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Teaching and Learning Intercultural Awareness in International Business from Multimedia Case Studies

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The increasing trend of globalization of business has highlighted the need for a better understanding of the factors that influence levels of intercultural awareness within organizations. Today's organizations need people with intercultural communication competencies and sensitivities. Institutions and society can play a key part in developing this new breed of employee by offering courses that encourage global thinking and receptiveness to diverse values and beliefs. They, however, are continually challenged to develop appropriate frameworks that facilitate learning of intercultural awareness. Case studies remain a popular teaching method in international business courses (Riordan, Sullivan and Fink 2003). They are an effective and powerful teaching tool, that create life in undergraduate classes, promoting discussion about realistic business scenarios across a diverse range of intercultural topics.

This article is based on a project, in conjunction with Australia's trade promotion organization, AusTrade, which sought to develop multimedia international business case studies based on the international experiences of Australian small and medium-sized exporting businesses for use in tertiary educational contexts. The cases sought not only to demonstrate the importance of exporting for Australian companies, but also to improve teaching outcomes, to develop additional resources for cross-curricula undergraduate courses, to inspire greater commercialization of innovation and global

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market awareness, and to increase awareness of the importance of intercultural communication competencies in international business.

The focus in this article is to present a brief profile of two Australian companies that participated in the project and examine insights offered by the Australian executives with respect to intercultural business competence. We believe that a case study approach can go some way towards alerting students that global thinking and receptiveness to diverse values and beliefs is an expectation from today's organizations that need people who are open to diversity and adaptable to change.

Introduction and Literature Review

In this era of globalization, the market place values sophisticated management competencies necessary to effectively relate with staff, customers, suppliers, investors and government representatives who may have fundamentally different values, beliefs and traditions. Scott (1996, 1999) also argues that cultural awareness facilitates international trade and encourages the development of joint ventures that tap into new markets by facilitating effective working relationships with people in the global marketplace. Today's organizations, therefore, need people with intercultural communication competencies and sensitivities to work effectively with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Educational institutions can play a key role in developing this new breed of employee by offering courses that encourage global thinking and receptiveness to diverse values and beliefs. (Webb, Mayer, Pioche and Allen 2000; Gray, Murdock and Stebbins 2002; Hannon, Collins and Smith 2005; Ahlawat and Ahlawat 2006). Indeed, raising issues associated with the importance of intercultural awareness in international business courses should be an integral part of a pedagogical approach that seeks to alert students that global thinking and cultural fluency is an expectation from successful organizations (Scott 1999; Caligiuri, Jacobs and Farr 2000).

Five key global competencies have been identified in the literature as being important for successful global managers: cultural self-awareness, cultural consciousness, ability to lead multicultural teams, ability to negotiate across cultures, and a global mindset (Adler 2002; Cant 2004; Cullen and Parboteeah 2005). That students need to acquire these cultural competencies to operate successfully in a globalized world is not in dispute. The dilemma faced by educational institutions is how to prepare their students for the realities of global commerce. Such institutions are continually challenged to develop appropriate frameworks that facilitate learning of intercultural awareness (e.g., Frazer 1993; Leidner and Jarvenpää 1995; Cant 2004; Lempereur 2004).

Educators have adopted a number of different approaches to infuse international

business courses with intercultural learning experiences (Salehi-Sangari and Foster 1999; Kwok and Arpan 2002) such as analyzing world current events, referring to individuals' own international experiences, experiential learning activities, involving industry experts as guest lecturers, and case studies. Of these "infusion" approaches, case studies are a popular teaching method in international business courses (Benbunan-Fich and Hiltz 1999; Riordan et al. 2003). Case studies are not only a cost effective method of internationalizing a business course (Manuel et al. 2001), they are an effective and powerful teaching tool that creates life in undergraduate classes, promoting discussion about realistic business scenarios across a diverse range of intercultural topics (Zhao 1996; Benbunan-Fich and Hiltz 1999; Heckman and Annabi 2006). Cases also allow those reading them to consider how they would have reacted, if they were placed in the same situation, thereby stimulating individual intercultural learning and understanding. Finally, from a more generic perspective, a case study learning approach encourages students to engage in higher-order thinking processes such as those associated with critical thinking, problem solving, decision-making, collaboration, reflection, and life-long learning (Cowton and Dunfee 1995; Benbunan-Fich and Hiltz 1999; Cecez-Kecmanovic, et al. 2002).

Given the foregoing, the aim of this article is to "work through" the development process associated with two video case studies based on a project associated with Australia's trade promotion organization, AusTrade, which sought to develop multimedia international business case studies describing the international experiences of Australian small and medium-sized exporting businesses for use in tertiary educational contexts. The project was an integral part of a community awareness program in Australia aimed at promoting an export culture (see for example, Harcourt 2000, 2005). The cases sought to not only demonstrate the importance of exporting for Australian companies, but also to improve teaching outcomes, to develop additional resources for cross-curricula undergraduate courses, to inspire greater commercialization of innovation and global market awareness, and to increase awareness of the importance of intercultural communication competencies in international business.

In presenting these case studies, we were able to draw on a number of theoretical issues important to (future) global managers (such as, international marketing issues, intercultural communication and international business ethics) and, most importantly from a pedagogical perspective, illustrate the link between theory and practice. Reflecting on the experience of the authors in undertaking this project, it is hoped that other academics can replicate the process within their countries, thereby enhancing cultural understanding and fluency of students in international business education.

The next section outlines the project methodology, which includes a description of the two companies involved in the AusTrade project, Driza-Bone and Oceanis. The following section analyzes a selection of intercultural issues emphasized in the case studies that could

be used to stimulate students' cultural fluency learning. The final section provides some concluding remarks.

Project Methodology

The data for this article is based on the authors' involvement in the AusTrade–Universities Collaborative Multimedia International Business Case Studies Project (Derigo 2006). The primary aim of the project was to develop a series of multimedia international business case studies related to some of the specific issues faced by Australian business people in the internationalization process. Each case study video is supported by a case summary, teaching notes and additional reading or internet links that extend the study and discussion options for students. The case studies developed drew on a wide range of innovative Australian SME export businesses across business sectors. The cases highlight varied business models as well as varying levels of international success. This latter point is important for it demonstrated that not all international activities are equally successful and there are lessons to be learned from "failures" as well as "successes".

The following broad procedural steps were undertaken to complete the multimedia case studies:

1. Following the selection of the organizations, research into the organization and its environment was undertaken. This step allowed for the identification of 'critical' issues, which could then be explored in the case study.
2. The objective and key issues to be focused on were explained to the participants appearing in the case. This step was important as participants had a wealth of experience within their organizations. Open-ended questions may have resulted in interesting information, but might also have resulted in a more fragmented coverage of the topics of interest.
3. Multiple contacts were drawn on in related areas. Including others, outside the organization, was especially important for discussing broader factors in the business environment or technical aspects of the case. In some situations they provided a broader context for the case analysis as well. The additional contacts were also briefed such that the information complemented the case study.
4. The video recordings of interviews were all transcribed into Word documents and then the responses across all respondents were integrated based on the issues examined.
5. Written support materials were collected from various sources (newspapers, academic journals, government documents, corporate materials and the video transcripts), which were used to assist in developing the written documentation

associated with the case. This material was especially important when disseminating cases to students, as they may lack the same level of intimate knowledge with the organization and the issues involved.

6. Questions were developed for the students to be used to highlight key issues associated with the case. Some “draft” responses to these questions were also developed.

We kept in mind that the cases were designed to stimulate student thinking, and thus we developed questions to guide students through the material in several ways. For example, we purposely broke the videos into several sections. Questions were asked of students, which required them to consider the information provided so far. These were designed such that the answers were then provided in the following discussion of the material. Students could see if they would have followed the same path as the businesses.

A second approach was to ask students about issues that were discussed in the case, which were not necessarily explored in detail within the case. In some situations these might draw on the students’ own experiences or knowledge gained in their studies. In other situations, the questions were designed to have the students undertake additional research to better understand an issue examined. For example, we might ask students to explore how gift-giving practices differ across cultures in the context of international business ethics. The last type of question required students to comment on the practice undertaken in regards to theory. This type of question served to allow students to connect theory and practice, thereby making theory more real.

Profiles of Participating Organizations

The primary interviewees (participants) in the project were managers associated with businesses involved in exporting and international activities. The managers therefore had substantial intercultural experiences and knowledge. Aside from the primary participants, a number of other participants were also involved in developing the video cases: officials from governmental bodies associated with international business, industry people involved in exporting activities, and academics who had expertise on the industries or issues associated with the core business in the case.

Next, a very brief overview of the two organizations is provided before discussing the various issues of cross-cultural communication with which they had to deal. A full version of the following two case studies (Driza-Bone and Oceanis), including CD ROM and case materials can be found in Derigo (2006).

Case 1: Driza-Bone

The Driza-Bone brand is a national icon in Australia. They started producing oilskin coats

primarily for the agriculture sector and have since expanded into a diverse range of clothing and lifestyle products. The brand was registered in 1933, although the firm had been producing similar products since 1898. The case study focuses on the business complexities faced by the firm in the 1990s, when it first sought to go international.

The firm was taken over by a British organization in the late 1980s. The company's rapid expansion over the next a few years included the targeting of international markets, such as the USA, Germany, Britain, Japan, and New Zealand. The brand was not traditionally aggressively marketed. This changed in 1998, when the brand sponsored the Australian Olympic Team, who wore Driza-Bone coats in the opening ceremony of the 2000 Olympic Games. From that time onward the firm sought to get as many Australian national teams as possible to be outfitted in their products, thus strengthening the link between the brand and Australia.

However, the global expansion of Driza-Bone's products was not all smooth sailing. A rapidly appreciating Australian dollar in the early 1990s meant that pricing practices were resulting in lower cash flows. In addition, the onset of a recession in some of the targeted markets meant that there was also a reduction in sales. This resulted in significant international difficulties and the brand was sold to an ex-manager, who had been fired over the declining performance, which was due to the wider changes in the international environment.

In 1997, the new owners sought to reinvigorate the international environment. They looked to exporting as a driver of redevelopment. However, they realized that there was a need at the same time to make significant product adaptations to better serve local markets. Additionally, they also saw the global market as a valuable source of inputs and production, thereby allowing the brand to remain globally competitive.

The development of the Driza-Bone case study entitled "Keeping Driza-Bone in a Dry Land, Yet Going Global" involved interviews with the Managing Director of Driza-Bone and the Chief Risk Officer of an Australian Bank. The case materials associated with the Driza-Bone case study sought to enhance the learning process by highlighting the following key issues:

- Australian – British – Australian ownership.
- Currency movements.
- Cross-cultural business practices – adaptation of staffing, manufacturing, products.
- Branding strategies in an international context.

Case 2: Oceanis Holdings

The firm began operations in 1993 with one aquarium in Queensland, Australia. In 1998, it expanded with the development of the Melbourne Aquarium. This venture is classified

as an export activity of services as it attracts large numbers of international and domestic tourists (over 850,000 people in 2000). Visiting aquariums, zoos and wildlife parks is one of the top ten tourist activities for international visitors to Australia and thirty-nine percent (1,721,000 people) of all international visitors visited these facilities in 2002.

The organization's real international expansion came in a potentially unanticipated way when it was approached to assist in the development and management of aquariums throughout the Asia Pacific, Europe and the Middle East. At present, they operate aquariums in South Korea (Seoul), China (Shanghai), and Thailand (Bangkok). They are also involved in proposals to build aquariums in the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, France, the Czech Republic, and Denmark.

As such the business is multifaceted dealing with a range of complex governmental and for-profit bodies as well as various levels of regulations within each market. This has required the managers to gain a significant degree of cross-cultural communication skills at both the national and local level. A few organizations have needed to be so aware of such a diverse set of complexities; however, their ability to grapple with these complexities has given them significant global advantages.

Oceanis has realized that it needs to be culturally sensitive and therefore flexible in its operations within each market. This means that different management structures are developed to best suit the project and the business environment. Organizations that operate in different ways within different markets need to be able to deal with flexibility, which is one benefit of smaller organizations. While the Australian managers are actively involved in the development process for each new venture, they have also realized that it is critical to have local managers involved as well, who ultimately lead local teams in operating the activities. This ensures that there is a strong understanding of the local cultural and business environments. Local participation and management is even more important where informal relationships and connections are important. While there has sometimes been some "pressure" to bypass "formal" processes, Oceanis has been able to ensure that their activities are always open and transparent.

The development of the Oceanis case study entitled "Oceanis Australia—Under and Over the Sea", involved interviews with the Managing Director for Developments, Oceanis, the Managing Director for Marketing and Operations, Oceanis, a Professor of Tourism from an Australian University, the National Manager for Education, Arts and Services from the Australian Trade Commission, and the Director for Structured Trade and Project Finance from the Export Finance Insurance Corporation. The case materials associated with the Oceanis case study sought to enhance the learning processes associated with exporting by also highlighting the following key issues:

- Growth from a domestic to major international tourism attraction; development and management.

- The role of partnerships and networking in international business.
- International ethics, corruption and bribery issues.
- The relationship between employment and export growth.

Issues of Intercultural Awareness in International Business

There is ample evidence that suggests that graduates who are more culturally and socially aware will be better prepared to work in the global economy where the one constant is change (Hutchings, Jackson and McEllister 2002; Zakaria 2000). In this section our main focus is to identify, what we saw as the key intercultural awareness issues examined within the cases discussed above. These were diverse and included issues related to cross-cultural communication, management styles, corporate culture, international marketing, cross-cultural advertising, business networks, and international ethics.

We proceed by noting that the need for the development of appropriate frameworks that can help facilitate learning of intercultural awareness requires that there is a clear application of theory to practice, and academics are continually challenged as to how to make these two links (Benbun-Fich and Hiltz 1999). In this section, we demonstrate the practical applicability of some theoretical propositions in the area of intercultural awareness competence, by using appropriate examples from the interviews with the managing directors from Driza-Bone and Oceanis.

Importance of International Study Experiences

As was mentioned earlier, people need to have a global understanding or willingness to consider broader global views, if they are to be successful in international activities (e.g. Cullen and Parboteeah, 2005). This was demonstrated in the Driza-Bone case where the General Manager suggested that he:

had always travelled extensively . . . , having been an exchange student in the 60s and when I came back to Australia, I came back via 25 countries, which was everything from Russia to India. Though I was only 17 and so . . . I've always had an awareness of this country's strengths and I always like coming home, but I've always been aware that it's a very small place and a very distant place.

This view is supported in the literature on education (Bakalis and Joiner 2004), which suggests that students who have the ability to experience other cultures develop important life skills, including: maturity and confidence; a "global outlook"; enhanced communication skills; cultural sensitivity and adaptability; and access to networks offering employment opportunities. These experiences shape how they view the world generally and given the case study examined, they also impact on how future managers will see international opportunities.

Cross-cultural Understanding and Communication

It has been suggested that effective communication skills in the international arena are the backbone that supports business transactions around the world (Scott, 1996). The quotes below highlight the need for cultural sensitivities to transact successfully in a global marketplace. For example, within Oceanis the Marketing Manager suggested that:

. . . soft things in international business are as important as the hard things . . . from my experience, I look at the soft things as being really aspects of relating in different cultures, which really are driven by common sense and almost common courtesy. I believe that if you are going to look at working overseas in any context it should start by respecting the people you work with and actually demonstrating that respect . . . if people feel that you respect their culture, they will cut you some slack. They will let you, maybe, do things because they actually will not question your motivation. . . . Secondly, it is about common decency and courtesy. People talk about an Asian context, giving face and losing face, and really what that is to me is just about being courteous. In any culture if you speak over a person, if you berate them in front of their colleagues, if you don't have sensitivity to their needs or their situation; then whether you call it losing face or just embarrassing them, is just bad business. So I think if you demonstrate a respect and then show them common courtesy, then you will generally be, at least, welcomed and given a fair hearing . . .

The General Manager at Driza-Bone generally supported this view:

when you go to Asia . . . they have a different culture — which is a culture based on long standing tradition. So I think it is always of benefit to learn a little bit about their country. Not necessarily about how you hand out your business cards, which is the first thing everybody says, so don't show disrespect. I mean they know you don't know what you're supposed to do. But if you take a little bit of time to learn a little bit about them and the way they conduct business or the importance of certain things in their life, then it does help you in negotiations and working with them . . . in Asia, there is a multitude if you like, of beliefs, rather than religions. They kind of cross easily and work together well.

These two sets of comments suggest that in some cases, understanding common courtesy in regards to how people inter-relate is critical. However, there are complexities associated with cultures that in some cases might make understanding of differences difficult. The old adage *that you don't know what you don't know*, is very appropriate as it is difficult for international managers to understand complexities of business environments that they do not operate in on a regular basis. Within marketing this is sometimes referred to as the self-reference criteria (Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson 1996), where one views all situations as if they are in the home environment, which is most certainly not the case.

The need to adapt how one operates internationally is well recognized. It does make managing international activities more difficult as each organizational unit, within a given

market, may need to operate differently. The need to adapt behaviors was identified by the CEO of Oceanis:

In terms of managing all these different cultures — North Asia, South Asia, Middle Eastern and European — that we're working in so far, it is a challenge, there is no doubt . . . we have got quite a range of people from different cultures working for Oceanis. As far as Australians who go offshore, that's been tricky . . . , once again you've got to get people who realize the Australian culture is not the only culture in the world. I must say the success of the company has turned on particularly a dozen people who have been particularly adroit at recognizing that they are in Communist China or in the Kingdom of Thailand and they're on the King's land and it's a big deal to them.

These comments further emphasize that becoming culturally aware is frequently a difficult skill, as people do not know how cultural issues might differ, as they have not experienced such situations. It requires that firms do not view issues from their home country perspective, and try and adopt a host country orientation to business and culture. The theoretical concept alluded to here is ethnocentrism (Cullen and Parboteeah 2005). To prevent ethnocentrism, it may be possible to hire experts from countries to be cultural interpreters that can explain differences in culture and their impact on business in advance. Governments frequently can provide some assistance and firms may want to seek to hire locals or have local partners to assist with understanding culture as well. It may be possible to identify people within the home country who are from the host culture. This however, needs to be done carefully as in some cases these people will have assimilated to their "new" environment.

Importance of Trusting Relationships

Another significant dimension of intercultural awareness is a firm's relational competence in international business, especially the importance of building close and trusting relationships (Downey, Cannon and Mullen 1998; Johnson and Cullen 2000). Organizations are dependent on partners for critical resources or support. Therefore, it is essential that businesses have the ability to draw on their overseas partner's when needed, especially in markets where informal agreements are more important than formal documents. This was raised in the Driza-Bone case:

In Japan the formal contract was frowned upon, because if circumstances changed then so should the contract. It is wrong to have a 'good' deal. A good deal is a fair deal. When we look at a good deal we think we've made a lot of money and that is only a short-term outlook. And Asian countries tend to have longevity. It is about relationships, it is about trust. It isn't about the necessary price; it is about sharing the margin, sharing the opportunities. So, when going to Japan and recently China, you have to recognize that they deal differently.

In this context, the work by Harcourt (2005) examined how relationships could assist in moderating the negative impact of a shock to the business environment. He found that Australian businesses operating in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia that developed strong business relationships in these countries had the ability to survive the tough times, and thrive when times were good. He noted that it is as much about people and partnerships as it is about profit and performance. Australian exporters and overseas investors that treat their relationships with Asian partners as long-standing and more than just a means to a quick dollar will benefit further as the Asian economies recover.

Ethical Issues: Corruption and Bribery

The operation of business relationships and cultural relationships in some countries means that practices acceptable in one market may not be acceptable in another. For example, when is giving a gift recognizing an important relationship or a bribe? That is, does the gift encourage changes in behavior? Globally, corruption and bribery are highly sensitive issues that need to be considered carefully (Donalson 1992). As recent business events highlight, sometimes businesses cross the line between competitive behavior and undertaking “questionable” activities. There is little long-term benefit in crossing over this line, as it may simply escalate the need to undertake such activities across markets.

The concern over potentially unethical issues was raised in the Oceanis case:

In Asia we've discovered . . . planning officials, if they were dealing with a local in those countries, might expect some 'bakshish' as the Arabs call it, to get things moving. So instead of that, we engage the assistance of AusTrade; we always go in with all our guns blazing as a well conducted Australian company, with our references, and we find some allies at the top, and we work from the top down rather coming from the bottom up, which is where you can get in a lot of trouble . . .

This raises the obvious question as to how does a nation's global reputation as a corruption-free trading partner benefit its firms in the international business environment? It turns out that having a reputation as being corruption free could have several benefits. It firstly lets potential partners know that “informal” arrangements are not accepted within the home country. This can also be used as a defense against any such requests. Organizations also need to understand the fine line between corruption and culturally appropriate gifts (Millington, Eberhardt and Wilkinson 2005). The distinction is sometimes whether the “gift” will encourage people to make a decision that they would have not normally make or whether the “gift” means that some local decision process/law will be circumvented.

Cross-cultural Marketing and Advertising

While the world is becoming global there may still be difficulties in communicating a common message or theme using a consistent global advertising approach (Lowe and

Corkindale 1998). Culture is embedded with multiple complex symbols and images that simply may not translate, or at least, not translate as anticipated. This means that communicating with audiences globally may be more difficult, as a marketing campaign that worked well in one market (home or host) may not work well in others (Fletcher and Melwar 2001). The development of marketing strategies will need to take into consideration these cultural variations across markets (Whitelock and Rey 1998). Cultural variations often have clear implications for marketing and advertising. However, in some instances cultural variations are subtle and can only be interpreted by those with an understanding of the nuances. Required changes in marketing activities may relate to the media that are used by various target segments, which may affect the meaning of messages (Kwak, Zinkhan and Dominick 2002). Extensive research is required to better understand the differences and therefore adoptions that minimize miscommunications (Malhotra, Agarwal and Peterson 1996). Failure to take these variations into consideration will result in markets not understanding desired messages and in some cases could even offend consumers in markets because of different meanings of messages (Ford, LaTour and Honeycutt 1997).

For example, the General Manager of Driza-Bone provided the following related comments regarding a marketing campaign in Germany:

We sponsor various teams and find sponsorship to be a very effective advertising medium for us, particularly in the 1990s and we put every team that was leaving Australia, in Driza-Bone products, to say this garment is Australian. So we worked for a long time with the Rugby Union, the Rugby League . . . we got into motorbike sponsorship and our rider was wearing one of our coats in the Nuremberg racing track, and the German riders came up and said (and we've got the name on the motorbike) and said, 'tell me Peter, that's a nice name, but why have you got a dry dog food company sponsoring you?' . . . it does show that you've got to be careful that things sometimes don't translate exactly as you would want them to.

The Americans have a love of the outback. So although we call ourselves Driza-Bone (and this refers back to something I said earlier about dry dog food which isn't nice for the company but it is true) Driza-Bone had no meaning in the U.S. It was really about outback so we have to call our coats Outback Coats and Australian and outback is probably more important than the Driza-Bone. Where, in Australia I mean, who knows where the outback starts. We use the word 'bush' and you can't use that anywhere else in the world 'coz they have a variety of different meanings for it. So we have altered our advertising, we have to alter our presentation; we have to alter what we do at trade shows. All to encourage the buyers in these countries who are faced with a multitude of imported products.

Conclusion

This study described two case studies of Australian organizations and underscored practical

intercultural issues that emerged for these organizations while doing business internationally. The aim was to show that multimedia case studies can provide a valuable pedagogical tool for students of international business to assist in the learning of cultural fluency. The Davis, Milne and Olsen (1999) report emphasized that the absence of a strong culture valuing international skills results in students not wanting to experience other cultures. A lack of cultural awareness and understanding also limits businesses willingness to explore new international opportunities. To ensure that the next generation of managers is not limited by their own "bias", it is critical that business education inculcate students with an understanding and appreciation of cultural differences, as well as the threats and benefits of trying to address these through international business.

Teaching with real life case studies that explore international issues is one critical method of allowing students to get an understanding of the application of theory to practice. Selecting a cross-section of activities is indeed important to prevent students from thinking that all international activities succeed, although at the same time we want them to realize that there is much to be learned even in failure. In this regard we want them to have realistic experiences with international business, some which will be good and some that will be less positive.

Of course, there are other ways that students can learn about cultural communication issues in international business. Some institutions have study abroad programs or international study tours that develop important life skills, including maturity and confidence, as well as assist students in developing a "global outlook", enhanced communication skills, cultural sensitivity and adaptability, and access to global networks. Case studies cannot provide these deeper experiences and they (the new experiences) are qualities that are highly valued by multinational corporations that seek to hire graduates that can function effectively across national borders.

Whatever the approach selected, the aim of higher education should be to move beyond disciplinary parochialism to ensure a truly integrated curriculum that is relevant to today's borderless world. In this regard, it must include some grounding of intercultural communication, whether case- or experience-based.

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