Operating International Branch Campuses in Education Hubs:

A Case Study of a Consortium Model of Incheon Global Campus in Korea

by

HyeSu Han

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APPROVED:

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Rican Vue, representing Sociology

_____

Kelsy Kretschmer, representing Sociology

_____

Allison Hurst, representing Sociology

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Abstract

In recent decades, the concept of transnational higher education has flourished and international branch campuses (IBCs) have proliferated. Some countries have gone as far as designating areas as education hubs and have attracted foreign universities to operate branch campuses on their soils. While researchers have studied what motivates universities to establish IBCs and have examined operational challenges, limited literature exists on the dynamics of operating IBCs in education hubs and the relationships among the IBCs. This study explores how IBCs operate within the hub and what opportunities and challenges emerge from the consortium model.

This is a qualitative case study of the Incheon Global Campus (IGC) in South Korea; an understudied education hub due to its recent development since 2012. Located within the Songdo International Business District in the city of Incheon, the IGC currently houses four IBCs from the United States and Belgium: SUNY Korea, Mason Korea, University of Utah Asia Campus and Ghent University Global Campus. Under the shared campus model, IBCs share facilities which are managed by the government-supported organization – IGC Foundation (IGCF).

Twenty faculty, staff, and students were interviewed on their perceptions of the benefits and challenges of operating in this consortium model. Relevant documents and audiovisual materials were also analyzed for additional insights. This research uses Fligstein and McAdam (2015)'s field theory and Tjemkes, Vos and Burgers (2018)'s the strategic alliance model as a background conceptual framework.

The finding suggests that the relationships among the IBCs are both collaborative and competitive. The level of interaction and collaboration varied among institutions due to

difference in organizational goals, culture and the resources they possess. Some of the opportunities presented by the consortium include a reduction in the cost of the operation, promoting inter-organizational learning and enhancing reputation. Some challenges involve complex decision-making process, weakening competitive advantage, management complexity and a negative spillover effect in adversity. Nevertheless, the overall interactions among branch campuses were limited as IBCs prioritized their relationships to the home campus.

These findings lead to a better understanding of the unique environment of education hubs where IBCs operate in a consortium. The current research shed light for higher educational institutions and government officials in all stages of educational hub development from idea conception to operation.

Keywords: international branch campus, education hub, strategic alliance, consortium, higher education, international education, Incheon Global Campus, Korea

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Introduction

Over the past few decades, the concept of transnational education[1] accelerated as globalization drove the internationalization of education. The number of people studying abroad has flourished and has continued to increase. There is an ever-growing demand for laborers with a global mindset and cultural and linguistic competency. There are a variety of forms taken by transnational education including student and faculty exchange, joint degree programs, and international branch campuses (IBCs). IBCs demonstrate the largest evolution in transnational education as an increasing number of higher education institutions have established campuses overseas to offer undergraduate and graduate degree programs. Currently, a total of 247 branch campuses are operating in 76 countries, with 22 additional IBCs currently being planned (C-BERT, 2017). The major "exporters"[2] of branch campuses are the United States and the United Kingdom, and the major "importers"[3] are China and the United Arab Emirates (C-BERT, 2017).

Home institutions and host countries are eager to operate IBCs for various reasons. Universities seek to diversify their revenue streams and expand their access to diverse student populations (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Wong, Ho, & Singh, 2007). They also believe that establishing IBCs across countries will help promote their institutional prestige and strengthen their global presence (Shams & Huisman, 2012; Slaughter & Slaughter, 1997; Toyoshima, 2007; Wilkins, 2017). Many also think that maintaining IBCs improves academic and research

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[1] Transnational education according to McBurnie and Ziguras (2007) refers to "the situation where the students taking an educational programme are located in a country other than the one in which the awarding institution is based." (Wilkins, 2017, p.1386)

[2] The largest exporters of branch campuses are: United States (77), United Kingdom (38), France (28), Russia (21), and Australia (14).

[3] The largest importers of branch campus are: China (32), United Arab Emirates (32), Singapore (12), Malaysia (12), and Qatar (11).

environments for both home and branch campus students and faculty (Cai & Hall, 2016; Clifford, 2015). In some cases, institutions are motivated by altruism, a desire to improve the well-being of others and expand educational opportunities to underserved student populations and marginalized communities (Clifford, 2015; Wilkins & Urbanovič, 2014). This motivation has been particularly salient with institutions with religious missions.

Taking the importer perspective, host countries believe that having IBCs brings domestic economic and educational benefits. Through IBCs, many desire to "build its capacity in human capital, knowledge, and innovation, as well as strengthen[] education as a trade sector for revenue generation" (Knight, 2016). For example, brain drain is perceived to be one of the major impediments to economic advancement in developing countries and emerging economies (Wadhwa & Jha, 2014), but some developed countries are also impacted. Therefore, countries seek to retain domestic students and attract foreign students by importing highly regarded educational programs from abroad. On another case, some governments are driven by foreign policy. For instance, one study noted that Japanese leaders actively recruited U.S. higher education institutions to establish IBCs in Japan in the 1980s to strengthen their diplomatic tie with the United States (Lane, 2011).

While there are many rationales to establish IBCs as discussed, there were many cases that universities failed to meet their original expectations or shut down. Until the present day, forty-four IBCs have closed (CBERT, 2017; Ruby 2010). These failures have often caused severe damage to the home institutions' reputations and exacerbated their financial burdens (Healey, 2016, p.62). Establishing and operating IBCs require hefty investments that involve high risks for both home institutions and host countries. Some of their major expenses include building or leasing facilities, purchasing equipment software, staffing, which requires substantial

financial and human resources. However, IBCs may not be always profitable, at least during their development stage. Tan (2015)'s studies found that four of the eight branch campuses failed to make a profit in the year 2013 and ran on negative reserves (Tan, 2015).

As an attempt to mitigate the risk of failures and create synergy, a growing number of countries have created so-called "education hubs" where a number of (higher) education institutions are located in one area. According to Knight (2013), such hubs are a "planned effort to build a critical mass of local and international actors strategically engaged in cross-border education, training, knowledge production and innovation initiative" (Knight, 2013, p. 375). Typically, education hubs are located within or nearby "economic hubs" where many businesses are clustered together and often offer some incentives to attract both domestic and international firms. Some of major education hubs that contain IBCs are Education City in Qatar, Dubai International Academic City in UAE and the multiple hubs in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia.

While establishing IBCs in an education hub is a growing trend, the literature is more centered on the operations of individual branch campuses. Although there are some scholars who have conducted single or multi-cases studies of education hubs (e.g., Jane Knight 2014), there has been limited attention on inter-organizational relationships between IBCs located in a hub, including the role of the consortium model where organizations engage in joint activities under a shared governance and with pooled resources. Therefore, this study explores the environment and dynamics of operating IBCs in an education hub and how the consortium model shapes IBCs' operations and campus environment. The opportunities and challenges of IBC partnerships will be discussed.

What follows is a qualitative case study of the Incheon Global Campus (IGC) in the Songdo Business District in Incheon, South Korea. This is an under-studied education hub as it was developed only seven years ago. IGC currently houses four IBCs – SUNY Korea, Mason Korea, University of Utah Asia Campus, and Ghent University Global Campus – and it is planning to attract more collaborators. These IBCs operate in a consortium model and are encouraged to collaborate and share resources. An Incheon Global Campus Foundation, a semi-government agency, has been working closely with the municipal government to promote IGC, manage the shared facilities and facilitate the joint operations of IBCs. Nineteen interviews have been conducted with IGC faculty, staff, senior administrators, students and research affiliates.

The findings have implications for higher educational institutions and government agencies that are considering, planning or currently operating IBCs in education hubs. They also contribute to understanding the unique environment of education hubs where IBCs operate, especially under the consortium model for the research communities. Finally, the findings shed lights for professional communities how collaborative international educational arrangements work on the grounds and guide them on developing appropriate institutional strategies and practices.

Research Questions

To examine the dynamics of institutions operating in the consortium model in the education hub and to study the relationship with the IBCs operations and the campus environment, the following questions guide our research.

1. How do IBCs operate in education hubs via a consortium model, and how does the model shape the way IBCs conduct business?

2. What are the opportunities and challenges of operating IBCs in a consortium model?

Literature Review/Conceptual Framework

Multiple theoretical perspectives are applied from two distinct disciplines: Fligstein and McAdam's field theory (2015) in Sociology and Strategic Alliance model in Business. Also, higher education literature pertaining to international branch campuses are utilized. The field theory provides a baseline theory demonstrating how organizations' strategic actions are influenced by the social environment, including regulatory policies, actions of competing and collaborative organizations, and broader level social and economic environments, in which they operate (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015). The Strategic Alliance model provides a lens to identify specific opportunities and challenges faced by a consortium – a type of strategic alliance, in which organizations engage in joint activities under a shared governance and with pooled resources. Also, previous studies on international branch campuses provide a general understanding of how universities operate overseas in a different environment and the specific challenges they face, and we expand upon this by adding the understanding the role of the consortium model.

What immediately follows is a summary of the field theory. Subsequently, I synthesize what challenges international branch campuses face while navigating similarities and differences between their home campus and the host country environment based on the literature review. Then after, I discuss what strategic alliance model suggests about inter-organizational relationships. Lastly, some of the propositions underlying the analysis are discussed.

Field Theory

Fligstein and McAdam (2015)'s theory of fields contends that organizations operate in social arenas called strategic fields – " a constructed mesolevel social order in which actors are attuned to and interact with one another based on shared understandings about the purposes of

the field relationships to others in the field, and the rules governing legitimate action in the field." (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015). Any given field is embedded in broader fields. This can be easily understood when thinking of how individuals belong to households, which are part of local communities within a larger society. In like manner, universities engage in different spheres: from communities they serve, to state, federal and international level. Within these fields, there are many stakeholders they interact with, such as accrediting bodies, federal and state regulatory authorities, and funding agencies.

The dynamics of these fields often determine how various actors interact with one another. A shift in power within a strategic field as well as changes in relationships between fields impact the dynamics of fields. Fields could emerge or dissipate, or remain stable and reproduce the existing social order for an extended period (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015). Then, what actions do actors take in a given field?

Within a field, organizations strategically interact with one another as they jockey for advantages. However, some actors possess more power than others in a given field which they refer to as incumbents. They typically possess more resources – capital, skills, knowledge, and allies. Using their advantages, they will try to shape the actions of the others in their favor, which inherently creates more opportunities for them, compared to the rest of the actors in the field. However, field dynamics could also shift as contenders gain influence over time. With that in mind, the following section explains what it actually looks like on the ground to operate international branch campuses and discuss key challenges they face based on the literature.

Challenges with International Branch Campus Operations

Previous studies have elucidated that the core issues international branch campuses face revolve around juggling between multiple identities that they are expected to abide to. "Branch

campuses tend to have hybrid missions in that they are asked to serve the overall university and local constituent communities at the same time" (Dengerink, 2001). While home campuses expect branch campuses to provide identical academic programs and replicate the campus environment, IBCs are required or compelled to comply with the host government regulations and honor local culture and values. These hybrid identities are often incompatible with each other, thus creating dissonance. In such cases, branch campuses must choose between standardizing versus tailoring their programs. As Shams and Huisman (2012) conveyed, this issue with hybrid identity impact all aspects of the IBC operations: management, recruitment, staffing, curriculum, research environment, student life, and even government relations.

In academics, many branch campuses modify their curriculum to fit into the local circumstances or sometimes are required by the host government to do so. "Host country government may have a set of interests and values that are quite different from the institution's home country government, which has potential to create conflict, discomfort, and uncertainty" (Wilkins, 2017). Oftentimes, culture in the host countries is more conservative. Therefore, culturally sensitive topics such as feminism or religion may not be taught the same way as in the main campus, if covered at all. In some countries, "academic staff with a sense of self-preservation self-censor and, in the classroom, they avoid talking about human rights, religion, or politics" (Wilkins, 2017).

Sometimes, IBCs confront challenges with maintaining the academic rigors, due to the different academic system and atmosphere. Bodycott and Walker (2000) found that faculty members have difficulty in teaching students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Bodycott & Walker, 2000). Others have noted the difficulty in teaching students who are used to different learning styles (Rostron, 2009). Some IBCs admits applicants without an adequate

level of English or standardized test scores required by the home university (Lane, 2011 p.5). This is because the majority of local applicants went through a different education system and grew up in non-English speaking environments. Indeed, some faculty reported receiving series of emails "asking for better grades for no reason" (Gerson, 2010), and feel that "many students are awarded higher grades than they deserve"(Gerson 2010 as cited in Wilkins, 2017).

For research universities, research is the heart of the mission. However, some branch campuses also have difficulty in securing research funding. This is mainly because branch campuses are considered as a foreign entity by both home and the host government, thus ineligible to apply for government grants in either country (see, for example, Cai & Hall, 2016) thus ineligible for government funding. Without sufficient research opportunities, retaining quality faculty and graduate students is difficult.

Directly in line with limited research opportunities, another major concern with IBCs is with staffing. Faculty interests to relocate to another country are generally low, especially for long-term. Especially, junior-level professors fear that the distance between the home department and the branch campus would isolate them, leading to a loss in research and career opportunities. Others hesitate to move for a variety of reasons including personal commitments, family situations, anxiety over fitting into an alien culture, climate, religious reasons, safety concerns, and more (Wilkins 2017, p. 1388). Even senior-level administrators often view that taking a position in an overseas branch campus as a 'career suicide'(Healey, 2016). As a result, campuses have to hire from a relatively small or less experience pool of applicants, or search substitutes locally; which poses risks on the quality of the teaching and the overall university administration.

In addition, while ensuring financial viability is imperative for any organization, starting and running an IBC requires substantial up-front investments and involves high financial risks.

"The development of a bricks and mortar campus can be quite costly; and should something go wrong (e.g., enrollments drop or the government changes the regulations), it may be difficult to recover the sunk costs if the campus operations are forced to close or be altered" (Lane, 2017). Universities need classrooms and workspaces and require equipment and technologies that are usually costly. Other administrative and management expenses are also high and require significant investments until the campus has a stable stream of profit.

Lastly, the different culture and norms affect not only the academic programs but also the student life and campus programs as a whole. For instance, campuses that operate in a conservative culture adjusted their housing policies and separated men and women's dormitory buildings (Lane, 2011). It takes much knowledge and experience to navigate different environments and adequately cope with difficulty. Reviewing all of these challenges IBC face regularly lead us to an important question: are there ways to reduce such risks and problems?

In businesses, building an alliance is one of the most popular strategies organizations like to employ to cope with challenges in order to strengthen their footing in an ever-more competitive environment. Partnerships allow organizations to maintain competitive advantages by combining their own assets with others' (Tjemkes, Vos, & Burgers, 2018). Partnerships and networks are formed at any level, from individuals, households, organizations to even cross-countries. Student exchange programs or joint-degree programs are some of many examples of a strategic alliance in a higher education setting. This paper borrows salient themes on the advantages and disadvantages of an alliance from Vos et al. (2018)'s book on the strategic alliance management. An alliance allows sharing of resource, information and encourage collaboration and coalition activities between members. On the other hand, the alliance may

hamper them by making the decision-making process more complex, pressuring them to share their unique proprietary information, or damaging their reputation.

Strategic Alliance Model

> **Opportunities.**

> *Cost and risk reduction.*

Strategic alliances have continued to grow in popularity due to various advantages (Dyer, Kale, and Singh, 2001 as cited in Dacin, Oliver, & Roy, 2007). One of the key advantages that a member organization gains from an alliance is access to additional resources and perspectives, accompanied by a reduction in risks and costs. The resources that are available in any given organization are inevitably finite. As in any other sector, one of the core factors that determine organizational success in the higher education sector is the capacity to secure resources to fulfill their missions. An illustrated by some international branch campuses that only offers courses that are in high demands but costs minimal for the maintenance (i.e. business) and not investing their resources on building infrastructure and purchasing equipment (Wilkins 2010 as cited in Wilkins, 2017; Wilkins & Balakrishnan, 2012), universities seek ways to prioritize allocating their resources in critical items, and increase their efficiency in utilizing their resources.

By collaborating with others, organizations could expand the scope of their activities and reduce their costs by utilizing others' resources in further developing their own resources. By sharing valuable resources such as capital, skills, knowledge, and facilities, organizations can remain focused on developing their core competencies and help share the risk and cost of investments (Tjemkes et al., 2018). This would increase the return of their investments in time and money (Das & Teng, 2000), and help enhance their efficiency and effectiveness over the long term.

Inter-organizational learning.

Alliances also can promote inter-organizational learning, allowing members to learn from each other and exchange information. Information and knowledge are the heart of institutions in today's knowledge-based economies. Higher education institutions are no exception, as their core mission is in knowledge creation, dissemination, and learning (Rowley, 2000). "Knowledge management" is a business concept that has gained popularity in the last decade as a management tool and a research topic (Cranfield, 2011, p.60). Through an alliance, organizations acquire information and expand know-how on various aspects of the operations such as management practices, product design, and marketing. They may also be introduced to or acquainted with new technology in the industry. Fledgling organizations may benefit highly from inter-organizational learning by tapping into more advanced organizations' existing knowledge. However, more mature organizations also benefit from learning new ideas and different perspectives that could promote innovation and help enhance their capabilities.

As new institutions navigate the process of building their campuses, guidance from the members of the umbrella consortium system that have already walked the same path could be useful. Healey (2016) points out that the information around IBCs is limited to both research and professional communities (Healey, 2016 p.63). By providing a regular venue and forum to interact among member institutions and exchange ideas, a consortium-model could facilitate learning and promote collaboration.

Legitimacy and Reputation.

Another key advantage of a strategic alliance is the opportunity to acquire institutional legitimacy and enhance organizational reputation. Dacin, Oiliver, and Roy (2007) elucidate that organizations could gain legitimacy through an alliance, which bring a profound impact on

economic and competitive success for organizations (Dacin et al., 2007). As a group, they have more political leverage to pursue collective activities, impact the political climate and pressure government to influence public policies. For instance, the Coalition of Higher Education Assistance Organizations, a partnership of higher education institutions in the United States, successfully lobbied for the renewal of the Federal Perkins Loan Program[4]. As a group, they continue to promote the Federal Campus-Based loan programs and other student financial services issues ("Federal Perkins Loan Program," n.d.).

In addition, partnership with other organizations allows them to take advantage of existing brand power of their partners. Co-branding is one of the popular marketing tactics organizations use to draw new customers, create synergy between existing brands, or strengthen (or change) existing brands (Tjemkes et al., 2018, pp. 172 - 187). As in 2014, Louis Vuitton, a famous luxury designer brand, collaborated with BMW car manufacturer, and successfully marketed their commitment in "creativity, technological innovation and style" (Tjemkes et al., 2018, p173) and received wide publicity. So-called Ivy League universities have enjoyed their prestigious group brand value for years. Universities seek accreditations from credible authorities and professional associations for the same reasons – to legitimize and increase their name value by affiliating within a network.

Challenges.

Loss of competitive advantage

While an alliance brings many opportunities for organizations as previously discussed, it has its own set of unique risks and challenges. One major dilemma that may come with an alliance membership is the potential loss of an organization's competitive advantage, due to the

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[4] Federal Perkins Loans is a federal student aid that lends money to college students in need. Students pay a fixed interest rate for the loans. See here for more information: https://www.benefits.gov/benefit/418.

sharing of certain proprietary information or resources that are deemed essential to the organization. Some knowledge or resources are critical for the existence of the organization and the success of their business operations. Therefore, sharing such sensitive resources may pose risks from losing their unique and distinctive position in a given field. Suppose that Coca-Cola is pressured to give up and share their coke recipe by their alliance member. This would be threatening to the existence of their corporation. Similarly, universities may also possess certain information and resources that they prefer to keep exclusive and be reluctant to share, in order to maintain their current status and outdo competitors. In cases where an alliance member is not only a partner but also a competitor, the tensions around sharing essential resources may aggravate.

Spillover effect.

In addition, organizations may suffer from a spillover effect in the event of an adverse circumstance arises in their partner organization. As discussed, organizations can enjoy additional value-added in their brands through collaborating with a prestigious brand network. However, if a collaborator has a low reputation or encounters adversities, this could potentially harm others' reputations altogether. For instance, when Volkswagen made cheating devices for pollution emission tests, the supplier was also penalized for paying 35 million USD (Kapadia, 2018). On other case, failures of international branch campus ventures caused severe damage to home universities' reputation and prestige (Healey, 2016).

While there are many rationales to establish IBCs as discussed, there were many cases that universities failed to meet their original expectations or shut down. Until the present day, forty-four IBCs have closed (CBERT, 2017; Ruby 2010). These failures have often caused

severe damage to the home institutions' reputations and exacerbated their financial burdens (Healey, 2016, p.62).

Complex decision-making process.

Another major challenge of alliance concerns with increased complexity in the decision-making processes. As more stakeholders get involved, reaching a consensus may become an arduous journey, especially when stakeholders have vested interests in an issue but hold different views. This is evident from many previous studies, which led to a rise of a new concept called stakeholder management that has gained popularity in various disciplines as in business and political science. In addition to the conflict of interests, misunderstandings could arise and jeopardize the existing relationships of an alliance. "When contentious issues or conflicts arise in the course of negotiation, differences in negotiation styles hinder the solution and progress of the negotiation, which inefficiency delays overall progress of the project" (Schiller & Park, 2014).

When it comes to making decisions within a group and resolving issues, power dynamics often influence the process and the outcome. Bradford et al. (2004) suggest that conflict resolution strategy is comprised of "collaboration (explore integrative solutions), accommodation (accept counterpart's perspective) and confrontation (advocacy of one perspective)" (Tjemkes et al., 2018 p.96). Out of these, what strategies an organization chooses to adopt may depend on their position within the group and the surrounding environment. The field theory argues that those with more control over others are more likely to dominate and influence the decision-making process more favorably towards themselves. Consequently, the group's collective decision may not affect members in the same way: some will gain or lose more than others. Those with power would exert their influence on others, and others would be more likely to give up their ideas or make compromises to accommodate those in power.

On top of these abovementioned challenges, we need to bear in mind that the impact of these challenges is amplified in the case of "coopetitive" relations. "Coopetition refers to a collaboration between competitors, and thus depicts a paradoxical relationship that emerges when two or more firms cooperate in some activities, and at the same time compete with each other in other activities" (Tjemkes et al., 2018 p.248). Such relations create complex scenarios and pose more severe challenges for members, compared to an alliance based on collaborations entirely.

Propositions

Based on the field theory, strategic alliance model and other international branch campus literature, this research expect that the relationship between international branch campuses in the Incheon Global Campus and the impact of a consortium model would indicate as follows:

1. The consortium creates synergy by reducing the cost of the operation, promoting inter-organizational learning, and strengthening its brand value.

2. The consortium poses challenges such as losing a competitive advantage, potentially hurting universities' reputation, or complicating the decision-making process.

3. The branch campus that has higher levels of economic, social, and cultural capital gain more from being in a consortium and are more likely to have a stronger influence in decision-making. However, power dynamics could shift once contenders gain more influence.

Description of Case

Songdo International Business District

IGC is located in the Songdo International Business District, a newly created district within the Incheon Free Economic Zone in Incheon. Bordering the capital city of Seoul, Incheon is the third-largest city in South Korea with a population of nearly 3 million people ("General Information," n.d.). South Korea currently has eight Free Economic Zones[5] designed to "improve the business and living environment for foreign-invested firms in Korea"("KFEZ Introduction," n.d.). Incheon's Free Economic Zones[6], which is comprised of three separate areas with distinct purposes, aspires to be the economic hub of Northeast Asia. Songdo International City has a particular focus on "building an innovative cluster infrastructure with a fusion technique based on prestigious education and research institutions worldwide" ("Investment Guide," n.d.). The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MOTIE) and the Incheon municipal spearheaded the development of Songdo and collectively investing more than 40 billion USD in the effort ("Songdo international business district," 2018). Over the past decade, the area has rapidly developed and is now home to many international agencies and companies including Celltrion, Daewoo International, Green Climate Fund, IBM, Samsung Biologics and World Bank Korea ("International Business Environment," n.d.).

Incheon Global Campus

While development continues to take place across the Songdo International Business District, one of the most notable initiatives is creating the education hub – the Incheon Global

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[5] Korean Free Economic Zones include Incheon, Busan-Jinhae, Gwangyang Bay, Yellow Sea, Daegu-Gyeongbuk, East Coast, Chungbuk Free Economic Zones. Incheon is the largest Free Economic Zones.

[6] Incheon Free Economic Zone has three projects: Songdo International City, Yeongjong Area and Cheongna International City. Yeongjong Area focuses on tourism and leisure, Cheongna focuses on business and industries, and Songdo on international business, information technology, biotechnology, and research & development.

Campus (IGC), which houses foreign universities that offer undergraduate and graduate degree programs. There are two key rationales for the South Korean government to develop such education hub. One is to provide excellent educational programs within the country in order to retain domestic students and limit the brain drain. In the past few decades, the number of Korean students studying overseas has multiplied. However, the number of international students studying in Korea has been significantly lower. South Korea ranked 3rd in terms of number of international students studying in the United States (Batalova, 2018), and ranked 10th in 2009 in terms of the number of students studying overseas. (Knight, 2013 p.168). However, compared to 216,867 students studying abroad, foreign students studying in Korea only recorded 63,952 students in 2008 (Byun & Kim, 2011). Also, a significant number of students educated abroad have emigrated. Therefore, the government has strived to retain the domestic talents within the border and prevent the significant outflow of domestic capital overseas. Another important objective is to promote knowledge production and innovation and "increase competitiveness in the knowledge-based market" (Knight, 2013 p.169). By developing an education hub, Incheon hopes to connect higher education institutions, businesses and research institutes to develop Songdo as the Research and Development (R&D) cluster complex ("Songdo International Complex," n.d.).

In light of these, the Korean government with MOTIE at the forefront has thus far invested 1 billion USD in constructing and operating IGC ("About IGC," 2017). Although the initial goal to attract ten elite foreign universities by 2020 is not likely to be realized, four branch campuses are currently operating: SUNY Korea, George Mason University Korea, University of Utah Asia Campus from the U.S. and Ghent University Global Campus form Belgium. Under the shared campus model, each branch campus shares main facilities including a library, auditorium,

dormitory, gym, cafeteria and more, while has its own building for classrooms and offices. All buildings in IGC are owned by the Incheon municipal government and managed by Incheon Global Campus Foundation. Branch campuses technically lease these spaces, but none of them has yet to pay rent, under 8-year rent-free agreement with the city.

SUNY Korea is the first U.S. university to be established in South Korea and the first to settle in IGC since 2012[7]. Their business model is unique in that it offers multiple degree programs from multiple home institutions – Stony Brook University (SBU) and the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) within the State University of New York (SUNY)[8] system. Unlike SUNY Korea, the other three branch campuses (Mason Korea, UAC, GUGC) provides degree programs from their specific home institutions. For instance, Mason Korea offers programs from its main campus – George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. Their current program offerings range from business, social science to computer game design. Likewise, the University of Utah Asia Campus (UAC) offers the University of Utah's academic programs mostly in humanities and social sciences, but also started to offer Civil & Environmental Engineering since 2019. Ghent University Global Campus (GUGC), from Belgium, offers more science degree programs such as Molecular Biotechnology and Environmental Technology. Table 1 provides a complete list of academic programs offered by each institution. Subsequently, table 2 provides the number of enrolled students as well as the number of staff and faculty in this IBCs. As part of the curriculum, students are required to spend one year at their university's main campus and spend three years in a branch campus.

[7] STC Group – Netherlands Maritime University was the first foreign university to be established in South Korea that offered a graduate program in shipping and transport from 2006 to 2013. Friedrich-Alexander University of Erlangen-Nuremberg (FAU) Busan Campus has offered a graduate program Chemical and Bioengineering since 2009 but is having financial difficulty in sustaining the program.

[8] State University of New York (SUNY) is the largest university system in the U.S. that is composed of 64 higher education institutions in New York. Stony Brook University, University at Albany, University at Buffalo, Binghamton University and Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) are four major research universities that are part of SUNY network.

Table 1. Characteristics of IBCs in Incheon Global Campus

Branch Campus	SUNY Korea		Mason Korea	UAC	GUGC
Home Campus	Stony Brook University	Fashion Institute of Technology	George Mason University	The University of Utah	Ghent University
Home Country	USA	USA	USA	USA	Belgium
Founding Year	Mar 2012	Aug 2017	Mar 2014	Sep 2014	Sep 2014
Degree Level	Bachelor Master PhD	Associate	Bachelor Master	Bachelor Master	Bachelor
Majors Offered	• Applied Mathematics and Statistics** • Business Management • Computer Science** • Technology and Society** • Mechanical Engineering**	• Fashion Design • Fashion Business Management	• Economics • Global Affairs • Management • Accounting • Finance • Conflict Analysis and Resolution • Curriculum and Instruction* • Computer Game Design	• Communication • Psychology • Film and Media Arts • Urban Ecology • Public Health* • Civil & Environmental Engineering • Biomedical Informatics*	• Environmental Technology • Food Technology • Molecular Biotechnology

* indicates an only offering of a graduate program.
** indicates an offering of both undergraduate and graduate programs.
The number of enrolled students was adapted from the enrollment statistics provided by the IGC Foundation as of April 2019.

Table 2. Number of Students and Personnel

University	SUNY Korea (SBU)	SUNY Korea (FIT)	Mason Korea	UAC	GUGC
Students	845	117	571	505	521
Faculty	75	16	38	33	45
Staff	46*	46*	31	17	22

The number of enrolled students is as of April 2019; provided by the IGC Foundation
The numbers of staff and faculty are as of September 2018; adapted from ISIS webpage.
* indicates dual representations. A total of SUNY Korea's employees are 46.

Besides inviting foreign universities to operate IBCs, Incheon has also designated a zone within this hub since 2017 and established Global Startup Campus by investing over 10 million USD. The project supports and cultivates technology-based start-up businesses to grow 200 global enterprises and create 10,000 jobs ("Global Startup Campus," n.d.). The government

hopes to utilize the human resource and knowledge of the IBCs for synergy and boost the local economy ("Global Startup Campus," n.d.).

Research Design and Methodology
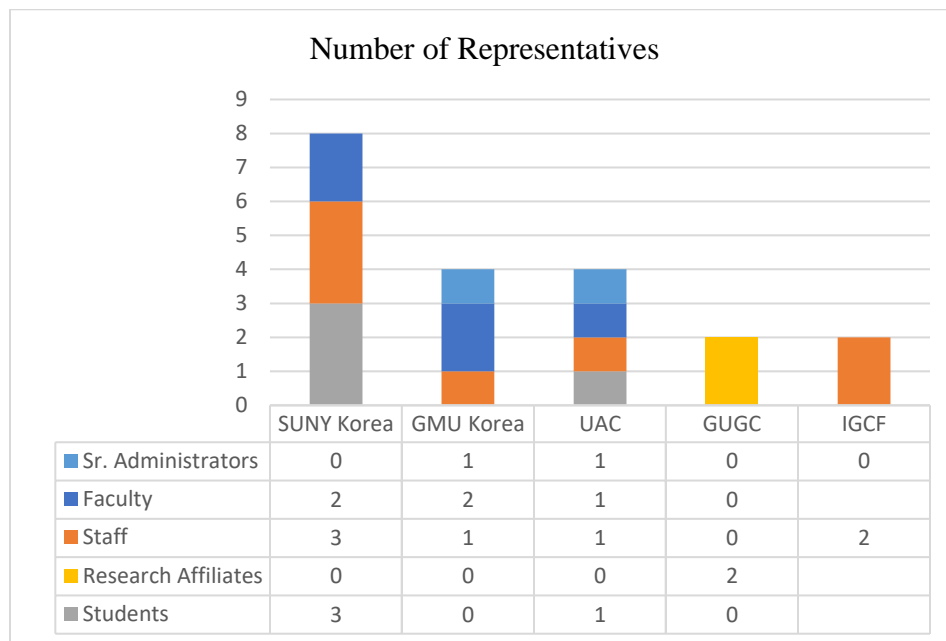
Qualitative and Case Study

This study relies on a qualitative research method and, in particular, uses a case study approach. A qualitative research method helps scholars explore and understand the context in which complex issues take place (Creswell, 2013). A case study approach helps unravel complex social phenomena (Yin, 2014, p.4) and provide an in-depth analysis of an issue or a site. Since Incheon Global Campus has been an understudied education hub that operates with a consortium model, a comprehensive analysis of this site was pertinent. Therefore, this study adopts a case study method to demonstrate how institutions located in IGC jointly operate under a consortium model and how this model impacts their campus operation. Multiple sources of data as observations, interviews, and public documents are used to provide a holistic view of this site.

Participants

A total of nineteen on-one-on interviews were conducted with branch campus employees and students, as well as staff from the IGC foundation. Ten participants were Korean nationals and nine were foreign nationals. To ensure the data captured different views and various aspects of the campus operation, a conscious effort was made to vary the participants' affiliated institutions and job titles. As a result, participants were divided into five different categories: senior administrators, faculty, staff, researchers and students. This maximum variation sampling strategy promotes variations in the interviewees' backgrounds to reflect diverse perspectives, and to increase the likelihood of generalizability of the study (Maxwell, 2008).

Senior administrators refer to those who are in charge of academic or administrative units such as directors, department chairs, deans, vice president and president. All others who perform administration and support functions but does not engage in leadership at the highest level were classified as staff. For instance, academic advisors, student affairs professionals and administrative positions would belong to this group. Also, faculty comprises of those who engage in teaching and research activities at the university, such as tenure-track and non-tenure track professors and lecturers. Post-doctorate researchers, research assistants and lab technician were classified as a separate group called research affiliates. Table 3 presents the data on the number of participants represented in each institution and their job titles. One participant was affiliated with two branch campuses and was counted twice in the graph; therefore, there is a total of twenty representatives. Given the fact that there are only handful of people in IGC campus that have had affiliations in more than one university, I do not disclose which institutions the participant has affiliations with, in order to protect his or her identity.

Table 3. Number of Representatives

Number of Representatives

	SUNY Korea	GMU Korea	UAC	GUGC	IGCF
Sr. Administrators	0	1	1	0	0
Faculty	2	2	1	0	
Staff	3	1	1	0	2
Research Affiliates	0	0	0	2	
Students	3	0	1	0	

The purposive sampling method – "a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices" (Maxwell, 2008) was employed, as some interviewees perceived to have more knowledge and experience than others. Newly admitted students or recently hired employees, with less than four months, were excluded due to their limited knowledge and experience. Ten participants spent less than three years, while the remaining nine stayed more than three years on Incheon Global Campus.

In addition to current employees and students, those who left the university within the last three years were allowed to participate. This was done for two reasons: 1) increase the potential pool of the participants, 2) capture the on-going development of the IGC in different time phases. These branch campuses were established between five to seven years ago and operate on a small scale – currently, the whole IGC - combining four branch campuses has approximately 2,600 enrolled students, and 300 university faculty and staff members. The IGC Foundation has 30 staff members but only a handful of employees regularly worked with university staff. This meant that the interview pool for each institution was limited.

Moreover, as branch campuses are still in an early development stage, these campuses have undergone various changes in policies and institutional practices to stabilize and further develop their systems. Also, previous studies noted that employee turn over rate in IBCs are relatively high, as many dispatched faculty and staff members tend to stay on a branch campus short-term basis (e.g. Cai & Hall, 2016). Under these circumstances, capturing some of the knowledge on different phases of the branch campus development seemed imperative. As a result, including those who have left the organization in the recent past was deemed necessary, and five of nineteen interviews come from them.

Procedure

Triangulation strategy involves using a variety of methods for data collection to help reduce the risk of systematic biases to help gather rich data from different angles (Maxwell, 2008, p.128). Prior to conducting interviews, background information was gathered both on- and offline. I lived on the campus during August – September in 2018 as well as May – June in 2019 and visited campus buildings and casually observed campus events. While campus activities were minimal as it was during the summer break, I was able to familiarize myself with the IGC campus environment and observe some changes.

In addition, some publicly available documents from the university webpage were reviewed such as official brochures, school magazines, internal policy document, an audit report, organizational chart, strategic plans, board meeting minutes. Some government reports were also examined such as enrollment and university statistics, as well as relevant law ("special act on establishment and management of foreign educational institutions in Free Economic Zones and Jeju Free International City") that these IBCs are required to comply. Also, Korean news reports and articles were also reviewed. Besides formal documents, I also followed the university and student group pages on a social media platform (Facebook) for campus updates. All these documents were an invaluable source of information that provided insights on the university operation and the campus environment and provided solid background information for interviews.

As for the interviews, participants were mainly recruited through e-mails and social media advertisements. E-mail addresses for university employees were gathered, and invitations describing the research objectives were sent. Also, the recruiting notice was shared on the Incheon Global Campus group page where students frequently interact. Concurrently, a snowball

sampling technique was used that allowed respondents to recommend other potential

interviewees that they believe to be an important source of information (Babbie, 2004, p.184).

This technique helped identify some participants that otherwise I would not have known or have

not been able to find.

Interviews were semi-structured, composed of a series of open-ended questions. This

allows respondents to express their views and allow for the interview to evolve in a way that

reflects the participants' perspectives (Opie, 2004; Stephens, 2007; Lofland, Snow, Anderson, &

Lofland, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 1995 as cited by Healey, 2016). Pre-set questionnaires varied for

each job title as they are involved in different areas of university administration and environment.

All but one of the interviews were conducted via video and audio conference calls. Each

interview took approximately one hour, but some were shorter or longer depending on the flow

of the conversation or the respondents' availability. Participants were given a choice to speak in

either English or Korean language – Ten interviews were conducted in English and nine were

conducted in Korean. To be transparent, I disclosed the fact that I had once been a formal

employee at SUNY Korea and my spouse is still employed there before the interview.

Analysis

Interviews were transcribed verbatim in their original language for analysis. Identifiers

were removed from the transcription to protect the participants' privacy. Transcribed data were

categorized into themes beginning with a coding process that was inductive and iterative. An

online data analysis software – Dedoose was used at times to streamline the process. Korean

responses were translated into English when direct quotes were used. An earnest effort was made

to accurately represent respondents' views. Quotes are only available in English. Pseudonyms

that reflect participants' gender, but not their ethnic origins are used to protect their identity. For

the same reason, there are times when pseudonyms are omitted in the presentation of quotes, specifically when it offers perspectives that are highly critical.

Positioning

This research is informed by positioning, which I have reflected on throughout the project. I was an employee at SUNY Korea, one of the branch campus located in the Incheon Global Campus. I also attended Stony Brook University in New York, U.S. for my undergraduate degree, which currently sponsors degree programs at SUNY Korea. While I no longer have formal ties to SUNY Korea, my spouse is still employed at SUNY Korea and resides on campus. My work experience at IGC and interest in international education naturally led me to inquire about the unique environment of this shared campus – IGC and designing the current study on the nature of the relationships among these IBCs.

In addition to cultivating my interests in IBCs, the positions I held also facilitated access and helped build rapport with respondents. My overall knowledge of the IGC campus allowed me to have a smooth conversation with interviewees. Also, some of my personal connections helped me indentify potential participants. Drawing on my understanding of the administration and organizational culture at SUNY Korea, I had relatively more meaningful and frank conversations with participants from SUNY Korea. On the other hand, having a broad awareness of issues facing SUNY Korea may have shaped the directions of my conversations.

I joined SUNY Korea early in its development and devoted much of my time and energy helping it become established. In light of this, I have always felt some responsibility for the institution. Listening to critiques of SUNY Korea during interviews sometimes made me feel embarrassed and sad. I was also somewhat worried about writing about some of the issues involving SUNY Korea even when the information was publicly available. Nevertheless, I tried

to set aside my feelings and continuously reminded myself about my responsibility as a researcher.

I sincerely hope that all the branch campuses and the IGC succeed and cultivate great leaders of the next generations. The aim of this research is intended to help campuses improve by addressing any potential shortcomings, as well as to encourage collaboration among universities.

Findings

The findings on various challenges universities in IGC faced were broadly in line with previous studies. Similar to many other branch campuses (see Dengerink 2001), they juggled between multiple identities based on the need to both standardize and localize their educational environment. Two distinct home and host country environments led to challenges in various aspects of the university administration. Some of the challenges involved difficulties in student and staff recruitment, challenges in recreating a home campus environment, problems in navigating local rules and regulations, and an inability to overcome limited research opportunities. While a thorough discussion of each is beyond the scope of this study, select challenges will be discussed in relation to how they interact with the consortium model. As one example that will be discussed later, all campuses described challenges related to student recruitment. Yet, being a part of the consortium amplified a sense of competition around this issue.

Proposition 1. The consortium creates synergy by reducing the cost of the operation, promoting inter-organizational learning, and strengthening its brand value.

The findings suggested that the international branch campuses have all benefited from this arrangement to some degree. One apparent benefit was the sharing of resources, which ultimately reduces the cost and risks of the operations. C-BERT has identified forty-four

historical cases of failures to operate branch campuses (C-BERT, 2017). This record of failure

has damaged the reputation and the financial condition of the universities (Healey, 2016, p.62). It

has made universities more cautious to start such a risky venture. In the case of IGC, however,

knowing that there is a secure environment in which foreign universities can jointly operate, as

well as the promise of government support, have provided a sense of security for universities to

establish and operate IBCs at this site and helped alleviate their burden of risk.

> "I think UAC would not exist without the risk of this kind of venture. . . Primarily
>
> because that is a big risk. It is a big investment, a lot of unknowns. . . IGC setting allowed
>
> them to minimize some of their risks. . . IGC has been great for the UAC in terms of
>
> another source of funding and security." (Larry, Faculty, UAC).

In the same manner, the field theory explains that the presence of a government actor within a

strategic field provides a sense of security and reliability for actors and produce stability

(Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.71).

In addition to reducing the burden of risks, sharing facilities and combining resources

"dramatically reduces the financial and human resources necessary to launch and maintain a

second campus for all parties" (Schiller & Park, 2014). The IBCs do not need to make a hefty

investment in constructions. At the same time, this also significantly lowers the financial burden

for the host government and enables them to allocate their resources more efficiently. It should

be noted that some tensions around scheduling events have occurred due to the limited facilities

available on campus. However, universities have been able to coordinate this to mitigate this

problem to some degree,

> "There were conflicts for scheduling events such as convocations and commencements.
>
> But nowadays, universities plan their events early and notify them about six months in

advance. Indeed, I have not heard much about issues with scheduling events these days"

(Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea).

Universities have also started to voluntarily share their own resources beyond what they

are required to do. For instance, GUGC has been using some of the SUNY Korea classrooms as

they believed that the particular set-up of those lecture halls was helpful for teaching certain

subjects (Amy, Research Affiliate, GUGC). Also, universities sometimes take advantage of the

human resources that are available in the IGC network. "Whenever there is a need to . . . add a

class at the last minute, . . . then sometimes we can look at the other universities and say, 'do you

have a professor who's teaching this in your university or do you know anyone?'" (Rachel, Staff,

Mason Korea). Or sometimes, they collaborate to hire a staff member that is needed on the IGC

campus. For instance, Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC have shared the cost of hiring a counselor.

"That collaboration was really something that was not IGC driven, but it was this group of

universities and their administration getting together to say, 'let's share the cost burden of hiring

a formal counselor and offering counseling services.'" (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea).

The most notable example of collaboration among universities is the course sharing

agreement. Since 2018, students have been able to register for their general education courses at

another university within the IGC network. For instance, Mason Korea students had chance to

register for seven courses offered from other UAC and SUNY Korea such as Introduction to

Film, Native American Activism, Yoga, World Politics in the Spring term in 2019 ("Spring 2019

Cross-Registration Courses," n.d.). Interviewees mentioned that the limited course options were

one of the biggest complaints of students attending IGC. In the same way many other IBCs have

difficulty in attracting and retaining faculty (see Shams and Huisman 2012), faculty hiring here

has also been challenging and entailed additional expenses. This arrangement enabled these branch campuses to offer wider course options for their students at a minimal cost.

The consortium also generates more social activities for students than each branch campus is capable of providing and creates a diverse environment for students to interact with one another. Students can attend events that are not only organized by their own universities, but also have opportunities to join other events happening around the IGC. Also, the IGC Foundation organizes two regular events – the IGC Music Festival and the IGC Sports Tournament – that brings all four schools together for intercollegiate sports and provide a venue for students to interact with each other.

 "Who among has a large a large number of staff except for SUNY? . . . One office can only do so much, right? The other universities they will present some[] events and then they get together. . . So having the other people over there, it creates more like the campus environment." (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea).

In addition, the consortium naturally brings people together and promotes engagement and interaction. Graduate students and faculty members from GUGC have organized weekly soccer events that are joined by faculty members at other universities. Also, students have started interuniversity student clubs, that are joined by other students across the global campus. This allows students to organize clubs that would not generate enough demand from their own universities. "When we don't think we will have enough students joining our club if we only recruit it within our university, sometimes we just promote it to the global campus-wide and do it together." (Kyle, Student, UAC). Moreover, some students engaged in political activities together. For instance, in 2016, some students from SUNY Korea, UAC and GUGC protested against the government corruption and read their declaration together on campus (○], 2016).

While the number of social activities and events currently open to any member of the IGC remains limited, as many interviewees have noted, they nevertheless offer additional avenues of campus activities for students and help create a more vibrant campus community. And these activities take place without increasing the cost of operations for universities, thanks to the consortium partners.

Apart from reducing the cost and the risk of operations, IBCs have opportunities to learn from one another. Interorganizational learning occurred, sometimes through the direct exchange of information and sometimes through observations. Campuses have sought guidance from other universities on a variety of matters, especially during their early stages of development. For instance, they asked for advice from the oldest institution in IGC – SUNY Korea – on such critical issues as navigating local regulations and managing to secure some grants. For instance, Rachel remembers learning and receiving support from SUNY Korea (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea) while setting up Mason Korea back in 2014. In addition, there are currently five regularly held IGC committee meetings focusing on 1) leadership, 2) operation, 3) student affairs, 4) public relations and 5) information technology (See Table 4 in the Appendix for more details). Representatives from each university, the IGC Foundation and the Incheon Free Economic Zone (IFEZ) attend these meetings, share updates and exchange information. Also, IGCF produces IGC Journal which covers stories about students, faculty, campus clubs and campus-wide events happening around IGC. These journals are available online four times a year and provide additional avenues for inter-organizational learning.

Learnings also occurred casually and frequently through observations, which ultimately led to modeling after some success cases. Due to the nature of this shared community environment as well as the fact that most of the students, faculty and some staff reside on campus,

people often observed, and sometimes event attended activities organized by other schools. Students were able to compare their academic and teaching environments, university policies and administrative processes with their friends and acquittances from other schools, which ultimately dispersed to the rest of the communities. Due to the small size of IGC, rumors and gossips often spread quickly (Larry, Faculty, UAC). Students, moreover, communicated with each other and shared their concerns and information on the social media page that many IGC community members are part of. In addition, some faculty members have contacted professors in other universities to express their interest in collaborating. For instance, Daniel took his students to one of the classes offered at another university because the subject matter was relevant (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea). Interaction and collaboration among faculty across the campus remain rare, but as the examples cited above demonstrate numerous possibilities exist for branch campuses to share their knowledge and enhance their educational environments through collaboration.

The consortium also provides opportunities for its members to enhance their legitimacy and reputations. Not only does each institution advertise its programs, but it also regularly participate in joint-recruiting events organized by the foundation. This means that as SUNY Korea advertise its own programs, it also spreads information about the IGC campus, which allows potential applicants to learn about the existence of other universities in the consortium. Also, the foundation creates and disseminates promotional materials on behalf of the universities. In other words, consortium members join forces in promoting their universities, both individually and collectively.

In fact, Danielle was attracted to attend SUNY Korea partially because of the opportunities to study at a diverse IGC setting that consists of four distinct universities. This

unique consortium model, therefore, increases the reputation of these branch campuses as a

group and helps promote a positive image of this site as a place of added value.

>"When you hear those high school students, it sounds really awesome like the fact that
>
>you get interaction with other universities. Maybe that's one of the reasons that made me
>
>come here. So I think it has a lot of benefits for advertisement." (Danielle, Student,
>
>SUNY Korea)

Also, being housed together in the growing economic hub of Songdo International

Business District has given these IBCs additional value, which has added to their brand image

(Jennifer, Staff, SUNY Korea). Many interviewees were hopeful about the prospects of

collaborating with industries in the area and developing career opportunities for students.

>"I think the location helps boost the school's name value. We also have some
>
>advantage . . . [as] we can be more connected with companies in this area. . . I also think
>
>the location helped students realize that they can enlarge their horizon and look for global
>
>companies, not just only domestic companies" (Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea).

To summarize this section, there were three major benefits of the consortium

arrangement. Both IBCs and the host government reduced their cost and risk of operation by

sharing facilities and human resources. In addition, this model promoted inter-organizational

learning, which helped IBCs to take advantage of institutional knowledge prevailed throughout

the global campus and to benchmark the success made by others. Lastly, they have also enjoyed

the enhanced reputation through joint efforts in promoting the IGC. While this consortium has

the potential to increase the legitimacy of each IBC, interviewees did not discuss this explicitly

as an explicit benefit of the consortium.

Proposition 2. The consortium poses challenges such as losing a competitive advantage, potentially hurting universities' reputation, or complicating the decision-making process.

While universities do collaborate to some extent, they are also in the competition. Such competition sometimes creates tensions and heightens some of the challenges posed by the consortium model. The main source of the competition comes from the rivalry in student recruitments, which was already a challenging task for the branch campuses. Students are the most important stakeholder of these educational institutions and a primary source of funding. The current law in Korea prohibits the IBCs from engaging in profit-making activities (Joseph, Senior Administrator, Mason Korea). Therefore, they are highly dependent upon tuition money to sustain themselves, which leads to more intense competitions with one another. However, the pool of students who are qualified and can afford to attend these IBCs are limited. Since IBCs set their tuitions and student fees equivalent to their home campus non-resident fees, the cost of attendance is at least two to four times higher than Korean universities[9]. Also, since the medium mode of instruction is in English, the IBCs requires certain level of English proficiency for applicants. This rules out much of the population from even considering attending these IBCs. Moreover, international students are harder to recruit, as many prefer to study in English-speaking countries in the West (Altbach & Knight, 2007 p.294).

According to the strategic alliance literature, one of the critical challenges faced by an alliance involves losing competitive advantage by sharing organizations' critical information and resources with members. For young branch campuses that have not built a strong foundation, identity and reputation in Korean society, they would want to make sure they are seen as positive and successful by the public. As enrollment data is one of the easily identifiable sources of

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[9] According to university webpage, the cost of tuitions and student fees of IBCs in IGC range from as low as approximately 16,426 USD (20,000,000 KRW) for GUGC to as high as 23,500 USD for SUNY Korea per year. In generally, attending universities in Korea costs about 5,000 USD (public) and 10,000 USD (private). .

information that many stakeholders pay attention to, universities are quite sensitive about

disclosing their numbers, which creates tensions. As Larry noted, "everyone is very protective

about their numbers and schools will do crazy things to try to determine what the actual numbers

of other schools are" (Larry, Faculty, UAC). Also, one senior administrator expressed

frustrations with one of the IBCs, as he believed that they manipulated their data to portray

themselves as more successful than the others.

In addition, universities were protective of their resources that they believed critical for

their institutional success. According to many scholars, obtaining research grants and projects are

difficult for many international branch campuses (e.g. Cai and Hall 2016). In the same way,

these universities in the IGC also struggle to secure such opportunities. There are a number of

factors that explains this, including local regulations, language and cultural barriers and the

teaching-focused environment of these IBCs. However, this is also partially due to the IBC's

limited social networks in Korea. Compared to others, SUNY Korea possesses a broader network

in Korea, which helps them secure some large-scale government projects and research grants.

However, when universities asked for guidance and their know-how, SUNY Korea leadership

was reluctant to share their information and expertise. One of the respondents from SUNY Korea

noted that:

> "Other universities were very curious about our projects. . . . But I was told by [our
>
> administrators] not to share that information because they said that this knowledge is our
>
> advantage. So I only shared some generic information and took all the important parts
>
> out." (Lauren, Staff, SUNY Korea).

Some members of the consortium are in direct competition with one other, which

weakens the competitive advantages of each organization. Originally, the Incheon Global

Campus was designed to accommodate ten foreign universities that offer distinct major programs that do not overlap. However, the dynamics have shifted. Since 2016, SUNY Korea added a major in business management beyond its engineering focused curriculums, which Mason Korea was already offering. This strained their relationships and heightened their competition. Most importantly, Mason Korea no longer has a competitive advantage in offering business programs.

"The mood was not good. I know Mason had complained to SUNY Korea about why they offer the same Management program which we already have. I heard that this was also discussed in the IGC leadership meeting." (Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea).

Universities are increasingly exploring ways to diversify their program offerings. Mason Korea recently introduced a new program in Computer Game Design, which may compete with SUNY Korea's Computer Science program. Also, Mason Korea and Utah students both offer programs within the social science and humanities. Some students transfer between these schools. "George Mason is the future Utah students. That's what we call them." (Andrew, Staff, UAC). Given the fact that one of the unique characteristics of each IBC is their distinct program offerings, this consortium arrangement has become a source of the decline of competitive advantages.

Another example that highlights their competition thereby weakening their own competitiveness is related to the admission requirement for English proficiency. This requirement has been one of the key obstacles for potential applicants who have studied in Korea. Since 2014, SUNY Korea has offered conditional admissions for applicants without English proficiency. These students enroll in the intensive English language programs prior to officially matriculating to the degree programs. Creating an Intensive English Center has allowed SUNY Korea to broaden its student market. Other institutions have also started to lighten students'

burden with English test score. For instance, UAC has recently started to accept TOEIC[10] score

along with TOEFL, as TOEIC has been considered less challenging for students. Accordingly,

applicants have more options when considering which university to attend within IGC.

Competitions for student recruitments are common among any higher education institutions.

However, given the narrow student market the IBCs recruit from, the hub environment heightens

tensions and provide higher pressure for them to strategically respond to the actions of others, in

order to maintain their own competitiveness.

Moreover, the sharing of facilities was challenging to coordinate at times. IGC has

limited space, especially for staging formal events. The branch campuses start and end their

semester almost at the same time. Consequently, they have similar timelines for organizing

events such as the convocation and the commencement. As I discussed earlier, universities have

started to work together to avoid scheduling conflicts. Nevertheless, tensions still exist.

> "It's very difficult to find the place to hold. . . [for] Big events, like the convocation or
>
> the graduation. Since the timing is pretty much similar, we'd start at the same time,
>
> especially at the start of the semester. it's like a competition among the universities."
>
> (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea).

Students also feel inconvenient to share the only gym available on campus because they are only

allowed to use the space during the time that was reserved for their own universities. In addition,

universities anticipate that dorms will run out within this year and there has still not been a

discussion on building new dorms or finding alternatives. In light of these challenges, one staff

member suggests that IGC should not expand too fast (Andrew, Staff, UAC).

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[10] The TOEIC program was designed by ETS in the United States that assess English-language skills needed in the workplace ("TOEIC," n.d.). It is the most widely used test around the world, including South Korea.

Another potential challenge of an alliance is the "spillover effect" that may hurt the

members' reputations in adversities. Several interviewees recalled two incidents that they

believed damaged the reputation of the IGC as a whole. In 2018, SUNY Korea notified their

students that their academic transcript would be printed in the name of SUNY Korea, instead of

Stony Brook University in New York. What was behind this decision was that ABET, a

respected accreditation agency specializing in STEM disciplines, had notified SUNY Korea that

its accreditation process would take place separately from the accreditation process on the main

campus in New York. If SUNY Korea refused to accept this new procedure, SBU would run the

risk of losing its accreditation. The changes led to an outcry of students and parents who had

believed that they would be issued an identical transcript as the home campus. Some people

perceived that this incident had left a bad mark on the IGC as a whole. "As a whole, it also

looked pretty bad for IGC . . . It was a big embarrassment." (Larry, Faculty, UAC). In addition, it

also created confusions among students from other IGC branch campuses: many were worried

that this would affect their own universities' transcript policy. One student believed that the

incident may have undermined the reputation of IGC, but not necessarily hurt their own

university's reputation since two universities are clearly separate organizations (Kyle, Student,

UAC).

In another case, a recent issue broke out again in SUNY Korea as they knowingly hired a

previous sex offender as a department chair due to his outstanding academic capability.

Normally, hiring a sexual criminal at higher education institutions is prohibited in Korea and the

U.S. However, there was a loophole in law as the IBCs followed the special law in Korea that are

different from ones that other higher education institutions are required to comply to. This

scandal has shocked students, parents, employees and many other stakeholders including the

main campus as well as the SUNY central agency that oversees all 64 SUNY campuses in New York. Needless to say, it damaged SUNY Korea's reputation. But other IGC university affiliates believed that the incident has strained their reputation as well. And this led to changes in the internal policies for some universities. As one faculty member noted: "after that incident, I received a notice from the Human Resource department requesting to give them a consent to verify my sex crime records"(Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea). In other words, none of the consortium members is entirely free from being affected by adversities faced by other members. This sometimes weighs on the reputation of the group and individual organizations. Because the IBCs in a hub are closely associated with one another by the public, such negative spillover impact is likely to be specific in a hub environment compared to single stand-alone IBC.

Another major obstacle of the consortium model is the complex decision-making process due to the diverse opinions of its many stakeholders. This problem arises particularly in the hub setting because each organization has different values, systems and interests. Therefore, reaching consensus among members is often difficult and takes much longer, especially due to the complex relationships these universities are in due to the "coopetitive" environment. Most respondents described the aforementioned IGC committee meetings as "ineffective". In the working-level meetings, universities spent most of their time sharing their updates and making service and maintenance requests to the foundation (e.g. for installing lights in the soccer field and repairing faculty apartments) instead of engaging thought-provoking discussions on how to strengthen collaborations. Leadership meetings often failed to reach consensus due to clashing opinions among member universities. This was mainly due to the diverse organizational culture, values and priorities, which will be discussed more in detail in the upcoming section.

The presence of the foundation also added additional complexity to the already complex decision-making process. Since most of the communications with government agencies was channeled through the foundation, the communication and decision-making process were time-consuming and inefficient.

> "Since there is IGC, . . . universities are not free to make their own decisions. So, it takes much longer to make decisions, and we have limited freedom in making our own decisions" (Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea).

Respondents also mentioned that IBCs were not very accommodating. Sometimes, they were even authoritative during decision-making. IBCs were resistant to this, as they believed that "IGC isn't a representative of our university itself." (Larry, Faculty, UAC). Andrew noted,

> "There were some contentious times where I think IGC was trying to dictate to us what they were going to do, but we've told them, 'No No No, . . . YOU need to listen to us.' . . .Students come to our school, not the IGC, and we need to make sure that everything around them is conducive and that they're happy with it, or they are going to leave us." (Andrew, Staff, UAC).

All higher education institutions, whether they are public or private, and home or branch campus, must comply to the regulations and follow guidelines set by the government to at least some degree. However, the oversight of the IGCF of this hub has a more direct impact on the university administration and could hinder the growth and success of the IBCs by interfering with their freedom to conduct business on their way.

As illustrated throughout this section, the consortium created some unique challenges for the branch campuses. Due to the competitive nature of their relations, tensions existed surrounding the sharing of resources and critical knowledge. Some of IBCs also lost their

competitive advantage and potential students due to offering duplicate academic programs among institutions. The increased number of stakeholders, moreover, created difficulty in reaching consensus on many important issues. Lastly, adversities in partnering organizations had a negative impact on their brand image to some degree.

Proposition 3. The branch campus that has higher levels of economic, social, and cultural capital gain more from being in a consortium and are more likely to have a stronger influence in decision-making. However, power dynamics could shift once contenders gain more influence.

The relationships among branch campuses differed by institutions from one institution to the next. While the relationships among Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC existed on more friendly terms, their relationships to SUNY Korea spurred more tensions and even resentments. This was not only articulated by the affiliates of these three branch campuses, but also by those who attended or worked at SUNY Korea.

> "These days, three universities – George Mason, Ghent and Utah throw events, such as the end of the year party or networking events. SUNY is always an outcast. . . But SUNY thinks other universities are no match for us. . . We are the only one who doesn't get invitations [to their gatherings]." (Jennifer, Staff, SUNY Korea).

One can speculate whether such differences in relationships might have been caused by jealousy. This may be partially true. Afterall, SUNY Korea is much bigger than the others. Indeed, SUNY Korea students constitute 40% of the entire IGC student body (Strategic Planning Team, 2019). They are the only institution that offers all degree programs from associate, bachelor, master and doctorate levels. Perhaps even more importantly, the differences in relationships are caused by diverging interests between SUNY and the other IBCs that resent SUNY's dominant influence over the group.

As the first one to establish its campus in IGC, SUNY Korea has accumulated more social, relational and financial capitals than the others. This "first mover" advantage, in turn, has given SUNY Korea a more solid foundation for growth. As the first American university in South Korea, it received wider media coverage, which helped it get its name known across the country (Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea). Also, it has forged extensive networks and partnerships in Korea, based on leadership headed by the Korean president and high-level administrators. As of May 2019, SUNY Korea had signed Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) with 268 institutions spanning government and public agencies, private companies, research institutes, high schools, universities and non-profit organizations (Strategic Planning Team, 2019).

> "As Korean, SUNY Korea's president is well connected to Korean society, which has given him and the institution he heads some advantages. Since others were American or directly dispatched from their main campus, they did not have good networks in Korea" (Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea).

Since the opening, SUNY Korea has focused its efforts on developing relations in and outside of Korea both to raise its profit and enhance its fundraising opportunities. For example, it established the World Leaders Foundation that seeks funds for scholarships for international students attending SUNY Korea ("What we do," n.d.). Thanks to generous scholarship opportunities, nearly 70% of the international students in IGC attend SUNY Korea (Strategic Planning Team, 2019). Also, the university webpage proudly advertises a large donation they have received and promotes a rewards program for potential donors ("Reward Program," n.d.). Given that no other IBC in the IGC has engaged in major fundraising activities or has developed extensive networks with partner organizations, it is evident that SUNY Korea has mobilized more social and relational capital and has set deeper roots within the country.

Furthermore, SUNY Korea has received more subsidy than any other IBCs on this campus. This is because of the unique business model of SUNY Korea, which offers degree programs from different home campuses from the SUNY network in New York. SUNY Korea first started receiving an 8-year subsidy from the Korean government back in 2012 when they first began offering programs from SBU. Thereafter, they also received additional subsidy separate from what they had received for introducing programs from the FIT. This means that they are eligible to receive additional subsidies if they launch additional programs from other SUNY universities (Sophia, Staff, IGCF). Not only SUNY Korea has so far received the doubled the amount of the subsidy than other IBCs in IGC but also has more potential to obtain additional funding. When a single actor or a small group of actors possess more resources than the rest of the members in an alliance, this results in a hierarchical relationship that allows dominant actor(s) to exercise more power and impose its will on others (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.90). In this case, SUNY Korea commanded more power within the group and dominated the decision-making process, at least during the early phases of development of IGC. Many people described SUNY Korea as a "selfish neighbor" that was sometimes possessive, unfriendly and even domineering. "I just remember when we first got there, SUNY was very unfriendly. I think it made us feel like we were stepping on their place" (Larry, Faculty, UAC).

When asked by other branch campuses for guidance, SUNY Korea was reluctant to share their knowledge and experience. At the working level, employees felt it would be unfair to share information that they had acquired by going through many trials and errors (Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea). And the leadership believed that its hard-earned knowledge helped maintain their status and ensure their superiority within the IGC framework, a sentiment that was expressed by two respondents from SUNY Korea. Apart from such institutional knowledge, SUNY Korea

often refused to share its physical space when other IBCs. "SUNY never let us borrow their space. . . They acted as if they own this place or as if they are our senior or something, and tried to lord over us." (Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea).

SUNY Korea was dominating and authoritative in the matters of concern – both significant and not – for the entire group. For a long period, the three other universities often had difficulty negotiating with SUNY Korea. For example, SUNY Korea advocated continuing the curfew policy for resident buildings. The policy restricts people from entering the building during certain hours at night. SUNY Korea also supported the existing policy instituted by the foundation, which requires men and women to reside in different buildings and strictly prohibits them from visiting other gender buildings ("Incheon Global Campus Housing Rules and Regulations," 2017). The other universities opposed these policies, but their efforts to lift these restrictions had failed for long due to SUNY's resistance and lack of support from the foundation.

"I talked to people about implementing more student life kind of activities, trying to make the dorm experience more similar to a dorm experience on North American or European campus. I was told that SUNY was resistant to those things or had different ideas about it, didn't want to collaborate on those kinds of things. . . And it's easy to collaborate with Utah and Ghent. SUNY's more difficult." (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea).

"Sometimes three of our universities get together and say SUNY is the 'big brother' . . . [and] 'selfish fox'. . . Because they say, 'we will take this, you guys figure out what to do with the rest of it'" (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea).

Oftentimes, Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC were expected to listen and conform to the prevailing order. Based on field theory, they are viewed as challengers who "occupy less

privileged niches . . . and ordinarily wield little influence over its operation" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.13). However, bowing to the will of the SUNY Korea has posed serious problems for these three institutions to conduct their operations, as they seek to align their drastically different views, values and organizational culture to those of SUNY Korea. Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC have desired to be seen as the U.S. and Belgium higher education institution, thereby has strived to recreate the home campus environment. In contrast, SUNY Korea, under a leadership comprised mainly of Koreans and Korean Americans, has followed more Korean norms marked by a hierarchical organizational culture that is typical in the Korean work setting. Many respondents portrayed SUNY Korea as a "Koreanized" university (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea; Shawn, Researcher, GUGC).

Differences in the behavior and actions of the universities can also be noticed in their mission statements. Of these four IBCs, only SUNY Korea has mission and vision statements, a slogan and a mascot that are different from the main campus. Indeed, SUNY Korea does not consider themselves as the branch campus of Stony Brook University and the Fashion Institute of Technology. Rather, it considers itself as an extended campus of the State University of New York (SUNY) that can offer academic programs from various institutions within this SUNY system. Therefore, it acts more independently from their main campuses and emphasizes its unique standing by building and developing their own identity as an independent university.

On top of the relationships among IBCs, we must pay attention to the roles IGC Foundation plays in this consortium. As the facilitator of the consortium as well as the manager of this global campus, IGCF oversees the IGC project and implement policies that may constrain the IBCs from making an independent decision. When applying the field theory, the IGCF is regarded as the governing unit that monitors actors' compliance to the field rules and facilitates

to ensure the smooth functioning of the system (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.14). The theory suggests that "the very presence of these units serves to "legitimatize" and "naturalize" the logic and rules of the field" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.14)". Such attitude can be observed in this consortium as well. Respondents have mentioned that instead of adopting a democratic decision-making process, the foundation has strived to reinforce the status quo. "SUNY Korea was the one that always never agreed. . . Then IGC uses that against us saying it had to be all four school decisions to change any policy." (Andrew, Staff, UAC).

Therefore, this environment was not suitable especially for Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC that intended to recreate the home campus environment that was much different from what IGCF and SUNY Korea had set up. Such competing characteristics of the organizations have driven them away from SUNY Korea and led them to forge a coalition-like-relationship among themselves. A shared response prevailed among interviewees that the three universities are closer to one another than they are to SUNY Korea. People meet more frequently with one another through networking and social events than any of them ever do with SUNY Korea. They have pursued several joint initiatives, such as for joint hiring a counselor. They have launched joint course-sharing arrangements, which was later joined by SUNY Korea. Field theory suggests that while "challengers" usually accept the position held by its most dominant member, they "often do so grudgingly, taking what the system gives them and awaiting new opportunities to challenge the structure and logic of the system" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015 p.13). Once they gain influence, the power dynamics often shift to create a new order (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015). Building coalitions with some groups in a field are among the most common measures taken by "challengers." This helps them outflank other actors within the group, ultimately enabling them to subdue and coerce them.

Another way that "challengers" gain influence is through accumulating more resources themselves, which gives them additional power to contend the major actor. Now that these institutions have become more settled and grown in size, they have gained more status within the consortium. As Larry noted,

"UAC was definitely for the longest time not a favorite with IGC. With SUNY and George Mason being here first, I think, they command more power from IGC and they expected more attention from IGC. . . UAC has grown quite a bit now. Student numbers are quite large. I think most semesters we're starting to recruit more [students] than GMU . . . [Now] we get more favorable treatment." (Larry, Faculty, UAC).

Unlike in the past, the decision-making process is now more democratic and more accepting of the majority's decision. As a majority, the three universities command more power within the consortium. The curfew policy which was one of the most contentious issues on this global campus has been reformed despite SUNY Korea's opposition (Sophia, Staff, IGCF). The evolution of this relationship and the shift in power is consistent with the suggestions from the field theory.

Four Kingdoms with Limited Interactions

While most interviewees cited several examples of on-going collaborative activities as I have discussed, many also emphasized that the inter-organizational interactions were minimal. When asked about the relationships among institutions, nine out of nineteen interviewees immediately responded, "nothing much". Such responses were common across interviewees regardless of their affiliations or job titles. This was contradictory to their desire to forge stronger relationships among IBCs. Respondents noted, "It's just like a neighborhood you see sometimes. Maybe you do a little together but not much." (Jerry, Faculty, SUNY Korea)."We had our

different kingdoms, with not much communication going on. . .We could go an entire semester without seeing anybody else." (Larry, Faculty, UAC).

Social interaction and communication among people – especially faculty members – were minimal due to a lack of venue to interact. Most of their gatherings were organized on the spur of the moment, or through highly motivated individuals. Most interviewees noted that they rarely interacted with individuals from other universities, either for work or play. Katherine, who worked on campus for several years, noted that she does not know anyone outside of her university and had no idea how many faculty or staff members work at other IBCs (Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea, April 2019. Rachel talked about how she was surprised to discover that she has never encountered a staff member from SUNY Korea despite working at IGC for several years. "One person. . . told me that he has been working here as soon as the opening. And I was like 'Really? I've been working here since our opening and I've never seen you before'" (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea). Another respondent mentioned, "There just wasn't a good system. Faculty members weren't and staff weren't making an individual effort to just . . . If you met them by accident, that was the only way you really got to know people." (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea).

While interactions among employees across the campus have been limited in general, there have been some variations in behavior among universities. As previously discussed, faculty and staff members between Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC were more frequent compared to their interactions with SUNY Korea. While many factors have led to these different dynamics, as noted in the previous section, one additional cause is that SUNY Korea has a large number of Korean staff and faculty members who live off-campus. Koreans have obligations and commitment outside of the campus, which differ from other foreign faculty members who place IGC as "the center of their existence in Korea" (Joseph, Senior Administrator, Mason Korea).

"SUNY has a lot more faculty based in Korea. . . A majority of SUNY people leave when

they're done. Utah and Mason and even the Ghent bring in a lot of people from their main

campus for two or three years. And for most people, IGC really becomes the center of

their existence in Korea. . . They run into each other in the elevator, the common kitchen,

the gyms. . . There's ways in which they can interact on a social level [that] helps build

professional relationships." (Joseph, Senior Administrator, Mason Korea).

Interactions among students were also infrequent. Coming to a campus that was

advertised as the global campus, students had expectations that they would be interacting with

students from all the institutions. They have expressed disappointment with not being able to mix

and mingle with others on campus. Only two out of the four students interviewed said that they

had friends in another school: one attended two universities in IGC which made it natural for him

to have connections in both universities. The other student had friends whom she had met

through a friend who transferred from her university to another in IGC. Meanwhile, while most

students of IGC reside in university dormitories, there were limited opportunities to interact with

students from other universities, as students reside on separate floors that are associated with a

specific university (Shawn, Researcher, Ghent). Also, even though students share some of the

main facilities on campus such as the library, cafeteria, gym and frequent commercial

establishments such as the café and billiard room, meaningful interactions in these venues are

often relegated to passing one another on their way from one place to another.

What we need to recognize is that 18 of the 19 interviewees expressed their strong desire

to interact with one another at a deeper level and to collaborate more. They strongly believe that

greater collaboration would benefit all institutions in this hub. Most importantly, a more diverse

environment would enrich student life and the overall educational environment (Katherine, Staff,

SUNY Korea). People hope universities will continue to expand the course-sharing programs (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea). They also support setting aside space designed for meeting others informally (Jerry, Faculty, SUNY Korea; Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea), as well as spaces for formal gatherings where they could share information and ideas.

Brian encourages the creation of an IGC faculty council that brings professors across the campus together. Ideally, faculty would meet regularly, discuss potential collaborations on research projects, and seek guidance on a variety of matters of common concern (Brian, Faculty, SUNY Korea). This idea seems to be an imperative given that many of the faculty members whom I interviewed told me that they feel isolated and have difficulty making friends. Also, several interviewees talked about a lack of skilled and experienced faculty in their universities whom they could learn from. That is because of the fact that most faculty members were newly minted PhDs hired as junior faculty. By creating a venue that encourages more interaction among faculty members would prompt more collaborations and bring synergies. In addition, this may lead to positive outcome in mitigating the challenge any IBC face around the world in hiring and retaining faculty.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that non-interaction may be often commonplace in higher education institutional settings as one respondent had noted. He said that faculty do not interact much outside their own discipline In general. "In the same way that if I was teaching on a US campus, I'm not going to know who any of the economics faculty is because I don't have any interaction with the economics faculty" (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea).

In addition, several interviewees have emphasized that the relationship with the home campus is – and should be – a higher priority than relationships with other universities within the consortium. Since the branch campus is expected to recreate the home campus atmosphere

and follow similar administrative procedures and guidelines, they are more interested in

strengthening and maintaining relationships with the main campus; rather than enhancing

relationships with other IGC branch campuses. "Universities really report back to the United

States. So that's the big best, the most important relationship." (Sam, Senior Administrator,

UAC). Several respondents wanted more administrative and financial support from the home

campus (Daniel, Faculty, Mason Korea; Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea). Also, one interviewee

suggested that "there needs to be more accountability and more standardization with the main

campus. Otherwise, it's just one fancy summer camp." (Larry, Faculty, UAC). An IGCF staff

member emphasized that maintaining tight relationships with home campuses would be

critical for the IBCs' survival once the government subsidy ends (Haley, Staff, IGCF). On a

similar note, one student argued that his university should place more efforts on building their

own capacity, instead of looking for opportunities to capitalize on the capacity of other IBCs

within the consortium (Kyle, student, UAC).

Difficulty Working with the Foundation

In addition to the challenges the IBCs in IGC face as discussed above, the hub

environment poses additional challenges from working with the foundation. As a major actor that

facilitates the consortium and manages this overall campus, the presence of IGC Foundation

influences various aspects of the university administration.

First of all, universities felt restricted and limited in conducting their business as they

wanted. For example, they were required to get permissions for organizing activities on campus

(Glenn, Faculty, Mason Korea). Any issues with facilities, whether they are down to the smallest

of details, could not be managed directly by the university. Instead, it was handled by the

foundation, a process that led to distrust, misunderstandings and inefficiencies. GUGC, for

instance, had difficulty negotiating with the foundation to properly managing lab equipment that

needed to be stored in a cooler environment (Amy, Research Affiliate, GUGC). The air-

conditioning, centrally controlled by IGCF, operated under energy efficiency guidelines that had

been created by the Korean government. The guideline limits the air-conditioning to be turned on

only during certain hours and restricts the setting of the temperature which had to be set above

28 degrees in Celsius (김영현, 2017). Many interviewees also complained about the cafeteria's

quality and the limited menu options and their ability to do anything to address this since this

was managed by IGCF. All these problems are unique to this hub due to the oversight of the

IGCF on this campus and their different management style. While IGCF has provided various

supports for the IBCs, people viewed them more like a distant "gatekeeper" who simply answers

"yes" or "no" to their request, rather than a collaborative partner (Andrew, Staff, UAC).

Other difficulties IBCs in this hub faced caused by the foundation's lack of skills and

competency to effectively support foreign universities. People perceived that the IGCF does not

possess an organizational culture conducive for the global environment that was desired. Several

non-Korean faculty and staff members noted their negative experience while navigating the

foundation's organizational culture and business procedures that were much different from ones

in their home countries. For instance, Rachel noted,

> "There are some cases where there isn't a shared understanding of the four universities
>
> and then not with the IGC. Then we try to persuade the IGC: 'You know what? that's not
>
> the way the university does in America or Europe." (Rachel, Staff, Mason Korea).

The foundation's administrative procedures were bureaucratic and inefficient. Larry shared that

"what would be normal for us might suddenly be quite insulting for the IGC. . . [Also,] it

required quite a few stamps and running back and forth just to get the reservation for one room

for one night." (Larry, Faculty, UAC).

Besides, respondents suggested that the foundation should consider hiring non-Korean

staff members. This would improve the flow of ideas and help make this hub more diverse and

global (Andrew, Staff, UAC). Also, this would help solve the language barrier IBCs have with

the IGC Foundation. Due to the lack of staff members at IGCF who speak fluent English, non-

Korean university employees had to get assistance from other Korean staff at the university when

communicating with the foundation (Andrew, Staff, UAC). The current IGCF's hiring policy

emphasizes the Korean government entrance exam scores and interviews. English skills are only

required for a few positions. Knowledge in higher education administration or overseas

experience were not necessarily desirable skills either (Sophia, Staff, IGCF).

Furthermore, there were many signs of communication failures between the IGCF and

universities. Indeed, many respondents were unaware of what their roles and responsibilities

were beyond managing the facility. "They are just the landlord and that's all." (Andrew, Staff,

UAC). Many believed that the foundation has not been helpful and questioned their usefulness.

There was a clear gap between university affiliates and foundation staff in understanding and

perceptions of the functions of the foundation While the IGCF staff members whom I

interviewed proudly listed their ongoing initiatives such as developing external relations to

expand internships and career opportunities for IGC alumnus, such efforts seemed to be barely

noticeable to others. Katherine noted, "I guess IGC must be working on somethings, . . . but, it is

not noticeable at all." (Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea).

On the other hand, the IGCF has failed to sufficiently communicate and facilitate the

collaborations between IBCs and the start-up companies that are located in this hub under the

Global Startup Campus initiative. None of the interviewees, including the staff from the IGCF, knew much about the initiative. A few respondents who were aware of firms' presence thought that the IGCF had merely leased their empty spaces to collect the rent. Promoting the university and industry collaboration and utilizing the human networks of IBCs was the intention of the Incheon municipal to locate them within this hub. Even after sharing the space for more than two years, however, these businesses and the IBCs have not interacted with one another. Such shortcomings demonstrate the need to create a better system to encourage their collaborations and communicate about the project objective more effectively to realize the government's initial goal.

Furthermore. people were frustrated with IGCF's lack of communication efforts in updating the changes it makes on this campus. For example, one IBC staff was surprised to discover that the foundation had changed its computer equipment without notice to the university (Katherine, Staff, SUNY Korea). In another instance, a faculty member could not get into his apartment because they had changed the door code without his knowledge (Larry, Faculty, UAC). People were never updated about their maintenance requests, making it difficult to figure out whether the repair has been done (Larry, Faculty, UAC). Such problems were also present in the IGC committee meetings. One who regularly attended these meetings noted that these meetings are ineffective:

> "I would say they are 90 to 95 percent ineffective. . . We present things, IGC says, 'okay we'll look into it'. Sometimes they do look into it, but they never update us of any changes that they've made. We actually find out that they've made the change without consulting us. . . And sometimes they don't make the change and we just never hear back."

To sum it up, this section has highlighted the fact that the very presence of the IGC Foundation within the consortium created additional challenges for the IBCs in operating their campuses. A bureaucratic system that is often seen in government organizations was present, which fueled inefficiencies in university administration. Other challenges involved negotiating and working with staff members who lack knowledge in higher education administration and who do not have sufficient cultural and linguistic competence to adequately support these foreign universities. Lastly, tensions and misunderstanding arose due to a lack of communication by IGCF.

Discussion

Most of the participants perceived that the relationships among branch campuses in Incheon Global Campus are both competitive and cooperative. Competition is unavoidable, as they seek to attract many of the same students in a limited market. However, since they also share similar challenges that arise from operating overseas campuses, there also engaged in some collaborative initiatives. As such, the dynamics of the relationships differed depending on the responsibilities and goals of their work units. For example, academic and student affairs teams were relatively more collaborative, whereas student recruitment teams more keenly sensed the competitive nature of the relationships.

As in line with the strategic alliance literature, there were opportunities and challenges that emerged from the consortium arrangement. The host government effectively reduced building and operational costs and risks by developing a shared campus. Universities also shared resources with each other. One of the exemplary collaborative initiatives were course sharing agreements, which allowed universities to broaden their course offerings while reducing the costs of hiring additional faculty members and mediating their challenges in faculty hiring. In

addition, the consortium provided a means to obtain and exchange knowledge (Lubatkin et al. 2001 as cited in Tjemkes et al., 2018 p.6). Universities were able to learn from one another through joint committee meetings and exchanging information, or through observing one another. In addition, IBCs strengthened their reputations and brand value through joint efforts in promoting the IGC.

On the other hand, conflicts and tension also occurred due to conflicting views and interests among member universities, which made it difficult to reach consensus. Joint-committee meetings were generally perceived as ineffective, and negotiations among the IBCs often dragged on for months and sometimes years. Such problem is unique to IBCs that operate in a hub in a consortium and involves "substantial coordination costs that jeopardize joint value creation" (Gulati and Singh 1998 as cited in Tjemkes et al., 2018). Each IBC's autonomy and flexibility were also restricted from being in this hub as they had to negotiate with other universities or obtain permissions from the IGC Foundation when organizing some activities or changing their policies. In addition, due to the inherent competitions between universities, there were tensions among the IBCs. Some IBCs were reluctant to share critical resources and information to maintain their competitive advantage. Other challenges arise due to this unique hub setting involve weakening advantage due to the overlap of program offerings among IBCs. While IGC was originally designed to offer distinct programs, universities have started to offer identical academic programs that have escalated the tensions and competitions among them. Lastly, each campus was cognizant of potential negative spillover effect from the adversities faced by their partnering organizations. When an adverse incident arose to one organization, others worried that it would hurt their own reputation as well as the overall brand value of the

IGC. However, an alternative viewpoint held that these universities were clearly separate organizations and thus may not necessarily be affected by others' shortcomings.

While cooperation among partnering universities did take place, interactions were rather minimal in limited settings. Nearly all respondents expressed their strong desire to interact with one another and collaborate more actively and effectively. The current level of collaboration was confined to participating in a few social events organized by the foundation or the cross-registration arrangement in the limited setting. There is no venue or structural system in place that allows universities to interact on a regular basis on a deeper level. Meetings are organized only as the need arises. Social gatherings were mostly organized on the spur of the moment. Most people did not have personal relations outside of their university despite their desire to get to know others.

However, when looking more closely, we notice that the dynamics of the relationships differed among the IBCs. It is evident that Mason Korea, UAC and GUGC have formed deeper relationships together, compared to relations with SUNY Korea. These three universities jointly organize various social and networking events together and have taken more collaborative initiatives such as hiring a counselor together. They also share similar visions, views and administrative styles intending to replicate the U.S. and Belgium university environment here in IGC. In contrast, SUNY Korea has acted more independently and follows more Korean university systems and work culture.

Due to their distinct organizational culture, the relationships among universities have evolved in time, which can be characterized by two distinct phases. In the past, decision-making processes in this consortium were dominated by SUNY Korea. Based on the social and cultural capital it possesses, as well as being the first mover, SUNY Korea has built networks and quickly

expanded its sphere of operations in Korea. The other three fledging that started their operation later sought guidance and advice from SUNY Korea but were treated coldly. In addition, these three struggled as they frequently encountered situations where they had to conform to the ideas and view of SUNY Korea who possess more power and resources both within and outside of IGC.

Such asymmetrical alliance which "a dominant partner has a bargaining power advantage due to its superior resource endowments" (Tjemkes et al., 2018 3.206) is common in alliances. As the first and the largest IBC in the IGC, SUNY Korea had more bargaining power within the consortium and had received preferential treatment by the foundation. However, SUNY Korea's dominance over others eventually led the other three to get together to challenge their influence.

Today, the three universities interact more frequently and have formed friendlier relationships among themselves, whereas SUNY Korea acts more independently. Decision-making no longer looks like three universities swayed by SUNY Korea. As each of the other three campuses has settled down and grown in size, they are no longer neglected by the foundation. Also, their coalition-like-relationship has given them more control over decision-making that follows the majority rule. Three universities have joined their forces and started to express their needs more openly and firmly. The reform of the curfew policy, which was vehemently opposed by SUNY Korea for few years, illustrates the shift of the power within the consortium. These findings align with the field theory that suggests that once contenders gain influence, power dynamics within the field shift and a new social order would be created in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015). Recently, SUNY Korea begun to recognize the need to develop a closer network with other universities It started to engage more and participate in initiatives and events organized by these three.

IGC is a growing community and the city of Incheon has planned to have a total of ten IBCs here in IGC ("Vision Statement," n.d.). By 2021, the Amsterdam University of the Arts plans to open their branch campus here in IGC and offer music degrees ("IGC News," 2019). Stanford University also plans to establish a research institute ("IGC News," 2019). As the IBCs continue to develop and new institutions join the consortium, the dynamics of inter-organizational relationships in consortium are likely to continuously evolve, which may create additional opportunities and challenges for the institutions.

Lastly, the findings also highlight that there are gaps between what the Korean government had envisioned this hub-setting to be and how IBCs actually operate in this environment. The research found that interactions among IBCs are limited. IBCs place greater value on their relationships with their home campus, despite their desire to build stronger reciprocal relationships among the IBCs. These branch campuses operate in a tightly controlled environment where they are expected to recreate the education environment of the main campus. Therefore, developing relationships in this consortium that were artificially created by the Korean government is not branch campuses' priorities. This shed lights to our understanding of the field theory by illustrating that organizations do not necessarily form active partnerships just because they physically share a campus and are expected to collaborate. Partnerships are formed and maintained when there are clear incentives for them to do so. Therefore, in order to successfully facilitate the collaboration among these institutions, the government and the IGC university communities must work hand in hand to advance this shared campus concept.

In addition, respondents have noted the limited interactions between the IBCs and the businesses located in the area. While Incheon municipal had envisioned that creating an education hub in Songdo would promote active industry-university collaborations, interactions

were minimal. According to Yoo and Kim (2018), academic programs offered by the IBCs do not align well with industries the Incheon has aimed to develop including aviation, automobile, robot, biotechnologies, distribution, tourism and beauty industries, and Green Climate Fund (유 & 김, 2018). Besides, these IBCs do not possess adequate research capacity as they are heavily focused on undergraduate teaching curriculums. Even, they have not developed relationships with companies that are located within the IGC. To advance one of the essential goals of the IGC project which is promoting innovation, entrepreneurship and contributing towards making the knowledge-based society, the government should align their goals better and make more efforts in facilitating the collaborations between the universities and the businesses.

Despite some challenges, the IBCs provide a benefit to students seeking rigorous academic programs offered by foreign universities. The IGC has continued to increase its brand awareness and is now increasingly seen as one of the credible higher education institutions in Korea. While only 65% of the enrollment quota has been met so far (강, n.d.), the number of students attending these institutions in the hub has steadily increased from 733 in 2015 to 2,559 in April 2019 (Sophia, Staff, IGCF). Through IGC, the South Korean government has retained many Korean students within their border, reduced the brain drain and the outflow of foreign currency. Indeed, among twenty-nine graduates who attended these four IBCs in 2018, twenty-seven graduates found their jobs within Korea ("Foreign educational institutions (University)," n.d.). In addition, the hub has great potential to attract more global talents and retain them in Korea.

However, this effort will depend on the viability of IBCs in Korea. South Korea has experienced two international branch campuses failures. STC Group – Netherlands Maritime University operated from 2006 to 2013 (박, 2013). FAU Busan Campus, from Germany, which

was founded in 2009, has also announced that it will be closing (김, 2017). The success of the

IGC is not only the aim of the IBCs within the hub but also critical for the Korean government. I

hope this research casts a new light on the dynamics of inter-organizational relations in this

shared campus and offers some constructive action plans that may support the continued growth

of the Incheon Global Campus. The following section provides several recommendations they

might consider.

Recommendations

The findings have illustrated the gap that currently exists between members' desire to

interact and their current level of collaboration. In addition, there were minimal collaborations

between these universities and the industries, unlike what the South Korean government had

envisioned. To best support developing multilateral relations among the IBCs and promoting the

university-industry collaboration, the present research provides several recommendations for the

Incheon Global Campus communities and their stakeholders.

First, universities should reflect on the present conditions, and jointly design and further

develop the concept of the consortium model. Currently, there is no formal agreement or shared

understanding of what the consortium entails. Therefore, each member organization should first

identify their own needs and assess their current resources. Then, organizations should have open

conversations and communicate their expectations and jointly define the scope and goals of their

alliance. Since they are also in competitions, they should also decide on the boundary of their

cooperation, and create a dispute-resolution mechanism so that problems that emerge do not sour

the atmosphere and result in the decline in trust (Tjemkes et al., 2018 p.246). This would allow

all members to have a shared understanding of what the consortium hopes to accomplish and

"prompts tolerance and a proactive approach to the reconciliation" (Tjemkes et al., 2018 p.202).

Along the same line, consortium partners should create clear guidelines on decision-making and organize ways to monitor and document their inter-organizational activities. These are expected to streamline the administrative and decision-making process and increase efficiency. Also, this may help reduce the IGCF's discriminatory practices (or the IBC's perception of it) and lesson tensions that exist among the IBCs. In addition, IGCF should refine their strategies of communicating with the IBCs as the information gaps are commonplace.

Setting aside common physical space and creating venues that encourage people to regularly interact with one another may be useful in developing positive reciprocal relationships among universities. The exact forms of these could vary. For instance, joint workspaces could be designed. They can also consider setting up a lounge where people could informally engage with each other that may naturally promote collaborations. While any member can initiate this, it may be easier for the foundation to take charge. Also, universities should consider creating a faculty council as the current available IGC committee meetings do not involve any faculty members.

Furthermore, IGCF should put additional efforts in creating their organizational environment more receptive to bringing new ideas to create this campus environment truly global. They should also enhance their competencies to support the universities better. Having a better understanding of how overseas universities operate, especially in relation to their home campuses, as well as having a deeper understanding of how their academic and social environments function would be useful. These insights would be helpful to fully and effectively understand the needs of the partner universities. Possessing more knowledge would also encourage them to be more active in supporting the IBCs, instead of reactively responding to the needs of the universities – one of the major complaints of the interviewees. More training and efforts are also needed to strengthen the global mindset of their employees. Hiring more staff

with English proficiency would also help support all members within the university communities since English is usually the first language on campus.

Lastly, both the central and local government should examine ways to facilitate collaborations between the IGC and industries, in order to advance the government's initial goal of creating this hub as the knowledge hub that promotes innovation and entrepreneurship. As a first step, they should conduct a comprehensive assessment of the IGC, and assess their performances and identify shortcomings. Also, since IGCF both oversees the operation of the IBCs and the Global Startup Campus, the foundation should more actively promote collaborations between the IBCs and the companies within the hub. Also, IGCF should consider developing more external relations with organizations within and beyond Songdo in behalf of the IBCS that possess little knowledge and relational capitals in the Korean society.

Limitation and Recommendations for Future Research

As a case study focusing on a particular site in South Korea – Incheon Global Campus and its consortium model in South Korea – this study provides an in-depth understanding of how these branch campuses work on the ground and what their relationships to each other are like. Nevertheless, the ability to generalize the findings outside of this campus is limited. In addition, these campuses are still in the development stage. As of this writing, they have been operating only for a few years, and are still evolving in response to their needs, performance and circumstances. Therefore, the environment of the Incheon Global Campus discussed in this study may look much different in the future. New needs arise all the time, and policies and procedures are updated frequently. Future research would help identify the changes and progress of these universities and provide up-to-date insights into the operations of these branch campuses.

In addition, multi-case studies of existing education hubs around the world such as Singapore, Dubai International Academic City, and Education City in Qatar would provide valuable information, especially in regard to how different business models of an education hub impact international branch campus operations. Also, comparative analyses of similar shared campus models such as the Claremont Colleges (7Cs) [11] in the USA would provide insights that might help both the policy and professional communities develop and implement more successful consortium models.

This study may also reflect potential respondent bias. Since the IGC is a small community where branch campuses are located next to one another in a shared space, with the majority of the students, faculty and staff members living on campus, words and rumors spread quickly. This was noted by a few interviewees who mentioned that they often get to know what other schools are up to despite limited formal interactions. As a testament to this fact, some respondents were reluctant to speak openly during the interviews. For example, one respondent skipped one of my questions while referring to it as a "sensitive matter," and another asked for reassurances of her answers would remain confidential. Considering what happened during the course of my interviews, it may have been possible that those who were reluctant to share their opinions may have been less likely to participate in this study. Also, I cannot be certain whether my ties to SUNY Korea has influenced people's decisions to participate in the interview or biased how they answered any questions.

Due to the limited time constraints, the breadth of this study limited the interview pool to those who have directly worked at or attended universities in IGC or the foundation. However,

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[11] The Claremont Colleges is composed of seven higher education institutions (Pomona College, Scripps College, Claremont McKenna College, Harvey Mudd College, Pitzer College, Claremont Graduate University and Keck Graduate Institute) that operate under the consortium model. Inspired by Oxford University, the consortium was founded in 1925 and have grown as one of the highly selective and respected institutions in the United States.

since these branch campuses operate in collaboration with their home institutions, as well as the

central government agencies in South Korea, it would be helpful to conduct interviews with

home university stakeholders and host government officials who have designed and implemented

this IGC project, as well as those who are currently overseeing these branch campus projects.

This would enable researchers to acquire a broader understanding of how each branch campus

operates in relations to many other factors.

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Appendices

Figure 1. Photos of the Incheon Global Campus

Figure 1. Photos of Incheon Global Campus. Reprinted from Incheon Global Campus, 2019 with

permission.

Figure 2. Design of Incheon Global Campus Project

Table 4. Summary of IGC Committee Meeting

	Leadership Meeting	Operational Meeting	Student Affairs Meeting	Public Relations Meeting	Information Technology Meeting
Participants	Campus heads (i.e. president, campus dean)	Team heads and staff in operations	Student affairs staff in charge	PR staff in charge	IT staff in charge
Recurrence	Monthly	Biweekly	Biweekly	Monthly	Weekly
Agenda	Major issues on operations or policies	General operation and facilities issues	Student affairs and campus life issues	PR activities	IT-related tasks
Objectives	Consult on operations or policies; Share information, suggestions, comments	Consult on operational matters; Share information	Share information, suggestions, comments regarding the student affairs; Consult on student affairs	Share information on PR activities; Develop joint PR activities	Consult stakeholders; Share information
Decision-making	Leadership makes decision or consults related authority.	Unresolved issues within the working level are further discussed at the leadership level.	Minor changes in policy or operations are made; Issues that require major change get reported to the Chief of the University Team, IGCF and the leadership meeting.	Minor decisions within this meeting through consulting stakeholders; Major decisions after getting permission of each leadership	Minor decisions within this meeting through consulting stakeholders; Major decisions be made upon permission granted from each organizations' leadership

Sample Interview Questionnaires

    I.   Academic & Professional Staff Version

Q1.   What are your current and previous roles at the university?

- Years of employment

Q2.   What is it like working on this campus?

Q3.   What are challenges in working or living?

Q4.   What has been going well with the university?

Q5.   What are challenges of your university you are aware of?

Q6.   What is your university's relationships like with other universities in the IGC?

- Is it collaborative [partners], competitive, or others?

Q7.   To what extent have you worked with other universities and/or personnel from other universities?

- If none, are you aware how others worked with other universities?

Q8.   To what extent do you have relationships with people from other universities?

- Do you attend the four university management meetings?
- Who attends those meetings?
- How often the meetings are held?
- What do you discuss?
- How do you make decisions?

Q9.   How would you describe the benefits and challenges of your university being part of IGC along with other universities?

- Promotion and recruitment
- Academic environment (including teaching activities, curriculum)
- Research environment
- Management and operations (including facility use, finance)
- Student life (including recreational activities)
- Residential life (including faculty's living)

Q10.   Do you know if your university has plans to form deeper relationships with other universities in the future?

Q11.   To what extent have you worked with the Incheon Global Campus Foundation?

Q12.   How would you assess the IGC Foundation's support for this campus?

Q13.   What do you think the advantages and disadvantages of operating the university in the Songdo International Business District are?

Q14.   Do you think there are contributions of your university and IGC on the local area/ Korea?

Q15.   What do you think the university should do to ensure its success?

Q16.   What are your suggestions on ways of ensuring the effectiveness and efficiency of the Incheon Global Campus as a whole?

II.   Student & Alumni Version

Q1.   Could you please introduce yourself?

- Affiliation (university, major, class standing or graduation status)
- country of origin

Q2.   Why did you choose to attend this university?

- What other options have you considered/had?

Q3.   How do (did) you like attending UNIVERSITY?

- What aspects are you satisfied and/or not satisfied?

Q4.   In what way your university is successful or unsuccessful?

Q5.   What are your opinions on the location of the UNIVERSITY?

- In what way is it beneficial or not to be located in Songdo?
- Has the location been any helpful for finding your jobs/internships or other opportunities?

Q6.   How would you describe the relationship between universities in the IGC?

Q7.   How would you describe the quality of the service provided by the IGC Foundation? Why so?

Q8.   In what way have you interacted with students from other universities (students, faculty, employees or at the organizational level)?

- Do you have any friends from another university?
- Have you hung out with anyone other than people from your university?
- Have you played sports with anyone from other university?
- Are there any joint events or parties?
- Are there any interactions in the dorm building?

Q9. In what way have you interacted with faculty or staff from other universities, or at the organizational level?

Q10.   How would you describe the benefits and challenges of your university being part of IGC with other universities?

- Promotion and recruitment
- Academic and research environment
- Management and operations
- Campus life (including recreations, clubs, residential life)
- Career-development, job finding

Q11.   Do you believe that there should be more interaction between universities in IGC? In what way? Why or why not?

Q12.   What do you hope your university do/change in the future?

Q13.   What do you hope the IGC do/change in the future?

III.   IGC Foundation Staff Version

1.   What are your current roles?
   - Work responsibilities
   - Employment duration
   - What led you to work here?

1. What was the purpose and process of establishing Incheon Global Campus?

2. How does the fundation run?

3. What are the process of recruiting potential foreign universities?
   - Considerations
   - Timeline from the selection to the opening of a branch campus
   - Approval process

4. What do you think the roles of the IGC Foundation are?

5. What do you think IGC Foundation's relationship with universities in IGC?
   - IGCF's relationships with universities
   - IGCF's perspectives on relationships amongst universities

6. What efforts and initiatives have been made by IGC Foundation for the collaborations between universities in IGC?

7. What do you think the challenges of inter-university collaboration, if any?

8. How is the IGC alliance meeting administered?
    * Who organizes this meeting?
    * How often are these meetings held?
    * What kind of topics do you discuss?
    * What is the decision-making process?
    * What happens if four universities can not narrow their views on an issue?

9. What do you think are the benefits and challenges are for these foreign universities to be located along with other universities in an IGC consortium?
    * Promotions and student recruitment
    * Academic environment (educational activities, curriculum, etc.)
    * Research environment
    * Management and operation (facility, finance, personnel exchanges, etc.)
    * Student life (including recreational activities)
    * Residential environment (including students and faculty/staff)

10. How does your relationship look like with the Korean government, including Incheon Free Eonomic Zone (IFEZ)?
    * How do you describe the relationship between IFEZ and IGC Foundation?
    * Does IGCF directly interact with the central government agency such as the Ministry of Education? If so, what does that look like?

11. What are the benefits and challenges of operating IGC in a Songdo International City?
    * How does the location of the IGC located in an economic hub affect the operation of the university?

12. How does the Songdo Smart Hub venture business project operate in an IGC campus?
    * What is the purpose of the project?
    * What are the expected gains from this project for the IGC community?

13. What do you think the IGC's influence or contributions are to the local community in Incheon?

14. What do you think the impact of the Incheon Global Campus is on Korea's overall higher education system?

15. What kind of efforts or supports are needed to ensure the success of IGC, the education hub?