Interactional Dominance in International Baccalaureate and University Classroom Discourse: An Intercultural Perspective

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INTRODUCTION

Two studies are examined in this paper: Firstly, an examination of classroom discourse in a Japanese based international school, and secondly, an intercultural interactional analysis of dialogue between international students in a Japanese national university. A consideration of these two studies reveals important lessons for implementing pedagogical shifts in a culturally diverse classroom setting.

The first study examining classroom discourse explores patterns of student discourse in International Baccalaureate (IB) programs. Stobie (2005) questioned the degree of consistency across the three IB programs, and Reimers (2004) highlighted a gap in the research relating to the alignment of pedagogical approaches between programs and the effects of such differences on student experiences in the classroom. With respect to the three IB programs (Diploma Program, Middle Years Program, Primary Years Program), a number of specific pedagogical approaches have been clearly stated by the IB, focusing on students' learning how to learn, structured inquiry and critical thinking, active engagement of students in the learning process and emphasizing the voice of the learner (International Baccalaureate, 2008). At the level of tertiary education the centrality of the learner is also emphasized. Hiroshima University, for example, states that "it strives to develop creative individuals who can think and judge for themselves and express their thoughts and opinions in an effective way" (Hiroshima University, 2016), suggesting that a student-centered education is central to its educational purpose.

Although all of these concepts (learning how to learn, creativity, critical thinking, active engagement, voice, thinking and judging independently, expression of thoughts and opinions) are linked as outcomes, it is active engagement that is of central importance in the learning process. The active engagement of the learner in the process of learning is concerned with classroom discourse (Rentoule, 2013; 2016) and this requires particular pedagogical practices to ensure quality of student discourse in relation to active engagement. The importance of student discourse has been acknowledged in the literature because understanding is developed and demonstrated through the use of language (Murdoch, 1998; Newmann, Marks & Gamoran, 1996). Classroom discourse is at the center of this experience.

However, classroom discourse involves more than mere participation by students in dialogue. The use of the term 'active engagement' necessitates an examination of the purpose of student participation in classroom discourse. In programs based on constructivist learning theories, engagement involves more than active participation in dialogue; it requires active participation in meaning making. For this reason, Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis) examined meaning making in the classroom in an IB school through the role

that students take in classroom discourse and how closely these roles align with pedagogical directions in the school's written curriculum.

Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) explored different styles of interactional behaviors demonstrated in a negotiation setting among international students in Japan. In this study undertaken at a national university in Japan, Indonesian, Japanese and German students participated in intercultural negotiation simulation exercises. A negotiation setting was selected since negotiating is a key communication skill for many people at the workplace and "is arguably the most demanding and the most sophisticated of the core Business English Skills" (Comfort, 2009, p.4). In addition, Comfort explained that "the skilled negotiator must be aware of the potential difficulties arising from cultural differences which may undermine the effectiveness of their negotiating tactics, even if their language and communication skills are highly developed" (p.4).

Based on transcribed interactional data, linguistic strategies including silence, talk distribution, question asking, and directness/indirectness were identified and analyzed according to the reported perceptions of the participants. This study focused on particular linguistic strategies since previous research (Holmes, 1997) has shown that "linguistic strategies would be likely to co-occur with the exercise of power and politeness would be likely to be displayed in order to manage potential conflict". The primary aim of this study was to investigate the differences of politeness and power strategies demonstrated among international students in Japan. By analyzing them, the study attempted to show that what are considered 'good' negotiating tactics among negotiators from one particular background may be inappropriate in another, and enhance our awareness of how cultural background can affect negotiating styles, particularly in relation to interactional dominance which will affect participation in classroom discourse.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Classroom Discourse

A review of the literature base suggests that an increased focus on classroom-level discourse when trying to understand the nature of pedagogical change in school communities is needed if we are to affect students' classroom experiences through processes of pedagogical change in schools (Pendergast, Dole & Rentoule, 2014; Rentoule, 2013; 2016). Wilkinson and Silliman (2000), when investigating classroom discourse and literacy learning, remarked that "to a great extent within classrooms the language used by teachers and students determines what is learnt and how learning takes place" (p. 337).

This is an important educational issue confronting Japan within the context of the announcement by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in 2011 to implement the International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma Program (DP) into 200 Japanese secondary schools over a five-year period. The pervasive style of pedagogy in Japanese schools is still very much 'chalk and talk' at secondary level, with MEXT approved textbooks and blackboards remaining the primary teaching tools of the classroom, and the ability to identify correct answers at speed functioning as one of the primary measures of academic ability (Yamamoto et al, 2016). In this sense, there is a strong possibility that teacher-centered classroom discourse may continue to dominate classrooms, despite the structural changes at the program level with the introduction of the IB programs, unless teachers' pedagogical competencies related to active student participation in classroom discourse are addressed.

The term ‘discourse’ refers to language, including visual images, as an element of social life, which is dialectically related to other elements (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse does not neutrally reflect the world, identities and social relations but plays an active part in shaping and changing them (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In this sense, language has meaning only in and through social practices in which particular ways of using language are interrelated with ways of understanding the world (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), and individual acts of creativity (Fairclough, 2001) can function as agents for discursive and social change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). For this study, the significance of viewing language as social practice is the implication that, as discourse is dynamic, the school, through the enactment of teacher pedagogical practices, can function as this agent for discursive and social change.

Classroom discourse affects and is in turn affected by pedagogical practices. For example, the initiation–response–evaluation (IRE) pattern (Cazden, 1988; Walsh, 2011) has been found to represent the default pattern in teacher questioning—what happens unless deliberate action is taken by the teacher (Cazden & Beck, 2003). In addition, it has been found that the type of grouping structures used in the classroom affects the verbal behavior of both teacher and student (Cazden, 2001; Gillies, 2006, 2008; Gillies & Boyle, 2008: Gillies & Khan, 2008). It must also be remembered that discourse relates to all language used within the social context of a classroom episode and, as a form of social practice, it includes what is said as well as what is left unsaid (Wenger, 1998). Walsh (2011) argues that an understanding of a specific type of interaction such as an IRE sequence enables us to consider alternative interactions and how we can vary these interactions in the classroom.

Wells and Ball (2008) examined classroom discourse in terms of the relationship between inquiry and dialogic interaction. They concluded that an inquiry orientation to the curriculum increases the likelihood of dialogic interaction involving exploratory talk, in which the student has at least a partial role in the active construction of meaning in classroom talk. The growing research base associated with classroom discourse (Barnes, 2008; Edwards, 2012; Edwards & Westgate, 1994; Edwards-Groves & Hoare, 2012; Mercer, 1995, 2010; Wells, 1999; Westgate & Hughes, 1997) tends to focus on student speaking roles in the classroom without consideration for other forms of discourse.

Classroom interactions, part of the social discourse of education, are an important aspect of the construction of shared meaning (Edwards & Mercer, 1987): how we make sense of who we are in relation to the members of our school communities and the world in which we live. Student participation in classroom discourse has been widely investigated in terms of both productivity and identity. Findings have suggested that teachers exert control over the nature of the discourse in the classroom (McVittie, 2004). The pedagogic interactions through which this discourse emerges are influenced by the nature of teacher-student relationships and the quality of pedagogic practices— key factors that affect students’ engagement with schooling (Beutel, 2010; Lingard, Martino, Mills & Bahr, 2002).

Research into student experiences of discourse in the classroom has shown common trends in both large groups examined over longer periods of time (Barr & Dreeben, 1983; Nystrand, Gamoran, Kachur & Prendergast, 1997; Nystrand et al., 2001) and specific cases, or instances of conversation (Cazden, 1998, 2001; Cazden & Beck, 2003). Nystrand et al. (2001) state that classroom discourse tends to promote student achievement when it actively involves students in the production of knowledge and when the discourse is highly interactive. Soter et al. (2008) further describe classroom discourse in which the most productive

discussions were structured, focused, and occurred when students held the floor for extended periods of time, when students were prompted to discuss texts through open-ended or authentic questions, and when discussion incorporated a high degree of uptake. Results also indicated that authentic questions give rise to longer incidences of student talk, which in most cases result in opportunities for greater elaboration of utterances by students, and in turn generate reasoning and high-level thinking. The nature of classroom discourse clearly has an impact on the type of learning that a student experiences in the classroom.

Power Relations and International Dominance

One of the key issues for creating power relations is international dominance. According to Itakura (2001), "spoken interaction is seen as being inherently asymmetrical since interlocutors are bound to differ in their control of the content, quality and quantity of their dialogical contributions" (p. 42). Conversational or interactional dominance refers to an "overall pattern of asymmetry measured in terms of the distribution of controlling actions between speakers over the course of an interaction along (1) sequential, (2) participatory and (3) quantitative dimensions" (Itakura, p. 2). Interaction is viewed as asymmetrical or imbalanced in the sense that relationships between interlocutors are rarely equal at any particular stage of an interaction. For instance, when one speaker speaks, the other speaker generally listens. Furthermore, if one speaker asks a question, the other speaker generally answers it. In other words, one speaker tends to control the other speaker at any particular moment of interaction. Therefore, controlling actions can be indicative of interactional dominance. For instance, over the course of interactional discourse, if the speakers produce an equal amount of participation or number of controlling actions, their overall interaction can be considered equal. On the other hand, if one of the speakers consistently demonstrates more participation or produces more controlling actions than the other, the interaction can be said to be asymmetrical.

As one of the indicators of interactional dominance, length of turns and distribution of the number of turns were studied by Eakins and Eakins (1978). They analyzed departmental faculty meetings and found that the number of turns increased with status in the department (e.g. rank or length of tenure). Aries (1982) used level of participation as a measurement of asymmetry. Her data were analyzed in terms of the distribution of turns taken among participants and the content of interactional behavior, such as giving opinions, suggestions and agreement, and non-verbal behavior. Her study findings indicated that "male speakers were found to give more opinions and suggestions (initiating moves), while female speakers were found to give more agreements or disagreements (responding moves)" (Aries, 1982, p. 132).

Different strategies arising from different conversational styles are also explained by Tannen (1994). According to her, "women's conversational style is characterized by their tendency to speak and hear a language in terms of connection and intimacy, while men tend to speak and hear a language in terms of status and independence" (p. 77). In addition, according to Tannen, "speakers with a 'high involvement style' use interruptions in order to show enthusiasm, support and participation" in interaction. However, these are likely to be interpreted as imposition or dominance by speakers with a 'high considerateness' style. Tannen also emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the speaker's intention and the effect of linguistic strategy.

DATA COLLECTION

Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis)

The classroom discourse study used an existing dataset of approximately 100 hours of classroom videos, important artifacts that could be used to describe instruction (Stecher et al., 2007). The set included classrooms from Grade 6 to Grade 12, including students representing a wide range of nationalities spanning a range of MYP and DP subjects. Classroom discourse was classified according to the students' role in constructing meaning: Role 1–Teacher as knower (teacher-centered discourse); Role 2–Teacher and student as possible knowers (shared discourse); Role 3–Student as possible knower (student-centered discourse). The use of the term 'knower' (Aukerman, 2006) to categorize the purpose of discourse enables a focus on the articulation of knowledge claims within each discourse event. The overall classroom discourse was categorized as the basic unit of analysis. These three types of discourse were identified and tracked across subjects, grade levels, IB programs and individual teachers to determine the relative degrees of occurrence across the school. The form of discourse was also tracked to examine the occurrence of reading, writing, speaking, listening and acting based discourse events. The purpose of the analysis was to compare the identified patterns in classroom discourse with the IB's student-centered pedagogical philosophy to determine the degree of correlation between IB philosophy and pedagogical practice. This study examined collective discourse within the classroom; however, a consideration of an individual student's interaction within that discourse is extremely important if findings are to be effectively used to help teachers improve their pedagogical practice. The following intercultural interactional analysis study provides this valuable perspective

Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis)

The interactional analysis study used transcribed conversational data from three different negotiation sessions conducted in English involving university students from different cultural backgrounds. Linguistic strategies such as silence, talk distribution, question asking, and directness/indirectness were identified and analyzed in relation to the reported perceptions of the participants. Specific, individual linguistic strategies were categorized as the basic unit of analysis. In total, there were three sessions of approximately 20 minutes. Each session paired two teams that consisted of two students: two Indonesian students vs. two Japanese students, two Japanese students vs. two German students, and two Indonesians vs. two Germans. In the exercise, students were given twenty minutes to negotiate to result in an agreement concerning issues such as price per pair of shoes, quality assurances and delivery. After each session, follow-up interviews were conducted with all the participants. The length of each interview was approximately 20-30 minutes. Further, after the three sessions, a survey was administered to 38 Japanese university students who had observed the sessions. The survey was conducted in order to investigate the shared and conflicting views on power in interaction within a negotiating setting by Japanese students. The purpose of the survey was to find out if, and how, communicators from different backgrounds view power relations and interactional dominance differently.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Study A

The classroom discourse study revealed that the most dominant discourses were teacher-centered (56 percent of all discourse events) as displayed in Figure 1 below. In order for classroom discourse to more closely align with IB philosophy regarding the nature of learning in the classroom, more student-centered discourse needs to be promoted. However, various forms of discourse (reading, writing, speaking, listening and acting) were also identified and this provides an insight into where teachers can look to influence discourse most effectively.

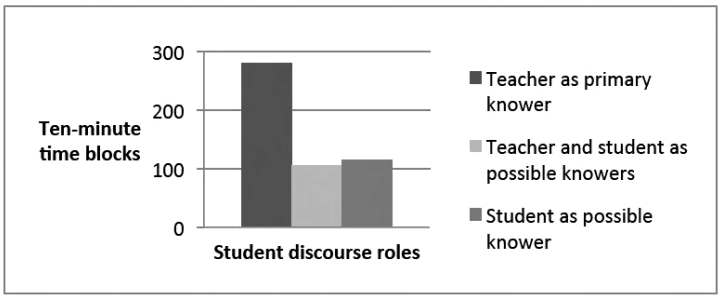

Figure 1: Summary of Roles in Discourse in all Observations (Rentoule, 2013)

The discourse was clearly dominated by speaking and listening as illustrated in Table 1 below. With the total listening-based discourse events at 45 percent and total speaking based events at 39 percent, 84 percent of all student discourse was associated with these two forms. Furthermore, speaking and listening make up a combined 78 percent of Role 3 (student-centered) discourse (Listening–41 percent; Speaking–39 percent) and a combined 74 percent of Role 1 (teacher-centered) discourse (Listening–46 percent and Speaking–38 percent). These results suggest that regardless of the type of discourse (teacher-centered or student-centered), changing the nature of the verbal interactions (listening and speaking events) is the key to changing the nature of classroom discourse. For this reason, the level of interactional competence of students is going to be an important element in any plans for shifting the nature of classroom discourse.

Table 1: Summary of Forms of Discourse in all Observations (Rentoule, 2013)

Form of discourse	Total events	Role 1 Discourse (teacher-centered)	Role 2 Discourse (shared)	Role 3 Discourse (student-centered)
Listening	890 (45%)	473 (46%)	219 (45%)	198 (41%)
Speaking	784 (39%)	391 (38%)	204 (42%)	189 (39%)
Acting	118 (6%)	36 (4%)	31 (6%)	51 (11%)
Writing	12 (6%)	61 (6%)	19 (4%)	32 (7%)
Reading	88 (4%)	65 (6%)	14 (3%)	9 (2%)
Total	1,992	1,026	487	479

During Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis), two conversations that were identified in the classroom discourse are examined below. The first conversation is part of a teacher-centered discourse event, where the teacher is the primary knower, and the second conversation is a student-centered discourse event, where the students are possible knowers.

Teacher-centered Discourse Event (Teacher as Knower)

Context

In a Grade 8 humanities class of 18 students from a range of countries including India, Japan, Korea, Egypt, Australia and Pakistan, all students were sitting in a large group at the front of the classroom with the teacher standing next to the whiteboard. The students were just about to begin an activity, designing and constructing a bridge out of uncooked spaghetti. On the whiteboard the word 'bridge' was written in large letters in the center. Lines led from this word to eight pictures of different bridges spaced evenly around the outside of the whiteboard.

Role 1 Conversation

Teacher (Australian): What else do we know about bridges? What other knowledge do we have?

Student 1 (Polish): (Hand raised, teacher indicates that it is the student's turn with a nod of the head.) There are different bridges made of different things.

Teacher: (Takes a picture of a bridge off the whiteboard to reveal the word 'construction', and hands the student who answered the laminated picture of a bridge. The student receives the picture because the response corresponded to one of the concepts written on the whiteboard as part of a concept map, in which each concept was covered by a picture of a different bridge.) I'm giving you the bridge between Shikoku to Honshu. Now let's talk about the different bridges, and they are different because they are constructed out of different materials. What do we know about this?

Student 2 (Japanese): (Hand raised, teacher indicates that it is the student's turn with a nod of the head.) Most of the bridge construction is in triangles.

Teacher: (Responds by turning to the board and writing the word 'triangle' below the concept 'construction'.) What was fascinating about the activity when you built those bridges on the roof? (The teacher points to the ceiling, where a number of bridges made of plastic straws are displayed.) Yes, look up. It's safe. Look at the different designs? What shape can you see?

Students: (Looking up at examples on the ceiling and without raising hands, a number of students respond in unison) Triangles.

Teacher: (Repeats in confirmation) Triangles… Why did you know this? Was it because every time you go over a bridge you imprint the shape in your memory? Is it things you've learnt in science and technology? Are you recalling memory or information that you have from primary school? Where did you get this knowledge? (Pauses for approximately four seconds waiting for responses.)

Teacher: What else do we construct bridges from? Triangles; what else?

Student 3 (American/Japanese): (Hand raised, teacher indicates that it is the student's turn with a nod of the head.) Steel.

Teacher: (Writes the word 'steel' on the board below the word 'triangle', under the concept of 'construction'.)

Now, you can only answer two questions so [student name]'s turn is up. What else do we construct bridges from?

Commentary

In this discourse event, the teacher was the primary knower. A process of teacher validation primarily drove knowledge claims emerging from the discourse event. The student utterance 'triangles' was clearly the answer the teacher had been expecting. It was a knowledge claim in which the utterance inferred that bridges use triangles in their construction. This claim clearly required the validation of the teacher, and after receiving this validation, the class was able to move on. In this case, the utterance was part of the teacher's preconceived list of information that was to be included in the concept map. The conversation, drawing pre-existing knowledge from the students, was structured around a series of non-negotiable concepts that students needed to articulate before the activity began. In this case, two main knowledge claims emerged:

1. Bridges can be made of triangles.
2. Bridges can be made of steel.

This discourse event was classified as teacher-centered, in which the teacher is the primary knower due to the need for teacher validation of the knowledge claims and the relatively passive manner in which students were required to fill in the blanks within a teacher-constructed framework. In this sense, it would be difficult to discern a significant impact of individual student differences related to intercultural interactional competencies as the teacher controls the discourse.

In this type of discourse, even though the teacher had included a strategy to mitigate the dominance of any one student by having a two question limit, only a limited number of students were able to directly participate in the exchange. However, as the purpose of the discourse was teacher validation of knowledge statements, regardless of whether students participated as listeners or speakers, the outcome of the learning experience for the students would not be significantly affected by their degree of participation in the discourse event. An inference could be made that increasing intercultural interactional competencies of students in teacher-centered discourse may not make a significant impact on the learning experience as the teacher ultimately controls participation.

Student-centered Discourse Event (Student as Possible Knower)

Context

In a Grade 6 humanities class in which all students sat at tables in groups of four, the students had read different novels in their groups and were starting a task related to designing a monument and a dedication that would honor a character that they had chosen from the novel. This group made up of two students from India (Student 1 and Student 4), one from Japan (Student 2) and one from Korea (Student 3), had just read a novel, about a young girl affected by domestic conflict in Afghanistan. They had discussed and prepared notes on who the character was and why they thought that she should be honored in this way. Their immediate task was to decide what the monument was to look like. The use of color as a symbol had just been the topic of a class discussion led by the teacher.

Role 3 Conversation

Student One (Indian): They needed to go all the way up to Iraq … so they will have blood. See?

Student Two (Japanese): So, it should be red?
Student Three (Korean): (Places hands out on table in an unsuccessful attempt to interject.)
Student Four (Indian): Can't we color it sort of burqa color? I have a good idea. First we take clay and … it's a good idea … and then after make it into the shape of the monument … and then after, you know, we make it into the shape of a woman … then make a burqa … or color it. (Student Three raises hand during this part of the dialogue, again unsuccessfully attempting to interject.)
Student Two (Japanese): Clay? Actually remember, clay color is going to be like clay…
Student Four (Indian): (Directly to Student Two) No, listen, listen… (To the group) Then we can put cloth over it so that it looks like … the burqa. (The speaker was using his arms to make the shape of a head.)
Student Two (Japanese): But then the clay color is going to be like clay.
Student One (Indian): No, we can paint it.
Student Three (Korean): (Successfully interjecting) Yes, we can paint it.
Student Four (Indian): See guys … listen…

Commentary

In this discourse event, the students were possible knowers. Knowledge claims emerging from the discourse event did not require teacher validation. The student utterance "First we take clay and … it's a good idea … and then after make it into the shape of the monument … and then after, you know, we make it into the shape of a woman … then make a burqa … or color it" clearly emerged from the student conversation, and since there was no right or wrong answer, the students in the group were required to justify their choice independently. In this case, the knowledge claim emerging from this discourse event can be described as:

1. The color red can be used to represent blood.
2. The monument can be made of clay, shaped like a burqa-clad woman and painted.

In this case, the students needed to convince the other group members. As such, it was clearly not a predetermined blank to be filled in; it was a knowledge claim, emerging from the students' conversation and requiring validation from only the students. After receiving this internal validation, the group was able to move on. This discourse event was classified as a student-centered discourse event, in which the students were possible knowers due to the need for a student validation only and the very active manner in which students were required to create their knowledge statements within a very flexible teacher-constructed framework.

In this episode of classroom discourse, the students were participating in a conversation in a group of four and the conversation was dominated by one specific student (Student 4–Indian), with two others vying for a place in the interaction (Student 1–Indian and Student 2–Japanese) and one other who had very limited participation (Student 3–Korean). Within this class activity, all groups experienced the same pattern, with one student clearly dominating, one or two other students vying for dominance and another on the periphery with little participation. This same pattern was identified to an extent in nearly all of the student-centered interactions identified in the study. This has important implications for our understanding of classroom discourse.

The primary challenge for a teacher is to create the classroom conditions that enable student-centered discourse events; however, the secondary challenge is to ensure that the all students have an opportunity to participate in the interaction. An inference from these results could be made that increasing interactional competencies of students in this type of student-centered discourse could potentially make a significant impact on the learning experience by enabling all students to engage in the discourse. However, the question of how widely student-centered discourse is spread throughout the classroom experiences of students becomes central to a school's efforts to promote student-centered discourse. The results of Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis) also indicate that the individual classroom teacher may be the key to change.

An analysis of the factors that influenced classroom discourse patterns identified the individual classroom teacher as the most important influence on the nature of classroom discourse. As can be seen in Figure 2 below, it was found that for 30 percent of teachers observed, only Role 1 (teacher-centered) discourses were observed. However, a rich array of discourse was located within the classrooms of both the MYP and the DP, across all grades and all subjects, but only within the classrooms of the remaining 70 percent of teachers. A number of teachers (21%) showed evidence of a clear majority of Role 3 (student-centered) discourse events, and these are the teachers who have potential to share pedagogical practices within the school to help shape a more student-centered discourse. From these findings, it can be inferred that the individual teacher's pedagogical practice was a more important factor in determining the type of discourse than subject level, IB program, or grade level.

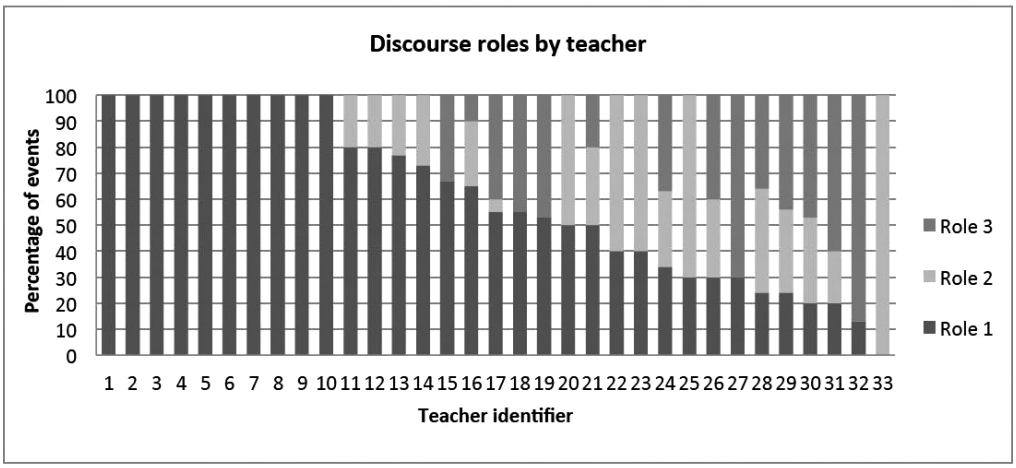

Figure 2: Student Roles by Teacher

However, even when a teacher constructs a classroom situation where student-centered discourse emerges within the interactions of students who are constructing meaning, not all students will have the same level of access to participation in the interactions, as was illustrated in the student-centered discourse sample described above. The results of Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) provide important insights into degrees of participation and provide a link that will further assist teachers to impact students' experience in classroom discourse. It is clear that a limitation of Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis) is that cultural factors influencing individual student participation in classroom discourse were not fully addressed in the

analysis.

In order to further understand the nature of classroom discourse, it is necessary to examine student conversations during the discourse events from an intercultural perspective. An interactional analysis from an intercultural perspective provides insights into the different politeness and power strategies used by students from different cultural backgrounds in such negotiations of meaning in the classroom. Some of the linguistic strategies that could be examined include the use of silence, distribution of talk, questioning, and directness/indirectness. An examination of the results of Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) provides a method to approach this further analysis. For example, as described in the next section, the results of Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) suggest that the Japanese students were using silence to show solidarity in order to build rapport with the opponent in the negotiating team while German students were using a large amount of talk and questions in order to demonstrate power, which led to interactional dominance according to the participants' perceptions in the interview. In the student-centered discourse from Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis) discussed above, it was an Indian student who dominated the discourse and a Korean student who was unable to enter the discourse. An examination of the significance of cultural factors in this distribution of participation could potentially shed light on the dynamics of such a discourse event. Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) provides an approach for this further examination.

Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis)

This study revealed that speakers from different cultural backgrounds can produce asymmetry in the distribution of power or interactional dominance. In order to investigate how interactional dominance is demonstrated and manifested by speakers from different backgrounds, linguistic strategies including silence, talk distribution, question asking, and directness/indirectness were identified and analyzed. Analysis based on the survey study also indicated that speakers from different backgrounds perceived the same linguistic strategies quite differently from each other.

Commentary

1. Silence as an Interactional Strategy

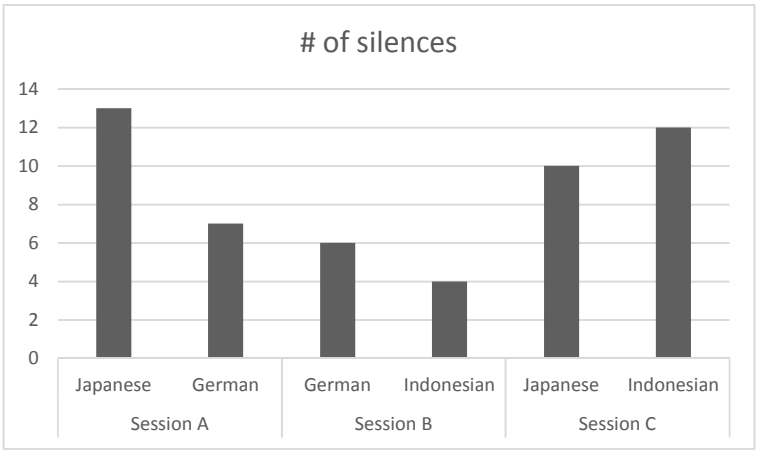

Figure 3: Comparison of the Number of Silences Taken by Each Group

An examination of the use of silence by speakers from different cultural backgrounds revealed that long and frequent silences were used as a linguistic strategy by the Japanese students. They made use of long and frequent silences with the interactional goal of showing politeness and respect. However, German students viewed them as uncooperative and confusing. As Tannen (1984) and others (Scollon and Scollon, 1995) explained, there are cultural and subcultural differences in the length of pauses expected between and within speaking turns. While the Japanese students listened carefully to the ongoing conversation by using long and frequent silences as their interactional strategy, German students attempted to talk more in order to fill up the uncomfortable pause in interaction. This result also implies that different linguistic strategies are used and interpreted very differently in different contexts and cultures. Interestingly, Indonesian students increased the number of silences when they interacted with the Japanese students. This might be an interactional strategy used by Indonesian students in order to accommodate the Japanese and balance the distribution of power in interaction.

2. Talk Distribution (Turn-taking)

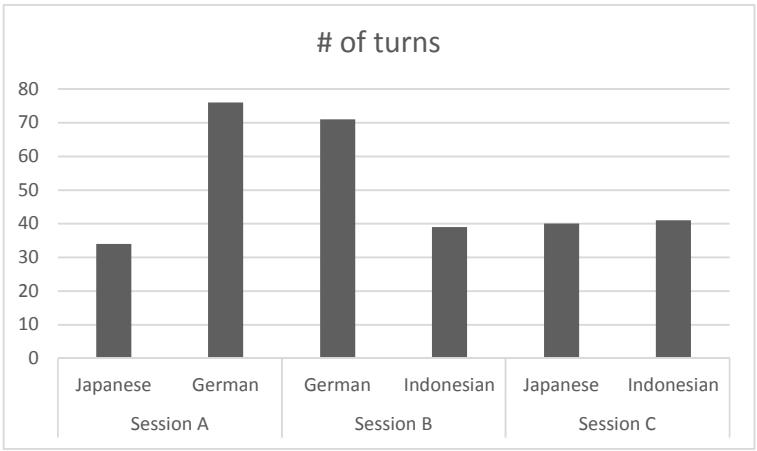

Figure 4: Comparison of the Number of Turns Taken by Each Group

By analyzing talk distribution and the number of turns taken as a measurement of quantitative interactional dominance, this study suggested that German students demonstrated interactional dominance as a whole by having a significantly larger amount of talk than their counterparts. In addition, the large amount of talk and the large number of turns taken in the session demonstrated by German students made Japanese student-observers perceive German students as 'strong' and 'powerful' negotiators as opposed to Japanese negotiators as 'weak'. German students noted in their interview that they asked many questions and demonstrated the large amount of talk distribution with the interactional goal of showing power and dominance in the negotiation. At the same time, as pointed out earlier, the use of long and frequent silences by Japanese students confused German students and made them talk even more in order to fill up the long pauses. This study suggests that while interactional dominance is observed by speakers from certain differeal cultural backgrounds, both sides respond to each other in negotiation. Therefore, the interactional dominance pattern can be considered co-constructed (not just one sided).

3. Questioning Strategies

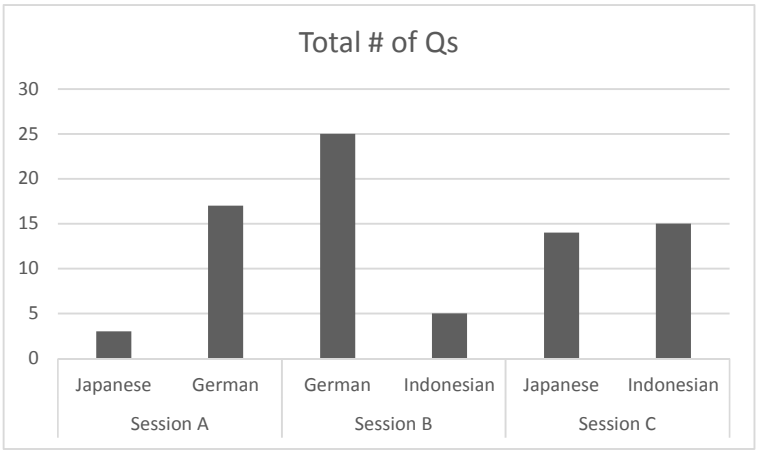

Figure 5: Comparison of the Number of Questions Asked by Each Group

During the interview, one of the female Indonesian students reported that she felt uncomfortable and uneasy because of the large number of specific questions asked by German students in the negotiation. The interactional strategy of asking a large number of direct questions used by German students might be another contributor that made them appear more powerful and dominant negotiators. On the other hand, the number of questions asked by Japanese and Indonesian students was almost equal. This might suggest that both Japanese and Indonesian students were employing an interactional strategy of accommodation by balancing the amount of questions without dominating. In addition, these two groups used more confirmation questions with each other to show consideration whereas German students tended to use many direct questions in order to demonstrate power.

4. Directness/Indirectness

The findings of this study indicated that both Japanese and Indonesian students preferred less explicit linguistic expression, which may have helped create a harmonious atmosphere, while German students tended to employ more explicit and direct linguistic approaches. Japanese culture is often considered to be a 'negative-face' culture since people tend to emphasize indirectness and politeness in interpersonal communication, particularly in more formal settings. The use of indirectness can often be misunderstood in cross-cultural settings. For instance, many westerners may find that directness is logical and associated with power whereas indirectness might often be the norm in communication within Japan. In Japanese interaction, saying 'no' or expressing anything in a direct manner is too face-threatening to risk. Therefore, negative responses are rephrased as more indirect ones such as '*so desu kedo'* (that's right, but...) or *'sore wa chotto'* (it is a bit…), which can be quite confusing to many non-Japanese speakers. At the same time, this kind of linguistic strategy of indirectness made the Japanese university students observers perceive Japanese negotiators as 'weak' and 'less powerful' in a negotiating setting.

Conclusion and Implications of Study A and Study B

The combination of these two studies provides a unique perspective on an important educational issue: the construction of classroom discourse that includes all students in the active construction of meaning. Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) revealed that different linguistic negotiation strategies are likely to be used and interpreted very differently within a culturally diverse classroom context. In this sense, it can be inferred that the student's individual intercultural competencies are a significant factor in determining their experience of classroom conversation, an important element of the overall classroom discourse. For this reason, it is possible that even though a teacher creates the classroom conditions for student-centered discourse, individual students may not be able to access the student-centered discourse if they lack interactional competencies in an intercultural setting. As illustrated in Figure 6, a classroom teacher will need to develop both pedagogical competencies related to creating student-centered discourse events in the classroom as well as develop students' intercultural, interactional competencies to enable them to fully engage in those events.

	Classroom Discourse Analysis	**Intercultural Interactional Analysis**
Major factor influencing student's experience in discourse	Individual teacher's pedagogical competencies	Individual student's interactional competencies in an intercultural setting

Figure 6: A Dual Approach to Analyzing Classroom Discourse

On the basis of these findings, both the development of classroom discourse events that enable students to participate in the construction of meaning, and the development of students' interactional competencies that enable them to fully participate in these discourse events, are necessary conditions for a classroom where all students can actively engage in the learning process. When we consider the dominant discourse patterns identified in Study A (Classroom Discourse Analysis), it is also evident that even if student interactional competencies are developed, they may not necessarily be effective in enhancing the educational experience of students in teacher-centered discourse events.

	Individual teacher's pedagogical competencies	**Individual student's interactional competencies**
Teacher-centered discourse	Opportunity created for students' verification of meaning	Little potential for impact on student's learning experience
Student-centered discourse	Opportunity created for students' construction of meaning	Potential impact on students' learning experience

Figure 7: Implications of Pedagogical and Interactional Competencies

In Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis), by analyzing different linguistic strategies such as silence, talk distribution, asking questions and directness/indirectness used by students of different cultural backgrounds, it showed that judgments about what counts as polite, weak or powerful behaviors are a matter of dynamic negotiation between participants in a particular cultural context. While both Japanese and Indonesian students were demonstrating accommodation by balancing the amount of talk and a number of

questions asked, German students on the other hand were showing 'power' and 'dominance' by talking significantly more, and asking more direct questions than their counterparts. As a result, the German students' interactional style was interpreted as interactional dominance according to other participants. However, at the same time, Japanese students observers perceived the German students as powerful and skillful negotiators. In this sense, there are some valuable suggestions that can be generated from Study B (Intercultural Interactional Analysis) in relation to promoting students' interactional competence in intercultural settings and, in this way, enabling greater participation in student-centered classroom discourse. While recognizing that generalizations in cultural profiles and nationalities produce only an approximation, or stereotype of national character, by increasing their pedagogical competency in developing students' intercultural interactional competencies, teachers can have an impact on the quality of classroom discourse.

Consider the following classroom situation with a mix of culturally based interactional strategies: some students feel uncomfortable with long and frequent silences and attempt to fill in uncomfortable silences in order to ensure the success of conversation in their interaction. Other students emphasize cooperative listenership by using long and frequent pauses to show respect and build rapport. Certain students take more direct linguistic approaches in order to be logical, task-oriented and powerful, perceiving implicit approaches by communicators from different cultural backgrounds as not being efficient, and weak or slow in coming to the point. A number of students who prefer less direct linguistic approaches could interpret the direct interactional styles as aggressive and impolite or even face-threatening. In this classroom setting, the question of how a teacher can construct student-centered discourse while allowing equitable participation in the discourse opportunity is an important pedagogical question that certainly needs further investigation. In order to investigate this question further, we need to recognize that interactional dominance in classroom discourse is in fact closely related to the notion of interactional styles and strategies affected by cultural factors. Educators in schools and universities need to develop pedagogical competencies in this area to help students develop intercultural interactional competencies so that all students can fully participate in student-centered discourse.

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ABSTRACT

Interactional Dominance in International Baccalaureate and University Classroom Discourse: An Intercultural Perspective

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Patterns of interactional dominance influence students' access to educational opportunities through degrees of participation in classroom discourse. In this paper, two separate studies are used to explore the classroom experience of students in International Baccalaureate (IB) classrooms and university classrooms from an intercultural perspective. The first is a study examining the nature of classroom discourse through video recordings of 100 classroom episodes from Year 6 to Year 12 revealing a wide range of intricately interconnected and interdependent discourses existing within the classrooms for which the teacher was the major determinant. It was found that discourses competed in terms of both form and function, and also within the discourse itself, students competed for dominance. Within an IB classroom context, discourse is focused on the negotiation of meaning. In order to examine the nature of competing discourses, this paper examines the results of the first study in relation to the findings of a second study investigating different negotiating styles across cultures demonstrated by university students in Japan from different cultural backgrounds.

Using transcribed conversational data from three different negotiation sessions involving university students from different cultural backgrounds, the second study identified and found these were analyzed linguistic strategies such as silence, talk distribution, question asking and directness/indirectness were in relation to the reported perceptions of the participants. These findings suggest that different linguistic negotiation strategies are likely to be used and interpreted very differently within a culturally diverse classroom context. An examination of the IB classroom discourse in the first study using the intercultural perspective of the second study reveals that in order for a teacher to more closely align classroom discourse with IB philosophy, it may not be enough to introduce instructional strategies that support student-centered discourse; students' intercultural interactional competencies also need to be developed.

要　約

国際バカロレア教育と大学での教室内談話における相互作用と優位性
― 異文化間の視点から ―

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談話の相互作用における優位性のパターンは，教室内の談話への参加度に応じて学生の教育機会へのアクセスに影響を与える。本稿では，国際バカロレア（IB）の教室と大学の教室における学生の経験を異文化の視点から詳しく調査する為に二つの異なる調査を用いた。まず 1 つ目の調査では，6 学年から 12 学年までの 100 回の授業（教室エピソード）のビデオ録画を通して，教室内での談話の性質を調査した。その結果，教室内では様々の相互に密接に関連した談話や相互依存した談話が観察されたが，教師が決定的な役割を果たしていたことが判明した。談話とは形式と機能の両方で競合し，談話自体の中でも学生は優位性を競っていることが判明した。IB の教室内では，談話は意味交渉に重点が置かれていた。競合する談話の本質を詳細に検討する為に本稿では，1 つ目の調査の結果を日本にいる異なった文化背景を持つ大学生の示した異文化交渉スタイルを調査した 2 つ目の研究結果と関連させて検証する。第二の研究では，異なる文化的背景を持つ大学生を対象とした 3 つの異なる交渉セッションの会話データを用いて，沈黙，話しの分配，質問，直接性／間接性などの言語戦略を特定し分析した。

結果によれば，異なる言語的交渉戦略が，文化的に多様な教室の文脈の中で非常に異なって使用され，解釈される可能性が高いことを示唆した。異文化間の視点を用いた 2 つ目の調査結果に基づいて，IB 教室の談話を検討すると教師が IB の基本的理念に教室内の談話をより緊密に沿わせるためには，学生中心の授業戦略を導入するだけでは不十分であり，教室内での談話の性質向上には，学生の異文化間交流能力を向上させる必要があると提唱する。