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University Educators' Experiences of Teaching Abroad: The Promotion of Cross-cultural Competence

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University Educators' Experiences of Teaching Abroad: The Promotion of Cross-cultural Competence

Abstract

As university classrooms become increasingly culturally diverse, how can educators learn to meet the needs of all of their students? Teaching abroad is an immersion activity that creates spaces which promote growth-producing experiences for faculty. The participants in this qualitative study reflected on their experiences of teaching abroad and discussed how it can help foster the development of cultural competency. Within this meta-theme, four subthemes emerged. The participants in this study discussed the personal dispositions and skills they think promote becoming culturally competent—the capacity to (a) adapt, (b) be interested in students and treat them as individuals, (c) embrace challenges, and (d) be comfortable with feeling uncomfortable. Teaching abroad is an effective professional development activity, one that should be supported by universities.

Alors que les salles de classe universitaires deviennent de plus en plus diverses culturellement, comment les éducateurs peuvent-ils apprendre à répondre aux besoins de tous leurs étudiants? L'enseignement à l'étranger est une activité d'immersion où sont créés des espaces qui offrent aux enseignants des expériences de croissance. Les participants à cette étude qualitative réfléchissent sur leurs expériences d'enseignement à l'étranger et discutent de la manière dont ces expériences peuvent favoriser le développement de compétences culturelles. Au sein de cette thématique, quatre sous-thèmes ont vu le jour. Les participants à cette étude ont discuté des dispositions et des compétences personnelles qui, selon eux, favorisent le fait de devenir culturellement compétent : la capacité 1) de s'adapter, 2) de s'intéresser aux étudiants et de les traiter comme des individus, 3) de relever les défis et 4) de se sentir à l'aise avec le fait de ne pas se sentir à l'aise. L'enseignement à l'étranger est une activité efficace de développement professionnel qui devrait être soutenue par les universités.

Keywords

university educators, experiential learning, teaching abroad, faculty; éducateurs universitaires, apprentissage par l'expérience, enseignement à l'étranger, corps professoral

Canadian university classrooms are becoming increasingly culturally diverse, particularly as many institutions try to recruit international students (Guo & Jamal, 2007). Many Canadian universities have created international student centres, student services offices, and centres for teaching and learning to enhance students' education. However, an opportunity that appears to receive much less attention, and from which students and educators can benefit, is teaching abroad experiences for faculty.

There are many terms used to describe teaching abroad, including cross-cultural, multi-cultural, international, intercultural, global, and transnational teaching (Johnson, Lenartowicz, & Apud, 2006). The term cross-cultural was chosen since it is commonly used in the literature (e.g., Allen, 2019; Gopal, 2011; Lopes-Murphy & Murphy, 2016). I was interested in exploring with educators their experiences of teaching outside of their home countries. As Slethaug (2007) stated, academics who go abroad to teach "engage in cross-cultural dynamics in ways that those who stay at home do not, even if they teach culturally diverse and international students" (pp. 6-7). Of course, cross-cultural teaching experiences typically occur in the everyday practice of university educators (Guo & Jamal, 2007). Therefore, I let my participants apply the term cross-cultural teaching as they wanted.

Much of the research on teaching abroad focuses on preservice teacher education (e.g., Ateşkan, 2016; Marx & Moss, 2011; Trilokekar & Kukar, 2011). Quezada (2004) stated that providing student teaching experiences abroad is the key ingredient to having "culturally and globally literate" (p. 464) educators. In order to be more reflective and effective teachers while working with immigrant children, he stated it is important for American pre-service teachers "to experience student teaching or study abroad so they may better understand the world community and the United States' place in it" (Quezada, p. 458). He asserts the need for experiential learning activities by stating that taking a multicultural education course, being in a diverse university class, and working with children from diverse backgrounds is not a substitute for studying abroad or teaching abroad internships.

Although Quezada's (2004) thought-provoking research cannot be generalized to faculty, this study aimed to extend this line of inquiry to examine the experiences of university educators who were teaching abroad. An understanding of their experiences is important to explore the implications of teaching abroad opportunities on the practice of faculty. Findings may encourage more university educators to engage in cross-cultural teaching abroad and suggest ways universities can support their faculty in these endeavors.

Method

A qualitative method was determined to be the best approach to answer the question: What are university educators' experiences of teaching cross-culturally?

The Researcher

I began teaching cross-culturally abroad over ten years ago, participating in international projects and then later teaching internationally for a four-month term during a sabbatical. These experiences led me to talk with other educators about their experiences of teaching abroad, what support services they were provided with and which ones they

would have liked to have had. All of these teaching experiences allowed me to be engaged in this research as an insider (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). However, I did not have the same experiences as my participants as they all had more years of experience than I did teaching in international contexts and some had experiences in different countries than I did, so in many ways, I was also an outsider. “Perhaps, as researchers, we can only ever occupy the space between [being an insider and an outsider]” (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, p. 61).

Participants

After receiving research ethics board clearance, recruitment of participants began. Participants were recruited from four universities in Asia, Europe, and Canada through posters, email, and word of mouth.

Eleven educators volunteered to share their experiences of teaching cross-culturally. Participants worked full-time in a university setting and taught their courses in English (if the official language of the host country was not English, the post-secondary students were English language learners). Five of the participants were men, and six were women. At the time of the interviews, six of the participants worked at Asian universities, three worked at Canadian universities, and two worked at European universities. All of the participants had experience teaching in countries other than their present locations.

Data Collection

Data collection consisted of individual, recorded interviews conducted in person or by telephone, if distance was prohibitive, which were later transcribed verbatim. Interviews focused on several guiding questions, which tended to evolve based on participants’ responses, and included:

- What are your experiences of teaching cross-culturally/internationally?
- What personal attributes should people possess who teaching cross-culturally?
- What are some of the supports you had or wished you had to facilitate your international/cross-cultural teaching experiences/opportunities?

Data Analysis

Data analysis was grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology. Specifically, thematic analysis was used with the individual interviews to research the “lived experience” (van Manen, 1990, p. 9). In qualitative research, themes are usually expressed as statements. These statements highlight explicit or implied meaning that runs through most of the collected data or that involves deep and profound emotional or factual impact (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & McCormack-Steinmetz, 1991).

One of van Manen’s (1990) approaches to isolating themes in text, the selective or highlighting approach, was used to assist with reflective analysis. The researcher listened to and read the text several times, asking “What statement(s) or phrase(s) seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomenon or experience” (p. 93)? These statements were highlighted and arranged into working themes. Once the themes and data were

revisited several times, and the essence of the experience was revealed, the data was turned to again to find examples of this essence. Some features of the phenomenon were extracted to help make its essence visible (van Manen, 1990) by asking the following questions of the data (Lofland & Lofland, 1995): Of what aspect is this an instance? What questions about an aspect does this item of data suggest? What sort of answer to a question about an aspect does this item of data suggest? In qualitative research, “essence” can be defined as “the reality of things as disclosed to rational thought” (Noonan, 2008, p. 268). Some features of the phenomenon, in the form of direct quotes, were extracted to help make its essence visible (van Manen, 1990).

Metacoding examines the relationship among a priori themes by asking the direction and strength of each theme. Potentially new themes, subthemes, and overarching metathemes may be identified (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). In theme discovery, Ryan and Bernard (2003) stated that “more is better” (p. 103).

I conducted a brief literature review prior to conducting the research to find out what had been done in the field. I did a more extensive review after the themes were identified so as not to bias my interpretation of the themes by any research that has already been conducted.

Results

The participants' responses to the interview questions demonstrated learning and reflection on their teaching abroad experiences. They talked about their observations as well as what they learned about teaching. A number of themes emerged from the data including advice, benefits, and challenges (Corbin Dwyer, 2014). This paper will focus on the overarching metatheme “becoming culturally competent” which arose during discussions on the personal attributes people who teach cross-cultural education should possess. This metatheme is consistent with an important aspect of continuing professional development for educators who work in diverse classroom settings, at home and abroad.

The Metatheme: Becoming Culturally Competent

The name of the metatheme comes from one participant who cited research in the business field and, in particular, the term cultural competency. In a discussion about advice for others who want to teach internationally, the participant said:

I worked on a project...there was a particular professor who'd done a lot of research around what she was calling cultural competency...it was about being able to shift between—you've got your own cultural identity and then being able to be culturally competent in other cultures...like a bit like 'when in Rome do as the Romans'—it is modifying, to some extent, or playing the two cultures in a way where you understood what was respectful behavior and I think that was a really nice way of saying where we all should be aware of others and difference and try even if you don't. You can't become an expert on everything but sometimes observing and trying to model [rather] than coming in and saying 'this is the way it's done.'

Cultural competence is “the ability to successfully teach students who come from cultures other than your own” (Diller & Moule, 2005, p. 2). The international business literature, while lacking an adequate conceptualization and definition of the term cross-cultural competence, focuses on the knowledge, skills and attributes that appear to be its antecedents (Johnson et al., 2006). Núñez (2000) defines cultural competence as a “set of skills that allow individuals to increase their understanding of cultural differences and similarities within, among, and between groups” (p. 1071). In her work of addressing health care needs, the author proposes that cross-cultural efficacy is preferable to cultural competency as a goal of cross-cultural education. Her rationale is that cross-cultural efficacy implies that the service provider is effective in interactions with individuals from cultures different from one’s own and that neither the service provider’s nor the service receiver’s culture offers the ideal perspective. This could be extended to university education as Li and Wang (2013) pointed out that post-secondary education is considered to be a special service industry by many as students are considered consumers and their professors are seen as service providers.

Another term used in the education literature is culturally responsive teaching which Gay (2002) defined as using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as mediums for teaching. This concept is “based on the assumption that when knowledge and skills are situated within the lived experiences and frames of reference of students, they are more personally meaningful, have higher interest appeal, and are learned more easily and thoroughly” (Gay, 2002, p. 106).

Given that there is no agreed upon term, becoming culturally competent was chosen as the name of this the metatheme as it was used by one of the participants.

Subthemes: Skills and Personal Attributes of Becoming Culturally Competent

Within the metatheme of becoming culturally competent, four subthemes, or components, of cultural competency emerged. The participants in this study discussed the personal dispositions and skills they think promote becoming culturally competent—the capacity to (a) adapt, (b) be interested in students and treat them as individuals, (c) embrace challenges, and (d) be comfortable with feeling uncomfortable. These four subthemes are discussed next.

The capacity to adapt. The participants in this study spoke about the need to adapt. They said the following: “You have all these different hats and how in different contexts you adapt and modify your behaviour...playing the two cultures in a way where you understood what was respectful behavior.” “Figure that there are things you are going to have to adapt to.” “I am very open-minded about how things are done and not ‘well, in Canada this is the way we do it so it should be the same here.’ That’s wrong in my opinion.”

Bodycott and Walker (2000) explained that when they began teaching abroad, they thought it was the students’ responsibility to adapt to their teaching. Over time, they came to believe that inter-cultural understanding must begin with the teacher’s attitude and is a shared responsibility of both teachers and students. In his study of student teaching abroad programs, Quezada (2004) found that pre-service teachers who participated in student teaching abroad learned effective pedagogical practices and adapted their instructional planning. Similarly, Salazar (2010) stated that culturally responsive educators demonstrate their own passion for lifelong learning and engage in self-reflection on their practice when

students are both learning and not learning. This reflection can allow educators to adapt to different situations. Recently, Chiu and Shi (2019) described one of the characteristics that lead to high levels of cross-cultural expertise is flexibility in the use of context-appropriate cultural tools to guide behaviors—or simply put, adaptability.

The capacity to be interested in students and treat them as individuals. The participants in this study attributed their interest in meeting people as one of their reasons they engage in international teaching experiences and thought that all educators who engage in teaching abroad opportunities should like to meet people. Some of their quotes that expressed as follows:

“I don’t think that you need to be the more generic kind of definition of an extrovert. I just think you need to be interested in other people, interested in other researchers, interested in students for sure, and also interested in different parts of the world.”

Others noted: “I think that interacting with the students in a social situation, that’s when you start to learn about the culture.” “Be interested in students...for faculty to give themselves permission to be curious about their students and to wonder about them.” “As soon as you’re engaged with other people, you have to learn from them. And it’s just learning, seeing other people, experiencing other people, developing wider and wider, deeper perspectives.” And “I think the students are the most rewarding thing.”

This interest in people fits with the often-cited notion that the teacher-student relationship is one of the most important features of effective teaching, influencing learning both directly and indirectly (Frymier & Houser, 2000). So, while not unique to educators who choose to teach abroad, interest in people was a salient feature of the personal attributes people who want to teach internationally should possess as described by the participants.

Further to having an interest in the students, educators in this study expressed the need to treat students as individuals: “You can’t make a generalization of any population that every student is going to behave in a particular way.” Another participant stated:

Don’t think of race because once...we are aware that we are different...before we go to class...it changes the dynamics because...you are put in a position where you have to defend,...you lose your own individuality...First is not to think that we are different.

Yet another noted: “Anybody that knowingly gets into this, and if they’ve got any sort of hang-ups about race or anything like that, that would be crazy to put yourself into that kind of a situation.”

Dong, Day, and Collaço (2008) surveyed young adults in the United States and found that high levels of intercultural communication sensitivity and multiculturalism were significant predictors of reducing individuals’ ethnocentrism, “the view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything and all others are scaled and rated from it” (Sumner as cited in Sutherland, 2002, p. 275). Frymier and Houser (2000) stated that “when teachers and students move beyond the formal teacher/student roles and begin to see each other as individuals, interpersonal relationships form” (p. 217) and a safe learning

environment is created, both of which help students to ask questions, and ask for feedback and clarification.

The capacity to embrace challenges. Related to an ability to adapt, the participants in this study described their ability to meet challenges, which they also described as having a sense of adventure. One participant noted:

Teaching cross-culturally is a challenge but a challenge shouldn't only be borne by the professor, but a challenge should also be borne by the students. So in that way, you meet cross-culturally....It's a challenge really but I think it's a worthwhile challenge.

Other participants said: "Some of us enjoy crossing the boundaries and feeling different being in a different culture." and "The people who come have some kind of spirit of adventure."

Salazar (2010) maintained that culturally responsive educators "foster their own self-efficacy by being realistic about the commitment it takes to meet the needs of diverse learners. Self-efficacy is the belief that one is capable of achieving challenging goals" (p. 86). To meet these challenges, educators need personal and professional resources in order to become successful in meeting their students' needs. Teaching abroad is a form of experiential and situated learning where educators are "challenged to make sense of their new environment and to accommodate to the difference" (Cushner, 2007, p. 35) as they live outside of their typical environment.

The capacity to be comfortable with feeling uncomfortable. The university educators in this study acknowledged that making mistakes is part of the process as is feeling uncomfortable in these new surroundings. They said the following:

The more comfortable you are in your own skin, you are going to have abilities to see how others are...being comfortable in the uncomfortable, being in a foreign culture...There's a resilience about dealing with disappointments and struggles in your life and to me that is the thing about being comfortable in the unknowing."

Be less fearful of making mistakes so rather than trying to never say anything that's going to offend anyone, or that's going to be misunderstood by anyone, to actually say 'well, here it is, but let me know so if things—if I get something wrong, if I'm not clear, if I say something offensive, can you give me some feedback on that privately?' ...So I think not to be so fearful of making mistakes, be open to receiving feedback and learning.

Another participant said: "Just relax...relax about yourself. You'll be okay and just try to learn and to listen...learn from other people...Not take yourself too seriously about the whole thing."

Other university educators have described similar feelings. In considering his experiences teaching abroad, Hall (2007) asserted that faculty members need more and different opportunities to teach "at a different institution, with different students, in circumstances outside their academic comfort zone" (p. 1). In reflecting on her experiential learning experience, Ochs (2008) explained how she and her group "allowed" themselves

“to experience the disorientation of not knowing...not knowing is an uncomfortable place to be” (p. 27). She explains that often students feel that way so that by putting ourselves in their place, we create a space for new learning to occur.

Slethaug (2007) described that when educators live in another country, a gap is created between the new experiences and perceptions they develop and the familiar ones they left behind. He explains that educators who go abroad inhabit this gap which includes giving up comforting cultural perceptions and understandings. And this gap is a place of learning. Culturally responsive educators “accept that they will likely make mistakes in learning about others, and they take risks and learn from their mistakes” (Salazar, 2010, p. 83).

Discussion

Chiu and Shi (2019) explained that cross-cultural competence can be conceptualized as a set of personal attributes and as a kind of expertise. The participants in the current study spoke about the personal attributes people who teach cross-culturally should possess: the need to adapt, be interested in students and to treat them as individuals, embrace challenges, and be comfortable with feeling uncomfortable.

Diller and Moule (2005) asserted that cultural competence for all individuals, not only educators, is a developmental process and an ideal toward which to strive. It requires the “continual acquisition of knowledge, the development of new and more advanced skills, and ongoing reflective self-evaluation of progress” (p. 13). Salazar (2010) explained that culturally responsive educators develop awareness of their own identities, privileges, and biases, and how these impact one’s teaching and learning. Becoming culturally competent is an on-going endeavor as responsive teaching is not a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach. In Bodycott and Walker’s (2000) reflection, they described how living and teaching abroad provided them with the “luxury of ‘looking in’ at their own culture from the outside” (p. 92). They said the challenges they encountered required that they reassess their “deep-rooted beliefs about teaching and learning” (p. 92) and that their experience was, in many ways, analogous to conducting ethnographic research. But instead of only finding meaning in the cultural constructions of the host country, Bodycott and Walker suggested teaching abroad provides opportunities to interrogate one’s own teaching and learning culture.

Implications

Gay (2002) made a case for improving the success of all students and, in particular, the success of ethnically diverse students through culturally responsive teaching. Having educators who value diversity among students contributes to an educational system that serves all students well (National Education Association, 2008). How can university educators gain the attitudes and skills needed to do this? While the results of this qualitative study are not generalizable, the results of the present study suggest that teaching abroad can help educators in this pursuit. It is important to acknowledge, however, that these participants pursued international teaching opportunities themselves so it could be argued they had already developed a certain level of cultural competency. At the very least, they embraced the attitudes necessary to be successful in cross-cultural teaching settings. In her work on developing a framework for preparing faculty to teach in international or foreign

branch campuses, Gopal (2011) explained the need for certain personal attributes when she noted:

Overall, Deardorff's (2006) process model of intercultural competence is a valuable guide and a practical framework in which to develop the competencies needed to teach in cross-cultural environments. However, her model must extend beyond merely acquiring the attitudes, knowledge and comprehension, and skills; it also needs to take into account the ability to adapt to other cultures, navigate one's emotions, learn intercultural sensitivity, and manage conflict. (Gopal, 2011, p. 379)

Besides personal attributes, the participants had other circumstances that allowed them to engage in teaching abroad opportunities. For example, some had spouses who were able to accompany them, including those who were also educators. One participant planned for an extended time abroad and brought his child with him, while others did not have dependents. Some were retired from their first career and others were gaining experience to get a permanent job. Some immigrated to the countries in which they now teach (Corbin Dwyer, 2014).

So, while not all students have the opportunity to study abroad nor to benefit from having international students in their classes, they can benefit from having an educator who has taught cross-culturally in an international setting who will help promote classroom diversity by incorporating differences to enrich the learning experience. The current study did not explore how university educators who taught abroad incorporated their experiences at their home institutions. However, other faculty have made the assertion that "I have benefited, and my students will benefit" (Hall, 2007, p. 4) by having new knowledge to draw on after teaching abroad. While dated, Welch (1997) described the benefits of having professors who have experience teaching abroad or who are from another country. These include the broadening of teaching, learning, and scholarship perspectives; the revitalization of language instruction programs; the building of tolerance and understanding among faculty, staff and students within their institutions; and incorporating specific cultural and academic skills within their classrooms. As Schlein and Garii (2011) explained, educators can use international experiences to become "culturally enhanced" (p. 82) and bring these enhancements back to their classrooms and back to their colleagues. In her study of business faculty who participated in an international educational experience, Miglietti (2015) found that they changed their teaching by increasing the global content of their classes.

Having educators share their experiences of teaching abroad with their colleagues can encourage other educators to engage in international teaching. There are a wide variety of settings and programs in which educators are involved in cross-cultural teaching opportunities abroad (Smolcic & Katunich, 2017), so educators who are unable to go abroad for extended periods of time may be able to participate in short-term international projects. Dean, London, Carston, and Salyers (2015) explicitly expressed the need for mentorship, development, and preparation programs for faculty developing and implementing global education initiatives for students (including supervising students' practical coursework and experiential learning abroad). A faculty member "who's been there" can offer their experience as an example of learning to travel, live, and teach abroad.

While teaching abroad is one approach to developing cultural competence, there are other methods. Not all faculty have the opportunity to teach internationally, but they can benefit from having educators who have share their experiences to help them reflect on their own practice and how they can enhance cross-cultural learning. As well, most Canadian universities have teaching and learning centres to assist faculty to develop meaningful learning experiences for students. Professional development opportunities provided by these centres could include sessions on increasing faculty's cultural competence as well as developing culturally responsive pedagogy (e.g., Ragoonaden & Mueller, 2017; Warren, 2018).

Universal Design for Learning (UDL) is a set of principles and techniques applied to course curricula to create an inclusive and accessible learning environment (Special Education Technology-BC, 2010). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to describe UDL in depth, it is offered as an approach that can address Salazar's (2010) assertion that to meet "the needs of diverse learners requires training and development of practices that intentionally build on students' resources, as well as a rejection of systemic efforts to subtract students' linguistic, cultural, and familial roots" (p. 87). The three principles of UDL: (a) multiple means of representation, (b) multiple means of expression, and (c) multiple means of engagement, help address the needs of students "with atypical backgrounds in the dominant language, cognitive strategies, culture, or history of the average classroom" (Rose, Harbour, Johnston, Daley, & Abarbanell, 2006, p. 136). Students' culture, language, family and community make up their resources (Salazar, 2010) and educators need to extend these resources to meet the unique needs of all learners.

Effective cross-cultural communication is an essential element of culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2002). Culturally responsive educators learn that the communication styles of different ethnic groups reflect cultural values and shape learning behaviors. The participants in the current study described the importance of the capacity to adapt which would include modifying classroom interactions to better accommodate different ethnic groups' patterns of communication, task engagement and organizing ideas. Gay explains that culture is deeply embedded in any teaching so teaching ethnically diverse students has to be multiculturalized—matching instructional techniques to the learning styles of diverse students.

Future Research

Kitsantas (2004) found that students' goals to study abroad influenced the magnitude of the improvement of their cross-cultural skills and global understanding. Students reported three reasons for joining study abroad programs: "(1) to enhance their cross-cultural skills, (2) to become more proficient in the subject matter and (3) to socialize" (Kitsantas, 2004, p. 441). Only the first factor, cross-cultural competence, significantly predicted students' global understanding and cross-cultural skills. Future research could explore university educators' goals for teaching abroad to investigate whether Kitsantas' results generalize to this population. If so, those results may encourage post-secondary institutions to make teaching abroad programs more formalized and more accessible to faculty.

The current study did not delve into participants' experiences of living abroad which, while a part of teaching abroad, can have its own unique challenges and rewards

[see Marx, Housen, and Tapu's (2016) collection of autoethnographic stories of living, teaching, and parenting abroad]. Incorporating local sociocultural characteristics (e.g., cultural beliefs, communication patterns, social values) into teaching approaches tends to improve relationships with students (Mizzi, 2017) illustrating the importance of the cultural context. Future research could examine educators' experiences with individuals from diverse cultures outside of the classroom during their teaching abroad opportunity. What kinds of social activities are most effective in promoting cultural competence (Allen, 2019)?

The ability to adapt to different perspectives and cultures has become a necessity in order to be successful in an increasingly diverse workplace. Jayakumar (2008) points out that in U.S. colleges, most incoming students have primarily been exposed to people of their same race and White students in particular tend to have minimal interaction with people of other racial backgrounds before college. While some institutions may have structural diversity (the numerical representation of students of color within an institution), this form of diversity alone does not lead to the development of cross-cultural workforce competence (Jayakumar, 2008). University educators were once university students so this begs the question: if they have not developed cross-cultural workplace competence as students, how might they learn to support classroom diversity? Future research could investigate the interaction of White faculty with peers from diverse backgrounds.

Conclusion

Preparing university educators for the demands of a diverse classroom requires that educators be able to enhance all students' learning experiences. Formal exposure to diverse peoples and their perspectives helps educators to reflect on their pedagogical assumptions and strategies. Teaching abroad is an effective professional development approach which creates spaces that promote growth-producing experiences for faculty, one that should be supported by universities.

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