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**The News Interview as Contest:
Constraint, Evasion and Persistence
A Diachronic Study**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

Over several decades the broadcast news interview has become an essential site of democratic discourse where public figures present and defend policies and action. This thesis establishes that the quotidian political news interview has become markedly more contestative over time, and that this indexes the increasing accountability of public figures.

Whilst increasing contestation in the news interview has been a common lay perception, supported by practitioners and, in limited ways by research, there appear to have been no systematic diachronic studies of the quotidian news interview which empirically test it. This study does so by examining changes in the practices in one long-running public radio breakfast news programme.

Morning Report has broadcast in New Zealand every weekday since 1975, and is the site where the chief issues affecting the polis are canvassed in an often uneasy symbiosis between public figures and journalists. The *Morning Report* genre is common throughout public radio in Western democracies; accordingly, there is a reasonable presumption that, with burgeoning information technology, there exists an international “professional commons” where practices are normalised. It is proposed that this thesis may serve as a template for investigation into like domains.

The study is both qualitative and quantitative. Using conversation analysis it describes question design to constrain answers; concomitantly it demonstrates how interviewees resist these constraints, and how this impels interviewer persistence. This CA grounding informs a new approach to the quantitative analysis of interviews. A large

sample from the four-decade span of *Morning Report* has been coded and analysed for cumulative quotients of constraint, evasion and persistence—that is, contestation—within interviews. Highly significant intensification in contestation in interviews is reported. In important senses, these changes index the mounting public accountability of politicians, and of corporate and institutional leaders, over the period.

Dedication

My partner of 35 years, Marcia Russell, encouraged me to return to university decades after a shaky and aborted start. Together, four years ago, in disparate disciplines, we embarked on our theses. Alas, she died before completing hers. Her strength, abiding good humour and determination to persevere were inspirational, and made my own moments of doubt and frustration trivial by comparison. I dedicate this thesis to her.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the foresight and perseverance of Robert Chapman, the founding professor of Political Studies at the University of Auckland. Fifty years ago, he and his wife, Noeline, sensed the value of recording, off-air, radio and television news bulletins and current affairs discussions. Post-graduate research assistants were yoked—not always willingly one suspects—to daily rosters of gathering material for this astonishing record. Because other archives—including the broadcasters' own archives, and the National Sound Archive—faced budgetary constraints, the Chapman Archive remains the most comprehensive record of spoken news and current affairs in the country.

Thanks to Joe Atkinson for opening the vault. The study relied on the fragile audio tapes in the archive being digitised under the aegis of the University Library. My special thanks go to Nigel Champion and Paula Dixon whose ingenuity in solving numerous problems with the fragile archive materials made gathering the sample data efficient and stress-free. With Tim Gordon and colleagues at the archive, Nigel and Paula worked seamlessly and imaginatively to coordinate the massive digitising project of the archive audio tapes so that I could collate the samples I needed.

Broadcasters at Radio New Zealand were unstinting in their assistance. Stuart Dickinson and George Bignell patiently attended to enquiries; Sean Plunket and Geoff Robinson were generous with their time and institutional memory. All demonstrated the value of the accumulated intellectual capital of public radio.

I appreciate the encouragement and financial support received in a scholarship from the University of Auckland for this project and trust that the work adds in some small measure to the value of the Chapman Archive. The support of senior colleagues, always ready with a word of encouragement, has been welcome. Bronwen Innes and Keith Montgomery have been willing to share their experience. Miriam Meyerhoff's collegial spirit and boundless enthusiasm is already missed. My appreciation goes to Chris Triggs and Avinesh Pillai at The University of Auckland Statistical Consulting Centre.

To my supervisors, Fay Wouk and Helen Charters: you have given sure-handed guidance, support, perception, and patient responsiveness. Not without wrenching stresses in your own lives, you have demonstrated tireless commitment to the values of research and its communication. And you could show interviewers a thing or two about follow-up questions!

Warmest thanks to Helen Forlong for patiently proofreading; any flaws that remain are, of course, my own. Finally, very special thanks to my daughter, Kate, who has been deprived of her share of attention from me during these years, but who has taught me a lot about patience and perseverance.

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Abbreviations

3P1	Third position repair, first attempt
3P2	Third position repair, second attempt (et cetera)
AEPs	All elected politicians
BSA	New Zealand Broadcasting Standards Authority
CA	Conversation analysis
DA	Discourse analysis
FPP	First pair part of an adjacency pair
IE	Interviewee
IR	Interviewer
MR	<i>Morning Report</i>
NTRI	Next turn repair initiator
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (On-line edition)
OIA	Official Information Act 1982
OPFs	Other public figures (alternate to AEPs)
QAS	Question analysis system
PM	Prime minister
Q–R	Question and response pair
RNZ	Radio New Zealand
RP	Ratified participant
SN	Serial number of the data base entry
SP	Social psychology
SPP	Second pair part of an adjacency pair
TCU	Turn constructional unit
TRP	Transition relevance place

A glossary of transcription conventions, after Gail Jefferson (2004a), is found at Appendix A.

1.1 The news interview and democratic estate

Democracy is talked into estate and sustained by interactive talk. It is done in meetings, in the debating chambers of parliaments and congresses, in the pub and in news interviews. Schegloff often proposed that talk in interaction is the primordial site of human sociality (for example Schegloff, 1986b:111); I propose that the broadcast news interview—live, unedited, irretrievable—is, if not the primordial site of democracy, then certainly a central one. Changes in the way we do news interviews index changes in the way we do democracy. As the title proposes, this thesis examines the ways in which the broadcast news interview has changed.

Broadcasting talk in the wider sense has been well examined over its 90-odd years' presence. Scannell produced insights into the role of broadcasting in a democracy, and its affordances of increasingly melding the spheres of private and public social life, as well as the tensions of what constitutes public good (Scannell, 1986, 1989, 1990). Broadcast interactive talk is a strange hybrid of face-to-face sequestered interactions, yet with an unseen public audience of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions. It has, as Scannell described it, 'a double articulation'—the site of its production and the myriad sites of its consumption (1991). In a sense broadcast talk replaces the village square, as seen, for example, in Hutchby's analyses of the fabrication of conflict-as-entertainment in talk-back radio (Hutchby, 1996a, 1996b). Montgomery, writing mainly of television but also radio, describes the many news discourse frames that we now readily recognise: the talk of news readers and reporters, the position of cameras for special impacts, and the assembly of diverse discourse elements in the production of news texts (Montgomery, 2007, 2008, 2011). Frequently, the interview is treated simply as "ore", from which segments are

extracted and interspersed with a journalist's contextual narrative, or counter-pointed with "sound bites" from another interviewee (IE). Here, editorial decisions impose emphasis or slant, judgements which have been well traversed in media studies and journalism studies. (Ekström, 2001; Eriksson, 2011; Kroon Lundell & Eriksson, 2010) Clayman (2004) observes that broadcasting is increasingly arranged around human interaction, as distinct from scripted narratives. The concern of the present research is the unedited, contiguous, usually live radio political interview, where its candour or otherwise emerges before its audience moment by moment.

Over the last 50 years, the broadcast political news interview has developed as an essential discursive institution in Western democracies (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Craig, 2010; Harris, 1991b; Schudson, 1994). For politicians, the live broadcast interview provides an immediate, unedited platform—albeit a risky one; for competing news media it seeds fresh news for development; for the demos it promulgates not just information, but insights into the moral character and values of politicians and of institutional and corporate leaders. For the radio station, the news interview is a cost effective way to compete for audiences, especially at breakfast time.¹

After some years in editorial roles in Australian and New Zealand broadcasting organisations, I still hear robust opinions in casual conversations to the effect that news interviews are increasingly aggressive and adversarial. These lay views are supported by journalists and, in limited ways, by researchers. 'The coarsening of [interviewer-interviewee] relations in the UK and the US over the last 20-30 years contributes, in my

¹ *Political* is used in the broad sense to include not only interviews with politicians, but with senior public servants, and institutional and corporate leaders who are accountable to the polis for their intentions, actions, or dereliction.

view, to turning off the audience to both sides of the microphone’ (John Heritage);² ‘In general, journalists’ questions to public figures have become less deferential and more adversarial’ (Clayman, 2004:35). US interviewer Ted Koppel said of evasive interviewees that ‘the best you can do is leave the audience with the impression that this person just doesn’t want to answer the question’ (Rosenstiel, 1995:27). A doyen of UK broadcast news interviewing, Sir Robin Day, complained: ‘On both sides of the political fence there is now a tendency [for politicians] to use an interview—whether on radio or television—simply to say what you want to say—to repeat what you have to say—to ignore the questions’ (Harris, 1991b:77). The BBC’s Jeremy Paxman extended that critique to other public figures: ‘Any spokesman for a vested interest is well schooled in how to say what it is they wish to say, which may bear no relation at all to what you’ve asked them’ (Wells, 2005). Day’s and Paxman’s views mesh neatly with that of a former colleague, now a media trainer. Asked what points he tried to instil in his clients on how to handle TV or radio interviews he said that, chiefly, they must believe they have “the right to take some control of the agenda”. Clayman and Heritage contend that ‘The last thirty years have witnessed a kind of communication arms race in which innovations in journalists’ questions have been matched by politicians’ increasing skills in the medium and in the arts of evasion and agenda setting’ (2002b:339). However, whilst these intuitive views are pronounced by respected practitioners, and researchers into the news interview, there appears to be no quantitative research on the nature and extent of diachronic change in the quotidian broadcast news interview. The thesis addresses that gap.

² John Heritage, personal communication, September, 2009.

1.2 The state of research and the point of departure

Whilst there is a significant body of exegetic research, often based in conversation analysis (CA), on the practices of the news interview (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b; Ekström, 2009; Heritage, 1985, 2002a; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Montgomery, 2011; Patrona, 2011; Rendle-Short, 2011), there is scant quantitative research which considers trends. An important but limited body of quantitative research considered contestative practices in the news interview during elections campaigns in the UK (Beattie, 1982; Bull, 1994, 1998, 2008; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Bull & Mayer, 1993; Harris, 1986; Tolson, 2012). In the Netherlands, Huls and Warwijk (2011) tested interviewing for bias during one election campaign. Ekström, Eriksson, Johnsson, & Wikström (2012) considered whether bias pertained against particular parties in three successive Swedish elections. These studies are based on “set-piece” interviews, by which is meant pre-scheduled lengthy interviews of perhaps 30 minutes’ duration between political leaders and prominent interviewers, such as between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and David Frost. Whilst adding to our understanding of how interviewers (IRs) try to control the agenda, and how interviewees (IEs) contest it, the studies were confined to small sample sets with a few senior politicians in the specialised domain of election campaigns. However, although the Ekström et al. study was spread over eight years, it was not principally to test for diachronic change, but to capture data from interviewees with disparate political affiliations, whether or not they were in power, and to test for bias. Only Tolson’s study, using a discourse analysis (DA) approach, considers diachronic trends, but that is confined to the IR practice of adversarial assertion within set-piece engagements; responses are not considered.

It appears that the only long-range diachronic studies of questions to political leaders have been those by Clayman, Heritage and colleagues on US presidential news

conferences. (Clayman, Elliott, Heritage, & Beckett, 2010; Clayman, Elliott, Heritage, & McDonald, 2006; Clayman & Heritage, 2002c; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). However, these studies, like Tolson's, are concerned only with questioning moves, and not with presidents' responses; therefore whilst a clear picture emerges of growing constraint in question design, there is no account of how presidents responded, whether they contested the questions, and if so, how.

We can sum up the current knowledge state as follows: we have a solid body of cross-cultural exegetic work which can inform coding for quantitative studies; we have some limited quantitative studies of interviews in the specialised domains of European election campaigns; we have substantial diachronic studies of questions in the US presidential press conference. However there appear no diachronic studies of interviews—that is, both questions and responses—in a domain of quotidian news programmes. This is the embarkation point for the study.

1.3 Scope and aim and of the study

1.3.1 Scope

In this study, I use the term *political interview* to mean a one-to-one exchange between IR and IE about some issue in which the IE has agency, and accountability before the polis. Hence, the IEs may be politicians, or other public figures such as institutional or corporate leaders, trade union officials or senior bureaucrats. The study is not concerned with “spot news” and eye witness accounts—fire, flood, crime, or sport, nor cultural affairs, unless such news has political ramifications. Nor is it concerned with what Montgomery (2011) termed the *affiliated* interview, that is, with an expert journalist such as a political reporter.

This thesis will apply the empirical rigour of CA to test the hypothesis that the news interview has become more contestative over four decades. Unlike the studies

referred to above, the present research examines one radio programme, *Morning Report*, which has been broadcast each week day in New Zealand since 1975. In stepping away from the heady atmospheres of White House press conferences and election campaign interviews with leaders, it explores the discourse of the day to day political issues which inform democratic choice. *Morning Report* is typical of public radio breakfast programmes in western democracies and the research will offer a useful datum for further research in those domains.

1.3.2 Aim

The aim of the research is to determine whether, based on an analysis of IR and IE interactions on *Morning Report*, public figures have become more publicly accountable over time. That will index the vitality, or otherwise, of democratic discourse.

1.4 The news interview

Writing of the news interview, Schudson observed that it has become ‘the fundamental act of journalism’ (Schudson, 1994:565). Politicians’, civil servants’ and corporate interests are not necessarily—perhaps rarely—congruent with those of the journalist. This dialectic provokes what I call the contest for the control of information flow. This is not a new phenomenon. A century ago Hapgood wrote ‘What makes a good newspaper man is his ability to obtain facts from public men and his skill in inferring from what he has secured what he has been unable to extort’ (Hapgood, 1905:424). The interviewer, competing with other news organs, wants to be *first* to publish newsworthy information. However, controlling the quality and quantity of information, and the timing of its release, are essential skills of political and corporate leadership; the consequence of not deploying those skills can mean demise. In important senses, change in these contestative practices

will index variation in the openness and accountability of elected representatives, civil servants and corporate entities.

Although the news interview is nowadays a central feature of broadcast media and political discourse, this ritual, of an exchange of questions and answers intended for publication, dates only to the mid-nineteenth century. Its innovation is often attributed to Joseph B. McCullagh, editor of the *St Louis Globe-Democrat*.³ *The New York Times* recorded in its obituary for him that ‘some of his best work was his records of talks with President [Andrew] Johnson’ (The New York Times, 1897). However, whilst his interviews with President Johnson (1865-1869) were greatly admired, McCullagh’s innovation was not universally approved: ‘The “interview”, as at present managed, is generally the joint product of some humbug of a hack politician and another humbug of a newspaper reporter’ (The Nation, 1869:67, cited in OED). Although the transcribed interview was represented as a simulacrum of the original conversation, print journalists and their subjects have usually been able to return to each other with supplementary questions or corrections, hours, days or even weeks later, before the work was deemed ready for publication (see, for example, Bernstein and Woodward (1974)). Rapier precision and speed in designing a follow-up question were neither necessary nor sufficient for the production of an interview to be transcribed for print. The ranks of print interviewers were eventually swelled in the United States after World War II, and in Britain from the 1960s, by journalists whose skills were not necessarily in the written word but in deft, live questioning and interrogation (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). Whilst

³ (The New York Times, 1897) but see Schudson (1995:73 and n.8) for other contenders.

Clayman and Heritage's remarks attend chiefly to the television interview, their observation applies as well to radio broadcasting.

Broadcast media display an essential difference from print: print is spatially arrayed; the reader skims, then focuses on or revisits particular passages. Such scrutiny is not as readily available to the television viewer or radio listener. While the printed news interview can deliver careful and measured detail and context, it is still “the first rough draft of history”: it edits and reports—that is to say it versions—what *has* happened.⁴ Of course, broadcast talk is now literally and irrevocably *broadcast* through the ether, and retrievable in a variety of digital media. However, the live broadcast interview is not historic; it is the creation of a mote of history—on-line, emergent, unedited, often visceral, always and everywhere irrevocable. Scannell, in discussing public radio, characterised the impact of broadcasting as ‘enhancing the reasonable, as distinct from the rational, character of daily life in public and private contexts....To be unable to offer an explanation is unreasonable’ (1989)

Lurking in *The Nation*'s 1869 tart dismissal of the new-fangled interview is a notion which underpins the modern broadcast news interview and which also informs this study: *The Nation* recognised that the interview is a ‘joint product’, an achievement of both interviewer and interviewee (1869:67). From the viewpoint of interactional sociolinguistics, and through a theoretical lens of CA in particular, this was an astonishingly prescient observation: the interview outcome is the consequence of interlocutors jointly building it, brick by brick, responding to what has gone before; what in CA terms is its procedural consequentiality. In a broadcast interview this orientation to

⁴ Usually attributed to Doug Graham, Publisher, *Washington Post*, in a speech in 1963. But earlier instances are also reported. Path: <http://www.slate.com/id/2265540>. Date: 8 June, 2011

the emergent talk and to the flux of developing context reflects the essence of CA, which is the principal theoretical ground for this study.

Its on-line emergence makes the live news interview a potentially perilous undertaking for a public figure: it cannot be “off the record”; and “the record” comprises not only the interviewee’s substantive utterances about the topic, but also the exposition of his/her identity and character, ethical centre, credibility, and candour. A politician who cannot creditably deal with robust questioning is now unlikely to attain or retain senior office. ‘Just as speechmaking skills were crucial in the days of the public square, the capacity to field questions has become a core skill for public figures in the television age’ (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a:2). It is a distant remove from political oratory before a town hall audience described by Atkinson (1984) A newsworthy performance in form, substance, or both, and whether negatively or positively newsworthy, rapidly migrates from its immediate audience to other media and to the debating chambers of democracies. In the face of these jeopardies, it is small surprise that media training and “media management” are now core resources mobilised by persons expected to account to their public. Apparatchiks in ministerial press offices burgeoned between the 4th Labour government in New Zealand (1984-1990), and the 1990-1999 National and National-led governments. By the late 1990s, the prime minister’s office supported eight press staff; the next Labour government went to the polls supported by 30 press secretaries (Rudd & Hayward, 2005). Similar escalation has been reported in the UK and Australia (Craig, 2010). The putative author in this ecology of “spin” promulgates the initial story on his or her own terms: content, timing, and channel are massaged to best advantage. Michelle Grattan, a long-time Canberra correspondent, proposed spin as the ‘highly professional selling of the political message that involves maximum management and manipulation of

the media' (Grattan, 1998:34). The broadcast news interviewer usually follows up such a statement, typically a policy initiative, or defence of an action or decision, on the presumption that it has been spun.

The critical journalist seeks to use their expertise and know-how to expose the hidden agendas, blunders and faux pas of politicians. And the assumption is that politicians are being less than honest with citizens otherwise why would they employ spin doctors? (Rudd & Hayward, 2005:12)

Pertinent facts are presumed to be omitted because their telling would be unfavourable to the author's political face and fortune. Good journalists infer such dark matter from the shiny bits of the media release that circumscribe it, and they gravitate towards it. In a memoir Louis Heren, Deputy Editor of *The Times* 1973-1981, quoted advice he had been given as a young reporter in post-World War II Britain on dealing with politicians and their functionaries: 'Always ask yourself why these lying bastards are lying to you' (Heren, 1978:26). What is not included in the published story is the seam from which the perceptive, well-informed and persistent interviewer can extract news. The attempts to mine that seam frequently involve contest, and its by-products: aggressive and adversarial talk. It is this context, of an enduring yet uneasy co-dependency between journalist and public figures, which suggests the research questions.

1.5 Research questions

The aim of the study will be achieved by answering four research questions:

1. How do interviewers constrain their questions, has this changed over time, and if so how?
2. How do interviewees evade questions, has this changed over time, and if so how?
3. How do interviewers deal with evasive responses by interviewees, has this changed over time, and if so how?

4. What conclusions can be drawn about changes, if any, in the relationship between public figures, journalists and audiences in this domain?

1.6 The arrangement of the thesis

This is not a DA, information content, political mediation analysis, or text analysis, but rather an analysis of how the participants orient to each other's actions in questioning and responding in the pursuit of intersubjectivity. Chapter 2 positions the study in the theoretical ground of CA with particular reference to the notions of adjacency pairs and procedural relevance. The reticence of CA practitioners toward quantification is explained, and exceptional departures from the precept are defended. The chapter reviews studies of the news interview from disparate approaches but centres on the important CA work of Clayman, Heritage and colleagues. Relevant earlier studies of the news interview from the disciplines of DA and social psychology (SP) are reviewed to further circumscribe the research gap.

Chapter 3 describes the research domain of *Morning Report*, which is the social institution in which the research questions arise, and need to be answered. It places *Morning Report* in its historical, social, political and regulatory contexts. It suggests how inferences can be drawn about the relationship between the active participants, that is, the IRs and IEs on the one hand, and the audience on the other. Goffman's notion of the audience as ratified participants (RPs) is explained. The role of RPs in the continual reconstitution of *Morning Report* is discussed, and evidence of overt talk which draws attention to this role is adduced from exemplary data. Similarities are drawn between the overall structure of *Morning Report* and of other public radio breakfast programmes in Anglo democracies around the world.

The first three research questions inform the structure of Chapter 4. This comprises descriptions of how the terms *political interview*, *constraint*, *evasion* and *persistence* are operationalized. Extensive examples of contestative praxis are presented. A new coding system which accounts for the interactive practices of contestation between questioning and responding is described. Particular attention is paid to subjective coding by the researcher. Finally, the chapter addresses statistical methods.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the quantitative results in response to the first three of the research questions. Chapter 5 reports changes in the practices of IR question design and IE evasion. Chapter 6 presents the most important quantitative results in the study: how IRs persist in the face of evasive responses from the IE.

The quantitative results do not, and cannot, account for the subtleties of what in a CA frame are the micro-interactions which accrete to form the trajectory of an interview. Chapter 7 presents CA analyses of four interviews which illuminate the kinds of interactive achievements by the parties which inform the quantitative results and give contextual intersubjective sense to them. In doing so, it addresses the fourth research question about the changing relationship between public figures and the media.

Chapter 8 discusses the quantitative and CA analyses in concert and suggests avenues of further research based on the methods used. Finally it draws the several subordinate conclusions from the study together and shows how the aim of the study is achieved.

Literature and Research Review

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

The terms constraint, evasion and persistence in the title of this thesis specify the contestative actions that this study is about; therefore the theoretical approach is grounded in action analysis. It is less concerned with the lexical and syntactic formation of questions and responses, and their semantic representations, than with the actions that IR and IE *do* by their talk. CA is chosen as the theoretical ground for this study because CA is overwhelmingly concerned with the close analysis of the actions that talk-in-interaction performs, with how the participants orient to those actions, and with how consequently participants sustain intersubjectivity turn by turn (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). It should be noted that intersubjectivity, in the CA context, has a meaning distinct from the general use of a “shared understanding of the world” or a shared culture through which ‘the individual’s grasp of reality is mediated’ (Schegloff, 1992:1296). Essentially, intersubjectivity is continuously negotiated, in the flux of successive turns, as understandings of prior talk are manifest in what is said next. Intersubjectivity, then,

is not merely convergence between multiple interpreters of the world (whether understood substantively or procedurally) but potentially convergence between the "doers" of an action or bit of conduct and its recipients, as coproducers of an increment of interactional and social reality. (Schegloff, 1992:1299)

CA researchers have been, and remain, at the forefront of analysis of the practices of the news interview qua social action (Clayman, Heritage, Elliot, & McDonald, 2007; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Increasingly, too, CA studies are enlisted by researchers in adjacent disciplines such as DA and SP, and pragmatics (Bull, 1998; Fetzer, 2002; Fetzer &

Weizman, 2006; Harris, 1986). Further, because of the mounting prominence of CA in the field, the analytical approach allows useful comparisons and consolidations to be drawn with other work based on the same research approach.

2.1.1 Outline of the chapter

First, the chapter briefly reprises the development of CA and its fundamental concepts: turn taking; the adjacency pair; preference, and repairs. Section 2.3 discusses the historic reticence of CA toward quantification. Sections 2.4-2.5 review influential CA work in institutional settings and in the news interview in particular, with CA's focus on actions achieved through questions and responses. It shows the ways in which this talk departs from ordinary conversation and how, accordingly, the expectations and normative obligations of the participants differ. In particular, it highlights how determinations of linguistic meaning, as relied upon in other approaches, can obscure the actions and trajectories actually achieved by participants. This leads to a critical pivot point in the late 1990s when the first tentative steps were made toward quantitative studies using CA, which are discussed at 2.6.

As represented by Schegloff, CA has energetically and consistently opposed quantification of talk in interaction (Schegloff, 1993). Accordingly, the major quantitative diachronic study of questions put in US presidential press conferences (Clayman et al., 2006) marks a tectonic shift in CA research and is reviewed at some length (2.6). This study, its "pilot" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c), and supplementary studies of the same data, represent a watershed in CA research, and seem to point confidently to a new research trajectory in the discipline (Clayman, Elliot, Heritage, & Beckett, 2011; Clayman et al., 2010; Clayman et al., 2007; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). However, the presidential news conference is a rarefied domain and the research is confined to questioning, without

consideration of responses. By abductive inference it shows how the quantitative investigation in the present study needs a radically different approach. Section 2.8 considers two recent European studies based on the Clayman and Heritage coding system. Section 2.9 shows how recent exegetic work can further consolidate future approaches to quantification.

The chapter then considers a body of news interview research from the complementary disciplines of DA and SP, largely grounded in political interviews with party leaders during the UK election campaigns, and which bring into relief the distinct approach of CA.

2.2 CA and its relevance to the study

In an interview he gave at the millennium's turn, Emmanuel Schegloff told of a meeting with his dissertation supervisor, Irving Goffman. Goffman advised Schegloff that a review of the literature in his discipline would normally be expected, but this presented a problem since, Schegloff's proposed work being so original, there was no literature to review. Instead, Schegloff ruefully recalls, he was told to review nine contiguous disciplines. 'That was another six months of my life' (Prevignano & Thibault, 2003:20-21). So Schegloff's citations in his dissertation circumscribe much of the lacuna, the *terra nullius*, which he was to explore. With his close colleague Harvey Sacks, later joined by their colleague Gail Jefferson, they were to colonise that space and develop the discipline of conversation analysis. The crux of Sacks' and Schegloff's concerns was that, whilst the current paradigm in sociology was to study interactional activities such as "requesting" or "suggesting", such determinations were made by the researcher's interpretation of the utterances with no regard to how or whether the *recipient* of such ostensible intention

interpreted it as actions of “requesting” or “suggesting” (Schegloff, 1967:8). This new work referenced, but detached from, sociology and anthropology, and their hyphenated offspring. Both Schegloff and Sacks had accepted Goffman’s and Garfinkel’s separate scepticisms about the objectified categories of social membership which had typified canonical American sociology (Button, 1991; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Levinson, 1983; Psathas, 1995; Sacks, 1984). In the received view, social actions, including ordinary talk, were the *product* of social structure, a product whose constituents could be chosen, codified and counted. Conclusions based on the occurrences in the chosen interactions, unit objects, could be synthesised to confirm a perceived order of social affairs. Goffman had earlier already distanced himself: ‘I myself believe that there is nothing wrong at all in counting bodies or houses, but that any [quantitative] study involving attitudes is likely to be worthless’ (quoted in Verhoeven, 1993:332). Goffman had already identified the apparently disorderly, trivial interactive “noise” as far more consequential:

Always of course the fact of social situatedness can be expected to have some consequence, albeit sometimes apparently very minor. These consequences have traditionally been treated as "effects," that is, as indicators, expressions or *symptoms* of social structures such as relationships, informal groups, age grades, gender, ethnic minorities, social classes and the like, with no great concern to treat these effects as data in their own terms. (Goffman, 1983:2; stress added)

Goffman termed this newly revealed conceptual space the ‘interaction order as a social institution’ (Heritage & Clayman, 2010:9). It was this, together with Garfinkel’s searing insight into how persons make sense, *shared* sense, of these interactions which delineated the territory later to be developed in CA.

Sacks critiqued social scientists' perception of society as 'a machine with relatively few orderly products', which constrained enquirers to find "“good problems”, that is those data generated by the machine which are orderly, and then attempt to construct the apparatus necessary to give those results' (Sacks, 1984:22). Sacks argued that it was a necessary corollary of the macro-sociologists' stance that if a social phenomenon was not seen to be orderly, it did not contribute to social order. The ethnomethodologists' "bottom up" approach to social order, with its recognition of individual actors as agents, was entirely consistent with the disenchantment with Parsonian views of actors as subordinate to higher order social systems. And it was also, Heritage argues, consistent with 'a decade [the 1960s] of libertarian social movements and political protest' (1984:2).⁵ To Heritage's observation about the decade can be added the further observation that it was the decade when the technology of tape recording became cheap and readily available.

I started with tape-recorded conversations... simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to disagree with me. (Sacks, 1984:26)

This simple rule represented a marked shift from traditional approaches in the social sciences, where field researchers traditionally relied on notes and recollections—both their own and those of informants.⁶

2.2.1 Transcription as simulacrum

Sacks' "natural science" approach, of empirical observation and close study of actual real time audio recording of natural occurrences, was and remains the sine qua non of CA. The

⁵ An atmosphere which spurred Gellner's astonishing sexist, ad hominem attack on Garfinkel, and ethnomethodologists (Gellner, 1975).

⁶ We shall see in Chapter 4, discussing methods, that the data for this study were also captured because of a new-found awareness in the mid-1960s of the value and accessibility of tape recording.

CA project seeks to understand and describe how participants, in talk in interaction, each make intersubjective sense of what each other is doing by saying x, and how the participants accordingly accomplish some outcome. In other words, social order is constructed by individual social agents in what Schegloff frequently called ‘the primordial site of sociality’: conversation (for example 1986a:112). Applied to the news interview, CA can illuminate what the participants achieve in their interaction, that is, the various practices by which they build an emergent intersubjectivity. Importantly, their sense-making is on public display; that is, the achievement of intersubjectivity is intended for understanding by third parties as well as the co-present active participants. In the following extract, the IR seeks a straightforward yes or no response.

Extract 2-1 MR 2011_04_21 Kiwi Revenge: IR – Simon Mercep; WM – Wayne Mapp sn 104⁷

- 1 IR Did the S.A.S. go (.) and attack ay group of Taliban who had (.)
 2 themselves attacked Lieutenant O'Donnell's team
- 3 WM (.8) well (.4) we had intelligence that there w'z ah insurgents in the
 4 area .hh and with the approval of NATO ISAP which has to approve all
 5 missions there was a coalition (.3) there was a coalition operation
 6 mounted that included the New Zealand S.A.[S.]
- 7 IR [So] that's a y[es]=
- 8 WM [pl]us
 9 [plus)]
- 10 IR [That's a yes]they- they- they went and got the guys who (.2) attacked
 11 Lieutenant O'Donnell.
- 12 IE (.7) Well w- irr-it is certainly true that they were engaged but the
 13 purpose is fundamentally (.) to protect our people.

⁷ Appendix A describes CA transcription conventions.

The above example illustrates some of the exacting detail of silences, breathing, stammers, intonation and overlapping talk annotated with precision to 0.1 sec, which form the bedrock of CA research. This attention to fine detail in the data imposes discipline. The CA researcher is to put aside “surface” meaning of linguistic components and strive to see what was achieved by the interactants in engaging the way they did. In the above extract, what is available to the IR is not only the lack of denial by the IE but the gaps, hesitations, circuitous construction, and the avoidance of agency: how the IE “does equivocation”. ‘The transcript is to be treated as a joint achievement by the parties, not ‘born naturally whole out of the speaker’s forehead, the delivery of a cognitive plan’ (Schegloff, 1981:73). The researcher is obliged to regard the transcript as the best effort simulacrum of how the participants built the event brick by brick, action by action.

2.2.2 Turns

The newcomer to CA is typically struck by what appears as the banality of its primal observation: people engaged in conversation take turns at talking. In what is regarded as the founding article on CA, Sacks et al. described how members take turns in talking. But consider the alternative: chaos.

In a footnote, Sacks et al. (1974) cite a delightful passage from Isaacs:

‘Taking turns’ is one of the hardest lessons for children under five years to learn ... the young child cannot without much experience believe that ‘his turn’ really will come in due time. All that he knows is that the others ‘have got it’ and he hasn’t. A few minutes is an eternity when one is eagerly waiting for a prized pleasure such as riding on a tricycle or a see-saw. Nor does one believe in the goodwill of the others who are enjoying their turns first—one knows only too well how readily one would exclude THEM if one were allowed! Only the proved evenness of justice of the controlling adult will make a transition possible from the impetuous assertion of ‘I want it NOW’ to that trust in the future which makes ‘taking turns’ possible. (Isaacs, 1933:222-3)

What is somewhat more profound was Sacks et al.'s (1974) discoveries of the exacting organising principles by which:

1. One member starts a conversation.
2. When the member stops a turn, another starts.
3. The selection of the next speaker (by self or other) is tightly rule governed.
4. Silences between turns are minimal. When a speaker stops, the next turn "slot" is vacant and seeks occupation.
5. Overlaps in talk are dealt with by exacting machinery.

In institutional contexts, such as courts of law, employment interviews, or the news interview, turn transfer is largely preordained, which is to say that the next speaker is typically preselected and expected to speak without delay when a turn changes.

2.2.3 In the beginning was Mr Smith

- A: This is Mr. Smith, may I help you.
B: I can't hear you.
A: This is Mr. Smith.
B: Smith

(Sacks, 1989:218[35])

Harvey Sack's analysis of this seemingly banal CA artefact is regarded by Schegloff as 'the first appearance of what would eventually become "conversation analysis"' (Schegloff, 1989:189[7]). It is rehearsed here because some 50 years later it stands as a searing account of "what lies beneath" the mundane words. In the mid-1960s Sacks worked at the Suicide Prevention Centre in Los Angeles and studied the tape recordings of calls from persons contemplating suicide. It was essential, therefore, that the call-takers got the name and address of the caller. Sacks had observed that, generally, the response to the

initial address design (*This is Mr Smith, may I help you?*) was mirrored (“This is Mr Brown”). There was something in the actions that the first turn did (self-naming and offering assistance) which seemed to incite reciprocation (self-naming and acceptance). Sacks showed how one alternative, of asking directly for the caller’s name, leads to accountability (Why do you want my name?) and how a subsequent account (Because...) can be neutralised. This hands control of the exchange back to the caller, who can reject the account as insufficient grounds for compliance and thus avoid giving a name. Instead of bluntly asking for the caller’s name the call-taker designs a *slot* for a name, without actually asking for it. It is not accountable; it doesn’t invite “Why?” Sacks’ insight here leads to his perception of what the caller’s next line (*I can’t hear you*) actually does. Whereas the first address (*This is Mr Smith, may I help you?*) provides a slot for the recipient to fill with their own name, by claiming he/she can’t hear—thereby eliciting a repeat of *Mr Smith*—the recipient, says Sacks, does something ‘rather more exquisite’: the name “slot” never gets opened. In other words, the inciting action of the first line has been expunged (Sacks, 1989:221[39]). He proposes that here, the caller’s claiming not to hear, followed by the repeats of *Smith*, nullify the burden on the caller to give their own name. Of course, we do not know whether the caller’s claim was a genuine hearing problem or a device. In either case, the outcome was the same. Sacks proposed that such interruptions to the trajectory of the talk (known as repairs, discussed at 2.2.10) can be ‘occasionally useable’ devices. He observed empirically that if the name was not given in the first available slot then it would be highly unlikely that the caller would ever give their name. The analysis rested on his recognition of what he and his colleague, Schegloff, would define as the bedrock of the discipline—the adjacency pair (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973:295). A DA analysis could well find this exchange ill-formed, lacking cohesion, with

indeterminate illocutions and perlocutions, and so would fail to reveal the interactive achievement which Sacks uncovers (Levinson, 1983; Wooffitt, 2005).

2.2.4 Turn constructional units (TCUs) and transition relevance places (TRPs)

Turns at talk are built of discrete units, referred to as turn constructional units (TCUs). These can be phrases, clauses, sentences, perhaps a single word or a particle, such as “uh huh”. A TCU is the primal building block of conversation and a turn at talk can consist of one such unit, or multiple units. A fundamental observation of Sacks et al. (1974) was that a speaker who has the floor has the primary right to it unmolested, and the relevance of the floor passing to another arises only at certain junctures. Importantly, a TCU has a recognisable emergent completion point. These points are formed by one or a combination of attributes: syntactic design, (as in an interrogative); intonational qualities, as in an exclamation or a rising terminal inflection; or pragmatic, as in forming an action unrelated to the linguistic meaning (“Can you pass the salt?”). In ordinary conversation, the end of each TCU is a possible point where transition to another speaker becomes relevant (but not necessarily obligatory). Another conversant can take the floor, or allow or overtly encourage the present speaker to continue. These points are referred to as transition relevance places (TRPs). The extract below, from Ford and Thompson, illustrates some of these points. The forward slashes (/) indicate the completion of a syntactic unit. A period, comma or question mark indicates an intonation juncture (Ford & Thompson, 1996). The authors also use a (>) symbol to propose a pragmatic completion point.

Extract 2-2 (K1)

- 1 K Vera (.) was talking / on the phone /to her mom?>
- 2 C Mm hm/>

3 K And uh she got off the pho:ne / and she was
4 incredibly upset?

(Ford & Thompson, 1996:151)

The first forward slash (line 1) marks the end of a simple clause TCU: *Vera (.) was talking*. Depending on prosody, it could also be a TRP. However K immediately adds a prepositional phrase, *on the phone*; this creates another potential TRP, depending on intonation and whether the speaker runs on, which in this case she does, with another prepositional phrase *to her mom?* Here the authors use a question mark to indicate a distinct rising terminal on *mom?* They note with the (>) that this is also has the pragmatic function of seeking acknowledgement from the hearer: it is a TRP. At line 2, C clearly understands that and promptly takes the floor and utters *Mm hm*, a receipt token which performs at least two actions: first it acknowledges that the prior talk has been heard and understood and second it passes the floor back to K. It both constitutes a TCU (albeit non-lexical and non-syntactic) and it also creates a TRP. At line three, K embarks on a continuation of her prior, notably starting with *And* which not only references her prior talk, but also the fact that C has both understood and has offered the floor back to K.

2.2.5 The adjacency pair and preference

The adjacency pair is an exchange of talk in interaction with three primary descriptors: (1) it comprises two utterances; (2) they are adjacent and (3) they are uttered by different speakers. Further, it has the characteristic that the first part of the pair (FPP) projects relevance for a particular kind of action to be performed in the second part (SPP). Hence, greetings project reciprocation; invitations and offers project acceptance, or declination; compliments expect thanks or self-effacing modulation; and, perhaps archetypically, questions project answers. Whilst the impulsion of an FPP can seem to reflect Austin's and

Searle's accounts of speech acts, illocutions and perlocutions (Austin, 1976; Bach, 2006; Searle, 1969), Schegloff distances adjacency pairs from these as 'radically different' (1989:200[18]): For participants, from 'moment to moment, the contexted character of their lives, their current and prospective circumstances, the present moment ...can be transformed by a next bit of conduct by one of the participants' (Schegloff, 1989:200[18]) The question and response (Q-R) pair has a sort of primacy in the class of adjacency pairs, not least because high specificity of the mandated response is often built into the question. This makes the Q-R pair the foundation of much institutional talk.

2.2.6 TCUs and TRPs in the news interview

In the dialogic frame of many institutional settings, such as doctor-patient consultations, call-centre talk and news interviews, the choice of who will speak after a speaker change, and the type of turn they are expected to produce is predetermined (Atkinson & Drew, 1979). The question-response adjacency pair architecture of the news interview is overwhelmingly observed: the participants do "building an interview" by the IR putting questions and, overwhelmingly by the IE waiting for a question before responding (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). We will see below (Extract 2-11) how even lengthy contextualizing, or constraining prefaces—some containing many TCUs—are unimpeded, whilst the IE waits for an utterance which is recognisable as a question. What could be TRPs in ordinary conversation are not such in the news interview.

2.2.7 Preferred and dispreferred responses in the news interview

Preference has nothing to do with personal whim or fancy. A preferred response to the first part of an adjacency pair confirms or advances the intersubjectivity of the parties and supports the accomplishment of the present activity (Schegloff, 2007). So a question prefers a response which closes the epistemic gap identified. Conversation analysts have

noted important differential characteristics of the design of preferred and dispreferred responses. Preferred responses are uttered without delay and the evidence of affiliation, or intersubjectivity is produced promptly at the beginning of the turn.

Extract 2-3 Preferred Response

- 1 Pat It's a real clear lake isn't it?
2 Les It's wonderful

(Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998:47)

The design of dispreferred responses contrasts sharply and displays distinct characteristics: first, whereas a preferred response will start within a beat (.2 sec), a dispreferred response will often be delayed; second, the linguistic content of disagreeing will also be delayed until deeper into the turn, and when it comes, it strives to mollify the disagreement; third, this delay is achieved by prefacing the turn with hedges and/or excuses (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007).

Extract 2-4 Dispreferred Response

- 1 A Yuh comin down early?
2 B Well, I got a lot of things to do before getting
cleared up tomorrow. I don't know. I w- probably
won't be too early.

(Sacks, 1987:58)

Responses to questions in the news interview display the same characteristics exhibited by preferred and dispreferred responses in ordinary conversation. An *answer* is a preferred response, one which satisfies the parameters of the question, and it is usually delivered promptly and unequivocally. Dispreferred responses, which do not satisfy the expectations of the question, do not usually start promptly and are prefaced with hedges. Extract 2-1 offers much evidence of these practices. There is a further upshot to this. We noted above that whereas the IE will wait for a question until taking the floor, IRs commonly do not

wait indefinitely until an answer has been formed, and may interrupt when perceiving that a response is *emerging* as dispreferred.

Extract 2-5 BBC *Newsnight* 13 May, 1997: IR – Jeremy Paxman; IE – Michael Howard

- 1 IR: Did you threaten [to overrule
 2 IE: [I was not entitled
 3 to instruct Derek Lewis and I did not instruct
 4 him .hh [an the
 5 IR: [Did you threaten to overrule [(him)
 6 IE: [The< the truth of the matter i:s
 7 thet (.) Mister Marriott was not suspende[d. I did not
 8 IR [Did you threaten to
 9 overrule him [[continues]]

(Clayman & Heritage, 2002a:256)

This extract is from an egregious example of persistent questioning in the face of evasive responding; Jeremy Paxman puts iterations of the same question 13 times, seeking a straightforward yes/no answer, which Minister Howard refuses to give. The point to be taken here is that before Paxman interrupts (lines 5 and 8-9) he allows Howard to formulate a proposition. Then, apparently determining that the preferred prompt affirmative is unlikely to follow, he interrupts.

2.2.8 The obligation to speak

Whilst the FPP of a question/response pair expects an answer, ‘it is the turn-taking system, rather than the syntactic or semantic features of the “question” that requires the answer to come “next”’ (Sacks et al., 1974:725, n38). In other words, it is the recipient’s obligation to accept that a turn transition has been proposed by the current speaker. Whilst the FPP of the adjacency pair frames the type of responding turn expected, it is the turn transition mechanism that creates the onus to talk, even if that talk is to then decline to answer a question, as shown below.

- Extract 2-6 MR 290198 Hero: IR – Sean Plunket; CD – Councillor Colin Davis
- 1 IR Do you believe it was a discriminatory (.) judgment?
- 2 CD⁸ (0.3) No
- 3 (1.0)
- 4 IR Why not.
- 5 CD (0.8) No I don't wish to debate any of those issues as I mentioned to you
- 6 earlier (0.4) ah or what I will be saying and discussing with the
- 7 commission.

In response to the plain yes/no question at line 1, the IE pauses, before replying with a dispreferred *no*. At line 3, there is a gap, which suggests from a CA perspective that the IR is waiting for an account, or justification for the *no* reply. When it is not forthcoming, the IR asks for it, at line 4. The impost of the turn on the IE, on a Sacks et al. account, impels the IE to now say something. The contrary—silence—is scarcely conceivable in the context of a live broadcast interview. We see at line 5, that the IE takes a long gap of .8 sec before talking, but declining to answer.

This leads to the second point to be taken from the concept of the adjacency pair, which became the wellspring for CA studies in institutional domains, such as the news interview.

But while understandings of other turns' talk are displayed to co-participants, they are available as well to professional analysts, who are thereby afforded a proof criterion (and a search procedure) for the analysis of what a turn's talk is occupied with. Since it is the parties' understandings of prior turns' talk that is relevant to their construction of next turns, it is THEIR understandings that are wanted for analysis. *The display of those understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of*

⁸ Transcription note. The question of “who owns the silence” is significant. Here, it is assigned to CD, as he delays before responding to a simple yes/no question. Thus, the silence is shown as part of his turn, rather than on a line by itself, as is the more typical practice.

prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns-resources intrinsic to the data themselves. (Sacks et al., 1974:729; emphasis added)

These two concepts then, the adjacency pair and procedural relevance, form the theoretical grounding of much CA research. The burden of norms identified by Sacks, Schegloff and colleagues, implicitly provide the basis for deviant case analysis which informs a great deal of CA research.

2.2.9 Overlap and interruption

‘It were a grosse incivility to interrupt them in their conversation’ (Camus, 1999:[original 1639])

‘The basic rule for conversation...one party at a time’ (Schegloff, 1968:1076)

CA makes clear distinction between types of overlapping talk and interruption. Interruption is a social action which has commonly met disapproval and censure. Schegloff describes interruption as a ‘vernacular term’ and a ‘term of complaint’ with a ‘moral’ component (Schegloff, 2001:301; 317). Most of the news interview data in the research reviewed here includes interruptions by both IR and IE. Since interruptions alter the trajectories of interviews, they demand analytic attention. However close studies of overlapping talk reveal a cline between what can be termed affiliative, or collaborative overlap (for example to correct a name, or number, or to help with a word) and aggressive or domineering interruption to seize the conversational floor from the current speaker in the midst of their turn.

Turn transition is both a cooperative project between conversants and a competitive one: it both allows the current speaker to achieve turn completion, and provides for next speaker(s) to take the floor promptly, in possible competition with other contenders. Sacks et al. illustrate the precision with which this is done:

1 A Sixty two feet is pretty good si:[ze.

2 B [Oh:: boy

(Sacks et al., 1974:707)

In line 1, the syntax, semantics and intonation, including the extended vowel in *size*, project the probable end of the TCU. Evidently, B reads it as such, and overlaps the emergent vowel to take the floor. This skill is particularly relevant when more than one conversant seeks, or might seek the next turn. Many instances of overlap arise from what can be described as maximising the efficiency of turn transfer in that domain, or from what is plainly the collaborative and affiliative meshing of talk to achieve a common objective (Jefferson, 1986, 2004b). We shall see below (2.11) that it has different relevance in the domain of the dialogic news interview, and that it is important to distinguish interruption, which often carries ‘complainable’ connotations, from overlap. (Schegloff, 2001:301).

2.2.10 Repair

The concept of *repair* is a fundamental matter in CA approaches to the study of talk in interaction because it is the mechanism by which the parties deal with troubles that impede the talk’s progress and consequently hamper the parties’ quest for intersubjectivity. Troubles can arise in myriad ways: production and hearing difficulties; local interruptions and extraneous intrusions; mistaken or inapposite lexis and syntax, and misunderstood reference. In the case of the news interview, either the question or the response may be perceived as needing repair. Schegloff (2007) explained the important distinction between the initiation of repair and the repair itself. In the dialogic frame of the news interview, either the IR or the IE can utter the problematic talk—the “repairable”; either can recognise it and initiate a repair and either can attend to the repair itself. In CA

terminology, the first position is the turn in the talk where the problem (the repairable) is seated.

2.2.10.1 *First position repair*

First position repair is necessarily a same turn self-repair, that is, the repairable is both recognised and repaired by the speaker, within the turn. In the following extract, Clayman and Heritage record an example where the IR modifies a question to preserve journalistic neutrality:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Extract 2-7 | US PBS Newshour 10 June, 1985: Nuclear Weapons:
IR – Robert McNeil; IE – Kenneth Adelman |
| 1 | IR▶ But isn't- this::: <u>critics</u> uh on the |
| 2 | conservative side of the political argument |
| 3 | have argued that this <u>is</u> : abiding by the |
| 4 | treaty <u>is</u> : unilateral (.) observance. |

(Clayman & Heritage, 2002a:159)

In their analysis, the authors observe that the IR launches a disputing opinion, *But isn't- this* (arrowed) framed as his own. However, as can be seen in line 1, he quickly changes his footing to attribute the forthcoming oppositional view to others—*critics uh on the conservative side of the political argument*.

2.2.10.2 *Next turn repair initiator (NTRI)*

The moment by moment monitoring by conversants is evidenced commonly in what is termed a next turn repair initiator (NTRI), when a recipient of the problem talk raises the issue. In the news interview the parties need a shared understanding of the question before it can be answered. In the next example the topic—building consents following a major earth quake—needs clarification:

Extract 2-8 MR 2010_09_14 Earthquake Act: IR – Julian Robins; GB – Gerry Brownlee sn 113

- 1 IR the replacement buildings would they have to go through the normal
 2 process or could they be fast tracked through this
- 3 GB (.) n (.) Ah my expectation is that they would- there may be a track for
 4 ► them, (.2) .h (.) >we're talking about commercial buildings
 5 [(are we.)]
- 6 IR [Comm]ercial buildings yeah
- 7 GB Yeah that is ah- ah- a little quicker [[continues]]

At lines 4-5, GB, initiates a repair, asking for clarification of what sort of replacement buildings might get fast-track building consent (repair initiation) and then offers a candidate repair. The IR affirms the candidate repair quickly at line 6, GB affirms his understanding, and the interview proceeds. Note, too, that there is an overlap here of the kind discussed above; the IR responds at line 6 affirmatively and collaboratively, but overlaps GB's tag *are we*. Examples such as these abound in news interviews and stand as clear evidence of the flux of emergent context, of how that context is constructed by the parties, and of the persistent quest for intersubjectivity by the parties to the interview. It is this fundamental notion which distinguishes CA from other approaches to the study of talk in interaction, including studies of the news interview.

Another type of repair was identified by Schegloff as self-initiated Third Position Repair (Schegloff, 1992). The third position was described by Schegloff as the position after the second part of a sequence in which the speaker of the first part of the sequence uses this next available turn to show that the second part was somehow incongruent with the expectations of the first part, and appeared to show some “misunderstanding” of the first part, where the quotation marks suggest that the incongruence of the response might also have been through a deliberate manipulation of the question. In the domain of the news interview it is the site where the IR launches action to deal with unsatisfactory

responses to questions, which of course is a primary concern of this thesis and is dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters. Extract 2-5 above exemplifies this, where Paxman reiterates his question.

2.3 CA and quantification

CA scholars, following Goffman, have maintained stern scepticism about, and resistance to, quantification analyses of the artefacts of interactive talk. Consequently, undertaking a quantitative study which uses CA tools to identify the objects to be quantified is not undertaken lightly. The decision is, however, buttressed by a slowly emerging use of basic quantitative techniques among CA scholars. In what follows, I record the grounding and expressions of CA's caution. Subsequent sections then review the limited ways in which some CA researchers have developed quantitative techniques.

2.3.1 Inheritance from ethnomethodology

The received Parsonian view of social research was that social actions were the products of an orderly, bounded social structure, products whose constituents could be identified, codified and counted. Conclusions based on the quantitative evidence in the target interactions, unit acts, could be synthesised to confirm an order of social affairs. Parson's view (1937) of a pre-existing structured container which constrained social actions was playfully dubbed the 'bucket' theory by dissenters (Drew & Heritage, 1992:19). Hence Schegloff and Sacks only reluctantly mentioned the number of participants and the conversations they studied for their key paper identifying the adjacency pair. They did not want to be heard as accepting the 'assured relevance of numbers'. They warned that:

Such a view carries considerable plausibility, but for precisely that reason [such descriptions] should be treated with extreme caution, and be introduced only where

warrant can be offered for the relevance of such characterizations of the data from the data themselves. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973:291)

The function of a unit of talk—the work that it does—does not always bear, and perhaps even rarely bears, a constant relation to its linguistic form. Schegloff explained that his concern about quantification was that in searching for countable objects—in other words “like things”—the underlying minutiae of *differences* in interaction can go unnoticed. While there was still much to be learned about these molecular, qualitative details of social interaction, quantification should be treated with diffidence. After all, he observed, ‘one is also a number’ and ‘no number of other episodes that developed differently will undo the fact that in these cases it went the way it did’ (Schegloff, 1993:101). One occurrence of something noticed warrants analytic attention. That it recurs is irrelevant to its own existence and structure, and how it came to be produced now. That it occurs at all is evidence that the cultural wherewithal for its production is available to members (Benson & Hughes, 1991; Psathas, 1995).

Elsewhere, Schegloff cautions about the ambiguity of syntax, exemplifying question-forms which do not do questioning, and declarative forms which do (Schegloff, 1984). Heritage and Roth (1995) raised similar issues, using an example of rhetorical questions in a television interview whose function was not questioning at all, but condemnation. Schegloff (1993) and Heritage (1995) both point to three central statistical issues: first, the identification of the field of denominator, that is, ‘environments of possible occurrence’ (Schegloff, 1993:105); second, the identification of a case of numerator, that is, the recognition of an instance of what should relevantly occur in this environment. The third matter is the determination of the social domain in which this denominator is to be unambiguously determined.

Heritage's elucidation of the problem is drawn from his own research into the receipt token, *oh* and stands as a salient orange light (Heritage, 1995:402-403). Schegloff critiqued the view that quantitative analysis functions as a kind of harness, 'a control on the sloppiness and imprecision to which non-quantitative reasoning is thought vulnerable' (1993:n4). He countered wryly:

Precisely because this intendedly prophylactic use [of numbers] can induce a false sense of security, we should be wary of the missteps to which quantitative analysis is itself liable, for surely no one wishes merely to replace one set of subversions of quality work with another. Much of the relevant vigilance is supplied by workers in the quantitative tradition themselves.

However, neither Schegloff nor Heritage locks the door on quantification.

Perhaps something of value can be contributed [to quantitative approaches] by those whose work experience is somewhat different, who can address the bearing of features of the natural domain on analysis directed at it. (Schegloff, 1993:n4).

With these robust cautions in mind, we turn to the development of CA approaches to the news interview.

2.4 Institutional CA: a subset of conversational CA

CA has from its earliest explorations been concerned to discover the patterns of *ordinary* talk in interaction by which each participant makes sense of what the other is *doing* by their talk and consequently how the parties achieve and constantly renew intersubjectivity. Amassing large collections of recorded, naturally occurring talk enabled researchers to describe 'ordinarily' and 'massively' recurrent practices (Schegloff, 1993:118). It was because of this work that institutional talk in domains like doctor-patient engagement (Heritage & Maynard, 2006), courts of law (Atkinson & Drew, 1979) emergency calls (Whalen, Zimmerman, & Whalen, 1988) and the news interview (Heritage, 1985) was quickly seen to be conducted in constricted sub-sets of the praxes of ordinary talk

(Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Hence, fundamental structures such as the turn taking system, (especially its particularities of next speaker selection); topic selection, and openings and closings were seen to differ markedly from practices of ordinary conversation. Nevertheless, regardless of deviations from ordinary talk, institutional talk was seen to be highly ordered, with participants displaying moment by moment orientation to the institution within which they are engaged. With this background, we turn to the application of CA techniques to analyses of the news interview.

2.5 Three phases of CA work on the news interview

This section describes what can be seen as three phases in the CA development of research and understanding of the interactive practices of the news interview. The first stage was a cluster of studies from Heritage and Greatbatch in the UK whose aim was to build exegetic accounts of the turn-taking constraints and the normative obligations of participants. The second stage, roughly from the late 1980s, applied these core exegeses to detailed analyses of interactive practice in news interviews, with particular focus on IR question design and IEs' evasion of questions. The third stage, from the mid-1990s, saw tentative steps toward quantitative accounts of news interview praxis. We consider each in turn.

2.5.1 Exegeses

Heritage (1985) observed that the news interview, although an important social site, had received scant analytical attention because, in his view, there was no systematic analytical framework for it. His first CA paper on the news interview mapped how it departed from ordinary conversation in several respects. Of course, the news interview is overwhelmingly confined to questions and responses, and the questions are overwhelmingly put by the IR.⁹

⁹ Exceptions include cases where IEs seek clarification of the question, and very occasionally, rhetorical attacks, such as "What sort of question is that?"

Heritage noted that whereas the answer to a question in ordinary conversation is typically met with a receipt token of some sort, such as “oh”, or “really?”, these are ‘massively absent’ in the news interview: IRs do not offer assessments of the veracity or adequacy of a response (Heritage, 1985:98). Heritage also recorded that IRs avoid interposing themselves as the primary recipient of the question’s response; it is the audience who are the primary recipients. He noted, too, that a regular feature of IR talk is to formulate a gist, or to summarise what the IE has been doing or saying. We shall see later that this technique is frequently used to constrain the IE to more precisely delineated propositional content, or to distil an unsupportive, disaffiliative inference. As Heritage observes, the formulation is a useful device, which the IR deploys with some immunity from allegations of partiality. Importantly, Heritage noted the participants’ strict adherence to these rules. For example, IEs do not start talking until a question has been formed. CA’s exegetic concern with identifying interactive patterns based on such overwhelmingly apparent recurrence makes breaches of the norms apparent, and this is the basis of much CA based analysis.

Greatbatch (1986a, 1986b) used this deviant case approach to report ways in which IEs shift or bend question agendas, and how IRs either react by re-posing the question, or allow the breach to go unmolested. He also observed that IRs are less inclined to reprove an agenda extension which either prefaced or followed talk which constituted an acceptable answer. In other words, provided the question was addressed, IRs were more inclined to tolerate violative prefaces and adjuncts. Note, however, that the condition of *non-reproach* by the IR entails the *researcher’s* assessment of the linguistic meaning and the social action of both the “satisfactory” content and the “violative” content in the response. We shall see that this has significant bearing on the present study.

Greatbatch brought these three studies together in a useful summation:

1. IRs and IEs systematically confine themselves to producing turns that are at least minimally recognisable as questions and answers, respectively.
2. IRs systematically withhold a range of responses that are routinely produced by questioners in mundane conversation.
- 3a. Although IRs regularly produce statement turn components, these are normally issued prior to the production of questioning turn components.
- 3b. IEs routinely treat IRs' statement turn components as preliminaries to questioning turn components.
4. The allocation of turns in multiparty interviews is ordinarily managed by IRs.
5. Interviews are overwhelmingly opened by IRs.
6. Interviews are customarily closed by IRs.
7. Departures from the standard question-answer format are frequently attended to as accountable and are characteristically repaired. (Greatbatch, 1988:404)

Greatbatch's observed rule set was brought to bear in what could be called triangulation analyses of an egregious example of an interview gone wrong. Three articles, all drawing on Heritage's and Greatbatch's findings above, analysed the 1988 interview between CBS news anchor Dan Rather and Vice President George Bush (Clayman & Whalen, 1988; Nosfonger, 1988; Schegloff, 1988a).¹⁰ With both parties to that interview breaching many of the norms expected in news interviews, the resulting chaotic talk still stands as an archetypal deviant case of the news interview. The three analyses together offer a compelling account of "norm breaches" and how the parties struggle to find intersubjectivity, or to make sense of what each other is doing. It also frames the power of

¹⁰ All appeared in the same issue of *Research on Language and Social Interaction*.

deviance analysis, made possible only because of the close exegetic CA studies upon which they stand.¹¹

2.5.2 Question and response design

The institutional constraints described above, highlighted by deviant case analyses, led to the observation of clear patterns in how participants pushed at the boundaries of what constitutes acceptable questioning and responding.

2.5.2.1 *Question design*

Clayman produced important accounts of the IR's conflictive obligations to be both tribune of the people—challenging and probing—on the one hand, but to be defensibly neutral and fair minded on the other (Clayman, 1988, 1992). In doing so, IRs deploy a number of devices. For example, they can produce often detailed prefaces to questions, prefaces which are loaded with adversarial propositions. The fact that these sometimes long-winded prefaces prevail rests on another seemingly banal observation about the (normative) news interview alluded to at 2.5.1: IRs ask questions and IEs answer them. This institutional constraint has a profound upshot: IEs *wait* for a question to be formulated until they start to talk. Hence, IRs can load a question with prefacing constraints and contextual background, aimed at least as much at the audience as they are the IE, and the IE does not talk until a question is formulated (which of course can be done prosodically or pragmatically as well as syntactically). Clayman produces a typical example:

¹¹ The Bush-Rather encounter can be seen here:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FqwQw3THRvU> Date: 23 March, 2014

Extract 2-9 [Nightline 7/22/85: 4-5]

- 1 IR As Peter Sharp said in that piece it is a lot easier to impose a state of
 2 emergency than it is to lift it.
 3 "hhh You still have the root cause when you lift it.
 4 And black leaders in that country have made it very clear that this kind
 5 of situation there's no way of stopping this kind of situation unless
 6 there is an end to apartheid.
 7 It seems to me that by doing this by eh imposing I guess this kind of
 8 repression you really set up uh system where you can do nothing it
 9 seems to me when you lift it except to change the system that exists
 10 there
 11 (.) thuh basic system
 12 "hhhh Is that unfair?
 13 IE I would think it's unfair what is being said...

(Clayman, 1988:479-80)

Clayman observed that, viewed as a tract of ordinary conversation, the IR's long turn reveals several TRPs where it would be appropriate for the IE to take the floor. In not doing so, the IE is 'ratifying' each statement as a neutral component of a questioning turn in progress (Clayman, 1988:480). Another common device discussed by Clayman is for the IR to embed adversarial propositions in the question architecture:

Extract 2-10 Nightline 6/6/85:12-13

- 1 IR Are you prepared to accept some of the charges that are being made BY
 23 people on the scene ... Are you prepared to accept some of the
 4 conclusions that they are drawing about the cause and effect of that
 5 meltdown whatever radiation did seep into the atmosphere and what
 they are seeing now as a heightened incident ((sic)) of cancer
 6 IE: Oh I know what you're referring to now. All right((answer continues))

(Clayman, 1988:481)

This device, which is massively evident in news interviews, enables the IR to adduce unlimited, unsourced third party opinions, often hostile to the IE, whilst claiming

detachment on the grounds that it is a question and not a proposition with which the IR is aligned.

Goffman (1981) identified three *footings* which speakers adopt. The *animator* footing is simply that of mouthpiece, as in the IR's device above. The *author* is the speaker who both selects the values and ideas that are being expressed and chooses the words in which they are expressed, without necessarily aligning with those views. Canonically the footing of the journalist is that of *animator/author*. Finally, the *principal* is the person who is committed to the values expressed. This is a footing which is largely proscribed for journalists.

Clayman (1992) exemplified the application of Goffman's notion of footing to practices in the news interview (Clayman, 1992). We will see below, at 2.6, how Clayman and Heritage systematised question design as a precursor to the first CA quantitative study of the news interview.

2.5.2.2 *Evasive responding*

Clayman's next major contribution to CA analyses of the news interview came a few years later in his study of how presidential and vice-presidential election candidates reformulated questions to better suit their own project (Clayman, 1993). The extent to which these subterfuges are detected and trammelled by the IR reflect the close and subtle monitoring by both IR and IE on the question and answer design. Indeed, Clayman observes that determining what constitutes an adequate response to a question can be problematic and demands close attention to how 'such practices are treated by the interactants themselves' (Clayman, 1993:184). Clayman highlights the rank transparency of some blatant subterfuges in several, often unintentionally amusing, excerpts from the vice-presidential debates in 1988. In the following excerpt, from the highly specialised domain of a vice-

presidential election debate before an audience, Senator Quayle is questioned about his ability to do the job of vice president. Note that the substantive question is prefaced with many reported derogatory remarks alluding to Quayle's background. [In the transcript, sustained *hhh* indicates laughter and *xxxxxx* stands for applause (Clayman, 1993:169)]

Extract 2-11 Bensen-Quayle Debate 5 October, 1988: JRN – Journalist; DQ – Dan Quayle; AUD – Audience

- 1 JRN .hhh Senator you have been criticized as we all
 2 know:: for your decision to stay out of the Vietnam
 3 war::, (0.3) for your poor academic record, .hhhhh
 4 but mo:re troubling to so::me are some o'thuh
 5 comments that've been made by people in your own
 6 party. tch .hhh Just last week former Secretary
 7 of State Hai:gh .hh said that your pi:ck. (0.2)
 8 was thuh dumbest call George Bush could've
 9 ma[:de.
- 10 AUD [h-h-hhxhxhx[hxxXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX]=
 11 [Your leader in the senate]
 12 =XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX[XXXXXXXXxxxxxx (5.8)]
- 13 JRN [Your leader in the senate] Bob
 14 Do:le said that a better Qualified person could have
 15 been chosen. Other republicans have been far
 16 more critical in pri:ate. .hhh Why d'you think
 17 that you have not made a more substantial
 18 impression on some of these people who have been able to
 19 observe you up clo:se.
 20 (1.5)

21 DQ .hhhhhh Thuh question goes:(1.0) to whether
 22 I'm qualified (1.1) to be vice president, (0.8)
 23 .hhhh and in thuh case of a: (.) tragedy whether
 24 I'm qualified to be president. (0.6) .hhhh (0.7)
 25 Qualifications for:: (0.2) thee office of vice
 26 president 'r president (1.0) are not age alq:ne.
 27 (1.5) you must look at accomplishments: (1.0)
 28 and you must look at experience. ...

(Clayman, 1993:169)

At line 21, Quayle overtly seizes the question agenda and asserts where *the question goes* to which is clearly in a direction of his choosing and a far remove from the IR's question.

Clayman and Heritage (2002a) devote a chapter to the skill and imagination deployed by IEs in avoiding the parameters of a question, exemplifying the subtle changes to tense, aspect, and lexis introduced in a response. Outright refusal to answer a question, though, is uncommon and is usually accompanied by an account such as privacy imposts, or insufficient information being available for the IE to provide an answer. Far more common is the IE practice of bending the question agenda in some way, or feigning to address it, but then manipulating it to better suit the project of the IE. In Chapter 4 I systematise and extend Clayman and Heritage's descriptions of evasive techniques.

Whilst evasion might save the embarrassment of admitting error, non-performance, lack of candour, or unpopular policy or regulatory intentions, being shown to be "slippery", or "two-faced", or to use "weasel-words", may be more damaging. Clayman (2001) and (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) propose that politicians need to weigh the cost-benefits of evasion. Further, they observe:

American citizens have a constitutionally protected right to remain silent in the face of police questioning, so that silence cannot be treated as incriminating in courts of law. But

public figures have no such protection in the court of public opinion constituted by the news interview. (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a:241)

In Western democracies, the court of public opinion judges harshly and, as we shall see in the following chapter, there are institutional provisions for that judgement in New Zealand.

2.5.3 Tentative steps toward quantification

Against this descriptive backdrop of the institutional form of interviews, and detailed exegeses of Q–R design, the first CA quantification study of the news interview was published in 1995. Heritage and Roth (1995) revealed both the many problems of coding questioning turns merely by syntactic form, and the necessity of considering the actions that successive turns do in constructing what the parties orient to as a question. The authors conclude that in a variety of social sites, including (mass) communication ‘any effort to associate an interactional practice with some social category of outcome will require quantitative evidence’ (Heritage & Roth, 1995:52). They also propose that for the news interview:

[I]ndividual case studies cannot evidence the parties’ *cumulative orientation to questioning across the entire interview*, across different interviews involving different IRs and IEs, across different numbers of IRs and IEs, and across different topics, broadcast formats, news cultures, and social boundaries. Demonstrating these requires quantitative evidence. (Heritage & Roth, 1995:4 Stress added)

Their object was to test the previous CA assertion (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991:103) that interviews ‘overwhelmingly’ proceed as questions and answers and that this was ‘massive’ evidence of the procedures of the news interview. Heritage and Roth (1995) argued for a determination of action type based on grammatical form because the strictures of the news interview tightly constrained subjective interpretation. They produced an initial distribution based on 654 questioning action types, and using the question typology of

Quirk et al. (1985) determined that some 82% of IR→IE turn transitions in the UK interview data occurred after a questioning action; in the US data, it was 65%. However, when they considered the balances of “other”—18% and 35% respectively—using close CA analyses they concluded that the vast majority were in fact oriented to by the parties as adjunctive to, or standing for, questions. Once these had been incorporated, their revised figures show that 87% of UK turn transition IR→IE occurred in a post-question action environment; for the US, it was 93%. This study stands as an important shift in the resistance to quantification among CA researchers.

However, whilst the door has opened a crack to quantification, the constraints on the researcher undertaking a quantitative account are burdensome: what is to be counted? CA has illuminated the sequential *particularities* of meaning and reaction relevance which often have scant correlation to linguistic meaning; quiddity and haecceity of members’ *actions done by talk* need to be carefully analysed. Nonetheless, by the turn of the millennium Heritage forecast likely developments in CA and quantification in which he was to play a central part.

[N]ew research questions will arise because of the current success of CA in generating empirically grounded findings that will support quantitative analysis. The accumulation of these findings makes it increasingly likely that questions about the distribution of interactional practices can be asked with some likelihood of success. Granted that particular interactional practices are available to be deployed, who deploys them, when and where, and with what consequences or outcomes? Such questions can be meaningfully raised for data in which environments are broadly standardized, and participants have choices among actions that are analytically well understood. (Heritage, 1999:70-71)

2.6 CA quantitative studies of the US presidential news conference

In 2002, Clayman and Heritage published the first CA diachronic study of questioning practices in the news interview (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c). This was, in effect, a pilot

study for a much larger project and represents a major shift in CA research. The authors developed a coding system to apply to news conference questions put to Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan, separated by some 30 years. The aim was to determine the extent, if any, to which journalistic deference and adversarialness towards the president had changed over six presidential terms.¹² The larger project (Clayman et al., 2006) was published four years later, and considered historic trends with all presidents from Eisenhower to Clinton, spanning almost a half century. The authors were joined by statisticians from Rand Corporation and considered 4,608 questions put to presidents in White House news conferences. It is discussed here at some length because it illuminates problems in identifying, classifying and counting the practices of the *actions* that news questions do and also because it is an important reference for the present study. Because it is confined to a specialised institutional setting, and to questions, the work throws into relief the distinctly dissimilar practices of the quotidian news interview, which cannot be accounted for by the Clayman et al. question analysis system (QAS) (2006:564). Further, with their concentration on quantifying aggressive *questioning* practices, Clayman et al. pay no attention to responses. Inferentially, their extensive study of the White House news conference provides a reference for what a quantification system for the ordinary one-to-one news interview should and should not look like.

Apart from the vast sampling undertaking, the presidential study was a methodological leap into what many CA scholars, particularly Schegloff, saw as the problematic approach of quantification (Schegloff, 1993). Their classification of

¹² “Adversarialness” seems to be the authors’ neologism.

aggressive questions was based on ten variables, derived from four broad dimensions: initiative, directness, assertiveness and adversarialness.

1. Initiative. This was their term for journalists' use of constraining, contextualising, and prefacing, and also for follow-up questions. It is contrasted with journalists' passivity, which Clayman and Heritage describe in the earlier study as 'allowing the president maximum leeway to construct his response and placing few constraints on him' (2002c:574)
2. Directness: This labelled the degree (or absence) of deference or caution, typically with matrix modal clauses, such as. "Could I ask you, Sir..." etc.
3. Assertiveness: Question design which in effect asserts the expected alignment of the answer. "Isn't it the case that *p*?"
4. Adversarialness: The extent to which the question design aligns with a position opposed to the president.

On the basis of this coding, the researchers concluded that there had been a significant increase in the aggressiveness of questioning in US presidential press conferences over the period. The Clayman et al. tabulation of their schema is reproduced here and will then be critiqued for its relevance to the domain of the present project—diachronic change in contestation in the quotidian news interview.

Table 2-1 *The question analysis system (Clayman et al., 2006:570)*

Dimension	Indicator	Description	Values
Initiative	Statement prefaces	Q preceded by statement(s)	0 No preface 1 Preface
	Multiple questions	2+ Qs in a single turn at talk	0 Single Q 1 Multiple Qs
	Follow-up questions	Subsequent Q by the same journalist	0 Not a follow-up Q 1 Follow-up Q
Directness	Absence of other-referencing frames	Frame refers to president's ability or willingness to answer	0 No frame 1 Can you/could you 2 Will you/would you
	Absence of self-referencing frames	Frames refers to journalist's own intention or desire to ask	0 No frame 1 I wonder 2. I'd like to ask 3 Can/May I ask
Assertiveness	Preface tilt	Preface favors yes or no	0 No tilt 1Innocuous tilt 2 Unfavorable tilt
	Negative questions	Strongly projects agreement: (Isn't it...? Couldn't you?)	0 Not a negative Q 1 Negative tilt
Adversarialness	Preface adversarialness	Q Preface is oppositional	0 Non-adversarial preface 1 Oppositional preface focus of Q 2 Opposition preface presuppose
	Global adversarialness	Overall Q is oppositional	0 Not oppositional overall 1 Oppositional overall 2 Oppositional preface presupposed
	Accountability questions	Q seeks explanation for administration policy	0 Not an accountability Q 1 Why did you... 2 How could you...

The ten codifiable nominal indicators partitioned from the four dimensions (initiative, directness, assertiveness and adversarialness) are shown in the second column. Each of the 4608 questions in the sample was assigned an ordinal value for each of the identifiers. Ordinal rankings were elected from the ranges shown in column 4, values. It can be seen that some values were binary, whereas indirectness (deference/politeness) was assessed with four rankings, 0-3. It is important to note that any one question could be assigned multiple ordinal rankings; for example, a question could display no deference modals, be a negative interrogative, be adversarial and have a constraining preface. Whilst these rankings cannot be aggregated, cumulatively they give a sense of the weight of what the authors term the aggressiveness of a question.

The coding teams worked in pairs and Cohen- κ consistency tests were performed on a sub-sample (not shown). High consistency was demonstrated across the pairs of coders. Ordinal logistic regression analyses were performed on each of the four dimensions against nominal time intervals—the presidential four-year term—12 intervals across the 48-year catchment of the study. Initiative, assertiveness and adversarialness all increase markedly over time. Indirect, modally prefaced questions such as “Could I ask...” or “Would you give us an indication...”, or embedded questions, prefaced with expressions like, “I wonder...” showed steady *decrease* across the period. This inversely indexed an increase in direct questions which the authors interpret as a diminution in deference, that is, a shrinking in social distance between the president and the White House press corps, and an increase in aggressiveness.

2.6.1 Discussion of Clayman et al.

One salient observation to be made about Clayman et al. (2006) is that this is not a study of interaction; it is a study of monologic questions, unconcerned with responses. There is no

analysis of how the president orients to the questions, or of how journalists orient to his responses. The talk is classified by coders without reference to how the participants oriented to the prior actions performed. They do code for follow-up questions, but without reference to the president's responses which provoked the follow-up. Clayman et al. specify that the data for their study are from 'transcripts in *Public Papers of the Presidents*' (2006:572).¹³ These are manifestly not CA, or verbatim transcripts. A comparison of a typical transcript from the US Government Printing Office and its audio track provides abundant evidence of the extent of the normal archival practice of "tidying up" during transcribing.¹⁴ Hesitations, false starts, flawed grammar or reference, self-repairs and so forth have been removed. These are all features of natural talk which a CA analyst, for example, might find not just peripherally, but essentially relevant in determining how the participants oriented to the actual, emergent interaction.¹⁵ Further, the questioner is not identified unless incidentally so, either by self-identification, or by the president selecting next questioner by name. This means that without additional exhaustive, complex and expensive research into the identity of each questioner for each question (through archive film for example) the coders could not be confident of catching

¹³ This rich resource is found at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/news_conferences.php. Date: 3 March, 2014

¹⁴ Path: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=33594#axzz1kyEvSKcC>. Date: 26 March, 2014

¹⁵ Steven Clayman generously responded to a personal query about these issues: 'To test for all of this, in our pilot study [(Clayman & Heritage, 2002c)] we produced full CA transcripts for the entire dataset. But when we tested the coding system, we discovered that the published transcripts were good enough for our analytic purposes. The things we were counting (e.g., whether the question has a preface or not, whether it's a negative interrogative or not, etc.) are not all that detailed, and pretty much *every coding decision* that we looked at came out the same whether we were using the published transcripts or the CA transcripts. That was a tremendous relief, because otherwise the large-scale study [(Clayman et al., 2006)] would have been much more labor-intensive and prohibitively expensive.' Steven Clayman, personal correspondence, April, 2014.

all follow-up questions, or other cumulative interactions between the president and an individual journalist.¹⁶

Whilst the study reports an overall trend in increasing levels of aggressiveness, it shows spikes in aggression toward President Reagan across all dimensions. The following graph tracks one dimension of aggressiveness, assertiveness, or question design which coerces the president to agree with the propositional content of the question (Clayman et al., 2006:577)

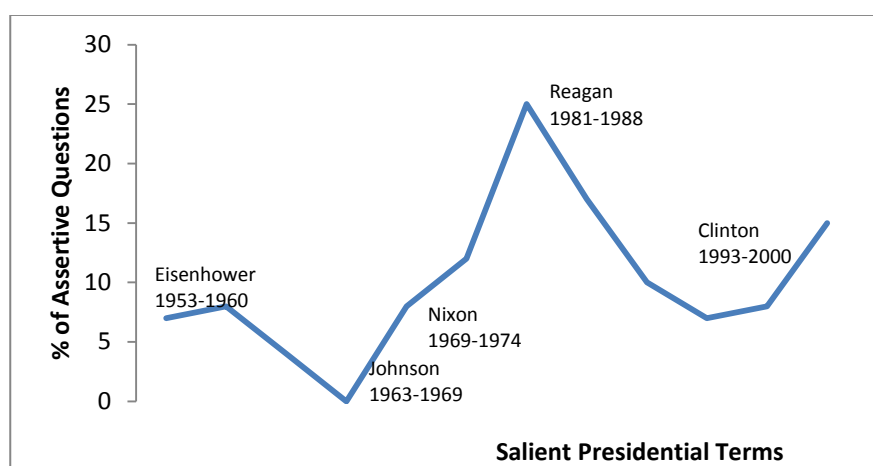


Figure 2-1 Historic trend in highly assertive questions to presidents 1953 -2000
(From Clayman et al., 2006:577)

The authors propose that one possible reason for the spike is the climate of distrust which prevailed in Washington following the Vietnam War and the Watergate affair.¹⁷ Not mentioned by the authors is the procedural consequentiality of President Reagan's responding style. In my view, this may serve as evidence of the impoverished transcripts. The marked spike in 'Highly Assertive' questioning (Clayman et al., 2006:577) shown toward President Reagan might reflect a press corps response to Reagan's style of answering—or not answering. Reagan was well known as “the great communicator” and for his skill at talking in a plain folksy “fireside” register, past the press corps, to the

¹⁶ This problem is acknowledged in a later paper (Clayman et al., 2011)

¹⁷ Although this would entail that the press corps had taken 10 years to develop their scepticism.

electorate. Perhaps he drew perseverant questions because of that. A CA analysis, along the lines of Clayman and Heritage's (2002a) own incisive account of responding practices, might have explained this spike from an endogenous account of the interactions without reference to the political climate.

There is another spike in the questioning of President Reagan. In a precursor to this study, questions addressed to Reagan and those addressed to Eisenhower 30 years earlier were quantified and compared (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c). The study recorded many more follow-up questions to Reagan, and interpreted that finding as increased aggression compared with the normative press conference practice of one question per turn. However auditioning the video archive of just a few of Reagan's White House press conferences shows that, unlike Kennedy, who made a practice of shifting gaze away from the questioner as he finished his answer, Reagan does not quickly shift gaze to select the next speaker. A CA analysis may well argue that this holding gaze *invites* supplementary questions. Two examples of his relaxed gaze-hold can be seen in a typical press conference from October, 1987. The first is found at 3'04", when the president finishes an answer and holds gaze with the questioner for almost a second.



Figure 2-2 President Reagan holds gaze. 22 October, 1987; 3'04"¹⁸

¹⁸ Path: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdngN5gAVRs>. Date: 3 March, 2014. "Helen" refers to Helen Thomas, the doyenne of the White House Press Corps for many years.

When no supplementary question is forthcoming, he turns to another journalist, and selects her by name, “Helen”. Another opportunity for a follow-up question, which is seized, is found at 8’52”. Again, the President finishes an answer with a falling terminal tone and holds gaze with the questioning journalist, who does take the opportunity to present a follow-up question. Without imputing to President Reagan reasons for this almost courtly style, it can be noted he was a trained film actor, and actors are trained to hold steady after a line of dialogue so the film editor can cut. Regardless of why President Reagan holds gaze, these actions are features of talk which a CA analyst may well find relevant in determining how the participants oriented to the actual, emergent interaction.¹⁹

2.7 Contrasting domains

There are marked differences between the presidential press conference and the day-to-day breakfast news interview. Actions normatively expected from the parties in the two domains differ widely. Below, the chief differences are explicated. Cumulatively they show why the Clayman, et al. coding model cannot productively be applied to the quotidian news interview.

2.7.1 The physical setting

The physical setting and ritualistic semiotics of the presidential conference reflect the power differential between the high office and the journalist(s). The president is usually on a podium and his eye line is down toward the journalists seated below him. The scene is dressed with symbols of his power—the flag of the USA, the presidential banner, and sometimes other imagery, such as a background illustration of the White House. In some

¹⁹ This news conference is from 1987, sometime after the President’s office dropped a brief regimen of “numbers in a hat” allocation of questions. See Schegloff (1987) for his comment on turn taking in that environment.

conference settings, faux Greek columns adorn the wall behind the president. By contrast, in the daily news programme environment, the IR is at least on an equal physical footing with IE. If the IE is talking by telephone, the IR is often more easily heard, and the dynamic range of the telephone voice is not as broad as the studio sound. If the IE has come to the studio, the two are ostensibly on an equal physical footing. Yet the IR has the benefit of cues and prompts from his/her producer via headphones and computer, together with familiarity with the technology. At the White House, the journalist is one guest of the president amongst 100 or more. In the radio studio, the IE is the guest.

2.7.2 Power asymmetries of topic-setting and action

The presidential press conference is called under the aegis and preference of the president, evidenced, for example, by wide variation in the frequency and regularity of press conferences under different USA administrations between 1953 and 2000. Ronald Reagan averaged five a year whereas George Bush Snr averaged 32 a year (Clayman et al., 2010). By contrast, the IE in an ordinary news interview appears by invitation. Moreover a politician declining to appear—for example to account for some alleged failing—is commonly remarked on and invites negative inference. In exceptional circumstances, such as in claiming the right to put a reply, an IE may request to appear; nevertheless the IR retains the right to decline, even if this means having to later defend the rejection.²⁰ Second, the president selects next speaker, whereas in the ordinary news interview, turn allocation is controlled by the IR. Ensuring that senior reporters from competing media companies get a turn is consistent with maintaining good relations with the major media organs. Most importantly, this means that supplementary questions from IR₁ are not an

²⁰ The term *IR* here stands for the institution as publisher, represented by the interviewer.

entitlement of IR₁, but a presidential prerogative. The president might perceive a “softer option” in choosing IR₂. (Or any one of IR_n where n can be > 100.) Handing the floor to a different journalist gives the president practical control, not necessarily over what topics he might have to field, but over the depth and detail to which they might be explored. In the minute before the frame shown in Figure 2-3 below, President Kennedy has avoided the gaze of the questioner, who is well to his left (camera right). While uttering the final part of that answer (a turn ending TCU) he shifts his gaze across a wide arc to his right, well away from the preceding questioner, as though deliberately avoiding eye contact and a possible supplementary question.



Figure 2-3 President John F. Kennedy selects next question 24 April, 1963.²¹

The president also decides when the press conference starts and ends. In the daily news interview, it is the IR who determines that, except, of course, in exceptional cases when the guest refuses to continue. Finally, but related to the president selecting next speaker, the president is not interrupted. He determines how long he needs to answer a question and when to offer the floor. The daily news programme IR can and does interrupt to take the floor, sometimes for programme time constraints but often when he/she decides that the IE

²¹ Path: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=49o3LSFwvso>. Date: 3 March, 2014

has had enough time to respond, disagrees with the way the response is emerging or in extreme cases, wishes to terminate the interview.

2.7.3 Question design in the presidential news conference

2.7.3.1 *Prefacing*

The turn allocation system for the presidential news conference, in which the president selects next speaker, has profound implications for question design. Without surety that a supplementary question will be accepted, the White House correspondent builds questions loaded with prefacing constraints, designed to mitigate the need for supplementary questions.²² These heavily “front-ended” or prefaced questions are not nearly as common in daily news interviews. There, the interactions often develop as a series of supplementary questions, or series of sequences (Schegloff, 2007). These commonly involve what CA terms repair, challenges, or disagreements, and can be launched by sometimes brusque interruptions. White House journalists do not seize the floor from the president. Consequently, there is no need for the Clayman et al. system to account for interruptions and it does not. By contrast a CA analysis of quotidian news interviews must account for these consequentially relevant practices as central features.

2.7.3.2 *Linguistic politeness in the cause of face threats*

In older presidential news conference data—the Eisenhower data, for example—the language of questioning often reflects the social distance between the IR and the president, and deference toward the president. Clayman et al. (2006) conclude that this has changed

²² In a deviant case, seasoned White House press corps correspondent, Helen Thomas, advises Ronald Reagan before he answers the primary question that she has a follow-up question: “And, Sir, I’d like to follow up”. This is never heard in a day-to-day interview, because there is no need.

Path: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdnngN5gAVRs> at 3’22”. Date: 23 Nov. 2011

over time. Under their dimension of *directness* they code the degree to which questions are or are not prefaced with modal matrix clauses, such as “Could I ask you whether...” or “Would you care to say something about...”, or with self-referencing expressions, such as “I wonder...”. The authors report a decline in these face-threat mitigations over the period 1953-2000. Whilst they propose this as a further indicator of increasing aggressiveness, they also acknowledge that ‘increasing directness seems to be a deeply ingrained secular trend’ and ‘it may not be a journalistic change per se, so much as one manifestation of broader cultural change involving the decline of formality in American life and the coarsening of public discourse’ (Clayman et al., 2006:576). It would seem to follow that, whilst it might have been the case that absence of overt expressions of deference to the president in 1953 would have been seen at the time as rude or aggressive, there is no principled way to argue that an *absence* of such tokens in recent data also entails aggressiveness. However, Clayman et al. do measure the decline of these indirect forms across the span of the study, seemingly putting aside issues of historicity. One of the difficulties of assigning ordinal values using a kind of Brown and Levinson formula (Brown & Levinson, 1987:76) is placing the act in its historical context. Take the following well-travelled example:

Extract 2-12 IR – Jim Lehrer; BC – President Bill Clinton

- 1 IR You had no sexual relationship with this young woman?
- 2 BC There is not a sexual relationship – that is accurate

News Hour with Jim Lehrer
January 21, 1998

It seems impossible that such a question would have been put to President Eisenhower and an ordinal assignment of the degree of imposition would seem incalculable.

2.7.4 The question versus the interview as object of study

As a result of the turn allocation arrangement for the presidential press conference “interview”, the emerging context, as between two interlocutors, is curtailed and usually

consists of one sequence—one question turn and one response turn—occasionally, with a supplementary Q–R pair. This entails that, unlike a one-on-one interview, there is little cumulative interaction between journalist and president. The presidential news conference is an agglomeration of discrete, one- or two- sequence encounters (that is, one or two Q–R pairs) and the variable under investigation by Clayman et al. (2006) and their forerunners is not the interview, but the question. This is cogently illustrated in the infamous 1988 one-to-one interview between Vice President George H. Bush and Dan Rather. That interview, albeit between president and journalist, dramatically contrasts the differential power asymmetries in one-to-one news interview and the White House news conference. Schegloff's (1988a) and Clayman and Whalen's (Clayman & Whalen, 1988) CA analyses of this confrontation show vividly how accretions of relatively common contesting moves by either party accrued, developing into a slanging match, and an eventual breakdown of the encounter. Assigning an ordinal ranking to “cumulative aggression” is clearly problematic. Nevertheless, no account of the contestation in a one-to-one interview can be adequate without accounting for these accretions in the way that CA qualitative analysis can inform.

2.7.5 Pointers to next steps in quantification

In a subsequent paper Clayman et al. (2007) consolidated their position on quantification based on CA-informed coding. They reassert the rudimentary tenet that quantification requires the identification of systematic practices; however, the essential difference in the CA approach is that these practices are identified by the participants themselves; it is the emic understandings of the parties which are to be noted and counted, not the researcher's. It follows that quantitative studies must be based on prior CA ‘close analysis of individual cases and collections of cases’ (Clayman et al., 2007:27).

2.8 Two European studies based on the Clayman and Heritage model

Two significant studies from Europe employed the Clayman and Heritage (2002c) question analysis system (QAS) and applied it to an examination of political interviews during election campaigns.

2.8.1 The QAS used to test for bias—synchronic

The first study, Huls and Varwijk (2011), applied the QAS to test a commonly asserted view in Holland that the media were biased against parties of the political right. The authors studied 12 interviews (approximately fifteen minutes each) from a late-night television talk show during the pre-election period in 2006. Each interview was with a party leader or MP active in the campaign. The format for this show is unlike a presidential press conference, or a news interview. There are two high-profile hosts, each participating in the interview. There are also invited guests (two or three) at the table whose degree of activity is not specified. The interviewees evenly represented the political right, centre, and left. To the Clayman and Heritage question analysis scheme, the authors added a further measure of *persistence*, that is, the propensity of IRs to pursue a response in the face of evasion or avoidance. The research design enabled parsing the IEs not only by political affiliation, but also by gender, and whether or not the IE was currently in power.

The authors are careful to note that bias cannot be determined by simply quantifying the proportion of adversarial questions put to IEs of differing political alignment. Researchers have noted that evasion by an IE often provokes a repeat or re-wording of the question by the IR (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b; Greatbatch, 1986b). In other words, the incitement, or warrant, for the “aggressive” persistent questioning comes from the IE. After taking these factors into account, the authors found that the IRs on this television programme were indeed biased to favour parties of the political left. Whilst they also

found evidence that evasive responses incite assertive follow-ups, it is more pronounced with IEs on the political right. The authors observe that these results cannot simply be extrapolated to local media generally, and that provided the bias is balanced elsewhere, the state broadcaster fulfils its obligation for even-handedness.

2.8.2 The QAS used to test for bias—diachronic

Bias on the part of interviewers was also tested by Ekström, Eriksson, Johansson, and Wikström (2012) in a similar political environment to the Huls and Varwijk study, but set in political campaigns in Sweden. The two studies are usefully compared since both employ elements of Clayman and Heritage's QAS. The Swedish study, however, is diachronic in order to track whether there is variation in the treatment of IEs depending on whether or not they are in power over the eight-year period. The authors also tested for gender bias in the treatment of IEs. Three election periods are considered: 2002, 2006 and 2010.²³

The data are from interviews with four party leaders in each of the three election campaigns, making 12 interviews in total. The interviews are conducted by two IRs facing one party leader. 2050 question and response sequences were analysed. The authors employed a reduced set of the Clayman and Heritage QAS, but added a dimension of Interruption as another aspect of aggressiveness. Unlike the Huls and Varwijk study, the authors find no evidence of partisan bias and no trend over time. They conclude that situational factors, differing across the three elections, are more likely to drive variation.

²³ In a second part of the paper, DA comparisons are made between the pre-scripted questions which are meticulously prepared, and those which actually emerge in the interaction. As a partial text analysis it is not considered here.

They do find that female politicians are treated differently from males—but ‘not in the assumed direction’ based on prior research (Ekström et al., 2012:429; Lundell & Ekström, 2008): males are treated more aggressively.

2.8.3 Conclusions drawn for these two studies

The power of the Clayman and Heritage QAS is affirmed in these two studies. However, both studies report some unacceptable variation among coders and the need to carefully consider the definitions and guidance for coding. Inferentially, the articles highlight the specialised nature of the genre of election campaign interviews, which are typically a one-in-three- or four-year event. Also, with more than one IR, these data bear little resemblance to the quotidian news interview.

2.9 The CA exegetic work continues

One inference to be drawn from Clayman’s and Heritage’s position on quantification is that it is constrained by the body of CA analyses upon which it stands. Indeed, Schegloff warned that CA researchers were still discovering the uniqueness of individual fragments of talk—their haecceity—which is one of the reasons he eschewed quantification (Schegloff, 1993). As the CA exegetic work continues, we can argue that quantification becomes incrementally more sure footed. Two recent studies add to that footing.

Ekström and Fitzgerald (2013) describe politicians’ and IRs’ techniques of overtly repeating expressions to pursue their own agenda: that is, repeating the same words turn after turn, with scant or no regard to their relevance to the question, as seen, for example, in the Paxman-Michael Howard Extract 2-5). Although repetition, as a form of attempted agenda control, has been discussed before in the literature (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b) this paper reports significant differences between practices in the live broadcast and the

pre-recorded interview. The authors' studied a collection of 14 'extended repetition sequences' from disparate sources in the UK, Sweden, and the US and make no claim that the collection is representative of a particular news interview domain or genre (Ekström & Fitzgerald, 2013:4). They also acknowledge that interviews gathered from sources such as YouTube tend to have been posted for their entertainment value and the egregious or extreme practices they contain. The aim is to show how the praxis of repetition relates to interactional power, and also to the negotiation of identities. The Swedish data, however, are markedly different from the YouTube data, because they include pre-recorded interviews, intended to be edited. Aware of probable editing, the authors contend, IEs utter their key set expressions, or tropes, at every opportunity. In the authors' view this helps to ensure that, however the pre-recorded interview is cut, some remnant of the message will survive. By contrast, such blatant perseverance by the IE is risky in the live interview, where the trespasses are on display.

Complementary to IEs persistently iterating the same motif are the IRs' reframing of their questions, repeating significant lexis to draw attention to the recalcitrance of the IE. The authors propose that these practices reflect power struggles in controlling the agenda. This in turn reflects on their projection of their respective identities—as competent politicians or journalists.

The Ekström and Fitzgerald paper points to a potentially significant issue in selecting interview data, and that is whether it has been edited or not. In other words, the researcher needs to consider the extent to which an "interview" is a unified event with contiguous exchanges of talk. This is also considered in Chapter 4.

A range of IR turn designs for perseverant questioning in the face of inadequate responses was described by Romaniuk (2013). Romaniuk uses the term *pursuits*, after

Greatbatch (1986b), and identifies three characteristics of an IR turn which distinguishes pursuit questions from others: (a) it suspends the progressivity of the interview; (b) it renews the original question in some form; and (c) it stays on topic. Also referencing the Paxman-Howard interview, Romaniuk exemplifies the various lexical and indexical devices IRs use to hold the topic in play, and to highlight the specific failing of the IE's prior turn to meet the constraints of the question. Whilst these devices have been previously reported, (Clayman, 1993, 2001; Clayman & Heritage, 2002b) Romaniuk shows the various ways in which IRs 'tighten the reins' of the question which still seeks an answer (Romaniuk, 2013:153). For example, a *wh-* question, which meets a deficient response, will often be pursued by a *yes/no* question to further circumscribe the constraints of the question. Her study is based on a small collection of 70 Q-R pairs from disparate interviews, chosen to illustrate the practices of interest. Accordingly the study is not presented as having any statistical significance. However, the paper does suggest approaches for further investigation, particularly in analysing the intensification of contestation over the trajectory of an interview.²⁴ Such a study would seem to require a principled sampling regimen—for example, confining the data to one domain with sufficient tokens to produce significance.

²⁴ Both these papers were published after the present study was designed and the data coded, and so they were not available to inform the work. In the event, these practices had already been subsumed under superordinate categories of persistence and evasion as described in Chapter 4. Because the present study is diachronic, quantitative analysis of fine grained practices, (like those described in these two papers, and others) poses significant sampling issues. Bifurcating the sample to account for this level of detail would be highly unlikely to render meaningful results.

2.10 Summary of CA approaches to the news interview

The CA approach to the news interview is concerned with what the participants achieve through the actions that their talk does. The early exegetic work in the 1980s demonstrates the productivity of that approach. With the insights gained from CA, tentative steps toward quantification of the actions of questioning were undertaken (Heritage & Roth, 1995). This led to major quantitative studies of questioning US presidents, based on the social meanings of various question designs. However, ten years after the principal study, there has been no equivalent quantitative study of responses. The major work on responses remains Clayman and Heritage (2002b) which was qualitative. Nor has the quantitative approach been applied to quotidian news interviews. The recent studies by Ekström and Fitzgerald (2013), and Romaniuk (2013) extend the exegesis, but their work is not quantitative, and they draw on disparate data sources and make no claim that their studies reflect the quotidian news interview. The status of CA approaches to the news interview, then, can be encapsulated as being poised for further, confident, quantification analyses informed by continuing exegetic studies.

2.11 Some other approaches to the news interview

In this section, I review some earlier research on the news interview seated in the traditions of DA and SP. As in CA approaches, the emphasis in these studies is on the interactional practices of IR and IE; they are not concerned with the research questions typically posed in studies of the news interview based in disciplines such as critical discourse analysis (CDA), political studies, journalism, and media and communication studies. Those disciplines are more concerned with content analysis, editorial choices and the setting of news agendas, and issues of bias and proselytizing. They are reviewed here because,

although each contributed to our understanding of the interactive practices of the news interview, they are based on exogenously determined meaning of questioning and responding utterances. Inferentially, then, they further illuminate the distinct approach of CA.

2.11.1 Beattie and interruption

Beattie (1982) compared differential interruption practices in news interviews with two senior UK politicians. He noted that in the news interview, as an important site for the conduct of politics, the ability to control the dialogue, as against monologic rhetoric, is crucial: ‘The emergence of the televised political interview as the chief vehicle for getting a political message across makes skills of dialogue (including turn taking skills) all the more important’ (Beattie, 1982:95). Beattie drew on the earlier work of Duncan (1972) to propose why Margaret Thatcher seemed to be interrupted more than Jim Callaghan.

Duncan (1972) studied in micro detail the ability of intending turn takers to calculate when a turn transition will be relevant. The exacting study of two dialogic conversations, which the author states took two years to transcribe, identified a cluster of signals which, singly or in combination, project that the speaker is about to yield the floor. Duncan identified intonation; paralanguage (pitch, loudness and drawl); body motion, sociocentric sequences (using discourse particles projecting a turn transfer such as, “but uh”, “or something”); and finally in his list was syntax—the resolution of a clause. We noted at 2.2.4 that Sacks et al. (1974) observed similar attributes of *possible* turn transition places at the end of TCUs.

Like Sacks et al. (1974), Beattie approaches turn taking as a primal determinant of conversation, but CA’s talk-in-action approach and Beattie’s SP perspective are distinct. Sacks et al. are concerned with the way participants achieve the distribution of turns as a

valued social resource (Sacks et al., 1974). By contrast Beattie's SP view is that taking turns at talk developed because of 'the cognitive limitations of human beings. People find it very difficult to talk and listen simultaneously' (Beattie, 1982:93). This, of course, is not to say the two approaches are mutually exclusive; it simply points to the weighting in the distinct approaches. Sacks et al. noted that where overlap occurs, it is brief, with one party withdrawing quickly (1974). Beattie observes that the avoidance of simultaneous talk is an acquired skill which children start to develop in their second year by ceasing to speak in order to avoid simultaneous talk.

Beattie applied Duncan's metric to apparent interruptions of, and by, senior politicians, Margaret Thatcher and James Callaghan, in separate interviews. The work addresses "imperfect" transition between turns and is not concerned with the deliberate, mid-turn interruption of a speaker to seize the floor. He concluded that Thatcher was interrupted much more than Callaghan, but proposed that this is because Thatcher gave confused signals (after Duncan, 1972) about whether she was about to yield the floor, or continue speaking. By inference, the interrupting IR was not misappropriating the floor at all, but simply reacting to wrong signals. Beattie's work was critiqued energetically by Bull and Mayer (1988) and the authors engaged in a vigorous exchange—largely over coding and statistical issues (Beattie, 1982, 1989a, 1989b; Bull & Mayer, 1988, 1989). Bull and Mayer also argued that Beattie had overlooked alternative reasons for Mrs Thatcher being interrupted; they applied content analyses to show that Thatcher was usually interrupted because the IR was persisting with a question, and contended that that was a more likely cause than the IR misreading a turn completion cue.

The CA perspective, discussed above (2.2.9), shows how the superordinate class of overlapping speech has many subordinates. Many instances of what Beattie, and Bull and

colleagues (Beattie, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Roger, Bull, & Smith, 1988) would classify as interruptions would not be so classed in a CA account. Beattie, for example, presents data for an ‘interruption’ where turn transition occurs at a projected TRP, but the current speaker expands a little, causing what in CA terms would be accidental overlap, not an interruption (1982:101). Elsewhere, Beattie classifies a case of collaborative co-construction of phrase as an interruption (Beattie, 1982). Whilst these variations in classification might seem trivial, they have a bearing in arguing whether for example, one politician is more liable to be interrupted than another.

2.11.2 Blum Kulka (1983)

Drawing on speech act theory and the principles of DA, Blum-Kulka proposes a ‘discourse genre’ for the political news interview (1983:151). Her study is based on data from Israeli television news interviews drawn from a ‘highly prestigious’ weekly programme 1980-82 (1983:151). It is an early example of discourse analytic approaches to the analysis of talk in specialist institutions and precedes the CA work on the news interview by two years. Blum-Kulka draws on a range of theoretical approaches to develop what is essentially a speech act account of paired question and response moves using Austin’s concept of illocution (1976:98), and Gricean cooperative maxims (Grice, 1989). The IR is analysed as controlling the illocutionary acts of questioning, and the IE’s responses are cast as either ‘supportive’ of the question’s illocution or ‘unsupportive’ (Blum-Kulka, 1983:131). The appellations supportive and unsupportive are assigned based on IR either switching topic, or persisting on the topic which has been not been resolved. Blum-Kulka’s approach implicitly underscores the Gricean notion, and indeed early DA notions, that a “happy” or normative discourse is characterised by paradigmatic cooperation, building cohesion and coherence with easy segues to new topics. By contrast, ‘unsupportive’ responses ‘withhold

the flow of discourse' (Blum-Kulka, 1983:n6). This entails that there is some exogenously determined paradigm for how a particular discourse should *flow*; by contrast, CA research holds that the unique trajectory of each interaction is a joint, endogenous achievement of the participants, resting on *their* understandings of the illocutions in play. Blum-Kulka's approach, whilst recognising the dialectic of news interviews, bases her work squarely in a tradition of speech act illocution on the basis of researcher-determined implicature, assigned to single utterances with scant regard for their sequential positioning (Schegloff, 1988b). Whilst referencing Sacks and the notion of the adjacency pair, Blum-Kulka seems to overlook the fundamental argument of Schegloff and Sacks (1973) that it is not just the proximate relevance of the SPP, but that second part's sequential implication for the *subsequent* turn—in the case of the interview, how a response to a question affects, indeed, *effects* the next question. Nevertheless, Blum-Kulka's inclusion of disparate theories of talk in action reflects the interest across many disciplines in the actions that dialogic interview talk does.

2.11.3 The horns of dilemma

In a contrasting study, Bavelas, Black, Bryson, & Mullett, (1988) tested not the seizure of the speaker's floor, but the avoidance of it. Through a carefully orchestrated study the authors described what they termed 'avoidance-avoidance' motivation for politicians confronting both unattractive horns of a dilemma (1988:138). Their study centred on political party members gathered to appoint the leader before an up-coming general election. Party members were wearing rosettes supporting either the front runner and incumbent (A), or the challenger, (B), running a distant second. Party members were polled with the same question: "Do you think the party can win the election with B [the less preferred candidate]." For B supporters, there was no conflict, and accordingly, they

produced the control condition, giving unequivocal, direct, affirmative answers. To the A supporters, however, there was a dilemma, facing an avoidance-avoidance condition. Since they wanted their party to win the election, regardless of the candidate, they would be reluctant to answer negatively against B, for to do so would reflect disloyalty to the *party*. However, a crisp and preferred positive answer would reflect disloyalty to their own preferred candidate, A. In other words, exactly the same linguistic form of question performed distinct actions depending on the alignment of the recipient: in the non-conflict case, the action seeks and anticipates a crisp affirmative answer; in the conflict case the action done poses a dilemma. There were two significant results: first, the responses in the conflict condition were longer, with a mean “word” count of 11.5 for the non-conflict condition and 52 words for the conflict condition, with the authors reporting confidence of $p < 0.05$. Second, they found that *latency*, their term for the time between question completion and response start, was markedly different across the two conditions: 0.8 sec for the non-conflict condition but 1.8 sec for the conflict condition. This is consistent with CA findings reported by Lerner (1996) Pomerantz (1984) and Sacks (1987): when speakers are framing an SPP which is dispreferred, the propositional content is pushed back, and often delayed by gaps and hedging particles. Although the Bavelas et al. study was not of news interviews, but rather an invented poll conducted under field study conditions, it highlights a well-recognised feature of evasion and avoidance in political interviews.

2.11.4 Bull and Mayer

Writing 20 years ago, Bull and Mayer (1993) noted that although Greatbatch (1986a) had identified ways in which IEs bend the question agenda, there had been at that stage no systematic study of the ways in which ‘politicians fail to reply to questions’ (1993:652).

Working from a base in SP, Bull and Mayer (1993) examined eight one-on-one interviews with British political party leaders, four with Margaret Thatcher and four with Neil Kinnock, based on what appear to be cleaned up transcripts, not unlike those studied for the presidential press conferences discussed at 2.6 above. The interviews were conducted during the 1987 UK general election. Each leader was interviewed for the same total time by each of four leading IRs. By coincidence, Thatcher and Kinnock each faced a total of 94 questions across their four interviews. The authors sought to determine if there was a difference in the propensity of Thatcher and Kinnock to avoid answering.

The authors use the term 'reply' to refer to a response to a question 'in which the information requested is given'. In contrast, a 'non-reply' is a response in which 'either a part or none of the information requested is given' (Bull & Mayer, 1993:655). They further define another type of non-reply as 'an answer by implication (in which the politician makes his or her views clear without explicitly stating them)' (Bull & Mayer, 1993:655). In this thesis, the term *response* is used as a generic term for what the IE does in the second part of an adjacency pair, the first part of which is a question. An *answer* is a subordinate of response, one that satisfactorily fills the epistemic gap(s) raised by the question. For the present discussion, though, Bull and Mayer's terms, *reply* and *non-reply*, are used.

Bull and Mayer categorised 11 super-ordinate categories of non-replies with 30 subcategories. They found highly significant correlation of non-replies between the two politicians, with Thatcher making a 'non-reply' 56% of the time, and Kinnock 59%: ($p < .01$) (1993:651). Whilst the data set is controlled for many variables (political context and IE identity; IR selection, and total duration) it should be noted that the data are from an election campaign. With its specialised discourse, this domain is a distinct remove from daily news interviews: First, the interviews are much longer, typically 25 or 50 minutes;

second, the IRs will be very well prepared, the interview probably having been arranged weeks beforehand; finally, the questions and responses tend to be longer and more discursive, probing issues that have emerged several times in the campaign. The authors' superordinate categories and some of their fine-grained subordinate categories are first described, and the approach is then discussed. Note that a non-reply can include more than one of the indicators of deficiency. Data extracts are replicated from the authors' report; their transcription style, which does not use the close detail of CA transcription, is retained.²⁵

2.11.4.1 *Ignores the question*

The authors found that Kinnock and Thatcher blatantly ignored about one in 20 questions and continued with their own agenda.

Extract 2-13	Margaret Thatcher and David Frost	
1	Thatcher	...that is the only power you have the power from the ballot box at
2		every election you submit yourself to the judgement of the people on
4		your stewardism ((sic))
5	Frost	But that back on January 27th though why did you say that?
6	Thatcher	And then don't forget I also have another submission to make to the
7		judgment of my party and that is every single year I'm the first leader to
8		whom that's happened...

(1993:656)

The authors propose that Thatcher ignores Frost's question at line 5. We will see below in the discussion that this might not necessarily be a fair representation.

²⁵ References, below each excerpt, are to the paper (Bull & Mayer, 1993) and page number.

2.11.4.2 *Acknowledges the question without answering it*

The IE acknowledges that the IR has asked a question, but pursues her own agenda anyway. Thatcher did this about once in 25 questions; Kinnock, about once in 12.

- Extract 2-14 Margaret Thatcher and David Dimbleby
- 1 Dimbleby Would you accept that they live in poverty, Prime Minister?
- 2 Thatcher Please, there's just one other thing ((continues on her own agenda))
- (1993:656)

Other researchers (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) note that the IE's use of *Please there's just one other thing* to preface her response tacitly acknowledges that she is in breach of the norm that she should promptly address the question in play. So even in defaulting, the IE regularly reinforces the institutional habitus of the news interview.

2.11.4.3 *Questions the question*

The IE either asks for clarification, or reflects the question back to the IR.

- Extract 2-15 Neil Kinnock and Robin Day
- 1 Day If you have an overall majority Mr Kinnock say with about 350 M.P.s
- 2 what proportion of those will be on the hard left?
- 3 Kinnock Well you tell me
- (1993:656)

The authors find this rare—about one in 50 questions were queried or bounced in this way.

2.11.4.4 *Attacks the question*

Thatcher attacked one question in four; Kinnock, one in three. The authors categorise and exemplify eight subordinate ways in which the two IEs in their sample attacked questions. One common technique is to assert that the question embeds some presupposition or proposition which is inaccurate, as in Extract 2-16

- Extract 2-16 Margaret Thatcher and Jonathan Dimbleby
- 1 Dimbleby In the present circumstances do you think that those 2 million or so
 2 pensioners who rely on the basic state pension have enough to live a
 3 decent life?
- 4 Thatcher But they don't have to rely on the basic pension.
- (1993:657)

Other counters to the question found in the authors' sample include claims of irrelevance, attacking the limitation of the alternatives it presents, and claims of misquotation. Of course these are without limit to other forms of attacks on the question which might emerge from other IEs or from other occasions.

2.11.4.5 *Attacks the IR*

The study found Margaret Thatcher declined to answer 12 times by making ad hominem attacks on the IR. Neil Kinnock made none.

- Extract 2-17 Margaret Thatcher and Jonathan Dimbleby
- 1 Thatcher Look if anyone tried to put Value Added Tax on children's clothes
 2 and shoes they would never get it through the house er...
- 3 Dimbleby So that's out?
- 4 Thatcher Now I'm not going any further than that Mr Dimbleby for a very good
 5 reason yes people like you will try to go on and on and the moment
 6 we say one thing you'll find another and then another.
- (1993:658)

2.11.4.6 *Declines to answer*

Thatcher declined to answer about one in five questions. For Neil Kinnock, the rate was about 1 in 14. Example:

- Extract 2-18 Margaret Thatcher and Robin Day
- 1 Day The hypothesis I was discussing wouldn't you regard that as defeat?
- 2 Thatcher I'm not going to prophesy what will happen on Thursday and I'm
 3 not going to be tempted along this route

(1993:658)

2.11.4.7 *Makes political point*

The report proposes eight ways in which IEs give non-replies by making a ‘political point’: making external attack on rivals; presenting policy; justifying policy; giving reassurance; appealing to Nationalism; offering political analysis; producing self-justification; and talking up one’s own side (Bull & Mayer, 1993:659-660). Of Thatcher’s non-replies, seven out of ten were formed in this way; for Kinnock, it was six out of ten.

2.11.4.8 *Incomplete answer*

Four types of partial answers are exemplified. A partial answer answers part of a single-barrelled question; a half answer deals with only one barrel of a double-barrelled question; an answer can be started, but not completed; and the fourth type, which the authors term ‘a negative answer’, for example when the IE is asked what will be done and responds with what will not be done. Incomplete answers represent about 10% of responses in the study. However, they seem often to produce complex coding issues which the authors do not address and which are discussed below. The following extract from the study exemplifies such an issue.

Extract 2-19 Margaret Thatcher and David Frost

- 1 DF Do you regret the leaking of that letter was that a black mark against
2 the Government?
3 MT Well I indeed I indeed I indeed said that I regretted the leaking of the
4 letter I said so at the time [[original transcription style]]

(1993:660)

Thatcher’s reply here was ‘scored as a half-answer’ (1993:660), which is to say that the authors hold the view that there are two distinct questions seeking “reply”. On this account, Thatcher does answer the first question, but not the second. For both Thatcher and

Kinnock about one in 10 answers were incomplete on this indicator. This is discussed below.

2.11.4.9 *Repeats an answer to a previous question*

The authors find that Margaret Thatcher repeated an answer to a previous question five times and Neil Kinnock used the device three times.

2.11.4.10 *States or implies that the question has already been answered*

Neil Kinnock was found to have used this device seven times.

Extract 2-20 Neil Kinnock and Jonathan Dimbleby

1 NK Well, I think I made that pretty clear

(1993:661)

2.11.4.11 *Apologizes*

The authors report two instances of Margaret Thatcher apologizing instead of answering.

Here is one example:

Extract 2-21 Margaret Thatcher and David Dimbleby

1 Dimbleby Isn't one of the difficulties for the Tories that your way of government

2 and talking about government gets up the noses of a lot of voters?

3 Thatcher Well I'm sorry if it does it's not intended to I'm very sorry if it does

(1993:661)

In using the marked social action of apologising, Margaret Thatcher avoids the question. Although she implicitly accepts it presupposition—that she *gets up the noses of a lot of voters*—she doesn't answer the central proposition, that her style is a problem for the Tories.

2.11.5 Discussion of Bull and Mayer's approach

Bull and Mayer identify diverse and often subtle linguistic resources that IEs marshal in contorting the question agenda or diverting from it, and the work alerts other researchers to

the linguistic diversity of errant responses. However, the transcriptions are essentially accounts of the propositional gaps identified in questions, and whether or not the responses satisfy those propositional gaps. By contrast, a CA account would be concerned with the IR's and IE's evident understandings of what has been done by the prior turn at talk and the relevance of next-turns. The transcriptions above lack the intonational and interactional detail needed to remind the analyst of how the interaction developed. There are no detailed accounts of turn transitions, such as pauses and/or overlaps which can illuminate how the parties respond to the questions and replies/non-replies. In particular, the transcriptions above generally do not describe the IR's response to exogenously determined non-replies. Some of the examples are reconsidered below to illustrate what added detail such an analysis would seek to study. Most importantly, the CA approach to coding responses is to be guided first by the IR's response. The review does not pretend to be exhaustive, and serves only to illustrate the differences between the authors' exogenous determination of linguistic meaning and the CA approach of studying the participants' understandings.

2.11.5.1 *Examples of how a CA approach could reach different conclusions*

The first example, 2.11.4.1 (Ignores the question) might be analysed quite differently. A CA analysis of this extract would want to examine the transition between Frost and Thatcher at lines 4 and 5 to see if there was any evidence that Thatcher intended to continue. Her *stewardism* could have a "continuing" inflection; or there might be some kinesic evidence of her "continuing". If so, Frost would be interrupting with his line 5 and Thatcher could be seen as justified in persisting to completing her answer (lines 6-8). Further, a CA account would want to know how Frost reacted, whether or not he re-put the question, and whether Thatcher then co-operatively replied.

2.11.5.2 *The example of declining to answer*

Declining to answer is proposed ipso facto as a non-reply; and on this transcript, it might be. Nevertheless, the social action of non-replying is often justified, and in the news interview, the IR is the primary arbiter. The authors do not report the IRs' assessments of whether or not the non-replies are justified. Many occasions of non-replying in the news interview are defended on grounds, for example, of national security, commercial or cabinet confidentiality, privacy constraints or forthcoming monetary or fiscal intentions. The authors report a distinct difference between Thatcher and Kinnock declining to reply, (Thatcher 22% and Kinnock 7%) but this might arise from the differential constraints applying to the prime minister and the leader of the opposition. Further, IEs—and the broadcaster—are subject like everyone else to the sub judice rule, which forbids public discussion that might be prejudicial to matters before a court. Sometimes these excuses are questionably exploited; the issue is whether they are tested by the IR. If the IR accepts an excuse for a non-reply, then how is to be coded? The report is silent on this. This is another example of where consideration of the interactive trajectory of the engagement is essential for a coherent analysis.

2.11.5.3 *Political point*

At 2.11.4.7 the authors propose eight ways in which IEs make a political point in place of replying. This invites the question of whether *any* response in a political interview is devoid of political content or implicature. As Ronald Reagan refreshingly admitted '[T]he game of politics is to try to win an election' (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c:758). A politician who does not make political points at every opportunity during an election campaign is unlikely to have attained the leadership of their party, as both Thatcher and Kinnock have done. The central issue for coding a "non-reply" is whether it satisfies the

epistemic gap identified by the IR's question, either explicitly, or by inference; in a political interview opportunistic political adjuncts and prefaces are inevitable. Accordingly, coding for "reply" or "non-reply" can scarcely be done without reference to the IR's orientation: whether the political points are reckoned to supplant the question agenda, or are merely opportunistic adjuncts. The value of this kind of atomised taxonomy, proposing eight types of making a political point, is not clear, except perhaps to alert the researcher to practices that have been used. There are myriad alternative ways, beyond this data, in which IEs "do politics". The CA approach is to consider the unique current action, and how the participants negotiate its meaning as 'an increment of interactional and social reality' (Schegloff, 1992:1299).

2.11.5.4 *Incomplete response*

The problem of identifying non-replies to double-barrelled questions can be complex, which is well illustrated at 2.11.4.8. It seems that the question here for the analyst is whether the two barrels of the double-barrelled question, lines 1-2, are defensibly interpreted by Thatcher as yoked in a kind of apposition and can be addressed by one reply. In that case her confessed regret arguably accepts that there was a *black mark against the government*. If this were the case, then the double-barrelled question appears properly addressed by her response at line 3-4. Alternatively, the questioning turn poses two questions anticipating two replies, which is the authors' apparent interpretation. A CA account would say that if Thatcher had taken the IR's turn as two questions, then by preference for contiguity, she would have addressed the *black mark* question first (Sacks, 1987). Of course, Thatcher could have deliberately breached the preference for contiguity in order to avoid the *black mark* issue. This is a clear example of how a CA approach to coding would be guided by the IR's interpretation: whether or not the IR then pressed for a

response to the *black mark* issue is relevant. Of course, it is also possible that the IR let it pass; but we do not learn whether either occurred from this transcript.

2.11.5.5 *Apologizing*

The authors' example (2.11.4.11) of apologizing to avoid replying to a question raises another issue for coding a non-reply. There is no indication in the report of how this exchange developed. The question is of the fallacy of complexity type ("have you stopped beating your wife") arising from the embedded proposition that Mrs Thatcher's style *gets up the noses of a lot of voters*. It is also famed as a negative interrogative, a question design that projects the IR's high epistemic confidence in the proposition of the subordinate clause (Heritage, 2002a). In effect, the IR puts his reputation on the line: that his assessment of affairs will find common agreement amongst the audience. In the realpolitik of Mrs Thatcher's world, and surely in the expectations of an IR of David Dimbleby's experience, the prospect of an affirmative response is absurd. Further, either an affirmative or negative response accepts the truth of the presupposition—that her style gets up peoples' noses. Because the question is egregiously fallacious, Thatcher would be justified in refusing to answer, which she does. IRs are less interested in an answer to the substantive proposition(s) than in the way in which, in avoiding an answer, the IE reveals something of their political substance, or their moral and ethical core. Mrs Thatcher's response here seems to evidence her consummate political skill: to her faithful supporters, she is resolute that her style will not change; to those she might have offended, she apologizes, and assures them no offence is intended. Her use of the present tense also affirms she has no intention of changing her style. Again, we see how merely tagging a response with a label such as *apologizes* risks underdetermining the work it performs.

2.11.6 Summary: Bull and Mayer

The title of their article, *How Not to Answer Questions in Political Interviews*, makes it clear that Bull and Mayer (1993) are not immediately concerned with the procedural consequentiality of the action of non-replying. What the IR did next, which is to say how the IR interpreted the adequacy of the answer, is not considered in any detail. There is only one example in the report of an IR's reaction to an evasion, although the authors do give a brief report of the types of actions which followed evasion. The CA approach, by contrast, is driven by the participants' understandings rather than an exogenous determination of 'an illocutionary value based on utterance form' (Thomas, Bull, & Roger, 1982:145). Bull and Mayer's taxonomy of non-replies to questions is built on the analysts' determination of propositional meaning. As such, it assumes that there exists one exogenously determined absolute semantic interpretation of a reply. This approach distinguishes it from the CA approach to news interview analysis. CA is primarily concerned with how the *participants* make sense of the actions perpetrated and how questioning and responding actions affect, and effect, the trajectory of the interview. CA enquires into "what happened next" because it is the local, emergent orientation to questions and responses by the IE and IR respectively which impels the parties. Bull and Mayer's approach can enlighten the style differences between politicians' design of non-replies. However, the examples treat the question and response pairs as autonomous units, detached from their antecedents and consequents. In Schegloff's view, this makes the mistake of 'theorizing as if every action in interaction was an independent "atomic particle", rather than conditioned by its position in a stream of interaction' (Prevignano & Thibault, 2003:27). This issue is portentous. Each turn in an interview displays its procedural relevance to what has gone before, be it a question, a response, or some adjunctive action. Without close examination of this

consequentiality, the analyses are necessarily impoverished and coding is necessarily unsure.

2.11.7 Harris (1991b)

Harris (1991b) reports a study of data drawn from the same political environment as the Bull and Mayer study above—the UK general election of 1987. Like the Bull and Mayer study, the main players include, but are not confined to, Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock. Hence the two papers are usefully compared since many of the data parameters are the same, including some IR and IE participants, political context, and time frame. Harris recognises earlier work on the news interview from a CA viewpoint, particularly that of Greatbatch (1986a, 1988), Heritage (1985) and Clayman (1988). In particular, she recognises the central notion of the adjacency pair and the conditional relevance of the IE's response to a questioning turn. However, she finds that the CA approach makes no attempt 'to define just what constitutes an answer or to examine more rigorously and precisely the relationship between questions and "responses"' (Harris, 1991b:79). Her critique echoes the 'bucket theory' view of social interaction, in which participants play out their interactions within a set of pre-existing externally applied rules (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 10). This view of the news interview suggests the participants adhere to, or breach, *exogenous* determinations of what does and does not constitute a question and an answer, whereas the CA standpoint is that this is locally and temporally negotiated by the participants.

Harris recognises a cline of responses between full and crisp *Direct Answers*, through *Indirect Answers*, to overt *Challenges* to the question (Harris, 1991b:83-85). She sub-divides each of these, giving six categories. This parsimony avoids the detailed, yet inexhaustive taxonomy of Bull and Mayer (1993), and with variables of much broader

scope would seem to provide for more coding consistency. Harris' schema is précised here for reference. Her layout is maintained.

I Direct answers

- A. Responses containing explicitly expressed 'yes' or 'no', or 'copy' answers, or the choice of one disjunct.
- B. Responses which supply a missing variable for a wh- question.

II. Indirect answers

- A. Reponses which involve inference (either selection of some intermediate position between 'yes' and 'no' can be inferred from the answer) or the value of a missing variable can be inferred in response to a wh- question.
- B. Responses from which neither a 'yes' or 'no' (nor a value for a missing variable) can be inferred but which maintain cohesion, topic coherence, presuppositional framework and illocutionary coherence.

III Challenges

- C. Responses which challenge one or more of the presuppositions of a question.
- D. Responses which challenge the illocutionary force of a question.

(Harris, 1991b:83-87)

Harris's examples are by now familiar as to type and are not included here. Her schema seems to recognise the *actions* done in responding, rather than concentrating on the myriad linguistic forms of utterances, which was favoured by Bull and Mayer. For example, Harris speaks of IE responses from which propositions may or may not be inferred. However, again we are left with the question of who Harris proposes should do the work of inferring—analyst or participant.

2.11.8 Summary of other approaches

Unlike CA approaches—which are based on the molecular detail of participants’ understandings of the actions done by prior and emergent talk—most of the research into the news interview from DA and SP perspectives is grounded in exogenous determinations of propositional meaning or pragmatic illocutions. In comparison with CA work, these studies seem susceptible to misinterpretation of actions, especially those occurring at turn transitions.

2.12 Discussion and conclusions

In the 20-30 years since the above DA and SP studies were published, CA investigations into the news interview have gained ascendancy and indeed CA is claimed as ‘the dominant approach to the study of language use and talk in interaction across the social sciences’ (Clayman et al., 2007:27). CA news interview research of the heft and moment of Clayman et al. (2006), and papers supplementing those findings (Clayman et al., 2011; Clayman et al., 2010; Clayman et al., 2007; Heritage & Clayman, 2013; Romaniuk, 2013) indisputably reflect the current knowledge state. However, there remains one yawning gap. Apart from the earlier work of Harris (1991b) and Bull et al. (Bull & Mayer, 1993), working on small and specialised samples, there has been no systematic quantitative work on evasive answers, either synchronic by genre or, say, by affiliation. Furthermore, 10 years after Clayman and Heritage’s (2002c) first quantitative study of presidential questioning, there remains no diachronic study of evasive answering. Clayman and Heritage have produced numerous explicatory accounts of features of responses. Notably, Clayman’s paper, *Answers and Evasions* (2001) has held currency in two subsequent collections (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). More recently, Romaniuk (2013) categorized IRs’ pursuit of answers. In a research frame for which the

adjacency pair is such a fundamental architectural feature, the missing account of changes in *responding* behaviour seems extraordinary: we have one hand clapping. The puzzle probably stems from the fundamental and difficult quantification issue: what responding action is the analyst to count? Here is Clayman at the millennium's start: 'Evasiveness is an elusive phenomenon, and its analysis is fraught with conceptual pitfalls' (2001:406). And here, Clayman and Heritage, a year later: 'Evasiveness is an elusive phenomenon, and its analysis is fraught with conceptual pitfalls' (2002a:241). At the end of the decade, the trope endures: 'Evasiveness is an elusive phenomenon' (Heritage & Clayman, 2010:246). Here is Schegloff:

The meaning of any single grammatical construction is interactionally contingent, built over interactional time in accordance with interactional actualities. Meaning lies not with the speaker nor the addressee nor the utterance alone but rather with the interactional past, current and projected next moment. (Schegloff, 1996:40)

Forewarned by Schegloff, but informed as well by the work of Clayman, Heritage and colleagues, and drawing inferences from work in adjacent disciplines, we proceed to describe the domain of the study and to determine whether answers and non-answers can be counted.

The Domain: *Morning Report*

3.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter describes the domain of the study, *Morning Report*, which has been broadcast by Radio New Zealand (RNZ) each weekday since 1975. The legal and constitutional framework under which *Morning Report* is produced and broadcast, and which enshrines the rights of participants and audiences, is explained. It is proposed that these rights, together with the regular attendance of the audience, and overt IR praxis, demonstrate a synergy which daily reaffirms the character of the institution.

3.2 The institution of *Morning Report*

The previous chapter discussed important studies of interviews, which typically confined their focus to particular genres such as the “set piece” political interview with party leaders during election campaigns (Beattie, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Ekström et al., 2012; Harris, 1991b; Huls & Varwijk, 2011). However, there appears to have been no systematic study of data from one cohesive news/current affairs programme—in either radio or television—which spans several years. The only long range diachronic studies in the field have been of questions put to US presidents in news conferences. Of course, these are not studies of interviews, but simply of monologic questions with no regard to their sequential relevance arising from a president’s answers (Clayman et al., 2011; Clayman et al., 2010; Clayman et al., 2006; Clayman & Heritage, 2002c; Clayman et al., 2007; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). In order to conduct a diachronic study of variation in interview praxis, we need a stable domain with recognisable independent variables. So the present study is confined to one radio programme, with data drawn from its 39-year span.

Morning Report began on 1 April, 1975. Its inception marked RNZ's change from a government-run broadcasting service to a State Owned Enterprise (SOE) with editorial independence. In 1995 that independence was enshrined in a charter whereby RNZ was to continue to provide '[c]omprehensive, independent, impartial, and balanced national news services and current affairs'.²⁶ Although the *Morning Report* format has changed a little over its 39-year span, its core of news, analysis, and interviews with newsmakers has not. It runs from 6:00 a.m. until 9:00 a.m. although the "prime time" is 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m. *Morning Report* is structured into distinctive, reliably regular sections, analogous to the sections of a newspaper, but which, of course, are temporally rather than spatially arrayed.

3.2.1 A professional commons

The structure of like programmes on public radio in Anglo democracies is quite consistent and their combined best practice is a professional commons, increasingly accessible by internet streaming. In the USA National Public Radio (NPR) presents the bi-coastal *Morning Edition*. In the UK the BBC has *Today*; (presenter Brian Redhead proposed 'If you want to drop a word in the ear of the nation, then this is the programme in which to do it'.)²⁷ In the Canadian provinces, CBC produces discrete versions of *Daybreak* to accommodate the time zones; Australia's ABC has a similar regimen, with *Breakfast*. Scanning the programme line-ups of these programmes shows a commonality of structure: basically what, in the view of the producers and editors, audiences need to know in order to function as informed citizens in their democracy.

²⁶ Path: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/about/charter> Date: 29 March, 2014. RNZ's accompanying role is to be the organ of public dissemination in times of major emergencies.

²⁷ Path: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qj9z/features/about>. Date: 29 March, 2014

3.2.2 Habit and habitus

Regularity is important in breakfast-time radio since listeners should feel able to “set their clocks” by the occurrence of particular, specialist sections. *Morning Report* segments include business, rural affairs, and sports, together with Pacific News, and Te Manu Korihi News (news of particular interest to Tangata Whenua, the indigenous Maori population). These segments tend to be in “shoulder” time not immediately following the hour. Those slots are reserved for the lead topics of the day after the news and weather at 6:00, 7:00 and 8:00 a.m. Coverage usually features a live interview with a person who has some agency in the issue: with its genesis, its development, or with consequences or controversy flowing from it. Whilst *Morning Report* covers sport, and major cultural or entertainment events, its default lead content aims to illuminate and mediate the two or three chief local issues, usually those with political implications. Rarely a day will pass without a minister or senior corporate or institutional executive being called to account for some decision or perceived failing.

The institutional nature of *Morning Report* is evidenced not only by features of its editorial content and its standing as a journal of record, but also by its place and means of production. Radio New Zealand’s main studios are sited in the midst of the Wellington bureaucracies, within walking distance of the executive offices of government and parliament.²⁸ Whilst many interviews are done by telephone, and more recently by Skype, the producers have urged guests to come into a studio where technical quality is better and where, they say, the interaction is beneficial to both parties.²⁹ The Wellington *Morning Report* studio is about four metres by five and features what could pass for a comfortably

²⁸ Since 2011, *Morning Report* has used a two-city base, with presenters in Auckland and Wellington.

²⁹ Personal communication with Sean Plunket, 3 June, 2009 and Geoff Robinson 30 March, 2014

large dining table. The presenters sit on one long side, facing the control room window. Guests—two or three can be accommodated comfortably—sit opposite with their backs to the control room. This configuration places the IR and the IE at a comfortable, yet quite intimate conversational distance, just over a metre apart. The presenters have computers upon which are displayed pre-scripted introductions, background material and interview question notes. Whilst all participants wear headphones, the presenters can be spoken to by their producer without the guests hearing.³⁰

Another feature of *Morning Report*'s stability is the long-term presence of one of the two presenters. Geoff Robinson was with the programme for 36 of its 39-year span until his retirement in April, 2014; his colleague, Sean Plunket, fronted for 14 years. These longevities, together with the stability of senior correspondents, contribute to a sense of secure contextual and intellectual capital. *Morning Report* is the most attended radio programme in New Zealand, drawing 13.8% of the adult population each morning.³¹ It has held this position, or close to it, for decades in a highly competitive environment where radio stations and social media have burgeoned over 20 years and where audiences can switch at any time. *Morning Report*, like its sister international programmes, is a stable organ of democratic discourse.³²

³⁰ Broadcasters say this is a mixed blessing and intrusive suggestions from a producer can be irritating. Sean Plunket told me he sometimes has “trouble with his headphones” which might have been code for his pushing the mute button to block out his producer’s talk. (Personal conversation 3 June, 2009).

³¹ Radio New Zealand Audience Research

Path: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/about/audience-research> Date: 28 March, 2014

³² I speculate that the broadcast and internet accessibility of these radio programmes secure their futures as stable news organs while newspapers struggle.

3.3 Ratified participants

The picture above is of an institution with a remarkably stable frame developed over 39 years. Furthermore, the *habitus* of individual participants, especially those who regularly appear, is well known to all the players, including the audience, or Ratified Participants (RPs) as Goffman referred to those participants who attend but don't speak (Goffman, 1981). I propose that RPs attending programmes like *Morning Report* are not merely *ratified*, in the sense of approved, or authorised (as, for example, juries in a court of law, or student doctors observing a surgical procedure). They are in fact *ratifying*: by their attendance, they reconstitute the institution daily; the programme does not exist without them. Audiences can, as broadcasters say, “vote with their remote” (control) and switch stations at any second.

That news interview talk is designed for RPs has profound bearing on its analysis from a CA standpoint, and it carries implications that I believe not to have been acknowledged in the literature. A central disciplinary constraint on CA investigation is that speaker meaning and intention are accessible only to parties to the talk; the analyst must be driven by the parties' evident understandings—or quest for understanding—of the talk in its context and sequential position. ‘Meaning lies not with the speaker nor the addressee nor the utterance alone but rather with the interactional past, current and projected next moment’ (Schegloff, 1996:40). Discussions between a doctor and patient, or between a husband and wife contemplating separation, or with a person calling a suicide help-line are not produced for an overhearing audience; attendance to tape recordings of private conversations is a vicarious “attendance” where Schegloff's cautions pertain. However, the *Morning Report* audience is both ratified by the institutional establishment and included in the talk, either explicitly or implicitly.

3.3.1 RPs and CA study

Heritage (1985) described many of the praxes which IRs avoid, such as making receipt tokens, or news markers, in order to not interpose themselves between the IE and the RPs. He also proposes that IRs' use of formulations of IE responses—the story so far—is designed explicitly for the audience. These formulations abound in *Morning Report* and clearly often function as way-markers, which either keep a topic in play, or dispense with it and move to a new or supplementary topic. However, IRs often construct negative gists of the IE accumulated responses as in this example:

Extract 3-1 MR 2010_06_29 Maori Export: IR – Geoff Robinson; PM – Paul Morgan
 1 IR So the whole thing was botched from the beginning you say y' started
 2 late y' didn't have enough staff it wasn't working properly.

Here, the IR summarises several responses in the interview so far. In doing so IRs lay themselves open to the judgement of, or *ratification* by the RPs.

3.3.2 Enjoining the audience—yoking devices

There is also evidence, not alluded to by Heritage, of utterance designs which overtly yoke the IR and RPs in a common cause, as in the following example, also from *Morning Report*. News context: The Minister for Foreign Affairs in the coalition government, Winston Peters, has claimed that the opposition leader in parliament is surreptitiously engaging election campaign strategy from USA Republican party strategists. The interview is picked up some minutes in.³³

Extract 3-2 MR 100506 Nats US Support: IR – Sean Plunket; WP – Winston Peters
 1 IR =So you've got documents concerning that

³³ Line numbers are for the examples and do not relate to sequences in the original.

- 2 WP (1.4) Well I:: wouldn't have said so if I didn't have them ahh: (0.2)
- 3 ► IR Okay when are we gonna g- get a look at those.=Today?

There is much evidence, on a CA ground, in this fragment and in the developments below, that the prospect of any *documents* being produced is unlikely. The point to be made here is the IR's use of the pro-term, *we*, arrowed above and below.

(Later)

- 1 IR ((EXASPERATED TONE)) Can you show me a document that says (.) he's
2 not telling the truth.
- 3 WP (0.6) Well most probably I can ye:s
- 4 ► IR (0.4) Most probably, (.) will we most prob'ly see that today?
- 5 WP (0.9) No ahh>wi-with respec' Sean you'll see it when it's goo- when it's good
6 and ready< I think you [should ask Don Brash]
- 7 ► IR [D you mean when-] we're gonna see it when it's
8 politically opportune for you

The interview continues in this vein for some minutes, when finally the IR takes the most extreme action available to him: he forecloses.

- Extract 3-3 MR 100506 Nats US Support: IR – Sean Plunket; WP – Winston Peters (later)
- 1 IR ((Interrupting))[No I'm sorry we haven't seen the documents that] refute
2 them yet. Let's hope we do. Thank you for joining us-that's the Minister of
3 Foreign Affairs nnn leader of New Zealand First Winston Peters.

By his persistent use of *we* the IR yokes himself to the audience as joint Recipients of the hoped for action of “being shown the documents”. The IR could equally have designed his talk to frame Winston Peters (WP) as Agent: “When are you gonna show us the documents”. It is as though the IR intentionally enlists the RPs as co-deprived: us against the IE. Ultimately, when the IR terminates the interview, he does so overtly on “our behalf”. Such design features are common in the data.

3.3.3 *Theseties that bind*

IRs use a variety of devices to reinforce, or at least presume, a synergy between RPs and the active participants. Sometimes, they are almost subliminal, as in the next example. The news context is that a long-running industrial dispute on the waterfront has been settled. The waterfront workers' union president has given a frank and cathartic, but conciliatory account of the damage done not only to his colleagues, many of whom were made redundant as a result of the settlement, but also to the wider community. He is asked whether the damage is irreparable.

- Extract 3-4 MR 1989_12_14 Watersiders Back: IR – Kim Hill; SP – Steve Penn sn 91
- 1 SP (.3) .mnhhh I can't say whether its irreparable=I would say thee- (.2)
 2 the majority of it (.2) would be reparable, (.6) I think ah contracts
 3 can be regained h .hh the relationship that ahm has been destroyed I
 4 suppose is unfortunate, (.) .hh that it happens in something like this.
 5 (.3) But I think also in time the relationships will be mended and um
 6 (.3) .hh y'know hopefully in the long term, (.2) .hh (.) the whole
 7 place will turn back into, (.2) the happy place it ↑used be er there
 8 were a lot of shocks
 9 (.8)
 10 Y'know major: ah disruptions with (.) .hh redundancies=major
 11 redundancies 'n it w'z very hard to j'st h (.2) see your mates: (.3) all
 12 'v a sudden (.4) go (.4) ⁰.and ah⁰ (.3) those things are gonna be hard
 13 to get over.
- 14 IR ►₁ (.2) A lot of these kinda disputes seem to- (.3) gain: their own
 15 momentum and become independent of what those parties
 16 want=were you .hh surprised, disappointed, dismayed by the .h
 17 length and the severity of the stoppage?
- 18 SP (.6) .mnhh Yes I was um (.3) when it got to (.3) y'know (.3) .hh got
 19 to the stage where you couldn't see the end to it h

This extract exemplifies the tone of an affiliative interview where the IR is not contesting the IEs' responses, but is carefully drawing out a cathartic account. She allows long gaps,

for example at line 9, where she declines to take the floor at a TRP, thereby encouraging, almost coercing, the IE to continue. This is a long pause in breakfast radio, and the IR's letting it stand displays her considerable confidence that RPs will empathise. There is another object in this small extract of particular interest to the present discussion. It is the IR's use of *these* (line 14, arrowed). The demonstrative pronoun, *these*, is not an anaphoric reference to prior talk since there is no prior talk in the interview about other entrenched industrial disputes. *These* is a situational pro-term calling upon participants' general knowledge, including their knowledge of the corpus of *Morning Report*. The IR's choice of *these* also functions here to bind the participants, including RPs, to a shared, proximate deictic ground. *Morning Report* is the local and, for regular RPs and the IE, the accessible site where they can retrieve referents for the pro-term. Several hundred interviews on industrial relations issues had been aired on *Morning Report* in the 14 years prior to the present interview; doubtless many of those interviews covered *these kinda disputes*.³⁴ It is the sum of these artefacts, this accumulated cultural capital, which I propose the IR assumes is shared by RPs.

3.3.4 Overt allusions

Occasionally, an IE on *Morning Report* makes negative reference to the IR's performance and editorial stance, sometimes with asserted long recall. In this fragment, a minister in the coalition government has placed advertisements in major newspapers opposing a free trade agreement which his own government is progressing. He is asked if the advertisement was paid for with public funds.

³⁴ The same interviewer made a similar remark in an interview a year earlier about a different dispute.

- Extract 3-5 MR 090408 Anti-trade Agreement: IR – Geoff Robinson; WP – Winston Peters
- 1 IR So it's come out of y' Parliamentary Services Budget?
- 2 WP ↑No::, I'm not saying (any of) that at all. I jus I'm asking you why are
- 3 you bringing that into uh the public's uhm::, so called scru:tiny when all
- 4 other ss:: a (clutch) of advertisements have gone UNchecked
- 5 ► UNremarked by you on Morning_Report all these few ye:ars

In the previous extract, the IR used the pro-term *these* to refer to historic artefacts, known to the RPs. Here, (arrowed) the IE asserts a record of editorial imbalance, extending *all these few years*. Both extracts allude to cultural capital of *Morning Report* as shared by, and accessible to, RPs.

3.3.5 The audience and cognitive constraints of CA

Nothing about the unseen, unheard RPs alluded to above enables the IR to know what the audience wants at any instant. Within the rigorous constraints of CA, we cannot assign motive or cause to an IR's move; we cannot say that the IR asks this question, as tribune of the people, because at this instant, the IR knows that the audience expects it. However, apart from the use of pro-terms and anaphora referred above, testaments to an IR's disposition to empathise with their audience abound.

Television interviewers, folks like me, are a kind of surrogate for you. . . None of us could keep our jobs for a day if we didn't ask the questions that you out there wish that somebody had the common sense or the nerve or the foolishness to ask. (Sixty Minutes' Mike Wallace quoted in Clayman, 2002:198)

'The nicest compliment I ever get paid...People will say, "I was in the shower and I was screaming at you, "why don't you ask him such and such?" and you did.'"' Sean Plunket, Radio New Zealand ³⁵

The examples in 3.3.1—3.3.4 above are plainly consistent with that empathy.

³⁵ Personal communication, 10 June, 2009

Seasoned broadcasters, as the quotes attest, have a keenly developed sense of what Bourdieu called the *sens du jeu*, or the feel for the game (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986:111). They are likely to act in the belief that, given the plaudits—and brick-bats—they receive, perhaps daily, what they choose to do *now* is what the audience is likely to want.

3.4 Active participants and ratified participants' right in law

Guests appearing in radio programmes in New Zealand have fundamental rights enshrined in law and enforced by the Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA).³⁶ Among these active participants' rights are the rights to be treated fairly and to be given a reasonable opportunity to express their own opinions. The law also provides for another component in the participant matrix—the audience, or RPs. In New Zealand, RPs have specified rights under the BSA regulations: like IEs, a listener has the right to complain formally to the broadcaster when they perceive a breach of the code of practice; if a complaint to the broadcaster is not upheld, or if upheld but the remedy granted is not regarded as redress, the complainant may pursue the matter with the BSA. That might lead to a formal hearing, the result of which can be an order to the broadcaster to apologise, to broadcast the determination of the BSA, to review internal editorial practices, and possibly to meet financial imposts, such as costs and compensation for aggrieved participants. For commercial broadcasters the penalties can include the onerous suspension of advertising for a set time, perhaps a day or a few hours. Broadcasters are also required to advise listeners of their rights to complain. Given the large number of interviews conducted

³⁶ The BSA is an Independent Crown Entity (ICE) set up by the Broadcasting Act 1989. Path: <http://bsa.govt.nz/> Date: 29 March, 2014

across the radio spectrum, any one of which could cause offence to any one of hundreds of thousands of people attending it, the number of complaints is minuscule. Since the BSA's inception in 1989, it has considered 48 complaints against *Morning Report*. They have typically alleged breaches of one or more standards under the code, such as fairness and accuracy. Only four of the 48 complaints have been upheld.³⁷ In its determinations the Authority regularly references the Bill of Rights Act, and its obligation to balance the freedom of expression provision of the Act with the rights of both RPs and speaking participants to not be exposed to inaccuracy, unfairness or to breaches of good taste and decency. The BSA is loath to favour the interests of one person's or group's notions of good taste and decency at the risk of breaching section 14 of the Bill of Rights.³⁸

3.4.1 Self-regulation

A central aim of the Codes of Broadcasting Practice, which were drafted by broadcasters and adopted by the BSA, has been to encourage broadcasters to be self-regulating and to avoid complaints going to the BSA by dealing with them locally. In addition to the frameworks provided by the Bill of Rights, the Broadcasting Act and the BSA, Radio New Zealand publishes its own editorial policies by which staff are bound, and in accordance with which guests tacitly agree to participate. The Interviewing Code of Conduct provides:

Interviews may be searching, sharp, sceptical, rigorous, and challenging. [however] RNZ makes a clear distinction between an assertive or persistent manner and that of rudeness or hectoring which is not acceptable and often unproductive. . . While a direct question might seek a straight answer, an interviewee should be able to qualify their response if they seek

³⁷ Path: <http://bsa.govt.nz/decisions/search?search=searchdecision&task=no> Date: 29 March, 2014

³⁸ '14. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, including the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and opinions of any kind in any form'. (New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990. Path: <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1990/0109/latest/whole.html#d1m225513> Date: 4 July, 2014)

to do so. Evasion and filibustering should be politely but firmly exposed once it is clear that the interviewee is trying to avoid the issue.³⁹ (Radio New Zealand, 2007: 58-9)

3.4.2 Watts and the politic frame

The institutional habitus of *Morning Report*, whilst remarkably stable by many measures (such as participants, ends, roles, the format of talk), is nevertheless open to incremental change. The boundaries of acceptable praxis are continually negotiated by *all* parties. Participants bring to each encounter their own interpretations of the boundaries of that setting and negotiate new contexts, new relevancies, and according to Watts and Locher (2005), do new relational work to re-establish or modify the politic field. Terms in the regulatory descriptions that aim to prescribe what is, and is not acceptable are regularly re-interpreted by the participants. The boundary between *searching*, *sharp*, *sceptical*, *rigorous*, and *challenging* on the one hand and *rudeness* or *hectoring* (n.38) is a discursive one. Watts' account of a 'politic frame' is useful here (2003:260).

³⁹ Relevant sections of the Code are attached at Chapter 1 Appendix D

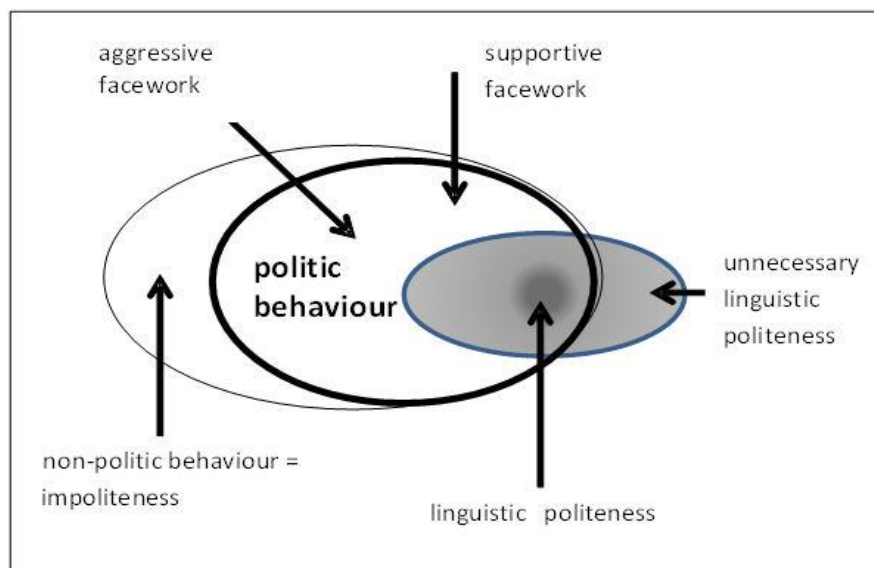


Figure 3-1 The frame of politic behaviour is shown in the bold ellipse.

(Watts, 2003:260)

The boldly outlined oval circumscribes what Watts terms the *politic frame* of an engagement; it indicates the scope of behaviour which is not marked, either by politeness, or impoliteness, but is simply politic—appropriate for the site of interaction at the moment. Watts conceives a left-right gradation of behaviour from impolite to unnecessarily polite. The extremes lie outside the oval field of politic behaviour. Note that the bold frame can include both aggressive or threatening facework, and also supportive facework; both sorts of behaviour are schematically positioned in the diagram to suggest where they lie on a politeness scale.

The Watts model is usefully applied to the news interview because it suggests that participants, both IRs and IEs, implicitly agree to engage within the politic frame; in other words, they expect that they might be challenged, interrupted, or be revealed as ill-prepared for the engagement. Similarly RPs tune in, accepting that they will from time to time witness aggressive and competitive talk during which, perhaps, their political champions might suffer loss of face. Linguistic politeness is positioned in the diagram to

suggest that it can become marked, that is, outside the politic frame, and hence doing other work than the linguistic meaning might suggest, as in this fragment:

Extract 3-6: MR 1999_09_01 Shipley Tax Back-down: IR – Sean Plunket; JS - Jenny Shipley sn 151
 1 IR With respect Prime Minister this doesn't quite answer the question

The IR's turn comes after obdurate evasion of a question; in that context the IR's complaint is deeply sarcastic and certainly seems to push at the boundaries of the politic frame. Of course, it is a rejoinder to a deficient response, which in itself was attempting to go beyond the politic constraints of the engagement. In many ways the *contest* of the thesis title can be seen in motes of interaction which take place on this politic boundary, negotiating it for the nonce, but importantly, leaving traces of the practice to be deployed by others. It is as though a kind of hysteresis applies.

Active participants engaged in frequently adversarial news interviews constantly negotiate what is acceptable behaviour for the interactive moment. In another domain, such behaviour might be impolite or even over-polite; but at this moment, in this domain, it is negotiated as simply *politic*, or appropriate for the engagement.

3.4.3 The audience rules

Ultimately, the audience decides what is acceptable. Apart from the constraint of the legislative and regulatory framework, producers solicit feedback from their listeners, and in the case of *Morning Report*, broadcast a selection of feedback on social media regularly. Producers tend to be cautious, though, particularly in news contexts of emotionally charged “morality” issues, such as prostitution reform, or homosexual couples' right to adoptive parenthood, because e-mails can be canvassed (*wrangled* is a term used) by special interest groups. Whilst audiences have complaint privileges, they can also desert the programme; IEs have the same rights, and, ultimately, can refuse to reappear, although

this can be Pyrrhic. In one sense, the IR is less protected by regulation than either IEs or RPs: the IR has recourse to neither internal complaint procedures, nor to the BSA. The only consequence an IR can impose on a recalcitrant IE is to foreclose on the interview, as we saw in Extract 3-3, or decline to invite the IE back, thus starving them, in Margaret Thatcher's memorable term, of 'the oxygen of publicity' (Edgerton, 1996:115).

3.4.4 Implication for a CA study

There is one salient consequence of this constitutional frame: the right of RPs to complain not only ratifies their role as attendee, but secures their right to seek *ratification*, as it were, of the practices of the IRs; specifically, RPs are entitled to complain formally that an IR has been unfair or too harsh on an IE, or indeed, has let an IE off the hook. Whereas the doctor-patient interview is not intended to be assessed by a third party, the news interview, in the domain of *Morning Report* and the like, is specifically instituted to admit such reviews. For a CA investigation, this has significant weight, as we shall see next in the methods chapter in the discussion of quantification.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out how diachronic trends of constraint, evasion and persistence in the news interview are to be operationalized. We have seen how prior research, particularly that of Clayman and Heritage (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a, 2002c), has identified and categorised many of the practices of constraining questions and evasive responses. I noted that scant systematic attention has been paid to the arraignment of delinquent responses, to follow-up questions and to how these actions affect the trajectory of the news interview. A new approach to the examination of contestation in news interviews was proposed. It is grounded in the empirical observation that the news interview does not usually proceed as sequences of paradigmatic, neatly resolved question and answer pairs. Rather, the news interview frequently develops as sequences of constraining questions and often deficient responses, the rectification of which is, or is not, pursued by the IR. It can be represented reductively:

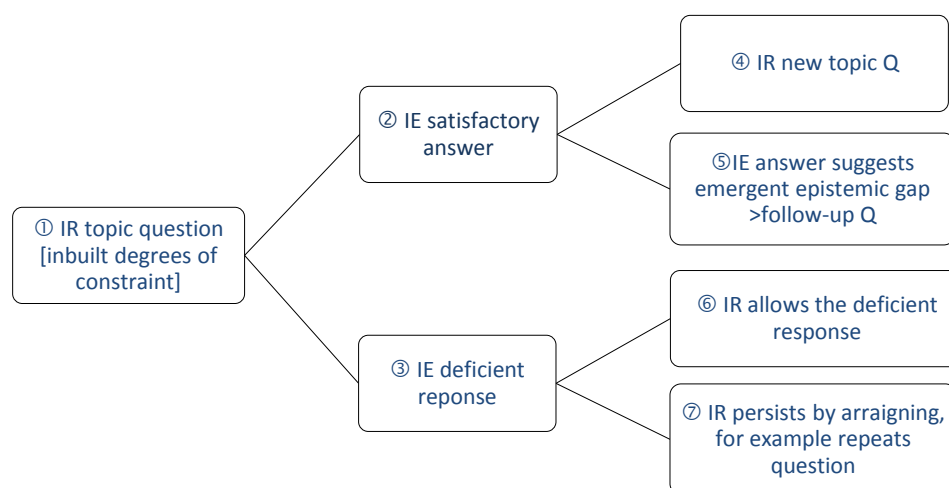


Figure 4-1 Schematic flow of Q-R-Q sequences in news interviews

This chapter is concerned with sampling and operationalizing the classification of these practices, and the coding of instantiations as a precursor to quantitative diachronic

analysis. The research design provides for a determination of what *proportion* of responses is deficient, and what *proportion* of those evasive responses is arraigned, or ignored. The chapter is arranged in three broad areas: data sources and sampling, coding design and practice, and finally, statistical modelling.

4.2 Data and sampling

This section describes the controls placed on interview selection and sampling from the entire archive of *Morning Report* interviews.

4.2.1 Controls

Systematic controls identify interviews eligible for sampling. In the introduction, the political news interview was described as an exchange of questions and responses between a journalist and a public figure recognised as having agency or accountability for some intention or action affecting the polis. The IE will typically be a politician, a senior bureaucrat, a trade union or corporate representative, or from a sector group, such as business, conservation or social issues lobbyists. Such interviews comprise about 10% of the content of *Morning Report* but of course the amount of political content varies greatly over the course of a year, and across the parliamentary and three-year election cycles. The schema of controls developed to identify interviews eligible for sampling is described. Excluded from consideration in the sample are interviews which do not have political ramifications in New Zealand: sports, spot news (which includes topics such as crime, fire, flood and pestilence), business news, and arts and entertainment. Hence, coverage by *Morning Report* of the 2010 and 2011 Christchurch earthquakes is not considered unless it involves a publicly accountable figure with some agency in the aftermath and reconstruction; an interview about a serious injury to a high school sporting star is not

considered unless it addresses associated political or administrative initiatives or accountability about “safety in school sport”. An interview about Sir Peter Jackson’s latest movie wizardry is not considered; but a decision to change the employment law to benefit the investors would be. By analogy, interviews about foreign events, unless they have direct bearing on New Zealand’s affairs—such as the commitment of troops to a foreign theatre—are not considered.

4.2.2 Reports versus interviews

Since this enquiry considers interaction between participants, and the extent to which that becomes contestative, a distinction is drawn between *reports* and *interviews*. A *report* (sometimes called a “package”) in broadcast news comprises a journalist’s reports of a matter, often interspersed with pre-recorded direct quotes (often referred to as sound bites) from one or more public figures. There is minimal or no direct interaction between the IR and IE played out before the audience. In a sense, the report is a temporal collage where tense and aspect are in flux and there is scant or no evidence of progressive emergent interaction. By contrast, the *interview* is time continuous, emergent and, whether live or pre-recorded, is presented as a contained event. (However, see the comments below about topping and tailing.) Gumperz’s description of an event is a useful reference:

[A] temporally ordered sequence of exchanges characterised by a detectable beginning and an end which provides empirical evidence of what the event’s outcome is and therefore also evidence to confirm or disconfirm the analyst’s assumptions about what was intended. (1990: 431)

4.2.3 Duration and questioning actions

Interaction entails time and also exchanges of talk. Of course in the ordinarily accepted sense, interaction usually also entails visual semiotics from gesture, gaze, and posture. But for the radio audience, for the interactants talking by telephone or from remote studios, and

indeed for the researcher, the radio interview is a vocal/aural interaction. The principal concern in this study is not so much with the character of individual questions or responses, but with how the IE responds to questions and how the IR then accepts, critiques, or follows up that response, as indicated by nodes 4-7 in Figure 4-1. Given that the account of arraignment and follow-up is a binary one—that the IE’s response is either pursued or not—the minimum number of IR question turns must be two in order to determine whether a response has a sequel.⁴⁰ Accordingly, this is applied as a further control. The minimum duration for such Q–R–Q–R stanzas seemed to be about 1 min 50 sec. An interview shorter than that seems not to have the sense of an event with a trajectory of interaction. Outliers shorter than 1 min 50 sec with two questions were rare, and excluded. (They typically appear in report format, described above, and are excluded on those grounds alone.) At the other end of the duration distribution, interviews longer than 10 minutes are excluded. There are very few such interviews, and they seem to appear in one block, 1986-1989. For two years the *Morning Report* programme called its last hour, between 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. *Good Morning New Zealand*. Whilst it retained much of the format of the main 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m. hour, the second hour also provided for longer interviews of up to 15 minutes.⁴¹ These were rarely with politicians, and when they were, they considered broader issues, such as the general political philosophy of the guest, or reminiscences on the eve of retirement, rather than accountability for or defence of actions or intent. The frequency histogram below shows that 94% of interviews

⁴⁰ The determination of necessary and sufficient constituents of a follow-up question is discussed in the section on coding, 4.8.

⁴¹ That the hour between 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. was deemed in 1986 to be suitable for some longer interviews implies an editorial perception that there was an audience available which was not under the time-pressures pertaining between 7:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. It was a brief phase.

randomly sampled were between 1 min 45 sec and 6 min 44 sec which implies that outliers over nine minutes would have no significant impact.

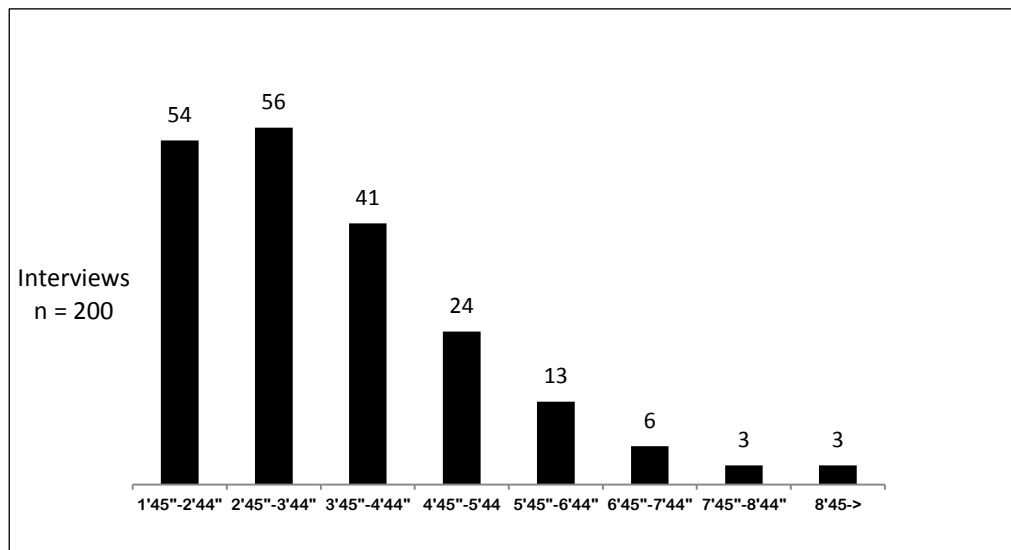


Figure 4-2 Frequency of interview durations at one-minute increments

A further difference between longer, discursive interviews and those constituting the overwhelming bulk of political engagements in the programme is a sense of time pressure in the shorter engagements: looming news bulletins, or other fixed segments such as business news, or another guest arriving for a subsequent interview. The IR also reflects a cultural sensibility toward the audience and the “breakfast rush”: breakfast time and morning drive time are busy times, and for radio programmers not the time for rambling, discursive responses from IEs. Breakfast radio plays out in banal social frames: school lunches are prepared; the shower runs cold; the dog raids the rubbish; the traffic is jammed.

4.2.4 Sampling

4.2.4.1 *Preliminary considerations: what is to be sampled?*

The interactions to be studied here are not individual questioning and responding actions, but sequences of adjacency pairs within quotidian news interviews. They are sometimes

spectacular, but often mundane in both news value and in what we might call the dynamic range of contestation. The previous chapter noted that most studies of the news interview have been concerned with exegetic accounts of praxis and they have been based on exemplars chosen, seemingly, because they are vivid and concise. Some studies based on small samples have proposed quantitative accounts of what would be called “set pieces”—lengthy interviews between political leaders and prominent interviewers such as David Frost and Robin Day. Notable exceptions were the controlled quantitative studies of questions to US presidents by Clayman and colleagues (Clayman et al., 2011; Clayman et al., 2010; Clayman et al., 2006; Clayman & Heritage, 2002c; Clayman et al., 2007; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). However, they did not examine presidents’ responses. By contrast, this study addresses quotidian news interviews. The editorial choices and imperatives faced by the producers of *Morning Report* each day are driven by a two- or three-hour “black hole” of radio space which needs to be filled with programme content, regardless of the heft or triviality of the day’s news. In the course of political and economic cycles, interviews will include *de rigueur* set pieces such as the post-budget interview with the Minister of Finance or a review of “the first hundred days” of a new government. Sometimes, the political news of the day is portentous: the sacking of a cabinet minister; an exposure of bureaucratic malfeasance, or corporate fraud; the commitment of troops to a foreign theatre or the illegal surveillance of residents by security and intelligence agencies. Overwhelmingly though, *Morning Report* is populated by the ordinary stuff of democratic discourse: waiting lists at public hospitals; a transport workers’ strike; a rosier employment prospect; the looming closure of a neighbourhood school; and yes, in New Zealand, the price of milk—a pivotal indicator of economic health.

In considering the design of this enquiry, I was drawn initially to testing how major political issues in a four-decade span had been contested in *Morning Report*: the status of women and reviews of matrimonial property; claims and compensatory settlements between the Crown and Maori—New Zealand’s indigenous people; sporting contacts with apartheid-riven South Africa; New Zealand’s anti-nuclear armaments stance; the radical and painful 1980s restructuring of the economy; the reform of homosexual law and the legalisation of prostitution; the lowering of the drinking age and the relaxation of trading restrictions on Sunday; and changes to the electoral system to provide for proportional representation. It was quickly obvious that such an approach, whilst perhaps a valid one for a media or political studies investigation into topic and content analysis, would do little to enlighten diachronic change in the institution’s conversational practice. Such a study would entail assigning to some topic an ordinal rank reflecting the researcher’s view of its gravity in the community, and to assume that this heft or portent had not changed: only the linguistic resources deployed would be examined for change. For example, the researcher might consider the different interactional practices evident in the debates over, say, the legal minimum age for alcohol purchase in 1976 versus 2011 on the basis that the social portent of that topic was stable. However this immediately invites the Atlas enigma: where is the ground upon which the researcher stands to make this assertion of stable portent? An alternative approach would be to ignore topic but search the data for X examples of “the most” constraining, evasive and persistent practices found at discrete dates in the span. The research might conclude that there does, or does not, exist a difference in the contestative nature of interviews in these egregious examples across time. However, this would not reflect the overall tenor of the practices in the entire corpus.

4.2.5 Sample size and time intervals

The longevity, the many stable editorial parameters of *Morning Report*, and the vast, almost complete audio record of the programme held in the Chapman Archive at the University of Auckland combined to make a compelling case for random sampling. Sample size and the choice of time intervals over the period faced two main constraints.

4.2.5.1 *Sample size*

The constraint on sample size was the time frame of the thesis project. One year was committed to data gathering, database design, coding and preliminary analysis. Time demands arose chiefly from auditioning and selecting eligible interviews, from close CA transcriptions, and coding, among which the heaviest time demands came with CA transcriptions. A rule-of-thumb provision, based on 30 minutes to transcribe one minute, with a maximum concentration period of five hours a day, suggested 10 interviews could be transcribed in a week. Finding eligible data was a further time cost and hard to predict. The raw data, mostly held on analogue open reel audio tapes, were being digitised progressively and becoming accessible in two-hour MP3 tracks, each representing one edition of *Morning Report*.⁴² The *Morning Report* editions had rarely been catalogued with individual programme items and participants. Those old records that still exist are often idiosyncratic, minimal hand-written records which cannot be exploited as a *vade mecum*. Each target two-hour programme track needed to be auditioned, and eligible interviews, meeting the controls set out above, were copied to Audacity[®], an open source audio editor. Each interview was then transcribed and coded for instantiations of the target variables.

⁴² MP is an abbreviation of Motion Picture Experts Group, the body which codified a standard system for digitising motion pictures and TV. The 3 stands for the section of the standard which deals with the audio dimension.

The coded data for each interview, together with their meta-data (date, participants' names and identities, duration, brief contextual narrative, *inter alia*) were entered into a database, and were then available for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Familiarity with the programme gave some sense of the likely frequency of eligible interviews from the past 20 years, suggesting about one per day, but there was little sense of frequencies in the first two decades from 1976. At worst, this entailed auditioning numerous two-hour editions of *Morning Report* in order to find one eligible two- or three-minute interview. In addition to transcription, the data operations of auditioning, copying, coding, and data entry required a further few hours per interview. Allowing two months for statistical analysis and reporting suggested about 40 weeks of the year should be protected for interview sampling, coding and data base work, and implied a maximum manageable sample size of about 200 interviews, which is the figure agreed upon and ratified by a statistical consultant.⁴³ My familiarity with *Morning Report* suggested this number of interviews would offer more than one thousand Q-R sequences.⁴⁴ The next question was whether to sample from an even distribution across the four decades, or to consider blocks of a few years within each decade. The choice was constrained by practicalities.

4.2.5.2 Sampling across the time span

The project was greatly dependent on the digitising of the Chapman Archive which would not be complete for some years. This forced a choice in sample selection. Although some television material was recorded digitally prior to 2009, radio was still being recorded on

⁴³ Professor Chris Triggs, head of the Statistical Consulting Centre of the University of Auckland, holds that this sample size is adequate for the proposed diachronic change analysis. Personal communication, November, 2011.

⁴⁴ Roth (1998) examined 728 IR turns across 58 interviews; Clayman and Heritage (2002c) examined 742 questions to presidents, and Clayman et al. (2006) studied 4608 questions to presidents, coded by 14 researchers.

analogue audio tape (VHS from off-air radio broadcast from 1999-2009 and open reel ¼-inch tape before that).⁴⁵ Much of the tape recording is fugitive, with evidence that the oxide coating is unstable and prone to detach from the backing cellulose. The archivists understandably did not allow these invaluable and generally unique recordings to be auditioned or spooled back and forth across replay heads by a researcher looking for a four-minute interview. Digitising proceeded on a one-pass basis; wherever possible the tape was played for digital copying only once. Therefore, there was no prospect of the Archive being given a list of individual sample requirements of *Morning Report* editions to be found and copied. Further, the Archive project did not have sufficient technical or financial resources to digitise the whole collection quickly and, accordingly, concentrated on the oldest and most fragile tapes, many of which had to be heat-treated in order to stabilise them. Furthermore, the original recordings, whilst made (often by Chapman himself) on relatively high-end equipment, contained not just *Morning Report*, but a salad of news and current affairs throughout each day. Using the two pairs of stereo tracks as four mono tracks, and recording at low speed, each 10-inch open reel audio tape would hold about 12 hours of material of which *Morning Report* would represent 10% to 15%. It was evident that the pre-digital recordings would take two to three years to digitise. Only then could sampling from a contiguous population across the four-decade span be fully achieved. Therefore, with the close cooperation of the Archive, I elected to sample four blocks, each of four consecutive years, at decade intervals: 1976-1979; 1986-1989, 1996-1999 and 2008-2011. The Archive agreed to digitise in that order. The sample comprised

⁴⁵ It is worth recording the astonishing tenacity of Professor Robert Chapman and his successors who persevered with this work with limited resources and outdated technology. Meanwhile, the state National Sound Archive, with tight budget constraints and facing burgeoning radio stations, gathered only a small collection of *Morning Report* and the broadcaster, Radio New Zealand, has retained few recordings prior to 2000.

50 interviews from each block. There was no need to draw on the Archive for the final block since the data from 2008 on are available via the Radio New Zealand web site.⁴⁶

4.2.5.3 *Why four-year blocks?*

There are advantages, particularly for the qualitative analyses, in comparing the practices in discrete blocks. A four-year block presented a better chance that participants—especially ministers, party leaders, trade union and employer representatives, and of course IRs—appeared more than once; their personal style and practice was then observable. Statistically, whilst there was a small risk that some spike or trend in the non-sampled years was missed, the standard error in sampling 50 interviews over four years (instead of 50 interviews spread over 10 years) was smaller. Interval sampling gave more confidence in reporting what occurred in the four-year block. In effect, sampling by blocks renders a trade-off between high confidence in reporting what happened in the four-year block and having nothing to say about the non-sampled years.

4.2.5.4 *Randomising the sample*

A list of random dates was generated for each four-year block and sample collection slaved to that random list order.⁴⁷ *Morning Report* editions in random date list order were auditioned for eligible interviews until 50 interviews were captured. When an edition of *Morning Report* contained two (or, rarely, more) eligible interviews, all were selected. When no eligible interview appeared, the next edition was examined, and so forth. The list was annotated so that future research could perform frequency analyses to give a sense of how the editorial complexion of *Morning Report* might have changed over time.

⁴⁶ Path: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport>. Date: 31 January, 2014

⁴⁷ The random generator, Random.org, and its credentials are found at: <http://www.random.org/> Date: 31 January, 2014

Transcribing, following the random order of each four-year block, was interlaced with auditioning and capture, and applied the conventions proposed by Jefferson (2004a), and later amendments (Appendix A).

4.3 Coding schemata for constraint, evasion and persistence

The action of questioning in news interviews asserts epistemic lacunae between the IE on the one hand, and the IR—standing for the RPs—on the other. The IE is present because he/she is deemed competent and obliged, if not willing, to either fill those gaps, or justify failure to do so. Until those gaps are filled, intersubjectivity is fissured; a state of disequilibrium shrouds the parties, in particular the RPs. The IR is institutionally charged with attempting to resolve that disequilibrium and to constitute, or reconstitute, the parties' intersubjectivity.⁴⁸

The next four sections describe how the IR practices of constraint and persistence in questioning and the IE practices of evasion or non-compliance with questions are operationalised prior to statistical analysis. The guiding principle is that, wherever possible, it is the orientation of the participants which guides coding, not the lexico-syntactic form of questions and responses.

4.3.1 Pilot coding

Once 20 interviews had been transcribed, the draft taxonomy was applied and a pilot sample of interviews coded. Some amendments were made and the schemata was then found to be robust and secure.

⁴⁸ The case of “exam questions”, where the answer is known to at least some of the hearers, is different: the intersubjectivity issue revolves around the candour of the respondent. See Extract 4-6 Field Post Ingram.

4.3.2 Counting questions and responses

We saw in Chapter 2 that a “turn at talk” is a fundamental concept in CA and what we might call “questioning turns” or “responding turns” present as candidates for such an analysis. However, it is readily seen that not all IR turns are questions and not all IE turns are responses. As in ordinary conversation, some turns are repairs, clarifying misheard or misunderstood talk, or correcting errors. Sometimes, questions and responses are built over more than one turn with insert repair sequences designed by the participants to ensure that the parties are aligned about the matter to be resolved. In the extract below, Gerry Brownlee starts a response at line 3, but then at line 4 seeks a repair—clarification of the type of building in question. There is an accidental terminal overlap as the IR quickly affirms Gerry Brownlee’s candidate understanding (line 6). So Brownlee’s turn at lines 3-5 is not coded as a response and clearly the IR’s turn at line 6 is not coded as a question. Brownlee’s response is resolved at line 7 and is so recorded as a response.

- Extract 4-1 MR 2010_09_14 Earthquake Act: IR – Julian Robins; GB – Gerry Brownlee sn 113
- 1 IR ...the replacement buildings would they have to go through the normal
 2 process or could they be fast tracked through this
- 3 GB (.) n (.) Ah my expectation is that they would- there may be a track for
 4 ► them, (.2) .h (.) >we’re talking about commercial buildings
 5 [(are we)]
- 6 IR [Comm]ercial buildings yeah=
- 7 GB =Yeah that is ah- ah- a little quicker (.) ((continues))

Instead of turns, questioning actions and responses are coded, in a way which accounts for actions constructed over more than one turn. Similarly, the two-turn building of the response above is coded as one response.

4.3.3 Actions before lexico-syntactic form

Informed by CA, coding is guided by the participants' orientation to the actions performed and the sequential relevance of the action:

The meaning of any single grammatical construction is interactionally contingent, built over interactional time in accordance with interactional actualities. Meaning lies not with the speaker nor the addressee nor the utterance alone but rather with the interactional past, current and projected next moment. (Schegloff, 1996:40)

The same or closely proximate form of an utterance, for example, might be coded as a constraining topic question, or as arraigining. The following extract exemplifies this essential principle. A report from the Auditor General has sternly criticized the Defence Department for overspending and lax reporting. The Secretary of Defence is questioned.

Extract 4-2 MR 2008_06_27 Defence Spend: IR – Sean Plunket; JM – John McKinnon sn 119

- 1 IR Ah do you accept (.) the serious criticisms ah from the Auditor General
 2 JM (.5) We've been working with the Auditor General to ah establish ah
 3 what are the streams of information that [he (.....)]
 4 IR [the question] wa- the
 5 question was Mister McKinnon do you accept the serious criticisms .h
 6 (.2) in his report.
 7 JM (.9) We're working with the auditor
 8 [general (.....)]
 9 IR [the question was Mister McKinnon] .hhh (.) do you accept the
 10 serious criticisms in the report (.3) yes or no.
 11 JM (.4) I- I accept the criticisms that we can provide more information and
 12 we're working with the Auditor General to do that ((continues))

The IR's opening question (line 1) is a plain, constraining yes/no topic question, with full nominals (*criticisms, Auditor General*). Given that the report was tabled in parliament, and that the Secretary of Defence would have seen and been asked to comment on a draft, anything other than an affirmative response is marked and accountable. The Secretary's

response (line 2) is not promising. The first part of it is a .5 sec gap which heralds a dispreferred reply, and puts the IR on watch. The IR could pounce immediately and we have seen evidence that this IR, Sean Plunket, regularly does (see Extract 4-9). Here he allows the emergent response to develop, as if a reprieve is possible, until the emergence of the infinitive phrase, *to ah establish ah what are the streams of information that he...* The IR interrupts (line 4) to arraign the emergent response and then reforms the original question into a declarative: *[the question] wa- the question was Mister McKinnon do you accept the serious criticism .h (.2) in the report.* Plainly the work done by this utterance is manifold: (a) it interrupts and seizes the floor; (b) it draws the RPs' attention to the fact that the formally addressed *Mister McKinnon* has made a delinquent response, and (c) it pragmatically repeats the question. The stubbornness evident in the Secretary's next response (line 7) verges on insolence in the context of the programme. He takes a .9 sec gap to design his reply and repeats the same overture which met interruption the first time. However, the time elapsed before he is again interrupted is brief. He is given a short shrift of 1.2 sec then the IR again cites the question, this time with an appended *yes or no*. The actions performed are the same as those detailed above, with the addition of specifying the lexical constraints on an acceptable answer: *yes or no*. The coding of three iterations of the same substantive question records one constraining topic question and two instances of arraignment. The coding of the IE actions records two evasive responses. The third response, at lines 11-12 is coded as unmarked, which is to say that there is no clear evidence of non-compliance and the IR does not reject the response this time.

Corresponding with the research questions, the following sections describe the coding of constraining questioning actions, evasive and non-compliant responses and persistence by the IR.

4.4 Constraint

Journalists working in broadcast news programmes are expected to design questions which are understood to frame precisely the knowledge gap which they require the IE to fill so that all parties, IR, IE, and RPs share a clear understanding of the immediate agenda. Journalists normatively try to constrain the IE to give precise, quotable information: that is, news. They want confirmation or negation of propositions. They want names, commitment to action, precise dates, places, and numbers: who, what, when, where, how much or how many. Air time is tightly budgeted, especially in breakfast radio, where the audience is expected to be under time pressure and not receptive to discursive or obfuscating talk. Some examples from the data are presented here to give a sense of the variety of constraining devices in the context of interviews, and then a fuller taxonomy of question types and the specific constraints they impose is tabulated.

4.4.1 Example: constraining a yes/no question

The following example illustrates an efficient constraining question. Just before the 2011 Rugby World Cup in New Zealand, Adidas, the sporting goods company and major sponsor of the host team, the New Zealand All Blacks, was harshly criticised over the New Zealand retail price of its replica All Black team jerseys. Fans were able to buy the jerseys online from the US at about half the New Zealand price. The major sports retailer in New Zealand asked Adidas to cut the wholesale price, but Adidas refused. The widely held view was that the wholesale price in New Zealand was gouging and exploitative. The Adidas marketing manager for New Zealand, Dave Huggett, was questioned about it.

Extract 4-3 MR 110811 Adidas Jersey: IR – Simon Mercep; DH – Dave Huggett

- 1 IR So as things stand (.) this morning (.8) is Adidas going to drop the
2 wholesale price of its jerseys.

The question constrains the Adidas representative DH to a yes/no response. However, it contains several constraining specifics: it seeks a commitment from Adidas about future action on the wholesale price, over which its agency is implicit.

4.4.2 Constraining propositions and presuppositions

In addition to the syntactic and semantic constraints of the kind woven into the question above, the IR can use prefacing and embedded propositions which circumscribe the question agenda and effectively compel the IE to make the answer congruent with the prefacing constraints. The following extract is from an interview with Prime Minister Jim Bolger in the midst of radical reforms to the health sector, including the closure of major base hospitals.

Extract 4-4 MR 1997_10_09 Health Cuts: IR – Eva Radich; JB – Jim Bolger

- 1 IR Still we're seeing people taking to the streets in vast numbers over-
- 2 over previous weeks worried that they're losing .hh their only hospital.
- 3 .hh worried about having er to go many many miles to get any type 'v
- 4 health care=what do you say to them?

The previous chapter noted how IRs regularly (and IEs occasionally) use the first person plural *we* (line 1) and related pro-terms to overtly yoke the RPs to the discussion. This kind of preface again highlights broadcast news interviews as a public forum and the jeopardy that that entails for the IE. The parties should expect that some of the *vast numbers* of *worried* people will be listening to the interview and the PM's accommodation or dismissal of their worries will be audited. In contrast with the previous example, the constraint here is non-specific as to expected semantic content. What seems to be more under test is the PM's political judgement in his willingness to direct his response to the identified *vast numbers* of *worried* people.

Prefaces are sometimes biased toward a particular reply, typically to align with the polarity of the prefacing proposition. The following is from an interview about allegations of nepotism in the application of state funding.

Extract 4-5 MR 2010_06_29 Maori Export: IR – Geoff Robinson; PM – Paul Morgan sn 146

- 1 IR So that (.2) sounds like a bunch of mates giving money to a bunch of
2 mates is is that what happened?

The constraint here is that the IE, if denying the prefacing proposition, is charged with putting his account alongside the judgement of the IR. Once again, it is to be played out on public display with the jeopardy accompanying that. This sort of consideration raises problems for the quantification of degrees of constraint. Of course, every news interview question is constraining in the sense that it circumscribes an epistemic territory to be addressed in the response. However, determining the degree to which some question designs are more constraining than others and whether they can be assigned some ordinal value is more vexed. To take the earlier example (Extract 4-3 Adidas Jersey), we could apply some sort of matrix and say that the question about Adidas' commitment involved constraints and expectations that a direct affirmative answer would satisfy the constraint of action, agency and tense in the proposition. But the aggregation of constraints in this question cannot be compared with ostensibly similar constructions—if any exist in the data—because the particularity of a constraining question is peculiar to its social moment and defies gradation. Consider the following. A minister of the crown, Taito Philip Field, has been suspended from Cabinet pending the outcome of an investigation into allegations that he accepted money or services in return for favourable decisions on immigration applications. The report of the investigation is critical of Philip Field on some matters, and equivocal on others. Philip Field, however, claims the report clears his name.

Extract 4-6 MR 190706 Field Post Ingram: IR – Sean Plunket; PF – Taito Philip Field

1 IR You've claimed in parliament that this report totally exonerates and
2 vindicates you (.hhhhh) Can you point me to the pages in the report
3 where it says that.

The IE's responses up to this point have contained many hedging particles, hesitations and attempts to bend question agendas. Here, the IR constrains Minister Field to a delimited task, (pragmatically) *point me to the pages* where the specific words *exonerate* and *vindicate* are used. On an objective account, the constraint should present no difficulty to a recipient who is able to comply, and indeed, rather than being a burden, the specificity of the question might be welcome, and its compliant response triumphant. However, as audience, by Gricean implicature, we take the question and earlier exchanges to implicate that the IR has carefully read the report and has been unable to find the relevant pages. Minister Field's predicament, and the threat to which he is exposed, recalls Brown and Levinson's account of negative face threats (1987). A constraining question threatens, if you like, the IE's right to be unimpeded and to engage freely in an exchange (although arguably, by accepting the terms of engagement in the news interview, the IE has to some extent abandoned those entitlements at the studio door). Brown and Levinson's conceptual formula posits the weightiness of the face threat as a function of the social distance and relative power pertaining between the parties together with an absolute index of the cultural moment of the imposition. Taito Philip Field, above, held a ministerial warrant and he also enjoys the Samoan honorific, *Taito*—paramount chief. So on a Brown and Levinson account, his status heightens the face threat. Furthermore, the IR has reported that Philip Field asserted in parliament that the report *totally exonerates and vindicates* him. The danger lurking in the question is the counterfactual—that if Minister Field is not

able to *point [me] to the pages*, then his assertion of exoneration, entered in the parliamentary record, is false and his reputation and status are in jeopardy.⁴⁹

The point to be taken from this is that there is nothing objectively calculable in the degree of difficulty imposed by a particular lexico-syntactic design that enables its haecceity to be given some ordinal value and to be binned with like tokens. Not only are the permutations of constraints on topic and semantics innumerable, but their interactional moment cannot reliably be graded. To give a hypothetical example: the question, “Who do you think would make the best successor?” put to an out-going political party leader as his/her caucus is about to vote on the matter is a question almost certain to be evaded or refused. Exactly the same form of words put to a political commentator, though, is mere grist to the mill. Ordinal rankings are fraught not only because of addressee context; historical contexts further complicate the assigning of ordinal rankings. Questions about a leadership contender’s sexual orientation would simply not have been put to a politician in the early days of *Morning Report*; the ordinal ranking would be “off the scale”. Whilst the researcher might have a sense of the contextual constraint in a question what is relevant, observable, and central to this thesis is the probability that a constraining question will be evaded. The purpose of coding the types of constraint imposed in questioning actions is to signal not a quantum of pressure or impost on the IE but the ways in which the response might default. It also replicates the kind of check list which the IR, having designed the question, will normatively apply to the response. Table 4-1 sets out an operationalizing schema for constraining questions found in the data.

⁴⁹ In 2009, Taito Philip Field was found guilty on 11 charges of bribery and corruption, a further 15 related charges, and sentenced to six years’ gaol.

Table 4-1 *Questioning actions and constraints*

IR Questioning Actions	Constraint	Examples from Sample Data
Open wh-	A loose constraint to comment on the topic prescribed by the IR. Responses can rarely be classified as non-compliant. 1st and 3rd person statements are often indistinguishable in their action from open wh- questions.	And what sort of discussion do you think you'll have about it? [sn 44]* *sn refers to the database transcript serial number
Delimiting preface or proposition	A prefacing proposition restricts or constrains acceptable responses. A compliant response must accommodate the constraints.	hhh The strike's going to disrupt transport=that's er air services .hhh looks likely to close shops and so on ↑all this for one and half per cent is that one and half per cent going to help the economy. [sn32]
Preface is tilted	The preface is tilted such that the expected polarity of the answer is implied or stated.	First of all could we establish the credentials of the two(.) people who made the report=they're just- not just anonymous experts brought in to do a hatchet job [sn 69]
Delimiting presupposition	The question presumes the truth of a proposition contained within it and expects both IE and RPs to accept it.	We've been told that the enquiry ah dealt with things that happened a long time ago=that ethical safeguards are fine now are National Women's .hh what problems ah (.3) have you- have prompted you to act in this way
Conditional	Usually in the form of <i>If p then ?</i> .	If that's the case why are you saying you might have a reshuffle before the next ↑election. [sn 114]
Polar alternative	The question expects an answer which is restricted to one of two stated options.	Well it's either a fiscal catastrophe or a political catastrophe=which is it [sn 51]
Yes/No	Also subsumes rising terminal intonation	Ah do you accept (.) the serious criticisms ah from the auditor general [sn 119]

IR Questioning Actions	Constraint	Examples from Sample Data
Coercive tag	Strongly tilted expectation of alignment with the polarity of the tag.	Railways are still operating an' (.2) as far as the outside person can see as they always have done. You've lost all these people. You must have been over-manned in the past, you'd accept that? [sn 56]
Negative interrogative	Differs from coercive tag in that the negative component appears before the substantive proposition. Anything other than agreement or alignment with the proposition is highly marked.	Are you not a key figure in that resolution? [sn 97]
Restrictive wh-	Constrains answer to supply names, commitment to action, precise dates, places, and numbers: who, what, when, where, how much or how many.	When would you expect Mister Douglas to declare his hand as it were [sn 93]
1st or 3rd person statement	A proposition, either the IR's own, or sourced to a 3 rd person, the action of which is to invite comment. It has no constraint, except a loose expectation to stay on topic, and is easily evaded without penalty.	I understand that the National Party is congratulating itself for the sale of Petrocorp to Fletcher Challenge. [sn 100]
B-event	A 'B-event' proposition asserts what cannot be directly known by IR: what the IE is thinking, planning or experiencing. Strongly anticipates affirmation. (Labov & Fanshel, 1977:100)	That's a yes they- they- they went and got the guys who (.2) attacked Lieutenant O'Donnell. [sn 104]

Developed from Heritage and Roth (1995), Clayman and Heritage (2002a, 2002c) and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartik (1985)

Of greater interest to this study is not the absolute determination and quantification by type of constraint, but how the IE responds to it and the subsequent trajectory of the interview. The introduction to the thesis proposed that the news interview is often a contest between the IR, wanting newsworthy information immediately, and the IE who is often unwilling to cooperate and attempts to pursue a different agenda. We turn now to evasion.

4.5 Evasion

A precisely built constraining question pinpoints matters of news interest which are often contrary to the interests of the IE. The IE has a choice: to adhere to the constraints or evade some or all of them. Constraining questions and evasive responses reflect a central premise of the thesis: that the primary function of the news interview is to get information which has not hitherto been published. The news interview is often a contest between journalist and public figures over the timing and/or the quanta of information. Frequently, by IEs' accounts, its release at a certain time would be in breach of confidence, or contrary to national interest, or that the information is embargoed. Journalists, however, are expected by their editors to surmise that reticence to answer is often seated in more venal reasons: one is that the release of information could be politically or commercially prejudicial; another is that the IE, although accountable for the information, is not informed. The present investigation is interested principally in how the IR accepts or rejects a response. For those action pairs—response and arraignment—an objectified *semantic* account of a response's evasiveness is of less interest than how the parties resolve the dissonance between themselves. This is one of

two locations of the contest referred to in the title of this thesis, and indicated at nodes 3 and 7 in Figure 4-1. Here is the response to the constraining question in Extract 4-3:

Extract 4-7 MR 110811 Adidas Jersey: IR – Simon Merced; DH – Dave Hogget

1 IR So as things stand (.) this morning (.8) is Adidas going to drop the
2 wholesale price of its jerseys.

3 DH ► (.) etch wa-hhhh - I think hhhh- (.3) <thee> (.) the price of the jersey
4 has reduced. (.2) Ahhm And we've seen I guess reductions across
5 <thee> I guess across our key customers. (.)

That the response is unlikely to be satisfactory is heralded by a colony of hedging particles and out-breaths, all characteristic of a looming dispreferred response (arrowed). The IE then departs clearly from the parameters of the question: he ignores the specificity of the object, the *wholesale* price (line 2), and elects to talk about the *price*, which is a reference to the retail price in specific stores (*key customers*, line 5). He avoids taking agency, expunging the subject, *Adidas*, by deploying a passive construction; in doing so he ignores the enquiry about future action, using instead a present perfective structure.

4.5.1 Coding variables of evasion

The system used here is developed principally from Clayman and Heritage (2002b), and inferentially, from Quirk et al. (1985). I have added a further classification: declining to answer, claiming that a matter is sub judice or that the information is embargoed. Evasive or non-compliant responses are coded under one or more of eight types. A response is coded as either marked (unit – 1) or unmarked (null – 0). Table 4-2 describes the binary nominal coding system for non-compliant responses which are found at least once in the data set.

Table 4-2 *Evasive and non-compliant responses*

Coding Tag	IE Response/Answer Actions	Examples
Refuses to answer—no excuse	Overtly expressed flat refusal to answer. This is rare.	Q What were Maori-Pacific asking for? R I don't intend to go through the discussion [sn 151]
Sub-judice /not competent/ embargoed	Declines to answer and proffers an excuse: a matter before the courts; confidentiality; embargo; not competent/not IE's domain of accountability; privacy of a third part; security. The IR will often challenge such an excuse.	Q Do you see that these restrictions ah gonna make your work (.) more difficult R I'd rather not comment on that until I've seen- studied it a bit more [sn 43]
Answers part of a multi-part question	Sometimes, one part of a two-part question is not answered, either by oversight or opportunism. Needs careful analysis.	Q How much do you think children will suffer and do you think it's moral to send children home R .hhh We hope that the suffering will be ↓minimal (.4) but if there is suffering (.3) I'm sure there will be some suffering it'll be (.) again the fault of the department and the minister [sn 40]
Critiques question proposition	Declines to answer on grounds that the question is based on a false proposition, or on other grounds such as alleged inherent bias.	Q Do you expect that when the caucus meets tomorrow and if there is discussion about the dispute you have with Mister Minogue there will be a settlement by tomorrow or will it drag on R (.5) Aw I've no idea=and I don't know really what you mean by a <u>settlement</u> this a- a- this is ub (.2) .hh not some kind of negotiation [sn 38]
Defers to norms, but departs	Acknowledges the IR's authority to run the agenda, but then bends the question agenda anyway. "Can I first say something about that?"	R Can I j's go back and pick you up on the first one which was stability. (.2) .hh Ah it's a strong commitment that we've made =we're not gonna change the structure of the health system (.3) any further. [sn 197]

[cont'd next page]

Coding Tag	IE Response/Answer Actions	Q–R Pair Examples
Subordinating/coordinating conjunction	Uses one or more subordinate or coordinating constructions to shift away from the agenda and frame a new one.	<p>Q Do you think the public had as much right to know the Spencer Trust as they might to know about the English Family Trust.</p> <p>R Let me put it this way Sean=I think th't (.2) h an (.3) an M.P.s (.4) privacy or every person's privacy really matters .hh and that the public interest also matters and so we've got that sort'v natural tension. (.) .hhhh (.) and I think there's a way> through it< (.) ahm I think th't (.5) what (.4) the Minister of Finance should do is: (.3) um take his <u>Trust Deed</u>, remove the names of all his kids or .hh or individuals, .h (.) <u>put</u> it into the arena so that we can see whether he's got .h (.) control of it [sn 136]</p>
Covertly changes/extends agenda	The devices used are many and varied and include colligation, the use of hyponymy/hyperonymy, subtle changes to tense and aspect and excision, or transfer of agency, but at the same time feigning cooperation	<p>Q Do you think there'd be any increase in the <u>road</u> toll with this(strike) action</p> <p>R (.2) .hh Well that's a very good question .h ah: there are some critics of the (.3) traffic force=and I'm not <u>one</u> of them .h who say that thee traffic officers don't contribute to the road toll [sic] .khh ah if the road toll falls over the next two weeks I guess we might have to review whether we need traffic officers at all [sn 84]</p>
Overtly changes/extends agenda	Overtly and unilaterally proposes a different agenda	<p>Q Throughout the campaign Winston Peters berated you, insulted y'party said you weren't fit to govern .hh (.) now the lion and lamb are lying down together. which one is which.</p> <p>R .mnh (.7) It's this sort of rather nonsensical approach I guess that Winston Peters and myself and the political parties will have to put up with for the next little while. .hhh</p>

Developed from Clayman and Heritage (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a, 2002c)

4.6 Persistence

Under the superordinate rubric of persistence, this section examines first how IRs arraign evasive or non-compliant responses of the kinds described above, and second, how IRs use follow-up questions to pursue implications from otherwise satisfactory answers.

4.6.1 Persistence by arraignment

Arraignment is the collection of practices which the IR uses to pursue a satisfactory, agenda-congruent answer after the IE is heard to have made, or embarked on, a deficient or delinquent response. Where Greatbatch (1986b) used the term *pursuit*, I use the term *arraignment* for a sub-set of the CA concept of repair; repairs include actions to deal with slips of the tongue, word searches, and other production and reception difficulties which lead to the interview being arrested, but which are, usually, cooperatively resolved. The sub-set of arraignment carries a strong connotation of finding fault, impeachment, or calling to account. In the contemporary news interview arraignment is often aggressive and interruptive, and implies that the interview may not proceed to a new or supplementary topic until a satisfactory response is forthcoming and the rupture in intersubjectivity is repaired. Those features are encapsulated in this fragment from an interview with New Zealand Prime Minister John Key.

Extract 4-8 MR 2009_11_06 Key One Year: IR – Sean Plunket; JK – John Key

- 1 IR ((interrupts)) I- I'm sorry I asked you a question Mister Key do you
2 want to answer it or not
3 JK No no I'm happy to answer it Sean[(.....)]
4 IR [Okay]well my question was- I'll
5 put it for you again just so we can continue the interview my question
6 was ((continues))

There seems a clear threat that if the PM does not answer the question the interview will be terminated. The IR might repeat, reformulate the question, challenge the accuracy or argumentation in a response, or formulate a B-event to draw attention to its shortcomings.

4.6.2 Interruption

In a CA frame, the term interruption has a specific meaning. As we saw in the literature review (2.2.9) much work in CA has shown that overlapping talk is often collaborative or accidental. An interruption, by contrast, is the social action of successfully taking the floor away from someone who has not finished speaking or has not had a chance to make their point. Such interruptions, in which a party seizes the floor *and holds it* until their invasive turn is complete, are accountable and marked. Not only the immediate parties but also the RPs commonly complain when the instance is perceived as rude or unfair. Whilst there are instances of interruption by IEs, overwhelmingly interruptions are done by IRs and demonstrate the institutional tenet that the IR is inquisitor, arbiter of the adequacy of responses, and in charge of the progress of the encounter. CA brings to bear powerful analytical tools to illuminate the alacrity with which the astute IR perceives and interrupts emergent delinquency, as in the following exemplar. An opposition member of parliament has claimed that a senior public servant is to take action against the government over derogatory comments made about him by his minister.

Extract 4-9 MR 200209: IR – Sean Plunket; CC – Clayton Cosgrove

- 1 IR Mister Cosgrove good morning, (.5) um do y' have any evidence that
2 Mister Mathews does intend to take any sort of action aa against the
3 government uh over comments that have been made aa about him.
4 CC W well let me say this I'm not[(.....)]
5 IR [NO NO NO I want] you to answer >muh<
6 question [straight up Mister Cosgrove]

- 7 CC [I I I hav I] raised [in (parliament)
8 IR [do y' HAVE ANY]
9 CC [(.....)]
10 IR EVIDENCE that he's going to=
11 CC =Like you as an investigative journalist
12 IR [you're not an investigative journalist]=.
13 CC [have sources So do I]
14 IR Can you ANSWER the question did you have any evidence

The IR first asks a direct yes/no question. The IE, Clayton Cosgrove, embarks on a response but is brusquely arraigned one second into his reply with *NO NO NO I want you to answer muh question straight up*. In that one second, the IR has apparently concluded that a direct yes/no answer is not forthcoming, and designed a brusque rejoinder. Analysis of the first second of Cosgrove's response shows abundant evidence of imminent default that the IR orients to: first is the stammer, *W well*. The particle *well*, is documented in CA literature as a harbinger of a dispreferred response (Innes, 2010; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). Then the IE formulaically announces that what is to follow will depart from the agenda which has been set down by the IR (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). The cataphoric reference for *let me say this* is unlikely to be an un-hedged affirmative. (“*W well let me say this – yes”). After the IR's arraignment, Clayton Cosgrove (line 7) still avoids a yes/no response and meets another blockade from the IR. Binary nominal coding of each of these turns renders an account of the degree of contestation in the encounter.

When used, interruption is yoked to another action which critiques the errant response, but of course not all deficient responses are interrupted.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ I note that Huls and Varwijk (2011) and Ekström et al (2012) coded for persistence and interruption. My model was developed, and operational, before those papers were published, but in hindsight I do not think the papers suggest any inadequacies in my system.

4.6.3 Repeating or reformulating the question

The action of repeating or reformulating the prior question not only rejects the prior response, but does the further action of drawing RPs' attention to the IE's default, as illustrated below. New Zealand soldiers in Afghanistan have killed nine Taliban fighters some weeks after one of their own officers was killed by the Taliban. At issue was whether it was a revenge attack by the New Zealanders or was within their rules of engagement. The Minister of Defence is questioned.

Extract 4-10 MR 2011_04_21 Kiwi Revenge: IR – Simon Mercep; WM – Wayne Mapp sn 104

- 1 IR Can we just confirm wha- what happened here=was this what is often
2 called a hunt and kill operation?
- 3 WM (.) mnh (.4) The (.4) main thing that we're trying to do is actually
4 protect (.) the provincial reconstruction team so we make our business
5 to know what happening .hh ah in the vicinity of our region .h and
6 obviously you'd expect us to take action .hh ah if we (.) had intelligence
7 that indicated (.2) operations were likely against us .h and ah to
protect our people=now tha[t's]
- 8 IR [would]
- 9 WM that- would be essential (.2) whether or not
10 (.2) .h the S.A.S. were involved or not .hh we have to protect our people
11 in the provincial
12 [reconstruction team]
- 13 IR [did the S.A.S.] Did the S.A.S. go (.) and attack ay group of
14 Taliban who had (.) themselves attacked Lieutenant O'Donnell's team
- 15 WM (.8) well (.4) we had intelligence that there w'z ah insurgents in the
16 area .hh and with the approval of NATO ISAP which has to approve all
17 missions there was a coalition (.3) there was a coalition operation
18 mounted that included the New Zealand S.A.[S.]

The minister's response to the straightforward yes/no question emerges as evasive and the IR (line 8) attempts unsuccessfully to arraign it. He determinedly interrupts (line 13) with a more precise formulation of the same question, which again meets a circuitous response

but which finally concedes that a group of New Zealand SAS soldiers was part of such an operation.

4.6.4 Challenging the veracity or accuracy of a response.

In the next extract, Social Welfare Minister Roger Sowry, is asked about Treasury preparing a scoping paper about possible reductions in payment to beneficiaries whose parenting is reckoned to be deficient.

Extract 4-11 MR 1997_10_09 Benefits Conditions: IR – Sean Plunket; RS – Roger Sowry sn 161

- 1 IR who- who might've asked Treasury to do that
2 wack- work-presumably some ministers.
- 3 RS (.4) ah (.3) well: (.8) I think you'd have to ask the (.3) y'know perhaps
4 the- (.2) the Treasury minister who asks- who directs Treasury on
5 what work [they do]
- 6 IR [Would] he not have consulted you on ah (.6) er Treasury
7 doing scoping work on social policy?
- 8 RS (.5) Well th- (.2) though (.2) ah Social Welfare works ah as part of a
9 group of ah (.) wider departments (.6) on a range of issues but I can
10 give you the assurance that ah .hh (.2) ah thee idea of ah (.5) saying-
11 making some determination on someone's (.5) parenting and cutting
12 their benefit (.2) .h (.2) is not an idea that ah the gov'm'nt is gonna
↑pursue.
- 13 IR ► (.6) g-then why (.3) has Treasury (.) been working on this issue.

In the hierarchies of New Zealand government departments, Finance/Treasury usually ranks 2nd, well ahead of Social Welfare which is typically ranked around 12th and vulnerable to Treasury cost-cutting expeditions. The minister's ignorance of Treasury's scoping of his own department puts him in a difficult position, manifest in his turn from line 3. His delay in responding (.4 sec), and then further marked pauses and hedging particles indicate his trouble in designing a cogent response. He then suggests that the person to ask is the Treasury minister. Minister Sowry's discomfiture is further highlighted

by the IR's next question, a negative interrogative (lines 6-7) to which any response other than a crisp affirmative is seen as at odds with common sense (Bolinger, 1957). But the minister takes a further marked gap (.5 sec) and then delivers more archetypal hedges, marked silences, and stammering. He disregards the substantive question and deploys the adversative conjunction *but* (arrowed, line 9) to change the question agenda, denying that the government is considering this policy initiative. The IR (line 13) challenges the accuracy of the minister's assertion.

4.6.5 Challenging argumentation

The Minister for Immigration has been suspended and investigated for allegedly corrupt practice in making discretionary immigration decisions. A quasi-judicial report has been tabled in parliament which is equivocal on some aspects of the minister's behaviour and critical on others. However, the suspended minister claims the report exonerated him.

Extract 4-12 MR 190706 Field Post Ingram: IR – Sean Plunket; PF – Taito Philip Field

- 1 IR ((interrupting)) [Mister Field] if you've done nothing wrong if you are
2 so totally vindicated (0.4) why: aren't you back in cabinet?
3 PF (1.2) Well that is matter for (.) caucus and that's a matter for the Prime
4 Minister: and ah: (.) y-you can't be in cabinet when you're under
5 enquiry anyway.
6 IR (0.3) Well-you're not under enquiry anymore, ((continues))

The minister has throughout the interview put a favourable interpretation on the report; but it is an interpretation which the IR has earlier claimed cannot be supported on close reading. Here, he implies that were the minister's arguments valid, he should, if guiltless, be returned to cabinet.

4.6.6 B-event formulation of the IE's response

As the interview above at Extract 4-10 Kiwi Revenge continues, the IR still seeks an infeasible account from the minister about the specific role of the New Zealand SAS troops and deploys a common technique, which is to summarise or condense the IE's response to a minimal proposition whose truth value is highlighted (lines 19-20 below) and repeated and embellished at lines 21-22.

- Extract 4-13 MR 2011_04_21 Kiwi Revenge: IR – Simon Mercep; WM – Wayne Mapp (cont'd)
- 15 WM (.8) well (.4) we had intelligence that there w'z ah insurgents in the
16 area .hh and with the approval of NATO ISAP which has to approve all
17 missions there was a coalition (.3) there was a coalition operation
18 mounted that included the New Zealand S.A.[S.]
- 19 IR [So] that's a y[es]
- 20 WM [pl]us
[plus]]
- 21 IR [That's a yes]they- they- they went and got the guys who (.2) attacked
22 Lieutenant O'Donnell.
- 23 WM (.7) Well w- irr-it is certainly true that they were engaged but the
24 purpose is fundamentally (.) to protect our people.

In using a B-event proposition, (lines 21-22) the IR stakes his reputation that this formulation of the IE's position cannot credibly be denied. And the minister does not deny it, leaving the RPs to infer that the B-event statement is a realistic account.

4.6.7 Summary: arraigning designs

Table 4-3 *IR arraigning actions*

Coding	Action	Example
Interrupts to persist with question	IR starts to talk while the IE is in mid-turn, and successfully gains and retains the floor.	Extract 4-9
Repeats or reforms the question	Simultaneously rejects the prior, or emergent response and re-asserts the illocution of the question.	Extract 4-10
Challenges accuracy	Challenges specific aspects of the response as inaccurate, or inconsistent.	Extract 4-11
Challenges argument	Critiques specific aspect of argument in the response.	Extract 4-12
B-event formulation	Formulates inferences or entailments which flow from the response.	Extract 4-13

4.7 Some special cases of coding by researcher judgement

Quantifying deficient responses which are arraigned in accordance with the templates above will not tell a story about how IRs' intolerance of evasion has changed over time. Whilst it will show the diachronic distribution of *contretemps* between IRs and IEs over time, it can say nothing about the evasive responses which are *not* arraigned. A corollary is that such a delimited approach would say nothing about diachronic change for all evasion, whether arraigned or not. In order to do that an investigation needs to capture those evasive responses which are not arraigned by the IR. This entails a determination of each response's congruence with its inciting question. There is ample evidence in the data that audience members, RPs, are invited to do this. Chapter 3 described the explicit provisions in the regulatory framework of *Morning Report* which provide for that. The programme

regularly broadcasts listener feedback which either compliments or critiques IRs' alacrity or laxity. Guided by these sensibilities, the researcher needs to apply not only a vernacular syntactic and lexical analysis to the congruence or otherwise of a response to a question, but needs also to imagine being in the place of a competent IR. In effect the researcher needs to stand in loco of the RPs and code on their behalf. Of course, another researcher might reach different judgements, so this immediately raises the issue of whether the sole researcher's coding decisions need to be cross-checked.

My statistical consultant advised that cross-checking was unnecessary, and potentially obfuscating. Best practice with multiple coders working on discrete batches predicates that variance between coders should be assessed and accounted using various procedures such as agreement coefficient analysis (Cohen, 1960). If a researcher solus is concerned with synchronic ordinal aggregations of some qualitative variable (such as food flavour, or an essay grade) then the stability and reproducibility of categorisation needs to be ratified. However, coding judgements by a single coder (C_1) for diachronic change analyses do not need ratification by another party or parties, and there is little basis for claiming that such a cross-check would improve the reliability of the results. Apart from the impracticality of having the entire corpus of transcriptions independently coded, (or the error-fraught alternative of sampling the sample) there is the vexed question of authorship. More important, the second opinion—from a coder (C_2) who is inevitably less familiar with the data—introduces further, possibly discursive or conflicting biases which need to be accounted for. However *the biases of the researcher solus, provided they are stable, do not affect trend*. If a second set of coding by another (C_2) is determined to have a different but stable bias, which is to say that it *consistently* differs from the author's set (C_1), then

necessarily the trends will be the same.⁵¹ It is noteworthy that both Huls and Varwijk (2011) and Ekström et al. (2012) acknowledge consistency problems in reaching consensus among manifold coders.

There remains the issue of whether the researcher's judgement changed over the course of several months coding. This, of course, is possible, and would apply principally to those responses coded as deficient by the researcher but not arraigned by the IR. In my case, I believe the problem is eliminated for four reasons: first, an earlier study based on *Morning Report* data from 1998-2009, which was an exegetic politeness study of 50 interviews, in a sense calibrated my decisions about the most recent data and praxes (Finlayson, 2009); second, data within each block was coded in the random date order dictated by the sampling model. This meant that there was no distraction by perceived—or imagined—chronological trends across each four-year block. Third, for practical reasons, the last block in the sample, 2008-2011, was not coded last, but mid-way through the coding process. This enhanced the detachment from chronological “development”. Finally discursive determinations of “allowed deficient responses” were often ratified by reference to earlier judgements to check for consistency. Revisions were rare. It should also be noted that the determinations of what responses could relevantly have been arraigned were

51 ‘All [statistical] measurements differ from the “true” value of what they are trying to estimate. This variation can be characterized in two ways:

Bias, where you consistently over (or under) estimate the quantity of interest.

Variance: your estimates may be centred on the quantity of interest but are subject to random variation and are spread more (or less) widely about the true value. Ideally one wants to simultaneously minimise both bias and variance.

For your purposes, assessing change over time, bias is irrelevant. If you overestimated an early sample you would overestimate a later one. I think you ensured your own internal consistency by reassessing early samples later in the data collection process.’ (Chris Triggs, personal communication, 15 October, 2012)

mounted from 2012 sensibility, not 1976, et cetera. And plainly, in determining whether diachronic change subsists in a domain such a calibration reference point is necessary.

The approach to sampling and coding offers a secure frame in which decisions can be informed by the insights of CA. The examples below typify cases where researcher coding requires particular care.

4.7.1 Topping and tailing

A common practice, particularly in the early years of *Morning Report*, is for the presenter to report the first question of a pre-recorded interview:

- Extract 4-14 MR 1998_08_11 Nga Puhī Fish: IR – Geoff Robinson; KT – Kingi Taurua sn 183
- 1 IR [[reported first question]]He was asked why Ngapuhi can't speak with one voice on this issue.
- 2 KT We did speak with one voice. (.6) On- on Saturday the twenty fourth
- 3 of October nineteen two- nineteen ninety two we did speak on one
- 4 voice, (.) .[[continues]]

Because of the strict constraint in CA for researchers to address only actual, naturally occurring data of interaction, we do not know the actual emergent actions which were done by the original, excised, question. Even though there is high confidence that the reported and possibly précised question is fair and accurate, in cases where the IR does not overtly subsequently arraign the response, the coder cannot be certain whether or not the response was evasive or non-compliant. For this reason, unless there is an overt rejection of such a response by IR, it was coded as null, or unmarked. Whilst it is theoretically possible that such an opening response was evasive or non-compliant, *and* allowed by the IR, this is highly unlikely, and in any event the effects would be insignificant.

4.7.2 Critiquing the question and framing another

The following extract shows the peril to the IR in framing hypothetical questions with unsubstantiated propositions. Prison officers are concerned that a looming smoking ban in prisons will lead to unrest and violence. One prospect is put to the minister in charge.

Extract 4-15 MR 2010_06_29 Prison Smoking Collins: IR – Sean Plunket; JC – Judith Collins sn 148

- 1 IR What if they tell you, .h (.3) that they would rather put up with the
2 second hand smoke, (.5) than a whole bunch of stressed (.) pyscho (.3)
3 prisoners (.3) going cold turkey from nicotine.
- 4 JC (.5) Well they won't be going cold turkey because they'll be given all
5 thee assistance that they need .hh (.) but ah what they have told me
6 that they're looking forward to (.) .h (.) ah this and I notice that Bevan
7 Hanlon yesterday told this- your programme (.) .h (.3) that he's been
8 asking for this since two thousand three. .h (.) So it's (.2) it's not
9 unusual this is where thee whole world is going when it comes to
Corrections.

The minister's rebuttal of the embedded presupposition (prisoners sustaining cold turkey from nicotine withdrawal will go psycho) leaves her free to reframe the question to her design, along the lines of "what have prison officers said about it". Note that the IR accepts this response. The question for the researcher is whether to code this as a "non-answer allowed" or as unmarked. This response is coded as unmarked (null) since the IR's tacit acceptance of her rejection of the presupposition also nullifies the question.

4.7.3 A direct yes/no question is avoided

Extract 4-16 MR 1979_09_18 Wage Fix #2: IR – Di Billing; JM – Jim Knox sn 33

- 1 IR Mister Knox are you ruling out the chance that thee package could be
2 revised so that it's more acceptable to the gov'm'nt
- 3 JK (1.2)Well how do we have to revise the package to make it more
4 acceptable to the gover'm'nt .hh when gov'm'nt' h'z made it quite
5 ↑clear .hhh that unless both parties step back that's the transport .hhh
6

7 employers (.3) and the drivers union .hhh uh step back and accept the
8 nine point five [[wry chortle]] per cent .hh (.4) then the gov'm'nt'll
9 take some action (.2) and that's the situation we'r'n the ↑moment
10 .hhhh and the cabinet yesterday: ah.hh after the Minister o' Labour
11 reported back ah (.9) ah to cabinet after meeting the nash'n'l exec'tive
12 Federation Labour (.4) have reaffirmed their previous stand (.7) and
the drivers and the employers are not stepping back
13 IR (.6) .mnh Meanwhile you've had a settlement. One of your groups the
14 electrical workers negotiated[[cont]]

The overture to Jim Knox's reply is not promising. He holds a long, marked gap of 1.2 sec followed by *well*, the ubiquitous harbinger of imminent default. His use of *revise* and *acceptable to the gover'm'nt* echoes the IR's lexis and feigns cooperation with the question although he abandons the question altogether. Instead, he attacks the government's stubbornness, and does not preclude the prospect of modifying the union's stance. An arraigning question could have sought affirmation of that: "So you're not ruling out a revision of your stance?" In the absence of arraignment, this is coded as the IR allowing the default.

4.7.4 Coding for a voided IR response

The next extract poses a different coding issue: coding the absence of arraignment when an interview has been edited. Because the interview has been pre-recorded and truncated, it is not known whether the IR complained about the non-compliance or not. Economist Dr Don Brash has reported to the government on recommendations for tax reform. Dr Brash generally supports John Key, the prime minister at the time.

Extract 4-17 MR 2009_12_01 Flat Tax: IR – Sean Plunket; DB – Don Brash sn 101

1 IR (1.1)Do you think John Key's got the courage to pick up this report and
2 run with it

- 3 DB (.7) Oh Mister Key is a man of very considerable courage and very
4 considerable communication skills (.2) .hh an' I think h (.3) given his
5 political capital he could in fact implement .h if not this package
6 precisely then something close to it if he thought this was the right
7 thing to do.
- 8 IR (.8) Do you reckon he'd get it- re-elected if he did?
- 9 DB (.9) Sean, I guess the question is, (.3) is: (.4) sensible policy (.2)
10 feasible (.) in a democracy, (.8) an' I- (.3) want to believe that it is, (.8)
11 the reality is we've lost (.) more than a quarter of a million (.) New
12 Zealanders to Australia (.2) net (.2) in the last decade (.7) and if the
13 gap keeps getting wider with Australia, (.5) we're gonna keep (.) losing
14 New Zealanders.
- 15 IR ((Back announcement))That's the chair of the twenty- twenty-five
16 task force Don Brash

The IR's first question (lines 1-2) calls for a yes/no answer. Dr Brash hedges a yes/no commitment and instead cleverly designs a paean to John Key's political assets and skills. The IR's response (line 8) is in effect a reformation and tightening of the question: the *courage* of the prior talk is translated to success or failure at the polls. The reformed question is more specific and inferentially enquires whether Mr Key has the courage to go to the polls on this radical tax reform proposal. Dr Brash's reply, (lines 9-14) still avoids the question and frames one to his own liking. We do not learn whether, in Dr Brash's opinion, the present prime minister considers the tax reform proposal politically doable. There is no difficulty for the researcher in confidently coding this response as deficient. The coding issue is what happened next and whether or not the IR allowed the repeated transgression, or arraigned it. The coding approach in this circumstance is that the editorial judgement to edit the interview at that point is implicitly a permit for the deficient response to be published (broadcast) unchallenged. There is, of course, a possibility that the IR did indeed pursue an answer, and that his perseverant question was edited, perhaps for time

reasons. The response from a coding perspective is two-fold: first, the number of such orphans appears insignificant; second, my own familiarity with this domain and with this particular IR suggest that had a perseverant question been put and answered, it would have produced news, and would have been broadcast: “Key lacks guts to cut tax” or “Tax cuts? Key has the guts, says Brash”. Editors do not excise news. Whilst another researcher might reach a different view, the issue is one of consistency. My declared bias on this point is that a non-compliant response allowed to be broadcast unchallenged is coded as allowed.

4.7.5 Double-barrelled questions

Double-barrelled questions ostensibly expect answers to each part, and most commonly, the last question is dealt with first (Sacks, 1987). Often, though, the IR performs slightly variant iterations of the first question as if refining the question on the fly. In most cases the IE orients to this, as we see in this interview with the Minister of Education on negotiations for pay equity for teachers in primary (junior) schools and high schools.

Extract 4-18 MR 1997_03_18 Teacher Pay Equity: IR – Mike Hosking; WC – Wyatt Creech

- 1 IR Where are you at actually with the process=I mean do you have
2 numbers in mind for example o- what ay primary teacher would earn or
3 could earn given qualifications size of school et cetera=are you at that
point?
- 4 WC .mnh No it’s not really- um:: at that point=what has happened is that the
5 secretary of education has been chairing a group, .hh there are eight ah-
6 there have been eight meetings held, .hh ah they’ve produced a
7 discussion paper, .hh which is a summation of ev’ryone’s input into thee
8 ah process todate. (.3) and they were moving into the stage where they
9 would t- try ‘n develop .h a framework. .hh t- to say for instance .hh er
10 ah a person in the primary sector ‘n secondary sector would get the
11 same, .hh basic salary ah if a person has a higher qualification, .hh (.)
12 they will get .h a recognition (.5) of that higher qualification .h that
13 kind of detail was the next step that they were going to move to=
14 IR =Right

The IR's questioning action can be seen as a composite of three questions: The first is a broad wh- question with constraints only to speak to the status of *the process*; IR then self-repairs with *I mean* and narrows the domain of the query with a yes/no question: *do you have numbers in mind*, further constricting the domain with specific examples –*what a primary teacher would earn or could earn given qualifications size of school et cetera*. Finally, he asks *are you at that point*. The IR's *that point* indexes “the point in the process where you have some numbers in mind for specifically qualified teachers”. The minister responds, as is canonically preferred (Sacks, 1987), to the last part of the multiplex question—*No it's not really um at that point*. This in turn references primary teachers' pay scales. The minister's answer is therefore an acceptable negative + account, and this is overtly accepted by the IR's receipt token at line 14, *Right*. This exemplifies the principle that it is questioning and responding *actions* which are to be coded, and not syntactic constructions.

By contrast, the next example describes two discreet questions yoked as a double-barrelled question. The questions are related and touch upon important democratic principles which seem to have been frayed. A report from the Auditor General suggests regional and local councils are not doing enough to prosecute dairy farmers for allowing their herds to pollute waterways, which has become a serious issue for New Zealand's environmental reputation. There is an implication in the report that regional and local council members might over-represent, and favour, vested farming interests. The Minister for the Environment is questioned; the extract starts about one minute in. We first consider the double-barrelled question:

Extract 4-19 MR 2011_09_28 Dairy Pollution: IR – Geoff Robinson; NS – Nick Smith sn 109

1 IR So do you agree that we've got a disproportionate number of farmers
2 inappropriate- on- on these councils and then inappropriately getting
3 involved in decisions whether or not to prosecute.

The two propositions to be addressed are presented in subordinate clauses yoked by a yes/no matrix question, *do you agree*. The first, including a repair to the misplaced *inappropriate(ly)*, asks for affirmation that the number of farmers sitting on the councils in judgement of polluting farmers is *disproportionate*. The companion question asks for affirmation that it is inappropriate for these farmers to be involved in decisions whether or not to prosecute. Here is the minister's response and the IR's reaction to it.

Extract 4-20 MR 2011_09_28 Dairy Pollution: IR – Geoff Robinson; NS – Nick Smith sn 109

4 NS (.2) I certainly take the view that it's inappropriate for elected
5 representatives, (.) whether it be at central government level (.3) or
6 regional (or) local gov'm't (.) .hh to be making decision as to whether
7 .h a particular person is prosecuted. (.) .hh If we look at central
8 gov'm't , .h we've quite deliberately made the decision (.2) to establish
9 the Environmental Protection Authority (.) .hh separately from
10 gov'm't .h (.2) to make those sort of prosecution decisions. (.) .hhh
11 Now the reaction I have had over the last twenty four hours (.4) since
12 the auditor general's report has been published (.) .hh is the majority of
13 regional councils have said yes (.2) this guidance is needed .h we need
14 to get out of that, (.3) secondly, (.2) .h we've actually seen ay (.)
15 trebling of the number of prosecutions (.4) over the last three years, (.)
16 .hhh we doubled the fines with the resource management amendment
17 bill back in two thousand and nine, .hh (.2) that's been reflected in the
18 decisions of the courts. .hh So some progress has been made but the
19 auditor general was absolutely right to say, (.) .h we are not yet on top
20 .h (.2) of this problem of water quality deterioration, .h (.2) in those
21 low-land catchments

- 22 IR You say you've doubled the fines but we got the Southland Regional
23 Council chair saying look .hhh (.) the fine's only a thousand dollars
24 which is nothing to a farmer-they need to be more stringent than that.

The minister responds fully to the last question first, as is expected. But the first question, about disproportionate numbers of farmers on these adjudicating boards, is unanswered. The broader political context needs to be noted, since it seems to place an additional onus on the IR. The political party to which the minister belongs is the National Party, which commands the overwhelming support of the rural sector. The minister may genuinely have overlooked the first question. Alternatively, the oversight may have been conveniently elective. The absence of answer leaves an important issue dangling. However, the IR does not pursue the default, and this would be coded as allowing it.

The next example illustrates the difficulty in coding where the semantic illocution of one of the two questions is not satisfied, but the IR does not object, the parties seem to behave collaboratively, and intersubjectivity is seemingly satisfied. The context is that a long-running, bitter and obdurate waterfront dispute has just been settled. Many waterfront workers have lost their jobs; many businesses have been forced to close.

Extract 4-21 MR 1989_12_14 Watersiders Back: IR – Kim Hill; SP – Steve Penn

- 1 IR (.8) You said that you've got a lot of relations to mend in <Tauranga>
2 °.hhh° have (.2) many people gone to the wall as a result of the dispute
3 completely-is it irreparable damage that's been caused in some (.)
4 quarters?
5 SP (.3) .mnhhh I can't say whether its irreparable-I would say thee- (.2)
6 the majority of it (.2) would be repairable, (.7) I think ah contracts can
7 be regained h .hh the relationship that ahm has been destroyed I
8 suppose is unfortunate, (.) .hh that it happens in something like this.
9 (.3) But I think also in time the relationships will be mended and um
10 (.3) .hh y'know hopefully in the long term, (.2) .hh (.) the whole place
11 will turn back into, (.2) the happy place it used be er there were a lot of

12 shocks. (.8) Y'know major: ah disruptions with (.) .hh
13 redundancies=major redundancies 'n it w'z very hard to j'st h 2 see your
14 mates: (.3) all 'v a sudden (.4) go (.4) 0.and ah0 (.3) those things are
15 gonna be hard to get over.
16 IR (.2) A lot of these kinda disputes seem to- (.3) gain: their own
17 momentum and become independent of what those parties want=were
18 you .hh surprised, disappointed, dismayed by the .h length and the
19 severity of the stoppage?

The tone of the interview so far has been frank and emotional with the IE, without rancour, candidly narrating the damage to all parties. The IR has been quiet and attentive. Her first question of the pair asks *have many people gone to the wall* (line 2) and she then asks if the collateral damage is *irreparable*. Once again, we see how the IE addresses the contiguous task first; he openly describes the reparability of relationships between the watersiders and the commercial community whose businesses were affected. However, he does not answer the first question about how many people have gone to the wall. There is some ambiguity in the question. *Gone to the wall* is most commonly used idiomatically to refer to a business, not a person, having failed financially. In replying the IE confines his remarks, perhaps unintentionally, to his watersider and related trades colleagues who have been made redundant and he doesn't mention businesses. How is this to be coded? The IR's next question (lines 16-18) inferentially accepts the previous response. The coding decision for the researcher is whether the response was non-compliant, and accordingly, whether the IR allowed an instance of non-compliance to stand. The affiliative interactional trajectory, together with the ambiguity of the question guides the coding of this response to the double-barrelled question. It would be coded as unmarked, that is, not as evasive.

The coding judgement here differs from the previous case (of vested interest on rural councils Extract 4-19) because that interview was predicated on official concern expressed by the Auditor General. Both parts of the question in that example were unambiguous and germane, especially given the minister's own agrarian empathies. The issue shows that these coding judgments are sometimes problematic; the principle applied is to err on the side of "unmarked". In other words, if my coding of "evasion" deviates from reality, it will *under-represent* evasion, rather than exaggerate it.

4.7.6 Refusal to answer

A blatant refusal to answer a question is highly marked and accountable but rare in the data. When it does occur, it is often defended, sometimes spuriously, by claims of an issue being sub judice, or under some kind of enquiry. Example: Four city councillors have used their committee majority to block \$15,000 in funding for an annual gay pride parade. Organisers of the parade have lodged a complaint of discrimination with New Zealand's Human Rights Commissioner, who has summoned the councillors to explain. One of the councillors is interviewed on *Morning Report*.

- Extract 4-22 MR 290198 Hero: IR – Sean Plunket; CD – Councillor Colin Davis
- 1 IR (0.5) Do you believe it was a discriminatory judgment?
- 2 CD (0.3) No
- 3 IR (1.0) Why not.
- 4 CD ► (0.8) No I don't wish to debate any of those issues as I mentioned to
5 you earlier (0.4) ah or what I will be saying and discussing with the
6 commission
- 7 IR (0.6) Well I'm not asking you to say what you'll be discussing with
8 the commission-I- I-I'm asking you simply to justify the decision you
9 made- whether or not .hhh you're going before the human rights
10 commission. .h Why do you believe it wasn't discriminatory .hh as it

- 11 would seem that your ah ah (0.2) .hh an::ti homosexual ah (0.2) mb-
12 bias if you like was behind the de↑cision.

CD is first asked (line1) whether he believes the decision by his committee was discriminatory. The IR's prosody here is important, and illuminates a good example of syntactic ambiguity and the importance of closely attending the audio data. This question could be coded as containing a presupposition. Had the IR stressed the you the question would be enquiring whether CD agreed with persons who had reached that opinion. As noted in the transcription, however, the IR does not stress *you*. His prosody is neutral and he is not presupposing. It is a neutral question about whether CD believed the judgement was *discriminatory*. Furthermore, CD does not orient to the question as containing a presupposition. Accordingly, this pair is not contestative. It follows from this analysis that the next question is not "why don't you agree with those who have formed this view", but "why do you not believe the judgement was discriminatory". CD's exclamation, arrowed at 4, commands the IR to cease and desist. He then claims that his position is consistent with terms upon which he had agreed to appear on the programme. The interview deteriorated from this point to a contest over what was and what was not "on the table". The issue for coding is not the rights or wrongs of the respective viewpoints, but how the two participants contested the matter. The IR at lines 7-12 clearly orients to the councillor's refusal to answer and accordingly, CD's turn at 4-5 would be coded as contestative and non-compliant.

4.7.7 Context dependency

The following illustrates another example of context dependency. The function of a simple declarative cannot be divined without reference to two preceding turns. Firefighters are in a long-running wage dispute with their employing authority, whose chair has been previously interviewed. The issue for coding is the IR's declarative at line 7.

Extract 4-23 MR 2011_07_22 Firefighters Union: IR – Simon Mercep; DB – Derek Best

- 1 IR Well you just heard Dame Margaret say she doesn't believe there's
2 room to ↑move. What do you make of that.
- 3 DB (.5) Well I think she's very (.) poorly briefed=she doesn't come to the
4 negotiations and um (.3) she's not even involved in the negotiations so
5 (.) I don't really think she's really has much of a grip on what's actually
6 happening.
- 7 IR (.3) So you think there is room to move.

The IR's first question is an open wh- question with only a loose constraint to address the reported comment of *Dame Margaret*, that is, a constraint to comment on whether or not there is *room to move*. The IE's ad hominem critique dismisses Dame Margaret's qualifications to make such a judgement, and it might imply that the parties can find *room to move*. Equally, that might not be what the IE intends. This is a good example of how coding is best guided by the participants' interactions rather than by form and semantic analysis. Consider the IR's response at line 7. First, he opens with the particle *So*, which functions here as a connective and indicates that what follows is an inference from what the IE has been proposing. This is coded as an arraignment because it records that the alignment or intersubjectivity of the parties is disturbed and will remain so until the IR's candidate conclusion is affirmed by the IE. It is coded as a B-event statement which, as we have seen, presumes to formulate what the IE is thinking. It expects affirmation, which

indeed happens. Consider a hypothetical counterfactual for the same case: had the IR allowed the IE's answer at lines 3-6 and moved to a new topic question, objective coding by the researcher is parlous. Would the IE's response be coded as evasive and non-compliant with the requirements of the question? Or can it be said to comply with the loose constraints of the open wh- question? And would the IR's absence of arraignment be coded as allowing it? My practice in similar cases in the data is conservative and to bias toward unmarked, or null coding.

4.7.8 Declining to answer on sub judice grounds

The sub judice rule in New Zealand provides for charges of contempt of court if a matter presently or imminently before a court is canvassed in the media. The principle is that the court must be seen to be free of potential outside influence when considering matters before it. That a topic is sub judice is sometimes spuriously claimed by IEs when they are reluctant to answer a question: the issue might be under discussion by a committee, or some tribunal, or enquiry that lacks the status of a court of law. The first principle for coding such avoidances is to consider the IR's response: whether or not it is editorially sound, and whether or not the IE's excuse can be seen as legitimate. In the following extract, a senior public servant has not had her contract renewed and is seeking redress in the courts.

Extract 4-24 MR 010601 Rankin to Court: IR – Sean Plunket; CR – Christine Rankin

1 IR Do you believe ›and once again I'm not wanting to talk specifics‹ but
2 just in general terms because this has been an issue and it's been the
3 issue people have been talking about, do you believe the restructuring
4 of the department was designed to get rid of you?

5 CR Look I really believe it's inappropriate for me to talk about that-I
6 think it's another thing that will be discussed, .hhh unh during the the
7 court proceedings.

8 IR Do you intend to call Mister Wintringham (.) to give evidence?

Here, the IR is taken to accept Christine Rankin's excuse as legitimate, and accordingly, neither her response, nor the IR's countenance of it is marked.

4.7.9 Summary: coding of deficient responses

Classification of each possible Q or R action is coded and marked either unitary (1) or unmarked (0). Where ambiguity pertains, it is unmarked. It is common for the IE to give an answer which satisfies the question, but to then push the agenda into a topic more to the IE's preference. If such an agenda push is not arraigned by the IR, it is not marked as non-compliant unless blatant. This is because, as noted earlier, the Radio New Zealand Guidelines for IRs provide that IEs should be allowed to contextualize their answers.⁵²

Overt arraignment by the IR of deficient responses is readily identified and coded. However coding by the researcher of allowed deficient responses requires careful analysis and close attention to the interactive context and orientation of the participants. The aim here is to achieve consistency, so that any bias is systematic, recognisable and stable. Without consistent coding, it would not be possible to quantify all evasion, and how IRs' recognition and intolerance of it has changed over the span of the data. Whilst it might be argued that such judgements should be ratified by independent review, statistical advice is that this would be neither reliable nor necessary in trend analyses.

⁵² 'It is reasonable for interviewees to have the opportunity to respond to a question in their own words. While a direct question might seek a straight answer, an interviewee should be able to qualify their response if they seek to do so.'(Radio New Zealand, 2007:59)

4.8 Follow-up questions

There is a clear distinction between a delinquent, evasive response, which is arraigned, and a congruent response which nevertheless prompts further IR attention, or follow-up, on the topic. Although a response might not be evasive, and satisfy the minimum requirements of the question, it might, in vernacular terms, “raise more questions than it answers”; that is to say it can expose further pertinent epistemic gaps between the parties, and unsettle intersubjectivity. Follow-up questions are coded for because they are a further index of IRs’ agency in the pursuit of intersubjectivity, and also of IEs’ accountability. Follow-up questions reflect IRs’ epistemic capital on the topic and also the IEs’ preparedness and competence to respond. They seek to resolve newly emergent matters on the same general topic. They have particular syntactic and lexical characteristics which distinguish them from topic questions; in particular, they are designed with extensive use of anaphoric indexicals which serve to hold the previously specified topic, or facets of it, in play. Many of these features and functions are seen in the following extracts.

4.8.1 Deep anaphora: assumptions about audience attention

In the late 1970s, one of the most charged issues in New Zealand was the impending contraception, sterilisation, and abortion legislation, which addressed most contentiously the conditions under which a pregnancy could legally be terminated. A Royal Commission of Inquiry was instituted to detach the debate from the political flux of parliament and has just reported back to the House. The professional association of medical doctors, the New Zealand Medical Association, polled its members for comment on the report. The Association had previously made a submission to the Royal Commission and the president is asked about its content.

Extract 4-25 MR 1977_08_18 Doctors Abortion: IR – Geoff Robinson; GG – Graham Gordon sn 17

1 GG the association (.2) ah made a submission to the Royal Commission,
2 (.6) ah HHH and (.) it was quite a short one, um it j'st (.4) >wrote a
3 letter to the commission< th't- th't (.6) stated th't .hhh in view of the
4 major social – major issues of thee enquiry .hhh er moral, re- religious
5 (.) legal and social .hhh that important medical issues involved 'n the
6 Medical Association was both willing an' anxious to assist the Royal
7 Commission and advise on medical aspects matters of professional
8 ethics involved .hhh and also on the likely effects of the present health
9 hospital and medical services of any changes in the present (.6) for
10 practice. That was our submission to the Royal Commission.

11 IR (2.2) duh- Were you asked (.) to assist them in any way
12 ► af[ter you made that submission?]

13 GG [No:: we got no reply] to that letter.

14 IR (.5) Did you follow it up at all?

15 GG Tch (.2) No;

16 IR (.6) Why not.

17 GG .hhh I think th't because it's the legislation er that is th'important
18 thing-we're all waiting to see: (.4) the legis- what- what legislation the
19 Government has produced and I think that's where the follow-up will
20 come yeah.

In a fully compliant response (lines 1-9) the Medical Association president candidly outlines his colleagues' anxiety to have their views formally heard. His stress on *willing*, *an' anxious to assist* (line 6) is marked. The answer is followed by a long gap of 2.2 sec as if the IR expects to hear what happened next. In the absence of any expansion, the IR (lines 11-12) designs a question that suggests he had some knowledge that the Association was never formally heard at the commission; he uses *in any way* hearably to enquire if there was even a small request or invitation from the commission. There is an accidental overlap, (lines 12-13), when the IE starts speaking at a transition relevance place. The IE's

answer is again a fully compliant, matter-of-fact: *No.: we got no reply to that letter*. In most circumstances, a negative reply to a yes/no question anticipates an account. In this circumstance, the IE, having no agency in whether or not a reply was made, seems not constrained to provide an account. That a formally constituted commission of inquiry did not reply to a letter from the college of doctors whose members would be charged with the immediate implementation of any new law proceeding from the commission's findings is extraordinary. While the adjacency pair (lines 11-13) is resolved tidily and the sequence is closable, the IR expands with more questions on the same topic. There are several points to be made about the continuation of the interview since it displays canonical features of follow-up questioning and indicates a basis for coding such actions.

Consider the intersubjectivity of the various parties. The Medical Association has made an offer to the commission. That it was ignored is ostensibly a social trespass and accountable. On hearing that they received no reply, the IR takes a distinct .5 sec pause (line 14) hearable as indicating some trouble with the answer, perhaps surprise, perhaps waiting for an explanation. The IR then clearly demonstrates that the failure of the commission to respond warrants explanation: *Did you follow it up at all?* where the stress on up is hearable as both astonishment at the discourtesy shown by the commission, and expectation that the Medical Association would not have let the matter end there. A crisp affirmative answer to the yes/no question is preferred, but at line 15, the IE first utters a tiny marker, *tch* and a small hesitation, followed by a dispreferred *no* without an account. The IR again gives the minimal reply considerable air (.6 sec) as if expecting elaboration beyond the bald *no* (Ford, 2001; Ford, Fox, & Hellerman, 2004). When it is not forthcoming, he pursues an explanation (line 16) with *why not*. The IR uses the anaphoric indexical, *it* to refer to *that submission* (IR, line 12) and *that letter* (IE, line 13). Those

referents in turn are indexed back to the letter reported in lines 3-10. Cohesive or chaining devices such as these have been well reported in conversation (Fox, 1996; Givon, 1983). Clayman and Heritage (2002a) hold that anaphoric indexation, usually regarded as an affiliative move, displaying attention and intersubjectivity, can also be fraudulently employed to feign cooperation and affiliation. I propose that in contexts like the one above, the indexical serves a distinct purpose: IR's use of indexicals makes it clear that the object in play—the association's submission—is not done with, and more is to be gleaned. Given that this talk is for an audience, more than for the benefit of the immediate participants, the use of anaphoric indexicals is consistent with claims by IRs to empathise with their audience, as reported in 3.3.5. The anaphora can be assumed to reflect the IR's estimation that RPs are maintaining interest in the topic; the anaphora would further be used to signal to RPs that the IR is continuing to pursue the topic.

In his next follow-up question, (line 16) the IR uses another common feature of spoken English, ellipsis of entire clauses. The meaning of *why not* cannot be recovered without traversing a suite of ellipted elements and indexicals back to the IE's original account (lines 1-10).

4.8.2 Pursuing evidence, or argument

The Fire Service is planning a restructuring which critics say masks intention to reduce services. A former minister in charge is among the critics.

Extract 4-26 MR 1997_09_26 Fire Service Cuts: IR – Eva Radich; PD – Peter Dunne sn 175

1 IR With the appalling number of fatal fires this year alone .h a move away
2 from bureaucracy toward more front line areas and education would
3 surely be (.2) a good first step wouldn't it?=-

- 4 PD =Yes but that's not what this move is about (.) .h When the Fire Service
5 commission says it's going to be, .hh concentrating on its core business
6 what that really means (.2) .hhh is that the wider work of the fire
7 fighting .h service over the last couple of years it's involvement in
8 emergencies and accidents and all those sorts of things is to be pared back
9 .h so that's not what's going to be achieved at all.
- 10 IR Is that what they said yesterday in their re↑lease?
- 11 PD No=their release yesterday is very clever=it's very bland but it masks the
12 real agenda. .hh And if you read it carefully and know something about
13 what's going on, .hh you can clearly work out that this is the first signal of
14 a pull-back in fire services.
- 15 IR But how do you know that though
- 16 PD Well I was the minister=I know .h what the strategic plan was=I know
17 what the changes are (.) now. (.) .h (.) and I know that (.2) the agenda of
18 this new commission and I know what riding instructions it got from the
gov'm'nt .

At line 4, Peter Dunne gives a direct *yes* response—as preferred for the coercive tag question, but then he unilaterally extends the agenda with the adversative conjunction *but* and an assertion of a hidden motive behind the restructuring. The IR challenges that assertion at line 10. As a senior political journalist, she is unlikely not to have read the press release, and the marked rise in tone on her *release* indicates surprise, or scepticism at Dunne's assertion. He compliantly replies (lines 11-14) with *no*, plus an account of the inferences he has drawn from the sub-text of the press release. The IR then probes (line 15) for an account of his epistemic grounding: *But how do you know that though*. This is an example of a case where there is nothing evasive in the IE's prior answer, yet an experienced IR perceives that more than mere assertion of a sub-text is required. It is instructive to see how the interview proceeds:

- Extract 4-27 MR 1997_09_26 Fire Service Cuts: IR – Eva Radich; PD – Peter Dunne (cont'd)
- 15 IR But how do you know that though
- 16 PD Well I was the minister=I know .h what the strategic plan was=I know
17 what the changes are (.) now. (.) .h (.) and I know that (.2) the agenda
18 of this new commission and I know what riding instructions it got
19 from the gov'm'nt .
- 20 IR▶ (.5) .h in terms of the fire service levy one of the areas you worked on
21 as minister of internal affairs, hh you thought there needed to be ay
22 change in the balance (.3) and the commercial sector should pick up
23 their fair share, .h (.) is that still likely to happen under the[new]
24 structure?=-

At line 20, the IR embarks on a new topic in a normative way. Note the contrast with previous, follow-up, questions: the IR uses full noun phrases, and there are no pro-terms or indexicals (with the exception of one *that* which indexes the new topic).

4.8.3 Summary: persistence by follow-up questioning

Follow-up questions maintain the topic in play and seek to resolve a fissure, or looming fissure in intersubjectivity opened by the previous answer, although that has not been arraigned as evasive. They offer important supplementary evidence both of IR's agency to probe the IE about implications in a response, and of the IE's command of a topic.

4.9 Statistical methods

The final section in this chapter outlines database design and statistical modelling.

4.9.1 Master database

Meta data for each interview was entered in Filemaker Pro® (11.0v3). The data include serial number, label, date, participants' names, affiliation, duration and compatible Chapman Archive cataloguing data which will be of benefit to the Archive and to future researchers.

4.9.2 Transcriptions and coding

Each interview transcript (in MS Word) was coded for the presence (1) or absence (0) of each of 31 variables, and was hyper-linked to its Audacity[®] audio file so that coding was checked before entry to the master database. An example is found in Appendix B The baseline aggregation of binary nominals for each of the 200 interviews was transferred to MS Excel worksheets, one worksheet for each four-year block. Hence each four-year block is represented by 50 lines of summary data and binary coding. An example is found in Appendix C. Each line provides an audit trail back to the original sound recording from the live broadcast (not included here). The Excel data were then copied to SPSS for analysis.⁵³

4.9.3 Statistical analysis using SPSS

A central statistical issue was how to cater to the wide variation in duration of the interviews. A frequency analysis of “number of evasions” in the 1970s versus the 1990s is nonsensical if the length of interviews and the numbers of Q–R pairs in interviews has changed over time. Further, as Schegloff remarked, ‘It seems quite clear to me that parties to interaction do not laugh per minute’ (1993:104). To which we can add that politicians as a class do not “evade questions” per minute, nor do IRs pose “negative interrogatives per minute”. However, we can legitimately test the *proportions* of these adversarial moves against all questions and responses; and we can then see how these proportions have changed over time.

The three quantitative principal research questions, testing diachronic change in practices of IR constraint, IE Evasion and IR persistence are to be answered using Binary

⁵³ SPSS: IBM Statistics Package for the Social Sciences v.21

Probit analysis.⁵⁴ The binary probit model projects the likelihood, based on the sample, that an event will, or will not, occur (for example, arraignment of a deficient response) in a new sample, or by extension, in the population of all *Morning Report* eligible interviews. By using the four blocks (1976-1979, 1986-1989, 1996-1999, and 2008-2011) as diachronic references, changes in the probabilities can be tracked over time.

Some meta-data analyses, such as the number of Q–R pairs and their duration were made using One-way ANOVA. Coding also provided for the sample to be parsed by, for example, the affiliation of IEs, or by the identity of IRs. One intriguing prospect is to study how the long serving IR, Geoff Robinson, has changed his practices over almost four decades he spent on *Morning Report*.⁵⁵

4.10 Summary of quantitative methods

This study of news interview praxis over time is based on an invaluable archive of four decades of a daily news programme, *Morning Report*, which enabled a sample of a size limited only by time constraints on the researcher. A rich sample of 200 interviews, comprising some 1400 Q–R pairs, was selected by slaving to a random date generator, constrained to four-year blocks in each of four decades.

The approach to the quantitative analysis has been strongly influenced by CA cautions about quantification, and the difficulties of objectifying artefacts of talk in interaction. By concentrating on the actions that the participants do, and how they orient to the talk of alter, a transparent coding system was developed. Of central interest is whether

⁵⁴ Recommended by Professor Chris Triggs, Head of Statistical Consulting Centre, University of Auckland

⁵⁵ Geoff Robinson retired on 1 April, 2014 on the 39th anniversary of his commencement with the programme, so he was a remarkably stable presence across the corpus.

the propensity of IEs to evade, and the epistemic authority and agency of IRs have changed. Coding for the presence or absence of indicators of these attributes will enable binary probit analysis to resolve this question.

Results 1: Constraint and Evasion

5.1 Introduction to the chapter

This is the first of two chapters, each of which deals with results and discussion of natural groupings of the data and their analyses. The results here test the following research hypotheses for the domain of *Morning Report*:

1. That IRs' question designs have become more constraining over the span of *Morning Report*;
2. That IEs have become more evasive over the same span.

The succeeding Chapter 6 will present results and discuss “what happened next”—that is, IRs' reactions to evasive responses.

5.1.1 Arrangement of the chapter

The chapter is in three sections. The first describes the macro editorial and structural changes to *Morning Report* which have a bearing on the arena in which the interactions take place. These changes are essentially to the frequency and duration of political interviews in *Morning Report* which have implications not only for the active participants but also for RPs. The second section presents statistical analyses of constraining question designs by IRs and tests the hypothesis that these have intensified over time. The third section then applies similar analyses to determine the extent to which IEs evade, or do not comply with the expectations of questions. The ways and extent to which IEs use particular avoidance and divergence strategies are quantified in accordance with the methods described in 4.5.

5.2 The distribution of political interviews and their duration

The sampling model required that in each block of four years, editions of *Morning Report* were auditioned according to a randomly generated list of dates. The first interview to meet the control criteria (4.2.1) was transcribed for eventual coding. The next eligible interview was treated similarly until no more eligible interviews were recovered in that day's edition. The edition for the next random date was then examined, and so forth, until 50 interviews had been harvested. In the early years of *Morning Report* there was rarely more than one eligible interview in each edition, whereas more recent editions often had more than one eligible interview. There was a significant development in editorial content in the programme after the 1970s. Markedly fewer editions of *Morning Report* had to be auditioned to find eligible samples in the later blocks. The inference can be drawn that the number of editions needing to be sampled to find eligible data reflects broad editorial decisions about the amount of political content in the programme. Table 5-1 shows that the 1970s block produced on average one interview for each 1.54 editions of the programme—roughly three eligible interviews in a five-day week of *Morning Report*—whereas the block 1996-1999 produced more than six interviews a week.

Table 5-1 *Editions of Morning Report auditioned to extract eligible interviews*

Years	Editions Needed	Days per Interview	Interviews per Week*
1976-1979	77	1.54	3.2
1986-1989	58	1.16	4.3
1996-1999	39	0.8	6.3
2008-2011	56	1.12	4.5

* $\chi^2(3) = 12.609; p < .001$

The block 1996-1999 has almost twice as many political interviews per week as the first block, 1976-1979. Moreover, interview duration increased significantly over the period.⁵⁶

Table 5-2 *Change in interview duration*

Years	Mean Interview Length	Growth
		(base 100)
1976-1979	3.15**	100%
1986-1989	3.93	125%
1996-1999	4.13	131%
2008-2011	4.45	142%

Note 1 All durations are in decimal minutes.

** The difference between this block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .0001$

5.2.1 Duration of Q–R pairs

The results in 5.2.1 invite enquiry about how the general composition of interviews changed as their duration increased. Coding provided for analysis of how the additional time was spent, whether on more Q–R pairs, or longer responses (and answers) The matter is central to an enquiry into constraint, evasion, and persistence in the news interview; it turns out that there were indeed more questions and responses, and also that the mean duration of question and response pairs did not significantly change over time.

Table 5-3 *Mean duration and number of Q–R pairs*

Block	Mean Duration of Interviews	Mean Duration Q–R Pairs	Mean Q–R Pairs per Interview
1976-1979	3.15	0.59	5.74**
1986-1989	3.93	0.56	6.98*
1996-1999	4.13	0.49	8.38
2008-2011	4.45	0.50	8.94

ANOVA * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

⁵⁶ This does not include interviews with specialist correspondents who report and analyse political affairs; nor does it include “two-headers”, or debates. Reported stories that include brief audio quotations (sound-bites) are also excluded. This account is of political interviews as defined in the introduction to the thesis.

The notion of a mean duration of Q–R pairs is of little value except to establish that there appear to be normative constraints on how long to talk in doing questioning and doing responding. Individual Q–R pair durations were not recorded because questions are not always tidy, discrete, well-formed objects. The construction of a question can extend over several turns at talk and be co-constructed by the parties. Question construction is also liable to a variety of production interruptions such as overlapping talk and mishearings when the parties are talking by telephone. Various kinds of repair are also commonly made to questions in order that the parties can approach the response with a shared epistemic grounding on the question in play (exemplified at Extract 4-1). However, once the often discursive question turn has been accepted and responded to, then the cohered questioning action and the responding action can be coded as pairs. We can legitimately compare a notional mean duration of Q–R pairs in one block of the sample with those in others. Table 5-3 shows that, roughly, the same *density* of questioning and responding work was done in each of the four sample blocks: there was no trend over time to engage in either increasingly extended monologues or numerous rapid fire exchanges.

5.2.2 Affiliation of interviewees

As noted in the previous chapter, IEs were coded for their affiliation under six categories. Whilst many of the samples fractionated by affiliation are too small to render any meaningful analyses, there are a few macro observations which reflect the increasing representation of elected politicians in *Morning Report*.

Table 5-4 *Affiliation of interviewees: appearances in the sample by decade blocks*

Affiliation	1976-1979 n=50	1986-1989 n=50	1996-1999 n=50	2008-2011 n=50	$\chi^2(3)$
Government politician	16 32.0%	12 24.0%	21 42.0%	26 52.0%	5.91, $p < .01$
Opposition politician	5 10.0%	8 16.0%	14 28.0%	12 24.0%	5.00, $p < .05$
Trade-union official	13 26.0%	14 28.0%	2 4.0%	1 2.0%	19.33, $p < .001$
Employer representative ¹	3 6.0%	4 8.0%	2 4.0%	3 6.0%	---
Special interest group /lobby	12 24.0%	10 20.0%	8 16.0%	3 6.0%	5.42, $p < .05$
Bureaucrat/ executive ¹	1 2.0%	2 4.0%	3 6.0%	5 10.0%	---
	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Note 1. The sub-sample is too small for significance.

Note that all elected politicians, that is, both governing and opposition party politicians, constituted 42% of eligible IEs in block 1976-1979, but that figure had risen to 76% in block 2008-2011.⁵⁷ This changing texture of IE representation and the ascendancy of political content are partly explained by historic changes to the electoral system in New Zealand.

5.2.3 The proliferation of political parties

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this research to analyse the reasons for such an increase in the amount of political discourse, it does seem relevant that the increase in political content coincided with a major change to the New Zealand electoral system, the introduction of

⁵⁷ This does not refer to percentages of the entire content of *Morning Report*, but to those interviews defined in the introduction as political interviews.

Mixed Member Proportional Representation (MMP). Prior to the 1996 election, New Zealand's parliamentary system was essentially a two party system and electorate-based: it was a "first past the post" system in which the party which won the majority of seats (that is electorates) won the government benches in the House of Representatives. This sometimes meant that because of the uneven size of electorate populations—some rural electorates had significantly smaller populations than urban electorates—a government could be elected with less of the overall popular vote than the losing party. This system also made it extraordinarily difficult for minor parties to achieve representation to an extent which reflected their popular vote, even though the nation-wide votes could be quite substantial. For example, in 1975, the first year of *Morning Report*, the Values Party, a precursor to the current Green Party, achieved over 5% of the popular vote but won no electorate, and consequently no seat in the House.⁵⁸ However, under the MMP regime, that vote would certainly have earned it two and possibly four seats. MMP brought huge changes to the party texture of parliament.

⁵⁸ Path: <http://www.greens.org.nz/page/history-green-party#origins> Date: 11 May, 2014.

Table 5-5 *Seats held by political parties after general elections 1975-2011*

Election	National	Labour	NZ First	Alliance	ACT	Green	United Future	Māori Party	Other	Total
1975	55	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	87
1978	51	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 ⁽¹⁾	92
1981	47	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 ⁽¹⁾	92
1984	37	56	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 ⁽¹⁾	95
1987	40	57	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	97
1990	67	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 ⁽²⁾	97
1993	50	45	2	2	...	...	...	...	0	99
1996	44	37	17	13	8	...	...	...	1 ⁽³⁾	120
1999	39	49	5	10	9	7	...	...	1 ⁽³⁾	120
2002	27	52	13	0	9	9	8	...	2 ⁽⁴⁾	120
2005	48	50	7	0	2	6	3	4	1 ⁽⁵⁾	121
2008	58	43	0	0	5	9	1	5	1 ⁽⁵⁾	122
2011	59	34	8	0	1	14	1	3	1 ⁽⁶⁾	121

Others, shown as superscript: 1 Social Credit/Democrats; 2 New Labour; 3 United; 4 Progressive Coalition; 5 Progressive; 6 Mana.

Source: Statistics New Zealand⁵⁹

The fractionation of political parties over the span of *Morning Report* accelerates from 1993, when the following election was to be for an MMP parliament. Minor parties were evidently parasitical on the major parties, in the sense that they drew votes, and seats, away from the two major parties. Consequently, by 1996, the minor parties carried the balance of power. For example, the table shows that after the first MMP election, in 1996, neither of the major parties, National nor Labour, had a clear majority and had to attempt to coalesce with one or more minor parties. The table shows that by 2011, eight political parties were represented in parliament. The first coalition government comprised four parties, all of which were represented in ministerial posts. With their potential to take a

⁵⁹Path:http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/yearbook/~media/Statistics/yearbook/tables/govt-yrbook-2012.xlsx Date: 11 May, 2014

seat on the government benches in the House, minor party politicians, whose sometimes idiosyncratic positions on issues would scarcely have been relevant 20 years earlier, were now grist to the mill of news radio. Further, Radio New Zealand and other broadcasters of news content are required by law to ensure that a range of views is made available to audiences in a fair and balanced way (Broadcasting Standards Authority, 2008). Minor parties' views cannot simply be ignored.

5.2.4 Diminution in other stakeholders

Concomitantly, the number of trade union representatives appearing on the programme dropped dramatically after block 1986-1989. Further, the presence of special interest groups, such as industrial sector lobbyists, anti-nuclear campaigners and social policy pressure groups also greatly diminished.

5.2.5 Summary of macro parameters in *Morning Report* interviews

The research investigates political talk in interaction in a central institution of democracy, the fourth estate; accordingly the broader political context is relevant. *Morning Report* increased both the number of political interviews in each edition of the programme over time, and also the duration of political interviews. The duration of Q-R pairs did not significantly change: IEs asked more questions as interviews got longer. Elected politicians steadily displaced other public figures over the four decade span. With this background, we can now turn to what the participants did with their time on *Morning Report*.

5.3 Interviewers' constraining actions

This section quantifies IRs' deployment of constraining techniques exemplified in the previous chapter and shows how and to what extent their use has changed over time.

Recall that the sketch flow of a typical interview was represented as a series of topic questions, satisfactory or deficient responses to them, and frequent persistent action by the IR. The focus of this chapter is the circumscribed zone of constraining questions and deficient responses. The following chapter addresses IR reactions to responses.

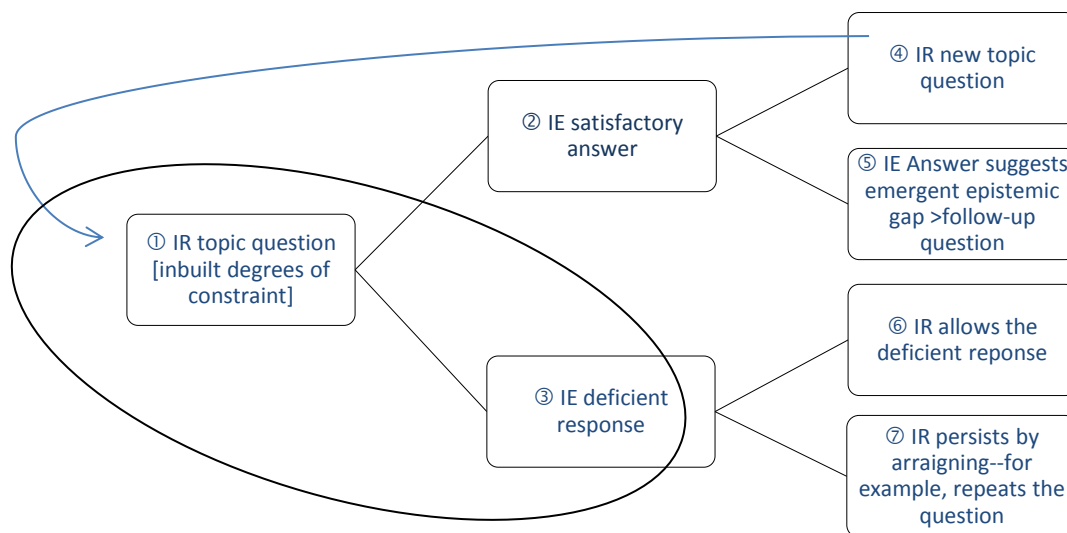


Figure 5-1 Representation of the development of a typical new interview.
The zone of interest for the present analysis is circumscribed.

5.3.1 Diachronic analysis of constraining questioning moves

The coding schema outlined in Chapter 3 was applied to 1,412 IR questioning actions in the data set with binary assignment of presence (1) or absence (0) of the types of questioning actions set out at 4.4. A binary probit analysis was then applied to test the probability of the same proportions of question types occurring were another sample to be generated using the same parameters for randomness. By inference, the results can be extrapolated to the population of political interviews in each decade block. The binary probit model computes confidence intervals on the assumption that standard errors are normally distributed. To avoid clutter, confidence intervals are not shown. Significant differences over time are conventionally indicated.

Table 5-6 *Probability of questions by type*

Question type	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Open wh-	.04	.03	.03	.03
Conditional	.02	.04	.02	.02
Polar alternative	.03	.03	.03	.04
Yes/No	.37	.31	.28	.32
Coercive tag	.01*	.04	.03	.04
Negative interrogative	.07	.04	.05	.07
Restrictive wh-	.19**	.23*	.21	.15
1st or 3rd person statement	.14	.14	.17	.15
B-event	.09	.09	.09	.12

Note: Significance relates to the difference between the asterisked figure and the analogous figure in the last block, 2008-2011. **The differences is significant at $p < .005$; *The difference is significant at $p < .05$.

Few significant differences are evident across questioning types. The first significant shift is in the coercive tag constraint. This is more likely to occur in the 1986-1989 and the last block, 2008-2011, than in the first block, 1976-1979 ($p < .05$). The other significant shift occurs with restrictive wh- questions, which are less likely to occur in the most recent block, 2008-2011 ($p < .05$). All other differences are insignificant with $p > .05$. This implies that with regard to the other question types in the table the null hypothesis—that there has been no change in respect of the preference of other question types—cannot be rejected. This result seems at odds with the hypothesis of increasing contestation or aggression on the part of IRs. Were there increasing levels of constraint within questions, we might expect to find evidence in the form of differences in the distribution of particularly constraining constructions, those which strongly project the expected polarity of an answer: negative interrogatives, coercive tags, and B-event assertions, but this was not the case. The implications are discussed further at 5.5.1.

5.3.2 The use of contextualising and constraining prefaces

The constraint of a question is frequently augmented by delimiting prefaces, presuppositions, and a tilting of the question to favour a particular polarity in the answer.

The degree to which they are employed is a measure of constraint on the interviewee.

Table 5-7 Prefacing constraints

Constraining prefaces	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Delimiting preface or proposition	.29**	.30**	.19	.19
Preface/question is tilted	.23	.24	.27	.21
Delimiting presupposition	.07*	.04	.05	.03

**The differences between these two blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .01$.

*The difference between this block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .05$.

There is a significant difference in the probability that a contextualising or constraining preface will be used in the *earlier* blocks, 1976-1979 and 1986-1989, versus 1996-99 and 2008-2011. This seems to imply that constraint based on the deployment of constraining prefaces has declined. There is no significant change over time in the probability that a delimiting preface if used, will be tilted, favouring a particular polarity. There is a significant difference in the use of delimiting presuppositions between block 1976-1979 and 2008-2011.

5.3.3 Summary of IR constraining questions

There is scant evidence of change in the distribution of constraining questions asked, with two significant variations. It should be noted that the only two significant variations occurred in opposite directions. Further, the use of constraining prefaces *declined* over time. These results seem at odds with, and certainly do not support, the hypothesis that IRs' question design has become more constraining over time. This is discussed in the context of follow-up questions in 6.3.

That the parties exchanged more Q–R pairs in the more recent blocks and engaged in longer interviews raises queries about the nature of this additional talk. Chapter 6.5 investigates this conundrum and how particular kinds of responses affect the trajectories of the interviews.

5.4 IE non-compliant responses quantified

In this section, IEs' responses are reported as either satisfactory or evasive. Where evasive, they are classified by types exemplified in 4.5 and analysed for changes over time.

5.4.1 The coding of non-compliant responses

We saw that IEs can fail to comply with the strict lexico-syntactic constraints of a question in many ways and that presents the IR with editorial decisions. For example, the IE might preambule a polar reply to a yes/no question with contextualising talk. In some sense, the hedging before the eventual polar commitment is non-compliant and accountable. However, it might not necessarily be judged by the IR as delinquent or evasive, which is the central enquiry of this research. Coding for evasiveness, then, was predicated principally on the IR's orientation to a response. Evasion is what the IR says it is. Of course, this determination does not provide for cases where the IR's arraignment of a response appears to be unjustified. The CA treatment of such an event is that the participants will orient to it. There is no instance of such a "wrongful arrest" in the data, as evidenced by either the IE's complaint, by the IR's self-repair, or as determined by the researcher. We saw in Chapter 4, however, that the absence of arraignment by the IR of a response does not entail that the response is congruent and satisfactory. IRs sometimes let pass what the researcher hears as a delinquent response. The licence might be an omission on the part of the IR, or it might be an extemporary editorial choice by the IR on the

grounds, for example, that the trespass is relatively minor in a context where there are more important agenda items to be traversed in the budgeted time. Further, responses might be overtly or passively accepted; the IR might utter an overt receipt token although, as Heritage (1985) points out, receipt tokens by IRs have historically been unusual in the news interview.⁶⁰ The general absence of overt acceptance tokens means the researcher has to be alert to deficient or delinquent responses which the IR lets stand. Since the IR's intention (or inattention) is inaccessible, responses in this category were subjectively and separately coded on the grounds that the researcher has a valid alignment with the RPs. The researcher is in a sense an RP and can be expected to perceive deficiencies that are also likely to be perceived among the RPs at large. These responses were coded as a non-compliant response allowed. For the purposes of quantitative analysis, we can then deduce a satisfactory response: a satisfactory response is one which is neither overtly arraigned by the IR, nor, in the absence of arraignment, perceived as delinquent by the researcher.

5.4.2 Answers

A satisfactory response is an answer. The probability that a questioning action will get an answer and the complementary alternate, that a response will be delinquent, are shown in Figure 5-2:

⁶⁰ There appears to be a shift in this paradigm: perhaps it is because of the longevity of *Morning Report* and the fact many of the interactants are familiar with one another that receipt tokens are more common in the later decades. There are also compelling practical reasons for the IR making receipts, such as to reassure the IE talking by telephone that s/he is heard; this functions as "channel open" feedback. Further, a receipt token often functions as a signal to the IE to "wrap it up" and foreclose the answer. As such, it often serves as a harbinger of interruption. The diverse actions performed by particles such as *mm hmm*, *uh huh* and *okay* are overwhelmingly placement sensitive in the data and preclude quantification.

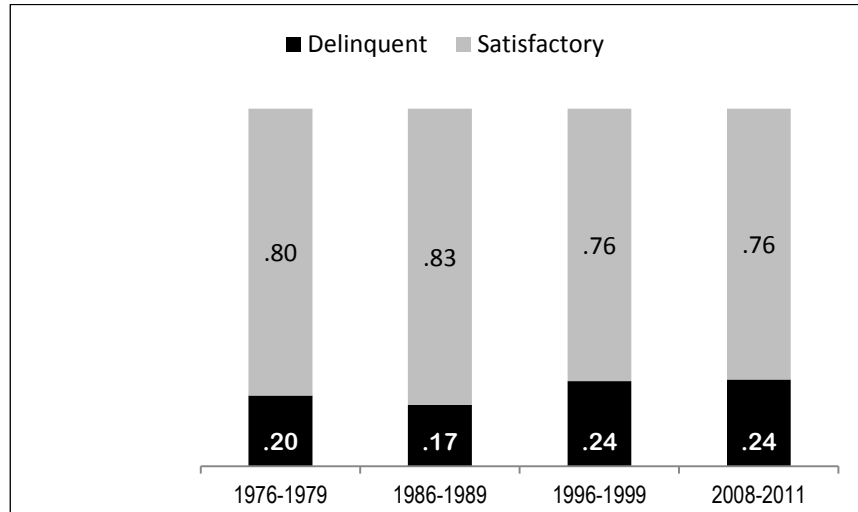


Figure 5-2 Satisfactory and non-compliant responses

There is no significant overall trend across the four blocks. $\chi^2(3) = 7.061$; $p = .070$.

There is no significant change in evasion across the span of *Morning Report*. The probability of a response being evasive is seen to decrease slightly, but not significantly, between block 1976-1979 and block 1986-1989. Evasiveness then increases significantly, relative to block 1986-1989, to a steady state in the last two decade blocks, where the rise in evasiveness relative to block 1986-1989 is significant ($p < 0.05$). Given the 36-year span of the data and the large number of responses analysed, this reflects a near steady-state in the evasive/satisfactory response practices of IEs, with the only significant difference evident between block 1986-1989, and the last two blocks. This variation is discussed below at 5.4.3.

Coding enabled sub-ordinate evasive practices to be quantified to see if any trends in practice emerged over time:

Table 5-8 *Probability of evasive responses by type*

IE Actions	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Superordinate: probability that IR question will be evaded	.20	.17*	.24	.24
Refuses to answer with no account ^a	-	-	-	-
Declines to answer – sub judice, privileged, not competent	.04	.03	.05	.05
Answers part of multi-part Q ^a	-	-	-	-
Critiques question	.10*	.03	.07	.05
Defers to IR “chair” role but then departs	.10	.03	.07	.05
Overt Q reframe or agenda change	.05*	.02	.01	.01
Covert agenda change	.14	.13	.20	.16

Note: Columns do not necessarily add up to the superordinate value since IEs frequently default in more than one way. ^a Count too small for consideration. *The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .05$.

Two significant differences emerge in IEs’ techniques in avoiding the question. There is a reduction in the practice of critiquing the question and also in overtly reframing the question after block 1976-1979. There is no evidence of a significant shift in preference for one type of evasion over another.

5.4.3 Further consideration of evasion in 1986-1989

The significant difference in compliance/evasion between block 1986-1989 and later blocks shown Figure 5-2 invited a finer-grained analysis to test if an explanation could lie in the affiliations of the IEs. Table 5-4 presented affiliations across six categories: governing party politician; other elected politician; trade union spokesperson, employer spokesperson, lobbyist (sectional interest group spokesperson); and bureaucrat or executive. Partitioning the sample to explore evasion by six-subsets would greatly

compromise statistical significance, so the six classes were consolidated into two groups: all elected politicians (AEPs), and other public figures (OPFs). Figure 5-3 shows the differential rates of evasive responses between AEPs and OPFs

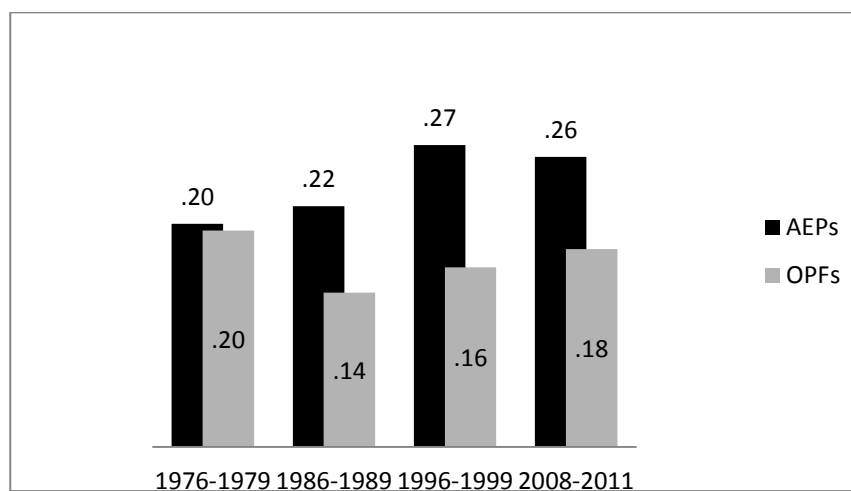


Figure 5-3 Non-compliant responses by elected politicians (AEPs) vs. OPFs
 There is a significant difference overall between AEPs and OPFs in the propensity to evade questions $\chi^2(1) = 8.723$; $p = .003$. There is no significant diachronic change in evasion for either class.

There are no significant changes in the trends of evasive behaviour within either group over time. However there is a significant difference in the propensity to evade between AEPs and OPFs. By partitioning the sample in this way, the standard error is greatly increased and consequently, no statistical significance can be drawn in the apparent difference between the relatively low level of evasion by OPFs (14%) in 1986-1989 and the jump to 27% by AEPs in the following block. Because for the combined sample this jump is significant, we can infer, by regression, that the increase in evasion is largely attributable to evasion by AEPs. When changes in the distribution of IEs by affiliation over time are considered we see a further explanation:

Table 5-9 *Affiliations of IEs: all elected politicians and other public figures*

	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
	n=50	n=50	n=50	n=50
AEPs (all elected politicians)	21 42%	20 40%	35 70%	38 76%
OPFs (other public figures)	29 58%	30 60%	15 30%	12 24%

There is an abrupt and radical change, effectively a flip, in distribution between AEPs and OPFs between block 1986-1989 and block 1996-1999. This shift partly explains the trajectory of evasive practice. AEPs have both a greater propensity to evade, and after 1986-89, are proportionately more numerous; the two factors combine to weight the evasion levels for the whole sample, but not sufficiently to alter the main result, which is that levels of evasion did not significantly alter across the four-decade span of the sample.

5.5 Summary and discussion of constraining questions and evasive practices

The metadata for the distribution of political interviews show significant growth in both the number and duration of political interviews in *Morning Report* over its span. They also reveal a significant change in the distribution of IEs by affiliation, with AEPs becoming dominant after 1986-1989. This shift coincides with changes to the electoral system, effective from 1996, which saw the advent of numerous political parties, all making news and entitled to airtime. Further, changes in the socio-economic fabric of New Zealand during the late 1980s led to a diminishing presence of trade union and lobby groups.

Despite changes in the distribution of IE by affiliation, we saw that there are few significant changes in constraining questioning. Changes were confined to the growth in the use of coercive tag questions. However, the use of restrictive wh- questions

diminished. The use of highly constraining devices, such as negative interrogatives and B-event propositions showed no significant change. The null hypothesis, that question design has not become more constraining over time cannot be rejected, except for the increase in coercive tags.

Further, there is no statistically significant trend across the whole 36-year span of the data toward increasing evasive practices. Nevertheless there is a statistically significant rise in evasion relative to block 1986-1989 across the whole sample. However, this is grounded in two factors: (1) the significantly lower propensity overall of OPFs to evade vis-à-vis AEPs; and (2) the diminishing presence of OPFs and the concomitant increasing presence (and weighting) of AEPs after 1986-1989 as seen in Table 5-4. The null hypothesis, that public figures have *not* become progressively more evasive over time cannot be rejected.

5.5.1 A note on perceptions of aggressive questioning and evasion

The accounts of constraining questioning and non-compliant responding have been based on the probability of an action occurring, that is to say, the proportion of questions which are highly constraining and the proportion of responses which are evasive. The common observations that IRs have become “more aggressive” and that IEs have become “more evasive” might be explained by a simple account of quanta, as shown in Table 5-10:

Table 5-10 *Number and proportion of evasive responses in the sample*

	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Evaded (n)	52	55	97	106
Proportion (p)	.20	.17	.24	.24
IR Questions	249	319	407	437

Although the *proportion* of evaded questions has not increased significantly over the whole span of *Morning Report*, the table shows how the *instances* of evasion doubled between 1976-1979 and 2008-2011. Concomitantly (not shown), the number of highly constraining questions increased. These are consequences of the duration of interviews expanding by about 42% (Table 5-2) and the accompanying large increase in questions responded to, as seen in Table 5-10. It seems likely that perceptions of increasingly aggressive questioning and evasive responding stem from confusing quanta of constraining questions, and evasive responses, with an increasing propensity to evade. RPs are simply exposed to more of it.

To sum up this section on the practices of constraint and evasion, it is clear that the null hypotheses, that there is no escalating trend in either the practices of constraining questioning or evasive responding, cannot be rejected. This is at odds with subjective observations made during auditioning, transcribing and coding the 200 interviews, and indeed it is at odds with observations made by other researchers, for example, Clayman and Heritage: ‘The last thirty years have witnessed a kind of communication arms race in which innovations in journalists’ questions have been matched by politicians’ increasing skills in the medium and in the arts of evasion and agenda setting’ (2002b:339). If the contest referred to in the title of this thesis is to be found, it must lie elsewhere. We leave this chapter at a stage which mirrors the same stage in an interview: What happens after evasive responses are made? That is the substance of Chapter 6, the IR’s counter-measures to evasive responses.

Results 2: Arraignment and Persistence

6.1 Introduction to the chapter

Whereas the previous chapter studied the practices of IR constraining questioning and IE evasion, this chapter is concerned with IR reactions to non-compliant or evasive responses, and the use of follow-up questions. It tests the research hypothesis that IRs have become more persistent over time in seeking satisfactory responses to questions. The main locus of enquiry for this chapter is circumscribed in the now-familiar flowchart of a news interview in Figure 6-1. On the time axis it identifies a way-point in the course of an interview following a troublesome answer.

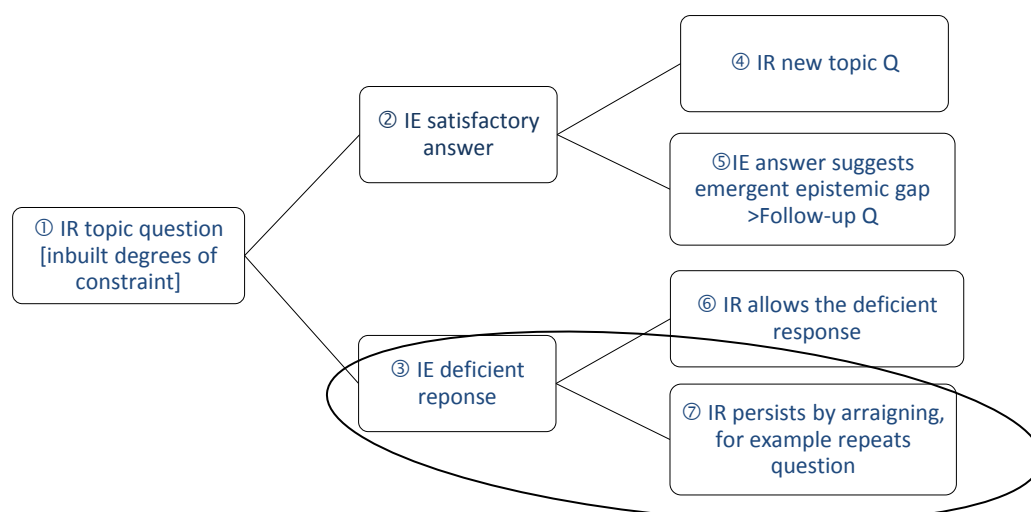


Figure 6-1 Schematic trajectory of a typical news interview
The present zone of interest, persistence, is circumscribed.

The news interview can here be seen as a flux of settled and disturbed intersubjectivity. Whereas the previous chapter was concerned with epistemic asymmetries which preceded, or were exogenous to, the exchange—and indeed, the purpose of the exchange is to attempt to resolve them—the present chapter examines the IR's orientation to emergent, endogenous asymmetries. These arise from troublesome responses to questions: those

responses which do not stabilise intersubjectivity and may exacerbate its flux. In CA terms, this locus of interest is referred to as the 3rd position, where the IR as speaker of the first part of an adjacency pair (that is, the IR's question) orients judgmentally to its response, the second part, occurring at the 2nd position. In some cases, this 3rd position action by the IR persuades the IE to redress the inadequacies of the prior response, at the 4th position; less commonly, the IE produces a response in the 4th position which is still not satisfactory. The ensuing candidate answer is also rejected, at what would be in CA terms a recycling of the previous 3rd position, when the IR again asserts a warrant to pursue a satisfactory response. In extreme cases this response-rejection chain of recycled 3rd position repairs can extend to several attempts.⁶¹ In this context, intersubjectivity is not merely the levelling, or shared distribution of *information*; intersubjectivity is a shared understanding by the immediate parties to the interview *and* the RPs of what motes of change in their shared social reality are achieved by their talk. Obdurate, aggravated evasion of the question agenda reveals for the RPs aspects of IE's proficiency, candour and suitability for office.

6.1.1 Arrangement of the chapter

The chapter is in five sections, followed by conclusions. The first examines IR arraignment of evasive responses. It quantifies IR orientations to specific troubles, and how this responsiveness has changed over time. It pays particular attention to the markedly accountable social action of interruption to arrest evasive responses. Coding enabled partitioning of IEs according to their affiliation: their role in parliament, or to their

⁶¹ Perhaps the most egregious chain on record is that pursued by Jeremy Paxman, for the BBC, interviewing Minister Michael Howard. In the face of Howard's obdurate and aggravated evasion, Paxman pursued an answer by posing further iterations of the question 12 times. The interview can be seen here: <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/jun/27/jeremy-paxmans-greatest-clips> Access date: 12 April, 2014.

commercial, organised labour, bureaucratic or sector lobby groups. The chapter exploits this coding to explore how IR practices of persistence are distributed according to the affiliation of IEs. The second section is concerned with another type of endogenous instability: those responses which, although satisfying the requirement of the question, illuminate new instabilities in intersubjectivity and impel follow-up questions. This section analyses the extent to which interruption is deployed by IRs to achieve this, and as with evasion, the degree to which interruption is deployed according to the affiliation of IEs. The third section shows how the practices of arraignment and follow-up questions can be aggregated under the rubric of defending intersubjectivity. The fourth section shows how changes in these practices are reflected in the composition of interviews and how the division of effort in interviews has changed over time. The fifth section reports a fine-grained analysis on changes in the last two blocks of the sample which suggests a qualitative analysis to be a subject of Chapter 7.

6.2 Non-compliant responses and IR action

Public figures in political interviews evade roughly 20% of questions put to them. Figure 5-2 showed that this proclivity seems to have remained remarkably stable over four decades of *Morning Report*, with data only from the period 1986-1989 showing significant variation. For the IR, scepticism is privileged by the editorial guidelines under which the parties engage (Radio New Zealand, 2007). The fact of evasion suggests to an attentive listener that the withheld information and opinions are newsworthy and need pursuing if the intersubjectivity of the parties is to be restored. However to arrest an evasive response presupposes that first, it has been recognised, and second that the IR is both potent and willing to act.

6.2.1 Arraignment of non-compliant responses

The hypothesis to be tested here is that whilst public figures' propensity for evasion has remained relatively steady, IRs have become more persistent over time in arrainging delinquent responses and in attempting to have them supplanted or augmented with satisfactory answers. Delinquent responses had a one in four chance of being arraigned in block 1976-1979. However, as Figure 6-2 shows, by the last two blocks, the chance of being challenged for a delinquent response had risen to three in four.

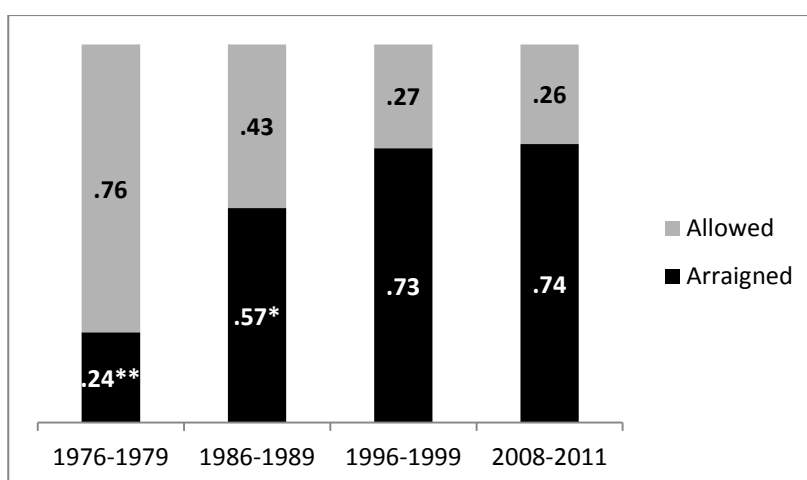


Figure 6-2 Arraignment of delinquent responses

The probability of arraignment is shown with the complement, that a delinquent response is allowed. **The difference between this block and blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .0001$. *The analogous significance is $p < .05$.

The account of the first block, 1976-1979, suggests that IRs seemed either to not recognise most delinquent responses, or to be reluctant to arraign them. Chapter 4 noted that these are necessarily researcher judgements. They are in a sense ratified by the IR's more active arraignment of delinquent responses in the later blocks. In other words, the high level of agreement between researcher and IR in the later blocks (74%) can be extrapolated to the researcher's analysis of the earlier blocks, because the analyst's judgements are asserted to be constant and, importantly, synchronic, regardless of the age of the data. Further, there is no instance in the data where the researcher assessed the IR's arraignment as unwarranted.

Deductively, in the majority of evasive responses in the old data, either the IR recognised the same delinquency and chose not to arraign, or the IR did not recognise the delinquency of those responses. We know that the proportion of evasive responses did not change significantly, with the exception of a dip in 1986-1989. However, overwhelmingly, in the later blocks, IRs both recognised evasion, and acted more aggressively to arraign it.

6.2.2 Impressions versus quantification

Figure 6-2 above strongly implies a plateau in arraignment practice across the last two blocks with virtually the same levels in block 1996-1999 and 2008-2011 ($\chi^2(1) = .047$; $p = .829$). However, this is not the impression gained during auditioning and transcribing interviews from those two periods. Impressionistically, coarsening or irritability in the interactions between IRs and IEs intensified between blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011. This seemed particularly to be the case for interviews with politicians, AEPs, on the one hand, and OPFs on the other. To test this, the action of arrainging non-compliant responses was broken down by affiliation.

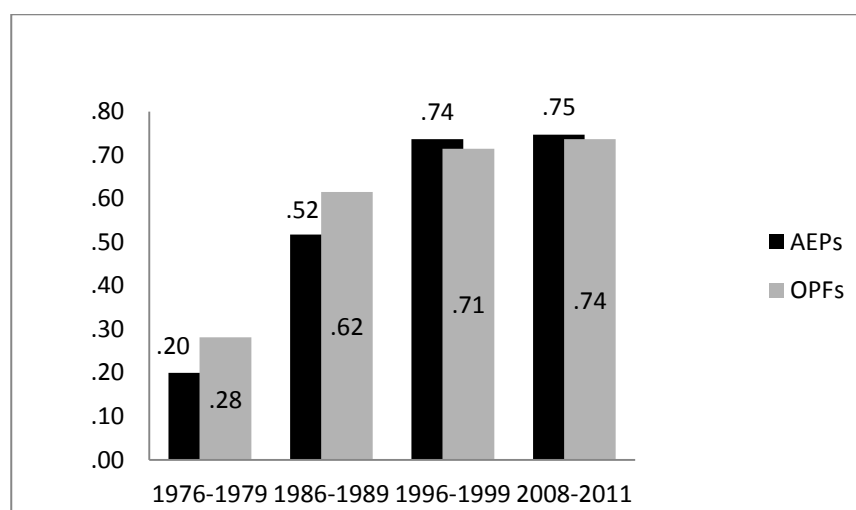


Figure 6-3 Arraignment of non-compliant responses parsed by affiliation

There is no significant difference between the arraignment of politicians (AEPs) and other public figures (OPFs) $\chi^2(1) = .000$; $p = .991$.

Rather than an account of distinction, the chart tells of remarkable uniformity in the propensity of IRs to arraign evasive responses, regardless of affiliation of the IE.

Clearly, if friction has been developing across the last two blocks it does not lie in increased propensity for arraignment by the IR; nor is it explained by the affiliation of IEs. Chapter 5 concluded with the observation that the *quantum* of evasion in the last two blocks was massively more than the earlier blocks and it was proposed that this probably explained the intuitive, yet erroneous, view that IEs have become “more evasive”. Here, a similar perception—that politicians incite more arraignment—is also explained by the distribution of AEPs and OPFs. Table 5-9 is reprised:

Table 6-1 (Reprise of Table 5-9) Distribution of IEs by affiliation: AEPs vs OPFs

Affiliation	1976-1979 n=50	1986-1989 n=50	1996-1999 n=50	2008-2011 n=50
AEPs	21	20	35	37
	42%	40%	70%	76%
OPFs	29	30	15	13
	58%	60%	30%	24%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

AEPs are observed to be arraigned more often in the last block for the simple reason that they appear three times more than OPFs. The same weighting principal when applied to raw counts shows a similar pattern:

Table 6-2 Raw count of arraignment by affiliation

	AEPs	OPFs
1996-1999	56	15
2008-2011	65	14

However, there is no difference in the *propensity* of IRs to arraign one class more than another.

6.2.3 IR actions to arraign a delinquent response and pursue an answer

The actions done by arraignment are essentially twofold: First, arraignment alerts the participants, including the RPs, to deficiencies in the emergent or completed response, and accordingly that intersubjectivity between the parties remains fissured. By arraigning, the IR asserts that until the specified trouble is dealt with the interview cannot continue with new or sub-ordinate topics. Second, in doing arraigning, the IR effectively admonishes the IE, who is constrained to either supply a satisfactory answer, or render an account for the delinquency of the just-delivered response.⁶²

6.2.4 IR arraignment design

Whether the IR regains the floor by interrupting an emergent delinquent response, or by waiting for a TRP, prompt identification of the trouble is mandated. Schegloff (1992) noted the need for timeliness of repair in ordinary conversation. In breakfast radio additional time pressures attend interviews because the IR will typically have been budgeted a strict time allocation in which the work is to be done; therefore fissures in intersubjectivity need to be addressed quickly. The IR pursues restoration of intersubjectivity in one or more of four broad ways: repeats or reforms the question; challenges the accuracy of the response; challenges the argument in the response, or formulates a B-event which highlights inconsistencies or conflicts in the response. Table 6-3 shows the preference for these actions.

⁶² I use the verb *admonish* rather than *sanction*. Whilst many writers in social sciences use the latter, I reserve *sanction* for its opposite and conventional sense of to privilege, or to permit, as proposed by both OED and Merriam-Webster, neither of which sanctions the use of *sanction* to mean rebuke, admonish, or criticise. Schegloff (1992:1337 n22) uses it in the conventional dictionary way but many colleagues seem to use it exclusively in a negative sense. Occasionally, it is used in both ways. For clarity I use unambiguous alternatives, such as *admonish*, and *permit*.

Table 6-3 *Probability of IR using a method to arraign a delinquent response*

IR action	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Repeats or Reforms the question	.46	.52	.51	.52
Challenges the accuracy of the response	.00	.06	.13	.11
Challenges the argument in the response	.38*	.32*	.27*	.11
Formulates a B-event highlighting problem arising from the response	.15	.13	.11	.15

*The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .05$

Few meaningful quantitative conclusions can be garnered from this diachronic distribution since the occurrences in the earlier decades are few. The apparently high proportion of challenges to argumentation in the first block needs to be seen as representing eight tokens of a total of 48 in the whole sample. The columns do not necessarily add up to 1.00 since the IR will sometimes use two types of arraignment device and on rare occasions will simply use an interruptive imperative, such as “Hang on, that’s not the question”. Overwhelmingly, the preferred form of seeking a resolution to the deficient response is to repeat or reframe the question. This is consistent with what Schegloff called the ‘D Component’ of 3rd position repair in ordinary conversation (1992:1307). They will often be prefaced in any of a variety of ways as exemplified in 4.6. However, I propose that the action of drawing attention to the unsatisfactory response to a question does more work than simply helping the speaker of the second position turn, the IE, to better understand the question. It seems equally aimed at RPs. This is discussed further in Chapter 7.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the available syntactic or lexical incongruences crafted by IEs in evading the question are indeterminate and there has been no attempt to subcategorise and quantify them here. With the exception of challenging the

argumentation in a response, there are no significant diachronic changes over the period. More at issue is not the design of arraignment moves, but their efficacy.

6.2.5 Successful arraignment

Arraignment of a deficient response achieved an acceptable answer about 63% of the time but not necessarily at the first attempt.

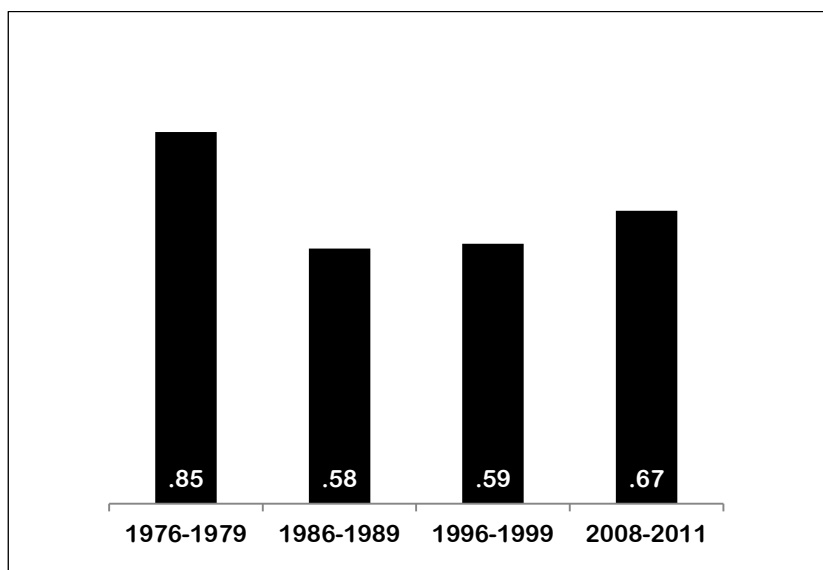


Figure 6-4 Probability of arraignment being successful
There is no significant difference over time in the success rate of arraignment of deficient responses.

Although the chart suggests that 85% of arraignments were successful in the 1976-1979 block, this is based on a small number of arraignments ($n = 13$) and the apparent spike does not reach statistical significance. Arraignments ($n = 194$) were not always successful at the first attempt.

6.2.6 Aggravated evasion and perseverant arraignment

The chapter introduction described the practice of perseverant, obdurate evasion of questions which mandates the IR to persist with a second, third and, rarely, further iterations of the question. The first re-putting of the question occurs at what is termed the 3rd position. If this fails to elicit an answer, that 3rd position turn is recycled, possibly

numerous times. I have dubbed these 3P1, 3P2, 3P3, and so on. The probability of obdurate and successive evasion, inciting 3P2 and further arraignment by the IR is shown in the broader context in Figure 6-5.

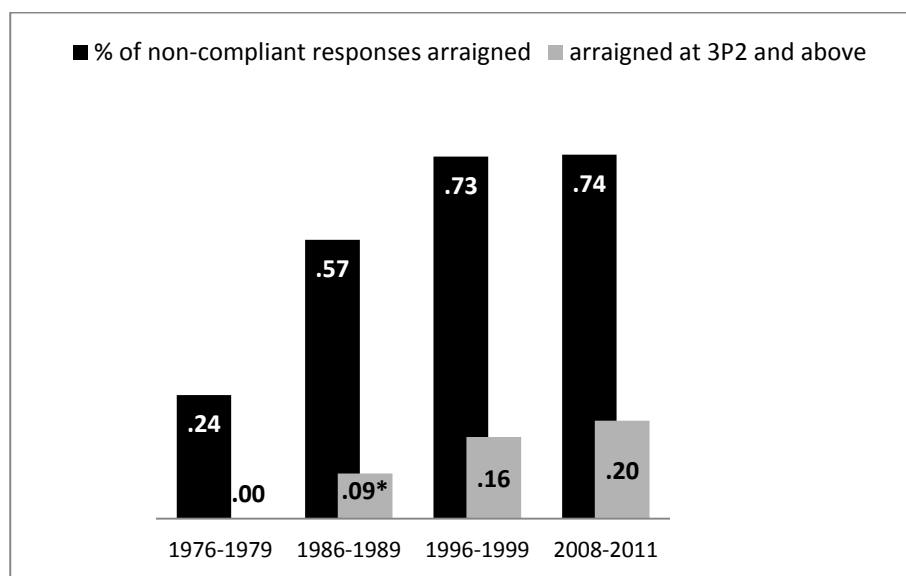


Figure 6-5 Arraignment of non-compliant responses occurring at 3P2 and higher

*There is weak significance in the difference between this block and 2008-2011. $\chi^2(1) = 3.140$; $p = .076$

Increased proportions of 3P2 and higher arraignment indicate there is a weak probability of a trend toward increasing levels of aggravated or obdurate evasion. Whilst the count of instances of aggravated evasion in the sample is modest ($n = 42$), the possible trend is consistent with the general diachronic trend of contestation. A larger sample is needed to determine if there is a significant trend. Egregious, obdurate evasion is highly marked and its accompanying social accountability seems inadequately described by quantitative methods. One approach would be to assign an ordinal ranking to successive evasions, but this is fraught with vagaries of context, habitus of the interactants, social distance, and the import of the matter at hand. A qualitative discussion is offered in Chapter 7.

6.2.7 Interruption to arraign

From a CA standpoint, as we saw in Chapter 2, the action of interruption is the successful arrest of a speaker's turn in order for the interrupter to pursue their own turn. It is distinguished from overlapping talk which might be accidental, or collaborative, such as in the co-construction or contribution of syntactic or lexical constituents. Because interruption is the social act of arresting a speaker in the midst of their turn and seizing the floor, it strikes at the core of talk in interaction: the rupture is to the turn-taking system itself, without which talk between members would be chaotic and incoherent (Sacks et al., 1974). Interruption in the news interview is on public display, highly marked, and accountable. Consequently, it draws attention not only to the object being interrupted—the asserted delinquent emergent response—but also to whether the interruption is warranted. Hence both participants' actions at this interruption interface are on "trial".

Figure 6-6 charts the deployment of interruptions over time.

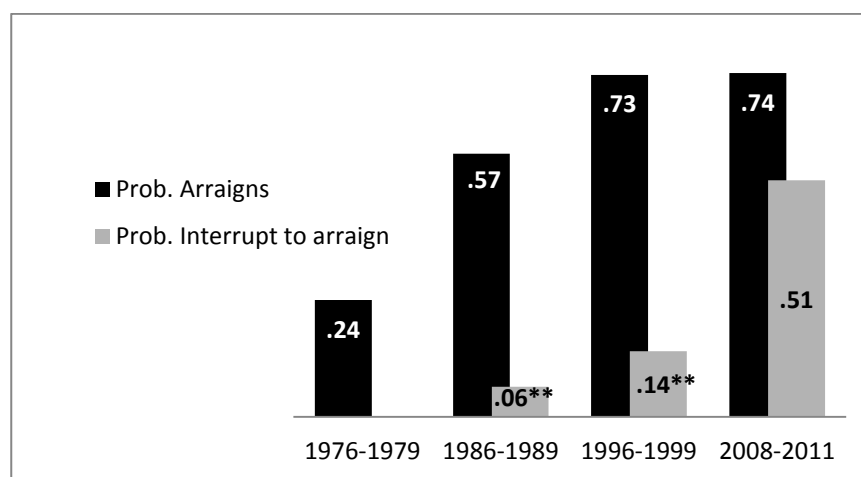


Figure 6-6 The probability that IR interrupts to arraign

**The difference between these blocks and the last block is highly significant at $p < .00001$

The black bars replicate Figure 6-2, showing the probability that IR arraigns an evasive response. The grey bars show the probability that the arraignment action will be done by interruption. The practice of interruption accelerates in a climate where the superordinate,

arraignment, is remarkably stable: the likelihood of there being no difference in the propensity to arraign between blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011 is found to be $p > .829$. This implies that some massive change in the warrantability, and tolerance, of interruption occurred somewhere in the 16-year span of these two blocks. In the 200 interviews in the whole data set, there are 54 interruptions of this highly contestative type, but they are overwhelmingly concentrated in the final block, with 42 of the 54 tokens occurring there. The chart shows that by 2008-2011, not only were 74% of evasive responses arraigned, but that 51% of those arraignment actions were done with interruption. The alacrity with which a response is often perceived as emergently deficient was exemplified in 4.6.2. There is not one interruption of this type in the earliest sample block and only two in the second. The first token of interruption to arraign a delinquent response does not occur in the sample until October, 1989. Thereafter the escalation in the practice is highly marked, and verging on normative by 2008. The differences have very high significance levels of $p < .00001$, which is to say that the chance of this pattern being random is less than one in 100,000.

No attempt was made to sub-categorise interrupting action by type, such as raised energy in delivery, or imperatives, such as 'hang on' or 'wait a minute'. The designs of the interrupting actions are so diverse and so context dependent that sub-categorisation would not produce significant quantitative results, particularly from the earlier blocks with nil or few instances.

6.2.8 IR style as a possible driver of interruption

Aggressive and interruptive questioning is, ipso facto, privileged by the editors of *Morning Report*, but it also depends on the willingness of IRs to exploit it as an interactional resource. This raises the question of whether particular IRs, recruited during the period of the last two blocks, were responsible for the escalation in aggressive practice, or whether there was a style shift in the programme which promoted IRs' intolerance of evasive responses. One striking feature of *Morning Report* personnel is the enduring presence of

anchor IR, Geoff Robinson, who was with the programme for all but three years of its 39-year span.⁶³ Apart from his longevity being a remarkable achievement in broadcast journalism, Geoff Robinson provides a valuable datum. Coding provided for his interruptive practices to be compared with others'. The hypothesis to be tested here is whether the highly significant escalation in interruption is attributable to a different style perpetrated by new programme co-anchors in block 1996-1999 and block 2008-2011.

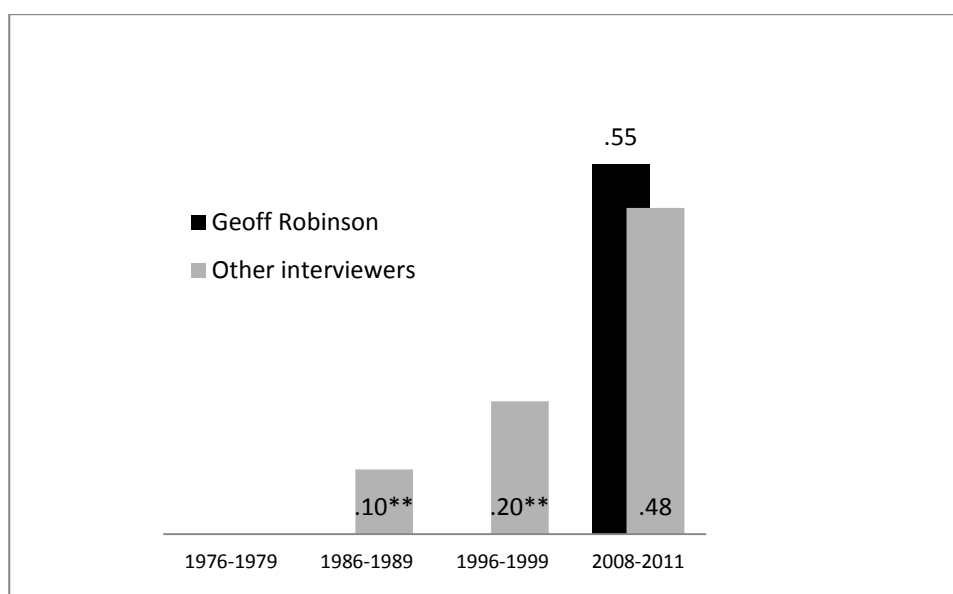


Figure 6-7 Geoff Robinson (black) and other IRs' interruptive practice compared
 **For Other interviewers (grey) the differences between these blocks and 2008-2011 are significant at $p < .001$.

Figure 6-7 shows that the escalation of aggressive interruption in the last block was not attributable to the personal style of Geoff Robinson's co-anchors. In block 2008-2011 there is no significant difference between Geoff Robinson's interruptive practice and other interviewers. In the sampled interviews Geoff Robinson makes no interruptions to arraign evasive responses until the last block, but he then escalates the resource of interruption until it becomes normative. Geoff Robinson interrupts evasive responses more often than not. The sudden inflation in interruption occurred over the last two blocks in a context

⁶³ The sample spans 36 years, omitting the first "shakedown" year. Geoff Robinson retired on 1 April, 2014.

where both IR arraignment and IE evasion were remarkably stable. Further, since the inflation cannot be attributed to personal style of IRs, it seems likely that an institutional style change emerged as a response to changes in a broader context of political discourse.

6.2.9 Interruption parsed by affiliation of IEs

The interruption data can also be broken down by affiliation of the IEs. Figure 6-8 is an account of differential interrupting of AEPs and OPFs over the last two blocks.

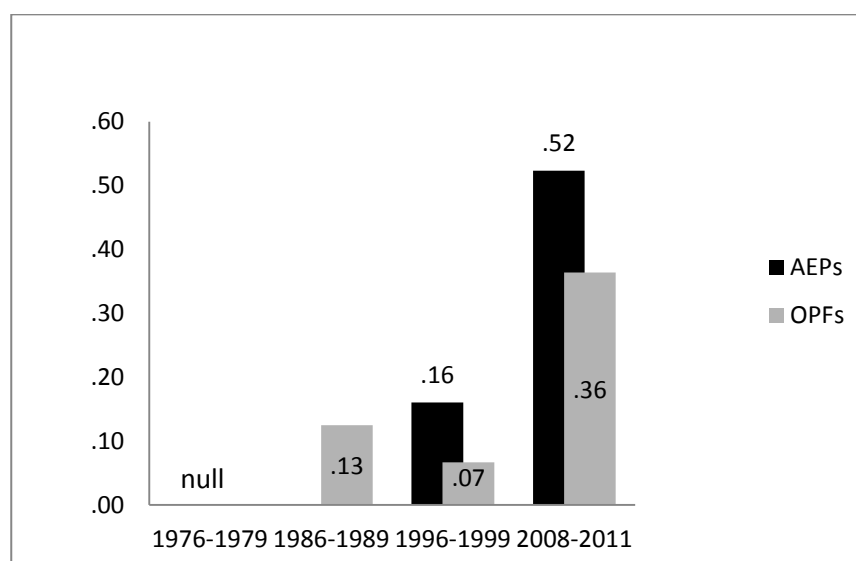


Figure 6-8 Interrupting non-compliant responses: AEPs and OPFs compared
The apparent difference between AEPs (black) and OPFs (grey) does not attain statistical significance either within a block or over time $\chi^2(2) = .055$; $p = .973$

Whilst it appears as though AEPs are more likely to be interrupted than other public figures, there are insufficient cases among OPFs for the comparison to attain statistical significance ($n = 14$ of OPFs versus 40 interruptions for AEPs). Again, it is clear that, as a result of their dominant presence on *Morning Report*, AEPs sustain more interruptions, but that is not to say, on the basis of this sample, that IRs display a greater propensity to interrupt AEPs vis-à-vis OPFs. Whilst analysis with a bigger sample might establish a significant difference in the interactional approach by IRs to AEPs versus OPFs, that is beyond the scope of the present study.

6.3 Follow-up questions

Follow-up questions stem from endogenous fissures in intersubjectivity: they emerge only from what has been said by the IE during the exchange. In vernacular terms, we might say that follow-up questions address those answers which, although satisfactory, “raise more questions than they answer”. In this section follow-up moves are analysed and quantified. Figure 6-9 shows the locus of this enquiry.

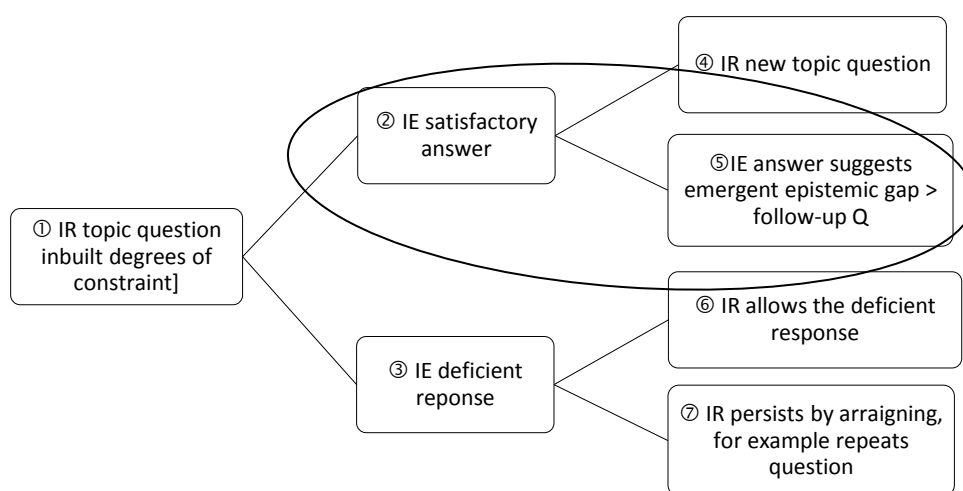


Figure 6-9 Schematic representation of the site of follow-up questions

6.3.1 Diachronic distribution of follow-up questions in *Morning Report*

Follow-up questions entail both that some stimulus or incitement has been perceived, and that it is acted upon. The extent to which these potential problems are pursued directly indexes two features of IR agency: the first is the IRs’ knowledge of the topic and their ability to perceive implications in an answer; the second is their willingness to use that grounding to control the trajectory of the interview. Figure 6-10 tracks the variation in this practice over time.

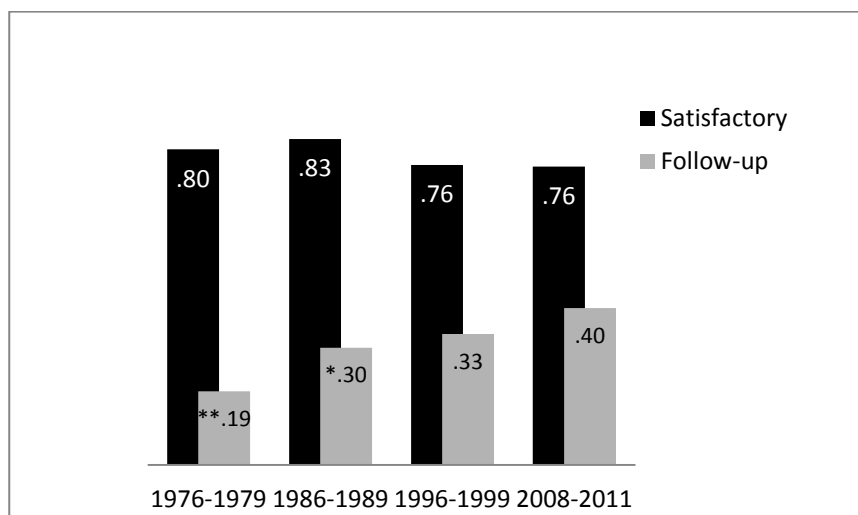


Figure 6-10 The probability that an answer is followed up

The black bars show the proportion of responses which are deemed satisfactory.

The grey bars show the increasing propensity for IRs to pose follow-up questions.

*The difference between this block and the last block is significant at $p < .05$. **The

difference between this block and the last block, 2008-2011, is significant at $p <$

.005.

IRs were twice as likely to perceive and act on such perceptions in 2008-2011 as they were in 1976-1979. Whereas the answer is acceptable, or emerging as acceptable to the IR, over time IRs increasingly orient to implications in answers, or draw inferences from them which are assessed to threaten intersubjectivity. Of course, this is entirely a matter for the IR's judgement at the instant; the IR might perceive several implications in an answer for which pursuit is relevant, but might abstain given time and agenda constraints of the interview. RPs, however, might not perceive such potentiality; alternatively, RPs might privately censure the absence of a follow-up to probe some inference which they draw. Of course such orientations by RPs are inaccessible except in post hoc complaints to the programme: "Why didn't you ask X". Similarly, the researcher might abstract an indeterminate number of potential follow-up questions which are not put. For these reasons, and unlike the determination of responses, the *absence* of follow-up questions by the IR is neither formulated nor coded. The coding of absences, or negative observations

must be controlled by appropriate ‘relevance rules’ of the engagement (Schegloff, 2007:19). In the case of follow-up questions we are concerned with the IR’s judgement of “Why that now?”, and not the RPs’ or researcher’s judgement of “Why not this now?”

6.3.2 Follow-up by affiliation

The pattern in Figure 6-10 (above) reflects steady growth in the practice of follow-up questioning across all IEs; the data were then reanalysed to see if there was a difference when the affiliations of IEs were considered:

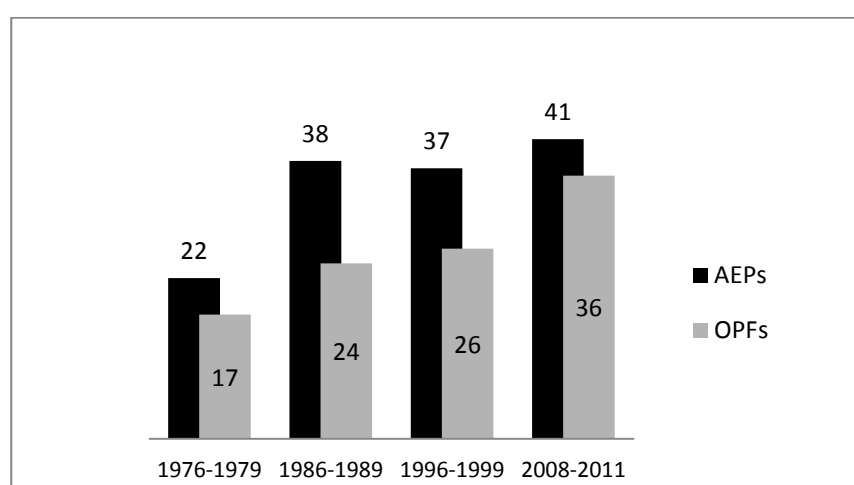


Figure 6-11 Compliant responses followed up. AEPs and OPFs compared

The apparent difference between the classes does not reach statistical significance.

The chart suggests there may be differences depending on affiliation of the IE; however this does not reach statistical significance. Because the sample count of OPFs is small in the last two blocks, as we saw from Table 5-4, a much larger sample would be required to determine if there is indeed a difference in IRs’ propensity to follow up satisfactory answers. However, there is a significant difference over time in IRs’ propensity to follow up AEPs compliant responses. [$\chi^2(3) = 10.837; p = .012$]. By block 1986-1989, AEPs could expect that 38% of their compliant answers would attract follow-up questions, and the practice seemed to plateau at about that level for that group.

6.3.3 Interruption to follow-up

Just as the action of interruption was seen to escalate as a companion to arraignment, interruption has increasingly been used to launch follow-up questions, yet was absent in the older data.

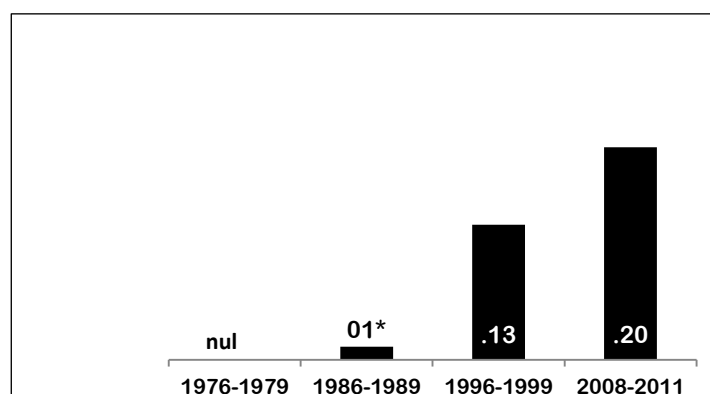


Figure 6-12 The probability of interrupting to follow-up

*The difference between this block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .001$. The overall trend of increasing interruption to follow up has high significance: $\chi^2 (2) 12.72; p < .005$.

It seems that interruption in this context is markedly accountable. Whereas interrupting to arraign an evasive or non-compliant response is defensible on the grounds that the interruption is of a trespass, interrupting a response which has so far been adjudged cooperative and satisfactory seems harder to defend. It was noted that interruptions to repair, or to collaborate in the production of a response, are not coded. Coded interruptions of responses to put follow-up questions entail that a response has satisfactorily addressed the question, but is perhaps starting to drift off topic or expand to an extent which the IR rejects.

6.4 Aggregation of persistence moves

6.4.1 Arraignment and follow-up

So far the accounts of arraighing and follow-up moves have been discussed separately as discrete classes of IR praxis. However, these also fall under a broader rubric of defending intersubjectivity in the face of manifest fissures, or perceived looming fissures. Accordingly, they can be aggregated to reflect IRs' changing orientation over time to these perceived problems. We can also more closely examine IRs' attention according to affiliation.

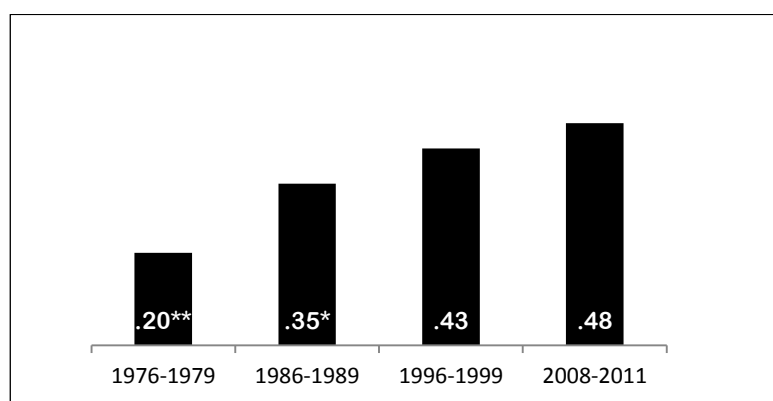


Figure 6-13 Arraignment and follow-up moves combined

The chart shows the likelihood that an IR question move will be either a follow-up question, or will arraign a response and persevere with the same question. **The difference between this block and the last two blocks is significant at $<.0001$. *The difference between this block and the last two blocks is significant at $p < .001$.

This chart displays a now familiar diachronic pattern of IRs' deployment of challenging actions. We see that by 2008-2011 about half of the IRs' moves were devoted to either arraighing or following up on perceived implications in a response.

6.4.2 Aggregated interruption

Like arraighing and follow-up moves, interruption by IRs to take the floor and prosecute some move to bring the interview back to an IR preferred trajectory can be aggregated to

give a sense of how this highly accountable resource has been deployed over the 36-year span of the sample.

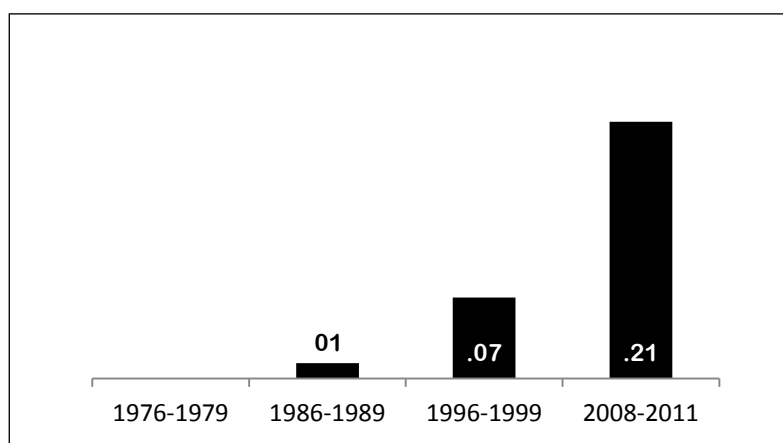


Figure 6-14 Arraigning or follow-up done by interruption

**The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is highly significant at $p < .000001$

The chart reflects the general patterns of IR changing praxis seen elsewhere: from nil interruptions to either arraign or follow-up in the earliest block, there is an extraordinary inflation; by 2008-2011, there is a 21% chance that *any* IR move will be done by interruption. Recall that this does not include interruption to collaborate, or to make production repairs; it is not tentative or attempted interruption, from which IR withdraws or desists; this is interruption which successfully seizes the floor from the IE in order for the IR to prosecute an arraigning or follow-up move. The confidence in the trend reported above is that there is a less than one in a million chance that a new sample (or the population) will produce a result which falls outside the 95% confidence interval. Tightening the confidence interval to 99.99% (virtual certainty) makes no impact on the improbability that this is a random chance result.

6.5 Further implications of arraighing and follow-up questions

6.5.1 Topic questions

Figure 6-13 implies another significant shift in the interactive practices of *Morning Report*: The proportion of new topic questions in an interview has reduced. We have noted that both the arraighing of delinquent responses and the production of follow-up questions reflect IRs' determinations that intersubjectivity is unsettled, or threatened. This is not to say that the proportion of IE responses which destabilise intersubjectivity has changed; rather it is to say that IRs' orientations to that condition, and their willingness to act, have changed significantly. Whilst this can be partially inferred from Figure 6-13, it is specified in Figure 6-15.

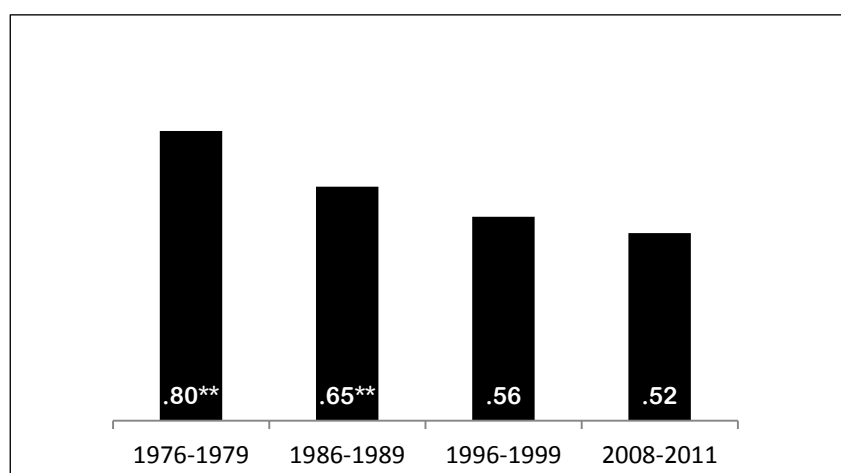


Figure 6-15 The probability that an IR question is a topic question

**The difference between these block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .001$

The chart demonstrates that, whereas in block 1976-1979 80% of questions introduced new topics, by 2008-2011, only 52% did so.

At 5.2 in the previous chapter it was noted that the duration of interviews had increased by 42% over the span of the data and that this raised the question of how the extra time was spent. The changing composition of interviews as duration increased can now be seen in more detail.

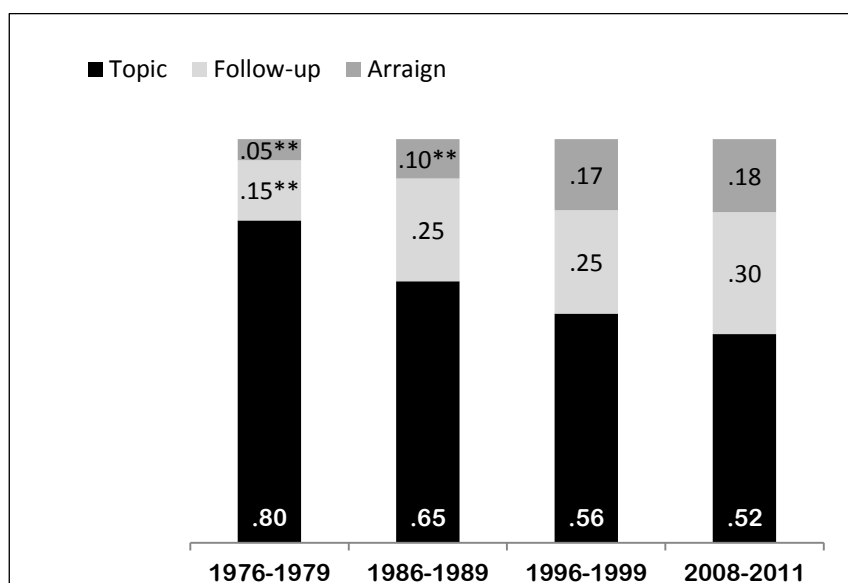


Figure 6-16 Composition of interviews by IR question type

**The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is highly significant at $p < .001$.

The chart is a further clear account of the shift in accountability of public figures. Whereas in block 1976-1979, the IE's responses were only occasionally followed up and rarely challenged, two decades later nearly 50% of responses encountered some sequel by being either rejected, or followed up for more detail and resolution of some perceived implication. This clearly indexes a significant shift in the accountability of public figures to the polis: put another way, in 1976-1979, the IE aired their response with an 80% chance that the *next* question would be a fresh topic. Deductively there was an 80% chance that a response would be broadcast unassailed, un-queried and not tested for veracity, coherence or for the implications it might contain. By contrast, three decades later that had fallen to 52%. The complementary condition is that there was a 48% chance that a response would be either rejected, or pursued in some way.

6.5.2 Time allocation

The account above is consistent with the time allocations for political interviews, and to the mean numbers of topic questions, which are reported below. Whilst Figure 6-16 above

shows the *probability* that a question is a topic question, which in a sense reports the density of new topics in an interview, it does not account for the absolute time devoted to the distribution of topic questions, nor to time spent on arraignment and follow-up questions by time apportionment. The inflation in political content entails that the participants are more exposed to these challenging actions, practised at negotiating them, and for RPs, increasingly inured to them.

Table 6-4 *Time spent on persistence-and-response pairs*

		1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
1	^a Interview duration	3.15*	3.93	4.13	4.45
2	Mean number of topic questions	4.12	4.12	4.58	4.52
3	Average Q–R pair duration	.62	.64	.55	.57
4	Est. time devoted to arraignment and follow-up pairs	.60**	1.10**	1.72	1.94
5	Proportion of time on follow-up and arraignment	.17	.28	.41	.44

^aAll times are in decimal minutes. *The difference in duration between this block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .01$. **The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .001$.

The table shows that about three times as much air-time was used in challenging IE responses, pursuing answers, and follow-up questions in 2008-2011 as in 1976-1979 and 1986-1989. The argument proceeds as follows. Row 1 shows that interview durations increased by 42% between blocks 1976-1979 and 2008-2011. Row 2, however, shows there was no significant change in the number of *topic* questions. Nor, as seen in Row 3, was there any significant change in the mean durations of Q–R pairs. If there is no significant difference between the duration of topic Q–R pairs and other Q–R pairs, it follows that the differential duration in the last blocks was devoted to pursuing answers, or

to follow-up Q–R pairs. This is a further index of the increasing public accountability of public figures. An IE presenting on *Morning Report* in 1976 could expect that of his (average) 3 min 15 sec interview, 40 sec would be spent on perseverant or supplementary question and response pairs.⁶⁴ By 2008-2011, however, an IE would expect to spend almost two minutes defending a response or dealing with follow-up questions. This directly indexes IE accountability.

6.5.3 Question design and diminishing delimiting prefaces

The above analysis of topic questions and their pursuit helps to resolve a curiosity raised in the previous chapter at 5.3.3. We saw that certain types of constraint embedded in the IRs' question design diminished over time. It was noted that that seemed counterintuitive, and in conflict with other indicators of intensified constraint, such as arraignment and interruption. The quantitative account of constraining prefaces is reproduced here.

Table 6-5 *Prefacing constraints reprised from Table 5-7*

Constraining prefaces	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Delimiting preface or proposition	.29**	.30**	.19	.19
Preface/question is tilted	.23	.24	.27	.21
Delimiting presupposition	.07*	.04	.05	.03

**The differences between these two blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .01$. *The difference between this block and 2008-2011 is significant at $p < .05$.

The function of prefaces of this kind is to advise the IE and RPs of the parameters within which a satisfactory answer will lie. Accordingly, they have particular relevance in framing topic questions. Such prefaces, whilst sometimes repeated as part of a complaint

⁶⁴ The use of *his* is deliberate. There were no female IEs in the 1976 sample and only two in the entire 1976–1979 sample.

or follow-up, seem generally to not need repeating with subsequent iterations of the topic question—such as in accompanying arraignment, or follow-up questions. This is because by definition follow-up questions address the topic in play. If that is in fact the case, then it would follow that those interviews with a higher proportion of perseverant and follow-up questions would have a smaller proportion of prefacing constituents. As IRs over the span of *Morning Report* increasingly worry the topic in play, they spend proportionately less time re-framing that topic with delimiting prefaces and propositions. It would also follow, by regression, that the apparent diminution of these prefaces across all questions would be less marked, or absent, when only topic questions are considered. We saw above that, by the last two blocks, nearly 50% of questions were identified as either arraiving or follow-up moves, and the balance were topic questions. Constraining prefaces are reconsidered as a proportion of topic questions in Table 6-6.

Table 6-6 *Constraining prefaces as a proportion of topic questions*

Constraining prefaces	1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
	with topic questions			
Delimiting preface or proposition	.34	.42	.29	.35
Delimiting presupposition	.07	.07	.08	.05

There is no significant difference over time in the ratio of delimiting prefaces to topic questions.

There is no diminution over time in the use of constraining prefaces as a proportion of topic questions. This account consolidates the main finding of this quantitative study which is that, overwhelmingly, IRs spent increasing proportions of interview time on challenging and worrying responses to topic questions. Consequently, IEs spent increasing time defending their responses, or expanding on them.

6.5.4 Political mass in *Morning Report*

The central quantitative analyses in this research have dealt with proportions and likelihoods that what has been found in the sample can be projected to the population of all interviews in *Morning Report*. It is also instructive, however, to sense the heft, or quantum of IRs' actions, and RPs' exposure to them, since they index the RPs' tolerance for, and perhaps expectation or encouragement of them: We noted in Chapter 3 that the audience for *Morning Report* is remarkably stable and maintains the programme as the most attended breakfast programme in the country, which implies endorsement of these changing practices. Table 6-7 reports the absolute numbers of such questions in the sample, and also offers rough projections of what a regular daily listener would be exposed to in each four-year block.

Table 6-7 *Projected count of arraigining, follow-up and interrupting moves*

Projection for the Population		1976-1979	1986-1989	1996-1999	2008-2011
Follow-up Plus Arraign					
1	Raw count from sample of 50 interviews per block	50**	112**	174	211
2	Projected for population	580	1770	4030	3490
Interrupts to Follow-up or Arraign					
3	Raw count from sample of 50 interviews per block	0	4**	27**	92
4	Projected for population	--	63	620	1520

**The difference between these blocks and 2008-2011 is significant at p .001.

The figures in rows 2 and 4 are rough projections of the expected number of times the contestative moves of arraignment, follow-up and interruption will be broadcast on *Morning Report* in each of the four-year blocks. They give a sense of the mass of contestative moves which the active participants have achieved, and to which the RPs have been exposed over time. The escalation in interruption in the last two blocks is apparent in

row 4 and gives a sense of the burgeoning contestative praxis. This is developed in the next section.

6.6 A watershed in IR praxis

In many respects, blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011 represent a plateau in both IE and IR praxis. Four of the five principal superordinate variables of interest in this study show no significant difference in IE and IR praxis between blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011. This is detailed in Table 6-8.

Table 6-8 *Variation in actions across blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011*

Variable	Likelihood of Occurrence		χ^2
	1996-1999	2008-2011	
IE non-compliant response	.24	.24	$\chi^2(1) = .021; p = .886$
IR arraigns non-compliant response	.73	.74	$\chi^2(1) = .004; p = .950$
Follow-up questions	.33	.40	$\chi^2(1) = 3.052; p = .081$
Interruption to follow-up	.13	.20	$\chi^2(1) = .140; p = .140$
Interruption to arraign	.14	.50	$\chi^2(1) = 21.151; p = .00001$

The right-hand column gives the chi-squared test results and shows that, except for interruption to arraign, in the last row, there is no variable whose distribution across blocks 1996-1999 and 2008-2011 is significant. The only significant change—and it is highly significant—occurred in interruption to arraign, which started to escalate after the block 1986-1989, and did so exponentially. This suggests that closer inspection of the intervening period, which was not sampled, might illuminate a watershed. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to gather a further robust sample from the years between 1986-1989 and 2008-2011, it is possible to consider the block 1996-1999 in more detail, partitioning it into its constituent years. Although this shrinks the sample size and greatly

increases the standard error, the practice of interruption has sufficient tokens at the end of the block to render one significant result.

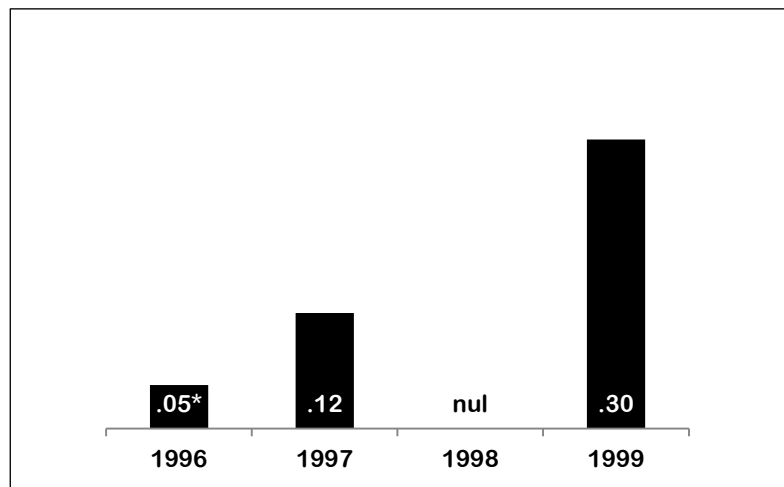


Figure 6-17 Probability of interruption to arraign: block 1996-1999

*The difference between this 1996 and 1999 is significant at $p < .05$.

The significant difference in interruption between the start of this block and the final year supports the intuitive view formed during transcription of the data that there was an increasingly abrasive tone emerging in interviews with politicians and that it seemed to emerge during this block. That view is supported when the same year-by-year partitioning is applied to the subsequent block, 2008-2011, and the two data-sets are compared. The separation between the two blocks emphasises the broken time line. The plateau reached in the latter block, 2008-2011, suggests “peak interruption”.

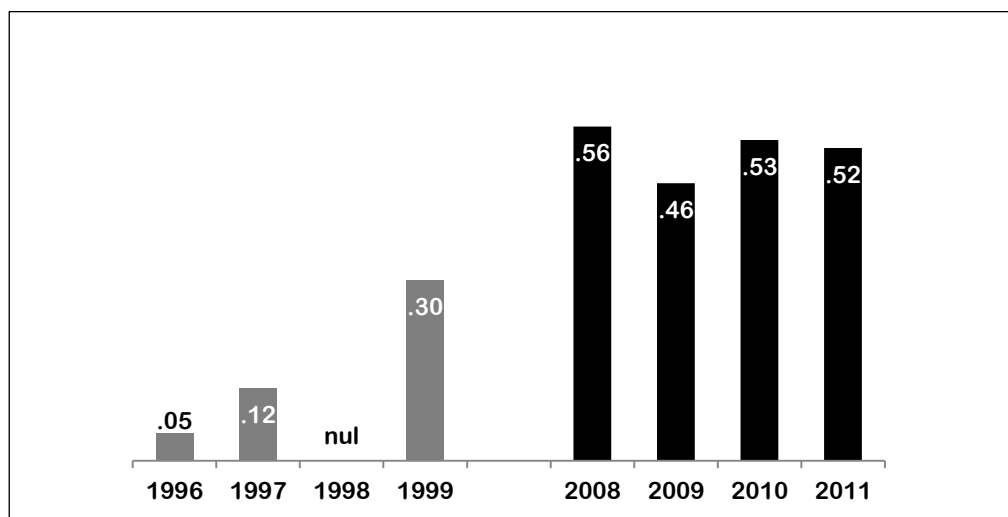


Figure 6-18 Probability of interruption to arraign: year breakdown across blocks
The stability of interruption across 2008-2011 is notable. ($\chi^2(3) = .358$; $p = .949$)

The escalation in interruption appears to have launched in 1999. It was noted earlier that the great majority of tokens of interruption occurred in 2008-2011 ($n = 42$). It is clear that the practice of interrupting to arraign a deficient response had become practically normative by this block, with what might be called a “ramp” into it established in the 1996-1999 block.

6.7 Conclusions: arraiging delinquent responses and pursuing topic

This chapter has tested the research hypothesis that IR persistence has increased over the course of *Morning Report*. Persistence was treated as an endeavour to maintain or restore intersubjectivity and was gauged by quantifying IRs’ arraignment of non-compliant responses, and the related practice of follow-up questions. Intolerance of evasive responses has dramatically increased over the 36-year span of the data. By 2008-2011, a public figure who evades a question has a 74% chance of been called to account. The results presented here amount to overwhelming evidence of both willingness and agency on the part of IRs to arraign non-compliant responses and to pursue answers. This perseverant

praxis was intensified by escalation in interruption to seize the floor from IEs whose responses emerged as delinquent.

The deployment of follow-up questions indexes IRs' perception of implications arising from answers which, although satisfactory, may raise potential fissures in intersubjectivity. Whilst not necessarily adversarial, follow-up questions further index IRs' preparedness to call public figures to account for potentialities of their actions and intentions. The growth shown in this practice consolidates the primary finding.

Interwoven in these results is a corollary thread: four decades ago, a public figure had an 80% chance that their response to a question would go unimpeded, un-assailed and unchallenged. By the end of the sampled span, a public figure could expect to spend almost half of their interview time defending or modifying what had been uttered, or attending to supplementary questions. It follows that the chapter is also an account of the diachronic ascendancy of IR agency in *Morning Report*. By agency here I mean first, the ability to perceive fissures, or potential fissures, in intersubjectivity between the parties and second, the authority and capacity to attempt to rectify, or forestall such fissures.

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this research to attempt to pinpoint reasons for the escalation in contestative interaction, there exist significant electoral, legislative and technological changes over the period which accompany, and might be co-related with the changes documented above. In particular the gross inflation in interruption since the late 1990s invites closer scrutiny. The next chapter illuminates some of these qualitative features.

Trajectories of Contest on *Morning Report*

7.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter offers CA analyses of four interviews to show how the IR and IE negotiate, and often contest, the interview agenda.⁶⁵ Whilst the quantitative analyses in the two previous chapters produce compelling accumulative evidence of trends in contestative praxis over time, they do not give a sense of how the parties achieved these results through their interview talk. Here, I address how successive questioning and responding actions accrete to push at the boundaries of habitus or politic behaviour, that behaviour which is neither polite nor impolite but simply politic, or expedient in the immediate temporal and social context (Bourdieu, 1990; Watts, 2003). In the *Morning Report* data the most egregious evidence of this changing frame is the soaring tendency of IRs to use interruption as an interactional resource: an action formerly proscribed, and absent in the 1976-1979 sample, rare in 1986-1989, surging in block 1996-1999, and escalating until interruption had become an almost normative response to evasive responses by 2008. The changes in praxis are manifest in other ways, opaque to quantitative analysis. For example, counting the *absence* of an action is fraught because, as Schegloff noted, innumerable things are absent from a fragment of talk in interaction; deciding which absences are relevant cannot be done without a clear set of relevance rules (Schegloff, 2007). Accordingly no attempt was made to count “missed opportunities” for follow-up questions. Equally fugitive is quantification of the absence of constraint in a question. Whereas an editor might, after the event, call an IR to task for flaccid question design, or

⁶⁵ The interviews are substantially intact, although some edits (indicated) have been made for space reasons.

for not having asked a question, the coding of such absences is problematic. Coding for IR lassitude in the face of deficient responses was done, but mindful of the need for consistency, and open to the possibility that another researcher might form a consistently different view, as discussed at 4.7. While each of the interviews is about a leading, front-of-mind news topic of the day, I do not present them as representing precise change points. However, on analysis, each reveals qualities which illustrate the CA precepts of talk in interaction being context dependent, procedurally relevant and context forming. Above all, what is achieved in a news interview is a joint achievement of the parties. In vernacular terms, it takes two to tango: IRs do not arraign compliant answers; IEs do not obdurately evade unless they are obdurately challenged. Similarly, IEs do not unilaterally develop a new agenda unless permitted by the IR to do so.

The four interviews were chosen because the interactions between the parties reflected the coarsening of relationships and diminishing deference, or social distance, between journalists and public figures. It turned out that three of them were with prime ministers so it seemed appropriate to replace the odd one with another PM interview. That they all happened to be with National Party (centre right) politicians is purely sample chance.⁶⁶

Whilst the chosen interviews are not presented as specific change points in the interactional praxes of *Morning Report*, they do illuminate the IR and IE producing what Schegloff termed ‘increment[s] in social reality’ (Schegloff, 1992:1299).

⁶⁶ There was, for example, no interview in the sample with two-term Labour Prime Minister David Lange and none with his eventual successor, Helen Clark, in which she was asked to account for ministerial actions or intentions. Although it is well beyond the scope of this project to conduct an editorial bias or content analysis, subjectively I detected no bias by IRs toward any party.

The CA approach to context cautions about what we might call macro- or exogenous social structures in which talk in interaction occurs, the so-called ‘bucket-theory’ of context (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990:286). Only what is immediately and evidentially relevant to the parties is considered. ‘[N]otwithstanding the panoply and powers of place and role, *it is within these local sequences of talk, and only there, that these institutions are ultimately and accountably talked into being*’ (Heritage, 1984:290; original stress).

This suite of interviews, each of which resonates with the quantitative account for its block, demonstrates that not only are institutions like *Morning Report* talked into being, they are evidently and inevitably self-modifying. Each interview is prefaced with a brief account of its news context.

7.2 Prime Minister Rob Muldoon—March, 1979: setting the agenda

The editorial spur for the first interview was a damning review of New Zealand’s economic performance by an Australian economist and commentator, Christopher Jay. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Robert Muldoon held both the prime ministership and finance portfolios, and although it was unusual for a prime minister in a Westminster democracy to hold the two senior portfolios, he claimed that he best knew the vagaries of the New Zealand economy. He also vaunted disrespect for economic opinions from the academy, and for economic journalists; he was once quoted as describing policy analysts in the Department of the Treasury, over which he had presided, as ‘a bunch of school children in charge of computers’.⁶⁷ The review was particularly critical of what it called a ‘paralysis of will’ on the part of political leaders.⁶⁸

The interview exemplifies a deferential style which vanished from the sample as praxis changed, and so forms a useful reference. Whilst its quantitative profile resonates

⁶⁷ *Morning Report* 30 June, 1988

⁶⁸ *Morning Report* 30 June, 1988

with the account of constraint, evasion and arraignment for the 1976-1979 block, a CA examination reveals *how* the quantitative results were achieved by the parties. One editorial principle of news interviewing is that the IR should strive at all times for neutrality: specifically, the IR should not frame questions based on personal opinion, or which imply either personal non-alignment, or alignment, with the IE; neither should the IR utter receipt tokens which might indicate approval of, or alignment with, a response. The interview shows how deference and neutrality do not happily go together.

Table 5-8 showed that by far the most prevalent kind of non-compliance by IE was to either reframe the question, or to address it cursorily, and to then bend the agenda to better suit the project of the IE. Although this preference did not alter significantly over the span of the data, the willingness of the IR to arraign excursions from the agenda greatly increased. The first interview therefore is presented as a kind of datum where the IE, Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, takes gross liberties with the agenda without challenge. The complement to that, of course, is the IR neither constraining the IE by precise question design, nor arresting deficient responses.

Robert Muldoon is asked to respond to the critical review of his economic management:

Extract 7-1 MR 1979_03_21 Muldoon Economy: IR – Ron Quinnell; RM – Robert Muldoon sn 29

1 IR Good morning Mister Muldoon

2 RM G'd morning

3 IR Erm (.) is thee picture that Christopher Jay paints too gloomy,

4 RM (1.5) Well I wouldn't call it <↑ gloomy> I- I think it's <journalistic
 5 exaggeration by a text book economist: (.8) ah::: he's um::: made a
 6 superficial analysis based apparently .hhh on a visit to:: New Zealand
 7 but ah clearly from what he's just said he has .hhh little appreciation of
 8 thee (.8) intricacies of economic management in New Zealand, .hhh
 9 ah::: I've seen this kind of thing .hh umm: (.3) from various academic
 10 economists and ah (.2) .hh indeed from some ah international public
 11 servants (.6) ah but ah clearly he has no feel:: for thee economy, .hhh ah
 12 the New Zealand economy 'nd um (.2) to that extent I ya .hhh don't
 13 imagine we'll get very much out of his series of articles

The IR's first question should be tagged by a competent editor as a "patsy"; that is a question whose preferred answer would comfortably align with the project of the IE and not advance the intersubjectivity of the parties. Anticipating a prompt affirmative response, it invites dismissal of the report. What else does this question design do? It implies that the IR has read the report, and formed his own view, for affirmation, that the report is *too gloomy*. However at line 4, the PM avoids a simple affirmative and takes a markedly long gap of 1.5 sec. There is no apparent technical difficulty in the channel and although the PM is talking by telephone from the prime ministerial residence, the sound is of broadcast quality. The long silence here is a harbinger of a dispreferred negative response. A simple affirmative, as preferred, would concede epistemic ownership of the assessment to the IR. However there is also a lurking presupposition in the question: *too gloomy* implicates that some gloominess would be justified; a simple affirmative response would concede the presupposition. When it comes, the PM's response (line 4) is launched with *Well*, noted in the literature as explicitly distancing from some proposition or pre-supposition in the prior talk (Innes, 2010; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987); here he targets *gloomy* and effectively reframes the question to launch an ad hominem attack on the report's author, categorising his work as *journalistic exaggeration*. In doing so, he also rejects the IR's implied *journalistic* epistemic grounding and supplants it with his own, superior, authority

effectively taking control of the agenda. To the *Morning Report* audience attacks by PM Muldoon in this vein are common; while he has the floor, the PM expands his attack on journalists and *text book* economists to include some *international public servants*. The IR's next attempt meets a similar response:

- 14 IR (.4) mm .hh I'm not sure what Christopher Jay means when he says
 15 that New Zealand's (.3) coming apart at the seams..hhh
 16 [Perhaps it's thee]
 17 RM [Well that's what]
 18 I mean by journalistic exaggeration I mean .hhh all these um (.8) ah::
 19 emotive terms ah errr mean very little when it comes to practical
 20 economic management.

The IR's preamble (lines 14-15) scarcely forecasts a confident probing question. Once again, the PM takes the IR's turn preface as an invitation to fill the gap pronounced by *I'm not sure what Christopher Jay means* and seizes the opportunity. He begins once more with *Well*, projecting that he has superior knowledge, and he repeats his generalised critique of the report's author. In his next turn, line 21, the IR tentatively proposes a specific point from the report, which warns of the egress of talented young people from New Zealand to Australia.

- 21 IR -I was gonna say perhaps it's- er it's thee- the outflow of twenty to thir-
 22 er thirty thousand people ah from a country of this size a year er an' it
 23 seems to be continuing er:: er d- d- does that worry you (.) particularly?

Again, the IR's next question preface is embellished with hedges (*I was gonna say perhaps*), and with numerous hesitations and false starts. The yes/no question is tagged with the adverbial, *particularly*, which upgrades the intensity of *worry*; whilst normally, a yes/no question, prefers a prompt affirmative the adverbial here seems to switch the polarity of preference from affirmative to negative. "Yes, it does" would be a markedly dispreferred response. *Particularly* functions to form an implicature to the effect that

whilst some worry about emigration is to be expected, to be *particularly* worried by it would not be expected, which is to say that a negative response is preferred. The PM responds with the preferred negative construction. He takes the opportunity to add an account, or explanation. His opening line, 24, has the hallmarks of an overture to a negative-plus-account response. He first takes a .3 sec gap; this is followed by hesitation, false starts, a pause of .5 sec (Raymond, 2003; Schegloff, 2007). He then launches into a narrative about benefits attending the flight of people from this small economy:

24 RM (.3) No it doesn't. ah:: you see ub- (.5) er f- fr'xample we don't have a
 25 housing shortage now (.2) .hhh ah::: that point's been made just a few
 26 minutes ago .hhh ah three years ago we had a housing shortage because
 27 ah under the Labour Government we had a massive inflow (.2) .hhh of
 28 ah thirty thousand a year which we couldn't handle (.6) and ah (.4) one
 29 'v our nineteen seventy five policies was to turn that round we've more
 30 than succeeded in that (.) and ah:: houses are not in short supply of
 31 course this has .hhh and effect on the building ↑industry as such bu'
 32 tum (.7) we've godda decide which ah which we want, a building
 33 industry that's ah over stretched with house prices doubling in three
 34 years as they did under the Labour government .hhh or the present
 35 situation where thee .hhh the house ah price and section price index
 36 .hh are just about level= just about dead level ›in fact the section price
 37 index went down slightly .hhh ahm:: in thee ah last six months (.6) ah::
 38 those are options but they don't get to the heart of our economic
 39 problems at all [[the last ten lines of this response are omitted.]].

The IR's first three questioning turns all have designs characteristic of affiliation with, and not of probing, the project of the PM. However, while the first invites an uncontentious affirmative response, the PM artfully melds his reply into a negative-plus-account, bending the agenda to suit himself; the preface to the IR's second questioning turn presents the PM with another opportunity to take the floor, feigning to help the IR, who has confessed that

he is *not sure what Christopher Jay means* (lines 14-16); the IR's third turn again invites an account which the PM develops into an attack on the previous government.

The thesis has noted that IRs normatively constrain their questions to elicit specific information: confirming or negating propositions; choosing between alternate candidate answers; or satisfying the epistemic gaps identified by *wh-* questions, which expect an answer to supply names, places, means, dates, or quanta. Here, the interview diverges markedly from that normative frame.

[[previous 8 lines omitted]]

48 IR (.4) Err in broad terms then w- would our position be that we're- err
49 the country's economy's improving or is it getting worse-

The inclusion at lines 48-49: of the qualifier *in broad terms* explicitly invites the PM to ignore specificities of the kind prescribed. We saw that a body of literature describes the impost on IRs to maintain neutrality and indeed, with notable exceptions such as Rupert Murdoch's *Fox News*, broadcasters in western democracies prescribe the maintenance of neutrality as a central editorial precept. The IR's use of *our* (line 48) is marked, for it is unclear who the referents of *our* are intended to be. Regardless of its referential breadth, *our* yokes the IR and the PM, and implies that the IR will accept the PM's response before it is uttered: it accords to the PM the unilateral authority to dictate what *our* response to these external criticisms will be. Furthermore, the question does not ask whether *the country's economy's improving or is it getting worse*. It simply asks what *our position* will be. Science is an orphan here.

50 RM =Well (.) let me put it in broad terms this way that it's a great deal
51 better than it was three years ago (.5) ah:: and one wouldn't say any
52 more than that except that .hhh after three years of what was a
53 essentially a tidying up operation, (.3) .hh er short term policies we're
54 now moving in to longer term policies-what's popularly called

55 restructuring n' certainly .hhh moving in the direction that this man
 56 suggested 'v um more emphasis on ah .hhh ah getting resources into er
 57 export rather consumption .hhh that's not an overnight'tum (.2) job it'll
 58 take a little time but ah .hh we'll need more than his suggested remedy
 59 'v getting more lamb into the United States

Unsurprisingly, the PM accepts the lassitude woven into the invitation by repeating *broad terms* to embark on a *broad terms* account, which includes another poniard at his predecessors. The PM has prefaced three out of four turns with *well* each time signalling that he is about to depart in some measure from the question agenda.

60 IR (.2) Unh He suggested'tum we're just tinkering around with
 61 adjustments y- you speak of restructuring .hhn in simple terms what
 62 steps has the government taken in this direction

Again, at line 60, the IR uses *we're* which yokes himself to both the target of the report's criticisms, and inferentially, to the PM's project. The question seeks not rebuttals of specifics in the report, but invites an account *in simple terms* (line 61); it is an invitation the PM explicitly accepts:

63 RM (1.3) In simple steps we've ah- for example in the last month (.6) ah
 64 eased up on price control and we're eas:ing up on the constraints on
 65 foreign investment because some of our .hhh major resource based ah
 66 industries and I instance ah Forest Products for example .hhh require
 67 ay um (.7) an injection of capital beyond what can be generated inside
 68 the New Zealand economy (.2) .hhh ah:: we're heading into the joint
 69 field in the fishing industry for example that's er (.2) going back into
 70 last year (.6) ah:: we- we'll have to have ahm (.4) joint venture- a joint
 71 venture approach to the exploitation of .hh some of our major energy
 72 resources= now these are medium to long-term policies 'n .hhh widely
 73 known publicly that ah this: approach is the policy of the present
 74 ▶ ↑government=ah .hhh=ahh you have got of course ah thee uh know
 75 nothing people who demonstrate on the steps of Parliament Buildings
 76 when .hhhh ah: we have um, (.8) a team of German industrialists who
 77 have the technology that we need .hhh so you'll get this inevitable

78 public debate and conflict.

The PM embarks on a *simple steps* account until line 74, when he closes the cadence about joint ventures at *government* (arrowed). Syntactically, and in terms of topic resolution, this marks a TRP but the PM rushes through and expands with a cluster of floor-holding devices =ah .hhh=ahh you have got of course ah. This bridge enables him to design an expansion with a now familiar stratagem of seizing the agenda to impugn those who disagree with some of his policies. He finishes with a downward terminal inflection, marking a clear TRP at line 78.

The quantitative results suggest that by 2011, there would be a 74% probability that the IR would reclaim the floor around this point and reassert control over the agenda; indeed, by 2008, there was about a 50% chance that the PM's side-track about know nothing people who demonstrate would have been interrupted, probably around line 75. The 1979 IR's orientation portrays a marked distance from the later normative frame. The PM's expansion is reprised from line 74 to illuminate the IR's response:

74 RM ()=ah .hhh=ahh you have got of course ah thee uh know
 75 nothing people who demonstrate on the steps of Parliament Buildings
 76 when .hhhh ah: we have um, (.8) a team of German industrialists who
 77 have the technology that we need .hhh so you'll get this inevitable
 78 public debate and conflict:
 79 (.2)
 80 IR °mmm°
 81 RM .hhhh ah:: but ah those ah – these um (.4) demonstrator people we've
 82 had in the last day or two those are the people who .hhh ah who have
 83 um wonder ideals until all the lights ago out.
 84 IR Mister Muldoon, thank you very much

7.2.1 *Mmm* as a marker of ingratiation

Consider the IR's quiet receipt token, *°mmm°*, at line 80. It follows a downward terminal inflection on the PM's *conflict* (line 78) and a .2 sec gap. This is plainly a TRP; therefore here, stand-alone *°mmm°* does not function as a harbinger of taking the floor, or as a "hurry up and finish" marker. It serves as either an agreement token, or an invitation to the PM to continue on his chosen new agenda. Neither of those acquiescent actions would be a relevant action in a 2008-2011 environment, but it is clear from the quantitative account that this sort of lassitude was common in 1976-1979. In effect, the PM already having had an off-agenda gibe at *know nothing people who demonstrate on the steps of Parliament Buildings*, is implicitly, by the IR's quiet affiliation token, *°mmm°*, invited to continue. Consider the PM's response at line 81. His in-breath, followed by the hesitation string *ah those ah these um* suggests he was not prepared to still own the floor; but quick to take the invitation offered by the IR's *°mmm°*, he constructs one final, off-agenda closing line, which the IR accepts by closing the interview.

7.2.2 Summary of Muldoon: setting the agenda

Here we see a qualitative account of the kind of interview which shaped the pattern seen in the statistical analysis of block 1976-1979, when only 24% of delinquent responses were arraigned, and where none was interrupted. This interview stands as an exemplar of imprecise questioning by the IR, which allows the IE to take the agenda in his own preferred direction, liberally lacing his responses with gratuitous gibes at those who oppose. He does so without challenge or reprisal. Whilst there is no attempt by the IR to resist the PM's excursions, there is clear evidence of the IR attempting to affiliate or even ingratiate himself with the PM (line 3, lines 14-15, line 23 and line 48). The IR not only allows the PM's gross departures from the agenda to gratuitously attack opponents, never

arresting him, but hearably invites him to continue (line 80). Eighteen years later, there is a palpable shift in the deference pertaining between an IR and a new prime minister.

7.3 Prime Minister Jim Bolger—December, 1996: the new pragmatism

The result of the first proportional representation election in New Zealand in October, 1996 was indeterminate, with no party achieving an absolute majority. This left the retiring National Party government to maintain a caretaker governance role whilst various permutations of parties spent eight weeks of shrouded negotiations trying to find coalition partners. It was an unsettling time in New Zealand, which had sustained a stable, cohesive, typically two-party Westminster democracy for 143 years. Finally, on Tuesday evening, 10 December, 1996, the National Party signed a coalition agreement with a minor party, New Zealand First, led by Winston Peters. A former cabinet minister in a previous National Party government, Peters had been sacked by Prime Minister Jim Bolger for statements deemed disloyal to the leadership. When the National Party aggravated his demotion by denying him pre-selection as an electoral candidate, he split with the party and formed his own, New Zealand First. News media editorial comment was frequently cynical as the two antagonists, after mutually vitriolic electioneering, now seemed to find in political expediency a salve for their animosity in order for their parties to coalesce. Peters won the roles of both deputy prime minister and treasurer, the latter entailing the effective demotion of a senior National Party cabinet minister to make way. The following morning, 11 December, the prime minister (PM) elect, Jim Bolger, was interviewed on *Morning Report* as the lead feature.

7.3.1 Watchpoints: contesting the narrative

Although this interview appeared in the random sample, it would certainly be selected in a qualitative study as an exemplar of a tectonic shift in the relations between the fourth

estate and political figures following the new pragmatism of coalition governance. There is not a lot of interruption in the interview—a practice still largely eschewed in 1996—but nevertheless, it reflects the IRs mounting willingness to both challenge deficient responses and to pursue the implications of compliant or congruent answers by using follow-up questions.

The introduction to the interview included a sample of in-the-street opinions which included expressions of relief that the country finally had a government, but also of cynicism, even dismay, at the new alliance.⁶⁹ The IR is seen to propose the narrative of cynical expediency in the pursuit of political power.

- Extract 7-2 MR 1996_12_11 1st MMP Govt: IR – Giles Beckford; JB – Jim Bolger sn 154
- 1 IR Those were the people on the street h'and h uh joining us now is Prime
 2 Minister Mister Jim Bolger=good ↑morning
- 3 JB Good Morning
- 4 IR▶₁ Now how are y'gonna answer those people who say that National's
 5 prostituted itself to stay in po:wer.

The realpolitik of coalition governance is promptly evident: although this was the PM's first appearance on the programme under the new regime (after many interviews in his 21 years in parliament), there are no formulaic congratulations of the sort normatively attending post-election interviews. It may be that the IR and the PM had had some prior talk in an ante-room to the studio, including pleasantries, but the public absence of any phatic preamble seems unusual after eight weeks of cloistered post-election negotiations, with the electorate excluded and held in suspense. After the PM's reciprocal greeting, the IR opens his first question with the discourse particle, *Now* (arrow 1), which here signals that the imminent question proceeds from the previous discourse (Schiffrin, 1987). In

⁶⁹ In broadcasting, these snap opinions, or vox pops for vox populi, make no pretence of reflecting majority opinion, but simply present a range of views abroad.

using it here the IR pronounces that the vox populi, which all parties have heard, will be directly relevant to answering the question. It entails that the PM has heard those opinions, which place the IR, RPs and the PM on the same ground. The IR's first question is brusque and aggressive, and built on two presuppositions: first, that the PM will answer some criticism—the question is, *how*—and second, that there does exist a view amongst the polis that *National's prostituted itself to stay in power*. In deploying a presupposition of this design, the IR avoids any personal alignment which might attach, or be seen to attach to a different design such as, “Why have you prostituted your party?” The device of attribution to the third party is common in the broadcast news interview and exemplifies Goffman's (1981) proposal of members adopting a *footing* as discussed in Chapter 2.5.2.1 (See also Clayman (1992)). The construction also differentiates it from a hypothetical question, built with modals: “What would you say to people who might/could X”. By eschewing modal auxiliaries, the IR overtly asserts his epistemic authority as a journalist who is abreast of both public opinion and the PM's obligation to deal with odium attending his coalition deal (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). In effect, the IR's turn is less a question than a request to respond to a reported negative assessment of the PM's decision.

6 JB (.6) ↓Oh= I'd tell them to get up earlier in the morning and study MMP
 7 and thee inevitability of coalition gov'm'nt that came with it—I mean ah
 8 .hh we'll hear that sort of reaction nonsense .hh but the reality is that
 9 every gov'm'nt in the future (.3) is almost certainly gonna be a coalition
 10 gov'm'nt which requires two or more political parties to reach a
 11 common cause and that's what New Zealand First and National have
 12 done.

The next point to note is that the PM does not dispute that such an assessment, of *prostituting*, is abroad and he seems to accept that the IR is reporting it without aligning

with it. However, the first 1.0 sec of the PM's opening forecasts his disagreement with the assessment he is being asked to address. His hesitation of .6 sec is followed by a low pitch, backed *Oh* with flat intonation contour, assimilating immediately with the following *I'd*, transcribed as *Oh =I'd*. The use of *Oh* to open a 2nd position turn (here, the SPP of an adjacency pair) is well documented in the CA literature. Coupled to the .6 sec delay, it conforms to a typical harbinger of disengagement, or trouble with the immediately previous assessment, or the inappropriateness of a question (Heritage, 1998, 2002b; Schiffrin, 1987). Further, and perhaps more pertinent here, *Oh*, particularly with its lower pitch and a flat contour, projects a dismissive contrasting assessment, to be produced with implied epistemic superiority. *Oh* here proposes that the speaker is already familiar with the assessment presented, but that it is old information, *reaction nonsense* (line 8) and not worthy of attention: the speaker "knows better". Heritage (2002b:304) observes that these kinds of *Oh*-prefaced responses to enquiries often occur when answers should already be available in the preceding talk, or, as in this case, in the generally available information about the nature of the new MMP electoral system. By extension, the PM's use of *Oh* is also a complaint that he has to "yet again" explain the realpolitik of MMP, which he proceeds to do, as he has no doubt had to do often in the preceding weeks when explaining the parameters of the coalition dealings to his party colleagues. Regardless of its dismissive tone, the PM's answer is congruent with the propositional specifications of the question: *how are y'gonna answer*. The IR accepts the response and then shapes a question which conforms neatly to characteristics of follow-up questions; although compliant, the PM's answer suggests that a further fissure in intersubjectivity may well flow from it: how can these two politicians, with a shared history of deep interpersonal conflict, and harsh language on the hustings, coalesce?

- 13 IR (.3) Throughout the campaign Winston Peters berated you, insulted
 14 y'party, said you weren't fit to go:vern, .hh (.) now the lion and lamb
 15 are lying down together. Which one is which.⁷⁰
- 16 JB .mnh (.7) tch It's this sort of rather nonsensical approach I guess that
 17 Winston Peters and myself and the political parties will have to put up
 18 with for the next little while. <hhhhhhhh> ah the reality is that
 19 whether people like it or not (.2) that pee uh= parties will campaign for
 20 the policies they want, .hh National thee largest political party after
 21 election night got thirty four per cent of the ↑vote.=That doesn't form a
 22 gov'm'nt . (.6) Then you must naturally and rationally negotiate with
 23 some other party to form a gov'm'nt and that's what we've been doing
 24 over these many weeks.

At line 13, the IR prefaces his question with a strident tricolon: the new partner *berated you, insulted y'party, said you weren't fit to go:vern*. Once again, by quoting particularities of the acrimonious electioneering talk the IR detaches himself from these views and presents as not authoring, but animating them (Goffman, 1981:145). However, the IR clearly authors the balance of his turn (lines 13-14), introducing it with the contrastive adverbial, *now: now the lion and lamb are lying down together. Which one is which*. The IR's question, lines 13-15, is plainly rhetorical, in the sense that the PM cannot be expected to answer its semantic parameters. It has a strong presupposition here that one of the parties to the agreement has, for the time being, surrendered its predatory prowess, and the other has suppressed its apprehension. Furthermore, in constructing the metaphor, the IR abandons the animator footing which had enabled him to assert neutrality, and authors an extreme upshot from the coalition deal: one of the parties has surrendered more than the other. A CA account of this transition point in the adjacency pair is concerned with what

⁷⁰ This seemingly alludes to the commonly misquoted metaphor from Isaiah 11.6: 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them' (King James). However, it seems more likely that the IR refers to film director Woody Allen's postscript: 'but the lamb won't get much sleep'.

the PM decides is relevant: is it the preamble to the rhetorical question—the account of the heated language on the campaign trail—or the upshot, that is, the IR’s personally authored implicature of victor and vanquished. The PM’s hesitation (line 16) is evident in another marked pause of .7 sec accompanied by a deep in-breath, followed by the “teeth-sucking” particle *tch* which here seems to again convey his demeanour of weary forbearance of the negative commentaries he is encountering. Dismissing the question as *nonsensical* (line 16), and persevering with his explanation of how parties must negotiate, he doesn’t address the centrality of who conceded what. The PM’s response serves as an illustration of the perils for the IR in metaphoric excursions: they are easily side-stepped. It is the PM’s next sentence which again reflects the new political pragmatism: *the reality is that whether people like it or not (.2) that pee uh= parties will campaign for the policies they want* (lines 18-20). The PM’s seeming dismissal of the polis might be unintentional; he might have intended something like “whether people like the policies or not”. In the event, the IR does not orient to it. There is then an overlap following the PM’s turn completion (line 24). The IR’s (line 25) turns to the deal itself.

- 25 IR >You seem [to have made all the concessions<]
 26 JB [And It’s not it’s not it’s]not particularly relevant=
 27 y’can find a thousand quotes about me saying something about
 28 Winston Peters ‘n he >saying something me=.h< but that’s not
 29 relevant=what is important, (.2) .hhh is what we’ve agreed to do
 30 together as two political parties two political organation-
 31 organisations for New Zealand.
 32 IR (1.0) You mean all the bad blood all the insults that’s all in the past
 33 y’can now work together y’can all smile together every morning.

At line 25, the IR takes the floor at a TRP but is immediately interrupted by the PM’s determined and successful efforts to retain it (line 26). The PM’s expanded turn includes talk which is sequentially relevant to what has immediately preceded it in that he does

address the question topic, of pre-existing conflict between the two politicians and the viability of their working together. However, he addresses it in order to quarantine or dismiss it (lines 27-29) and then he overtly attempts to supplant it with a further reference to the pragmatic matrix of the new political order. The IR's eventual response is an exemplar of what I call the expository action of some follow-up questions. The PM has ended his turn (line 31) with a normal descending terminal cadence, and makes no attempt to expand on his turn, or to regain the vacant floor. What is *procedurally* relevant here in a news interview is that the IR should ask another question without delay. Instead, he takes a markedly long gap of 1.0 sec. The IR's taking a silence of this length seems to do the action of drawing RPs' attention to the previous response, or perhaps to the fact that the IR is taking a long time to formulate a new questioning action. Why that pause now? The PM's prior turn has been in two parts: he has dismissed the insults about character and performance exchanged between the two opponents during the election campaign as *not relevant*, and supplanted that topic with his own agenda. The IR responds, shaping his next turn as a B-event formulation, which asserts a gist or implication of what the prior speaker is thinking, experiencing or intending. The B-event is built on high epistemic confidence that the inferences the IR is taking cannot coherently be contradicted: *You mean all the bad blood all the insults that's all in the past y'can now work together y'can all smile together every morning*. The PM's reply doesn't deny it:

34 JB (3) That's an obligation New Zealanders imposed upon the political
 35 leadership when they voted for MMP. (.4) It happens all round the
 36 world this not unique we're not ah- .hh not particularly clever if you
 37 like in doing this-it's been happening in many many countries for many
 38 many years.

The PM answers (line 34) with a copula construction: the anaphoric *that's* binds his predicate to, and accepts, the IR's B-event proposition (lines 32-33). Not only that; the PM

again puts the burden of cause on the electorate: MMP elections were not his idea or of his making.⁷¹ The interview continues.

- 39 IR ►₂ You seem to have made thee ah thee major concessions though on
 40 policy and spending= inflation targets'v been widened there'll be
 41 changes to the employment contracts act there'll be ah extra spending
 42 social ah and educational, tax cuts deferred, ^o.hhh^o
 43 (.4) [j's whatja get-]
 44 PM [what we've]
 45 IR what did- well what did you get in return

At lines 39-45, the IR does not reject the PM's answer, but introduces the content disjunct, *though* (arrow 2) to follow up and propose that the coalition arrangement entailed the PM making *major concessions*. The PM continues, after an accidental overlap (line 44), listing those aspects of his manifesto which he has substantially preserved.

- 46 PM What we've done is to retain thee overall framework that New Zealand
 47 has been successfully operating under for the last few years—we've
 48 retained the employment contracts act, .hhh we've retained the reserve
 49 bank act, .hh we've retained the fiscal responsibility act we've retained
 50 fiscal balance in terms of the spending priorities that the g- the
 51 coalition gov'm'nt has agreed to and so on. .hh Of course there is
 52 change why do you think we were nose- negotiating for seven weeks.
 53 .hhh
 54 IR [But you]
 55 PM [That inev]itably was going to bring change-if you're gonna blend two
 56 particular policies together you're going to get change in those policies.

At line 52, the PM's question is rhetorical, evidenced by his holding on to the floor despite the IR accepting the question as a TRP and launching a turn (line 54). At line 57, the IR

⁷¹ As a major party in an essentially two-party system, Jim Bolger's National Party—and the Labour Party, too—had more to lose than gain from MMP. Under the two-party system, Bolger had been in government for 15 of his 24 years as an MP.

returns to the kernel of the interview: the incompatibility between what was said on the campaign trail and what has been agreed post-election. The IR's scepticism continues:

- 57 IR But you went to thee: ah:: country during the election campaign on
 58 virtually no change saying the best was yet to come we're going to stay
 59 rigid=we're going to [sit] tight
- 60 PM [The best] (.2) The best is yet to come. .hhh (.4) I
 61 ►₃ was talk'n to number of journalists last night and I said I'll judge
 62 whether the journalists of New Zealand and the commentators have
 63 any understanding of MMP by the questions and the adjectives they
 64 use this morning and tomorrow and next week .hh and I have to tell
 65 ►₄ you have lost so far because you are (.2) questioning me .hh on
 66 precisely the same basis if we were now in a first past the post
 67 situation. .h how can two political ↑parties come together unless there
 68 is some concessions [[sic]] an' compromise on both sides and that's
 69 exactly what we've gone through.=And that's what you should
 70 EXPECT. .hh You should be STARTLED (.3) if there's no concession
 71 and compromise because how >could it happen< one party capitulate
 72 entirely? No that didn't happen. What we did .hh was to find a
 73 common cause, .hh between the parties on a variety of issues=>very very
 74 large< number of issues and to reach what we think is a >very very good<
 75 manifesto .h port fo- (...) a manifesto document for New Zealand
- 76 IR (.4) Alright. J'st how soon before thee: gov'm'nt is functioning
 [[Interview continues briefly on timing for constitutional formation
 the government]]

The PM's response (lines 60-75 (arrow 3) sums up how the parties here co-produced 'an increment of interactional and social reality' (Schegloff, 1992:1299). It is an acknowledgement by Prime Minister Bolger of one aspect of the new political reality of MMP elections: a political leader might choose to resile from electioneering undertakings in order to form a coalition government. Indeed, the PM explicitly refers to the new context in admonishing the IR: *you have lost so far because you are (.2) questioning me .hh on precisely the same basis if we were now in a first past the post situation* (lines 65-

67). The inference to be drawn is that from now on, under the MMP electoral system, the people cannot be certain about who and what they are voting for; and in the PM's view, (line 34), it is their fault. Further, journalists and the polis should from now on *EXPECT* (line 70) election polices to be ductile, and that the RPs and media should be *STARTLED* (line 70) if they are not. This is the new intersubjectivity under the MMP electoral system.

7.3.2 Summary of Bolger: pragmatism versus cynicism

By contrast with the first interview, here the *Morning Report* IR adopts a confrontational approach from his first question, siding not with the project of the PM, but with a disillusioned, or concerned proportion of the polis. The IR's antagonistic narrative is one of cynical expediency on the part of the coalescing parties, and it obliges the PM to rebut it. The PM's narrative, of *rationally* negotiating a coalition, culminates at his lines 60-67, with an overt attack on the IR for his having *failed* to understand the new electoral order. The IR takes a .4 sec pause (line 76) as if to absorb this tectonic shift in the credibility of electioneering promises and then ratifies it with a newsmark: *Alright*. Heritage (1985) proposed that newsmark receipt tokens such as this are overwhelmingly eschewed in the news interview. Such tokens not only interpose between the IE and the principal attendees—the audience—they can also indicate IR alignment with the propositional content of the IE's talk. This undermines the IRs professional footing of neutrality.⁷² The IR's use here does seem marked, but not as agreement and alignment. Rather, it seems as if to say, “so be it, this is the new order”. As can be seen from the quantitative accounts in 6.4.2, the interview coincided with the start of escalation in tension and scepticism in

⁷² Back-channel receipt tokens occur much more frequently in the data than newsmarks. *Mmm-hnn* and variants, for example, often seem to be used to reassure the IE talking by telephone or from a remote studio that the channel is open and functioning; “mmm” and “Okay” often function as harbingers of a new topic, or a looming foreclosure of the current response. However, mmmm as affiliation/continuer is rare and marked, as seen in the Muldoon interview at 7.2.1.

political interviews on *Morning Report*, reflected in the growth in follow-up questioning, arraignment, and interruption. In this interview the only interruption is done not by the IR, but by the PM. The IR's persistence is evidenced in his arrainging evasive or delinquent responses, in sceptical follow-up questions, and in his acerbic formulations of the PM's positions (line 14-15). *Alright*. A new order seems set.

7.4 Prime Minister Jenny Shipley—September, 1999: equivocation

Less than a year after the above interview with Prime Minister Jim Bolger, difficulties in the coalition between New Zealand First and the National Party surfaced and Jim Bolger was replaced as prime minister by Jenny Shipley. Although the coalition remained formally in place, tension grew in a conflict over a central policy issue and the partnership ruptured halfway through the parliamentary term. Prime Minister Shipley dismissed the kingmaker of that first MMP coalition government, her Treasurer, Winston Peters (Boston, Church, & Pearce, 2004). The coalition agreement was moribund. Peter's own party, whose coalition with the centre right National Party had met with the disapproval of many Winston Peters supporters, splintered. By August, 1999, two months before the second MMP election, the National Party-led coalition held power with the slimmest of majorities, cobbling tenuous support from the remnants of its former coalition partner and independent MPs. It was barely able to retain confidence. In this climate PM Shipley struggled to fulfil a central undertaking of specified tax cuts averaging 5%.⁷³ Many of her confidence and supply votes were from MPs who regarded tax cuts as a threat to funding for their partisan projects and who wanted to make those projects a condition of their support for the tax cuts.

⁷³The Hansard parliamentary record of the tax cut commitment is found at:
<http://www.vdig.net/hansard/archive.jsp?y=1998&m=06&d=30&o=14&p=14> Date: 13 May, 2014

With the election looming, Jenny Shipley faces a dilemma: she needs to keep faith with her own party's ideological position on tax cuts, but she also needs to keep coalition options open with other parties. She is interviewed three years after the above interview with her predecessor, Jim Bolger. As the quantitative results show, *Morning Report* is by then undergoing marked change. During block 1996-1999, IR aggression toward evasive responses escalated. In particular, whilst there are no instances of aggravated evasion to 3P2 or higher in the 1976-1979 block and there are very few in 1986-1989, there is a suggestion of growth in the practice from then on, met by obdurate persistence by IRs. The interview exemplifies how the parties achieved that shift. We pick up the interview a few questions in. The extract centres on the indexical reference of two central expressions: the first is *the tax cuts* and the second is *pre-condition*.

- Extract 7-3 MR 1999_09_01 Shipley Tax Back-down: IR – Sean Plunket; JS – Jenny Shipley sn 151
- 1 IR Mm Prime Minister how can tax cuts be a guarantee even a- if a new
 2 National-led gov'm'nt were to be elected .hh ah if say you didn't have a
 3 ►₁ clear National majority if y' still had to negotiate. .hh surely this means
 4 the tax cuts must now become a pre- col- ah condition .hh of any
 5 coalition deal y- you would have to do.
- 6 JS►₂ Well d-tax cuts are certainly a central plank of the National
 7 Party=indeed, .HH the people with whom we work, .hh ah er support,
 8 the general direction.=it's matter of whether the bidding, (.3) .hh gets
 9 too high because of th'set of circumstances that prevail, .hhh pre-
 10 election=and I j's simply made it clear, .hh after talking to finance
 11 ministers and our caucus yesterday, .hhhh that I did not believe it- it
 12 warranted our proceeding .hh at all costs, .hh and I made that position
 13 clear last night.

The IR's question at 1-5 is in the form of a wh- (how) interrogative followed by a constraining proposition: *surely this means the tax cuts...*(arrow 1) which explicitly deploys *the* to refer to the government's undertaking to cut tax by 5%. The PM's reply is

egregiously obfuscating and addresses neither of the key parameters of IR's question: the *guarantee of the [5%] tax cuts* and the necessary entrenchment of them as a *pre-condition* in a future coalition agreement. The PM instead explains that although her potential coalition partners *support the general direction* of tax cuts, she was not prepared to negotiate quantum in getting the cuts through parliament before the election. This is a pivotal point in the trajectory of the interview: a fissure in the intersubjectivity of the parties because the PM (line 6) chooses to delete the definite article. She speaks instead of the indeterminate hyperonym *tax cuts* being a *central plank* and that potential coalition partners support that *general direction*. Notice that she makes a small stammer (arrow 2) at *d-tax*. One possible hearing of this is her starting to echo the substantive in the IR's question, *the tax cuts*, but then modifying it by omitting the article, *the*. This is an exemplar of how a superficially innocuous modification of the lexico-syntactic design of a question causes a significant rupture of its agenda. Next the PM introduces a new notion entirely: *bidding* (line 8), which she stresses and promotes to a new candidate topic, giving it a tailing gap of .3 sec. This implies that the announced tax cuts could be negotiable with a coalition partner, but not in the pre-election climate. So, whilst she gives a cogent and plausible explanation of the current obstacle, she does not address the IR's question: how can she guarantee that *the* deferred tax cuts will be implemented post-election. The PM has either misunderstood the question or has deliberately manipulated central referents to better suit her own agenda.

[S]peakers may avoid taking up and dealing with what they perfectly well know is accomplished or implicated by prior talk so as to influence the direction of the talk toward some desired objective. These occasions are common in talk and may be varyingly 'transparent' to analytic inspection. (Heritage, 1984:260)

“Deliberate misunderstanding” appears as a regular suspect for IRs.⁷⁴ The previous chapter noted that assigning some ordinal value to successive “misunderstandings” of a question was problematic for a quantitative analysis because of their varying opacity. However, a CA account of sequences like the present one can enrich understanding. The IR’s immediate concern appears to be not whether the PM’s “misunderstanding” of the question is mischievous, but rather to attempt to restore intersubjectivity. He reframes the question, and seems to do so open to the possibility that his first enunciation of it was not clear, leading to the PM’s incongruent response. In this sense his question (lines 14-15) is consistent in some respects with Schegloff’s 3rd Position Repair (1992).

14 IR Could I ask you then, .hh will these tax cuts be a pre-condition of any
15 deal (.) you might do for support .hh to form a gov’m’nt post-election.

The IR’s use of inferential *then*, followed by an in-breath, scaffolds the looming question as directly relevant to and proceeding from the prime minister’s account of her present difficulties and her commitment to tax cuts being *a central plank*. Here, *then* serves as an ellipted conditional: “if tax cuts are a central plank *then* will they be a precondition?” There appears to be nothing recriminatory or judgemental in the design and prosody of the IR’s question. However, there is an object in his question which asserts some intersubjective ground extant amongst the parties, including RPs. He uses the proximate demonstrative pronoun, *these*, which, as we saw at 3.3.3, seems to carry particular heft in sustaining or reasserting the topic in play. *These* stands on a presumption that all the parties, IR, IE and RPs, have accrued the embedded referents of *these*, not only those within the immediate interview, but exogenous referents as well. Here, for example, *these tax cuts* were presented in a parliamentary bill several weeks earlier; a deeper reference

⁷⁴ See a further exemplars at 4.3.3.

still would reach back three years to the previous election campaign, and promises which had to be deferred as mentioned in the interview with Jenny Shipley's predecessor, Jim Bolger 7.3 (lines 39-42). It seems that *these* has particular presumptive weight in radio broadcasting, where the lack of visual referents entails that linguistic indexicals are assumed to be accessible, or accrued, and sustained by the participants. Here, *these* is also imbued with a deictic attribute: one of yoking the participants, including RPs, to a common ground from which the referent is retrievable for the present parties, IR, IE and RPs. Accordingly, the PM is expected to address *these* tax cuts, which she has previously promised to legislate for. The IR's deployment of inferential *then* (arrow 3), and his stress on *will*, anticipate a clear and brief affirmative response to the yes/no question. The question is repeated here, at line 14, annotated 3P1 to indicate that it is a 3rd position repair, and the first such repair in a series.

- 14 3P1 IR Could I ask you then, .hh will these tax cuts be a pre-condition of any
 15 ►₃ deal (.) you might do for support .hh to form a gov'm'nt post-election.
 16 JS (.2) Hmnh er tax cuts, the reduction of tax as the economy grows .HH
 17 has been and continues to be a central plank of National's leadership in
 18 New Zealand. .HH we're the only party who has the record [of]
 19 IR [mm]
 20 JS I think it's four years in a row now Sean th'at we've brought
 21 [(.....for another day)]
 22 3P2 IR mm[>With respect Prime Minister this doesn't quite] answer the
 23 ►₄ question and that is < are these tax cuts a pre-condition, .hh (.2) of any
 24 coalition deal you might do post-election.

That no brief affirmative is forthcoming at line 16 is heralded by the PM's initial out-breath, followed by a small stammer. She then echoes the nominal, *tax cuts*. Echoing lexis is commonly an affiliative or cooperative design feature in successive turns at talk, binding talk to the prior. Whilst the PM ostensibly displays that she is "doing answering", echoing

here feigns cooperation whilst again evading the specific, quantified cuts to which the IR has been referring. She again uses a hyperonym, the superordinate, generalised *tax cuts*, not addressing the referent of *these*. She then adds a condition, *as the economy grows*, couples this to *a central plank of National's leadership*, and embarks on a promotion of her party's record of *I think it's four years in a row now Sean*.⁷⁵ This incremental stepwise excursion from the question agenda is a common stratagem in evasive responding in the news interview (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b) and here, whilst leaving the question agenda orphaned, it unilaterally proposes an irrelevant substitute topic. At line 19 the IR makes an audible, overlapping interjection, *mm*. It is a feature of this IR's style that his *mm* receipt tokens usually indicate that the IE's talk has accountably veered off topic and that he is about to foreclose on the speaker, which he does. He repeats the harbinger, *mm* (line 22), and interrupts with a quickly spoken and assertive, *With respect Prime Minister this doesn't quite answer the question*. This is annotated 3P2, and marks the third iteration of the question. Far from a deferential and formally courteous address, this is audible as an ostentatiously over-polite overture (Watts, 2003). It is delivered with a raised voice and at speed; the assertion that the PM *doesn't quite answer the question* is plainly ironic litotes. It is an egregious example of what I have previously termed an exposition of the IE's delinquency. Having seized the floor with exaggerated politeness, the IR has also given account of his warrant for doing so, to the effect that so far, the question having already been put twice, neither he nor the RPs yet know whether *these* tax cuts will be locked into a future coalition agreement. He then puts the question a third time. Whilst his first repeat of the question, at what Schegloff terms the 3rd position (lines 14-15), makes no complaint about the PM's first default (allowing that it could have been a mistaken understanding of

⁷⁵ See Clayman (2010) for a discussion on the use of first name address terms as a disaffiliative strategy.

the question) his third putting of the question, 3P2, (lines 22-24) is intolerant. It does at least four actions. First, it interrupts, an action which carries a burden of accountability. Second, by using *with respect Prime Minister*, a highly stylised and prominent marker of impending disagreement, he acknowledges not only the social heft of his action, but he also frames the agency accompanying the IE's status; that is to say, the IR categorises the IE as *Prime Minister*, and therefore potentiated to answer yes or no, as mandated by the question. Third, the IR specifies his reason for interrupting the PM—her delinquency in not addressing the question. Finally, he puts the question for a third time. He has spoken quickly to seize the floor, but now reverts to a deliberative pace for the question. Notice that the IR adds stress to *pre-condition*, (arrow 4) which he also delivers with a continuing intonation, indicated by the comma. He adds additional prominence to *pre-condition* by taking an in-breath and a .2 sec pause after it. The interview continues. Again, the IR's turn (lines 22-24) is repeated.

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 22 | IR | mm[>With respect Prime Minister this doesn't quite] answer the |
| 23 | | question and that is< are these tax cuts a pre-condition, .hh (.2) of any |
| 24 | | coalition deal you might do post-election. |
| 25 | PM | Ar Er If you're asking me the question whether I'd expect tax cuts to be |
| 26 | | a central plank, .HHH of any agreement of course the answer is yes. |

The PM's response at line 25 is an example of blatantly and unilaterally reformulating the question, one of only 30 overt agenda substitutions in the entire sample of some 1,400 responses. The IR has now asked about *the/these tax cuts* as a *pre-condition* of a coalition deal three times, and for the third time the PM declines affirmation. Here, she ignores *pre-condition* and says she would *expect* that generalised *tax-cuts* would be a policy *plank*. Whilst it might be a policy principle, *plank* is now known to be susceptible to the termite predations of coalition partners. Her *of course the answer is yes* once again feigns a

preferred, crisp and unequivocal affirmative; but it responds to a question of her own formulation, and one which favours her own project. The terminal, assertive, tone on her *yes* passes the floor to the IR, but he allows a marked gap of .7 sec. Why this pause now? One interpretation is that the IR is waiting for a response to his question, which has not been given, and indeed the PM has given previous, recidivist indications that she will not; another is that the IR leaves the silence to exposit the delinquent response. We saw the same device used in the previous interview with Prime Minister Jim Bolger 7.3 (line 31).

Then, for the fourth time, the IR frames the *pre-condition* question:

- 27 3P3 IR (.7) A pre-condition that y'- you wouldn't [negotiate?]
 28 JS [I don't know] what you put
 29 me in [[sic]] by pre-condition Sean [I mean-
 30 3P4 IR [Well what I'm saying is would you
 31 form- er would you trade away these tax cuts to form a coalition that
 32 would give National, .hh er the reins of- [er]of power [po]st-election.
 33 JS [th'] [th'] The
 34 reduction of tax, (.3) has been a central plank of the National Party's
 35 leadership in New Zealand .hh and will be continuing to be a central
 36 plank .hh as our economy grows and that choice is available. .hh we
 37 have guaranteed three things. .hh as the economy grows and surpluses
 38 are available we'll pay off debt, we'll increase social spending .hh and
 39 we'll j' we'll reduce the tax burden on New Zealanders..hh that is a
 40 central position, .hh of the New Zealand National Party's ah campaign
 41 strategy, it's been our performance over the last three years and it most
 42 certainly will continue to be so.

The PM's response (lines 28-29) is the first time she orients to the focus of each of the IR's last four questions, that is, to *specified tax-cuts* as a *pre-condition* of a coalition deal. When she does so, however, it is done by interrupting, and to claim that she doesn't know what the IR means by *pre-condition*.

The claim that *I don't know what you put me in* [[sic]] *by pre-condition Sean* (line 29) lacks credibility coming from the leader of a political party. Her disalignment with the topic, now at its fourth iteration, is exacerbated by her gratuitous use of the first name address term, *Sean*. Clayman observes that whereas the use of first-names terms in ordinary conversation is generally affiliative, and signals who the talk is aimed at, in the news interview IE use of vocatives is redundant because the addressee is preselected (2010). This invites the question of what function the addressee term serves. Clayman determined that, most commonly, the use of a first-name by IE signals imminent disalignment—either disagreement with the proposition in a question, or an intention to switch topic. Elsewhere he noted that it is ‘a highly recurrent practice across various forms of resistance’ (Clayman, 2001: n4). Discussing the same practice, Rendle-Short observed that cases like the PM’s use here also serve to draw attention to the social distance between the IE as Prime Minister and *Sean* as journalist: he cannot reciprocate with “Jenny” (2007).

Irritability is now evident in the interview, seen in the IR’s taking the floor, at line 30; although this is not in interruption, but an accidental overlap at a TCU, he does not yield when the PM continues past the TRP. This turn (labelled 3P4) is the IR’s fifth iteration of the substantive question. Once again the PM evades it, and reverts to her trope about policy planks and tax cuts being made, again hedging the commitment with *as our economy grows*. She adds the further hedge *and that choice is available*. At this point, the IR desists and introduces a new topic.

7.4.1 Summary of Shipley: enlightened equivocation

The scenario above could be exemplified in Sir Robin Day’s comment about obduracy on the part of IEs whose modus is

to repeat what you have to say – to ignore the questions ... the interviewer can only get on with it by – by uh –he can't suggest the person concerned is telling an untruth – there's a limit to the amount he can go on asking the same question. (1986)

The IR's desisting after the PM's fifth failure to answer the question reflects a practical judgement shared by other IRs:

I asked the question three times. I don't have a gun that I can bring out and say, either you answer this question or I shoot. There's nothing else I can do. And if you haven't deduced from his failure to answer the same question three times over that this is a question which for some reason he finds it [sic] inconvenient, difficult, impossible or to which he has no answer then there's nothing more I can do for you. David Dimbleby, BBC TV commentator, cited by Romaniuk (2013:159)

Certainly, as the above interview shows, since the advent of the proportional representation system, and what Jim Bolger called the *inevitability of coalition government that came with it* (Extract 7-2), party leaders have compelling political reasons to avoid rigid positions which might compromise their ability to form a government. Whilst firm principles might be laudable, ductile principles make more political sense. Above, Jenny Shipley gives an implicit account of that central tenet: do not make promises you may not be able to keep in an MMP environment. The interview is also a vivid illustration of a public figure persisting on message (Ekström & Fitzgerald, 2013). Jenny Shipley's obduracy, and the IR's determined resistance to it, together expand the boundary of politic behaviour in *Morning Report* (Watts, 2003). Although he interrupts the PM only once, the IR challenges her repeated evasion five times, before changing topic, effectively pronouncing, "I rest my case". By comparison, the deference shown toward a prime minister 20 years earlier, seen in 7.2, is an historic, even quaint, cultural artefact.

7.5 Prime Minister John Key—November, 2009: *You interrupted me twice*

The final study is from an interview with Prime Minister John Key, 10 years after the above interview with Jenny Shipley, 30 years after the interview with Robert Muldoon, and one year into Key's first term. The interview was broadcast as a conventional "first-year review" which, along with "the first 100 days", is one of the regular liturgies between political leaders and media in western democracies. It is a lengthy interview in the context of breakfast radio but we consider only the first four minutes because they illuminate one of the chief quantitative results: the escalation in interruption seen at 6.2.7. Compelling evidence was found that, whilst there were no interruptions in the first block from 1976-1979, the practice had become almost normative by 2008 in the arraignment of deficient responses. Here we see a qualitative account of the sort of interview which contributed to that escalation. Interruptions by the IR are arrowed.

- Extract 7-4 MR 2009_11_06 Key One Year: IR – Sean Plunket; JK – John Key sn 122
- 1 IR Ah Have you achieved as much as you wanted to ah since a year further
2 on since election night.
- 3 JK (0.6) I think so given: the conditions we inherited er one of the major
4 things the government wanted to do was keep faith with the voters
5 and that was our one hundred day programme 'n .h we've achieved that
6 and I think that's been good news
- 7 IR Just refresh ar- ar- our memories for that=what did you achieve in that
8 hundred days?
- 9 JK (0.2)Whole range of things a: billion dollars' worth of tax cuts
10 delivered in April,
- 11 IR ►₁ =But you've since reneged of course on the second tranche of tax cutsi
- 12 JK Yeah it's not in the one hundred days um but we went right through
13 (.....) R M A reform ah Herceptin fully funded in New Zealand
14 National Standards introduced if you look in the
15 [.....]

- 16 IR▶₂ [Well National Standards] controversially introduced and still under
 17 quite some debate (0.5) [from] principals and teachers
- 18 JK [Well] the fact that
 19 some people don't like it doesn't mean it's not going to make a
 20 dramatic change to lifting literacy and numeracy standards in New
 21 Zealand and I think that we're sitting there as a government saying
 22 [.....(long time waiting).....]
- 23 IR▶₃ [Okay well okay okay but let's (save it for the policies debate)]
- 24 JK [.....]
- 25 IR [What else in the hundred days]
- 26 JK Literacy and numeracy standards
 27 [(we actually proving that]
- 28 IR▶₄ [What else in the hundred days What else in the hundred days]

The first object of interest is IR's turn at line 7: *Just refresh our memories ar- ar- our memories for that=what did you achieve in that hundred days?* This seems to be designed with a degree of artifice, because the government's actions have been a matter of well-cavassed public record. It functions as an exam question, that is a question which seeks not information, but rather probes the IE's memory or candour (Levinson, 1979). The question invites the PM to put forward his account of what he has achieved to be compared with the views of the attending parties, as represented by the IR.

That the PM's account will not go unchallenged is evident 3 sec into his first substantive response from line 9. The IR's interruptive challenge (line 11) comes just 1.2 sec after the nominal. Although there is no overlapping talk, the PM has been invited to list his achievements, and he projects that he intends to do so, with *Whole range of things* at line 9, then he immediately embarks on his list of achievements, leading with *billion dollars' worth of tax cuts delivered in April*. His *April* has a continuing inflection marked by the comma, indicating his intention to retain the floor and continue with his list, as he

was invited to do. His turn is not complete and there is no TRP when the IR interrupts to challenge the accuracy of the PM's proposition.⁷⁶ This is an aggressive move, and puts the PM, and RPs, on notice that the IR will not tolerate self-serving blandishment without challenge. The PM concedes the IR's critique, then itemises three more things, the third of which, *National Standards* (a reference to education standards) is also challenged by interruption at line 16. Already, by line 28, there seems to be a pattern emerging whereby the IR invites further achievements from the PM in order to challenge their validity.

- 28 IR ▶₄ [What else in the hundred days What else in the hundred days]
- 29 JK .hh Oh well we'll go right through I mean in law and order, .hh a: D N A
 30 (.) on the spot protection orders a: tasers, the roll out of ar more- more
 31 police. Ar go and have look in health ah bonding for .hhh doctors
 32 nurses ar midwives» y'know « very very successful programme there
 33 (0.4) um ↑ y-you can go through a whole- a whole range of things but
 34 w-we committed to a programme and we've honoured that=but I think
 35 the point Sean is we came in to (0.4) government (0.6) at a time where
 36 the economic conditions were arguably the worst ar since the Great
 37 Depression and I think the main thing we've done actually is steady the
 38 ship= navigated our way through the (0.6) there were
 [those]
- 39 IR ▶₅ [Yeah] Okay but you say steadied the ship=I look at Richard Worth
 39 gone .hhhh after weeks and weeks of political ar-(0.5) ar- tooing and
 40 froing .hh I look at Bill English and the housing problems that have
 41 occurred there
 42 [hh I look um I look at at Nic Smith introducing ACC
- 43 JK [Yeah (.....)]
- 44 IR [without the numbers to pass it]
- 45 JK [(.....) yeah].

⁷⁶ This is a good illustration of the way in which CA guided the coding of interruption: interruption does not necessarily entail overlapping talk; nor does overlapping talk entail interruption.

46 IR And I look at the Maori Television Service debacle .hhh um do you
 47 think that's what—er d o you think that was being stable government
 48 JK They're incredibly minor issues if you put them in the context of a an
 49 economic recession ar which was ar there and threatening and
 50 challenging the livelihood of every New Zealander and we're gonna
 51 come through this recession we've come out of it faster (0.5) ar there
 52 were predictions that unemployment could be ten or eleven percent
 53 .hh we now got (0.2) a situation we the Reserve Bank has rolled the
 54 peak ex- expectation for unemployment to six point eight per cent
 55 .hhh and we have the treasury ah very likely to come in with a
 56 prediction .hhh not much more than seven per cent ahm=so I think if
 57 you look at that that's been pretty good,=we've come out much quicker
 58 than people thought=we grew in the second quarter and expectations
 59 are we'll grow in third and fourth quarter much more strongly .hhh um
 60 and certainly we could've been in the position where .hhh if we'd done
 61 what some wanted to do and slash and burn then we would have
 62 driven much deeper recession in New Zealand (0.3) .hhh if we'd gone
 63 the other way and spent a lot more money we would have encumbered
 64 future generations with a lot more in terms of- of- of ah of expenses
 65 and debt, (0.3) .hhh ar so I think you know we- you know these have
 66 not been easy conditions around the world and if you contrast that
 67 with a lot of other countries I think New Zealand's done [pretty well]

Over lines 39-47, the IR challenges the claim of stable government listing ministers who had embarrassing lapses, and poor judgement by a state-owned television service. The PM's response is first, to simply dismiss them as *incredibly minor issues*, and to then overtly supplant that topic with his own agenda—his trope of guiding the country through a recession. The IR allows this agenda change, but then makes a departure from the interview format with a speculative assessment of the PM's political modus:

68 IR ▶₆ [So you say]
 69 you've done well under the circumstances .hhh ah we will be recovery
 70 for the next year in fact one would hope for the remainder o- o- o- of
 71 your term in government (0.2) .hhh so if you like there is not that
 72 excuse to say there's been a limit on what we're been to achieve (0.7) I
 73 wonder if the ka- comments of Rodney Hide, whether or not they have
 74 been retracted do not point to the fact that some ah might be
 75 frustrated at an apparent lack of if you like a reform programme-the
 76 fact that you seem in many ways to be classically conservative .hh and
 77 that is if there isn't clear public support for something err y- you won't
 78 do it- and I look or example .hhh there has been no real fundamental
 79 change to the tax system so far or any indications that you're gonna to
 80 make fundamental changes to the tax system

Although such lengthy, discursive question turns (lines 68-80) are uncommon in breakfast radio, and usually associated with longer form discussion programmes, the agenda here seems comfortably within the scope of an interview presented as a review of the PM's first year. The IR's tone is ruminating (*I wonder if*, line 72-73) and conversational, and he makes some effort to shift footing, presenting the opinions, not as his, but of *some* who *might be frustrated at an apparent lack of if you like a reform programme*, and that the PM has emerged as *classically conservative*. The PM's response is uncharacteristically brusque, as though the IR has touched a sensitive issue. At this point, the interview takes a dramatic turn, with the PM making an explicit, but long-delayed complaint:

81 JK mm. Firstly just as I started reading out the list of those achievements
 82 you interrupted me twice which shows you that you are
 83 fundamentally- there's such a long list you don't want to let me get
 84 through it so if you want me to fill up the rest of programme with all
 85 the things we've achieved, we can do that
 86 [.....]
 87 IR ▶₇ [I- I'm sorry] I asked you a question Mister Key do you want to answer
 88 it or not

- 89 JK ↑No no I'm happy to answer it [Sean=I (just...)]
- 90 IR ►₈ [Okay well my] question was- I'll put it
- 91 for you again .hh just so we can continue the interview my question
- 92 was do you think perhaps y- you might be actually acting as a
- 93 classically conser[vative]
- 94 JK [why] don't we cut to the chase. The answer to that
- 95 question is no .h and the economic conditions that we've had they've
- 96 been very difficult conditions and not a lot'v room to move and very
- 97 fragile international environment=now .hh we've atchilly achieved that
- 98 an' I think we c'n be very- very proud of that in one year. [[continues]]>

The trajectory of the interview from line 81 presents a remarkable culmination of the changes in the relationship between public figures and the media. At line 87, the IR interrupts the PM's complaint about the IR's interrupting! The design of his turn invites close attention. The action of interruption asserts that the interrupter's interposing talk is more important to the RPs than the emergent talk of the current floor-holder. [*I- I'm sorry*] *I asked you a question Mister Key do you want to answer it or not.* The formulaic *I'm sorry* acts to annul, or quarantine, the PM's complaint as irrelevant, and also to preface his warrant for interrupting: *I asked you a question Mister Key do you want to answer it or not.* In fact, there is no syntactic interrogative in the IR's previous long turn (lines 68-80); it is a confection of 1st and reported 3rd party statements, inviting comment about the PM being *classically conservative*. When the PM (line 89) agrees to comply, the IR again interrupts, for the eighth time in the interview. Whilst this instance might be seen in the transcript as an accidental terminal overlap, the PM's prosody, including his stress on *answer* suggests the IR's action is an impatient and aggressive interruption. The IR states (line 90-91) *Okay well my question was- I'll put it for you again .hh just so we can continue the interview.* The markedly implicative adjunct of purpose, *just so we can continue the interview*, carries a threat that if the question is not resolved the interview will

terminate. For this IR, the threat is not hollow; he has terminated many interviews when confronted by aggravated evasion.⁷⁷ The interview continues in this adversarial way for several minutes, but eventually resolves with the IR's acknowledgement of the PM's popularity.

7.5.1 Summary of Key: interruption as established praxis

The PM's complaint (lines 81-82) is explicit evidence of how participants accrue context, and reference it to establish and maintain relevance for what is about to be said. Here the PM reaches back over three minutes into the interview for the source of his complaint. Why the delay? What makes his complaint relevant now? One possible interpretation is that the alert to the IR's earlier trespasses of interruption draws attention to the PM's equanimity—up to a point, which could be seen as having now been reached. I have referred previously to IRs highlighting, or expositing the IEs' trespasses; here, Prime Minister Key's talk could be heard as doing the same, and in doing so, inviting attention to the PM's patience. The IR's interruption of the PM's complaint, and his scarcely veiled threat to terminate the interview, stand as compelling evidence not only of mounting intolerance of deficient responses, but also of the changing relationship, and diminishing social distance, between the IRs on *Morning Report* and public figures.

7.6 Chapter summary

The thesis has approached the news interview as a contest over the flow of information. Flow entails time; controlling the agenda entails controlling not only what topics prevail but how much time is spent on them, either by the IR allocating time and foreclosing if necessary on time used by the IE, or by the IE commandeering time. Each of the above

⁷⁷ See, for example 3.3.2

interviews, whilst informing the quantitative results, also illuminates how the participants negotiated—and contested—both topic and time and how the practices have changed. The first example, from 1979 with Prime Minister Rob Muldoon, exemplifies the presumptive authority imposed then by senior politicians on the interview agenda, knowing that they are unlikely to be challenged, as shown in the quantitative results at Figure 6-16. Indeed, the IR's absence of resistance to Muldoon's appropriation of the agenda seems ingratiating and obsequious from a standpoint of 2014. Eighteen years after the Muldoon interview there remains a residual presumption of agenda setting by Jim Bolger, who did his apprenticeship under Muldoon. Jim Bolger (Extract 7-2 line 26) interrupts to unilaterally assert that the IR's agenda, probing previous acrimony between the parties and cynical expediency, is not *relevant*. He asserts what the agenda should be, tacitly claiming authority, or privilege to do so, and attacking the IR on the way: *you have lost* (Extract 7-2 line 65). Nevertheless that interview well reflects the quantitative results of block 1996-1999: the IR challenges with robust follow-up questions and acerbic formulations of the implications of the PM's position. Yet he does not interrupt to do so; the only interruption in that interview is by the PM, as was also the case in the first interview with Rob Muldoon. The qualitative account of the Bolger interview also reveals IRs' rising epistemic confidence: here, the IR uses colourful and biting metaphors to formulate the PM's decisions. The quantitative account reflects how mounting IR epistemic authority and agency converts to intolerance of evasive and delinquent responses.

Three years later, in 1999, Jim Bolger's successor, Jenny Shipley, steadfastly refuses to commit to a previous election promise about tax cuts, with a strong implication that to do so might compromise her ability to coalesce with other parties to form a government after the looming election. Her blatant refusal to address the question agenda is challenged four times, without success, but without immediate penalty. This extended sequence is a good example of the CA tenet that these achievements are the joint products of both IR

and IE. She could not have evaded a question five times unless it was put five times. There cannot be a recycling of a 3rd position repair (3P2) unless there has been an initiating 3rd position repair (3P1). There is no evidence in the sample of such an egregious development in praxis before this interview. At some time, probably in the late 1980s, perseverant questioning became an available praxis. Finally, and in contrast, the interview with Prime Minister Key is an exemplar of the burgeoning preparedness of IRs to interrupt deficient responses and to curtail abruptly those responses judged to be wandering off the question agenda. Furthermore, the sequence of interruptive IR moves in this interview culminates in the IR's threat, regardless of the IE's status, to terminate the interview. A datum of change in praxis in *Morning Report* is found between the Shipley and Key interviews: Sean Plunket is the IR in both; despite Jenny Shipley's flagrant and obdurate refusal to answer in the face of Sean Plunket's questioning she incurred no immediate consequences. Ten years later, the same IR, having interrupted Prime Minister Key eight times, threatened to terminate the interview for a much slighter trespass than Jenny Shipley's refusals.

The turn-by-turn, moment-by-moment increments in praxis, seen in the above interviews nudge at the politic frame: proscribed in the past, some actions, such as interrupting, become normal, even normative. The introduction to this chapter quoted Heritage on the CA precept that institutions such as the domain of this study are '*ultimately and accountably talked into being*' (1984:290). I propose that not only are such institutions talked into being, they are also evidently and inevitably self-modifying.

Further Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I draw together the conclusions reached in individual chapters and propose their ramifications. The study is then placed in the context of the research and theory discussed in Chapter 2, and some later research from related fields. We see how it departs from previous work and suggests avenues for further research. I comment on methodological aspects and suggest avenues for further exploration, from both exegetic and applied CA approaches. I also suggest possible avenues for further research based in, or in conjunction with, other disciplines.

The thesis was based on the hypothesis that the news interview has become more adversarial over time. It is a view supported by lay, practitioner and some academic opinion. Unpicking the term *adversarial* suggested testing, first, the constraint of questioning by IRs; second, evasion of questions by IEs and, finally, persistence in response to evasion by IRs to see how these changed over time. While extensive quantitative research informed by CA in the questioning of US presidents (Clayman et al., 2006) made important contributions to the quantification of constraining question design, neither that nor a suite of related papers addressed presidents' responses. Related quantitative work from the disciplines of DA and SP studied small samples of contestative responses and interruption, however this body of work was set in the highly specialised field of election campaigns (Beattie, 1982; Bull, 1994; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Bull & Mayer, 1993). Therefore at the inception of the present study in 2010 it appeared that there was no diachronic investigation of the quotidian news interview as sustained sequences of questions and responses. This was the context which suggested the research questions:

1. How do interviewers constrain their questions, has this changed over time, and if so how?
2. How do interviewees evade questions, has this changed over time, and if so how?
3. How do interviewers deal with evasive responses by interviewees, has this changed over time, and if so how?
4. What conclusions can be drawn about changes, if any, in the relationship between public figures, journalists and audiences in this domain?

8.2 Finding: research questions one and two

Chapter 5 showed conclusively in respect of research questions one and two that there have been no significant changes in either the linguistic design of constraining questions, or in the propensity of IRs to ask particularly constraining questions, such as negative interrogatives. Further, there was no evidence that IEs had shown a greater inclination to evade questions over time. This raised a sharp dichotomy between the perceptions reported in the introduction and the statistical results.

The data collection and database design provided for meta-analysis of interviews by duration, and by the number of pairs. This analysis showed that, over the period, interviews got longer and there were more Q–R pairs. Since the proportions of constraining questions and evasive responses have not changed, the metadata implied that participants, including the RPs, were exposed not to a higher proportion of adversarial talking within interviews, but to a greater quantum of adversarial interaction. It turned out that the *number* of evaded questions roughly doubled over the period. Given that the vast majority of the interviews occurred in the hour between 7:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. we can infer that a greater proportion of that hour was taken up by constraining questions and evasive responses. This is a finding distinct from the intuitive perceptions that IRs have designed their questions with more constraint and IEs have become more evasive.

In respect of questioning, however, this result appears to show a sharp departure from trends of increasing aggression found in the questioning of US presidents shown by Clayman et al. (2006) and considered at 2.6.1. This is discussed further below at 8.5.2.

8.3 Finding: research question three—IR persistence

Chapter 6 established overwhelmingly that IRs' intolerance of evasion, and their willingness to persist with follow-up questions steadily mounted over the period ($p < .0001$). Three indicators of persistence were investigated: IRs' propensity to arraign deficient responses; IRs' willingness to press follow-up questions, and finally, their willingness to interrupt the IE in order to press either of those actions.

8.3.1 Arraignment and interruption of deficient responses

In 1976-1979 there was a 24% probability that an evasive response would be arraigned; by 2008-2011 that had risen to 74%. Whilst this curve plateaued at 1996-1999 (73%), suggesting the likelihood of "peak arraignment", it was accompanied by an astounding escalation in the practice of interruption. There were no interruptions of evasive responses in the sample from 1976-1979. By 2008-2011, however, there was a 51% chance that the IR would arraign an emergent evasive response by interrupting it. The result is highly significant with $p < .000001$.

8.3.2 Follow-up questions

Accompanying the inflation in intolerance toward evasive responses was the highly significant growth in the posing of follow-up questions. In 1976-1979 IEs spent about 17% of their interview time defending, or addressing the implications of answers. By 2008-2011, that had risen to 44%, a factor of 2.6. Although follow-up questions are not proposed as an indicator of aggression, they are a measure of IRs' willingness to hold a public figure

to account by pressing for supplementary detail, explanation, or justification. It turns out to be a highly significant result of the study because, although it does not directly address the central questions, it bears upon the over-arching enquiry about changes in the way we “do democracy” and the public accountability of political, industrial and institutional leaders. Whilst the growth in IRs’ propensity to ask follow-up questions is not a measure of evasion by IE, or intolerance by IRs, it is a measure of IRs’ epistemic grounding, agency and willingness to pursue intersubjectivity on the part of RPs. The results show that in block 1976-1979 IEs had an 80% chance that their responses would be unimpeded and unchallenged, and that the next question would be a new topic. By the end of the sample span, IEs could expect to spend almost half their interview time defending, correcting or explaining responses. IRs displayed more knowledge of topic and context, and more willingness to ask what a well-informed RP would want. I propose possible reasons for this at 8.6 and 8.7.

8.4 Question four: shrinking social distance between IRs and public figures

The quantitative results above can be interpreted as an escalation in both IRs aptitude and agency. Aptitude is used in the sense of IRs being more knowledgeable and more able to assess the congruence of a response, and to see its implications; agency is used in the sense that the IR is both willing and warranted to arraign IEs’ delinquent responses—including by interruption—to challenge them, and to pursue the implications of their responses. The quantitative accounts, however, cannot describe the social interactions which produced the “numbers”. Chapter 7 comprised CA examinations of interviews with four prime ministers from the span of the data. Each interview was presented as fairly representative of the practices of its time. Originally, they were not chosen because they were with prime

ministers, and indeed, in the original selection one of the four candidates was not. It was decided to supplant the odd one with another prime minister since that would provide a kind of control for considering changing deference and social distance inherent in the interviews. The analyses show a remarkable progression over time in diminishing deference toward senior politicians. It is evidenced by several qualitative indicators. The first interview is characterised on the one hand by rampant appropriation of the agenda by Prime Minister Muldoon and his gratuitous ad hominem jibes at a miscellany of opponents; on the other, the CA analysis reveals what appears as obsequy and ingratiation on the part of the IR who makes no complaint, nor attempts to bring the prime minister back on agenda. On the contrary, the IR uses agreement tokens, seemingly aligning with the prime minister's project. Two decades later, clines in vanishing deference and soaring persistence on the part of IRs are evident. Alongside the quantitative evidence of mounting willingness to interrupt, and perseverance in doing so, we see the use of B-event statements ascribing motive, or negative characteristics to the prime minister. He is asked to defend the proposal that he led the prostitution of his party to form a coalition, and that he succumbed to a former opponent in coalition negotiations. The quantitative account cannot give a sense of the face threats inherent in these propositions, and the shrinking social distance between IR and IE. We see follow-up questions framed from confident epistemic ground, and willingness to draw RPs' attention to the IE's recalcitrance in evading questions.

Whilst the quantitative analyses give a bald count of instances of IE evasion, they do not and cannot give a sense of the accretions of social trespass done by perseverant evasion in the face of persistent questioning. In the remarkable interview with Prime Minister Jenny Shipley represented at 7.4, she evades the same straightforward question five times.

The CA account of that interview illuminates the contrived use of address terms by both parties—the exaggerated, perhaps disingenuous, politeness of the IR (*with respect Prime Minister*) and the PM’s condescendingly familiar use of the IR’s first-name, *Sean*. The PM’s feigned misunderstandings of the repeated question do not seem adequately represented in the quantitative account. Finally, the CA analyses show the availability in the last decade of the IR’s ultimate weapon: the threat to foreclose an interview with Prime Minister John Key if he does not answer a question. Such an action is rare, and of course has no quantitative significance, but its deployment here, in the aggravating context of eight interruptions of the prime minister by the IR, is compelling evidence that the resource was privileged in 2009, and that the IR is prepared to use it.

8.5 Discussion in the context of the literature

8.5.1 The study in the present research context

The literature review noted that whilst CA research was increasingly confident about quantification of questioning practices, there had been no quantitative research to date on responses. Here I propose that this study is evidence that that confidence can now be extended to quantitative studies of responses, and hence, to entire interviews.

At the outset of the project in 2010, there was no like research apparent in the literature, that is, a CA diachronic study of the news interview in one broadcast programme. As far as I am aware, that remains the case. Ekström et al. (Ekström et al., 2012), reviewed at 2.8.2, studied 12 Swedish political interviews over three elections, but the study was less about time-variation than bias related to the changing roles of IEs over time. The early exegetic work from a CA ground (Clayman, 1988, 1992, 1993; Greatbatch, 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1988; Heritage, 1985) was based on a broad sample of interviews from public and private television news programmes in the UK and US. Early quantitative

studies (Beattie, 1982; Beattie, Cutler, & Pearson, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Bull & Mayer, 1993; Harris, 1991a) were largely from related disciplines, such as DA, and were confined to small samples of interviews with political leaders during election campaigns. The first, and ground-breaking, CA quantitative study of the news interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c) was of press conferences with Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan. That study and the subsequent suite of studies of a half century of White House press conferences were confined to questions. More recent work has continued the exegetic exploration of responses and, to some degree persistence, by both IRs and IEs (Ekström & Fitzgerald, 2013; Romaniuk, 2013). In Chapter 2, we recounted Clayman and Heritage's concerns with identifying evasion—a precursor to quantifying: 'Evasiveness is an elusive phenomenon, and its analysis is fraught with conceptual pitfalls' (2002a:241).

The present study seems to remain unique for several reasons: first, it is overwhelmingly based on CA analyses of original sound recordings of complete interviews and their interactive trajectories of questions and responses—that is, in CA terms, on adjacency pairs and their procedural consequentiality; second, it is set in the tightly defined domain of one breakfast radio news programme; third, it spans the four decade life of the programme; fourth, many of the participants—both IRs and IEs—have a sustained presence over some years. Perhaps most remarkably, one participant, anchor Geoff Robinson, was with the programme for 39 years until his retirement in April, 2014.

The domain offers several other stable parameters. These include the time of day, interview duration, and regular IRs. In respect of IRs it turns out that half of the sampled 200 interviews were conducted by one of four interviewers.

We recounted in Chapter 2 that Schegloff was chiefly concerned about three things in respect of quantification: the identification and stability of the domain, or universe, of

the interaction; the recognition of numerators (here, questions and “answers”); and finally, identification of the appropriate denominator, or the “slot” in which one would expect to find a particular type of numerator. We can identify four distinct features of this study which address Schegloff’s (1993) concerns: first, the large number of original recordings showing ‘massive’ and ‘overwhelming’ trends, which of course are aggregations of identified instances; second, the close CA analyses of the social actions done; third, the coding of questions and responses informed by those analyses and fourth, the stable parameters of the domain listed above. In my view, these parameters have combined to provide confidence in the coding of responses that Clayman et al. argued for coding questions ‘with some confidence that the things we are counting ...have the social meaning we are attributing to them’.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, this is not to say that a quantitative study such as the present one can be applied to any institutional domain. There is an eclecticism about *Morning Report*, and sibling programmes in Anglo democracies, which distinguishes them from other talk-in-interaction institutions, such as courts of law, doctor-patient interviews and, indeed, the presidential news conference. Its eclectic complexion arises from both the miscellany of quotidian topics, and the accompanying plurality of IEs. This mix, of diverse topics and many IEs, stands in a polar contrast to that of the presidential press conference studies of Clayman and colleagues. Whereas in the presidential studies any one of several hundred diverse IRs asks one or perhaps two questions each in a conference, there are only nine presidents in the survey. We can infer that a study of presidents’ *responses*, seeking to establish diachronic trends in compliance or evasiveness, would be deeply fraught. This is

⁷⁸ Personal correspondence, April 2014.

because there appears to be no principled way to distinguish between an individual president's style and a diachronic trend in presidential responding behaviour. This might explain why 12 years after their first presidential study (Clayman & Heritage, 2002c) and eight years after the larger study (Clayman et al., 2006) there appears no quantitative study of presidents' responses.

8.5.2 A watershed in the late 1990s

Whilst the research approaches are distinct, a useful calibration can be made between this study and two other quantitative studies covering IR praxis, all of which showed a spike in aggression in the late 1990s. Clayman et al. (2006) found evidence of "peak aggression" by IRs during the Reagan administrations (1981-1989) and then a dip to pre-Reagan levels during the Bush (Snr) administration (1989-1993). However, there was another surge of aggressiveness during the Clinton years with a new peak in adversarialness at the end of the second Clinton administration in 1997-2000 (Clayman et al., 2006). In the UK, Tolson, from a DA perspective, reported a similar watershed in BBC political interviews in 1997 (2012). He found a distinct step-up in the density of questions (more and shorter questions), and in more opinionated, assertive propositions by IRs. My study has found that arraignment peaked and plateaued from the period 1996-1999 and that the surge in IR interruption—a further marker of aggressive interviewing—started sometime after 1996 and probably around 1999.

There are, of course, distinct and independent accompanying socio-political contexts in the three domains. In the US, the Clinton peak coincided with investigations into his alleged sexual peccadillos; in the BBC interview programmes, the forceful Jeremy Paxman brought a style which contrasted with the equally probing, but more discursive approach of his predecessor, David Dimbleby. I have argued in the present study that "peak

aggression” in New Zealand was catalysed by the advent of the proportional representation electoral system and the new political pragmatism that accompanied it. Political leaders needed to avoid unequivocal positions in order to retain “wobble room” in coalition negotiating talks. The interviews with Jim Bolger and Jenny Shipley offer compelling evidence of that.

However, I propose that tectonic shifts in information technology accompanied these peaks, and were possibly co-relative to them.

8.6 Information technology

Regardless of their local socio-political environments, the spikes in aggressive or adversarial IR practice here, and in the studies in the UK and US referred to above, all coincided with exponential advances in communication technology and data storage. At the outset of all those studies (1953 in the US, 1983 in the UK and 1976 in New Zealand), journalists were relying on paper archives, or cumbersome and expensive audio-visual sources. By the late 1990s, when the spikes in aggressive news interview praxis appeared, the information infrastructure had seen a revolution: internet, mobile phones, cheap satellite transmission, lightweight cameras and tiny audio recorders had become basic tools of the journalist’s trade. Although digital storage and retrieval of news archives was not yet widely available in the late 1990s, the new technologies meant that interviewers, and their research support teams, had increasingly rapid access to details behind public figures’ statements, to opposing views or contradictory accounts, and to archive sources. This is not to say that journalists were universally better informed; it is to say, however, that they were enjoying a significant shift in the capacity to be better informed. Not only that, “dark” sources were increasingly able to leak material through new channels; and of

course leaked emails and other electronic sources would become almost mundane. Another important feature of the information technology revolution was that the international broadcast news community and its practices were increasingly on-line and available to practitioners around the world as satellite syndication of news services became cheaper and more pervasive. In a sense, for IRs the news interview became an international community of practice, and best practice was available for any practitioner to observe.

8.7 Open government

The thesis has argued that the changes in IR assertiveness in the New Zealand context are founded in the warrant, or privilege, to challenge public figures, and that this is endorsed by editors and audiences. However, the willingness and warrant to act are unproductive unless accompanied by epistemic authority. The ascent of IR intolerance of evasion and potency in follow-up questions index that authority, and numerous examples of it have been presented in the thesis. In recent years much exegetic CA research, led by Heritage, has turned toward epistemic authority and the conversational practices by which it is both asserted and contested (Heritage, 2002a, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). In New Zealand, two important pieces of legislation have advanced the epistemic grounding of journalists.

8.7.1 Repeal of the Official Secrets Act

Probably the most important new law was the Official Information Act 1982, which repealed and replaced the Official Secrets Act.⁷⁹ Under the old Act (a security relic of World War II) a minister could unilaterally refuse information regardless of its triviality or import, and with potentially self-serving regard to its political implications. That

⁷⁹ OIA: <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1982/0156/latest/DLM64785.html> Date:15 June, 2014

entitlement is now strictly and narrowly prescribed and is subject to appeal to the Ombudsman. Further, only the full Cabinet can overrule a determination by the Ombudsman, and the process is transparent. The principal shift is one of attitude: the new Act provides that all official information is openly available with narrowly prescribed exceptions, such as an individual's privacy, national security, or commercial sensitivity. There is no requirement for official application—a phone call is sufficient in most cases—underlining the principle of cooperation toward open government.⁸⁰ For the journalist the switch presents a polar change: from having to winkle out information, to a situation where the government agency has to defend withholding it. Hence, the details of a minister's expenditure, of details of inappropriate interventions in personal complaints, of botched software development contracts or of controversial private land acquisition plans are now openly available, despite their potential for political embarrassment.⁸¹

8.7.2 Select committees

The second suite of changes came in 1985 to the select committee system in the New Zealand parliament with two major effects.⁸² First, the changes broadened the scope of what the committees could enquire into, including bringing potentially controversial

⁸⁰ I am indebted to former Privacy Commissioner, Sir Bruce Slane, for his advice on this point.

⁸¹ This is not to say that the system functions flawlessly. Although overwhelmingly more cooperative, the bureaucracies are still perceived as using delaying tactics in responding to requests for sensitive information (Price, 2005)

⁸² New Zealand's select committee system enables members of parliament to examine issues in more detail than is possible in the House of Representatives. Select committees can hear public comment on matters before the House. They carry out public scrutiny of the government's spending plans and of the performance and operations of government departments, crown entities, and state enterprises. The system is similar to US congressional committees, and those in other Westminster parliaments.

Path: <http://www.parliament.nz/en-nz/about-parliament/how-parliament-works/fact-sheets/00HOOCPubResAboutFactSheetsSelect1/parliament-brief-select-committees> Date: 15 May, 2014

matters into the light; second, they greatly increased public participation, which of course included media coverage. The significance of the changes rested on a pivotal shift which meant ministers were no longer entitled to chair committees. The aim was to maintain the independence of the House of Representatives from the executive. '[T]here will be an opportunity for effective parliamentary scrutiny of Government, not just for parliamentary scrutiny of legislation' (Hon. Geoffrey Palmer, Leader of the House, 16 July 1985).⁸³

Chapter 5 noted the proliferation of political parties appearing on Morning Report. Research in political studies showed that this increase also affected the vitality of select committees because it 'led to increased competition for media attention and hence a growing willingness to conduct high-profile inquiries' (McLeay, 2000:54). Witnesses appearing before select committees thus enriched journalists' sources.

8.8 Further research on epistemic authority

Considering the changes discussed in the last two sections—8.6 Information technology and 8.7 Open government—we can speculate that their combined impact has seen a significant shift in the epistemic authority of IRs, which in turn is co-relative to the changes in IR praxis reported in this study.

Future investigation of data of the richness and scope in the present work could test this hypothesis. It would be possible, for example, to explore the data for epistemic markers of the kind described by Heritage, and to see how these have been deployed over time (Heritage, 2012b, 2012c). For example, the contrast between the first and fourth interviews with prime ministers, shown in Chapter 7, could be re-analysed from that perspective.

⁸³ Debate on the report of the Standing Orders Committee, NZPD, vol. 464, 16 July, 1985, p.5600

8.9 Constraining questions versus persistent questions

The thesis reveals a further distinction between the presidential news conference and quotidian news interviews. It rests in repeats of the question.

We saw in Chapter 5 that there was no significant change in the constraints of question design in *Morning Report*. On the face of it this contrasts with the Clayman et al. study (2006) which reported an overall increase in the use of aggressive questions to US presidents between 1953 and 2000. However, a later study noted that after a marked rise during the Nixon years, (1969-1974) the *trend line* was ‘substantially unchanged after that new more aggressive level during 1969-2000’ (Clayman et al., 2010:236). We see that this period coincided with most of the span of the *Morning Report* data, which also shows a flat curve in IRs’ use of constraining questions. Nevertheless there are distinct and important differences, in my view, in the level of aggression displayed in a question depending on its *placement* in the sequence of adjacency pairs. The Clayman et al. study (2006) does not account for that. Indeed, in the domain of their study, there would be formidable obstacles in trying to do so, such as clearly identifying the IR (out of perhaps 100 or more) and determining whether a question was a repeat of the previous question. It is clear, however, that the sequential location of the question, for example, repeating it at 3P2, makes the question more socially constraining. I reprise a fragment from Chapter 4 to illustrate.

Extract 8-1 Reprised from 4-2. MR 2008_06_27 Defence Overspend

- 1 IR ► Ah do you accept (.) the serious criticisms ah from the auditor general
- 2 JM (.5) We’ve been working with the Auditor General to ah establish ah
- 3 what are the streams of information that [he (.....)]

- 4 IR ► [the question] wa- the
 5 question was Mister McKinnon do you accept the serious criticisms
 6 .h (.2) in his report.
- 7 JM (.9) We're working with the auditor
 8 [general (.....)]
- 9 IR ► [the question was Mister McKinnon] .hhh (.) do you accept the
 10 serious criticisms in the report (.3) yes or no.
- 11 JM (.4) I- I accept the criticisms that we can provide more information
 12 and we're working with the Auditor General to do that ((continues))

Whilst the first IR question *do you accept (.) the serious criticisms ah from the auditor general* is a constraining yes/no question, in the face of an evasive response, the second and third iterations of that question seem to intensify the constraint to answer it and they do the further social action of what I have termed *exposing* the IE's recalcitrance. As such, aggravated evasion appeared as a candidate for some form of ordinal grading: second and subsequent evasions of the same question could be graded at distinct levels, in much the same way that Clayman et al. graded degrees of aggression in questions (2006). However this was seen as problematic for two reasons. First, the number of instances being small, such coding would not have produced statistically significant results. Second, it raised the portentous issue of when is "misunderstanding" the question deliberate and how this is to be coded in a quantitative study. For these reasons, ordinal grading was not done.

Nevertheless there is ample contextual qualitative evidence in the data that, overwhelmingly, non-compliant responses do not arise from innocent misunderstandings of the question, but are deliberate evasions or manipulation of the question to favour the project of the IE (Heritage, 1984). For example, none of 193 arraigned IE responses in the sample are followed by an apology and account, such as, "I beg your pardon. I

misunderstood your question”. Further, there are only a few IR moves at 3P1 to a non-compliant response which the IR prefaces with an apology for lack of clarity in the question. We should also note that the news interview is an interaction between people for whom spoken language in interaction and its comprehension represent their fundamental professional modus. We noted in Chapter 2 that whereas perseverant arraignment and follow up questions are normative in identifiable Q–R slots in *Morning Report*, this is not the case in the domain of the presidential news conference because there is no entitlement for IRs to pursue the president in this way since the president elects next speaker.

One inference to be drawn from the practice of persistent evasion is that unless the IR arraigns there can be no aggravated evasion. Since IRs did not generally arraign evasive responses in the early years of *Morning Report*, we know nothing of IEs’ changing propensity to repeatedly refuse to answer. IEs’ propensity to *persistently* evade is a promising topic for further research into the contestative news interview, but it would require extensive sampling.

8.10 Interruption and the notion of time as capital

The difference in tone between the deferential, even obsequious, interview with Prime Minister Robert Muldoon and the interview with Prime Minister John Key 30 years later—with the IR’s threat to foreclose the interview—indexes shrinkage in the social distance between political leaders and journalists. This is augmented by the quantitative account of escalation in interruption, especially in the last 12 or so years in the data span. A practice such as interruption, proscribed in 1975, is now implicitly approved. I propose that one reason for that can be found in the notion of RPs’ time as a sort of social capital which at breakfast time faces competing demands, not only from other media but from the

increasing pressure of organising the day. In practical, observable ways the IR is obliged to protect that resource; IEs' evading questions, or unilaterally introducing irrelevant new topics is an assault on RPs' time. This can be usefully considered on a Brown and Levinson account of RPs' negative face, which in a sense the IR is obliged to protect. When an IE appropriates the agenda, it can be seen as an affront to RPs' right to be undistracted by off-topic talk, especially in the morning rush. Whilst not commonly, IRs are sometimes required to truncate an interview because of looming junctions, such as news-on-the-hour, and often do so apologetically. By contrast, examples like this recent extract (not from the sample) illuminate the notion of time as an economic resource:

Extract 8-2 MR 280414 Your Own Time: IR – Guyon Espiner; IE – David Cunliffe

- 1 DC I'm delighted they've joined the consensus th't Labour has helped to
 2 ► forge=I wanna .hh (.2)give some credit to Iain Lees-Galloway=the only
 3 MP who's led[all this stuff
 4 IR ► [sure=you can do= y'can do that in in in your'own time,
 5 .hh (.2) in terms of[the facts on] this (.3)[I mean is there a certain]
 6 DC [he huh huh] [I was hoping to do it in]your
 7 time Guyon

At line 2, DC rushes through after his substantive answer and says *I wanna .hh (.2)give some credit* which signals that what follows will be adjunctive, and possibly irrelevant to the topic. Certainly, it seems to be taken that way by the IR. The IR's interruptive arrest here, *y'can do that in in in your'own time* (line 4) is a sharp reminder that the IE is sharing the social resource of time and it is not to be appropriated.

8.11 Limitations on quantitative methods and implications for further research

Whilst the principal quantitative results about IRs' increasing intolerance of evasion and willingness to press follow-up questions are statistically highly significant, they also

illuminate other questions which could not be answered because of sample constraints. Here, I revisit some of those constraints, and suggest how specific resampling and more fine grained analysis could add to our understanding of the changing role of the news interview in democratic discourse.

The constraints of time on the project limited sample size to 200 interviews. Constraints arising from the digitising project of the Archive and the availability of data meant the sample had to be drawn from discrete blocks of four years each, one block from each decade of *Morning Report*. One advantage of the interval sample is that it provides higher confidence in the results for the blocks that are sampled. This is because, as noted in Chapter 4, the standard error is markedly smaller in a four-year block than for a sample of the same size spread over 10 years. There are, however, disadvantages from the constraints on sampling: there are limitations arising from size and limitations arising from interval spacing.

8.11.1 Limitations arising from sample size

The sample did not establish significant differences for the research questions relating to IR question design and IE degrees of evasion. Whilst there is a weak suggestion of an upward trend in evasive responding ($p < .07$), and the sample shows the prospect of a curious dip in IE evasion during 1986-1989, the null hypothesis cannot be dismissed. However, there were radical changes in the socio-economic climate of New Zealand during the 1980s and I speculate that these affected the way interviews were conducted. A larger sample could illuminate what I speculate is a shift in the tone of political discourse during a decade of radical upheaval in the socio-economic fabric of the nation (Russell, 1996).

The other disadvantage of the limited sample size relates to a secondary enquiry about the distribution of practices according to IEs' affiliation. Coding provided for partitioning into six classes in three roughly "dialectic" pairings: government and opposition politicians; unions and employers; lobby groups; and bureaucrats/executives. It was quickly realised that these partitions produced sub-samples that were too small to produce significant results. Further, as the proportion of elected politicians grew at the expense of other classes, the sample sizes in later years for some sub-groups became insignificant. Because of this effect, I recombined the classes into two groups: all elected politicians (AEPs) and other public figures (OPFs) and compared the degrees of IE evasion and IR persistence between the two groupings. Whilst AEPs were found to evade answers significantly more than OPFs there were no significant differences in IRs' persistent actions toward the respective groups. Indeed, the "even-handedness" of IRs arraignment across these grouping is remarkable ($p = .991$).

8.11.2 Limitations arising from interval sampling

Generally, where the trends in the results are significant, they follow a rising cline over time, suggesting that the void, or un-sampled, periods would agree with the cline. However some results suggest that further investigation into the unsampled years, and particularly into the years between 1999 and 2008, could be fruitful. Here, it will be recalled, we see that what I dubbed peak arraignment of non-compliant responses seems to have occurred in the block 1996-1999 (73%), with the following block, 2008-2011, insignificantly different (74%). The same pattern is seen in the IR's propensity to ask follow-up questions, with no significant difference between the two blocks. However, the use of interruption to achieve these actions escalated remarkably across the two blocks. The extreme result was unexpected. Therefore, although the sampling model was not designed

to consider individual years within blocks, an exploratory reanalysis by year was done. The relevant figure is reprised.

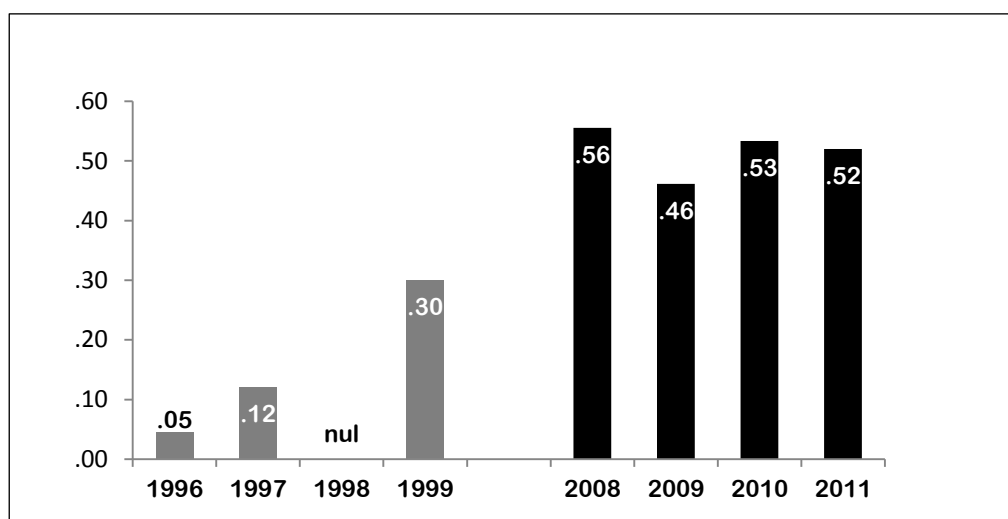


Figure 8-1 (Reprise of 6-18) Probability of interruption to arraign within later blocks

Despite surface appearances, the difference between interruption levels in 1999 and the years in 2008-2011 does not reach statistical significance because the count is small in 1999 ($n = 6$). I proposed in Chapter 7 that interruption was a marker of intolerance and speculated that its advent might be related to the pragmatism and equivocation associated with forming coalition governments after the first proportional representation election in 1996 and the second one in 1999. The suggestion of a stair-step in 1999, although not reaching statistical significance, invites further investigation with both a larger sample, and a sample of an *additional* four-year block drawn from the intervening years, say 2002-2005. In 1999, Jenny Shipley's National Party government lost the election and a Labour-led government was elected. A sample drawn from the missing years could either establish a strong co-relativity between interruption and the new electoral system, or it might indicate differential treatment of the political parties, which of course raises the question of bias.

8.11.3 Bias: differential treatment by IR of classes of interviewees

Whilst the research model was not intended to provide a way to examine bias, or the differential treatment of IEs, the metadata gathered enables that to be done. However, the sample size is not big enough to render significant results. For example, it is possible to partition the data not only by the categories investigated here, but to look at the political party affiliation of politicians—not simply whether they are governing or in opposition. The degree of IE evasion by party affiliation is readily tested, as is the propensity of IRs to use differential contestative actions. Finer grained analyses to test bias can also be produced, such as the use of epistemic markers in assertive IR statements, or negative interrogative questions. However, the present sample size would have to be supplemented—at least doubled—in order to produce significant results. It was noted at 2.8 that Ekström et al.(2012) and Huls & Varwijk (2011) both considered bias in questioning in the context of election campaigns using aggressive and persistent questioning as quantifiable indicator of bias. Both Montgomery (2011) and Tolson (2012) propose that argumentative *assertions*, increasingly supplant questions in political interviews. In many ways, the artifice of constructing an opinion as a question (“How do you respond to those whom might say...”) has simply been dropped. Montgomery proposes this is a matter of economy. Nevertheless, such devices could be quantified as an indicator of bias, or of differential treatment of IEs by affiliation. One problem with IR assertions is that coding their adversarialness, or aggressiveness, is highly fraught and requires close analytical attention to the down-stream consequences. This is the kind of study which would suit an interdisciplinary approach, perhaps with political studies, or journalism studies.

Another problem in designing such a study of bias would be the question of dealing with differential approaches by IR in interviewing government ministers and opposition spokespersons. The realpolitik of political interviews is that ministers (or secretaries in the US) are not generally offered the floor unimpeded to announce some new initiative; nor are corporate leaders given a platform to extol the virtues of a new product or service. The news interview is typically a testing ground. I speculate that government ministers, regardless of their political party, are more likely to face challenging questions because it is their actions or policies which are newsworthy and critiqued. Opposition spokespersons, in contrast, have a constitutionally enshrined role to test and probe the government of the day. In this sense the IR's journalistic role and the opposition spokesperson's role to challenge the government of the day have a degree of overlap. This suggests retaining the partitioning of government and opposition IEs as well as party affiliation. Ekström et al. (2012) tested for bias against governing incumbents in a limited way in the specialised domain of elections and found no such bias. Nevertheless, a longer diachronic range, and a much larger sample, could produce significant results.

8.12 Conclusion

At the outset of this thesis I proposed that changes in the praxes of political interviews index changes in the accountability of public figures. Using the insights of CA, and a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses, the thesis has demonstrated massive changes in IRs' intolerance of evasive and equivocal responses, and their mounting willingness to press for explanation and detail. Importantly, these changes have not resulted from a unilateral prosecution by IRs. Interview guests—public figures called to account—have occupied more and more time on *Morning Report* which in turn indexes

their acceptance of the changing order and the changing politic frame (Watts, 2003). This is not to say the new order is welcomed by all public figures all the time; but appearing, rather than being reported as, “declined our invitation to appear” manifests as a preferred choice, or at least as an obligation.

We can further infer the RPs’ acceptance of this increasing bulk of contestative behaviour because the RPs’ presence has been remarkably stable and sustains *Morning Report* as the most attended breakfast radio programme in the country. The practices, and habitus, of programmes like *Morning Report* are endorsed or rejected in direct proportion to rises and falls in the attendance figures and also inferentially by the complaints and plaudits the programme receives. *Morning Report* commands about 13% of the adult population. This popularity has persisted over four decades when radio stations burgeoned and competition intensified with the advent of newstalk radio in the 1980s. When *Morning Report* started in 1975, it competed with four other stations in the main cities. Today, *Morning Report* competes with about 50 stations in the biggest city, Auckland. In this sense, the programme is indeed a social institution. I proposed in Chapter 3.4.3 that members of the radio audience are not so much ratified participants, but that they are in fact *ratifying*: the *Morning Report* audience, RPs, have *daily* reconstituted and sustained the programme, in concert with the active participants as the most attended in the country.

The way we talk democracy in this central site, the news interview, has changed; that has been a joint achievement of all the active participants and the audiences, and a striking narrative of the mounting accountability of public figures.

Appendix A

Transcription Glossary

After Gail Jefferson (Jefferson, 2004a)

- (0.5) The number in brackets indicates a gap in tenths of second. In transcribing news interviews, it is sometimes determinable which party “owns” the gap; if not, the bracketed number is placed on its own line.
- (.) A dot within brackets represents a pause of less than 0.2 sec.
- [] Square brackets are used to mark the onset and end of overlapped speech:
S1: No I'm not [going on]
S2: [Awww]]
S1: =his big overseas trip with him
- = The equals sign represents ‘latching’ between utterances, that is, there is no perceptible gap. Example:
S1: Time to talk to Kerry-Anne Walsh and you're in Sydney, Kerry-Anne=
S2: =I'm in the wonderful harbour city that is indeed right Geoffrie
- = It is also used to transcribe a turn which continues over an intervening line, for instance when another speaker overlaps:
S1: No I'm not [going on]=
S2: [Awww]
S1: =his big overseas trip with him
The equals signs here indicates S1 continues without a break.
It is also used to indicate a ‘rush-through’, that is, when a speaker completes a turn construction unit and embarks immediately on another with no perceptible gap:
S1: - I don't really wanna make any comments about any of the things um attached to that court case=- I- I don't think that that's a responsible thing to do at the moment
- .hh A dot before an ‘h’ indicates an audible in-breath. The more h's, the longer the breath. I use four h's to mark an in-breath of one second. Anything highly salient will be annotated.
- hh h's (with no preceding full-stop) indicate out-breaths. Anything highly marked, such as a fricative “whew” is annotated. When either in-breaths (.h) or outbreaths (h) are capitalised it signifies they are noticeably loud.
- [[]] Double square brackets enclose comment: [[Loud fricative in-breath 2 seconds]]
- (()) A non-verbal activity: ((taps pencil on desk))

Stop tha-	A dash indicates a cut-off of the preceding word or sound, commonly a false start.
Ri::ght	Colons indicate that the preceding sound is stretched. The number of colons reflect the degree of stretch. Three is highly marked.
!	Animated or emphatic tone
()	Empty parentheses indicate a passage of unclear talk on the recording. This is common in overlapped talk.
(somethi ng)	The words or phonemes in brackets indicate the transcriber's best guess at unclear talk. In passages of overlapped talk, best guess words are sometimes interspersed with ellipses to indicate when the best-guess occurs: [.....(Tuesday).....]
That's final.	A full stop signifies a falling terminal tone. It does not necessarily mean the grammatical end of a sentence.
Possibly,	A comma indicates a slightly rising tone, often meaning 'continuing', or doubt. Commas are not used to separate syntactic constituents.
Hungry?	A question mark indicates a rising inflection. It does not necessarily indicate a question. It could reflect the NZ rising terminal: "And I'm like, hungry?"
Hungry?	Rising tone, not as pronounced as above, but more than /,/ (continuation)
Bad*	An asterisk indicates a 'croaky' voice in the immediately following segment.
↑ ↓	Arrows indicate a marked rising or falling tone in the sound that follows. "No ↑way." "No ↓way"
<u>a:</u>	A less marked fall in pitch is indicated by an underline of the sound, followed by a colon.
<u>a:</u>	When the colon itself is underlined, it indicates a slight rise in the preceding sound.
<u>Deny</u>	Underlines indicate emphasis on the sound. "I <u>deny</u> that."
CAPITA LS	Capitals indicate noticeably louder speech than that surrounding it. "I <u>deny</u> that EMPHATICALLY."
° quietly °	'Degree' signs are used to mark softly or quietly spoken utterances.
>No no no <	Inward chevrons indicate the enclosed talk is 'compressed' or speeded up.
<O:kay >	Outward chevrons indicate the enclosed talk is stretched and slower.
▶	An arrow in the left margin points to a specific part of the talk discussed in the text.

Appendix B

Interview with Prime Minister Jenny Shipley

MR 1999_09_01 Shipley Tax Backdown: IR – Sean Plunket; JS – Jenny Shipley sn 151

Context: With only two months or so to the election, the prime minister has backed down from a promised tax cut in the face of unacceptable trade-off demands from her coalition partners.

Note: The binary (1/0) coding values are aggregated on the last line of the transcription table, and then transferred to a master Excel worksheet. An example of the collations is shown in Appendix C.

			IR Q Actions	Open -wh	Delimiting Preface/proposition	Preface is tilted	Delimiting Presupposition	Conditional	Polar alternative	Yes/No	Coercive Tag	Neg. Interrogative	Restrictive wh-	1st or 3rd pers. statement	B-event	Interrupts to close sequence	Interrupts deficient response	Repeats/reforms Q	Challenges Accuracy	Challenges Argument	B-event/Formulation	Unmarked response	Refuses to answer - no excuse	Sub-judice/not comment/ambiguity	Answers part of a multi-part Q	Reframes Question	Critiques question proposition	Defers to norms, but departs	Subordinating conjunction	Covertly changes/extends agenda	Overtly changes/extends agenda	IE Responses	Non-compliant	Arraigns	IR Allows/neglect deficiency	Follow-up: Persists on topic		
IR	Jenny Shipley ah Joins us now=Good morning Prime Minister																					0																
JS	Good morning Sean																					0																
IR	Ah Prime Minister essentially you didn't want to engage in the wheeling and dealing necessary to ah get these tax cuts through?	HRT > Q Not B-event	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
JS	(.2) .hh well national is determined to bring taxes down for New Zealanders .h for the fourth year in a row. .hh but not at any cost. (.3) .h and became very clear: over the last few weeks, .hhhhh as we explored the opportunity of whether we could do this <u>before</u> the general election .hh that a number of people were <u>using</u> that opportunity to up the stakes. .hhh now we've got advice that we don't pass it before the election .hh in order to deliver tax cuts for New Zealanders on the first of April, .2 .hh and we've delivered good and stable government for: .hh well over a year under a minority setting, .hh with some clea rules an' I'm not about to breach those rules rules. (.) .h ah just because ah just because an election is imminent and er it might be desirable to have a piece of legislation passed.		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
IR	What were Maori-Pacific asking for?		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

		IR Q Actions	Open -wh	Delimiting Preface/proposition	Preface is tilted	Delimiting Presupposition	Conditional	Polar alternative	Yes/No	Coercive Tag	Neg. Interrogative	Restrictive wh-	1st or 3rd pers. statement	B-event	Interrupts to close sequence	Interrupts deficient response	Repeats/reforms Q	Challenges Accuracy	Challenges Argument	B-event/Formulation	Unmarked response	Refuses to answer - no excuse	Sub-judice/not	Answers part of a multi-part Q	Reframes Question	Critiques question proposition	Defers to norms, but departs	Subordinating conjunction	Covertly changes/extends agenda	Overtly changes/extends agenda	IE Responses	Non-compliant	Arraigns	IR Allows/neglect deficiency	Follow-up: Persists on topic	
JS	I don't intend to go through the discussion .hh indeed they weren't concluded .hh but as [discussions-]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
IR	[They did take] place though Prime Minister	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
JS	Oh there have been discussion er across the board and it's not only Maori-Pacific Sean. .hhh there are a number of people who, .hhh quite naturally as the election ahm became more imminent .h ahm decided to up the stakes a little. We are not under pressure (.4) to pass these tax cuts. .hh Ev'ry New Zealander knows that (.) .h (.) .hh we will bring taxes down and .hh the opposition will put taxes up, .hh we do have time, we are advised we do have time.hh if we pass this legislation after the general election it can be delivered bay the first of April. .hh And so we're not prepared at any cost to simply settle a matter before the election, .hh when there is no pressure on us to do so.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IR	Mm Prime Minister how can tax cuts be a guarantee even a- if a new National-led gov'm't were to be elected .hh ah if say you didn't have you didn't have a clear National majority, if y' still had to negotiate. .hh surely this means the tax cuts must now become a pre- col- ah condition .hh of any coalition deal y- you would have to do.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JS	Well tax cuts are certainly a central plank of the National Party indeed, .hh the people with whom we work, .hh ah support the general direction=it's matter of whether the bidding, (.3) .hh gets too high because of th'set of circumstances that prevail, .hhh pre-election=and I j's simply made it clear, .hh after talking to finance ministers and our caucus yesterday, .hh that I did not believe it- it warranted our proceeding .hh at all costs, .hh and I made that position lclear last night.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	

			IR Q Actions	Open -wh	Delimiting Preface/proposition	Preface is tilted	Delimiting Presupposition	Conditional	Polar alternative	Yes/No	Coercive Tag	Neg. Interrogative	Restrictive wh-	1st or 3rd pers. statement	B-event	Interrupts to close sequence	Interrupts deficient response	Repeats/reforms Q	Challenges Accuracy	Challenges Argument	B-event/Formulation	Unmarked response	Refuses to answer - no excuse	Sub-judice/not comment/ambazon	Answers part of a multi-part Q	Reframes Question	Critiques question proposition	Defers to norms, but departs	Subordinating conjunction	Covertly changes/extends agenda	Overtly changes/extends agenda	IE Responses	Non-compliant	Arraigns	IR Allows/neglect deficiency	Follow-up: Persists on topic		
IR	Could I ask you then <u>will</u> these tax cuts be a pre-condition be a pre-condition of any deal you might do for support .hh to form a gov'm'nt post-election.	3P1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
JS	Er tax cuts, the reduction of tax as the economy grows .hh has been and continues to be a central <u>plank</u> of National's leadership in New Zealand. .hh we're the only party who has the record of I think it's four years in a row now Sean th'at we've brought [(.....for another day)]		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
IR	mm[With respect Prime Minister this doesn't quite] answer the question and that is >.hh< are these tax cuts a pre-condition, .hh of any coalition deal you might do post-election.	3P2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
JS	Er If you're asking me the question whether I'd expect tax cuts to be a central plank, .hhh of <u>any</u> agreement of course the answer is yes.		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
IR	(.6) A pre-condition that y'- you wouldn't[negotiate]	3P3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
JS	[I don't know]w what you put me in by pre-condition I mean-		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
IR	Well what I'm saying is would you form- er would you trade away these tax cuts to form a coalition that would give National, .hh er the reins of- [er of power [po]st-election.		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
JS	[th'] [th'] The reduction of tax, (.3) has been a central plank of the National Party's leadership in New Zealand .hh and will be continuing to be a central plank .hh as our economy grows and that choice is available. .hh we have guaranteed three things. .hh as the economy grows and surpluses are available we'll pay off debt, we'll increase social spending .hh and we'll j' we'll reduce the tax burden on New Zealanders..hh that is a <u>central</u> position, .hh of the New Zealand National Party's ah campaign strategy, it's been our performance over the last three years and it most certainly will continue to be so.		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	

		IR Q Actions	Open -wh	Delimiting Preface/proposition	Preface is tilted	Delimiting Presupposition	Conditional	Polar alternative	Yes/No	Coercive Tag	Neg. Interrogative	Restrictive wh-	1st or 3rd pers. statement	B-event	Interrupts to close sequence	Interrupts deficient response	Repeats/reforms Q	Challenges Accuracy	Challenges Argument	B-event/Formulation	Unmarked response	Refuses to answer - no excuse	Sub-judice/not	Answers part of a multi-part Q	Reframes Question	Critiques question proposition	Defers to norms, but departs	Subordinating conjunction	Covertly changes/extends agenda	Overtly changes/extends agenda	IE Responses	Non-compliant	Arraigns	IR Allows/neglect deficiency	Follow-up: Persists on topic	
IR	m. Are you disappointed in Christine Fletcher's position on this?	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
JS	(.3) .hh Well I think Christine has taken an opportunity to .hh ah want to talk up the book of Auckland, .hh ah Auckland has had a <u>huge</u> : amount of investment. Indeed she has argument and won some of that .hh ah in her right but there's again a point of <u>fairness</u> . .hh and we're not going to start ah saying one region is more important in New Zealand than other regions .hhh ah when these issues are not absolutely critical. .hhh in terms passing legislation before the general election. .hh > 'mean< Auckland has seen a massive increase in police, brand new hospitals being built, ah schools being built at a faster rate than ever before, .hh ah: a gover'm'nt that's prepared to address the traffic congestion issues, .hh ah once the transport plan for the region has been established, .hhh I don't think there is a case .hh for us to get into tangle over that=I respect Christine's position .hh but it's certainly not something that the National Party is going to bow to .hhh and so it was not only a matter with <u>her</u> , it was a matter of weighing up <u>all</u> of the issues. .hh and the senior ministers, the caucus and myself after discussing this um .hh made a <u>quite</u> clear decision (.2) .h that while we would have liked to have been able to .hh pass this legislation we're not under pressure to do so, .hh it's not an at all cost (.2) type of requirement .hh and I thought iat was proper to make it very clear .hh that there are some boundaries beyond which we will not go .hh and I've made at that clear to day.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		
IR	Ah finally Prime Minister does this decision really mean that the effective life of this gov'm'nt and we're just ah waiting for the election.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

		IR Q Actions	Open -wh	Delimiting Preface/proposition	Preface is tilted	Delimiting Presupposition	Conditional	Polar alternative	Yes/No	Coercive Tag	Neg. Interrogative	Restrictive wh-	1st or 3rd pers. statement	B-event	Interrupts to close sequence	Interrupts deficient response	Repeats/reforms Q	Challenges Accuracy	Challenges Argument	B-event/Formulation	Unmarked response	Refuses to answer - no excuse	Sub-judice/not	Answers part of a multi-part Q	Reframes Question	Critiques question proposition	Defers to norms, but departs	Subordinating conjunction	Covertly changes/extends agenda	Overtly changes/extends agenda	IE Responses	Non-compliant	Arraigns	IR Allows/neglect deficiency	Follow-up: Persists on topic	
JS	No quite the contrary. .hh ah if we <u>had</u> 've passed these tax cuts you could conclude that Sean. .hh aha there is still a legislative programme=there are major issues .hh ah on the table=there is in fact a tax bill with some very important measures in it that the parliament has been working on all year, .h there is producer board reform, .hh there are a number of other measures at that we certainly do have support for, and intend to progress through the parliament and we'll be doing that.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
IR	Prime Minister thank you for joining us... (5'30")	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MR 1999_09_01 Shipley Tax Backdown: IR - Sean Plunket; JS - Jenny Shipley	10	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	10	6	5	1	0	

Appendix C

Coding Spreadsheet

The following page shows an Excel worksheet which collates the summaries of binary coding from interview transcripts, as seen in Appendix B. The 50 coded interviews from each block were represented on one such Excel worksheet, aggregating coding across variables, 33 of which are represented here. Some variables, such as affiliation and political allegiance, are omitted for space reasons. It can be seen that the interviews were processed in random date order. The coded interview from Appendix B (Prime Minister Jenny Shipley) can be seen as the first item in this block.

Appendix D

Radio Code of Practice

This appendix sets out the principal news-relevant provisions of the standards Code for radio broadcasters in New Zealand as provided by the Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA).⁸⁴ Audience members and programme participants may complain when they perceive a breach of any of the standards below. The complaints procedure provides that the complainant must first deal with the broadcaster, and if not satisfied with the response, may then appeal to the BSA.

Broadcasting Standards Authority

Radio Code of Broadcasting Practice

Introduction

The Broadcasting Act 1989 requires every broadcaster to be responsible for maintaining in programmes and their presentation, standards which are consistent with:

- a. The observance of good taste and decency.
- b. The maintenance of law and order
- c. The privacy of the individual
- d. The principle that when controversial issues of public importance are discussed, reasonable efforts are made, or reasonable opportunities are given, to present significant points of view, either in the same programme or in other programmes within the period of current interest
- e. Any approved Code of Broadcasting Practice applied to programmes.

The Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) is responsible for administering the standards regime, determining formal complaints and encouraging broadcasters to develop and observe appropriate Codes of Broadcasting Practice.

This Code of Broadcasting Practice, approved by the BSA, has been prepared by the Radio Broadcasters Association (on behalf of commercial broadcasters) and Radio New Zealand. The Code aims to ensure compliance with the law, prevention of misleading or deceptive practices, and social responsibility.

Under section 14 of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, there is a right to freedom of expression. When the Authority makes decisions on complaints, it will consider and apply the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act.

⁸⁴ The full Code can be seen at path: <http://bsa.govt.nz/standards/radio-code> Date: 21 May, 2014

Standard 1: Good Taste and Decency

Broadcasters should observe standards of good taste and decency.

Guideline

1a Broadcasters will take into account current norms of good taste and decency, bearing in mind the context in which any language or behaviour occurs and the wider context of the broadcast e.g. time of day, target audience.

Standard 2: Law and Order

Broadcasters should observe standards consistent with the maintenance of law and order.

Guideline

2a Caution should be exercised in broadcasting items which explain the technique of crime in a manner which invites imitation.

Standard 3: Privacy

Broadcasters should maintain standards consistent with the privacy of the individual.

Guideline

3a When determining privacy complaints broadcasters shall apply the privacy developed by the Broadcasting Standards Authority

Standard 4: Controversial Issues – Viewpoints

When discussing controversial issues of public importance in news, current affairs or factual programmes, broadcasters should make reasonable efforts, or give reasonable opportunities, to present significant points of view either in the same programme or in other programmes within the period of current interest.

Guidelines

- 4a** The assessment of whether a reasonable range of views has been allowed for takes account of some or all of the following:
- the programme introduction;
 - the approach of the programme (e.g. taking a particular perspective);
 - whether listeners could reasonably be expected to be aware of views expressed in other coverage;
 - the programme type (e.g. talk or talkback which may be subject to a lesser requirement to present a range of views).

Standard 5: Accuracy

Broadcasters should make reasonable efforts to ensure that news, current affairs and factual programming is accurate in relation to all material points of fact; and/or does not mislead.

Guidelines

- 5a** The accuracy standard does not apply to statements which are clearly distinguishable as analysis, comment or opinion.
- 5b** Talkback radio will not usually be subject to the accuracy standard, except where the presenter makes an unqualified statement of fact.
- 5c** In the event that a material error of fact has occurred, broadcasters should correct it at the earliest appropriate opportunity.

Standard 6: Fairness

Broadcasters should deal fairly with any person or organisation taking part or referred to.

Guidelines

- 6a** A consideration of what is fair will depend upon the genre of the programme (e.g. talk/talk back radio, or factual, dramatic, comedic and satirical programmes).
- 6b** Broadcasters should exercise care in editing programme material to ensure that the extracts used are not a distortion of the original event or the overall views expressed.
- 6c** Contributors and participants in any programme should be dealt with fairly and should, except as required in the public interest, be informed of the nature of their participation.
- 6d** Broadcasters should respect the right of individuals to express their own opinions.
- 6e** Children and young people taking part or referred to should not be exploited, humiliated or unnecessarily identified.
- 6f** No telephone conversation should be recorded or broadcast unless the recipient has been advised that it is being recorded for possible broadcast, or is aware (or ought reasonably to have been aware) that the conversation is being broadcast. Exceptions may apply depending upon the context of the broadcast, including the legitimate use of humour.

Standard 7: Discrimination and Denigration

Broadcasters should not encourage discrimination against, or denigration of, any section of the community on account of sex, sexual orientation, race,

age, disability, occupational status, or as a consequence of legitimate expression of religion, culture or political belief.

Guideline

- 7a** This standard is not intended to prevent the broadcast of material that is:
- i. factual
 - ii. a genuine expression of serious comment, analysis or opinion; or
 - iii. legitimate humour, drama or satire

Standard 8: Responsible Programming

Broadcasters should ensure that programme information and content is socially responsible.

Guidelines

- 8a** Broadcasters should be mindful of the effect any programme content may have on children during their normally accepted listening times.
- 8b** The time of transmission and the audience profile of the station are important considerations in the scheduling of programmes which contain violent themes.
- 8c** If a programme is likely to disturb, an appropriate warning should be broadcast.
- 8d** Advertisements and infomercials should be clearly distinguishable from other programme material.
- 8e** Programmes should not be presented in such a way as to cause panic, or unwarranted alarm or undue distress.
- 8f** Broadcasters should ensure that there is no collusion between broadcasters and contestants which results in the favouring of any contestant or contestants.

Appendix E

Radio New Zealand Editorial Policies

The following extract is from Radio New Zealand's Editorial Policies. The full document can be found at path: <http://www.radionz.co.nz/about/documents> Date: 24 May, 2014.

Fair Dealing with the Public

Radio New Zealand programmes are based on openness and impartiality. Contributors to them should be treated with honesty, fairness and respect.

Interviewees and Participants

Informed Consent

Participants should normally be told, before they contribute, the general nature and purpose of their contribution. They should not feel misled, misrepresented, or exploited.

Right of Refusal

RNZ respects the right of individuals and organisations to refuse to participate. Where the audience may wonder why an individual or viewpoint is not represented it may be appropriate to explain the absence simply and without prejudice. We should give reasons where they exist but refrain from speculating. Refusal to participate should not normally act as a veto on a story except where the refusal invalidates the idea behind the programme.

Interviewing without Consent (Doorstepping)

Phoning someone live without prior agreement, or revealing after a call has begun that it is being recorded for broadcast, is rarely acceptable. However, when a person crucial to an important story has refused to comment or be interviewed on unreasonable grounds it may be necessary to confront and record the subject without his or her consent as a last resort. It should only be done with the approval of the appropriate manager.

Interviewing Code of Conduct

Good interviewing is part of the edge RNZ enjoys over other broadcasters. Interviews may be searching, sharp, sceptical, rigorous and challenging. The audience will accept and support such an approach where it is appropriate to the topic, the guest and the nature of responses.

However, interviewees must be treated fairly and with respect at all times. RNZ makes a clear distinction between an assertive or persistent manner and that of rudeness or hectoring which is not acceptable and often unproductive.

It is reasonable for interviewees to have the opportunity to respond to a question in their own words. While a direct question might seek a straight answer, an interviewee should be able to qualify their response if they seek to do so. Evasion and filibustering should be politely but firmly exposed once it is clear that the interviewee is trying to avoid the issue.

Interviewers must refrain from personal advocacy or giving any impression of bias whether through tone, inflection or careless wording.

The way we interview is key to perceptions of RNZ's ability and effectiveness in uncovering critical and relevant information in an uncompromising, fair and credible way.

Honorifics

RNZ uses honorifics such as Mr, Mrs or Ms in its on air references. The only exceptions are sports and entertainment figures (where informality is more appropriate). During news interviews presenters should be careful to address their interviewees with an honorific rather than using their first names. Referring to someone as "John" rather than "Mr Smith" could suggest bias or imply that they are not being asked the hard questions because of friendship with the interviewer.

Editing Interviews

When interviews are edited the interview must remain a true reflection of the original. Any music, sound effects or special effects should be used with care not to distort reality or make editorial comment.

Harassment

Generally RNZ avoids harassment. However, there are circumstances when we will more vigorously pursue a story (e.g. confronting a fraudster).

Public Figures

Prominent public figures must expect media attention when they become the subject of news stories, but the level of attention and its methods must be appropriate to the importance of the story. Our actions should respect the rights of public figures to a proper level of privacy. We should avoid causing undue harassment.

Unreasonable Demands Upon RNZ

While Radio New Zealand should be reasonably open about its intentions in an interview, interviewees and other programme contributors sometimes make unreasonable demands. Programme makers should politely but firmly refuse any demand that could compromise their ability to work in an independent, honest, free and fair fashion. RNZ will support them in this.

Except in certain types of programmes, (e.g. co-productions, music recording), RNZ will not generally accede to demands:

- to audition or approve any resulting programme prior to broadcast;
- to participate in the post-production of material or contribute to its editing.

Generally RNZ will not accede to demands:

- to provide questions in advance (although we should outline the broad nature of an interview);
- to avoid question lines; RNZ must retain the right to ask, the guest is free to say 'no comment';
- to give undertakings about precise forms of questions.

Where, after careful consideration, RNZ determines it is appropriate to proceed with an interview under restricted conditions, those conditions should be made very clear on air when the interview plays.

RNZ will not accede to demands:

- to give payment for an interview (though it may assist with reasonable travel costs and expenses);
- to guarantee indemnity, legal support or assistance if what they say becomes the subject of legal action;
- to guarantee any broadcast resulting from a contribution; RNZ alone has the legal and editorial control and responsibility for what it broadcasts.

Requests for Right of Reply

There is no automatic right of reply. However, where RNZ recognises a significant unfairness or imbalance it will take the remedial action it deems necessary.

Withdrawal of Consent

Material recorded in accordance with RNZ editorial policies may be used for broadcast except in extraordinary circumstances. No willing participant has the right to prevent their contribution being used. However, requests for withdrawal or amendment should not be dismissed without consideration. There must be sufficient reason to proceed with broadcasting a programme against the express wishes of a contributor.

Veto of Programme Material by Invited Participants

Participants in programmes will not be granted the right to alter or veto any portion of a programme. The responsibility for programme material cannot be transferred from RNZ, which is solely responsible for what it broadcasts and for ensuring programmes follow its editorial policies.

Anonymity

There is no obligation to name all contributors to RNZ programmes. However, programme makers should name people wherever relevant, agreeing to anonymity only where the contribution is significant to the programme objective and the reason is valid. Valid reasons may include safety, serious embarrassment and legal issues. Anonymity should be made clear on air.

Censorship

Where programme material has *been affected as a result of submission to censorship from foreign authorities, it should be* so identified on the air. There may also be cases where a producer or journalist has been hampered in pursuing, preparing or filing a story. Examples might include being subjected to coercive or threatening behaviour of any kind; being required to use a translator or other support staff supplied by a government or other body; denial of access to individuals willing to be contacted, or to a particular area; refusal by an agency to feed material on request. Where such restrictions are deemed to have had any serious effect they should be brought to the attention of the audience at the time of broadcast.

(Radio New Zealand, 2007:58-61)(Radio New Zealand, 2007:58-61)

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