is progressing towards alignment with a set of values	"I would say if we help them do what they would have done without us, that is probably the biggest failure, because then there was no need for us. […] It would have happened that way without us. So no change would be true failure."
	Alignment of values	Difficulty in ensuring that the cross-border project and context are in line with MIT's institutional values	"I work on the Middle East, and it's hard to think of a part of the world today that's more embroiled in war and dissent—in expressions of values that are seemingly different from the values that we have in this country."
	Importance of	Imperative to provide quality	"I believe that we all agree that"

education	education to as many people as possible	education is important, and making it available is important—that's a moral imperative."
Engaging in the developing world	*Difficulty in defining a strategy or approach to engage and provide educational or research opportunities in the developing world*	*"I think the one piece that is missing is that there are places in the world that have really interesting problems to work on and interesting people to work with but that can't afford us."*
Transparency	Difficulty ensuring transparency in the collaboration and of its activities	"MIT has a tradition of openness, and so I think a lot of these—when questions arise, they get discussed in faculty meetings and they get discussed in the faculty newsletter and are, sort of, talked about in different places."
Nature of collaboration	**Interviewee impressions of institute-level views and approaches to the development of cross-border collaborative projects and how they are maintained over time**	
Opportunity to engage globally	Development of cross-border projects due to the need to engage internationally in today's world	"It seems to me that MIT has both an opportunity and a responsibility to extend itself way beyond this campus and way beyond our national borders."
MIT's entrepreneurial spirit	Reflection of MIT's spirit of entrepreneurship in the development and maintenance of large-scale cross-border projects through bottom-up initiatives	"Intellectually, it's a very decentralized place. Almost everyone thinks of himself as a startup."

Individual faculty interest	Genesis of partnerships through the interest of individual faculty or staff	"A lot of the programs were initiated by individual faculty who just thought they'd be good ideas."
Administrative or strategic approach	Departmental or university-level administrative approaches and vision to developing and maintaining cross-border projects	"I don't know that I've ever heard a credible synopsis of an overall strategy for all international programs. It seems like they are formulated and then they're initiated [on a] sort of case by case basis, so they all seem to be slightly different."
Research opportunities	Development of cross-border projects due to the opportunities for innovative research as a result of the partnerships	"In some cases you're carrying out research that can't be done here because they have unique climate or unique facilities."

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