

The new geopolitics of international higher education

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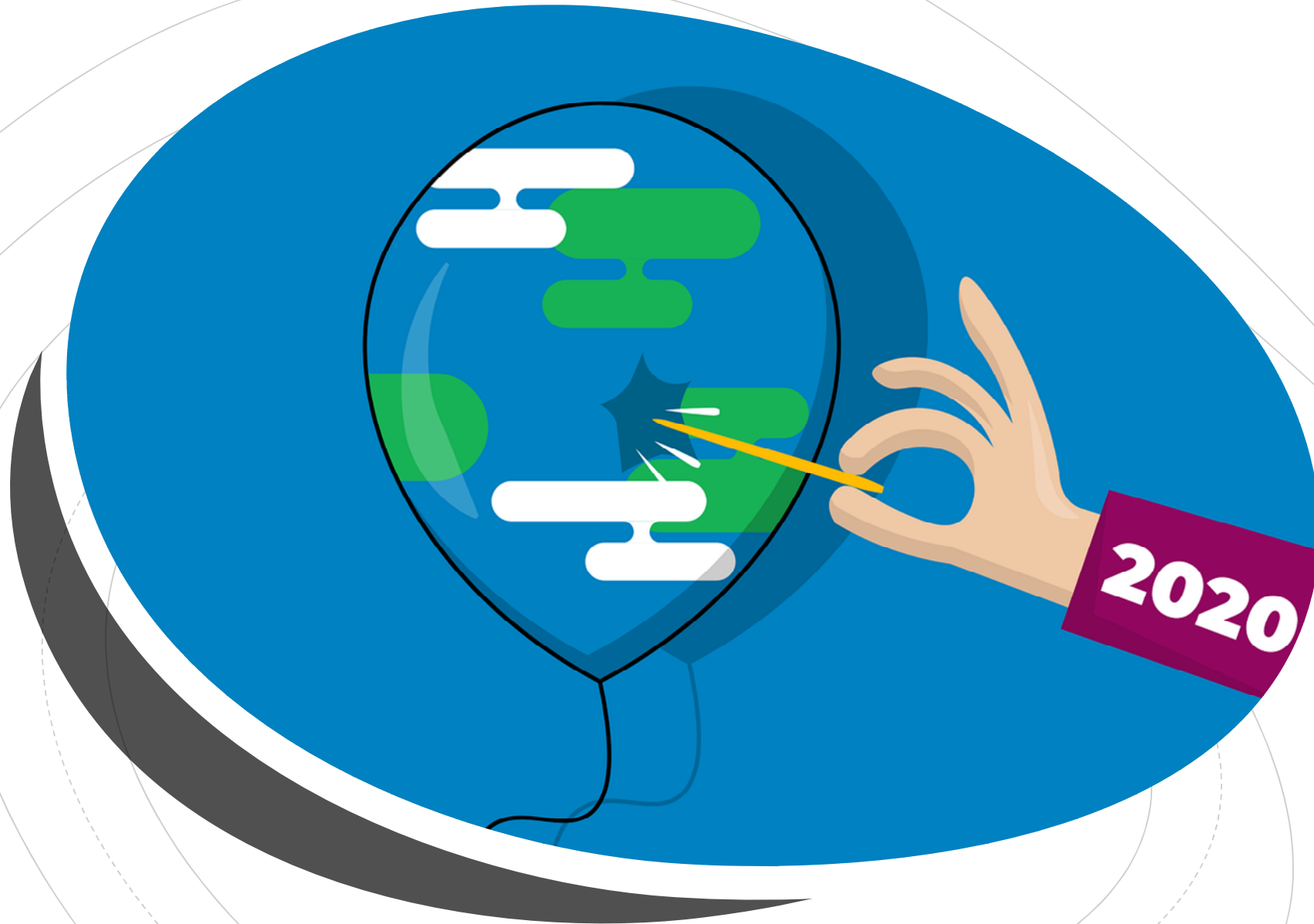
Special issue: 'The new geopolitics of international higher education'

- Coming out in *Globalisation, Societies & Education* in early 2022
- Roots the study of international higher education in prevailing geopolitical currents
- Articles take up multiple perspectives:
 - Global, regional (Europe, Latin America, South Asia), national (China, Canada, Turkey/Syria, Israel, USA)
 - Borders, migration
 - Covid-19 and beyond
 - Nationalization, regionalization, globalization, diplomacy

Shifting global politics and rising global challenges

- Weaknesses in global governance
- Mounting backlashes to multilateralism and free trade
- Resurgence of political populism and nationalism/authoritarianism
- Balance of global power swinging to China/Asia
- Climate related emergencies
- Growing demands for reparative social justice





**A watershed
moment for
global
politics**

Thousands protest in Hungary against planned Chinese university campus

Story by Reuters

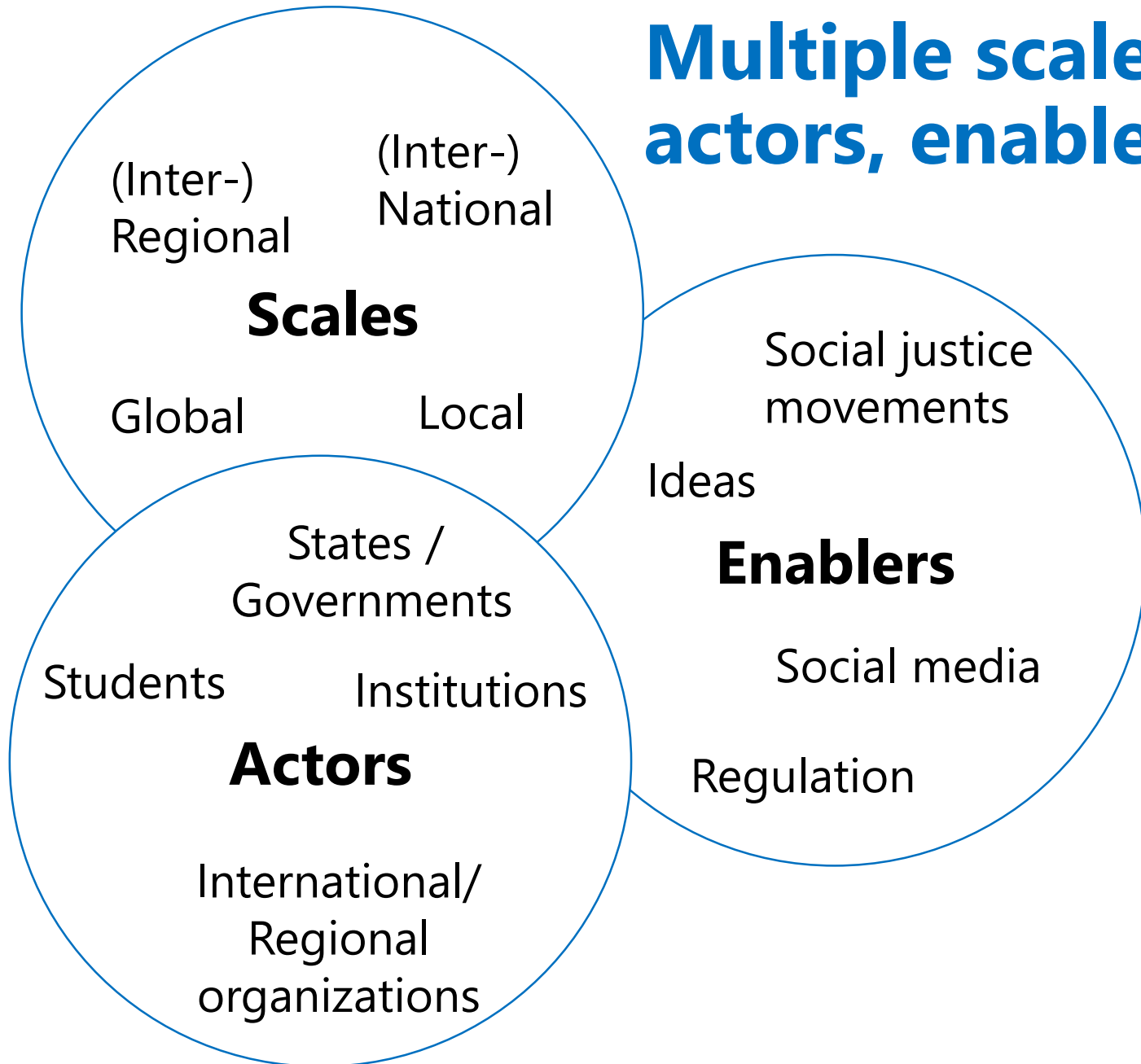


NEWS

Egerton Ryerson: Statue toppled of architect of 'shameful' school system



Multiple scales, actors, enablers



Theorizing international higher education through a critical geopolitics lens

- Recognize the role of education in shaping geopolitics (Nguyen, 2020)
- Break the territorial trap that 'territorialises power at the national-state scale' (Agnew 1994; 2010)
- Move beyond a Western hegemonic conception of geopolitics; 'changing the terms of the conversation' (Mignolo 2011)
- Scale down to understand everyday practices and lived experiences; scale up to study the transnational (Hyndman 2001)



Thank you

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Look out for the Special Issue of *Globalisation, Societies & Education* in early 2022

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Adding 'geopolitics' to studies of (international) higher education

Frame	Use of geopolitics
Realist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on national interest; state-centric though may also cover regions • Competitive advantage and power relations are key factors <p><i>Example:</i> Hazelkorn, E. (Ed.). (2017). <i>Global rankings and the geopolitics of higher education: Understanding the influence and impact of rankings on higher education, policy and society</i>. Routledge.</p>
Soft power / Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similar to neorealist school in emphasis on power as key factor in international relations • Often emphasizes liberal institutions and cooperation but increasingly being applied to non-liberal states <p><i>Example:</i> Trilokekar, R., Masri, A. E., & Masry, H. E. (2020). Power, Politics, and Education: Canadian Universities and International Education in an Era of New Geopolitics. <i>Canadian Journal of Higher Education</i>, 50(3), 79–95.</p>
Geography / Migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Takes geography and human movement (migration) to politics, rather than vice-versa • Critical and feminist approaches may emphasize bottom-up approaches and lived experiences <p><i>Example:</i> Nguyen, N. (2020). On geopolitics and education: Interventions, possibilities, and future directions. <i>Geography Compass</i>, 14(9).</p>
Globalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looks beyond the state to global discourses (e.g. knowledge economy) • Applies these to national settings; do not fundamentally question global order <p><i>Example:</i> Moisis, S., & Kangas, A. (2016). Reterritorializing the global knowledge economy: An analysis of geopolitical assemblages of higher education. <i>Global Networks</i>, 16(3), 268–287.</p>
Decoloniality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Also goes beyond the state but critically challenges Eurocentric colonial HE structures/ideas • Strong lineage connecting to geopolitics of knowledge – Walter Dignolo <p><i>Example:</i> Majee, U. S., & Ress, S. B. (2020). Colonial legacies in internationalisation of higher education: Racial justice and geopolitical redress in South Africa and Brazil. <i>Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education</i>, 50(4), 463–481.</p>

HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS AS EYES OF THE STATE

CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL STUDENT COMPLIANCE REGIME

Lisa Ruth Brunner

University of British Columbia, x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam) Traditional Territory

The New Geopolitics of International Higher Education

Centre for Global Higher Education Seminar

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HIGHER EDUCATION'S ENTANGLEMENT WITH IMMIGRATION

- Driven by two trends:
 - Reliance of institutions and governments on international student-generated revenue
 - Global race for 'highly skilled' immigrants; international students viewed as 'ideal' immigrants

TWO AIMS

Traces the formation of Canada's International Student Compliance Regime over the past decade

Argues that HE's role in surveilling migrants on behalf of the state is *not* a novel compromise of HE's values but rather *connected to historical patterns of HE's involvement in state and border imperialism*

THEORIES OF BORDERS AND SURVEILLANCE

Borders

- Dynamic practices which appear, are produced, and sustained (Vaughan-Williams 2009)
- Tied up in border imperialism – regimes of institutions, discourses, and systems which control migrants and decide whom the state includes (Walia 2013)

Surveillance

- Evolved alongside capitalism (informed by Marx), bureaucratic organization (Weber), and shifts from punishment towards self-discipline (Foucault)
- Surveillance *society* (Marx 1985; Lyon 2007)
- Impacts life changes/choices through *social sorting* (Lyon 2007)

Both have uneven impacts, in the service of:

- white supremacy (e.g. Browne 2015)
- empire (e.g. Kundnani and Kumar 2015; Zureik 2011; Van der Meulen and Heynen 2019)
- the settler-colonial state (Walia 2013)

BORDERS AND SURVEILLANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Borders

- Colonial and racist history of mobility within education (e.g. Rizvi, 2011; Madge, Raghuram, and Noxolo, 2014) and higher education specifically (Rodríguez 2012; Wilder 2013; Stein 2021)
- Imperialist bordering practices against international students (McCartney 2020)
- Higher education as a technology/arm of the settler state (La paperson 2017; Grande 2018)

Surveillance

- Integral to higher education (Lyon 2007; Dear 2018; Collier and Ross 2020)
- Disproportionate impacts on minoritized and international students (Brown and Klein 2020)
- Increasingly pervasive and fine-grained technologies (e.g. Kafka 2020; Warner 2020)

Both are *naturalized* within higher education institutions

HIGHER EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENT COMPLIANCE REGIMES (ISCR)

- In the **United States** (Rosser et al. 2007; Tabor 2008; Wennerstrom 2008)
- In the **United Kingdom** (Jenkins 2014; Dear 2018)
- Comparing the **US**, the **UK**, and **Australia** (Walsh 2019)

HIGHER EDUCATION ISCR MONITORING SYSTEMS: 5 CHARACTERISTICS

- Flawed governing tools
- Impose structural institutional changes
- Transform the role of higher education
- Transform the subjectivity of staff and faculty
- Refashion student subjectivities

CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT PROGRAM CONTEXT: THE PAST DECADE

- Rapid expansion
- Major changes in 2014
 - First federal international education strategy
 - Regulatory overhaul (more institutional oversight, introduction of ISCR)
- International students are:
 - positioned as economically crucial
 - aggressively recruited as potential permanent immigrants
 - simultaneously seen as threats

Table 1: DLI Portal Compliance Reporting Student Statuses (IRCC 2018a; 2021)

Student status	IRCC concern level	Definition
Academic break	Compliant	A regularly scheduled break as determined by DLI
Authorised leave		Must be formally authorised by the DLI
Full-time studies		As determined by the DLI
Part-time studies		As determined by the DLI
Deferred enrolment		Program start date postponed
Not started		Registered for following semester (not a deferral)
Program/degree completed		Student is either waiting for, or has been sent, formal confirmation
Academic suspension	Potentially non-compliant	e.g. due to poor academic performance
No longer registered/enrolled		Includes transfers to another institution (not a suspension)
No show		Student was accepted but either never attended or stopped attending without notification
Unknown/no record		DLI has never issued a letter of acceptance for student

IMPLICATIONS: ETHICAL AND POLITICAL

- Subtle nature of Canada's system normalizes, naturalizes, and depoliticizes everyday border imperialism
 - Illustrates 'the systemic logics, institutional techniques, rhetorics, and epistemologies of violence and power that undergird the academy's racial and colonial foundations' (Rodríguez 2012, 809)
- Limited resistance may = normalization of surveillance *culture*
- Higher education is serving the needs of the state in *new ways*, it has *always surveilled* and *always served the needs of the state*

AFTER SURVEILLANCE?

- “requires a willingness to speculate that some of the surveillance roles we have come to accept could be otherwise” (Collier and Ross 2020, 276)
- Disinvesting from higher education entirely? (La paperson 2017; Grande 2018; Stein 2021)
- Looking beyond the state (Walia 2013)

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