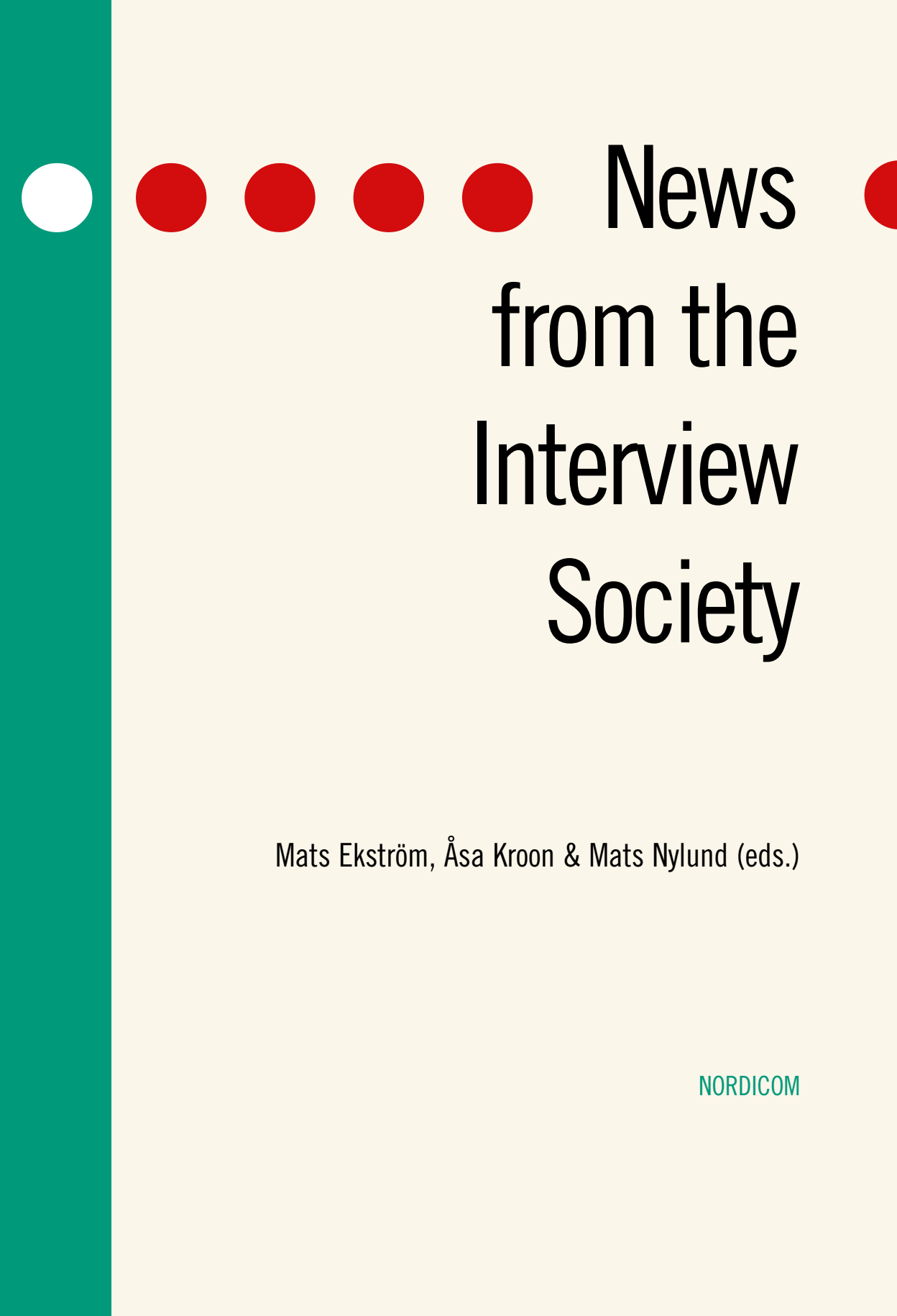




News from the Interview Society

Mats Ekström, Åsa Kroon & Mats Nylund (eds.)

NORDICOM

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Preface

The basic argument in this book is this: If you want to understand journalism and its means of production, you have to pay attention to the news interview. We argue that the interview is essential in news production and intrinsically linked to the development of modern journalism. The interview can be seen as a 'machine' that is used not only to *gather* information, but also to *generate* replies and statements from various news sources. While few would argue against the importance of the news interview, mainstream journalism research nevertheless has failed in analyzing interviewing practices properly. The special ambition of this book is to provide analysis of the news interview that take into account the historical developments and analyze it in connection to other activities and material that make up the news stories.

This book comes out of close cooperation and networking among Nordic media scholars. The authors come from four Nordic countries: Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden. In addition to this, there are contributions from two American sociologists. John Heritage and Steven E. Clayman have been in the forefront in the analysis of the news interview for more than two decades.

We believe that our book will be useful to both scholars and students in Media and Communication Studies, Journalism, Sociology, History and Linguistics. This is not a textbook on 'how to carry out a good news interview', but we believe that also media professionals can gain from the analyses presented.

Örebro and Helsinki in October 2006

Mats Ekström, Åsa Kroon & Mats Nylund

Chapter 1

Introduction

Mats Ekström, Åsa Kroon & Mats Nylund

During the 20th century, the interview has evolved in such a way that it has become the dominating form for talk and text production in the mass media. To quote John Corner: "It is no exaggeration to say that the broadcast interview (...) is now one of the most widely used and extensively developed formats for public communication in the world." There seems to be no doubt that the interview has been, and remains, one of the most vital methods or working forms in modern journalism (Schudson 1995).

However, what makes the interview and its representations of it even more important is that the mass media are by no means the only institution that relies on interviewing. This has been pointed out by David Silverman (1993: 19) who introduced the concept of 'an Interview Society', in which the interview is "central to making sense of our lives." For instance, as social researchers and citizens we should acknowledge that much of what we know about society and social groups is based on interview data, whether in the form of face-to-face interviews or survey research.

Inspired by Silverman and the concept of the interview society, Gubrium and Holstein (2002) argue that the methods of interviewing are not only used by different institutions to gather information and produce knowledge. "The interview is part and parcel of our society and culture" (a. a. p 11). It generates ontological assumptions concerning the informing subjectivity, and what is possible to learn by asking questions. It is essential to the construction of popular celebrities, public opinions and the communication in the media public sphere in general.

Atkinson and Silverman (1997: 304) argue that the "collection and celebration of personal narratives has become a major occupation for many contemporary sociologists and others in the social and cultural disciplines". This tendency, they argue, is intimately connected to "the rhetoric of interviewing in depth" which purports the qualitative interview as an "authentic gaze into the soul of another" (ibid. 305). The belief in the connection of interviewing and authenticity also remains central when it comes to news representation and, we believe, journalistic mythology.

The editors and authors of this book build on Silverman's concept of an Interview Society and choose to introduce it as a concept to understand the construction of news, the use of language, and the power of journal-

ism in contemporary media society. The book focuses on the journalistic interview and the techniques for the representation of utterances, talk and conversation, and combines theories on the public sphere, journalism, and the interview as a form of interaction with theories on the design and production of (multimodal) media texts. It relates these discursive techniques on a micro-level to institutional and cultural conditions on a macro-level, with regard to journalism and the media public sphere, and takes a historically comparative point of departure with the intention of pinning down important tendencies in the development of modern journalism during the 20th century.

Although journalism research has been conducted extensively for many decades, we believe that surprisingly scant attention has been paid to the interview. A great deal has been written about news content, stories and discourses, as well as the organization and commercialization of news production, but the practice that has enabled many of these phenomena has been given less attention. **Focusing on the interview in this book, we adopt an interactionist and dialogical approach to journalism.** Through analyses of interaction and the conditions for interaction, we can reach detailed, generalized knowledge about the ways in which power is exercised and negotiated, how values and attitudes are reproduced, and how roles are established and changed in the public sphere of the media (see e.g. Thornborrow 2002, Clayman and Heritage 2002).

The researchers who have contributed to this book come from five different countries and have a broad theoretical competence and background in various disciplines: Political Science, Sociology, Journalism, Communication, Media Studies and (Socio)Linguistics. We believe that the book will be useful to both scholars and students in Sociology, Media and Communication Studies, Journalism, History and Linguistics. It must be noted that this is not a handbook that will provide ‘the best way’ to carry out a journalistic interview, however we do hope practicing journalists may also find it worthwhile.

Research on the interview

When looking at journalism research from our dialogical point of view, it seems apparent that mainstream research has failed to recognize the ‘dialogical turn’ in media output. Studies of news interviews and other forms of media interaction are still few in number and are usually performed on the outskirts of the field. Furthermore, journalism research tends to be somewhat slanted to the proclamation of *normative* conceptions of how things *should be*. The detailed analysis of *practice*, how journalism is actually carried out, seems to be of secondary importance. Having said this, important research on the news interview has certainly been conducted.

For example, studies on the news interview and broadcast talk have been carried out. Especially over the past ten years, a number of works on the news interview as a particular form of institutionalised conversation have been published (Clayman 1992, Greatbatch 1992, Harris 1991, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Jucker 1986, Nylund 2000). This research has a sociolinguistic focus and has been closely linked with Conversation Analysis. Interaction, turn taking and utterances have been studied on a micro-level and have been related to institutional conditions (see Clayman and Heritage 2002, but also Bull 1994, Ekström 2001, Femø Nielsen 2001). Similar studies have also been carried out on other types of media talk (see e.g. Scannell 1991 and Hutchby 1996).

In many ways, our book builds on this research but distinguishes itself in a few important respects. In the Conversation Analysis studies of news interviews, there has been a tendency to focus on the news interview as mainly a series of questions and answers, but these studies have failed to take into account the editing and presentation of the material in specific media, genres and narrations. However, it is a fact that sound bites, extracted from interviews and along with other types of material, make up news stories. The extracts are often short and decontextualized from their original source, making it virtually impossible for a viewer or reader to understand the meaning of an utterance in relation to its original context. This less investigated area is an important focus of our book in which we study both the interaction in news interviews/broadcast talk and the employment of the interview in the construction of media texts, i.e. media production. Several chapters also deal with the visual aspects of the construction of, and interaction in, media texts.

Through focusing on the usage of utterances, talk and conversation in the staging of news texts, we will explicitly refer to the extensive research on media production and media discourses. Core concepts here are, e.g., recontextualization, discursive practices, mediation and multimodal discourse (see e.g. Fairclough 1995, Tolson 1996, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, Bell 1991, Linell 1998). We are also indebted to researchers who have studied the practice and history of journalism e.g. Schudson 1995). Directly and indirectly, this book refers to extensive research on the practice and conditions of journalism, such as sociologically oriented 'News room studies' (e.g. Schlesinger 1987), studies of the general conditions of journalism (e.g. McManus 1994), and journalism's integration in popular culture (e.g. Hartley 1996, Dahlgren and Sparks 1992).

Structure and themes of the book

The book is divided into four parts, each of which relates to a different research aspect of the journalistic interview: these aspects also constitute

the book's main themes. Having said this, segments of the themes may occur under several different sections without being the main focus in each respective study. The chapters in each part or section do not attempt to draw an all-encompassing picture regarding the studied area of research. Rather, they are meant to complement existing research on the interview and argue for the fruitfulness of a dialogical and discursive approach in studying and understanding the role of the interview within journalism and in relation to the concept of an Interview Society.

Part One: Historical Shifts and the Role of the Journalistic Interview in Modern Media

One of the most important aspects of the media development during the 20th century is the establishment of journalism as a powerful and relatively autonomous social institution. Much has been written about the history of journalism, but surprisingly little of this historical research has paid any attention to the interview as such considering its central role in the professionalization of journalism. An exception to this is Schudson's (1995) important book *The Power of News*.

As researchers have shown, the news interview has developed into a form for institutionalized communication with a corresponding pattern of behaviour, roles and norms. But if the news interview is an institutionalized conversation at the micro-level, it has, at the same time, been crucial for the development of journalism as an institution at the macro-level. In the early 20th century, the interview gradually became the specialized and exclusive method that characterized modern journalism. It has been essential for the journalistic practice, but also a symbol of the institution's autonomy, power and prominent position in the public sphere. An important part in this is journalism's particular epistemology and claim to veracity. Through the form for turn-taking that the news interview entails and the position that the interviewer takes through his/her speech actions, journalism has been able to demonstrate to audiences its (formally) neutral and disassociated position vis-à-vis 'the actual facts' presented. An example of this is the way journalism/the interviewer avoids reacting to the interviewee's answers with evaluating comments or agreement. Instead, new questions are formulated.

In Chapter 2, Mats Ekström argues that during the 20th century, interviewing and quoting developed into a set of institutionalized practices and techniques, which in turn became foundational for what could be called modern news journalism. Four aspects of this journalism are identified: News journalism as a relatively autonomous social institution, journalism's claims to objectivity, journalism's formats, design and mode of communication, and the establishment of journalistic discourses. Ekström's overall objective is to study the relations between the practices and techniques of interviewing

and quoting on one hand and the establishment of modern news journalism on the other. Two dominating Swedish newspapers – *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* – are studied empirically from 1915 to 1995.

In Chapter 3, Steven E. Clayman and John Heritage develop a system for analyzing questions that journalists ask public figures in broadcast news interviews and press conferences which is then applied to data from press conferences of US Presidents Dwight Eisenhower in 1954 and Ronald Reagan in 1981. The results suggest that journalists have become more aggressive and less deferential in the way they treat the US presidents. The consequences of this change can be observed directly in the sense that presidents are less likely to hold press conferences where they face rough interrogations, and are more vulnerable to public and journalistic scrutiny than before. A more indirect consequence suggested is that the increasing adversariness may have caused a rising scepticism regarding the presidency, while at the same time enabling journalists to present themselves as autonomous professionals who hold the elites accountable before the public.

In Chapter 4, Martin Eide studies the representations of three Norwegian Prime Ministers during the 1960s in the newspaper *Verdens Gang* (VG). His focus is on how the texts are constitutive of social authority and professional identity while mapping out long-term shifts of footing within journalism, shifts which have to do with changes in the journalistic involvement during the studied time period. Eide concludes that the studied journalistic discourse displays a new authoritative talk in the making on the threshold of the Interview Society, but suggests that although journalism's authority is strengthened at the expense of the politicians', the process in which a shift occurs is very ambiguous and filled with complexity.

Part Two: The Interview as Institutional Practices and Interaction

What we understand as news today is closely related to the use of interviews. To a considerable extent, journalism is about collecting, producing and staging utterances. For this fundamental purpose, a set of techniques and institutionalized practices has been developed within journalism. A first distinction can be made between techniques and practices linked to the management of interaction, and to those linked to the construction of media texts. By 'management of interaction' we mean, for instance, the news interview as a form of interaction in which interviewers and interviewees have different roles, and together create a conversation with the help of methods for asking questions and giving answers. By 'the construction of media texts', we refer to all the techniques used when utterances are incorporated in texts, genres, narratives and program formats (see Part Three).

The interview, as well as other forms of spoken interaction, is sequential in its nature. An utterance is always a response to a prior utterance and

is also shaped by the expectations raised in the first utterance. In several instances, a first utterance requires a second utterance to 'complete' the sequence. Such combinations of two utterances are called 'adjacency pairs' (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). The chains of questions and replies in interviews can be seen as prime examples of this adjacency pairing. Hence, the relationship between a question and reply can be described as normative. When a question is asked, there are – in our society – strong expectations of a reply. Therefore, we could argue, the interview is a kind of 'machine', a social situation that compels replies and statements from the recipients. The upshot of this is that the interview should not be seen as a mere device for gathering information, and, similarly, questions should not be treated only as neutral, information-seeking devices. If someone asks us a question, we answer it. And this we do regardless of whether we have ever thought about the matter asked about. Interactionally, it simply costs us less to reply – and perhaps to say something that we are not very committed to – than to stay silent or to say that we don't really care about the question. Of course, this is especially true when it comes to interviews in which the interviewer dominates the interviewee in terms of social status (Säljö 2000:116), an issue that points directly back to the increasing power of journalism (see Clayman and Heritage, Chapter 3).

In Chapter 5, Mie Femø Nielsen takes her point of departure in Harvey Sacks' 'doing being' in her analysis of Danish TV interview programs and the ways in which interviewer roles are a matter of enactment, correspondence between turn construction, the use of formulations, continuers and responses, as well as the handling of pauses and posture, gestures and facial expressions. Femø Nielsen shows three examples of interviewer roles and how they are done, and suggests an action-based taxonomy for interviews that reflects the interviewer's behaviour depending on whether the interviewee is invited to, e.g., produce an argumentation for, or account of, something, to declare something, or tell a story. This taxonomy, called 'speaker-action approach', is launched as one way to approach the complex construction of an interviewer role.

In Chapter 6, Kosta Economou and Christian Svensson Limsjö discuss some important developments in interactional styles and methods in Swedish investigative journalism interviewing. Specifically, their analysis deals with the uses of 'hidden camera footage' in order to study how this technique is used in an interactional and conversational frame, and how it can be used as something that seems 'backstage' and thus claims a higher legitimacy as being authentic than the established role-taking between reporter and subject. Conceptually, Goffman's (1974) *frame* and the notion of *front stage and backstage* (1959/82) are used. The main purpose of the chapter is to discuss how politicians and journalists in political interviews interactionally and discursively define and, together, create the situations they participate in. Secondly, the authors would like to link their study to the notion of medialization, of intimization and the development of new media formats and technologies.

*Part Three: Quoting and Editing – Recontextualizing
the Interview*

The interview is not only a method in the collection of news and news material, but also a form for staged performances, edited programs, and the composition of multimodal media texts. The extracted short quotation came to serve as a perfect way of reproducing others' voices on the newspaper page, where design and visualization became more and more important during the second half of the 20th century. The quotations became visual units that could be contrasted, through capital letters, color and carefully chosen typefaces, to the rest of the text (see Ekström, Chapter 2).

Today, quotations and extracts from interviews have become natural elements of news journalism. In television, news coverage is usually built around short cuts from interviews – 'sound bites'. In the press, a set of various quotation techniques is used as a vital part of the schematic outline of articles and the multimodal design of the newspaper page, not least in headlines. Together with photos, quotations became a way of giving the newspaper page more life and making it more attractive. The visual representations of politicians and others in the form of photographs and images captured by TV cameras from different angles can also be used in a multitude of ways to create a certain effect, subtly or less subtly, implying certain taken-for-granted knowledge about an interviewee. With the advancement of new media technology, journalists' possibilities to use interviews and extracts from interviews, as well as 'telling' visual representations in the framing of a certain story, have certainly improved, making politicians and other top officials even more vulnerable in the media.

In Chapter 7, Mats Nylund studies quotes, evaluations and reported speech in front page news taken from seven conventional Nordic morning papers in 1999. Nylund's main purpose is to analyse quotes in relation to the general news narrative with a specific interest towards seeing how quoted content is embedded in the text, forming a more or less coherent and polyphonic news story. The analysis explores and elaborates on four highly typical features: monological versus dialogical narrative frames, reformulations and narrative shifts. Nylund argues that quotes are intrinsically multi-functional and lists some narrative features that are provided in news stories through quotes. Quotes, Nylund concludes, are used to make stories appear solid, valid and real.

Åsa Kroon also focuses on quotes in Chapter 8, namely the ways in which top politicians' quotes are constructed and represented in a media context just before a general election. Data are taken from two Swedish quality newspapers and two tabloids from September 2002. More specifically, the usage and function of 'pull quotes', i.e. extracted quotes, from various news interviews – interviews that are never shown in their original form in the media – are explored. The aim is to show how pull quoting is a gendered

practice in the sense that utterances made by female and male politicians in interviews that are picked up and used as pull quotes in prominent political newspaper texts are used differently depending on the gender of the politician quoted. However, there also seems to be a general tendency to use pull quotes as a way of belittling or disempowering politicians as a group – a practice that is irrelevant of gender.

In Chapter 9, Göran Eriksson presents a historically comparative study with data from Swedish TV news programs from 1978, 1993 and 2003. Eriksson's interest concerns the edited interviews with politicians that occur in news stories. To a large extent, politicians' answers in interviews are divorced from their original context and integrated into a coherent dramatized narrative together with a presenter's or reporter's voice. In his study, Eriksson focuses on the discourse practice of framing in news stories with the aim of revealing the discursive strategies used in news journalism when politicians' answers are edited. In what ways are the answers recontextualized by the voice of the reporter?

In the final chapter of this section, Chapter 10, Mats Nylund explores 'behind-the-scene' news interviews and their relation to the news product. Nylund studies the process from, and transformation of, journalistic interviews to television news and analyzes how the interviews are conducted, edited and arranged both verbally and visually, into the final news report. The aim is to identify general patterns in television news stories and see how these patterns are constructed partly through the reporter's question strategies in the interview, as well as through editing. The corpus includes both television news reports from the Swedish language public service television in Finland, and reporter-source interviews on which the news reports were based.

Part Four: The Interview as an Interdiscursive Phenomenon and Interaction on New Arenas

Today, a central question one could ask is what will happen to journalism's power and status when the forms of conversation in the media are changing? In many program formats that have evolved in later years, the professional interview is mixed with – or substituted by – more everyday conversation. Current affairs programs are created with journalists being replaced by hosts and recruited on grounds other than that of journalistic competence. For example, in some cases media companies have chosen to replace journalists with other media celebrities for the most prestigious assignments, such as interviewing the party leaders during an election campaign.

During the past 10 to 15 years, a set of new program formats has evolved – debate programs, talk shows, current affairs programs – in which conversation and interaction are the lowest common denominators. These formats have been developed in order to meet the demands for regeneration in a

situation in which cost of production must be kept low at the same time as audience numbers rule. The programs have been built around interviews with various types of guests – politicians, experts and private people. The production of these types of programs is comparatively cheap, and at the same time they can create a special form of liveliness and drama. Behind the seemingly spontaneous discussions, there is usually a detailed plan for questions and answers. In the production process, the pursuit of people who are able and willing to say sensational things is what is most important. In this context, research has come to mean casting (Ekström, 2000). We argue that a close investigation of the interview and related forms of interaction is a way to deepen the understanding of the plurality of media public spheres – how they are structured and how they function as part of modern democracy.

In Chapter 11, Ulla Moberg presents an analysis of discussions on a Swedish radio phone-in show, discussions that can be seen as generic variants of political interviews in which ‘ordinary citizens’ are invited to ask questions of leading politicians or discuss political issues with a journalist. In these discussions, the interaction between a citizen and a politician and/or journalist gives birth to a hybrid form of an interview. When ordinary people become participants in these radio shows, Moberg notices a break-up of the conventional interview format. Different genres influence each other and give rise to new sorts of interaction within the frame of the interview, and an informal mundane conversational style is mixed with influences from the more formal news interview.

In Chapter 12, Steven E. Clayman discusses a number of interactional forms in a US context, e.g. news interviews, news conferences, radio call-in shows, TV talk shows and town meetings. Clayman calls these forms ‘modes of human interaction’ and they are analyzed as distinct arenas within the public sphere, each with its own conditions of access and modes of conduct. The interactional arenas are examined from the standpoint of their historical development, constraints on participation and the evolving norms and practices that organize conduct. Clayman concludes his chapter, as well as this book, by addressing the broader ramifications of broadcast interaction for journalism, politics and the public sphere.

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I

Historical Shifts and the Role of the Journalistic Interview in Modern Media

Chapter 2

Interviewing, Quoting and the Development of Modern News Journalism

*A Study of the Swedish Press 1915-1995**

Mats Ekström

The development of news journalism during the 20th century is closely linked to the establishment of the journalistic interview and a set of techniques used for presenting others' voices (often in the form of quotation). Interviewing methods and quoting techniques have played a central part in what is usually described as the professionalization and/or institutionalization of journalism. These methods have been well suited to an increasingly independent journalism with high claims to objectivity and ambition of offering exclusive news in an attractive format.

But the interview is not just a method reserved for journalism; it is also a means for other agents and social institutions to communicate through the media. The latter applies not least to politics (Ekström 2001). During the second half of the 20th century, politics have gradually come to depend on (and to some extent adapt to) not only the news interview but also the special journalistic way of using quotations in news production. In some cases, individual comments can become big political news through the established quotation techniques in journalism (Ekström 2003a).

My main argument in this chapter is that, during the 20th century, interviewing and quoting developed into a set of institutionalized practices and techniques, which in their turn became foundational for what could be called modern news journalism. I distinguish four aspects of this journalism:¹

1. News journalism as a relatively autonomous social institution. What is characteristic of modern news journalism is not only its high degree of autonomy but also the development of specialized and institutionalized methods. The interview is not only one of the most vital means of investigating things, collecting raw material and producing news (cf. Schudson 1995); it also regulates and symbolizes the power of journalism in relation to other institutions. Through the interview, journalism has taken over rights and made itself fairly independent of practices in other institutions. This is

* Another version of this article is published in Swedish in Ekström (2006).

illustrated clearly by the fact that the interview today is a much more important news source than covering and reporting the communication organized within the framework of political institutions themselves (e.g. parliamentary debates, political speeches, meetings and documents).²

2. Journalism's claims to objectivity. Like many other institutions in modern society (e.g., science and the judicial system) journalism has high claims to objectivity (in some cases formulated in terms of impartiality, neutrality and/or matter-of-factness). These claims to objectivity permeate the linguistic practices (discourses) of the institution. The interview and quotation techniques have come to serve as methods for communicating *others' voices* and, at the same time, emphasizing *distance and formal neutrality* in news journalism (cf. Clayman 1992, Tuchman 1972, Ekström 2003b).

3. Formats and design. Modern news journalism is closely associated with the newspaper and the news as a designed product, attractive to a mass audience. During the 20th century, the press changed radically. New technologies and new ideas about layout and design were used to create newspaper pages that were organized and designed to attract visual attention and achieve high entertainment value. Modern journalism has been closely associated with what some have defined as the modern design (Barnhurst and Nerone 2001: 207). Partly by means of various quotation techniques a multimodal newspaper page was developed, strongly influenced by visual communication forms.

4. Establishment of journalistic discourse. Modern journalism is also closely associated with the development of internal discourses, stories and strategies for presentation. At every stage in press history, news has naturally been presented in the framework of special genres and conventions. What distinguishes modern news journalism most is the way it increasingly edits the public communication, sets the stage for others' utterances, and creates *media events*, all in accordance with a specifically journalistic logic. This development has been observed by many researchers (Altheide and Snow 1991, Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994, Ekström 2000). These internal discourses are carried out and supported by a set of sociolinguistic practices and techniques, among which interviewing and quoting are the most important.

Aim and method

The overall aim of this chapter is to study more closely the relations between the practices and techniques of interviewing and quoting on one hand and the establishment of modern news journalism on the other. Taking a historical study of the press as the point of departure, I will present some important trends in relation to the four aspects of modern journalism mentioned above.

Two Swedish newspapers – *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* – are studied empirically from 1915 to 1995. The material consists of all political news in the two newspapers during the month of April in 1915, 1935, 1955, 1975 and 1995. These newspapers were selected because they were both established in the 19th century, and were among the leading ones in the Swedish press during the entire 20th century. During the second half of the 20th century *Aftonbladet* changed into a tabloid and *Dagens Nyheter* became a high status morning paper. The interval of 20 years was chosen in order to capture important changes over time without becoming burdened by an impossibly large body of material. In total, the material consists of 656 articles/political news items.

Conceptual clarifications

The theoretical starting points and relations to earlier research are reported consecutively in the analyses later in the chapter. By way of introduction, however, I would like to make a few conceptual clarifications. The *journalistic interview* has three aspects: (1) A concrete working method to collect raw material for news articles; (2) A form for social interaction. As a number of researchers have shown, the news interview evolved during the 20th century into an institutionalized form of interaction with norms, roles and rules of conduct adherent to it (Clayman and Heritage 2002); (3) A form for presenting others' voices in the media (Ekström 2001).

I define *quotation* as synonymous with direct speech. Direct speech is a linguistic clause claiming to render what someone else has said, and this in a syntactically independent form (Eriksson 1997). Being independent means that the utterance *can have* been formulated in the same manner by the person quoted. Its independence also implies that there are no other voices in the utterance. This distinguishes direct speech (which I also call quotation) from reported or indirect speech. Reported speech is when the other's utterance is paraphrased in the current speaker's/relater's voice.

Example of direct speech: "I don't regret anything."

Example of reported speech: "In the interview with *Expressen*, the Prime Minister said that he does not regret any of ..."

In the analysis I also use the concept *quotation techniques* (cf. Zelizer 1995, and Kroon's chapter in this book). This concept refers to different techniques for *indicating* and *integrating* direct speech in a linguistic context (in this case, news texts). In news texts, a set of markers is used to indicate for the reader that this is a quotation. This can be done through the use of devices such as quotation marks, italics and long dashes. A set of different techniques is further used especially for integrating quotations – making them part of news stories and news formats. An example of this is the use of quotation in headlines.

Different types of quotation comprise one of the most frequently used linguistic actions. Direct speech (quotation) is used within the framework of everyday conversations and stories as well as within more institutionalized linguistic practices, such as scientific writing, court interrogations, political debates, advertising and modern news production (cf. Zelizer 1995). In each of these contexts, quotations are used in different ways and with different objectives. Quotation techniques are always integrated in a communicative situation in which the quotations are used with a specific intent in mind (Tannen 1989). An important issue in this chapter is to observe what characterizes the use of quotations in news journalism.

The interview and the establishment of news journalism as an autonomous institution

During the 20th century, news journalism developed into a modern public institution with a high degree of autonomy, a strong position in the public sphere, and specialized, routinized methods. This happened gradually, and naturally involved many different aspects. I will argue that the institutionalization of the interview has been a vital part of the institutionalization of journalism.

But what signified the changed role of the interview in news journalism? One important aspect is of course the fact that the interview, having been a method resorted to on special occasions, was step-by-step becoming more of an *everyday practice*. The use of the interview in the Swedish press goes back to the 1880s, at least. From about 1910 and onward, a leading newspaper like *Dagens Nyheter* fairly often published material from interviews conducted by one of the paper's reporters (Rahm 2001, pp. 125, 152). However, it seems that it was not until the middle of the 20th century that the interview made a breakthrough in everyday journalistic work (see Table 1, below). Schudson (1995: 95), who describes the interview as "the archetypal act of journalism", holds that the interview evolved much earlier in American news journalism than in many parts of Europe. As early as the end of the 19th century, it was a relatively common method in many newspapers' editorial offices.

The study of the two newspapers *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) and their political news clearly demonstrates how the importance of the interview has changed over time. In 1915, and even in 1935, it was common for the newspapers to publish articles in which reporters described, related and quoted parliamentary debates, political speeches and other events/discussions organized within the framework of the political institutions. The job of the reporters was to listen to and cover often very long political speeches. This was hardly unique for the two investigated newspapers (Ekecrantz and Olsson 2000). Interviews were used sparingly. Political institutions as such

were regarded highly and were considered valuable news. The reporters were active as observers and writers, but were not directly involved in the conversations they related. The politicians' actions in these situations were probably fairly unaffected by the presence of journalists. In this sense, the political and journalistic spheres were separated from each other.³

From the middle of the 20th century and onward, this changed radically. The interview became an increasingly more commonly used method and source, as can be seen in Table 1. I have here confined myself to investigating where the journalists collected the quotations reproduced in the articles. The development is particularly clear in *Aftonbladet*. During the investigated periods 1915 and 1935 there were no quotations, taken from interviews, in *Aftonbladet*. But beginning in 1955 they became successively more common. In the production of modern news articles, quotations taken from interviews are essential. I will return to this.

Table 1. Quotations taken from various communicative events: percent

	1915		1935		1955		1975		1995	
	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN
Parliament	43	38	67	43	18	25	0	19	0	9
Pol speeches and meetings	5	8	0	9	18	15	4	24	0	11
Pol documents	28	46	0	24	0	15	12	16	2	2
Total of pol inst.	76	92	67	76	36	55	16	59	2	22
Interview	0	4	0	14	41	25	52	13	74	23
Press conference	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	2	8
Press release	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other media	19	4	0	5	6	0	4	2	4	2
Debates arranged by the newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0
Not evident	5	0	33	5	18	20	24	22	13	44

Total of quotations 100 (21) 100 (26) 100 (6) 100 (21) 100 (17) 100 (20) 100 (25) 100 (63) 100 (47) 100 (181)

A comment is needed so that the figures in Table 1 can be understood correctly. I have only coded the results as "interview" when it is evident from the article that they actually come from an interview. As can be seen in Table 1, for every investigated year there is an increasing number of quotations that have been coded "not evident". In these cases it is not evident in the article where the journalist has taken the utterance. There is, however, reason to believe that a large number of the quotations come from interviews. The fact is that a practice is gradually evolving within the news genre by which reporters quote from interviews they have made without stating the source (Ekström, Johansson and Larsson 2006). Therefore, the interview as

a source is actually even more common than the figures under the value “interview” indicate in the table.

For very good reasons, the development described above (see Table 1) can be understood as an expression of a situation in which journalism has made itself more and more *independent in relation to other institutions*. News journalism conducts interviews instead of collecting quotations from communication events arranged within the framework of the political institutions. This does not necessarily mean that reporters stop visiting parliamentary debates, political meetings, etc. However, it becomes increasingly more important for them to use interviews as a supplementary or even key method. Regardless of whether or not this actually provides any new information, it means that the power, independence and exclusive rights of journalism are underscored. Journalism does not merely produce news texts but initiates and directs the communicative events from which the news material (quotations) is taken. Table 1 also indicates that the shift in quoting, from political institutions (Parliament, etc.) to interviews is clearer in the tabloid (*Aftonbladet*), compared to the morning paper (*DN*).

The paradoxical result, however, is that while journalism develops into a more independent institution, it becomes more and more difficult to separate the spheres of politics and journalism. The political public sphere becomes a journalistic public sphere. Even modern news journalism, naturally, relates discussions that have been organized within the framework of political institutions, but these tend to become less important at the expense of political discussions created within the framework of journalism.

At the same time as the interview was used more frequently, it also became more *specialized*. A characteristic feature of institutions is the development of their own *specialized methods* for realizing internal goals – in this case producing attractive news. This specialization meant that the interview to an ever larger extent was separated from other forms of communication. The interview was associated with *special techniques, special (power) relations* between the person asking questions and the person answering them, and also became a symbol of journalism. During the first decades of the 20th century, interview and conversation were almost synonymous when reporters stated the source of the information presented in their articles. The difference does not seem to have been important at all, neither symbolically nor in practice. This changed in the post-war period and particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. In news articles there is no longer talk of reporters having conversations with politicians. They ask questions. The journalistic ideal that gradually took form placed the interview – the questioning – in a central place. Interviewing techniques became an important part of the identity and professionalization of journalism (complete with an education system) (Schudson 1995).

The news interview developed into an *exclusive method* that contributed to making journalism exclusive. With this method, journalists could inform the public of matters to which not just anyone had access – reporters/news-

papers were able to offer the reader *exclusive* information. They could publish political comments and statements that did not even exist before the interview had been conducted.

For example, on *Dagens Nyheter's* front page on 19 April 1975, there is an article based on an interview with Social Democratic Prime Minister Olof Palme. The exclusiveness of the interview is emphasized with the headline: **Mr. Palme in DN-interview: How long will Mr. Fälldin's statement hold?** Fälldin is the leader of the "Center Party", one of the three non-Socialist parties claiming to formulate a government alternative to the Social Democrats. The article on the front page builds on quotations from the interview. Through the interview, a political debate is staged in the public arena of the newspaper.

If the interview were to be established as an institutionalized method and form for interaction, it was necessary that it be accepted and achieve *legitimacy* among journalists and politicians alike. As Schudson (1995: 76) has shown, there was a widespread critical attitude towards the interview at the turn of the 20th century, not least among American journalists. Some even saw it as a threat to all professional journalism. Contemporary comments from Swedish politicians indicate that in 1915 (the first year I have studied) the interview was far from being commonly accepted. The Social Democratic party leader, Hjalmar Branting, allegedly described the interview as "a product of the ruthless methods of the contemporary press". He was critical of the interview as a working method for journalists. Branting was particularly critical of attempts to force people to answer questions when they had not asked to be interviewed (the newspaper *Socialdemokraten's* archives). That a leading politician in this manner could claim that he should only be interviewed when he himself had asked for it gives us a hint of the relationship between journalism and politics at the time. When the interview was eventually institutionalized and became part of modern journalism, these power relations were radically changed.

Interviewing became an institutionalized practice when certain perceptions about this form of interaction became *universally spread*. The journalistic interview became more and more natural. It also eventually became natural to the readers, the audience. This did not happen in Sweden until many decades into the 20th century, though in American journalism it happened earlier, perhaps as early as the turn of the 20th century (Schudson 1995: 74). It is hardly relevant to try and find a more exact dating. The fact that the interview has become a self-evident part of news production indicates that justifying meta-comments becomes superfluous when interviews are presented in the press. In 1915, but also in 1935, such meta-comments were still common.

On 12 April 1935 *Dagens Nyheter* published a news item on its front page mentioning the political process behind a new legislation. In the headline and introduction, a director-general and politician is quoted commenting on the matter. Directly after the quotation we can read:

It is Director-General Sam Larsson who gives this answer in a conversation with *Dagens Nyheter* on account of professor Westman's latest description of the situation of the third party law. We have found it natural to turn to Mr. Larsson since he is one of the Liberal Party members in the second standing committee on civil-law legislation and has taken part in the so-called thirteen-man-commission's" discussions.

The newspaper has obviously found it necessary, in a noticeable place and immediately after the introduction of the text, to elaborate on why this particular person has been interviewed. This type of explanation, meta-comments, was not uncommon in this period but is almost non-existent a few decades later. It is thus characteristic of modern news journalism that interviews become more frequent, while at the same time the method becomes less noticeable in the news texts.

To summarize, the interview became not only a specialized journalistic method for rapid and efficient news production. On a more fundamental level, institutionalization of the interview implied a new position for journalism (Schudson 1995: 49). As members of this institution, reporters were granted a legitimate right, perhaps not to demand but at least to expect interviews with officials. The relationship between reporters and official people changed. The interview became such an accepted form for publication of politics that politicians' reluctance to submit to an interview could in itself become news. The interview became the very symbol of journalism's extended rights to watch over the authorities. It is thus far an expression of the relationship between journalism, politics and audience that is absolutely fundamental for modern news journalism. It is the right of journalism to scrutinize the authorities and at the same time control the media public sphere. This development during the 20th century was obviously related to other changes in society, which I have not discussed here. I am thinking about, e.g., general democratization; the demystifying of political authorities and the altered conditions for political legitimacy; the phase-out of party press and the increasing independence of the press in relation to the political parties; the commercialization of the media and the expansion of the media audience.

Quotation techniques and news journalism's claim to objectivity

Objectivity is one of the most important norms and claims of modern news journalism. This statement may naturally be questioned by journalists and media critics who maintain that journalism cannot be objective; it all depends on what we mean by objective. I will not engross myself in this discussion since it has been dealt with elsewhere (McQuail 1987, Ekström

and Nohrstedt 1996, Schudson 1995, Tuchman 1972). I am not interested at this point in whether news reporting is or can be objective. My argument is rather that modern news journalism has been closely linked to the need for *demonstrating* that the news exists independent of news journalism. This is confirmed by all the techniques that news journalism has developed and applies to withdraw itself from the story (Tuchman 1978: 83). Through tangible linguistic actions – in interviews, in news texts – identities and relationships, fundamental for the news as a discourse and social institution, are maintained (cf. Fairclough 1995).

Through thorough analyses of the news interview, Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) have shown how the formally neutral position is manifested in the role that the interviewer adopts through his speech act. For instance, the interviewer avoids commenting on the interviewee's answers, by way of assessment or affirmation; instead he/she formulates new questions.

In this section I will instead explore how news journalism, with the help of a set of quotation techniques, has accentuated distance – that is, has shown that it does not speak with its own voice but transmits others' voices. These techniques have made it possible for news journalism to uphold formal neutrality, combined with great freedom to use others' voices in order to create attractive news stories.

As Tannen (1989) has so convincingly argued (notably inspired by Bakhtin), there are no *pure quotations*, in the sense of unaffected reproduction. Direct speech is always constructed by someone in a certain situation. There is always a purpose behind the reproduction of others' voices in a certain manner and for a particular group of listeners. Quoted voices are always part of a story or a dialogue that someone creates, regardless of how present the creator is in the dialogue. The narrator, or as in our case the journalist, influences the utterances rendered at three levels, at least:

1. *Choice of words and syntax*: Even when voices are rendered in the form of direct speech (quotations), words and syntax are often changed in order to suit the present situation. In news journalism such changes are often necessary if quotations are to fit, e.g., the form of a headline (Ekström 2003a).

2. *Modalities and discursive techniques*: In many cases an utterance is transferred from one modality to another, e.g., when an oral utterance from an interview is transferred into text. In news texts a number of discursive techniques are used, such as size and typeface, influencing the meaning of an utterance. In oral communication, people use stresses and paralinguistic signals in a corresponding manner.

3. *Context*: An utterance is always rendered in a special context – with regard to the specific communication situation, the story in which the utterance is fitted and the more immediate linguistic context (co-text) (Ekström 2001, Linell, 1998). These circumstances naturally affect the meaning of a quotation.

Quotations can therefore never be completely neutral.⁴ On the other hand, they can be crucial to the maintenance of formal neutrality.

Through their respective syntactic constructions, direct and indirect speech establish different relationships between the person who utters something, the one rendering the utterance (journalism) and those to whom the utterance is rendered (the reader/the audience). Characteristic of direct speech (quotation) is that it focuses on the utterance, while indirect speech also focuses on the speech situation in which the utterance was made. Indirect speech at the same time makes the narrator/writer (in this case, the reporter) more present. With direct speech, one can instead get the impression that someone is speaking directly to the audience (Eriksson 1997). This is precisely what makes a quotation so useful in a (news) discourse with high claims of objectivity.

Direct and indirect speech are frequently used in news articles during all the periods studied. With the development of modern journalism, a distinct shift is noticeable towards a news discourse in which the direct speech – the quotation – is more clearly marked, through a set of quotation techniques. In 1915 and 1935, political news was presented by way of a report. Many news items have the form of a report from parliamentary debates and other events within the framework of the political institutions. While quoting and reporting what other people have said, the reporter is distinctly present in the text as writer. Quotation techniques such as quotation marks (or long dashes) are seldom used. Switches from the reporter's voice to that of the source are not clearly marked, and in some cases can be difficult to distinguish. The following example is taken from an article describing a parliamentary debate in 1915.

On account of the address by the introducer of the bill, Mr. Olof Olsson (a) in Gothenburg wanted to establish that the proposal was just a move against Socialism. He certainly was not afraid of this but opposed the proposal for other reasons. The speaker deeply respected the will of the People, but why does Mr. Kjellen cut out all women, all who are excluded from the right to vote, etc. so that only 33% remain? Is this the unadulterated will of the People? And what harm is done if some of the 33% do not vote? And thereby a few more Conservatives should be elected – does Mr. Kjellen want to punish the neglectful for that?

Mr. Kjellen (h) replied. It was not I who had the power to cut out the categories mentioned, and I prefer 33% to an even smaller number. The speaker defined his attitude to the will of the People in such a way that if this were allowed in the Second Chamber unorganized, it should be statutory in the First Chamber and supplemented by the will of the Government. It has been said that Democracy should pull itself through. But how could this happen if it is not given any credit? (Excerpt from an article in DN, 15 April 1915, reporting from the parliamentary debate.)

As early as 1955 – but especially in 1975 and 1995 – the forms of rendering others' voices have changed radically. Quotations are visually discernible from the rest of the news text. Voices are separated from the original conversational situation as well as from the relater. With the syntactically independent form of direct speech, utterances may appear as if they are rendered in their original form (Eriksson 1997, p 153). A set of quotation markers is used, the three most common being quotation marks, long dashes and not least syntactic constructions such as:

Mr. Sträng: The political conflict is inexplicable.

The third type of quotation is abundant in the two newspapers in 1955, 1975 and 1995, often used in headings and subheadings. This is interesting since it clearly distances journalism from the utterance on the one hand, while on the other hand it is evident that it does not at all require a word-for-word representation. On the contrary, quotations are as a rule taken from quite long comments (extracted) and are adapted so that they come out as unambiguous statements (adapted for news media). When this quotation technique becomes part of modern tabloid journalism, it seems as if there is no demand for anyone to have actually made the statement that is cited. It becomes particularly obvious when the journalist puts the words into the mouths of a whole collective – as in the following two headlines (*Aftonbladet*, 4 April and 6 April, 1995):

The Nation demands: Cooperate!

The Union rages: The weak are being knocked out

In 1975 and 1995 direct speech is often used in such a way that it almost looks as if people make statements in the newspapers. The newspaper becomes a public medium in which politicians make comments and the person who creates this public medium is made invisible. When indirect speech is combined with pictures of the person making the statements, the press creates a form of immediacy with parallels in other media (Bolter and Grusin 2000, Corner 1995). Just as the photo can be seen as an unmediated representation of the person presented, the quotation can appear as an unmediated representation of an utterance. The combination of picture and quotation strengthens the impression that the politician is speaking directly to the reader.⁵

To summarize, the long-term perspective from 1915 to 1995 shows a somewhat paradoxical development. During the first decades of the 20th century reporters were to a large extent engaged in describing and relating, in detail, events taking place within the framework of the political institutions. The journalists rendered others' voices (in the form of direct or indirect speech) but were at the same time themselves present in the text, as writers with their own voice and their own values. In modern news

journalism, the power of journalism to edit and construct the public debate has increased, while the constructor him/herself has become more and more invisible in the texts – in accordance with the news institution's high claims of objectivity.

Format, design and forms of communication

Altheide and Snow (1991) have argued that organized journalism is dead, as a consequence of journalism having adapted to media formats and being less and less concerned with investigating the state of things. Their analysis deals primarily with TV. In my opinion, the development of media format – here in the form of the modern newspaper page – is not a development away from journalism but part of modern news journalism. Journalism is closely connected to the development of products that are attractive to a mass audience. For this institution, the way news is presented is no side issue but the most important one (Hartley 1996).

During the 20th century there was a gradual modernization of the newspaper. Common for newspapers is that they are organized in different sections, genres, hierarchies – and that each newspaper page is designed with pictures, headline levels, well-defined lines and other graphic techniques. Barnhurst and Nerone (2001), who have studied the news format more closely, find that modernization of the press took place chiefly between 1920 and 1940. This also applies to the Swedish press, but naturally format and design have changed very much in the latter part of the 20th century as well. In this section I will argue that quotation techniques have been a matter of vital importance to this development. Quotations suited the newspaper page with a modern design very well.

During the decades I have investigated – from 1915 on onward – the news and the news page change radically, and these changes can be linked to four interrelated aspects:

1. The chronological way of supplying news is replaced by what Schudson (1995: 49) calls a summary lead. This “literary invention” meant that the journalist was expected to emphasize the most important things and make this mark the form of presentation.
2. Parallel to this, the newspaper page becomes increasingly more pictorial. This is not only, or even primarily, a question of an increasing number of photographs. It is instead a question of communication as a whole becoming less chronological and more pictorial. A news item is no longer presented mainly in the form of a written text that people are to read from beginning to end, but in the form of visual mapping. The relationships established between pictures, headlines, text blocks, etc. are fundamental to the communication.

3. To a great extent, news is what Kress and van Leeuwen (1998: 187) describe as “multimodally articulated”. The communication is simultaneously written, pictorial and oral. These modalities relate to different “signifying systems”. Different techniques are used in order to create meaning.

4. Design and aesthetics become central in news journalism, where demands for attraction and immediate attention are crucial. News should meet such classical news criteria as digression, incisiveness, relevance, etc., not only regarding the contents of the story. Even the form should be attractive and exciting in itself. Conformity is replaced with contrast, variety, strong colors. To an ever larger extent, the newspaper page turns to a reader who will be able to find the essential messages by quickly scanning it. The message should be striking. The news format and advertisements both face the same request.

Within the framework of this development the quotation becomes the perfect, flexible form for presenting others’ voices. Quotations can serve as well defined *visual units*, which can be used in many different ways in the design of the newspaper page. These units can be placed in different spaces in the text; through various techniques they can be framed and related to other units; they can function as headlines, introductions, etc.; they can be shortened (few words) and at the same time (visually) magnified, and they can be represented with different typefaces, colors, etc. All this naturally requires that utterances be *extracted* – that is, disengaged from their original contexts (Ekström 2003a).

The outcome of the quantitative study I have performed shows that quotations have been used during the whole period but have become more frequent over time (see Table 2). In the two last survey periods (1975 and 1995), quotation has developed into an almost indispensable method in news production. The figures are somewhat higher for *Aftonbladet*, the tabloid, than for *Dagens Nyheter*, due to the fact that the latter paper contains quite a number of short news items in which there are seldom any quotations.

Table 2. Number of quotations (direct speech) in political news articles: percent

	1915		1935		1955		1975		1995	
	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN
Art. with quotes	52	42	30	66	55	60	80	79	85	66
Art. without quotes	48	58	70	34	45	40	20	21	15	34
Total of articles	100 (40)	100 (53)	100 (20)	100 (32)	100 (29)	100 (25)	100 (30)	100 (76)	100 (48)	100 (262)

In relation to the argument above it is, however, more relevant to study how quotations have been used in the news design. Here we can observe distinct changes, particularly from 1955 and onward (see Table 3). Quotations are used increasingly in headlines, but also in introductions.

Table 3. Quotations and the news design – percentage of number of articles each year

	1915		1935		1955		1975		1995	
	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN
Quotation in:										
Headline	0	2	0	0	21	20	17	41	46	8
Subheading	0	0	0	9	3	12	7	13	12	5
Intermediate heading	0	2	0	6	3	40	17	22	29	3
Introduction	0	0	0	6	21	32	17	29	48	9
Number of articles	40	53	20	32	29	25	30	76	48	262

Quotations, as they are used in modern news journalism, are in themselves markedly multimodal. Through the direct speech – and the quotation markers used – one almost gets the impression of someone *speaking* in the text. Communication is simultaneously *written* and *oral* (Zelizer 1995)⁶, but is also to a great extent *pictorial*. Quotations serve as visual units, and their purport is in essence determined by the way they are visualized and thereby integrated in what Kress and van Leeuwen (1998: 188) describe as the signifying system of layout. A crucial aspect here is how much attention a quotation can draw. The degree of attention also depends on the quotation's position (front page, headline, subheading, introduction or inside a text), size, typeface, color and contrast. It is not uncommon that news texts contain several quotations that attract attention to different degrees. A hierarchy is established, from the most important to the least important quotations. Layout can also be used to establish relationships and dialogues between several utterances in the text.

Interviewing, quoting and the establishment of journalistic discourses

Closely linked to the establishment of modern journalism is the development of what might be called, using an overall term, journalistic discourses. Discourses are based on speech acts rooted in specific contexts (van Dijk 1997). Characteristic of institutions is that they develop discourses, more or

less specific to that institution. This applies to science, schools, law courts and healthcare, as well as to journalism. A central aspect of this institutionalization is the tendency to *normalize particular ways of using the language* in text, speech and conversation, thereby giving them an increasingly internal character. An example of this institutionalization of language use, with regards to journalism, is the news interview (Clayman and Heritage 2002). Fairclough (1995) uses the term “order of discourse”, referring to the combination of discourses and communications events found within the framework of a social institution.

In this section I shall focus on a particular aspect of the order of discourse of modern journalism: the *staging* of public performances. The interview and quoting techniques are among the most important methods when politicians are placed on the stage. The term *staging* serves in part as a metaphor but is also used here as a defined analytical category. Staging refers to certain aspects of a communications event, namely (1) *the stage*, (2) *actors' performances* on the stage, and (3) *the director's actions*. The analysis is more specifically oriented to the speech acts and techniques by which a director (in this case journalism) molds the scene and arranges/controls actors' (in this case politicians') performances on the stage. In the latter case, dramatization is a central element. Staging, of course, is found in many different communications events in various media. Here we focus on the press.

Staging is one example of how the institution's use of language gives it a specific, *internal character*. This actually indicates that political news, to a lesser and lesser extent, has to do with political events outside the media and more and more with political events in the media. The political public sphere becomes a journalistic public sphere. Political events become media events (Ekström 1998). This development is closely connected to the establishment of modern journalism during the 20th century and is gradual and full of nuances. It goes without saying that modern news journalism also covers political arenas outside the media, but news production is increasingly oriented to establishing arenas in the media. The two arenas (within and outside media) are present in news production during the entire 20th century, but the relationship between them is shifting.

Tannen (1989) argues that the significance given to a quotation always depends on the context created by the reporter. A central part in this is the creation of scenes and characters.

Secondly, if dialogue is used to represent utterances that were spoken by someone else, when an utterance is repeated by a current speaker, it exists primarily, if not only, as an element of the reporting context ... (Tannen 1989: 101)

The casting of thoughts and speech in dialogue creates particular scenes and characters ... (ibid. p. 104)

I shall now continue by giving a few examples of how the development of journalism can be analyzed from this perspective. I shall focus on quotations – direct speech – and look at how they have been used in different types of staging. I have chosen to start with examples representing three cases that are typical (and in no way deviant) for their time and medium.

The image shows a full page from the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet*, dated April 22, 1915. The page is organized into several columns of text. On the right side, there is a prominent advertisement for **AKTA "PRIMUS"** stoves, which includes illustrations of various stove models and text in Swedish promoting their features and availability. The main body of the page contains numerous short articles, news items, and official notices, all written in Swedish. The text is dense and typical of early 20th-century newspaper print.

"Först bilaccis, sen trångssparande, sen...?"

Mannen på gatan fördömer sparskatten

— Sprich! Was soll man können, wenn man das kampflos abgeben will? Und ich habe es nicht abgeben! (1944) (Jahre an unerschütterlichem, das ist mein bester Beweis dafür, dass ich die Freiheit ...)

the 1990s, the company has been able to maintain a strong presence in the market, despite the challenges posed by the global economic downturn. The company's success can be attributed to its innovative products and services, which have helped it to stay ahead of the competition. The company's focus on research and development has enabled it to develop new products and services that meet the needs of its customers. The company's strong financial performance has also helped it to maintain its position as a leader in the industry. The company's commitment to customer service and its dedication to quality have also helped it to build a loyal customer base. The company's success is a testament to its hard work and dedication to excellence.

[illegible]

*Finansministern:
Höjda löner - höjda priser*

Handwritten text in German, likely a letter or document, with some words underlined. The text is partially obscured by a vertical line on the left side.

Sköld har rätt föreslå
Men riksdagen kan avslå

The House savings and deposits bill, too, as Mr. Miller said, requires too much to be done in order to bring about a permanent change. But he offers a bill, now in the House, to require at least the Government to take steps to get the money from savings banks.

[illegible]

Auktion i Stocksund

Manuscript accepted 22 April 2005
 Published online 12 May 2005

Various authors of the book state that there are many reasons why the U.S. cannot help, besides the obvious one: we are not wealthy enough. In the past, the U.S. has helped other countries, but not in the way that the book suggests. The authors believe that the U.S. should help other countries in a different way, one that is more effective. They also believe that the U.S. should help other countries in a way that is more sustainable. The book is a good read for anyone who is interested in international development.

**Hur Sköld vill
att vi ska spara**

Stenandrium gracilentum and others of belonging to
the same genus as *S. gracilentum*, see also *S. gracile*, *S. gracilipes*.

Störungen durch die Vibration

Neuere Anlagen (auch ältere, wenn sie über 10 Jahre alt sind) werden heute mit einer Vibrationsschutzschicht versehen, die die Vibrationen des Bodens aufnimmt und so die Vibrationen der Maschine reduziert. Diese Vibrationsschutzschicht ist aus einem Material, das die Vibrationen aufnimmt und so die Vibrationen der Maschine reduziert. Diese Vibrationsschutzschicht ist aus einem Material, das die Vibrationen aufnimmt und so die Vibrationen der Maschine reduziert.

Störungen durch die Vibration

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Vad partiledarna tyckte

— **Abgeordnete** gehen **helly** : Manne an **helly** sind nur mit 18
zu **gehellen**. Das **gehellen** der **gehellen** **gehellen**
gehellen von **gehellen** : **gehellen** **gehellen**
gehellen : **gehellen** **gehellen** **gehellen**

Scholarship:
Scholarship after agreement

Expans:
Expansio nelimitata ble m...

Editor:
Harvard Medical School
Library
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Boston, MA 02115

Wiederholung

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The two new bookshelves are designed with shelves adjustable between 10 and 20 inches apart. They also feature built-in drawers at the base for storing books and other items.

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and her husband, Dr. John
and his wife, Dr. Mary
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the University of
the University of
the University of

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Pelle Johannesen, Olegrin H. Hovland

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- Cheferna är barnsliga och samhällsfarliga

Hundarna kosta

VI har ingått fyra del-
tagande i utvärderingen
och har varit med om
att utvärdera ett stort
antal av de andra del-
tagarna. Detta innebär
att de har fått en
ganska god översikt
över de andra del-
tagarna och deras
arbete. Detta innebär
att de har fått en
ganska god översikt
över de andra del-
tagarna och deras
arbete.

(IT)

Den amerikanska drömmen är slut

birds, including the *Myiophobus* species, which are not found in the same areas as the *Myiophobus* species. The *Myiophobus* species are found in the same areas as the *Myiophobus* species.



**MARIA-PIA
BOETHIUS**

Booths

Hundarna kostar staten 20 000 om dagen

SLÖTTENA Händikåren i befolkning har ökat på ett betydande sätt sedan den senaste censuset. Den totala befolkningen i de 100 banderna som utgör slottena i Raseborg är nu 11 400 personer, 20 000 kronor om dagen kostar banderna staten.

— Vi har ökat på ett betydande sätt sedan den senaste censuset och eftersom det inte finns några tagelådar tillverklingsfabrik i banderna så kommer vi att fortsätta att öka, säger Lars G. Olsson, VD i Slottena AB.

(CT)



Maria-Pia
Boethius

Characteristic of 1915 is that politicians' utterances, through various techniques, are clearly bound to an arena outside the newspaper. The headline itself tells us that it is in Parliament that the events have taken place. In the introduction, the journalist reconstructs the parliamentary debate and places the subsequent accounts and quotations in time and space – outside the medium. The account is quite detailed and the exact times, for instance, are stated. The utterances then reported are consecutively placed in the parliamentary arena through formulations like, "In the first Chamber [Mr. X] called for ...". Besides that, the reporter uses past tense. Even if there are instances of direct speech, one can hardly say that the politicians appear before the readers. There are no pictures. No politician or utterance is noticeably brought out through any form of graphic technique.

In 1955, the newspaper page has become a scene in which utterances are brought out and related to each other. Journalists gather utterances from different places in order to put them together and create a dialogue. The article I have chosen as example informs about a proposal for saving that had been brought up by the Minister of Finance. On the newspaper page there are quotations from the Minister of Finance, people from the general public and five party leaders. Characteristic of the modern newspaper page is that articles are kept apart through graphic design. But they are at the same time interrelated through all-embracing headings and subheadings, which link them together so that they can be read as relating to one another. In the headline a man on the street says **"First, purchase tax on cars, then forced saving, then...?"** In one article heading, the Minister of Finance says, **"Raise in wages – raise in prices."** The five party leaders make comments in some subheadings.

In each of the articles on the 1955 newspaper page, it is stated where the utterances were originally made. In the introduction to the article with comments from the party leaders, we can read, "This morning *Aftonbladet* conducted an interview with each of the party leaders." But the article is not about this talk situation. This is not the scene in which the utterances are established; they are instead established in the scene created by the journalist on the newspaper page. The present tense is dominant. The issue is not only (or even primarily) what people have said in different situations; it is just as much about what they are saying here and now in relation to each other. In contrast to 1915, visual graphic techniques are used in 1955 to dramatize and enliven the utterances. The utterance of the man in the street is brought out in contrast to the rest of the text by means of form, italics, larger text and bold type.

As soon as the media sets the stage for people's appearance in public life, it can also choose which actors are to interrelate. The relationship arranged for the actors involved is a fundamental element in every discourse. Modern journalism's discursive order has to a large extent been structured from the relationships between authorities, the general public and journalism. In the article from 1955, the man on the street is made

to represent the general public and to comment on the proposal of the Minister of Finance.

The article from 1995 is an example of how the scene has been fully moved into the medium. It is in *Aftonbladet* and nowhere else that the politician gives her opinion on the managers, their high salaries and bonus. She is cited in the heading, subheading, introduction, caption, and body text. In the article there is no indication of where her comments have been made. The present tense is dominant, not only in the quotation.

In modern news journalism, the combination of quotations (sound bites on TV) and images of the people giving their opinions is a common form of staging and dramatizing. In the above article, the politician is looking into the camera and thus looking at the reader. The interplay between the utterance in the article and looking at the reader dominates the article. To get an impression of how these techniques for staging politicians' appearances in the press have developed over time, I have studied how large a part of the articles contain quotations in combination with a picture of the person cited.

Table 4. Articles with pictures of persons cited: percent

	1915		1935		1955		1975		1995	
	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN	AB	DN
Picture of person cited	2	0	5	3	3	16	37	25	60	8
Number of articles	40	53	20	32	29	25	30	76	48	262

The result demonstrates very obvious patterns. Over time it becomes increasingly more common to use the interrelation between quotation and picture of the person cited in the construction of news articles, above all in tabloid news. This was a very rare feature in 1915, 1935 and 1955. By 1975 and 1995, however, it has become a central part of the news format. In 1995 this form of construction of news articles is more common (in percent) in tabloid journalism (AB) than in the morning press (DN). This can be understood as an expression of the subjective discourse, characteristic of tabloid journalism in particular. It is common for tabloids, in political news as well as other news, to draw attention to individuals and their opinions and feelings by means of pictures and quoting techniques. However, the relatively low percent figures for DN in 1995 must also be interpreted in relation to the fact that the paper at that time contains quite a number of short news items in which there are seldom quotations or pictures.

The staging of politicians' appearances is, of course, affected by news value and news logic. A modern news item is characterized by edge, simplification and dramatization. Such ideals influence not only the choice of

utterances quoted, but also the way they are quoted. Once the utterances have been chosen, they are written with an edge and are dramatized by means of a range of techniques. Four basic techniques are distinguishable: (1) *Placement*: An utterance placed in a headline or on the front page becomes more dramatic through the placement alone than if it appears within the text, due to the phenomenon Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) call the signifying system of layout. (2) *The typographical design*: Through typographic techniques, contrasts are created between individual utterances and the other text. An utterance becomes more incisive and dramatic the greater the contrasts are as regards size, color, typeface, etc. of the letters. (3) *Choice of words and syntax*: In order to appear unambiguous, a matter of principle or dramatic, utterances are modified. Words are removed and the syntax is changed. (4) *Relating the utterance to the context*: In fact, a range of different techniques are involved here. It's a question of how the utterance is placed in relation to other utterances, pictures, etc. Through such moves in order to create relationship, the utterance can be dramatized and emphasized as remarkable and sensational. All these techniques increasingly influence what I have chosen to call modern news journalism, evolving mainly during the second half of the 20th century.

It is also through a set of different methods and techniques that modern news journalism has gradually moved the scene/arena for politicians' performances into the media. Interviewing and quotation are central here. I say *gradually moved* because it is by no means a question of either/or. In the news articles from the entire period (1915-1995), the political scene outside the media is naturally present in one way or another. To distinguish between *a scene for politicians' performances in the media* and *a scene outside the media*, as I do, is of course a debatable point. It is an analytical distinction used in order to catch sight of just that shift. Let me point to some of the methods and techniques involved here:

(1) *The extraction of quotations*. As has already been said, it is characteristic of quotations to focus on the utterance and not – as in indirect speech – on the speech situation in which the utterance was made (Eriksson 1997). By extraction I am not referring to the fact that quoted utterances are separated from their original context in a linguistic sense. They are treated by media as independent utterances and comments that can be used when debates and accounts are to be staged. Extracted utterances may in some cases gain a strong symbolic significance and become news in their own right (Clayman 1995, Ekström 2003a). In extracting the utterances, the next step is placing them at a scene in the media.

(2) *Choice of tense*. When politicians' utterances are reproduced, the journalist can choose between different tenses. When the past tense is chosen, the utterance is established at a scene outside the medium. This scene can in some cases be indicated explicitly, and in other cases merely be intimated.

If one chooses the present tense, the utterance can be established here and now – that is, at the scene created by the article and the newspaper page. Compare the following three invented examples:

Ex. 1. In order to create security and stability in the financial position, there is a need for broader political agreement, said Olof Johansson (Party Leader of the Center Party).

Ex. 2. In order to create security and stability in the financial position, there is a need for broader political agreement, said Olof Johansson at the Center Party convention in Sundsvall last Saturday.

Ex. 3. In order to create security and stability in the financial position, there is a need for broader political agreement, says Olof Johansson.

(3) *Who are the participants at the scene?* An important issue of the scene is the other actors and their actions/utterances. There has been a very noticeable development in the 20th century whereby media to an ever larger extent have brought people together at the media scene – instead of reporting which people have met with one another, debated, etc., at a scene outside the media. It is not uncommon to cite a number of people in the same article. Interview answers can be collected from several interviews and put together to create a dialogue or a debate.

(4) *The visual representation of the political scene.* During the 20th century the newspaper pages became more and more visual. Of crucial importance is naturally the development of press photography, but also other graphical techniques (e.g. tables, diagrams and illustrations). Photos, in particular, make it possible to visually show the places and situations in which politics are enacted, and thereby establish utterances at a scene outside the media. But it also becomes possible to create a visual scene in which these places are made invisible in favor of another context. The relationship between utterances and pictures is naturally complex. I shall not elaborate on this but content myself in illustrating this theme with two articles from *Dagens Nyheter*, 1995, which demonstrate the tension between the political scene within and outside the media.

Both articles are about the (Social Democratic) government's agreement with the Center Party on financial policy. In Article 1 we see a picture from the Parliament in which the Party Leader for the Conservatives, Carl Bildt, is talking to one of his fellow party members. The headline "Agreement thin and weak" is taken from Bildt's speech in Parliament in which he criticizes the government's financial agreement. The utterance is thereby partly established in the political context in which it was originally made. In the article, different politicians' contributions in the parliamentary debate are reported and quoted.

Article 2 deals with the implications and consequences of the government's financial policy. In one article, Minister of Finance Göran Persson makes a statement. Also included is a picture of him, in a situation constructed by the newspaper. The rest of the newspaper page contains comments on the financial policy from economists, representatives of the trade union, and several private persons. Some carrier bags containing food illustrate how prices will change with the new policy. The photos of the six private persons are an example of a common visualization technique in journalism (and other institutions/practices). Through the showing of these pictures, the people are made to relate to each other and not to the environment they happened to be in when the pictures were taken. Through visualization techniques, the political scene is moved into the medium.

(5) *Journalism initiates and organizes political events in the media.* The most obvious method of moving the political scene into the media is when media/journalism itself organizes political events in the media. Political interviews and studio debates organized and staged on television and radio are common. But interviewing is also conducted in the press in a similar manner. Interviews, in which politicians are portrayed or called to account for certain things, etc., become events in themselves. Sometimes the press arranges debates between politicians or phone-in programs by which the general public can ask questions of politicians on the phone. In the example below, it is Minister of Finance Göran Persson who is asked about the financial policy. One of the people who phoned in is cited in the headline **"How can you, Mr. Persson?"** The entire article is composed of quotations. The Minister of Finance can be seen in a picture speaking on the phone. Inserted in the picture are several news bills accentuating that it is *Aftonbladet* that has organized the political scene.

 ■ ■ ■ Träffad ena block-
 erades ett Alltörst-
 et öppnade Hetta knip-
 en till förmiddag.
 ■ ■ ■ Anställda, stu-
 na och sammanfall
 ville veta hur regnig-
 en och varm mönster
 av stora
 skåpningarna i bygghuset.
 ■ ■ ■ Jag har 233 kronor om dagen nu.
 En sänkning klarar jag inte, sade Anette
 Heston till den Grönbo

**Åsa-Lena Jönsson, 41,
Sjundevingen, Stockholm**

—Ja. Det är sociala medier som möjliggör att man kan hitta andra människor som har samma intressen som man själv har. Det är en fantastisk grej. När jag gick på gymnasiet hade jag en klasskamrat som var väldigt intresserad av musik. Han hade en fantastisk samling av musikinstrument och han hade en fantastisk samling av musik. Han hade en fantastisk samling av musikinstrument och han hade en fantastisk samling av musik. Han hade en fantastisk samling av musikinstrument och han hade en fantastisk samling av musik.

■ Vårta vilgas du inte
kommer på. Samtidigt
eller är det en helig kof? Jag
tycker det verkar gott.

■ Deren friga tar ofta
som ett upp till svarta
fiden. Men det är en
klarting som inte skulle
sprä språkligt mycket
som de flesta. Föreläsare
att det inte är att
administrativt
och mycket administrativt

Vill adoptera 60-årigt?

■ **Anterslövna, sp- och bantänder**
veta hur regering-
nar de stora ned-
systemen.
nor om dagen na-
ime, såde Anette

Die beiden Brüder haben sich bei der Gründung ihrer gemeinsamen Firma, der *W. & A. Müller AG*, in der sie seit 1997 tätig sind, auf eine Zusammenarbeit geeinigt. Die beiden Brüder haben sich auf eine Zusammenarbeit geeinigt, die die beiden Brüder in der *W. & A. Müller AG* tätig sind.

■ What has the international community still not done? The answer is: Nothing is just done yet! Can it change what it has not done yet? Or is it too late to do anything? The answer is: Yes, it is not too late to do anything. The world is still a place where change is possible.

Harry Howard, MD,
Longbridge, Ark.

Nåmndens
-lag förklarar och har den
samma åsikten. De att den
är en annan sak. Det är inte
enbart bevis. Men också
ligger nu på eftergått att vi
inte tvingas att gå. Vi
grupper och all verksamhet
i rikets riket till att inte
vara för den omfattande
aktiveringen av de offentliga
institutionerna. Ansvaret kommer
inte ur demokratiska.

■ ■ ■ Welche Aufgaben hat
das Sozialverhalten bei
der Erziehung der Kinder?
— mit den Kindern

Peter Kaulman, 82,
Hörseshöjersgatan,
Stockholm
- Sverige kan inte
missa några CD

Dele ngan wite dina
di pangur 48 menit.
Dina budagdelan bog w
na din 10 700 mban
tong, dan som
mide dina 48 menit
di dawa i lingguana
dawa, dan som hinga
na dina 48 menit di
na bi — dilafor handa
unangan an stat
sana na 48 menit
som dawa 48 menit
som an
dawa.

■ Hier kann die gesamte
in einem Jahr billiger als an
sonstwo gekauft werden.
Markt, 27.
monatlich, Burli-
-Ein kleinerer an
sonstwo in der ganzen
an den Markt, einen an



NEDRINGO Finansminister Göran Persson fick tre e-mail meddelanden av samtal från människor runt om i landet som ville veta hur regeringen motiverar de stora skänkningarna i arbetslöshets- och sjukförsäkringen.

[illegible]

■■■Vastare hegranes into
tweelwe af uit een jakk-

Stigetta Lindström, 24,
postkassan, Göteborg

— Det har varit i all över-
ensstämmelse med den
betydelse som tillägs för
den ekonomiska utvecklingen.
Men det har också varit
en utveckling som har
gjort att den ekonomiska
utvecklingen har varit
en utveckling som har
gjort att den ekonomiska
utvecklingen har varit

samarbeide i t-beromstene
blir det noe som du ønsker
husholdninger? Skal vi leve
på nettbutikk?

■ **Wird's nicht** schon mal
manchmal? Ist das in

[illegible][illegible]

■ ■ ■ **Sä** In-
som det är, att
mycket ständigt
vinn som kan
smitta från
ditt till nästa
maka. I Australien har 14
hundra och en hundra
ditt i en flyttad situation
resultat på cirka 100 000

■ **Freidomsloft** Et en lørdag som endte med Estonsklands første økonomiske freidomslov.

Et flådeskifte lørdag er besluttet betaler de kassakontrollanterne for at få nye dørene ændret.

Et økonomisk effektivt i den nye freidomslov for det er en betragtning af de kassakontrollanter "betalt" som en anden, det var det i dag.

Freidomsloven betaler mere end et i betragtning "betalt" som en anden, det var det i dag.

Freidomsloven betaler mere end et i betragtning "betalt" som en anden, det var det i dag.

Summary

In this chapter I have argued that modern journalism has been formed in close relation to the institutionalization of the interview and the development of quoting techniques. The empirical study of two dominant Swedish newspapers demonstrates several changes in the role of interviewing and quoting during the period from 1915 to 1995. Since several decades ago, the interview has not only been a method in the collection of news material, but has also been a form for staged performances, for the construction of journalistic stories and the composition of attractive visual news pages. The interview has been important in both symbolizing and regulating the power of journalism in relation to other institutions in society. In the public sphere, journalism uses the interview to position itself as a neutral interrogator. Quoting techniques have been decisive in combining claims of objectivity and the construction of news stories. To conclude, I believe this study shows that empirical research on the journalistic interview can give us deeper knowledge about not only the history of journalism, but also the structure and power relations in the media public sphere in general.

Notes

1. I am fully aware that the term *modern* can be problematic in several respects. Nevertheless, I have chosen not to engage in the discussion on this term. This chapter will show how I think it can be used.
2. Schudson (1995, p 72) describes the interview as "the fundamental act of contemporary journalism". Schudson finds it so fundamental, that journalists today often create news without the need of any documents whatsoever.
3. Even though they were in another sense closely associated through the dominating system of party press.
4. Nevertheless it may, of course, be meaningful to distinguish misrepresentations and lies from more correct ways of rendering others' voices. Understanding that the subject is involved in every discourse should definitely not be taken as a pretext for pure solipsism. The question of true or false is still important in many situations – but is outside the subject of this chapter.
5. The newspaper page is, at the same time, an expression of what Bolter and Grusin (2000) call hypermediacy. On the newspaper page there is a set of representation forms that make the media technique obvious and part of the reading attraction. The newspaper page is very similar to a collage of representation forms. The combination of utterances and images of the person speaking cannot, however, create the same immediacy as when someone on TV speaks directly to the viewer. This is not the intention, however.
6. In Swedish journalism the term *pratminuss* ("speech dash") is used to denote quotations marked with a long dash before them.

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Chapter 3

Questioning Presidents

*Journalistic Deference and Adversarialness in the Press Conference of U.S. Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan**

Steven E. Clayman & John Heritage

In a 1954 press conference, U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower was questioned about his plan to reduce taxes and government expenditures:

(1) [Eisenhower 27 Oct 1954: 9]

JRN: Mr. President, you spoke in a speech the other night of the continued reduction of Government spending and tax cuts to the limit that the national security will permit. Can you say anything more definite at this time about the prospects of future tax cuts?

Almost three decades later, in 1981, President Ronald Reagan was asked about his own tax reduction plan:

(2) [Reagan 16 June 1981: 14]

JRN: Mr. President, for months you said you wouldn't modify your tax cut plan, and then you did. And when the business community vociferously complained, you changed your plan again. I just wondered whether Congress and other special interest groups might get the message that if they yelled and screamed loud enough, you might modify your tax cut plan again?

Although both questions concern budgetary matters and tax cuts, they are strikingly different in terms of the manner in which this issue is put to the president. The Eisenhower question is relatively polite and deferential. The question's agenda is derived straightforwardly from the President's own previous remarks, and it contains nothing hostile to his administration. When the question probes for further elaboration, it does so gently and allows

for the possibility that Eisenhower may not be able to say more ("Can you say anything..."). Finally, the question displays minimal expectations about what the answer will or should be, and is largely neutral in this respect. The Reagan question, in contrast, is much more adversarial in character. Although it also makes reference to the President's previous remarks, it highlights contradictions between his words and his actual deeds. Far from being neutral, this question strongly anticipates a *yes* answer, one that would portray the president as weak and beholden to special interests.

The differences between these two questions, and in particular the significantly more adversarial character of the second, are intuitively apparent. But can such differences be specified in a way that would permit the development of quantitative measures of deference and adversarialness in the questioning of presidents and other public figures? Such measures would be highly desirable. They would facilitate systematic comparisons of how officials from the president on down have been treated by journalists in press conferences and news interviews. This would, in turn, illuminate the evolving role of the Washington press corps, and the sociopolitical conditions to which it is responsive, in this key arena of political accountability.

These objectives, although desirable, have remained elusive. Numerous scholars have commented on the difficulty of systematically quantifying the phenomenon of journalistic adversarialness. Michael Schudson, in a thoughtful assessment of the impact of Watergate on American journalism, observes that "civility is not something easy to measure" (1995: 151). Focusing on presidential press conferences in particular, Carolyn Smith notes that although adversarialness can be illustrated anecdotally, "there is little systematic evidence to demonstrate this relationship" (Smith 1990: 10-11). Finally, Samuel Kernell notes that "the adversarial aspect of presidential-press relations is an elusive quality, difficult to quantify" (Kernell 1986: 76).

Difficult, perhaps, but not impossible. Drawing on the tradition of conversation analysis,¹ various scholars have examined the social norms and conventional practices that organize news interview talk.² Although news interview research is based on contemporary data drawn from England and the U.S., it has generated findings about forms of questioning that can be mobilized in the service of systematic comparative and historical research. The present study builds on what has already been learned about basic forms of journalistic questioning to develop a new system for analyzing the questions that journalists ask of public figures in broadcast news interviews and press conferences. This study also applies that system in a comparative analysis of the forms of questioning that characterized the press conferences of Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan. This comparison suggests that, at least in the questioning of presidents, there has been a shift from a relatively deferential style that appears to have been prevalent in the 1950s, and toward a more adversarial style that has become commonplace in more recent years.

Background

The evolving culture of American journalism has attracted significant attention since the 1970s. Numerous scholars have argued that journalists in the postwar era have become increasingly aggressive and adversarial in their treatment of government officials and political candidates. This idea was advanced most forcefully by Michael Robinson (1976), and although there are significant limits to adversarialness (Bennett 1990; Hallin 1984), the general trend has since received empirical support. Robinson (1981) and Rozell (1994) document a rise in investigative stories with hostile content in coverage of the U.S. Congress, with the shift in network television news outpacing the shift in the national print media. Sabato (1991) finds an increasing emphasis on scandal in national political news generally. Finally, in a study focusing on coverage of election campaigns since 1960, Patterson (1993) demonstrates that news has become more interpretive, more negative, and more preoccupied with political strategy over policy substance (cf. Capella and Jamieson 1997).

Although these studies are largely convergent, they are based mainly on data consisting of traditional news stories composed for print or broadcast. Overlooked are other modes of journalistic practice involving interactions with government officials and other public figures in broadcast news interviews and press conferences. What is not known is whether or to what extent the impetus toward adversarialness extends to these direct confrontations between journalists and officials. If adversarialness is to be expressed in an interview or press conference, it must be done directly to the face – indeed, *in the face* – of the politician. This runs contrary to established norms of interactional politeness (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987, Holtgraves 1992) and rituals of deference toward political leaders (Shils 1975, Schwartz 1987, Alexander 1989), which might be expected to inhibit adversarial questioning or at least temper the manner in which it is expressed. The domain of interaction thus represents an acid test for the strength of adversarialness in journalism. There are however, as yet no systematic comparative/historical studies of news interviews or press conferences that bear on this phenomenon.

It is not for lack of interest. At least for the case of presidential press conferences, there is a lively and illuminating tradition of historical research. This tradition includes several monographs offering historical overviews of presidential press conferences in the context of evolving president-press relations (Cornwell 1965, French 1982, Juergens 1981, Pollard 1947, Smith 1990, Tebbel and Watts 1985), and articles devoted to more narrowly defined topics (Cornwell 1960, Lammers 1981, Manheim 1979, Manheim and Lammers 1981, McGuire 1967). However, much of this research focuses less on the substance of what actually transpires within press conferences in favor of the institutional conditions under which they occur – for instance, their initial growth and institutionalization, their increasingly public character, the declining frequency with which they are held, and so on.

When conduct internal to the press conference is considered, the analysis tends to be broad and impressionistic in character. There are few efforts to analyze journalistic conduct systematically in a way that would permit quantification, and these remain underdeveloped. McGuire (1967) examines various dimensions of questioning in the conferences of Eisenhower through Johnson, but only one such dimension – the increasing prevalence of follow-up questions – is at all relevant to adversarialness. Manheim (1979) analyzes the relative frequency of certain broad categories of question content (eg., domestic politics versus foreign policy, etc.) and overall hostility in question design. However, variation over time is examined only *within* each administration in order to test for the validity of the widely assumed “honeymoon period” in president-press relations. Long-term historical trends thus remain unexamined.

Methodology

How does one go about measuring adversarialness in this context? One could in principle develop a coding scheme based on a set of straightforward thematic or topical content categories (ie., questions about the president’s conflicts with Congress, dissension within the administration, established scandals, etc.). However, the difficulty with any strictly content-based approach is that it is less likely to reflect the culture of journalism per se, so much as the extra-journalistic reality of a particular administration. For instance, Bill Clinton faced unprecedented questions about his sex life, questions that were not asked of Bush or Reagan. It may be tempting to conclude that this reflects shifting journalistic norms, but it may also be driven by real differences in Clinton’s sexual conduct, and by the efforts of his opponents to expose such conduct – all of which has arguably made such questions more salient for Clinton than for his immediate predecessors. The need to control for extra-journalistic reality is, of course, a general methodological problem that besets efforts to treat news content as a reflection of journalistic culture.

In light of these considerations, the present coding system focuses less on historically contingent themes and topics – what the questions are “about” – and more on relatively formal aspects of question design that may relevantly be applied across questions and presidents. Question content has by no means been ignored – content-based categories remain a part of the system – but they are less central and have been formulated in such a way as to enhance comparability across presidents.

The emphasis on formal design features has additional advantages for both the reliability and validity of the coding system. Thematic content categories tend to be highly interpretive, and their application requires considerable judgement (Krippendorff 1980: 62-63); formal design features are relatively

concrete and hence more reliably codable. All coding was performed by the authors working as a team seeking consensus. Reliability was assessed by joint recoding of a subsample, yielding kappa scores above .80 for 7 of the 10 indicators. Two others were just shy of this level at .74 and above, and the remaining indicator (content-based) was .62. Accordingly, the system achieved a high level of reliability.

As for validity, formal features of question design have been the subject of substantial prior research, both on journalistic questioning per se and on questioning practices in interaction generally.³ This research demonstrates that specific design features are indeed understood and treated by interactants as embodying adversarialness in various forms. Consequently, the validity of these design features as indicators of adversarialness has for the most part been well-established.

For this study, two presidents – Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan – were selected as historical signposts. They were chosen in part because they span the time period during which American journalism is widely supposed to have become more aggressive, and also because of their many similarities. Although they are by no means a perfect match (Reagan was more conservative than Eisenhower), both were popular two-term Republican presidents who held office during relatively peaceful and prosperous times. Thus, they provide the best sign posts for documenting the changing culture and practice of journalism in American society.

Four conferences were sampled per year, staggered quarterly over the year, through the first term of each president. A temporally stratified sample was chosen on the grounds that president-press relations are known to be cyclical in nature, with an initial honeymoon period followed by more aggressive treatment (Brody 1991). Because each president held no press conferences during one quarter, this sampling procedure yielded a database of 15 conferences per president, and a total of 742 questioning turns which happen to be almost perfectly split between Eisenhower and Reagan (see Table 1).

Table 1. Questioning turns by president

	n	%
Eisenhower	374	50.4
Reagan	368	49.6
Total	742	100.0

Each question was coded in terms of 10 variables that bear on 4 basic facets or dimensions of adversarialness: (1) initiative, (2) directness, (3) assertiveness, and (4) hostility.⁴ These dimensions, and the variables that serve as indicators of them, will be explored in turn.

Initiative

When asking questions, journalists can choose to be relatively passive in the sense of allowing the president maximum leeway to construct his response and placing few constraints on him. Alternatively, they can take a more enterprising role, building their questions in such a way as to set a more independent and constraining agenda for response. If journalists have indeed become more aggressive over time, one way this should be manifest is in an increase in the exercise of initiative.

Question complexity

One straightforward indicator of initiative is *the sheer elaborateness of the journalist's questioning turn*. Some turns consist of just a single unit of talk, ordinarily one sentence, as in example 3 below.

(3) [Eisenhower 2 April 1953: 1]

JRN: Mr. President, what is your estimation or analysis
of the recent peace overtures from Russia and
Communist China?

Alternatively, questioning turns can be elaborated in various ways. One mode of elaboration involves asking multiple questions within a turn, as in example 4. Note that the beginning of each new question is arrowed in the left margin.

(4) [Reagan 11 Nov 1982: 1]

JRN: 1-> Mr. President, who will be leading the U.S. delegation to Leonid Brezhnev's funeral?
2-> If you won't be going, how come?
3-> And also, aside from your personal hopes for peace, do you have reason to believe that the next coming months might see the new Soviet leadership flexing its muscle a bit and a period of increased tension coming about?
RR: 3-> Well, answering the last question first, no, I don't anticipate that as they make this transition....
1,2-> But with regard to the service, we've had no direct, official word yet on anything about the service, although we are in communication directly with them. And it was just a plain case of looking at schedules and my own schedule...

Such multi-part questions plainly multiply the demands placed on the president, a fact that presidents themselves are oriented to in their responses (Clayman 1993). Thus, Reagan first answers the third and last question about increasing tensions in the wake of Brezhnev's funeral, and he then

proceeds to address the first two questions about administration attendance at the funeral.

A second mode of elaboration involves delivering the question with more or less extensive prefatory statements (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Heritage 2002a). For example:

(5) [Reagan 19 Oct 1983: 28]

- JRN: S-> Mr. President, new figures out today show that housing starts were down pretty sharply last month, and the number of building permits went down for the second month in a row.
- S-> Analysts are saying this could mean the economic recovery is going to level off, maybe kind of peter out next year.
- S-> And more people are becoming concerned about high interest rates.
- Q-> And given the big deficits being projected by your own administration, isn't it time for some strong action by you to get interest rates down?

These preliminary statements contain contextual background information that renders the question intelligible to the audience and provides for its appropriateness. By producing such statements, journalists construct a context for the impending question, thereby freeing themselves from the confines of what may be understood or presupposed in the pre-existing context. Furthermore, under the guise of providing background information, such statements can also be used to introduce information that is hostile to the president and to exert pressure for a response (Heritage 2002a). In example 5 the statements contain various pieces of economic news, all of it *bad* news. This material establishes the relevance of the subsequent question about the need to reduce interest rates, favors a "yes" answer to that question, and makes it more difficult for the president to sidestep the question or offer, say, a simplistically rosy economic analysis in response. In various ways, then, the inclusion of such preliminary material embodies the exercise of initiative.

Finally, note that elaborative resources can be combined to construct supercomplex questions containing *both* preliminary statements *and* multiple questioning components. For example:

(6) [Reagan 19 Oct 1983: 20]

- JRN: S-> Mr. President, before the United States went into Vietnam, the French suffered a devastating defeat there by putting their troops in a saucer-shaped depression with the enemy up around the sides shooting down at them.
- Q-> Doesn't this appear uncomfortably similar to you to the way we are deploying our troops in Lebanon on the low ground?
- Q-> And how soon can we expect that we're going to redeploy them to a spot that makes more sense?

Given a general propensity toward greater journalistic adversarialness over the time period examined, and given that the initiative dimension of adversarialness is manifested in question complexity, one would expect an increase in the prevalence of elaborated questions from Eisenhower to Reagan. As Table 2 shows,⁵ questions have indeed become more elaborate over time. The first column shows the frequency with which each president was asked simple, one-sentence questions. For Eisenhower, roughly 44% of the turns contained simple questions, but for Reagan this rate drops to just 12%.

Table 2. Question complexity by president

	Simple	Prefaced	Multi	Super	Other	Total
Eisenhower n	141	139	23	13	3	319
%	44.20	43.57	7.21	4.08	0.94	100.00
Reagan n	29	124	23	56	2	234
%	12.39	52.99	9.83	23.93	0.85	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 90.7191$, $p < 0.001$ (kappa 1.0)

Moving across the table, Reagan was asked every type of elaborated question more frequently than Eisenhower was. However, by far the most dramatic increase was in the supercomplex category of questions, that is, those containing *both* preliminary statements *and* multiple questions. For Eisenhower about 4% of the questions were supercomplex, whereas for Reagan this rate increased almost six-fold to just under 24%. The significance of this finding is that, whereas journalists exercised greater initiative across the board in questioning Reagan, the increase in initiative is concentrated in a style of questioning that embodies the most initiative – both controlling the context in which the question was offered and placing greater and more constraining demands on the President.

Question cascades

A second indicator of initiative involves the prevalence of a phenomenon we termed a *question cascade*. This involves a journalist, following the completion of a given question, going on to produce a second (and occasionally a third) version of that question. For example:

(7) [Eisenhower 27 Oct 1954: 24]

JRN: Mr. President, you mentioned a moment ago your receiving reports of apathy among voters.

– > To what do you ascribe this apathy?

– > Is it a disenchantment with the program of the last 2 years, sir?

Unlike the multi-part questions examined above (cf., examples 4 and 6) which raise separate and distinct issues for the president to address, a question cascade involves different versions of what is ostensibly the same question. In the above example, both components seek an explanation for why labor unrest cannot be permitted to interrupt the operation of a noted weapons facility.

Question cascades typically involve the exercise of journalistic initiative because, although the topical focus of inquiry remains the same across successive versions of the question, in most cases the latter version tightens or narrows the parameters of an acceptable response. For instance, in the example above, the first question open-endedly seeks an explanation, whereas the second version nominates a single proposition for the president to confirm.

Table 3. Question cascades by president

	No Cascade	Cascade	Total
Eisenhower n	391	20	411
%	95.13	4.87	100.00
Reagan n	420	40	460
%	91.30	8.70	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 4.9628$, $p = 0.026$ (kappa 0.78)

Given the clear link between question cascades and the exercise of initiative, one would expect their prevalence to increase over time, and Table 3 demonstrates that this has indeed occurred. Less than 5% of Eisenhower's questions took this form, but for Reagan this rate almost doubles to just under 9%. The pattern is again statistically significant.

It is thus clear that journalists were more inclined to revise and tighten their questions to Reagan in an on-the-spot fashion than they were willing to do in the more sedate and formal Eisenhower press conferences.

Follow-up questions

The third indicator of initiative is the prevalence of *follow-up questions*. Although journalists can elaborate their turns in various ways, they are typically restricted to just a single turn at talk. This is a product of the turn taking system that organizes press conference interaction, in which large numbers of journalists must bid for the president's permission to take each successive questioning turn.⁶ However, occasionally the same journalist who asked a particular question will, immediately after the president's response,

regain the floor to press for a more substantial answer or to raise a related matter. For example:

- (8) [Reagan 16 June 1981: 19-20]
- JRN: Mr. President, do you approve of conservative fundraising groups such as NCPAC making these expensive television commercials targeting liberal Democrats for defeat in the next election?
- RR: I don't really know how to answer that, because the game of politics is to try to win an election....
- JRN: -> If I may follow up on that sir, is it really a sense of fair play that these groups with all their money are, in effect, ganging up on one member of Congress to make him an object lesson for other wavering Congressmen who might not see things their way?

Follow-up questions embody the exercise of initiative, in general by exceeding the one-turn-per-journalist norm, and in many cases by declining to accept as adequate a response that the president offered as adequate. However, the analysis of follow-up questions is complicated by the fact that success in getting such a question is contingent on the president, who can choose to acknowledge the journalist and thereby facilitate a follow-up question, or forestall the impending follow-up by calling on another journalist. The frequency of follow-up questions is thus an imperfect indicator of journalistic initiative.

As Table 4 shows, follow-up questions were significantly more prevalent in Reagan's press conferences.

Table 4. Follow-up questions by president

	Not follow-up	Follow-up	Total
Eisenhower n	319	55	374
%	85.29	14.71	100.00
Reagan n	234	134	368
%	65.39	36.41	100.00

Pearson chi2 = 46.0408, p < 0.001 (kappa 0.95)

The frequency of follow-up questions more than doubled – less than 15% of Eisenhower's questions were follow-ups, but more than 36% of Reagan's were. When dealing with Reagan, journalists more inclined to assert themselves in an effort to regain the floor and probe for greater detail.

In summary, these three measures of journalistic initiative – the prevalence of complex questions, question cascades, and follow-up questions – all point

in the same direction, indicating that journalists have become substantially more enterprising in the design of their questions and have tended to deploy question forms that are more constraining on the president.

Directness

It is a well-established principle among scholars of language use that modes of expression may be distinguished in terms of their level of directness (Levinson 1983: 263-276). Unlike direct (ie., blunt, straightforward) forms of expression, indirect forms entail some divergence between what is said and what is meant, such that the meaning is circuitously implied rather than literally stated. Thus, to take a familiar example, “Can you pass the salt” is not to be taken literally as a question seeking information, but as an indirect request.

Indirectness often occurs in the context of speech acts – such as questions and requests – that threaten to impose on the recipient. It has been proposed that such indirectness functions as a ritual display of politeness that reduces the magnitude or forcefulness of the imposition (Brown and Levinson 1987). This has been amply supported by experimental and survey studies demonstrating that conventionally indirect forms are indeed perceived as more polite (Blum-Kulka 1987, Clark and Schunk 1980, Van der Wijst 1995), and by observational research demonstrating that at least some such forms facilitate noncompliant responses.⁷ Given a general rise in adversarialness, journalists’ use of indirectness might be expected to have declined over time, resulting in questions that are more blunt and hence more forceful instruments of interrogation.

In the press conference context, indirectness typically takes the form of a phrase, clause, or sentence that precedes and frames the focal question. These can be grouped into two broad categories: (1) other-referencing question frames and (2) self-referencing question frames.

Other-referencing question frames

These involve some reference to the president’s ability or willingness to answer the question. The standard way this is done is by launching the question with a phrase such as *can you*, *could you*, *will you*, or *would you*, followed by a speech act verb like *comment*, *explain*, *tell*, etc. Examples 9 and 10 illustrate this practice (arrowed).

(9) [Eisenhower 7 April 1954: 17]

JRN: -> Sir, *could you tell us* how soon you expect to name a successor to Mr. Warren, the Comptroller General?

DE: No, I can’t tell you.

(10) [Eisenhower 7 July 1954: 2]

- JRN: To carry that a bit further, sir, there have been some suggestions on the Hill that if Red China is admitted over our protest, that the United States should then withdraw from the U.N.
- > *Would you comment on that, sir?*

Notice that the other-referencing frame is not essential to the substance of the question – each question could have been asked without it. In example 9, for instance, the journalist could have simply said “How soon do you expect to name a successor...” The inclusion of the frame adds an element of indirectness because it casts the question as concerning the contingencies that affect whether an answer will be forthcoming. *Can you/could you* highlights the ability to respond, evoking circumstances beyond the president’s control; *will you/would you* highlights willingness to respond as a matter of preference or choice. Asking about these contingencies is a way of indirectly inquiring into the subject at hand.

This form of indirectness not only mitigates the forcefulness of the question, but it also gives the president an “out”, a way of sidestepping the issue that’s signalled by the design of the question itself. Consider example 9 above – in the context of a question framed by reference to the president’s ability to answer (“Could you tell us...”), the president’s refusal to speak to the issue (“No I can’t tell you”) is nonetheless fully responsive to the question in the way in which it was framed. In various ways, then, such indirectness is demonstrably cautious and deferential to the president.

Although other-referencing frames generally are deferential, they are not all equally so – willingness frames are more deferential than ability frames. The basis for this distinction is the fact that although both frames give the president an “out”, they do so on very different grounds. *Will you/would you* licenses the possibility that the President might refuse to answer simply as a matter of personal preference. This is plainly more deferential than *can you/could you*, which licenses only external circumstances as an account for not answering. Thus, if journalists have become less deferential and more direct over time, one would expect a greater decline in willingness frames than in ability frames.

The results for this indicator of directness are summarized in Table 5.⁸ In general, other-referencing frames were less prevalent for Reagan than they had been for Eisenhower. The first column shows the percentage of questions that were direct, unmitigated by any other-referencing frame. For Eisenhower, about 62% were unmitigated, but for Reagan the rate rises to 90%; conversely, the use of such frames dropped from 38% to 10%.

Table 5. Other-referencing frames by president

	None	Ability	Willing	Total
Eisenhower n	256	103	52	411
%	62.29	25.06	12.65	100.00
Reagan n	415	39	6	460
%	90.22	8.48	1.30	100.00

Pearson chi2 = 100.5661, p < 0.001 (kappa 0.97)

Proceeding across the table, whereas both frame-types have declined substantially, the decline has been greater for willingness frames. Between the Eisenhower and Reagan years ability frames declined by roughly 65%, but this substantial decrease is eclipsed by the effective collapse in the use of willingness frames. Eisenhower's questions were mitigated by willingness frames about 13% of the time, but Reagan's were so mitigated only a bit over 1% of the time. In short, the more cautious of the two frame-types has all but disappeared entirely.

Self-referencing question frames

Turning now to self-referencing frames, these make some reference to the journalist's own intentions, motivations, or capacity to ask the question. For instance, a question may be prefaced with *I wonder* or *I wondered* or *I was wondering*, as in example 11.

(11) [Reagan 16 June 1981: 14]

JRN: Mister President, for months you said you wouldn't modify your tax cut plan and then you did. And when the business community vociferously complained, you changed your plan again.
 -> *I just wondered* whether Congress and other special interest groups might get the message that if they yelled and screamed loud enough, you might modify your tax plan again.

It may also be prefaced with *I would like to ask* or *I want to ask*, as in 12.

(12) [Eisenhower 1 July 1953: 16]

JRN: Mister President, may I return to the matter of the revolt behind the Iron Curtain?
 RR: Yes.
 JRN: -> *I would like to ask* whether you feel that the events which are now taking place create an opportunity for the administration to take any tangible action to support liberation in line with its stated objectives.

Also in this category are prefaces such as *Can I*, *Could I*, or *May I ask*:

(13) [Eisenhower 8 Oct 1953: 20]

- JRN: Mister President, I ask this because many of us are not well acquainted with Mister Mitchell.
- > *Could I* ask you the same question, sir, in reference to him that was asked about Chief Justice Warren last week, that is, what are the qualifications that attracted Mister Mitchell to you, as Secretary of Labor?

This latter formulation closely approximates the form of an outright request for permission, and on this basis it appears to be the most indirect and deferential of the self-referencing frames.

The results for self-referencing question frames – in Table 6 – are more mixed, and the pattern is not quite as strong as it was for other-referencing frames, but the increase in directness is clear.

Table 6. Self-referencing frames by president

	None	Wonder	Like/Want	Can/May	Total
Eisenhower n	327	68	9	7	411
%	79.56	16.55	2.19	1.70	100.00
Reagan n	427	23	8	2	459
%	92.83	5.00	1.74	0.43	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 35.7084$, $p < 0.001$ (kappa 1.0)

Questions unmitigated by any form of self-referencing frame increased from about 80% for Eisenhower to 93% for Reagan; conversely, the use of such frames dropped from 20% to 7%. However the decline in self-referencing prefaces was concentrated in the “I wonder/I was wondering” category. This less explicitly deferential category registers a greater than threefold decline. The other two forms of self-referencing indirectness were by no means common in Eisenhower’s day. However, although there was not much difference between the two presidents in the use of *I would like/want to ask*, *Can I/May I* also virtually disappeared in the Reagan era. Once again, the overall pattern is highly significant.

The results for both sets of question-frames combine to indicate that the Washington press corps has become significantly less indirect and cautious and more direct and straightforward in its questioning of the President.

Assertiveness

The third dimension of adversarialness, which we term *assertiveness*, concerns the degree to which the journalist manages to suggest or imply or push for a particular response in the course of asking a question. Of course, no question is neutral in an absolute sense, but questions do vary in the degree to which they manage to express an opinion on the subject being inquired about, thereby portraying one type of answer as expectable or preferable (Heritage 2002a, Heritage 2002b, cf., Pomerantz 1988).⁹ To simplify the coding of this dimension, the analysis was largely restricted to yes/no questions, where the phenomenon is comparatively straightforward. Thus, some yes/no questions are relatively neutral as to which answer is correct or preferable, whereas others are in various ways “tilted” in favor of either yes or no.¹⁰

Preface Tilt

The first and perhaps most obvious way of tilting a yes/no question involves those prefatory statements that often come just before the question. To be sure, some prefaces have no bearing on the outcome of the question either way, as in example 14, where the preface merely identifies an issue (here, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii) and establishes its relevance as a topic of inquiry.

(14) [Eisenhower 7 April 1954: 11]

JRN: S-> Mr. President, last week the Senate passed a measure enabling both Hawaii and Alaska to achieve statehood.

Q-> If the house should pass that measure, would you veto the bill?

Other prefaces tilt the question toward either yes or no. Consider example 15 – here statements from Reagan’s close advisors about his intention to run for re-election combine to favor a *yes* answer to the question soliciting Reagan’s own declaration to that effect. (See also example 6 above.)

(15) [Reagan 16 June 1981: 12]

JRN: S-> Mr. President, about ten days ago your Chief of Staff said on a television interview program that he thought you were committed to running for a second term. And another aide of yours, Lyn Nofziger, has said virtually the same thing.

Q-> Can you tell us, sir, if you are committed to running for a second term?

Tilting prefaces may be further distinguished in terms of how the substance of the tilt bears on the president’s political interests. Some tilting prefaces

are comparatively *innocuous*, in the sense that the tilt is not particularly damaging to the president (and may be even slightly favorable to him). For example, the preface in example 15 above tilts in favor of the proposition that Reagan will indeed be running for a second term – from Reagan’s vantage point, a relatively innocuous idea. Alternatively, prefaces may be *hostile* in character, tilted *against* the president and toward a proposition that is substantially damaging to him or his administration. Example 16 is a good illustration of a tilting preface that is massively hostile. Before delivering the question about whether the “arms buildup is money well spent”, the journalist runs through a lengthy litany of failures in Reagan’s weapons systems. These prefatory remarks not only tilt the subsequent question toward a *no* answer, but this tilt is plainly working against the president.

(16) [Reagan 11 Nov 1982: 20]

- JRN: S-> Mr. President, evidence mounts that key weapons in your 400 billion dollar weapons procurement buildup are in trouble. Navy testers say that the F-18, on which you’d spend 40 billion dollars, is too heavy for its major mission. Your closest military science adviser says that the latest basing plan for the MX won’t fool the Soviets. The Pershing missile, on which NATO defense would depend, literally can’t get off the ground. The antitank weapon the Army wants to buy seems to be ineffective against modern Soviet tanks. The Maverick missile can’t find its targets.
- Q-> I wonder whether in light of all these failures you have any reason to wonder whether a 400 billion dollar arms buildup is money well spent.

Given this distinction, one would expect that increasingly assertive journalists would not only be more likely to tilt their questions, but would tend to do so in ways that work against the president.

The results are summarized in Table 7. This table shows – consistent with Table 2 – that many more yes/no questions to Reagan than to Eisenhower were prefaced with some kind of statement. Whereas nearly 61% of questions to Eisenhower were simple yes/no questions, this proportion dropped to 35% (column 1). Within the context of this general growth in the use of question prefaces, there has been some increase in the use of “neutral” or untilted question prefaces, as represented in column 2, but this growth, though substantial, is not proportional to the general growth of prefaced questions.

Table 7. Yes/No questions with preface tilt, by president

	NoPreface	No Tilt	Innoc	Hostile	Total
Eisenhower n	143	42	40	11	236
%	60.59	17.80	16.95	4.66	100.00
Reagan n	83	59	38	55	235
%	35.32	25.11	16.17	23.40	100.00

Pearson chi2 = 48.1733, p < 0.001 (kappa 0.94)

Clearly there has also been a disproportionate growth in tilted question prefaces. Although roughly 22% of Eisenhower's question prefaces were tilted in some way (the vast majority innocuously), almost 40% of Reagan's were tilted. Moreover, within this general growth of tilted question prefaces, the changes between the Eisenhower and Reagan press conferences took a very specific form. The presidents were almost exactly equal in the rate at which questions were *innocuously* tilted – just over 16% for each. The big difference between them is in the prevalence of *hostile* tilt – just 5% for Eisenhower, but 23% for Reagan, more than a four-fold increase. Thus, all of the increase in prefatory assertiveness has been substantively hostile in character.

Negatively formulated questions

Journalists can be assertive in other ways, not only in the preface to the question but also in the formulation of the question itself. Questions were coded for the presence of a linguistic form that Heritage (2000b) has termed a *negatively formulated question*. These are questions that begin with a phrase like *isn't it* or *aren't you* or *don't you think that* (arrowed):

(17) [Reagan 19 Oct 1983: 28]

JRN: Mr. President, new figures out today show that housing starts were down pretty sharply last month, and the number of building permits went down for the second month in a row. Analysts are saying this could mean the economic recovery is going to level off, maybe kind of peter out next year. And more people are becoming concerned about high interest rates. And given the big deficits being projected by your own administration,

-> *isn't it* time for some strong action by you to get interest rates down?

This linguistic form has the effect of tilting the question toward a *yes* answer. Indeed, the tilt is so strong that speakers are often treated as if they were

making an assertion rather than merely asking a question (Heritage 2000b). For instance, consider this question from a Clinton conference:

- (18) [Clinton 7 March 1997: Simplified]
JRN: Well Mister President in your zeal for funds during the last campaign
-> didn't you put the Vice President and Maggie and all the others
in your administration top side in a very vulnerable position,
(0.5)
BC: -> I disagree with that. How are we vulnerable because ...

Here President Clinton is asked a negatively formulated question (first arrow) about his fundraising practices, and his response – “I disagree with that” – clearly treats the prior turn as embodying a viewpoint to be disagreed with, and not merely a question to be answered. Responses of this sort provide strong internal validation for the claim that negative questions embody assertiveness.

Results for this second indicator of assertiveness are in Table 8. Consistent with the previous results, these highly assertive questions have become more prevalent, and the difference between Eisenhower and Reagan is substantial. Eisenhower received only 4 questions of this sort, less than 2% of the yes/no questions he received. Reagan got 30 negatively formulated questions, more than 12% of his yes/no questions, a sharp increase over his predecessor.

Table 8. Yes/no questions negatively formulated, by president

	No negative	Negative	
Eisenhower n	232	4	236
%	98.31	1.69	100.00
Reagan n	205	30	235
%	87.23	12.77	100.00

Pearson chi2 = 21.5485, p < 0.001 (kappa 1.0)

Thus, just as journalists have become more assertive in their question prefaces, they have also become more assertive in the design of the questions themselves.

In summary, in various ways journalists have become more inclined to convey specific expectations about the realities their questions address. In this way, their questions have become less neutral and ‘information seeking’ and more opinionated and assertive. It is clear that in the period between the Eisenhower and Reagan years journalists’ questioning of the president underwent a shift in the balance between fact gathering and adversarialness in favor of the latter.

Hostility

The last dimension, *hostility*, captures the degree to which a question is overtly critical of the president or his administration. This dimension was measured rather differently than the first three. There are few formal design features that manifest hostility per se, so this dimension was assessed in part by reference to the thematic or topical content of the question. Accordingly, the coding of hostility is the main avenue through which the substantive content of the talk enters into the analysis. Correspondingly, the coding categories that serve as indicators of hostility are, in general, more interpretive and require more judgement than the other indicators examined here. For these admittedly interpretive coding categories, validity and reliability were enhanced by setting a relatively high threshold for their application.

Preface hostility

The first indicator of hostility is based on an assessment of *question prefaces*. Here hostility was operationalized as remarks overtly critical of the president or his administration. Statements proposing that the president's policies are misguided, statements highlighting contradictions between the presidents words and deeds, statements exposing splits or disagreements within the administration, and statements that explicitly disagree with something the president has said – prefaces that asserted such things were coded as hostile, whereas the rest were coded as innocuous. It should be apparent from this list that the coding of hostility was conservative – statements had to be quite explicitly and directly critical of the president to meet the threshold. So, for example, statements about bad economic news as in example 3 would not be coded as hostile unless the President or his administration was overtly treated as responsible.

Hostile prefaces were further distinguished in terms of how the subsequent question relates to its preface. In some cases, the question merely invites the president to respond to the criticism contained in the preface. In example 19, for instance, the statement concerns an accusation made by Adlai Stevenson to the effect that Eisenhower is taking credit for civil rights progress achieved by Democrats, and the question asks Eisenhower to respond to the accusation. Here the preface is the focus of the question; its truth is not presupposed.

(19) [Eisenhower 5 Oct 1956: 1]

JRN: S-> Mr. President, Adlai Stevenson said in a civil rights speech in Harlem that you were trying to run on the Democratic record, that the Democrats started desegregation of the Armed Forces, and that the Republicans have made a brazen attempt to take credit for civil rights progress.

Q-> Would you care to comment on that, Sir?

In other cases, the question presupposes and builds on the foundation established by its preface. Consider example 20 below (seen at the beginning of this paper). Here the preface portrays Reagan as twice caving in to special interests, and in this case the subsequent question specifically does *not* invite Reagan to comment on the prefatory criticism. Instead, the question builds on the preface, drawing out an inference about Reagan's general susceptibility to pressure from special interests, and it is this inference that Reagan is asked to respond to.

(20) [Reagan 16 June 1981: 14]

JRN: S-> Mister President, for months you said you wouldn't modify your tax cut plan and then you did. And when the business community vociferously complained, you changed your plan again.

Q-> I just wondered whether Congress and other special interest groups might get the message that if they yelled and screamed loud enough, you might modify your tax plan again.

The deployment of the preface in this latter excerpt is more hostile than in the previous excerpt. In the former case (example 19), the prefatory criticism is not taken for granted as factual, and the president is given a direct opportunity to counter it. In the latter case (example 20) the prefatory criticism is treated as a given, becoming part of the presuppositional foundation of the question in such a way as to be less accessible to refutation.

Table 9 shows the distribution of prefaced questions, and reveals a general increase in the prevalence of hostile prefaces. Eisenhower's prefaces were hostile only about 9% of the time, whereas Reagan's prefaces were hostile 27% of the time – a three-fold increase in hostility.

Table 9. Preface hostility by president

	Nonhostile Preface	Hostile Preface Focus of Q	Hostile Preface Presupposed by Q	Total
Eisenhower n	154	12	4	170
%	90.59	7.06	2.35	100.00
Reagan n	198	17	58	273
%	72.53	6.23	21.25	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 31.1290$, $p < 0.001$ (kappa 0.74)

Furthermore, the major increase among hostile prefaces has been for those more damaging prefaces that are presupposed in the subsequent question. For Eisenhower, hostile prefaces were much more likely to be the focus of the question, and only rarely – less than 2.5% of the time – was the hostile

preface embedded presuppositionally in the question. For Reagan the pattern is reversed. Reagan was much more likely to be given questions with hostile prefaces presupposed – more than 21% of the time, more than three times as often as those with hostile prefaces exposed for rebuttal. In short, Reagan's prefaces were not only more likely to be hostile than Eisenhower's prefaces, but they were also more likely to be treated as given and, in effect, beyond question.

Global hostility

Questions were also coded for their *global hostility*. Here each question was examined in its entirety, the question proper in conjunction with any prefatory remarks that might precede it. Once again, a conservative threshold was set for the operationalization of global hostility. For prefaced questions, *both* the preface *and* the question proper had to embody hostility. Thus, example 20 is globally hostile, but example 19 is not.

Simple one-sentence questions can also be globally hostile. The majority of these involve follow-up questions that plainly disagree with or challenge what the president has just said. In example 21, Reagan defends the policy that U.S. troops in Nicaragua should defend themselves if fired upon, and he disavows any intention to start a war with Nicaragua. The journalist counters this with a negatively formulated question suggesting that the policy makes war more likely. The element of disagreement with the President fits one of the criteria for global hostility.

(21) [Reagan 26 July 1983: 3-4]

- JRN: Mr. President, you've mentioned your interest in easing tensions, and you've said you hope the Nicaraguan proposals will have that effect. Now your spokesman has said that the 4000 troops that you're planning to send down there will... have standing orders to defend themselves if they're fired upon. How does that help to ease tensions?
- RR:this is just a standard order. We don't want war. But I don't think that you prevent war by letting your personnel out there become the victims.
- JRN: -> But doesn't this simply increase the chances of war?

Simple questions can also be globally hostile when they are designed to highlight a contradiction between the president's words and deeds, or between different policies or actions. In example 22, the contradiction is between the decision to sell grain to the Soviet Union versus efforts to pressure our allies to restrict trade with the Soviets.

(22) [Reagan 17 May 1983: 11]

JRN: Since it will result in more grain being exported to the Soviet Union, how do you justify that with our position, our pressure on the European allies to restrict our trade, Western trade with the Eastern bloc?

The distribution of globally hostile questions is summarized in Table 10. Fewer than 3% of Eisenhower's questions were globally hostile – just 12 questions out of more than 400 that he received. For Reagan, almost 20% of the questions were globally hostile, nearly one-fifth of the questions he received.

Table 10. Global hostility by president

	Nonhostile	Hostile	Total
Eisenhower n	399	12	411
%	97.08	2.92	100.00
Reagan n	369	91	460
%	80.22	19.78	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 59.1949$, $p < 0.001$ (kappa 0.62)

This represents almost a seven-fold increase in global hostility across the two administrations.

Accountability questions

The final indicator of hostility is somewhat more formal and less interpretive in character. It is the frequency of what may be termed *accountability questions* – that is, questions that ask the president to *explain why* he's adopted a given policy or taken some course of action. Such questions are by no means commonplace – presidents are often asked to characterize their policies and actions, but they are rarely asked to provide a rationale for them. This type of question embodies at least a modicum of aggressiveness on the part of the journalist. As a general principle, parties in interaction seek out and provide accounts mainly for actions regarded as out of the ordinary in some way and hence at least potentially improper; routine behavior is simply not treated as requiring an account (Heritage 1988; cf., Scott and Lyman 1968). Accordingly, accountability questions cast the president's conduct as at least potentially improper, while placing him in the position of having to defend himself.

Accountability questions may be further distinguished in terms of the level of hostility they embody. The milder form of accountability question

merely asks the president to explain some action, while remaining formally “neutral” as to what type of account is likely to be forthcoming. As example 23 illustrates, such questions typically take a form similar to “Why did you do X.”

(23) [Eisenhower 6 July 1955: 7]

- JRN: Mr. President, according to yesterday’s report, the administration does not now include the minimum wage in its top measures for passage this year.
- > Would you explain, Sir, why this change in signals on the part of the administration?

This milder form of accountability question will be termed a *why did you*-type question.

The more hostile variant – which will be termed a *how could you*-type question – is more accusatory in its import. Not only is the president asked to explain his action, but embedded within the question is an assumption that the president cannot provide an acceptable account. This assumption can be encoded in the verbal form of the question itself – questions in the form *How can you do X* or *How could you do X* or *How is it possible for you to do X* all heavily imply that there is no acceptable account for the president’s actions. A similar assumption can be encoded in the prefatory statements. Both are illustrated in example 24 – here a *how could you*-type formulation (arrowed) is offered in conjunction with other economic facts to portray the president’s action (deep cuts in social programs) as inexplicable.

(24) [Reagan 19 Jan 1982: 1]

- JRN: Mr President, since you took office a year ago, there have been – unemployment has shot up to more than 9 million people. The recession has deepened. Two Republican Congressmen say that the tax increases that you may propose will hurt the little guy and give a bonanza to the big corporations. My question is, what are you going to do about the people who are undergoing great hardship now,
- > and how’s it possible for you to propose deep cuts in the social programs in view of all this suffering?

That such questions are indeed more hostile than *why did you*-type questions is apparent from their placement in news interviews at the apex of accusatory lines of questioning, and in their treatment by the participants as argumentative in the extreme (Heritage 2000a).

The distribution of accountability questions appears in Table 11. Accountability questions were rather uncommon across the board, but they were even rarer for Eisenhower than for Reagan.

Table 11. Accountability questions by president

	Other Q	Why did you	How could you	Total
Eisenhower n	406	5	0	411
%	98.78	1.22	0.00	100.00
Reagan n	426	25	9	459
%	92.61	5.45	1.96	100.00

Pearson $\chi^2 = 20.1212$, $p < 0.001$ (kappa 1.0)

Accountability questions made up just over 1% of Eisenhower's questions but more than 7% of Reagan's questions. Furthermore, all of the accountability questions to Eisenhower took the milder *why did you* form – Eisenhower was simply *never* asked the tougher *how could you* type of question. In contrast, Reagan received both kinds of questions, including 9 of the accusatory *how could you* type.

All three indicators of hostility thus point in the same direction. They reveal a substantially greater propensity for journalists to convey a critical attitude toward the president and his administration. Moreover, as with the other dimensions, this trend was focused on the more extreme, rather than the less extreme, manifestations of hostile questioning. Washington journalists were thus significantly more hostile in their questioning of Ronald Reagan than they had been of Dwight Eisenhower thirty years previously.

Discussion

Specified in terms of our four dimensions, and in the overwhelming majority of their operationalizations, journalists were substantially less deferential and more adversarial in their treatment of Reagan than they were of Eisenhower. This shift is manifest in the tendency for journalists to exercise greater initiative and to be more direct, assertive, and hostile in the design of their questions. It would appear that the general trend toward adversarialness previously documented within journalism does indeed extend to direct encounters with the highest elected official in the land.

Although all of these results point in the same direction, it is important not to overstate the level of adversarialness embodied in these findings. There is no evidence, in the present data, that contemporary journalists are systematically promoting a coherent political ideology in opposition to that of the president. Nor do they question the fundamental legitimacy of the presidency, or the broader political and economic institutions with which it is associated. Indeed, their very presence at the press conference tends to legitimize the president as a national leader and an authoritative

source of information. However, journalists have become substantially more enterprising in the design of their questions, more inclined to raise matters that are problematic or unflattering, and more apt to increase the pressure on the president to address such issues.

The pattern of findings suggests the possibility of an evolutionary process by which questions have become more adversarial over time. A major innovation in this process appears to have been the shift from simple one-sentence questions to questions elaborated by prefatory statements. In Eisenhower's day, statement-prefaced questions had already become somewhat common, but they were overwhelmingly innocuous in character. The prefates at that time were not particularly likely to impart an assertive "tilt" to the question, and only rarely were they overtly hostile toward the president. By the time Reagan assumed the presidency, statement-prefaced questions had not only become more frequent, but they were also substantially more assertive and more hostile in character. These findings suggest that when journalists first began prefacing their questions, this move was initially accountable as an effort to provide the background information necessary to render questions intelligible and provide for their relevance. Once prefatory statements had become normative and the right to make such statements fully institutionalized, journalists subsequently began to mobilize them in the service of increasingly aggressive forms of questioning.

There is still much that remains unknown about the process by which this transformation came about. Because only two historical signposts have been examined thus far, little can be said about when or how the transition occurred. Was it a gradual tectonic shift in the practice of journalism, perhaps reflecting a much more general decline in politeness and a coarsening of the culture at large? Or was it a more sudden change in response to some specific historical event such as the Vietnam war or the Watergate affair? Did the rise of television and the proliferation of TV journalists at press conferences play a part in this development? Also unknown is whether all aspects of adversarialness changed simultaneously in the intervening years, or whether some led while others lagged in the transition. Finally, it is an open question whether the trends documented in presidential press conferences may or may not correlate with other measures of journalistic adversarialness (e.g., Patterson 1993, Robinson 1981, Rozell 1994), and with the president's standing in the polls (cf., Groeling and Kernell 1998).

Whatever its causes, the rise of adversarialness has transformed the presidential press conference into a formidable instrument of political accountability. Whereas presidents were once given tremendous latitude in which to speechify, now they face a much more confining and inhospitable interrogative environment. Of course, presidents are not always fully constrained by the questions they receive – they may on occasion refuse to answer, or shift the discussion in a more desirable direction (Clayman 1993, 2001). However, any resistant or evasive response is accountable as such and is subject to probing follow-up questions from journalists, nega-

tive inferences by the viewing audience, and unfavorable subsequent news coverage.¹¹ The rise of adversarial questioning is thus consequential both for the way in which it has "tightened the reins" on presidential conduct, and has provided a more exacting standard in terms of which such conduct is judged and evaluated. This development may explain, at least in part, the declining frequency with which presidents have been willing to hold press conferences.

There are broader ramifications for the institution of the presidency and the profession of journalism itself. The withdrawal of deference in this very public arena may be one factor contributing to rising skepticism regarding the presidency, declining social status accorded to that office, and a reduction in the social distance separating the president from ordinary citizens (Capella and Jamieson 1997, Patterson 1993, Tulis 1988). Correspondingly, vigorous questioning of the president enables journalists to present themselves as autonomous professionals who are willing to hold even the most elite agents of power accountable before the public, even as it fosters uneasiness among the public about the proper boundaries of journalistic professionalism. Indeed, both academic analysts and the lay public are ambivalent about this trend in relations between government and the news media. Nevertheless, it seems clear that conduct within presidential press conferences is an important element in this development.

Finally, this study has methodological implications for the analysis of contemporary mass communication. With the rapid expansion of broadcast news and public affairs programming, the traditional narrative or story form of news presentation has given way to a plethora of new program formats organized around modes of interaction, such as interviews, panel discussions, and audience participation programs. This development makes it necessary to supplement traditional content-analytic methods with new research methods that are appropriate to the distinctively interactional form in which news is increasingly packaged. The present paper illustrates one way in which the data of broadcast interaction can be subjected to systematic scrutiny and analysis.

Notes

1. For an introductory overview of conversation analysis, see Heritage (1984: Chapter 8). For a thorough discussion of conversation analytic methods, see ten Have (1999). For discussions of the use of conversation analysis to study institutional forms of talk, see Boden and Zimmerman (1991) and Drew and Heritage (1992).
2. For a sampling of research relevant to the present study of question design, see Clayman (1988; 1992; 2001), Heritage (2002a; 2002b), Heritage and Greatbatch (1991), Heritage and Roth (1995), Macaulay (1996), Roth (1998), and Clayman and Heritage (2002).
3. For research on question design in news interviews, see the references cited in note 2. For relevant research bearing on question design in interaction generally, see Pomerantz (1988), Raymond (2000), and the extensive line of research concerning conventional indirectness (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1987; Brown and Levinson 1987; Clark and Schunk 1980; Van der Wijst 1995).

4. Due to space limitations, this paper will not discuss two additional variables that were also examined, but that yielded statistically or substantively insignificant results. One measure of initiative (adherence to the agenda of the president's opening statement) turned out to be statistically insignificant. One measure of assertiveness (question cascades that narrow the question to a single proposition) was statistically but not substantively significant.
5. For this table, follow-up questions – in which the same journalist regains the floor to pursue the matter – have been excluded on the grounds that they are focused on and indexically tied to the prior "base" question, and so are rarely elaborated. Indeed, only 24% of all follow-up questions were elaborated in any way; the vast majority were managed within a single sentence.
6. For a discussion of this turn taking system, and an effort to modify it that was briefly attempted during the Reagan administration, see Schegloff (1988/89).
7. See the analysis of example 9 above. For a related analysis of the import of indirectness in news interview questioning, see Macaulay (1996).
8. For Tables 5 and 6, the unit of analysis for coding purposes was the individual question rather than the entire turn at talk. Since a given questioning turn can contain more than one component question, the numbers for these tables are larger than for the previous tables.
9. Assertiveness in question design is analogous to the conversation analytic concept of preference organization in what Schegloff (1988) has called its structure-based sense.
10. From a technical point of view, it may be argued that all yes/no questions embody a preference, however slight, toward one pole or the other. For example, "Are you going to the store" prefers "yes" on the grounds that it nominates that proposition for confirmation rather than its alternatives ("Are you staying home") (Pomerantz 1988). However, because preference in this sense is unavoidable, it cannot provide a basis for discriminating between styles of questioning. Accordingly, the present analysis focuses on manifestations of preference that are stronger and more conspicuous, and whose deployment is optional and hence variable from case to case.
11. Indeed, resistant responses are often excerpted and used as quotations and sound bites in later news stories (Clayman 1990).

* Note

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Chapter 4

Power on the Threshold of the Interview Society *Journalism, Politics, Popularization*

Martin Eide

Conversationalism and sociability are indispensable parts of a modern Interview Society. Popular journalism has been particularly productive in pursuing an image of an informal discourse between interviewers and interviewees, between journalists and sources. A conspicuous informal discourse requires a new journalistic footing – including a certain consciousness of journalistic power and a certain awareness of ways of talking and modes of address. The following chapter offers a historical analysis of how this requirement is met, by studying representations of three Prime Ministers in a newspaper undergoing a popularization process during a time of considerable social change. It is a matter of power on the threshold of the Interview Society.

How are the three Prime Ministers portrayed through different journalistic genres based on representations of talk and conversation? To what extent and by which means do the particular newspaper's representations of the Prime Ministers reflect a declining political authority and a new kind of journalistic authority in the making? What is the significance of journalistic interpretations of politicians' ways of talking in this regard?

These questions are addressed against a backdrop by which journalism is conceived as framing and interpretation machinery. The content and form of political talk are important raw materials in this enterprise of interpretations and framings. While it is decisive to a political agent how his or her talk is being represented in the mass media, it might be equally important how the politician's ways of talking – his or her modes of speech – are treated as a subject matter. Both these features place journalism in a key position in a modern public sphere and provide the journalist with a potential upper hand in political communication.

In order to understand this particular role of journalism, we need to relate changes in media discourse practices to wider changes in society and culture (Fairclough 1995: 33). The period of change in question here is the 1960s, a decade that represented a time of fermentation in politics and journalism, as well as in the relationship between journalism and politics. In

a Norwegian context these processes of change became manifest through the end of what has been labelled 'the Labor Party State' and through the breakthrough of a particular kind of popular journalism, one that to a considerable extent established itself in relation to the new medium of television. These processes constituted a new balance of power between politicians and journalists.

This chapter will study representations of the three Prime Ministers of the decade in the newspaper that was the prime agent of change in journalistic terms at the time, namely *VG (Verdens Gang)*. The textual material will be drawn particularly from two periods of governmental change in 1963 and 1965. A context-sensitive approach will be adopted, inspired by critical discourse analysis.

A time of fermentation and unrest, in both a political and journalistic sense, might provide a fertile ground for a closer look at media representations of three Prime Ministers. My focus is on how the texts are constitutive of social authority and professional identity. Authors like Clayman (1992), following Goffman (1974, 1981), emphasize that both interviewers and interviewees typically shift footing – or forms of involvement and participation – during an encounter. What is at stake here are more long-term shifts of footing, changes in the respective agents' forms of involvement, or more accurately: changes in the ways these involvements are manifested in newspaper texts. In this regard, an object of study will be how the relevant politicians' ways of talking – e.g. during interviews – are dealt with in journalistic genres other than the interview. How are the styles of talk disseminated and reflected upon? How is the time of change reflected in the actual mixture of discourse types?

Before we embark on a closer analysis of these questions, a more comprehensive overview of the relevant journalistic and political context is required.

Political and journalistic context

The general election to the Norwegian Parliament in 1961 brought into being a new political situation. For the first time in the post-war era, The Labor Party did not hold an absolute majority in Parliament. A new socialist party (SF = Sosialistisk Folkeparti, the Socialist Popular Party) won two seats, and the bourgeois parties won as many seats as the Labor Part did (74).

The Labor Party's political hegemony faced a major challenge. After President de Gaulle's "No!" to an enlargement of the European Union – or the European Economic Community, as it was called then – in January 1963, it furthermore was possible for the non-socialist Norwegian parties to act as a more united political opposition. A mining accident in the Kings Bay pit at the arctic Svalbard Archipelago, where 21 lives were lost, created a

major political crisis. The event led to the resignation of the Labor Party and brought a bourgeois government into power for a few weeks in the autumn of 1963. After the 1965 election it was time for a more lasting bourgeois government, which governed throughout more than a full election period. The Labor Party State was history.

The politician who, beyond competition, embodied the Labor Party State was Einar Gerhardsen. When he resigned in 1965, he was able to look back on 17 years as Prime Minister. During the four weeks in 1963 that the Labor Party was out of power he was replaced by John Lyng, representing the Conservative Party (Høyre) in charge of a coalition government of four parties. In 1965 Per Borten, representing the Center Party ('Senterpartiet'), took over as Prime Minister for a non-socialist government consisting of the same four parties as in 1963.

These political shifts of power were accompanied by an emerging change in journalism, a change in which television was also an important agent, after being officially introduced in Norway in the year 1960. Television was more than welcomed by VG; the newspaper hailed the new medium, which it considered as a new source for popular reading material, rather than as a journalistic rival. In a party press context, the new TV station adopted a public service aspiration that was probably productive for the ideals of a non-partisan journalism. VG was also an exception from the party press regime of the Norwegian press.

Independence had been the slogan of this post-war newspaper right from the start: it entered the public arena in 1945 with declarations of independence and impartiality. A new mentality of cooperation and solidarity, fostered by the war experience, was manifest in the new newspaper's program. The declared ambition was to become an arena for the political debate, *the* main arena for an informed political discourse in the post-war society. The paper proclaimed a severe political interest, but no political inclination.

Throughout the 1950s, however, the paper's bourgeois leaning became increasingly obvious, although it did not affiliate itself with any particular political party. Equally important, the newspaper simultaneously underwent a popularization process, characterized not the least by a conversational journalistic style and an emphasis on 'human interest' material (Eide 1997). In 1952 the paper definitively entered the non-subscription market, became an evening paper and took up competition with the other major popular newspaper in Norway, *Dagbladet*. In 1963 VG became a tabloid newspaper and a popularization of the paper's journalism proceeded. Its success in market terms did not, however, emerge until the paper was taken over by new owners who invested heavily in the paper, beginning in 1967. A tremendous market success evolved: in 1981 VG became Norway's best selling newspaper, a position it strengthened in the years to come.

Since journalistic authority and footing is of particular interest in my approach, it is worth noting that the popularization process implied a further disembedding from other sources of authority (cf. Eide 1997a). For instance,

by the time of its birth, *VG* had invested symbolic capital in the emerging expert system of the new social sciences. The paper declared that it would link up to and make use of the results of modern social science research. This attachment turned into a detachment parallel with the popularization of the newspaper. Instead of relying on other expert systems, the newspaper formed its own expert system and became a master of its own domain.

The Kings Bay event in 1963 is a case in point. This particular incident notified a more self-conscious attitude – a new footing – among Norwegian political journalists in general. Firstly, the political crisis was provoked by the media's breaching of a press ban on an investigative report. Secondly, the press' political critique of the government was considerably sharpened throughout this incident, and *VG* was indeed a driving force in this regard. Thirdly, the change of government led to a lifting of the Labor Party's monopoly on information from the Cabinet. With a coalition government consisting of four parties, the latitude of strict information strategies was limited.

A systematic examination of *VG*'s coverage of the Kings Bay incident from May to December 1963 paints a striking picture of a more self-confident journalism (Eide 1997a). Expert systems are conspicuously absent in the newspaper's columns. Considering the emphasis at the time of a change of political regime and a possible decline of the Labor Party State, it is remarkable that the newspaper relies to no visible degree upon external analytical competence or commentators. On the other hand, the newspaper displays no hesitation in characterizations of the misbehaviour of political actors. In an editorial on the very last day of the year 1963 *VG* refers to "disclosures of political incompetence and administrative incapability, of lacking knowledge and crying naivety, of lack of control, outrageous nonchalance and outstanding complacency." Generally, the newspaper's coverage of the Kings Bay affair was eagerly insisting on the correctness of its own interpretations and points of view.

VG's coverage of this event demonstrates in an instructive way that journalistic independence can refer to quite different entities. An abyss opens between the idealistically motivated independence from the early post-war years and the aggressive independence displayed in the political journalism of the 1960s. A popularization process has changed the concept of journalistic independence. A new professional footing – new forms of journalistic involvement and participation – appears.

This is true, even though the shift of journalistic styles is less obvious in political journalism than in other journalistic domains of the newspaper. A closer examination shows that the informal modes of addresses and a journalistic conversationalism are cultivated more intensely in other genres than in political journalism (Eide 1997). These processes also began much earlier and gained more speed in other genres than in the domain of politics.

An examination of *VG*'s coverage of the Kings Bay event demonstrates two other significant aspects of a popular political journalism. First, a keen

focus on human aspects of the politicians' behaviour seems obvious. Second, it is striking how the newspaper itself becomes a political agent and ascribes itself a high profile in this regard. Shifts in journalistic authority are at issue here, as is this authority, as will be shown, in the coverage of central politicians' talk and in reflexivity on their images and ways of talking.

With the above sketched political- and journalistic context in mind, the following analysis draws upon Norman Fairclough's (1995) general approach to media discourse, asking the following questions: What respective identities are set up for the Prime Ministers and journalists in these texts? And what relationships are made available between the politicians, writers and audiences?

The textual material is the outcome of a strategic sample of texts from the coverage of the Kings Bay crisis in 1963 and the change of government in 1965. I have searched for interviews with the three politicians in question and for texts in which references are made to their appearances and ways of talking. The method employed to answer the research questions can be described as a context-sensitive close reading of the textual material. How are the three Prime Ministers' modes of speech portrayed in the texts? How are potential signs of changes in the authority relations between politicians and journalists exposed?

A national patriarch in trouble

Our main character, beyond comparison, is the agent who resigns from political power, temporarily in the course of the political crisis in 1963, and permanently after the election defeat in 1965. Einar Gerhardsen's political position had thus far been that of national patriarch. In the light of history, this reputation has remained, and was also accounted for in *VG*'s coverage of the dramatic political events of 1963 and 1965.

The resigning Prime Minister was the subject of both criticism and analysis. He was quoted from time to time, but was not interviewed. The missing interview in this case might relate to what in the Prime Minister's view must have appeared as an evil-minded crusade against his government in the newspaper. But the lack of an interview did not result in a lack of emphasis on the Prime Minister's mode of speech. On the contrary, his appearance and way of talking were meticulously characterized and analyzed as a symbolic indication of his political reputation.

At the time, the newspaper constituted its own expert system and was unquestionably capable of presenting an authoritative analysis of the politician. The executor of this analysis was the Editor-in-Chief, Chr. A. R. Christensen, who had earned a reputation as a competent chronicler and popular historian after authoring several volumes on contemporary history. Interestingly enough, he was also among the most sceptical and

reserved members of staff at the newspaper, as far as the popularization were concerned: he was more of a traditional gentleman-of-the-press than a modern popular journalist. His particular status and position were likely decisive for the choice of non-interview-based authoritative portraits of the resigning patriarch, both in 1963 and in 1965. As a writer, he was capable of delivering competent portraits, without relying on interviewing the source. Furthermore, during the actual time of fermentation, the use of interview in a journalistic portrait was not self-evident; the Interview Society was still in the making. We are on the threshold of the Interview Society, as well as a new political situation.

By the end of the most dramatic political week in decades, the Prime Minister is portrayed as “Name of the Week” (*VG*, June 29 1963). By way of introduction, his appearance is described as “ascetically slim”, “IOGT-resilient” (IOGT = International Organization of Good Templars), “camping fresh” and as “singsong bold”. His smile is then described as “boyish” and “shy” during solemn occasions and it is emphasized that his respectable age of 67 is easy to forget.

The portrait further focuses on the Prime Minister’s way of talking, his mode of addressing the electorate and his mastering of the new electronic media. “...he has managed to perfect the technique of inspiring confidence as a national patriarch and a grand old man when he, on solemn occasions approaches the Norwegian people in a confident and subdued voice – he masters with perfection radio and TV techniques in the tone of a Lauritz Johnson-like [reference to a popular host of children programs on radio] children’s-hour-uncle for the entire nation.”

The critical stance of the text is then expressed through the following reservation: “On the other hand, several members of the non-socialist camp have realized that Uncle Einar’s era in Norwegian politics is not a perfect children’s-hour-like idyll. However, in more and more fields it implies a relentless development towards a – certainly palish – socialism. This sheds a different light on the national patriarchal attitude, with strong hints of governmental omnipotence, public guardianship and departmental majesty. To Einar Gerhardsen there is no contradiction here.”

The Prime Minister’s lack of ability to accept critique from the opposition as well as from the press was a major concern in *VG*’s coverage of the Kings Bay event in the summer of 1963. The press’s role as a legitimate critic was stressed, and this was an important signal of a developed professional identity. We are witnessing a shifting power balance between the politician and the journalist – in favour of the journalist with new identities being set up for the two agents. In this new context the critical remarks from the Prime Minister on the press were, naturally, conceived as pure tactics and excuses. In an editorial column *VG* states that it should not, in this regard, come as a surprise to anyone that the Prime Minister had expressed his anger toward the press organs that did not belong to his own party (Editorial: “The Prime Minister and the Press”, *VG* August 22 1963).

The bitterness of the political struggle and the new harsh political climate is a recurring issue in the newspaper's comments. "The surprise in yesterday's parliamentary drama was not the fact that a governmental crisis is evident... (VG, August 8 1963). The surprise was the bitterness of the struggle, and the fact that the Prime Minister "was angrier than it is healthy for a politician to be." This characterization tending towards a medical diagnosis sets up an identity for the journalist of cool and clinical observant. Obviously, such an identity is productive in a construction of a new professional ideology in journalism. The newspaper's representation of the Prime Minister in general, and of his way of talking in particular, reflects a declining political authority and a new kind of journalistic authority in the making. On the threshold of the Interview Society this manifestation emerges in genres other than the interview, such as editorial comments.

The source of the Prime Minister's anger was made up of precisely the press and its journalistic judgements. Gerhardsen criticized the press for creating a political atmosphere that was poisoning the political debate. In one of his broadcast speeches in the Parliament, Gerhardsen gave VG special mention. From the journalists' professional code of ethics he quoted the warning against abusing the powerful printed word: "These words are wise and correct words, which VG in particular should pay attention to, since the paper has the former and present President of the Norwegian Association for the Press in its editorial offices..." (VG, August 21 1963).

Apart from the fact that there is no proper interview with the Prime Minister during the crisis and his resignation, it is striking to note the extent to which his image and way of talking are emphasized in the newspaper's coverage. The paper contributes, as will be elaborated on below, to anchoring the TV image of the Prime Minister. It is illuminating that this effect appears immediately when live TV from the Parliament is introduced in the Norwegian public sphere, as it was during the actual political crisis.

The sense of a political watershed is even more obvious in 1965, when the national patriarch is stepping down for good. Again, he is portrayed by the Editor-in-Chief Chr. A. R. Christensen. Again the impression of the end of an era is focused on. And again, image and way of talking are interpreted as potent symbols of the Prime Minister's popularity and political power. He is described as a master of an exceptional national patriarchal competence.

His seemingly shy appearance is cited as having been extremely powerful in building a strong relationship with the electorate. "Thousands and thousands have probably thought: I would have behaved exactly like that, he is a quite ordinary man, only magnified (while they subconsciously have added: we will vote for him next time as well!)". It is the power of being ordinary and an appellative force in universal emotions to which attention is called here, a talent whose significance in times to come was to be cultivated with eagerness in popular politics as well as popular journalism.

It is further alleged that the Prime Minister made certain fatal mistakes after the Labor Party lost its majority, when he tried to stick to a dogma of

infallibility and dismiss every critical remark from the opposition and press. When the catastrophe was at hand, Gerhardsen and his party behaved irrationally in trying to act as martyrs. "He was trapped in his own success, by the myth of himself being infallible and indispensable, a sacrosanct national patriarch. The party as a whole acted like children who had been deprived of their toys..."

The journalistic representation of the Prime Minister's appearance and ways of talking is authoritative and indicative of a rather self-confident, although analytical, journalism. Simultaneously, signs of a journalistic popularization with a leaning toward populist crusades and a time of fermentation are to some extent manifest. A certain ability and will to interpret political talk – including politicians' modes of speech – is obvious. This capacity is also reflected in the coverage of the next Prime Minister and his short time in office. In this particular case, signs of a sympathetic and compassionate discursive practice also become visible. A new identity is set up for the journalists when the Interview Society is definitely in the making. New relationships are made available between politicians, writers and audiences.

"He speaks slowly and sober-mindedly"

Although John Lyng from the Conservative Party did not govern for more than 28 days, he is an important transition figure in the political history of Norway. As soon as his government was assembled, *VG* launched a new series: "VG presents a new government" (*VG*, September 3 1963). The paper set out to present the new ministers through "personal portraits" in the form of *interviews* – the increasingly preferred journalistic format, not only for collecting information but also for presentation of information and views. The honor of introducing the new series is, naturally, granted the Prime Minister.

In the printed interview – entitled "THE PRIME MINISTER" – the interviewee's way of talking is stressed intensely. "He speaks slowly and sober-mindedly, very friendly but quite reserved, on all subjects. Naturally: He has been acting Prime Minister only a few days after 28 years of Labor party-rule...."

A journalistic combination of respect and universal understanding and compassion is expressed through the following observation: "Once, however, the response comes spontaneously and with a unique and convincing warmth, the reply to the question concerning internal cooperation in the Cabinet and the possible dangers threatening it: -I can assure with great confidence: This government will not break apart from within..."

Under the subtitle "Man of Cooperation", the new Prime Minister's way of talking is described as follows: "The words are simple, but supported by a strong and real conviction. He doesn't even have to raise his voice to

convince anyone, neither the one who asks the questions - or himself. He *does believe* in this collaboration..."

A universal community is evoked when both interviewer and interviewee tarry on their war experience. John Lyng tells about how his way into politics was through the resistance movement. He speaks about the both shocking and instructive experiences he had during the occupation. The interviewer then asks: "Has this influenced your political opinions?" and the interviewee answers: "Yes, I think so (...) We live in a dangerous world. It is our paramount problem to maintain our freedom and independence..."

There is a common ground here for the newspaper and for the politician, who both have a history connected to the resistance movement. The emphasis on independence also rings a common bell. The mutual respect that runs through the interview might also be a sign of fresh political power on the politician's side and a correspondingly short history of popular journalism on the paper's side. The marks of authority are well tempered on both sides of the table. An impression is created of the interview being something the two parties "do together" (Clayman 1992:194). And the 'public colloquial' language – modelled upon conversational speech – is given a journalistic interpretation indicating a democratic ethos. The identities set up for the two agents, the journalist and the politician, are those of equal human beings. The interpretative framework in the making is one in which authority figures first and foremost become human beings – just like you and me. This is even more obvious in our next case.

Power and "the region of motherhood and apple pie"

However, a tension between modern popular journalistic angles and more traditional orders of discourse in journalism is evident in the coverage of the commencement of the new Prime Minister in 1965.

Per Borten's down-to-earth manners made him an interesting and accessible source for journalists. Actually, his loose tongue in interaction with journalists would later remove him from power. The change of government in 1965 had VG's editorial support, and accounted for a positive approach. The expanding popularization of the paper, furthermore, inspired an everyday, informal journalistic approach toward the new Prime Minister. The coverage of the political change had the imprint of a move from the sphere of legitimate controversy towards the sphere of consensus, or "the region of motherhood and apple pie", in Daniel Hallin's words (1994:53). This is a region where discursive types from every day life prevail, and an arena in which tensions between information and entertainment are the order of the day.

A centerfold pictorial portrayed the Prime Minister and his wife in their new apartment (or bed-sitting room) in the capital, entitled "Little shed for

huge man". An identity as ordinary folks was set up for the Prime Minister and his wife: "It's almost embarrassing with all these flowers". "Most of the flowers were placed in a tub in the basement – on the table were two huge piles of telegrams and the Prime Minister stood on his head under the couch to pick up his shoes. The time was 7:55 Wednesday morning – the first full working day as Prime Minister for county-agronomist Per Borten (...) – The worst thing was that we had to close down the phone last night. The last man called at 2:00 to offer congratulations. It was difficult getting to bed (...) At 8:00, Borten drove to his first day in the government building."

This informal report and this kind of disseminating everyday speech by a political authority figure are balanced against more traditional orders of discourse: "The Borten government sets to work – ceremonious changing of the guard today" (*VG*, October 17 1965). Two months later, *VG* publishes an extremely formal interview with the Prime Minister, an interview that to some readers probably appeared obsolete by the time of publication (*VG*, December 12 1965). Significantly, this interview is not conducted by the paper itself but by the national news agency (NTB). The interview is presented as "a conversation". The Prime Minister is asked the following question: "Does the cooperation with the government's parties in the Parliament run smoothly?" And the Prime Minister replies: "Absolutely. So far we have not had any real controversies at the political level." The identities set up for the interviewer and the interviewee here are those of power vs. megaphone.

The following questions and their modes of addressing political authority are indicative of a journalistic style that at the time was on the retreat: "Is the Prime Minister happy with the opposition?" "How does the economic situation appear at the turn of the year?" "What are the prospects for the upcoming settlement of wages and prices?" "Your comment on the Swedish proposition to harmonize the export duties in the Nordic countries?" "Has the government started work on the 1967 state budget yet?"

The text sets up a rather servile identity for the journalist. In hindsight, the interview appears more or less like a parody. It is tempting to assume that if the interview had been conducted by the newspaper's own journalists it would have been more ambiguous. It would probably have been more informal on the one hand, and displayed a more self-confident journalistic approach on the other. The fact that the interview is published alongside more informal orders of discourse can, however, be interpreted as a sign of the times of fermentation in a newspaper on its way toward popular journalism.

The textual material with the last-mentioned Prime Ministers includes examples of a tension in the power relation between the journalist and the source, a tension between "talk as a form of solidarity that establishes or reinforces an egalitarian relationship between two people" and "talk as an assertion of power, establishing or restating hierarchy" (Schudson 1995: 75). 'Ambiguous footing' could be another way to put it.

TV-interaction

The relationship to the new medium of television played a significant role during the expanding popularization process in *VG*. From the testing of TV broadcasts in the 1950s, until Norwegian TV was officially opened by Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen in 1960, *VG* welcomed the new medium. Journalistically, the paper closely followed what happened in and around the new media institution and the relationship soon became that of a symbiosis.

When live TV from the Parliament was introduced during the Kings Bay crisis in 1963, this represented a new twist in political journalism and a growing attention toward politicians' appearances and rhetoric. Helped by the newspapers' coverage of the TV event, the politicians soon became TV personalities. TV puts the politicians on first-name terms with the audience, *VG* wrote. It is a matter of 'lowering the political hero to our level', by, in the words of Joshua Meyrowitz, "revealing to its audiences both traditionally onstage and traditionally backstage activities" (1985:271). And to a certain extent we can conceive of the making of a 'side stage' or a 'middle region', again in Meyrowitz's terms, as a joint venture between television and newspaper. This endeavour manifests itself, as we have seen, not least through the attention paid to political discourse and to politicians' ways of talking.

On the August 20 1963, the only Norwegian TV channel broadcast 11 hours from the debate in Parliament. The TV program schedule for the following day was as follows: From 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.: Transmission from Parliament. 6 p.m.: Live transmission from Parliament proceeds. 11 p.m.: End.

The journalistic contributions to the transmissions from NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) were minimal. As *VG* observed, it was planned that NRK journalist Per Øyvind Heradstveit – who would later become an icon in the history of Norwegian TV – introduced the debate, but even such a brief contribution was omitted. Every single word spoken from the platform in Parliament had to be communicated in full. And again, *VG* commented on the politicians' appearance, this time as seen on TV. "We could witness Prime Minister Gerhardsen nervously picking his nose, we could see him and the Conservative Party's John Lyng in the same picture, with their respective expressions. Later, on Trygve Lie arrived, eagerly reading his *VG*..." (*VG*, August 21 1963). TV provided an intimacy like no other medium, the newspaper claimed – at this stage of its history, when it was en route towards a journalism whose historical role it was to manufacture intimacy in print.

In a comment two days later *VG*'s editor ascertained that live TV had allowed the audience to feel familiar with the Members of Parliament "as human beings". Live TV also had the effect, the editor assumed, that personality factors mattered. "It is no reason to believe that it is only the arguments and points of view that count in relation to the common audience. The personalities behind the words have played the major role. Simple, perhaps even mundane words spoken by one representative may have had a more profound impact than the most thoroughly prepared argumentation

from another who does not have the ability to get on speaking terms with the audience.”

VG was also a part of the debate's intertextuality. During the live broadcast TV viewers could witness how one of the representatives from Labor held up a copy of the newspaper, a two-month old front page indicating a coming governmental crisis. The representative interpreted this as evidence of an early plan among the opposition to overthrow the government. *VG* now took this as an opportunity to demonstrate its status as an expert system in its own right, with a sovereign ability and right to interpret a political situation. “Our journalistic nose did not let us down on this occasion”.

In the coverage of the political crisis and the TV broadcasts, the newspaper particularly emphasized two genres of ‘broadcast talk’ apart from the live parliamentary debate, namely *the interview* and *the debate*. It was announced that a planned TV interview with Einar Gerhardsen would take place after the crisis and his resignation. When this interview was vetoed by NRK management, this did not go unmentioned in the press. An interview with all of the party leaders had earlier been decisive for the development of the political crisis (Dahl and Bastiansen 1999:336). As far as the new Prime Minister was concerned, TV hoped to get an interview with John Lyng as soon as his Cabinet was ready or perhaps even before that, the newsreaders were informed. “We can’t stop now,” the TV journalist said, according to *VG*. The interview is tightening its grip as a discursive form of modern journalism.

The other genre of public talk that was on the offensive in TV’s coverage of politics was the debate. During the Kings Bay crisis, NRK announces several debates during the upcoming local election campaign. “More debates – fewer reports” (*VG*, 22 August 1963). In *VG*’s presentation of these broadcasts, the newspaper points to specific debates that can be expected to draw especially large crowds of viewers. As a consequence, the emerging popular newspaper focuses on the excitement of live talk and the expression of emotions in politics. In this respect, a certain awareness of – not to mention a celebration of – an expanding media authority is indicated.

Summary

At a time of fermentation in journalism as well as in politics, signs of a new kind of journalistic authority in the making have been disclosed. It is striking how an ambiguous popularization process nurtures a new kind of journalistic independence and self-awareness. The fact that the newspaper has no problem in evaluating political authority figures in general, and their ways of talking in particular, is a telling feature in this picture. An ability to comment upon politicians’ images, behaviour and modes of speech provides the journalist with the upper hand and a vehicle for demonstrating authority.

In a way, the journalist performs an applied discourse analysis of the politician, with an emphasis upon style and mode of talk, as well as offers to a certain extent a contextualization of political talk. Occasionally, this analysis takes into account particular communicative events. On other occasions it is concerned more generally with the communicative ethos of the politician. An important kind of journalistic power is probably demonstrated through this “framing and interpretation management” (Fairclough 1995: 84).

It is, furthermore, important to note how the newspaper texts transform and embed the TV texts in which the politicians appear, a task also performed through interpretation and reflection upon the politicians’ ways of talking. This act of transformation and recontextualization is likely constitutive to the exercise of power in a mediatized public domain.

The change of the relationship between journalism and politics, consequently, took a certain direction under the investigated circumstances. Simultaneously, the relevant texts exemplify interesting tensions between different orders of discourse. The portraits of Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen are held in a critical-analytical and contextualizing style, focusing on his image and ways of talking without relying on interviews. The portrait of the next Prime Minister, John Lyng, is interview-based and respectful – not least through remarks made in the journalistic text on his sober-minded way of talking. The third Prime Minister, Per Borten, is on the one hand portrayed in a more popular fashion, in the everyday domain of “motherhood and apple pie”, and on the other hand is subject to an interview-based officious presentation. From these observations, and in the light of the sketched journalistic and political context, it is possible to extract a stance toward the three Prime Ministers’ respective political projects. *VG* was opposed to the Labor Party State, and likely represented a particularly important opposition, built on journalistic (and political) – not *party* political – premises. *VG* was in favour of the two bourgeois governments discussed earlier – on political, if not party-political, premises.

The journalistic discourse studied here displays a new authoritative talk in the making – on the threshold of an Interview Society. The long-term shift is that of an expanding journalistic authority and a declining authority on the politicians’ side. However, this process is not unambiguous. The demonstrated tensions of the mediatization of the Prime Ministers’ talk and ways of talking suggest that journalistic popularization is more complex than a rectilinear picture is capable of accounting for. Ambivalences and tensions are obvious in the professional culture of a paper in the midst of a popularization process. Representations of talk seem to be a crux of the matter in understanding popularization of journalism and the power of discursive practices in journalism.

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II

The Interview as Institutional Practices and Interaction

Chapter 5

‘Doing’ Interviewer Roles in TV Interviews

Mie Femø Nielsen

Within journalism, it seems to be taken for granted that a certain variety of interviewer roles exists as a phenomenon. Practitioners doing media interviews operate with a range of emic categories of interviewer roles. An example of a list of typical roles could be midwife, buffoon, skeptic, microphone holder, chairperson and tease (Harms Larsen 1990:115,116). Such lists generally consist of a mix of attitudes, metaphors and professional roles. Instead I would like to suggest an action-based taxonomy for interviews that reflects the interviewer’s behavior, depending on whether the interviewee is invited to, e.g., produce an argumentation for or account of something, to declare something or to tell a story.

The concept of *doing being something or somebody* is taken from Harvey Sacks. Sacks makes an important point about being able to recognize a certain behavior and being able to redo it when it is called for in a specific situation (Sacks 1984). He calls this phenomenon ‘doing being’ something. For instance, a very important competence in society is the ability to do ‘being ordinary’. In his paper *On doing being ordinary* he discusses our tacit knowledge about what constitutes being considered ordinary and how we behave in order to be considered as such. For instance, one does not call people in the middle of the night just to say ‘Hi!’, but instead must have a very good reason, a kind of emergency. And the reason for the call should be enacted via sequential positioning of the reason for the call, voice and speech rate if the caller is to be considered ordinary.

According to Goffman, what makes a person a leader is that he acts like one (Goffman 1959); that he exhibits the performance of a leader. This is why impostors can often be very successful at fooling people into believing that they are doctors, politicians or whatever role they are enacting. Such resources are drawn on when journalists perform in a certain interviewer role. But the fact that they ‘know’ how to do these roles, and that the audience is able to recognize them as such, is not enough. It is necessary to explore what the doing being-ness consists of when a person is doing a certain role.

While studying Danish media interviews I’ve become interested in the embodiment of interviewer roles. It is interesting how much of this conver-

sational work in order to be doing being a certain interviewer role seems to be accomplished nonverbally. Doing being a certain interviewer role is indeed a matter of enactment, of correspondence between turn construction, the use of formulations, continuers and responses, as well as the handling of pauses and posture, gesture and facial expression.

Using the conversation analytic method, I will analyze a range of Danish interviews. The data are from different editions of two Danish TV interview programs: *Profilen* (The Profile) with one long interview, *Damernes Magasin* (Ladies' Magazine) with a series of interviews, and one edition of an audience discussion program, *Camilla*. All programs are from the period 1992-1997.

Initially, I will show three different examples of very different interviewer roles and how they are done. In the first excerpt, the IE is Chief Editor of a leading Danish newspaper, which printed then – Danish EU-commissioner Ritt Bjerregaard's diary as a separate section of the newspaper, after she had been forced by Jacques Santer to withdraw it. Afterwards, the commissioner sued the newspaper for stealing her book, and in this excerpt the IR challenges the chief editor, who on the contrary thought of the deed as a case of bringing necessary information to the Danish public.

Ex 1 Persecuted innocence¹:

- IR: tha:t's ↑a ki[nd of ↑sto:len goods?,
(14 turns omitted))
- IR: [we're ta|lking a|bout a CRimi↓nal ↑act,
they will go into the ↑criminal ↓law,
'hhh and persecute youhh.
- IE: The ma|nipulatio::ns conti|nue. 'hhh=
- IR: 'h*o::h?,
- IE: =let's for a mo::ment hold [on to,
- IR: [you're=a
per|cuted inno|cense you la|re,
- IE: [What are
you saying?,
- IR: you s- you SO::und like the per|secuted
inno|cence, th|at you really ca|n't=
- IE: [bu::t,]
- IR: = expect [one to] be|lieve?,
- IE: [but-]

In this interview we see a very lively combat, and both IR and IE clearly seem to enjoy a battle with a worthy opponent.



The IR embodies a fencer or a swordsman in good form. His gestures are used in aiding the production of his questions.

The IR has abandoned the neutral stance in this interview. He is counter-arguing (“that’s ↑a kind of ↑st₀:len goods?”), arguing (“you s- you S₀: und like the persecuted innocence, you really can’t=expect one to believe that?”) and assessing (“you’re=a persecuted innocence, you are,”). Later he in fact himself uses the expression “quarrelling” about what they are doing in the interview.

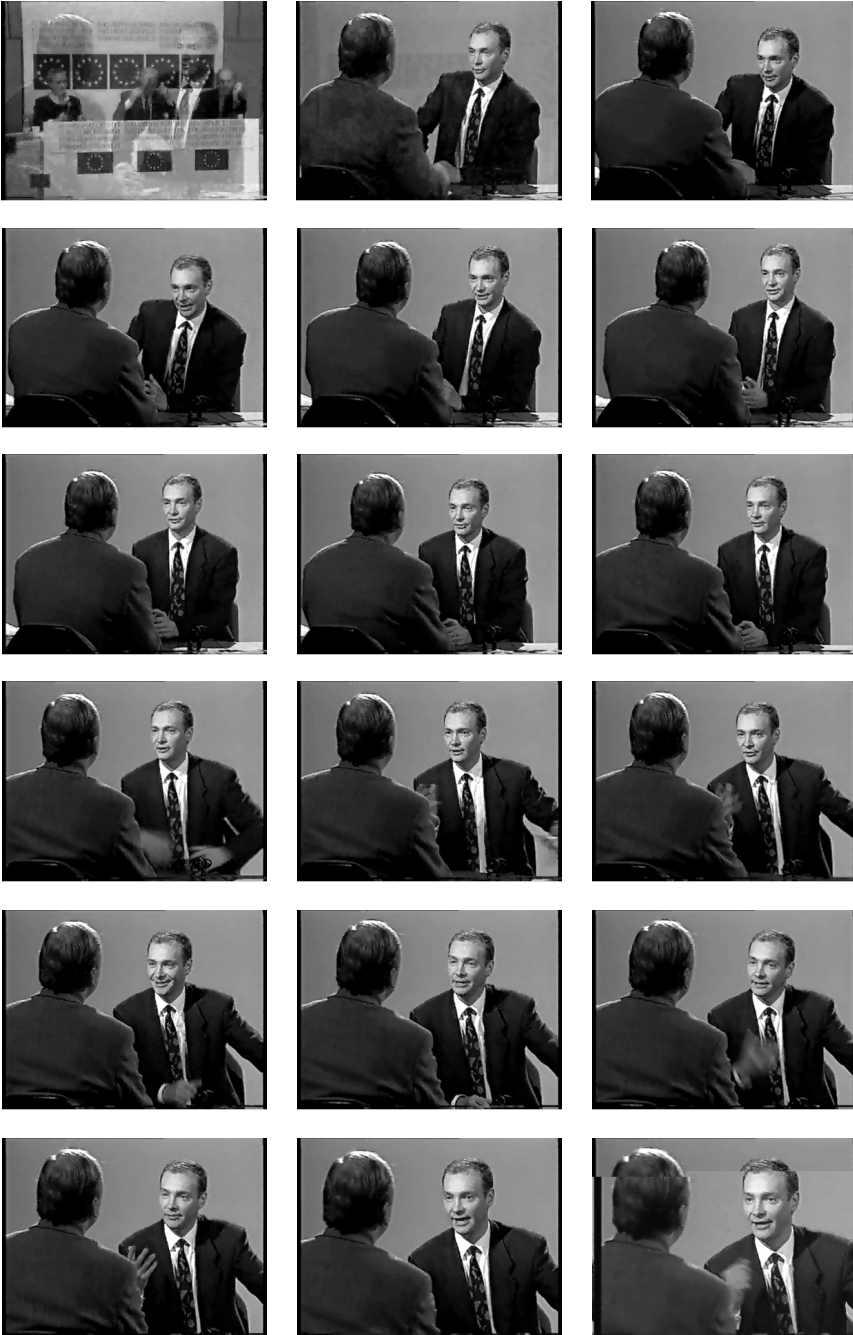
The IR is here sitting directly across from the IE, separated only by a narrow table. While talking, the IR sits erect, leaning forward and approaching the IE. His gestures closely accompany the production of the question. He also makes large gestures and talks fast-paced, as does the IR. The limited space in this chapter does not allow an extensive look at this.

But the embodied ‘setting of the scene’ for this activity can be studied. In another excerpt from the same interview they, and we, see a series of on-location interviews in Brussels, after which we return to the studio, where the IR and IE are ready to go on with the interview.

Ex 2 (ProSei 13:8-12): Fascinating material

IR: yes and before we start with this FAScinating
material=then- then we’ll ha:ve to argue about one
last thing in re[l]ation to’ the
[(grins through his nose)]
pr(h)a(h)cticalities ov’ the boo:k.
 (.)
 .hhh the:re’re y’know those=who sa:y that this
 not at all ↓is (0.2) as it appeared i:n in
 the beginning of o:ur conversation in the
program.=

Note how the IR shifts position in order to get ready to shift from TV-viewer to interviewer:



Note how the interviewer is leaning to his left (the viewer's right) in a relaxed position, resting his arm on the table while watching the footage, and how he sits upright while gesticulating quietly near the table, but continues this motion until he is leaning to his right (the viewer's left) and forward towards the interviewee, enlarging his gesticulation.

The IR sets the stage for the IE to defend and explain himself when counter-arguing and demanding an account that is then attacked. In the interview, the interviewer energetically argues several contradicting hypotheses, giving the interview an overall appearance of being neutral even if there are several examples of locally departing from the neutrality. Furthermore, posture is used to stress the offensiveness.

The second excerpt is from an interview with a front figure in the Conservative Party. The party barely survived the election the week before the interview, but this man had an exceptionally good personal result in the election, in spite of a drunk-driving accident that had cost him the leadership of the party the year before. Now the IR wants to know if he is indeed the informal leader and is now preparing to take over again.

Ex 3 Full speed ²

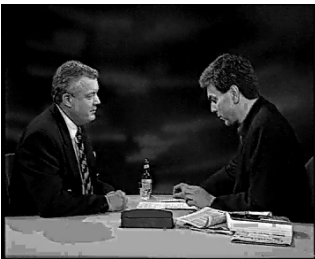
- 1 IE: =turns a e:h tremendous defeat, (.)
- 2 to new ↓progress for the party.
- 3 IR: .h >>yeah but let me then ↑ask you<<,
- 4 becau:se e:h you: sa:ɪd i:n a eh
- 5 >>there were many<< ↑interviews >with you
- 6 up< to the election here
- 7 >BE↑cause it of course< also
- 8 as we have been ta:lking about
- 9 has been con↑sidered a=
- 10 >what should one say<
- 11 your (0.6) °your° ap↑PREnticeship exam
- 12 or- (.) >>whatever one could c[a:l] it<<
- 13 IE: [yeah.]
- 14 IR: °i-in° re↑lation to the ↓voters,
- 15 and you ↑sa:ɪd y'know to:: ↑Berlingeren, ((name of newspaper))
- 16 (.) at eh the beginning of March here.
- 17 there you ↑said that,
- 18 (.) .H (.) ↑After the election
- 19 then you would conside:r thi(h)s about eh
- 20 (.) .h (.) >the drunk-driving accident
- 21 last year
- 22 as a< period you now have put ↑↑behind you,
- 23 (.)
- 24 .H (.) AND ↑then >>you would °be able to°
- 25 go: at it<< at ↑full ↓speed,
- 26 (0.3)

27 .hhh what is ↑implied in that about
 28 going >at it at< ↑full speed,
 29 (0.3)
 30 IE: .hhh ↑in that is implied that (.)

The interviewer, Kurt Strand, sits directly across from the interviewee, Hans Engell, separated only by a narrow table. During the interview he leans forward and gesticulates while talking. He also butts a little with his head, tipping his forehead forward.

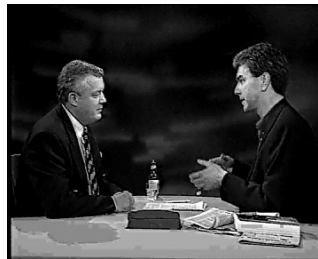


The question is long and complex. It is a multi-unit turn with several 'pre-supposition markers' ("of course< also as we have been ta:lk:ing about" and "y'know"). It is prefaced with an action projection (">>yeah but let me then ↑ask you<<") after which no question appears immediately (Schegloff 1980). He builds unity by shifting to a 'generic' footing (Goffman 1981, Clayman 1992, Femø 2001), an unnamed source in the form of an unnamed community behind the reflection ("it of course< also as we have been ta:lk:ing about has been con↑sidered a=>what should one say< your (0.6) °your° ap↑PREnticeship exam or- (.) >>whatever one could c[a:ll] it<<"), and by citing Engell, to which he has shifted footing to, a footing he renews several times (l. 4, 15 and 17). While quoting, animating Engell's speech, his speech is accompanied by gesticulating hands, figuratively putting it on the table.

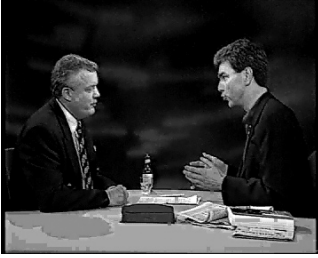


"March here"

(hands in home position)

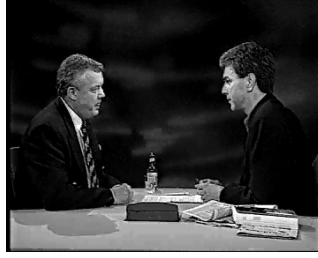


"↑After the election"



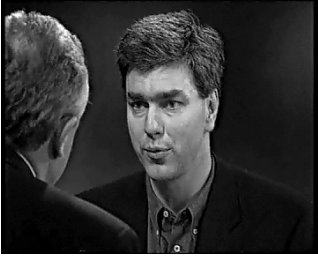
"↑full ↓speed"

(hands back in home position)

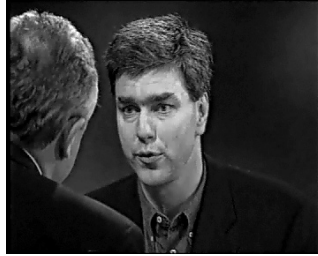


"that about going"

In the question he also uses embodied modality to distance himself from the speech, or the opposite, e.g. the rapidly inserted word search marker ">what should one say<", with little nods forward accompanying "of course also" and with lifted eye brows on "ap↑PREnticeship exam".

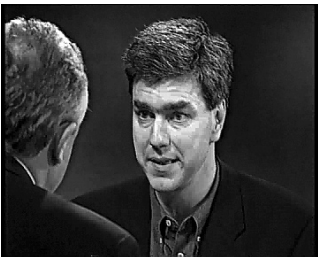


"as we have been ta:lkling about"



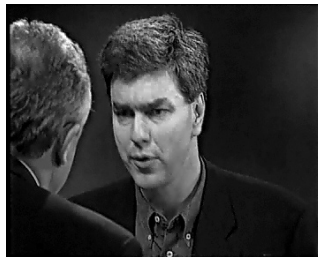
"of course also"

(compare with the next two stills) (small nods forward)



">what should one say<"

(lifted eye brows)



"ap↑PREnticeship exam"

(frowning)

This shows a speaker who is very conscious of his own speech during the discussion, and who is careful to mark ownership or non-ownership of the speech. He says a great deal, also with a character of assessment, without leaving the neutral stance (Heritage & Greatbatch 1991).

Through footing shifts he manages to provide the background for the question in production and to show its implications and what would qualify as an answer. Beforehand he has asked something very similar (not shown), which is why the mere existence of the new question (">>yeah but let me then ↑ask you<<,") implies that the former question was not answered satisfactorily, and is produced as a consequence of the answer to the former question ("then"). This makes it relevant for the interviewee to deliver something else, more as an answer to the new question (Heritage 1995, Heritage 2002, Femø Nielsen 2001). When the IR finally reaches the interrogative, it now consists of only a single-turn constructional unit ("what is ↑implied in that about going >at it at< ↑full speed"). All this preparatory work is referred to in "that about". This construction gives the question a very different weight and impact than if it had merely been 'what do you mean full speed' or 'what is implied by going at it at full speed'. Such questions would have been banal and meaningless, and would not have put pressure on the IE to discuss his future position in the Conservative party.

He is doing – embodying – the neutral opposition, never leaving the neutral stance, while insisting that the IE legitimate, argue and explain himself. The stage is set for argumentation and legitimation from the IE, and the means is a complex question design with advanced footing shifts that are also mimicked and accompanied by shifts in body posture.

The next excerpt is from a magazine program about incest, and the IE is herself a victim. Her stepfather started abusing her when she was eight years old, her own mother having made the arrangements and being present during the act. She tells how her mother woke her up in the middle of the night, asking her to accompany her into her bedroom and lie next to them during the act, reading a magazine. After this story, the interviewer responds:

Ex 4 Stepfather³

- 1 IR: Your OWN mother was then (.) not only
- 2 aware, but simply assisting
- 3 your stepfather in abusing you
- 4 IE: yeah, °w(h)as she°=
- 5 IR: =why do you think she acted that way
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 IE: becau:se e:h (.) really, a- I
- 8 believe that at that, (.) ng- really- a-
- 9 I believe that a- at at that time m- my
- 10 my mother was sick,
- 11 and I don't thi- I don't think she
- 12 herself (.) could satisfy him,

- 13 (.)
 14 sexually,
 15 .h and then she had eh ↑then I cou-
 16 ↓I probably could do it,
 17 (.)
 18 IR: so she (.) in fact gave you to him,
 19 IE: yeah,
 20 (.)
 21 IR: .hh do you remember, how you felt,
 22 when you were lying there
 23 and he was fiddling with you,

The interviewer's first turn in this extract is a response to the interviewee, a formulation that achieves a confirmation from the interviewee. The interviewee's answer is designed as a hypothesis that at the same time constructs her mother as a pathetic figure and her stepfather as a man with unquestioned needs. Again the IR responds with a formulation, this time removing the hypothesis and constructing it as factual ("so she (.) in fact gave you to him"). The IE's response to this is a confirmation.

Several times, the IR leaves the neutral stance and takes a position. The formulation "Your OWN mother was then (.) not only aware, but simply assisting your stepfather in abusing you" could also have been designed along the lines of 'Your mother was then (.) aware and also assisting your stepfather in abusing you'. Instead she shows affiliation with the IE: "your OWN mother" (stressing the horror of the abuse since her mother should be the person closest to her and should have protected her from the abuse), "not only aware of" (prefacing a contrast-coupled implication of the mother's complicity) and "simply assisting that" (pointing to the core and low level of the crime), showing the strong front the little girl was up against from her own point of view. She does not design the representation as a statement or an account of an order of events but presupposes the order of events as factual, accentuating the absurdity of the presupposed horrible situation and affiliating completely with the interviewee.

While posing the questions the IR gesticulates, and while the IE answers the IR sits in a relaxed position leaning her head slightly to one side, with eyes opened wide, and moves her left hand from supporting her chin to playing with her left ear or the hair on her neck. She makes this motion especially during the first part of the interviewee's answer to the first question in the excerpt.



“why do you think”



During “becau:se that e:”



During “I believe that at that”



“remember, how you”



“fiddling with you”



During ensuing response from IE

Note the relaxed position of the IR, her soft voice and how she repeatedly touches herself. The interviewer’s questions help her construct the role of ‘midwife’, as she aids the interviewee in telling her story. But they do more, expressing sympathy and letting her enter an alliance with the IE against the figure in the story that the mother represents. Helping the IE tell the story along with the invitation to think causes relations, and with that produces new knowledge, making the interview seem therapeutic (see Bruun 1995).⁴ The positive affiliation points to some other activity than therapy. The questions are designed as formulations, extracting the gist of the talk, elucidating points and bringing forward hypotheses that are afterwards confirmed, so that the story is told, interpreted and digested during the telling. The IR’s posture makes her appear not confrontational but attentive and sympathetic.

Different interviewer roles or just different interviewers?

These were three examples of very different IR roles, with the difference in IR role seeming to correspond with a physical enactment of that role.

A very obvious objection to make here would be that there is certainly a difference in posture and body language, but this is because we are looking at three different interviewers, not just three different interviewer roles. And, naturally, these three different people are doing the interviewer role differently.

But countering evidence is not sufficient. To illustrate my point, I have also collected different kinds of interviews with a single IR doing different IR roles. Looking at these, the embodiment of the different roles becomes very clear.

Let us first look at an excerpt from the same program as in Example 4: the same topic, concerning the same individual, but now a double interview with the doctor of the incest victim.

Ex 5 Sixteen years⁵

- 1 IR: Hans, ↑you are Pia's general practitioner,
- 2 (.)
- 3 how old is Pia,
- 4 when she becomes your patient,
- 5 IE: ↑she i:s, (.)↓sixteen years old,

Here the interviewer sits across from two interviewees at a dining room table, i.e. a different set design than during the interview with Pia, the incest victim. The result is a larger physical distance between IR and IE, and for the IR a less relaxed body posture. She sits erect on a dining-room chair, leaning forward towards the table, as opposed to before when she sat relaxed, reclining, in a living room chair. She now sits at the same end of the table as Pia, forming a 'we' with her. At some point while interviewing the doctor, she looks at her cue card, showing a mental distance from the interviewee.

She now produces gestures, pointing with one hand, compared to before when she sat touching herself, and makes little nods forward with her head.

The interviewer is talking to the doctor about Pia, and they refer to her in the third person ("she", "her"). The gesticulation accompanying "her being an", pointing towards Pia, increases the turning of Pia into a third person.



"how old is"
(pointing to Pia)



"you have no idea"
(gestures with right hand)



"her being an incest victim"
(pointing to Pia)



IE talking
(looking at cue card)



Listening to the doctor
(head rests on hand)



One could think that this (Examples 5 and 6) is a typical expert interview, compared to Example 4 in which a weak person needs help in telling her story. This is not the case.

The doctor is not interviewed as an expert. In fact, the IR does a great deal of work to 'un-expertify' him, deconstruct him as an expert. He is first addressed, but by first name only, just like the incest victim. He is then presented to the viewers with the words "↑you are Pia's general practitioner," in Danish "privat praktiserende læge,". He is introduced as a generalist, not a specialist. The Danish word "privat", meaning 'private' is stressed, both prosodically and with a jerk forward of the IR's head. He is constructed as a

family doctor, appearing in the program as a private person through the use of only his first name. Then follows the interrogative “how old is Pia, when she becomes your patient.” The question is constructed in present tense, and the clock is turned back to when Pia first appeared in his consultation. The combination of the use of first name only, the non-expertliness and the positioning on Pia’s story timeline makes him a part of Pia’s story. Through the use of present tense, he is invited to co-tell the story. The interviewer does not merely ask for facts, as a construction like ‘how old was Pia when she became your patient’ could have accomplished.

He is, however, not invited to tell the same type of story as Pia is. The question design is similar to the questions posed by Kurt Strand to Hans Engell in Example 3. The design is addressee + pre + micro pause + interrogative. Factual information is requested, and a format for the answer is given (age). But, contradictory to Strand’s question, the question does not voice any opposition, and present tense is used. Through this, the doctor is invited to tell a factual story, to make a report – not a very personal and emotionally straining story, and not his own story. And this is exactly what he does in the interview: He reports in the present tense the course of events from when he first met Pia and, also in present tense, his thoughts in relation to the events.

Ex 6 Mental institution⁶

- 1 IE: treatment (.) of that, so I refer her
- 2 to eh (.) eh Nordvang,
- 3 as it’s called,
- 4 a mental institution
- 5 (.)
- 6 IR: .h and you have no idea of
- 7 (.)
- 8 her being an incest victim
- 9 IE: I know nothing of it no,
- 10 we did not get into that at all
- 11 (.)
- 12 at that time there

In this interview, the interviewee is invited to tell a fact-oriented story. The questions are designed (i.e., the formulation “and you have no idea of (.) her being an incest victim”) to help the IE make a report, and the answers are not challenged nor even acknowledged. The questions are accompanied by gesticulation and erect posture, and the physical distance between them is enlarged.

The different IR role is underlined by moving the IR and the former IE to another setting for the double interview. They are now not sitting across each other in armchairs, but around a dining table, the two IEs beside each other.

This shift in setting aids the IR in shifting IR role, and the shift in setting is probably also intended to allow her to shift to another interviewer role.

However, in both cases she is doing the role of an interviewer helping a story to be told or helping the IE make a report. To compare, let us look at the same IR as she appears in an audience discussion program about fatness.

Ex 7 Excuse for being stout⁷

- 1 IR: ↓Lars,
- 2 (.)
- 3 ↑what is your excuse for being stout
- 4 IE: I don't >really have an excuse< for being
- 5 stout(h), not at all
- 6 IR: you don't have one,
- 7 IE: ↓no.
- 8 IR: don't you want one,
- 9 IE: noe. ↑I have a good life like I am,
- 10 IR: .hh ↑you weighed y'know,
- 11 already as a fifteen-year-old
- 12 you were up to a hundred kilo,
- 13 IE: yeah?
- 14 IR: ehm, ↑did it not cause some problems
- 15 there during the teenage years,
- 16 IE: no: eh it didn't really,



The first question is designed as addressee + micro pause + interrogative. It holds many presuppositions (that his name is Lars, that he is fat, that one needs an excuse to be allowed to be fat, that he has such an excuse, and that he will come forward with it). The interview opening “↓Lars,” is uttered with a ‘frame shaping’ intonation. It sounds like a social worker planting herself deep in the chair to really have a heart-to-heart talk with her client. It constructs her as someone above him, bringing herself down to his level. The mere maneuver of placing herself at his level is negated by the reciprocal elevated stance simultaneously constructed. Lars confirms in his answer all the presuppositions, except that of having an excuse. By “re-

ally” he confirms that he knows that he ought to have one or that it would be relevant to have one, but that he nonetheless does not. It is weakening and disarming, compared to a more direct ‘I don’t have an excuse’. Had he said ‘in fact’ instead of “really”, he would be aligning with it more. Saying “stout(h)” also holds a distance to the word ‘stout’; he perhaps does not see being called stout as unproblematic. The tag “not at all” withdraws the reservation of the absent excuse.

The interviewer returns with the declarative “you don’t have one,” uttered with continuation intonation that allows it work as question and conclusion at the same time. He is thus invited to expand on not having an excuse and why he does not have one. Lars answers simply “↓no.” with both locally and globally falling intonation. Through this, he effectively marks that nothing will be added to the *no*. He creates an explanation slot for himself (Antaki 1994), but does not fill it with an explanation. In not making the absent excuse accountable, he makes a very strong statement that he does not feel that he has to legitimize himself. The continuation is thus much stronger than the first collaborating answer, when he did not “really” have an excuse. Now he does not have one, period!

The interviewer follows up on precisely this in her interrogative “don’t you want one,”. Again he refuses: “noe.”, this time filling an explanation slot: “↑I have a good life like I am,”. The IR continues, but the note is stricken. This is not a victim meeting his compassionate and understanding helper.

By voicing opposite viewpoints and elucidating the empty explanation slots, in this interview the IR gets the IE to produce clear-cut viewpoints. Here we see her in a much more confrontational style, leaning forward and gesturing while talking, although this is difficult to see at this particular camera angle. Instead of helping a story, she is voicing reverse viewpoints in order to make the IE produce clear-cut viewpoints. The furniture here is in fact similar to that used in the incest interview, but the set is very different due to the position onstage in front of a live audience. So even though the large armchairs could make a relaxed reclining position relevant for the interviewer, she does not sit in that position. Instead she lets her body form a sharp angle in order to be able to lean forward towards the interviewees. The interviewer role is thus not shaped by choice of furniture, but the setting and choice of furniture can *collaborate* in making a certain posture relevant. The IR chooses her posture and gesticulation in relation to the speech, not the set.

This ‘punchline catalyzing role’ is even more obvious when she brings the audience into the discussion.

Ex 8 People themselves are to blame⁸

- 1 IR: rolling over in slim offers
 2 as never before.
 3 (0.2)
 4 .hh ↑Lene, (0.2) do you think there's
 5 any excuse today for being (.) f(h)at.
 6 IE: No I don't think so actually,
 7 I think people themselves are to blame
 8 for being overweight.
 9 and stout.
 10 and fat,
 11 one can say no thanks=
 12 =there's y'know no one force-feeding you
 13 (0.6)
 14 IR: ↑°o°kay,
 15 (0.4)
 16 .hh (.) ↑we don't really ↑have toh
 17 go to bed hungry

This is not an excerpt from the interview but the entire interview. The IR returns to her later in the program, however, for a longer interview.

The IR's invocation of the IE sets the tone for the interview. With upward local intonation, loud voice on the first part of the IE's name and the design of an exclamation ("↑LEne!") she already at the turn beginning shows notifies a confrontational style. In her other interviews, her pronunciation of the interviewee's name shows what kind of a question she is about to pose (see Examples 5, 7 and 10).

After having almost invoked the IE, the IR poses a question designed to generate a negative answer ("do you think there's any excuse today"; note "any" and "today"). The interviewee's negative answer comes promptly and with emphasis, and she expands it by producing something that looks like a list of three items, but is not prosodically designed to be a list but instead features two items each 'added on' to the first. Each of the two following items ("stout." and "fat") is added using "and", and each of the two first items is produced with final intonation, as if nothing more is to come. Furthermore, the three items are not elements within the same category, as often seen in lists, but represent the same element subsequently produced in an upgraded version: "overweight." is upgraded to "stout.", which is again upgraded to "fat,.". A nice version is delivered first, then a doing-being-provocative version matching the category in the IR's question, and then finally an actually more provocative version, using a term usually seen as derogatory and just used by the IR.

A provocation is then delivered from the IE, though not uncommented. Her "actually," marks affinity, upgrading the statement and simultaneously distancing herself from it. Through this she is marking the words as provoca-

tive. Her intonation makes the said defiant, which the context reinforces. The program is about fatness, and two interview subjects are already lined up on the stage, of which one of them, Lars, is large. The TV viewers have not seen this yet (the interview in Excerpt 6 happens immediately after Excerpt 7), but the audience has, looking at the stage in front of them. The IR is heading towards the stage when she makes a stop to talk to Lene. When Lene is producing her punchline, she makes eye contact with the IR and gives her a short nod, as if to say 'there! that's it'.

The IR merely acknowledges the contribution from the IE ("↑o°kay,") and then moves on to the next point to be made in the discussion and to the next IE on the stage. She is no longer helping a story but is now a catalyst of IE punchlines that she acknowledges and then moves forward from. A statement meets a receipt. There is no follow-up question and no footing shift to an opposing viewpoint. A strong statement makes an account relevant, as the provocation creates an explanation slot, making relevant a follow-up question with a demand to expand. When the IR instead simply receives the answer and moves on, the provocation is reinforced because it is not made accountable. The provocation is treated as not provocative, but as an expected answer to the question. At this point the IR is collaborating in 'doing being provocative' - a provocation she does not seem to align completely with, which is underlined by several things. Especially noteworthy is how the IR pronounces the word 'stout', the Danish 'tyk', with a pointed mouth on an exhale and on precisely the stress makes a nod with her head and jerks her upper body backwards and upwards in one motion, as if to back out of her own words. Through this action she is placing her words in italics with respect to prosody, facial expression and embodiment. Note how the interviewer is as erect as can be, in standing position, and that she nods forwardly towards the IE.



"LEne! (0.2)"



"stou(h)t"



It could seem obvious that the type of program determines the choice of interviewer actions and activities that shape the role of the interviewer. But even within the same program type, the interviewer role varies in accordance with topic and IE. The IR shows her attitude towards the topic *and* tunes in to the IE while shaping the interviewer role.

Let's return to the magazine program. This time the topic is prostitution, and the IE is a call girl. Note the facial expression of the IR, especially her eyes and smile.

Ex 9 Escort girl⁹

- 1 IR: (0.5) .hh (.) ↑now you must really
- 2 excuse me Gitte=but (.) really, (0.6)
- 3 ↑you look completely average?
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 I thought you would look
- 6 completely different,
- 7 (0.6)
- 8 IE: >so I do when I go=ot,<
- 9 (0.5)
- 10 IR: you do? when you [go ot],
- 11 IE: [yeah]
- 12 (0.5)
- 13 IR: can't I eh, can't I watch? how you look
- 14 when you're all gun-powdered up,
- 15 (0.5)
- 16 IE: >sure,<
- 17 (0.2)
- 18 IR: a::rh, you've brought all the
- 19 equipment
- 20 (0.8)
- 21 IE: .h wha- do you ↑work every single night,
- 22 (0.7)
- 23 IR: >no I don't.<



"excuse me Gitte"



"completely average?"



"completely different,"



"when you [go out],"

Here the interviewer is seen leaning forward and butting a little with her forehead, with a broad smile and large amused eyes. From her facial expression we don't get an impression of prostitution as a sad story or social problem. Instead, we see a nosy woman ("excuse me Gitte=but (.) really, (0.6) ↑you look completely average? (0.4) I thought you would look completely different," and "can't I eh, can't I see?" and "a::rh, you've brought all the equipment"), wanting to enjoy a good show, and at the same time showing a wish to share intimate secrets with another woman.

This part of the interview is separated into three distinct parts, one concerning the looks of the IE, the next establishing a scene in which the IE is to put on make-up in front of a mirror while being interviewed, and the third mapping the IR's 'workday'. Between each part are pauses, and the interviewee answers the questions minimally. There is not much to follow up on, and the IR moves on to the next item on the agenda. The interview does not seem to be running very smoothly (as seen in the many pauses and minimal answers); the IR has to work hard.

It is clearly prearranged that the IE is to be filmed in front of a mirror during the interview while putting on makeup. She is placed in front of the mirror before the IR's request to be allowed to "watch", she has brought her equipment with her to the studio, and from the beginning she is wearing large makeup glasses, which she does not wear at the end of the program after the makeup scene.



It therefore demands a great deal from the interviewer to ‘do being surprised’ convincingly, something her “a::rh, you’ve brought all the equipment” does not accomplish. On the contrary, it seems unauthentic and diminishes the credibility of the relationship the IR is attempting to create with the IE.

Her word choice works in the same direction. The self-invented “gun-powdered up” seems young-with-the-young-ish, which is remarkable since the IE seems to be older than the IR. Also the “brought all the equipment” gives a vapor of professionalized heartiness that is probably meant to make the IR appear open-minded and set the scene for a frank conversation with juicy details, but since she overdoes her lack of prejudice she instead appears to be talking down to the IE.

Even though the IR apparently works hard to create a relationship with the IE and be hearty, she simultaneously creates a distance between the two of them. The question “(0.5) .hh (.)↑now you must really excuse me Gitte=but (.) really, (0.6) ↑you look completely average?” is designed with a pre- in the form of an excuse followed by the contrast marker ‘but’. The statement “I thought you would look completely different,” is produced, presupposing and voicing the IR’s presuppositions, since she thematizes that it would have been natural to expect the IE to look non-ordinary. The IE does not respond to this, and a pause follows before the IR creates a new response point by expanding the question with a voicing of the particular expectation: “I thought you would look completely different,” without explaining what she did expect. Again there is a relatively long pause before the IE finally answers that she does look different when she “go(es)=out,”. The IR follows this up with an echo question (Ferrera 1994), achieving a confirmation from the IE.

That the IR does not align herself with the IE is also observable elsewhere. For example, she does not say “every night” but “every single night,”, stressing “every” and “single” as if to stress the extent of the interviewee’s escort business. This could be a reason for the IE’s reluctance.

The IR invites the IE to legitimize and explain herself, but the IE does this only reluctantly. This is perhaps because the IR’s somewhat confrontational speech inviting argumentation from the IE does not match the setting, facial expression or word choice, which are all working to create a ‘boudoir’ atmosphere with an exchange of intimacies. So it is important that the role be done in an integrated way, not with features pointing in different directions.

One could assume that the closer and more potentially face-threatening a question is, the more confrontational the IR style is. But this is not necessarily so. Take the following example: This is the same program about prostitution, and this time the IR is interviewing the mother of the call girl. It turns out that the call girl began as a street prostitute at only 12 years of age. Now, the IR wants to know why her mother never discovered what she was doing. Asking a mother why she didn't discover that her 12-year-old was a prostitute is potentially very face-threatening – almost the same as assessing her as a bad mother. But note the mother's response:

Ex 10 Your own daughter¹⁰

- 1 IR: and(h) (0.4) an important part of your
- 2 family is sitting right next to you
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 Lone:m (1.0) ↑how could you miss (0.4)
- 5 discovering
- 6 (0.6) wha(h)t your own child
- 7 (0.2) was up to
- 8 (0.5)
- 9 IE: I actually don't know, becaause eh
- 10 (0.4) ↑Gitte visited my place y'know weekends
- 11 every two weeks
- 12 just like (0.8) the settlement said
- 13 (0.3)
- 14 °↓after the divorce
- 15 I had
- 16 ↑right↓°
- 17 (1.2)
- 18 soeh (0.2) I didn't feel any of that,=
- 19 =and when she was there she played with
- 20 her sister,
- 21 (3.0)
- 22 IR: You did not notice ananything
- 23 (.)
- 24 different
- 25 o:r
- 26 IE: ↑not at all,
- 27 (0.7)
- 28 IR: .h when did you get suspicious,
- 29 (1.0)
- 30 IE: I only got suspicious when Gitte wa:s about eh
- 31 (.) fifteen years old
- 32 (0.4) tsk (.) where she came and told me=
- 33 =that she worked (0.7) inside at a porn
- 34 shop=where she sold tickets,

The interviewee can at least choose between two different relevant answer strategies. She can choose to answer with an explanation of how it could be explained technically that she did not discover it, or she can choose to answer the implicit accusation of having been a bad mother. She chooses the former. She describes the circumstances of her life at the time and constructs these as an explanation of her non-discovery. She does not appear to have given the subject much thought since then. She does not treat the question as potentially accusing or insulting her.

In this excerpt the interviewer is seen reclining, tilting her head to one side. She speaks slowly in a soft voice, and moves her right hand forward from home position in her lap and prepares to gesticulate with one hand. Accompanying her prosodic stress of “miss”, she makes a small toss of her head to the left, making an underlining gesture with her right hand that she repeats in weak form on “discovering” and in strengthened form on “wha(h)t”. After this the hand returns to a new rest position, supporting the face. At “own child” she plays with her right ear, and on “was up to” she moves her fingers at her right ear or plays with the hair behind the ear.



“Lone:m”



“miss”



“own child”



“was up to”

In the interviewer’s treatment of Lone’s answer, we see that her question was not merely asking for technical information of how to miss discovering anything. She could have responded several times during Lone’s answer: after “the settlement was”, during the pause of 0.3 seconds, after “I had” (l. 15), after “↑right↓”, during the very long pause of 1.2 seconds, after “any of that,”, after “her sister,” and during the extremely long pause of 3 seconds. She could have responded minimally with an “mm” or a follow-up or new

question, but says nothing and, in this, lets the IE know that her answer is not finished; she has more explaining to do. When she finally does say something, it is the question "You did not notice anything" which at first does not receive a response from the IE. She then creates a new response point by adding on "different" and yet another by adding on "o:r". Finally, the interviewee responds with "↑not at all," which the IR treats as a response that makes an expansion relevant by not responding for 0.7 seconds. But the IE does not say any more and the IR asks the next question, which requests factual information. Thus, the interviewer does treat the interviewee's answer (and behavior at the time of the events) as accountable.

In this interview the IR makes it relevant for the IE to legitimize her behavior, explain herself and defend herself. But compared to Excerpt 9, where the confrontation was done via question design, here it is done sequentially, by not coming in when she could have, by not saving the IE from the pauses. The IR's posture and self-touch set the scene for confidence and delicate topics, here supported by the speech that does not confront the IE. Still, the IE is challenged, and the viewer is left with an impression of the IE that does not have to be explained by e.g. formulations, as in Excerpt 4.

Looking at the interviewer, there seems to be a pattern in comparison to her interviews on the other programs. She does not lean forward but has a relaxed posture, sitting on a sofa. She speaks in a soft voice and although there is some gesticulation, she touches herself when the question is most confrontational.

When the program *Damernes Magasin* (The Ladies' Magazine) was aired, there were voices in the public debate labeling the interviewer, Camilla Miehre Renard's, style 'the professional girlfriend' (Bruun 1995). The preceding analysis in this chapter shows that this characteristic does not encompass the many roles she can do, even within the same program type and within the same program.

Summary

It seems obvious that speech, in collaboration with posture, gesture and facial expressions, together shape an interviewer role. The complex coherence of role and behavior demands a study of the interaction with the entirety of social actions, turn construction, footing, sequentiality, prosody, gesture and posture. Interactional behavior can also be helped by the physical setting, but do not predetermine it.

The aim of this chapter has not been to show the practitioner's taxonomies as wrong, but to show how interviewer roles are done in order to suggest an action-based taxonomy for interviews that reflects the interviewer behavior:

- Argumentation
- Declaration
- Storytelling

The rationale has been to work backward from the interviewee turn types and use them as a name for the specific kind of interview.

In the ‘argumentation interview’ the interviewer exploits the footing of the neutral opposition to make it relevant for the interviewee to, for example, account for and legitimize something (as in Excerpt 3, going at full speed), defend and legitimize something (as in Excerpts 1 and 2, printing the diary), or to reluctantly legitimize something (as in Excerpt 10, not discovering the daughter’s prostitution). The interviewee is not let off the hook without having accounted for, explained and defended his/her position.

In the ‘declaration interview’ the interviewer makes it relevant for the interviewee to declare, e.g. admit, something (as in Excerpt 7, no excuse for being fat), claim something (as in Excerpt 8) where a punch line is invited and acknowledged – not challenged or made accountable, but merely received. The invited declaration could also be a promise, a commitment, an appreciation or a mood report.

In the ‘storytelling interview’ the interviewer does not voice opposite viewpoints, e.g. uses formulations aligning with the IE or present tense to make it relevant for the interviewee to tell a story. This can, for example, be a fact-oriented story (as in Excerpts 5 and 6, the doctor) or an unfolding story told to a supporting midwife aiming to understand the events and rationale (as in Excerpt 4). It could also be a collaboratively told story in a double interview.

The analysis of the interview excerpts in this chapter could lead to formulating some hypotheses regarding the relationship between interviewer role, question design and posture: The posture supports the IR turn construction in appearing either confronting, challenging, aligning or sympathetic. Thus, if the IR leaves the neutral stance in the question design, his/her posture can either enhance or soften the challenge, depending on the delicacy of the topic. And if the IR does not leave the neutral stance in the question design, his/her posture does not have to ‘repair’ the relationship with the IE. These hypotheses could be explored further in larger studies than this inductive, explorative study has made possible.

Many names and taxonomies can be relevant for a categorization of interviewer behavior. The speaker action approach is one suggestion for condensing the complex construction of an interviewer role. Hopefully, this could bring us further in the study of the TV interview and the interviewer role.

Notes

1. This excerpt and the next are transcribed by Lone Laursen, retranscribed by Johs. Wagner and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The symbols in the English translation are highly questionable, but are meant to give a feel for the speech. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
2. Transcribed by Martine Falbe, Sophie Lundbæk and Pernille Brandis, later retranscribed by Louise Hørslev, Thomas Iversen, Ninna Friis, Lone Kindberg and Rikke Rosenbjerg, and again retranscribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
3. Transcribed by Mie Femø Nielsen. The symbols in the English translation are highly questionable, but are meant to give a feel for the speech. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
4. It is not therapy, partly because it is a staged interaction in which the IE and IR have rehearsed or gone through the course of the interview in advance, and partly because it is part of the program's concept not to interview people in the middle of a crisis but instead only those who have overcome the crisis, e.g. with the aid of a therapist.
5. Ex 4 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
6. Ex 5 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
7. Ex 6 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
8. Ex 7 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
9. Ex 8 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.
10. Ex 9 was transcribed and translated by Mie Femø Nielsen. The Danish version can be seen at www.femoe.dk.

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Chapter 6

Hidden Camera Speaks Louder than Words

Konstantin Economou & Christian Svensson Limsjö

This chapter will discuss some important developments in interactional styles and methods in Swedish investigative journalism interviewing. The most recent decade has seen important developments that can be linked to changing shifts of balance within the media-politics relationship and by which conversational styles, as well as everyday interactional frames, are brought more and more into interviews and footage in sometimes very special ways. The chapter will deal specifically with the uses of "hidden camera" footage to analyze how this technique is actually used in an interactional and conversational frame, and how it can thus also be used as something that seems to be backstage to, and thus claim a higher legitimacy as authentic than, the established role-taking of reporter and subject. Two examples will highlight certain developments in the journalistic interview during this period.

In this chapter we consider media interviews to be interactionally constructed. This means that the concept of genre (what a media interview is) is not taken for granted in a more traditional media studies sense (cf. studies of news interviews by Clayman 1991, 1992, Greatbatch 1998, Heritage 1985). We use discourse-oriented notions of negotiations, framing and genre construction (cf. Linell 1998) whereby interaction is seen as dynamic, sequential and situated, studying the moving in and out of joint definitions participants construct of what is going on in interactions.¹ Not only does a member-oriented notion of communication not necessarily comply with a predefined notion of specific media genres since members can have different notions of what it can be like to "do" a show, interview, etc., but it is also the case that the very activity that members can be engaged in, for example an interview, can itself be the issue of negotiation within the interview (Economou 1997). This notion of communication is also connected to how contemporary media formats develop, something we will explore in this chapter.

This implies that a media event is understood as what the participants define it to be and work it out to become. It then becomes important to study how interactions evolve, how they are structured, and how they are made recognizable – for example, as ordinary, i.e. "acceptable" interviews

in their presented, edited and broadcast form. The classic notion of *frame* (Goffman 1974) as well as that of *front stage/backstage* (Goffman 1959/82) are concepts that can be used to inform such a study, as a way of describing how participants create a viable interaction in edited media interviews.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how politicians and journalists interactionally and discursively, in political interviews, define and together create the situations they are participating in. Which functions and what responsibility (roles) are they given and do they give themselves in relation to the (different) definitions of situation? How can definitions of situation and roles be understood in relation to the notions of front stage and backstage? How can the participant's definitions of situation be related to the edited programs and the position of the audience? A second purpose is to discuss the ramifications of, and connections to, a more widespread development of mediatization; of intimization, development of new media formats and technologies. Additionally, we will also discuss how discourse analysis can contribute to the study of contemporary media.

The focus here is on uses of “hidden camera” as a journalistic and communicative practice; differences between one “early” (1996) and more contemporary (2002) example of Swedish investigative TV journalism will be discussed. The examples highlight tendencies and developments within a framework of the broader ongoing development of journalistic work. After all, there are not clear-cut shifts of style or technology use with sharp boundaries in any media practice. Our choices thus represent a strategic selection of what we argue are significant examples of hidden camera bringing to the fore issues relevant to the study of developing journalistic practices.

Some preliminary concepts and points of view in this chapter are:

- Media interviews are seen as interactionally constructed
- Media roles are both pre-existing as well as the outcome of interview interaction, but are always “in play” or at stake in the interaction as well as in the edited text
- Media interviews can comprise multiple but simultaneous frames, settings and situations
- New techniques and technologies are interactional tools that, in the case of hidden camera, work within a front stage/backstage metaphor
- Media interviews can be linked to wider phenomena of, for example, images of journalism and politics

A first example of hidden camera²

This report was broadcast in 1996 by "Kalla fakta" (*Cold Facts*), a top ranking format of investigative journalism on the commercially operated "Channel 4". The issue in the example is the accountability of a politician who has himself objected to the covertness and lack of openness in the European community. The journalist's difficulty in getting information from the politician is the dramaturgical feature used to frame the report.

Shown twice in the report is a sequence that is not filmed by hidden camera but is used to introduce the next sequence, which is. It is an attempt at conducting an interview at the airport, seemingly as the politician is on his way to Brussels where he holds a seat in the EU Parliament. During the episode, the politician and his assistant are seen walking with the journalist and cameraman following them.

Transcript 1. "Kalla fakta" 1996. J: Journalist, P: Politician, PA: Politician's assistant

1. J: Hi, Thomas Kanger TV4
2. P: yea Hello
3. J: I'd like to do a short little interview with you
4. P: I don't have the time now
5. J: no time?
6. P: no
7. J: Can't you talk to me now?
8. P: not now
9. J: can we make an appointment?
10. I wanna ask you a little about how much your surplus on the travel allowance is
11. P: I don't have any confidence in TV4
12. J: but how, what do you do with the money, how much do you give away?
13. P: no answer to your question
14. J: but you see we've brought out your airline bookings and we've figured that
15. you make about nine and a half thousand every trip, you claim that you give
16. away five thousand and I'm wondering what you do with the rest of the money?
17. P: thanks for the interview
18. J: don't you think a politician should tell the truth?
19. PA: Isn't it better to do this under more normal circumstances

The display of the "failed" attempt to conduct an interview is here, in a sense, used as a reformulation of a situation; the legitimate attempt, almost the right, to get information at any time. The journalist's asking of a question is the 'token' that is emphasized, formulated as "...a short little interview..."

(line 3), "Can't you talk to me now?" (line 7) and "I wanna ask you a little..." (line 10) phrased as not too untimely requests. The interview is to be "short" and "little" and the politician's answer to the effect that he does not have "the time now" (line 4) is retorted with "no time?". This phrase can be a question, a questioning of the politician's will to answer or a request for clarification. It is answered with a short "no", whereby the journalist persists "Can't you talk to me now?". His next turn (line 9), asking about making an appointment, is quickly followed by the main issue he wants to ask "a little" about; what is the politician doing with the supposedly surplus travel money. Here the interaction could have taken a different path, if the politician had started negotiating times and places for an appointment rather than continuing with the refusing style, stating he has (line 11) "no confidence in TV4".

Choosing the ground

The politician could here be construed as not wanting to be interviewed, but there is no way of telling whether this is because he is generally hostile (towards journalists), in a hurry and in danger of missing his plane, or has something to hide. The point here is not to resolve this puzzle of speculation but rather to show the delineation of some interpretative options, or suggestions, that are laid out in the sequence. All or none of these might be valid, but the point is rather to see them as invoked possibilities of interpreting how this person acts. That it does fit the story the journalist wants to tell is in a sense self-evident, since it is included in the report, but in what way is it made to fit? Would it, for example, have been included in the report had the politician agreed to book a time for an interview? Or is the effect of showing him as a person who does not want to talk about his own affairs its most important feature?

The situation is presented as something that is in the process of occurring; the journalist is in the process of doing his job by attempting to ask questions, but the politician, who is, so to speak, doing traveling is captured in a situation in which this can be represented as dodging questions rather than, for example, running to catch the plane. This framing sets, we argue, the possibility of continuing the narrative thread in the next sequence (Transcript 2, below), which does take place in the politician's office. But here (Transcript 1), however, it is the real-life, everyday encounter rather than the more formal setting of, for example, the politician's office, Parliament or the studio – the politician's home ground – or at least settings that are prearranged for interviewing. And, furthermore, in this sequence he is an active part – he does refusal in words and in the way he acts, walking swiftly away and turning his back on the camera. Framed as an interview – a publicized event – this act could be conceived of as an insult. But in-

teractionally defined as some other type of event, the politician's actions are more oriented to catching a plane, negotiating with a journalist about possibly making an interview. From the politician's point of view this is not an interview. But when it is broadcast, of course, it becomes an interview in which he is construed as dodging. He is additionally seconded by his assistant, who helps him avoid the trickiest, most legitimate and general question a politician can be asked (line 18): "don't you think a politician should speak the truth?"

Hiding the trumps

It is important here to stress that conducting and giving an interview is part and parcel of the working conditions of both people, and that the negotiations about demanding and refusing the interview concern the framing of the interview situation. On whose ground is it to be conducted, who would feel most at home, and where. In a sense, the showing of these negotiations is the reversal of the situation in which the journalist would try in vain to get hold of information and people to interview because of dodgings and refusals, and in which he/she would ultimately close the file because of unavailability of material – and there would be no report.

The constant negotiation of the circumstances in which one could get, or would give, information is, of course, one of the most important features of public discourse, and part of the public sphere of any culture serving it with issues for debate, and ultimately, as a corrective of power. What we are pointing at here, though, is that the journalist's display of how to get the answers does communicative work not only in re-establishing the legitimacy of interviewing itself but also reformulating what it is to be a journalist, as well as a politician. A politician is someone who has something to hide but should also be available for interviewing, i.e. accountable, at all times. In fact, the first notion is confirmed by the public display of his refusal to consent to the second. This could seem a quite suitable situation for a journalist; it preserves both the stuff and the working conditions of political journalism.

On one level, the negotiations concern the working conditions of journalists and politicians, and on another level it concerns the legitimacy of public power. The notion of "behind the scenes", the "hidden agenda", which in a sense is pre-formulated in the notion of investigative journalism, is enhanced by showing the politician in situations in which he/she is also something other than a politician delivering his/her pre-formulated statements – a traveler, a person sitting behind a desk trying to avoid questions, and saying things he/she would never have said in front of the camera? So, when the journalist finally does come into the offices of politics he is not unaccompanied:

**Transcript 2. “Kalla fakta” 1996. S: Speaker, J: Journalist,
PA: Politician’s assistant, P: Politician, C: Cameraman**

1. **S:** So we went to Hans Lindqvist’s office instead, but even that was to no
2. avail. We got a paper with some noncommittal answers to our questions,
3. just stating that Lindqvist gave money to EU-critical activities, but nothing
4. about how much.
5. **J:** why don’t you want to give more detailed information?
6. **PA:** first of all it is the case that we don’t have any obligation to do that
7. prove that we have the obligation to do that and we’ll do it
8. **J:** But you don’t give an answer to my questions
9. how large is the surplus, how large is the surplus?
10. **P:** But I can’t say how large the surplus is since it varies in different weeks...
11. **J:**...but in the interview...
12. **P:**...you’ll get your answer
13. **J:** but in the interview the news did with you when they met you at Arlanda,
14. I’ve brought the original tape, you’re saying that you give away five
15. thousand, and that you don’t have a surplus, and then I’m wondering where
16. does the thirty thousand go, the cost difference for the trips where does it end
17. up?
18. **P:** this, this doesn’t...
19. **J:** let’s look at it
20. **P:** this is fruitless, I’m sorry, you’re getting this answer and...
21. **J:** but why, it’s to your advantage to clear this up
22. there is a suspicion here that you’re not telling the truth
23. **P:** the answer I’m giving you there, that’s the answer you’re getting, that’s
24. my official answer
25. **J:** but do you wanna look at these bookings, I know exactly what your
26. tickets cost
27. **P:** so do I
28. **J:** yes and then you know that there’s a lot more than five thousand in
29. surplus, isn’t that so?
30. **P:** well, but now you’ve got my answers there
31. **J:** but Hans Lindqvist
32. **P:** I’m sorry, I’m sorry
33. **PA:** You’ve got those answers now...
34. **P:** I’d be grateful if you left me alone, you’re not filming are you?

35. **C:** of course I'm filming
36. **J:** You're taping, aren't you?
37. **C:** you're taping, aren't you?
38. **P:** right, this is impertinent
39. **C:** this tape recorder you've got is on
40. **J:** he's put on this tape recorder
41. **C:** if you don't want me to film now you'll have to say so
42. **P:** would you please turn it off?
43. **C:** well I'll turn it off then.
44. **S:** Hans Lindqvist, who was the organizer of the No to EU referendum
45. committee, has been one of the politicians who has criticized the EU for its
46. covertness. Since November last year we've tried to get Lindqvist and his
47. associates to account for how he himself uses the taxpayers' money he gets
48. from the EU. But the will for openness ended there.

So, the report ends with a quarrel on who is recording whom (lines 34-43) and with the image of the politician stopping the information-seeking. Here, too, there are two conflicting definitions of what the situation is, which becomes obvious when the politician discovers, or rather suddenly suspects, that the camera is on. When this is confirmed the cameraman also becomes an active part of the report in person, joining in the interaction. The reporter and the cameraman jointly manage the discussion to focus on the issue of the legitimacy of filming, taping and recording. Making the hidden camera visible also confirms the politician's unwillingness to be interviewed, recorded, etc. just as in the preceding sequence, again through the politician's own doing.

The politician and the journalist have different notions or interpretations of what the situation is – on tape, or not; front stage or backstage; an interview or the negotiation of making or not making an interview? But this is worked through as a conflict with a particular outcome; the politician, naturally, cannot succeed in not doing the interview since it is already done, it is happening. Furthermore, it ends with him being construed as very unwilling to talk at all, this image confirmed long before the concluding speaker text.

The feature is also multi-vocal in the sense that it tells several stories; it both keeps to and changes the first story of the general dilemma of politicians' economic accountability, managing to transform this from "hypothetical" and general to personal and confirmatory. It also tells the story of how interviews are conducted and contested, making this into a story of both how politics want to hide from the public view and of how legitimate it is to bring this into the open. It furthermore tells the story of how the journalist and his cameraman themselves become heroes of sorts. Most importantly,

perhaps, it tells the story of a great discrepancy between politicians' words and actions and, in contrast, of the journalist's steadfast quest – dodging and denying being part of the political, ideological and partisan position and steadfastness and “honesty” being part of the non-partisan journalist's position.

The gist of the argument here is that this division between positions as well as between “facts” and the situation or practices in which and by which facts “come out” is not only a way to fend off possible un-preferred interpretations of texts, or analysis and critique – it is rather fundamental to journalistic practice not to associate stuff and text, fact and practice; there must always be something there to report on, and this *something* is always outside of the journalist and the techniques and practices he/she merely brings along as the can-opener to make the beans spill – beans that were well past their “Sell by” date anyway. The division serves to manifest the legitimacy of the journalist as a representative of the public, upholding the position of the fourth estate of Democracy. The journalistic texts, images and practices are made out as if transparent – they are “just reports” – and they should certainly not be accused of being ideological, as, in parallel, the position of the journalist, which is upheld as neutral and non-partisan. Additionally, the ensuing image of the general questionability of politics might be seen as one result of this interview, one that latches in with the pre-existing notion of the corrupt politician that is a prerequisite frame for doing this interview at all, we would argue. In a sense, this notion is “out there” and recognizable for most (Swedish) TV viewers today. So, the interview is set to investigate the accountability of politics, which has already been long under question, and ends with a confirmatory note: the politician saying “... would you please turn it off?”.

Some of these features, highlighted above, can be said to be more general traits of Swedish journalism during the past decades. The general depiction of politicians-as-dodgy and journalists-as-truth-seekers is here displayed through this particular communicative format that has stressed the situation as backstage being brought to the fore by journalists in situations in which this “just happens” rather than as being staged by journalists. Our next example brings us to the early 2000s. What developments have occurred? What can be specific to “hidden camera” as a technique, and also, how does the use of hidden camera develop as a consequence of the fact that it becomes well known as a practice, and that some journalists become known users?

A second example: The election cabins

At the beginning of the 21st century, the use of hidden camera seems to have become an established practice in Swedish investigative journalism. Our next example is a report from a program called “Uppdrag Granskning”

(roughly translated: Mission Inspection), broadcast on one of the Swedish public service channels. The specific report was aired just before the Swedish general election in 2002 and caused a great deal of discussion, criticism and tributes (cf. Andén Papadopoulos 2003). Critics claimed that it was politically biased and, unfairly, that it decided the outcome of the election. Supporters, however, saw it as a very important piece of investigative journalism, and it also won the most prestigious prize for Swedish journalists (Swedish: Stora Journalistpriset). In this chapter, we will not go into the (party) political aspects of the report, but rather discuss it as an example of the use of hidden camera in (political) investigative journalism.

The election cabins

The report is called "Valstugorna", which roughly means "The Election Cabins".³ In the report the journalists go from town to town, visiting election cabins, and examine whether the politicians "take the debate" on questions regarding immigrants and refugees.⁴ The interesting part, though, is the way this is done. One of the journalists, using hidden camera, pretends to be a xenophobe, challenging the politicians to take a stand. Seventeen politicians appear in the report, and of these (according to the journalists), two stand up for their official opinions while fifteen agree to and/or spontaneously express xenophobic statements. Some are simply shown, filmed by hidden camera, agreeing to or expressing these statements, while others are also confronted (filmed with visible camera) with their statements afterwards. The particular example we are going to discuss includes the politician given the most time in the report. Before his entrance, a couple of politicians have been heard stating more or less xenophobic utterances.

Setting the frames

The male politician interviewed holds an important position in the local government in the city of Kristianstad, and viewers are meeting him for the first time in Transcript 3. This is a sequence filmed with a visible camera. It is an "open" interview conducted in a traditional way. The politician is sitting (seemingly relaxed) on the stairs of the cabin, while the journalist is not visible at all. The politician knows he is being interviewed (by a famous journalist working for a famous program at the well renowned Swedish public service company). Both the politician and the journalist act in their traditional official roles as representatives.⁵

**Transcript 3. “The election cabins”. 2002. JJ: Journalist.
E: Local politician**

1. **JJ:** how would you act if a person entered who was explicitly hostile to
2. immigrants and refugees?
3. **E:** I would first try to explain why I believe we should accept refugees
4. and immigrants, I mean the UN convention on refugees is the base for
5. everything for me you know, and try to convince him if possible, but
6. the fact is with those I have met so far that they can't be persuaded, they are
7. not open to rational arguments on this issue

As is shown in Transcript 3, the journalist asks a seemingly hypothetical question (lines 1-2) on what the politician would do in a given scenario and the politician gives his answer. As a viewer, one is invited to assume that the journalist is actually curious about the response. Since it is an open question (not connected to any statement, not questioning or face-threatening in style, no follow-up question), it enhances the impression that the politician has full freedom to answer in whatever way he likes (and it enhances the impression of honest journalism). Immediately after the above sequence, however, another episode (Transcript 4) is shown. This episode is shot with a hidden camera, and the same politician is seen talking to someone (the “reporter” passing himself off as a visitor, but equipped with a hidden camera) inside the cabin.⁶ It is rather dark in the cabin (implying shady business), the camera is somewhat shaky (implying authenticity) and the camera angle is shot from below the politician (implying he is a powerful man).

**Transcript 4: “The election cabins”. 2002. R: Reporter/Visitor.
E: Local politician**

1. **R:** but in some way it feels like one should slow down a little, I think
2. one...
3. **E:** yes, I think so too, slow down
4. **R:** that one is accepting too many now, you know
5. **E:** yes, yes we do (R: yes) I'm often down in Malmö, it's a terrible riot,
6. I'm in Gothenburg too since I have a daughter there, but Malmö is worse
7. (R: is it?) yes, Gothenburg has Hammarkullen, Angered, Bis-
8. **R:** yes, I live in the area next to them, we're moving now and (E: yes) it
9. really isn't nice, you really don't want to live in a place like that again
10. **E:** no, I understand that

In Transcript 4, the topic is refugees, we can see how the politician agrees to (the reporter's/visitor's) opinion to "slow down" (line 1) and that "one is accepting too many" (line 4). Further, we can see how the politician, on his own initiative, points out areas with many immigrants and talks about "a terrible riot" (lines 5-7). From the transcript it is not completely clear what this implies, although he seems to say that the riot is connected to the number of immigrants. At the end of the example, the politician also presents an understanding view to the reporter's/visitor's utterance that he does not "want to live in a place like that again" (lines 8-10).

The reporter's utterances consist of statements that are also implied questions since the situation is that the politician is supposed to answer questions from potential voters. Through his utterances the reporter establishes an agenda (what to talk about, i.e. "slow down") and certain presuppositions regarding the topic talked about ("too many", "it really isn't nice"), i.e. the utterances build on an assumption or a perspective regarding the topic discussed and the formulation of the statements invite an answer that shares this perspective. The politician can, of course, choose to follow or depart from the proposed agenda and confirm or deny its presuppositions. But the easiest (and most common) way is to choose the first alternative in both cases (cf. Boyd & Heritage 2006:153).

Compared to Transcript 3, this includes a totally different frame. The journalist is definitely not acting in his official role but is instead working undercover (doing the work the famous journalist could not do because he is too well known). Whether or not the politician acts in an official role might be harder to define. He is, naturally, an official representative in the sense that he represents his party in the cabin, talking to voters. But is that also true when he is talking to someone about where to live, chit-chatting about personal things (see below)?⁷ The viewers are invited to see something fishy, something going on behind the scenes (enhanced by technical codes). It has been argued that viewers connect hidden camera sequences with illegal, fishy business, regardless of what the report is about (Andén Papadopoulos 2003). Further, it has been argued that the lack of technical quality becomes a guarantee for the "real" (Kilborn 1994), i.e. the authenticity, of the report.

What we have seen in Transcripts 3 and 4 is how the journalist first presents a seemingly hypothetical question, to which the politician gives his answer. We are then shown a clip in which the politician seemingly gives a contradictive view on the matter at hand. In this way, the politician is "revealed" as a liar. An interesting aspect of this is that the journalist naturally knows the answer to the allegedly hypothetical question, since the interview takes place after the hidden camera filming. By reversing the chronology, the journalist makes it look like the politician was put to the test after presenting his opinion, rather than the other way around. This places even more guilt on the politician.

Journalistic “evidence” from backstage

What is not shown in the report (though the uncut version is available at the program’s homepage as “evidence” of not having manipulated anything)⁸ is the specific frame created by the reporter acting as the xenophobe. He enters the cabin, says hello, and chats about different things that present him as a politically interested citizen (visits the cabin, asks for ballots, asks about the political majority and if this is the home area of the party leader) and potential voter and prospective house buyer (will be moving to the area). To borrow a notion from conversation analysis, this could be called the opening phase of a conversation, often consisting of a warming-up type of chit-chat before you present your errand (Adelswärd 1988). The aim is to loosen up, relax and get to know each other. It is only after this that the visitor/reporter introduces the topic of immigrants:

**Transcript 5. “The election cabins”. 2002. R: Reporter/Visitor.
E: Local politician**

1. **R:** the reaction now, immigrants, culture, I think it is darn good that one
2. takes that debate
3. **E:** you have to do that
4. **R:** but in some way it is still done in a cowardly way, one doesn’t dare to say
5. anything
6. **E:** but yes, I think one should say that we should give a qualitatively good
7. existence to the ones we have accepted, and thereafter we can consider if we
8. should accept more, but it is important to consider demands on jobs and
9. that one knows Swedish

This passage is the sequence just before what is shown in Transcript 4, and is not included in the edited and broadcast report. What the politician says in this passage can hardly be called xenophobic, albeit possibly restrictive in terms of allowing immigration (lines 6-9). In the light of this utterance, one can understand why the politician (in Transcript 4) agrees to “slow down” and that “one is accepting too many”. This could be seen as a consequence of his opinion that we should care about the immigrants who are already here.

Taking the bait

The form of the open interview/hypothetical question followed by hidden camera/contradictive answer is run four times with this politician. In the first

three sequences, (we have seen the first in Transcripts 3 and 4), he utters nothing exceptional in terms of xenophobia. In the last sequence, however, the real "scoop" is presented.

Transcript 6. "The election cabins". 2002. JJ: The host.

E: Local politician. R: Reporter/Visitor

1. **JJ:** what's your personal opinion of Muslims, for example?
2. **E:** I don't know that many Muslims so I can't say anything about that, but
3. what I know about the Muslims in Kristianstad is that many, many really try
4. to become citizens who adapt to Swedish circumstances
5. **JJ:** Have you had good experiences with them?
6. **E:** I have too little experience to say anything
- Cut
7. **E:** that's the way it is, unfortunately
8. **R:** what kind of immigrants are here, I mean there is a difference between
9. immigrants
10. **E:** we have a lot of Kurds, we have fairly many from the former Yugoslavia,
11. Kosovo Albanians, and we have had Vietnamese since the eighties, but they
12. behave well, they have adjusted nicely and they work, you can't say that the
13. Muslims behave the best; if I were to put it somewhat nasty, they are good at
14. giving birth to many children and exploiting our system
15. **R:** we have a lot of Africans in Gothenburg; that's not so nice

In Transcript 6, the first cut (lines 1-6) is from the open interview and the following cut (lines 7-15) is from a hidden camera sequence. We can see how the politician makes a fool of himself when filmed with a hidden camera. On his own initiative he expresses very degrading views on Muslims (lines 12-14). We do not know why he does this, of course. One explanation is the one that the journalist offers: it is his true opinion. Whatever he says in public (open interviews) should be considered with suspicion and whatever he says to one xenophobic person inside an election cabin (supposedly off-camera) should be considered more real, i.e. the truth. This seems to be the logic. Could it not be that the politician regards the visitor (reporter) as an annoying element rather than a potential voter, that he wants to get rid of? In such a case he might be lying (agreeing to or stating xenophobic statements), which perhaps would make him a coward but not necessarily someone who is hiding his "real" opinions. One could say that he is simply giving the preferred answer, i.e. giving the xenophobe (reporter) what he is so obviously lingering for (cf. presuppositions above) – just as he is giving the audience what it wants in the official interview, i.e. the politically correct

party version. To put it simply, the divergent answers from the politician could be understood in relation to the different situations or frames and their disparate roles and expectations, rather than merely in relation to the simple question of truth and lie.

Losing and preserving face

After these four sequences of open interview followed by hidden camera conversation, the end of the segment containing this politician is concentrated on an open interview. The journalist reveals to the politician that he has been filmed and confronts him:

**Transcript 7. “The election cabins”. 2002. JJ: Host.
E: Local politician**

1. **JJ:** but then you say that Muslims are primarily good at two things, giving
2. birth and exploiting the system
3. **E:** I've never said that; that I'm sure of
4. **JJ:** you've never said that? (E: no) so where did we get this from, do you
5. think?
6. **E:** I don't know where you got it from
7. **JJ:** but what do you base this on? that they are good at giving birth and
8. exploiting the system; what do you base it on?
9. **E:** if I, if I have said that then I must have heard it someplace from
10. **JJ:** from where?
11. **E:** that, I can not recall
12. **JJ:** where have you heard this from?
13. **E:** can not recall that
14. **JJ:** but do you have any evidence for what you're saying?
15. **E:** eh, no
16. **JJ:** you're the most powerful man in the Conservative party in Kristianstad
17. (E: yes) should you be standing here in an election cabin and claiming these
18. things – isn't that serious?
19. **E:** yes, if I have said it, then I can only state that it does not correspond
20. to my opinion
- cut 1
21. **E:** you can't say that the Muslims behave the best; if I were to put it
22. somewhat nasty, they are good at giving birth to many children and

23. exploiting our system

cut 2

24. **JJ**: but this, for example, about the Muslims and giving birth, do you dare

25. claim that officially?

26. **E**: No, I would never say that officially and not in that way; if I've said this

27. it must be because someone asked a question that could only have one

28. answer

cut 3

(The politician is seen with an associate outside the cabin. JJ walks up to him (with a sinister look on his face) shakes his hand and walks away. For a short while the politician (with a troubled expression on his face) and his associate are shown standing by themselves.)

This concluding sequence consists mainly of exposing the politician as a liar. The politician at first denies his racist statement (line 3), which however is on tape. The journalist then repeatedly asks what the statement is based on (lines 4, 7, 10, 12, 14), but no source is provided. The journalist further asks if it is a good thing to do (line 17) and the answer is given. After this mini-trial⁹ they run the racist statement again (lines 21-23), to really rub it in, and finally ask him if he will officially acknowledge the statement (lines 24-25), which he will not do. The questions in this passage are not open (cf. Transcript 3), but are connected to statements and are typically (and repeatedly) face-threatening (cf. Jucker 1986). This enhances the impression of the journalist as a critical investigator (and gives the impression that he is critical first after asking open questions and exposing the liar).

The main effect here seems to be to allow the politician to lose face in front of the public. There are no questions concerning what kind of opinions a voter can trust, on the deeper democratic problems, on the importance of "taking the debate", etc. It becomes strictly personal: you said this and it has no basis and that is bad, i.e. you are a bad person. At the end of the segment the politician is seen alone with a troubled expression on his face, left with the shame to consider his fate (he actually resigned later).

At the same time, during the entire report, the journalist presents himself as a truth-seeking, honest, hard-working person. He is the one initiating this important issue and we are at the beginning of the report, invited to follow him as he drives his car through Sweden. It is a very symbolic image: the truth-seeking journalist, untiring in the chase of shortcomings and disclosures for our sake, himself at the steering wheel. No road is too long, no village too distant. If there is dirt it will be dug up. At the same time he is wearing sunglasses, which points to the fact the he is embarking on a secret inspection (cf. the name of the program), that as an undercover agent he will sneak his way into the nest of the bad guy and (aided by the latest technology) reveal the fishy games that are going on. Typically, at the end,

which is shown in Transcript 7, we see that he is shaking hands with the politician. As an honest journalist he has done his job in an honest way, his part of vitalizing Democracy.

The gist of the report is that you should not lie and you should be able to present facts in relation to statements. These are the values the journalist's questions are based on, and they are a way of presenting himself as someone who thinks this is important (his indignant tone and repetitive questions further enhance this). Naturally, the ethics of lying about one's identity (the reporter) and about the reasons for the open interview, not presenting all facts to the audience, pretending to be curious when asking allegedly hypothetical questions, not presenting the politician's legitimate answers, rerunning his only negative statement a number of times, changing the chronology of events by editing, etc. are not discussed.

Concluding remarks

Journalists and politicians are involved in constant, ongoing negotiations that are usually not publicized; in this sense their relationship is collegial. For the last few years, though, the backstage of interviewing has been a feature highlighted in televised interviews, particularly with the aid of new communicative techniques such as the increased use of hidden cameras. Investigative journalism is often, as in all our examples, an exposition of the truth-seeking, scrutinizing journalist and the truth-hiding, dodging politician. However, the interactional styles and modes for accomplishing this are shifting. We see a few broader tendencies here:

The established use of hidden camera

The use of hidden camera in investigative journalism became popular in the beginning of the 1990s in Sweden as well as in the US and Great Britain (Andén Papadopoulos 2003: 107). In the 21st century the use of hidden camera seems to have become an established journalistic practice, which can sometimes lead to actual change, e.g. possibly have effect on the outcome of an election. Today, Swedish journalists speak of hidden camera as a routine practice, although the ways it should be used are not indisputable (Andén Papadopoulos 2003, s.120 ff). The rapid spread of hidden camera has generated lively discussions in the US considering if/how its use – journalistically, ethically and legally – can be defended. In 1998, the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) publicized “Hidden cameras, Hidden microphones: At the Crossroads of Journalism, Ethics and Law” in which American reporters, editors and lawyers reflect on the use and misuse of hidden camera (Thalimer 1998).¹⁰

The use of hidden camera in investigative journalism has an obvious relation to other parts of the media output, especially entertainment (cf. programs like *Candid Camera*). The concept of hidden filming received a sudden spread in the entire TV-world in the autumn of 2002. The Swedish TV critic Leif Furuhammar speaks of an “epidemic” spreading from channel to channel, genre to genre and format to format (DN 22/9 2002). It seems that traditional borders between fact and fiction, documentary and drama, private and public had collapsed. During the 1990s, several formats called “reality” arose, in investigative journalism as well as entertainment. It was an inexpensive way to produce programs that attracted many viewers. Some of the first (American) programs were *Rescue 911*, *Cops* and *America’s Most Wanted* (Kilborn 1994).

The blending of news and entertainment has been around for quite some time now, problematizing distinctions not only between news and entertainment, but also between public and private, documentary and fiction, etc. There is, for example, an ongoing debate about the changes in the nature of the public and private spheres over the past two decades, and the ways in which both the contours of social knowledge and emotional experience have been reconfigured (Corner 2002). As for news, Daniel Hallin (2000) argues that “reality-based programming” originated in the 1980s in the US news media (programs like *Hard Copy* and *Inside Edition*). These programs, according to Hallin, had their heyday in the late 1980s and early 1990s and have declined in recent years (partly because local news and network news magazines have appropriated much of their agenda and technique). These faction and reality tendencies in news and current affair programs have naturally been criticized for not containing any analysis and are seen as a threat to “serious” current affair programs, as examples of tabloidization (Paget 1998). What Hallin coins “reality-based programming” seems to be what Reinecke Hansen (2004) calls “faction”. Reinecke Hansen (p. 235) writes: “In the same way that faction began in TV-journalism of the 1980s as avant-garde currents that eventually became mainstream, the ‘reality’ tendency is coming through as well established narrative grips. And it *is* only a tendency: Pure experimental reality occurs only when the entire occurrence has been staged in favour of the camera”. So, after “faction” there seems to be a “reality” tendency in journalism, which Reinecke Hansen (2004) relates to TV journalism’s two levels of mediation: Something concrete – existing physically – has to be caught on camera and microphone in the *primary mediation* and adapted in research and editing, the *second mediation*.¹¹ According to Reinecke Hansen, the TV journalist has two possibilities to reach into the material of reality: he/she can seek to reconstruct the occurrence with help from the classic news dramaturgy voiceover, interviews and pictures, or he/she can reach directly into – or downright construct – the occurrence itself (what Reinecke Hansen calls “the reality operation”). Interestingly enough, Reinecke Hansen argues that

there is an increase in TV journalism's adaptation in the second mediation, made possible by modern editing technology, which has moved out into reality itself, i.e. the raw material of journalism. However, what our analysis also shows is that new styles or techniques are not necessarily technology-driven. It is when they can be used to drive arguments or conduct interviews according to what journalists perceive as viable stories and "suitable" angles that they become more and more developed. It is also, we would argue, when technologies can be used to, as it were, solve communicative and interactional dilemmas for journalists in ways that enable them to retain a strong position (as truth seekers, investigators and public representatives). Furthermore, it enables journalists to create their own particular version of the mediatized reality format, and to find ways to be modern and follow the contemporary forms of storytelling and address. Given these trends what are we, as viewers, presented with? A form of display of situations into which we are invited to see instant exposed reality?

In search of the Real?

The establishment of hidden camera in investigative journalism and media entertainment coincides with a more general acceptance of hidden cameras in (Swedish) society. Restaurants and taxis install surveillance cameras, and pictures taken by these cameras are featured in newspaper articles when famous people are recorded doing something morally questionable.¹² Reality programs thrive, with *Big Brother* being one of the most popular (see, for example, Kilborn 2003). The magic seems to lie in the Real, i.e. it is not actors but real people sharing their behavior and feelings. Part of the attraction of *Big Brother* is that it deals with the ordinary. It is a habitat that viewers have said they can relate to (Jones 2003). Viewers of *Big Brother* seem to believe that the program brings out "the real me", or their real personality (Jones 2003: 409). Thus, the persistent gaze of the camera becomes a guarantor of realness and paradoxically confirms our personality (Andrejevic 2002). The thing is the Real, the ordinary, catching people off guard, backstage – and making it public. Several scholars have pointed to the longing for reality and authenticity in our culture (Nichols 1991, Fetveit 1999). Van Zoonen talks of the need to satisfy audiences "nostalgic yearning for authenticity" (2001: 672). Žizek (2002) identifies the eschatological passion for the Real as the key feature of the 20th and 21st centuries. It is a nostalgic passion for the Real as a kind of lost object, or at least a vanishing object. But this passion for the Real turns out to be deeply paradoxical, because it culminates in what seems to be its absolute opposite, namely a *theatrical spectacle*. But, one paradoxical trait can perhaps be identified: If what we partake in (rather than view from a distance) are "real" situations presented "as they happen" – then what might disappear is the notion of address, of authorship, and as such, of story.

This in itself represents a change of frame in a more abstract sense as well; If, in the past, hidden camera was an exception within an established more “literary” dramaturgy and narrative, it has now become one of many media/communicative formats and frames that draw on the “live” or “on-line”, the direct/personalized/confrontational, and thus also on the format of conversations. Almost as if the media is changing style from the literary (texts or works of art about some external content) to the interactive (of ongoing direct interaction), which has naturally been present as the myth of the media mirroring reality for, and communicating directly with, the people, and perhaps worked as a root metaphor but that is now becoming the standard way of working?

New roles for journalists and politicians?

It seems as if there is a trend toward journalists acting as something else, pretending to be sisters, neighbors, friends – combined with the use of hidden camera. In Example 4 above, one of the journalists posed as a xenophobe, and the award for “best disclosure” (Swedish: “Bonniers stora avslöjarpriis”) recently went to a journalist claiming to be the sister of a potential student at Muslim schools in Sweden.¹³ Acting as the sister, the journalist managed to get the principals of the schools to say certain things in front of the hidden camera, which then could be contrasted to (the quite opposite) things said when she was posing as a journalist with a visible camera. This has implications for what it means to be a journalist; it demands the capacity to act, make relaxed conversation and (unnoticed) provoke people into saying or doing certain things. It resembles the work of an undercover policeman.¹⁴ One could ask what kind of research is required if the key to a successful job is being able to pose as someone interested in purchasing a house. In Example 2 above, the person presented to the viewer as a journalist (asking both open and critical questions) is the famous journalist, while the reporter in the cabin is merely portrayed as a (neutral) tool for the investigation.

This undercover approach also means that disclosure concerns setting a trap and getting the fish to take the bait. A starting point seems to be pre-established dramaturgical casting of the politicians as always lying, thus there is no point in interviewing them on camera, no point in negotiating for an interview, no point even to show the negotiation that goes on backstage. Instead, the journalist seems to assume that they have to “steal” their interview, their answers. It follows from this that there is no point in trying to get an in-depth explanation afterwards. Journalists merely want to clarify the assumption that politicians are the bad guys. Further, it seems as if disclosure has come to be connected to humiliation. When the bad guy is caught, he will be shown in all his disgrace. Criticism based on investigation and argumentation becomes humiliation based on provocation and inventive editing. That politicians are portrayed as bad guys (not trustwor-

thy, distant from their voters, etc.) is hardly anything new. Already in 1996, Blumler & Gurevitch wrote about *more* negative news about politicians and “the more or less *routine* framing of political stories in terms of audience disenchantment with elites” (Blumler & Gurevitch 1996: 130, our italics). But perhaps the humiliation is a new tendency; in such a case, this begs the democratically important question: Who wants to be a politician when the risk of being humiliated is always around the corner? Interestingly, in society at large, there seems to be an increasing “interest” in humiliation or “bad examples”, e.g. “humiliation TV” (certain reality programs, talk shows as freak shows, etc.), constant listings of “worst/most stupid film/dress, etc.” Andén Papadopoulos (2003: 94-95) also argues that the entertainment version of *Candid Camera* has become more cynical (even sadistic) over time (she mentions programs like *Spy TV* and *Trigger Happy TV*).

There is also a particular twist on the Swedish contemporary situation in which political scandals, locally and nationally, have centered on moral issues of the unaccounted use of public funds for extravagant personal spending. As these scandals are uncovered, sets of discourses built upon notions like “the untrustworthy politician” are reused and reformed to frame the public debate, but in new ways by which the accountability and trustworthiness of the journalist are highlighted and the questionable behavior of the politician is shown in real time as a direct display of communicative events taking place in the here and now, in the filmed encounter and in the viewer’s living room. Ideology and politics are thus confirmed as distant, unaccountable and hidden practices and journalism as the reverse as responsible, accountable and “there for us”.¹⁵

Interactional studies of the media

Studying “politics”, “journalism” or “ideology” with a perspective grounded in interactionist approaches also makes it important to recognize the situated interdependency of politicians and journalists as communicative agents in the same public (discursive) arena along with viewers, voters, etc. We have argued that the upholding of a distance between “the facts” and the “practice” is a construct that can also enable a media text producer to attend to many “journalistic concerns” (MacMillan & Edwards 1998) above and beyond what seems to be the first or initial issue of, for example, a single interview with a politician.

In the present Swedish situation, characterized by both a certain delegitimization of politicians and threats to the welfare state, the focusing of investigative journalism on the personae of the politician seems to be prevalent (Economou & Forstorp 1999). Simultaneously, the relationship between, and working conditions for, both journalists and politicians are conditioned by a certain form of “*collegiality*” or double bind with its historical roots and ongoing development (Economou 1997). This chapter has

studied how journalists use form and dramaturgy as a discursive strategy by seemingly showing the journalistic process "as it happens" (hidden camera, managing conversational frames and situational settings). Thus, when politicians are seen saying one thing *in front* of the camera and something very different *in real life* this is a way of both "image making" and "truth and fact construction", as well as the use and development of practical journalistic work tools.

A development in Swedish political reporting is the increased emphasis of the dramaturgy and form themselves as part of the argumentation. In television, investigative journalists have started showing parts of the editing and dramaturgical process involved in the making of the feature. A form of "reporting on report". The conscious self-referentiality is a seemingly reflexive process, but also helps the journalist make his point and work up particular media roles. The interviews we have used as examples here are multifaceted in this way and are, furthermore, good examples of how the interplay between spoken language and media dramaturgy can be used in editing together a feature.

With a view such as that developed above, every media text can be studied in regard to how it displays its own construction and is upheld as just this particular kind of media text. We could thus study the claims that a producer or journalist puts forth and the position and stake of the producer-as-responsible, as the "broadcaster", as well as the various participants and, furthermore, how these positions and claims are constructed as factual (Potter 1996): how journalism discursively constructs both journalism itself and the representatives of politics – by creating the representations of both!

Discourse studies provide a framework by which that which can be studied is how participants in an exchange manage communication in a very practical sense: how an interviewer and an interviewee manage to go on, to uphold their talk and make it make sense – both to each other and as a recognizable instance of "The interview". This is not a trivial notion, since it will mean that we cannot see interactants as separate and stereotypical "roles" or identities but rather must view the role of being a particular media character as a more or less temporary (or more or less professional) identity that people take on in certain situations in which, more often than not, what is invoked and represented is a performance or reenactment of what can be publicly recognized as a valid instance of the expected "role". Put somewhat simpler, the situation of being put in front of a camera calls for us to answer what we think that particular camera wants us to be. Furthermore, if the setting and situation in which we are filmed is not recognizable to us as a "filmic" or journalistic situation, we run the risk of acting in the wrong scene – or, as it were, in the wrong frame.

In ethnomethodological terms (e.g., Garfinkel 1967), one could talk about doing being an interviewer, talk show guest, etc. What this means is that media participants can take on a position (and will be perceived as having a position) of a *representative* of something. However, today's situ-

ation seems to entail a more complex involvement of “media persons” by which politicians appear in talk shows, journalists interview other journalists on politics, talk-show hosts conduct therapy and judges settle claims in studio court. It does not necessarily mean that the media provide a sort of chameleon identity, but rather that viewers can see the same people in different capacities doing different things during any TV week whereas before we were used to politicians appearing only on the news or political commentary programs.

Discourse perspectives within the study of media can, thus, help in exploring recent developments in media events and situations, particularly if it is true, as we argue, that media work will continue and develop more and more around the concept of interaction and interactivity, whether this has to do with technical development or with broadcast formats that involve ordinary people and everyday interactions (i.e., not professionals) that bring into the media a different kind of skill and professionalism, a kind of “ordinary” or everyday professionalism that we can begin to study as a viable media experience. This experience, rather than being seen as an exploitation or something outside of or external to usual media practice, might be central in the understanding of what kind of participation the media today offer, and is important to the understanding of the breaking up of conceived roles within the media.

Notes

1. Programs on Swedish TV that refer to themselves as “Debate” have been shown to consist of several phases (of which only one can be called debate), discourse types and possible roles/identities for guests and hosts (Svensson 2001).
2. The example is also used in Economou 1997.
3. It is a long tradition in Sweden that politicians in election times are available for information and discussion in cabins, typically set up on the local town square.
4. Sweden (compared to Finland, for example) accepts relatively many refugees and immigrants, and there has been an ongoing debate on this subject for several years (especially from the 1990s and onward). As background, it also helps to know that there had been a rather xenophobic climate in Denmark just prior to this.
5. Interesting, however, is that the journalist said he wanted to talk about the election climate in general, while as we will see, he has a hidden agenda (Andén Papadopoulos 2003).
6. The person he is talking to cannot be seen since it is the person doing the filming, but listening to the voice one can conclude that it is a man.
7. Cf. Ekström (2003), where he discusses things said by a politician to a journalist, believing them to be backstage or off the record, but which later become headlines.
8. <http://svt.se/svt/jsp/Crosslink.jsp?d=8402&a=128601> Access 2004-10-01.
9. Cf. Kilborn (1994) and the concept of “Trial by television”.
10. In the US, the use of a hidden camera is more of a legal issue compared to Sweden.
11. See also Ekström (2003) for a discussion on journalism’s two levels of mediation.
12. This can naturally be related to broader debates on surveillance in late modernity (e.g. Lyon 2001, Whitaker 1999, Staples 2000).
13. Broadcast on the Swedish public service channel 2003-05-08.
14. Cf. Larsen (2002), who discusses different journalistic plots and roles (e.g. agent provocateur, undercover, interview with trump).

15. For a discussion on media, discourse and responsibility, see Svensson Limsjö (forthcoming) and other contributions in that book.

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III

Quoting and Editing. Recontextualizing the Interview

Chapter 7

Journalism's Vitality

On the Narrative Functions of Quotes

Mats Nylund

Journalism is traditionally described as reports concerning new and factual events (e.g., Kunelius 1996:17)¹. However, very few pages would remain of the average newspaper if this were the whole truth. It is usually more accurate to describe news as reports on talk about newly occurred events (e.g., Pietilä 1991) – or simply life in general. Statements, evaluations and other remarks are often turned into news in their own right, and news stories that have obscured the lines between evaluative and descriptive practices are abundant. Take, for instance, news reports on the attack in New York on 11 September 2001. No doubt, this was not only news as ‘discourse on discourse’ (despite the symbolic and cinematic qualities of the attack). This was a real-world event. Yet, the television news reports that followed relied heavily on various comments and analysis from experts and pundits that were generated by the reporters’ questions, often in interviews. I therefore argue that news content revolves around the practice of quoting: the (co-) construction, selection, editing and representation of comments, explanations, interpretations, speculations, praise and blame, among other things. In addition, talk in news concerns not only what has happened, but also – increasingly, it seems – what could have happened or, indeed, what might happen in the future (cf. Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994). In short news items are, to a large extent, ‘talked into being’ (Boden 1990:149). The journalistic interview is the most central, albeit not the only, vehicle for the construction of this news talk.

In this article I am concerned with quotes, evaluations and reported speech in front-page news. My main purpose is to analyze quotes in relation to the general news narrative. My primary interest is not so much the social characteristics of news sources, but instead how quoted content is embedded in the text, forming a more or less coherent and polyphonic news story. More specifically, quotes are comprehended as narrative units that may relate to both prior and subsequent text, and may also perform other various tasks within the text. Thereby, three kinds of relationships are addressed: (1) between the reporters and their sources, (2) between

the news report and the news event and, finally and most explicitly, (3) between the quote and the journalistic description. The analysis explores and elaborates on four highly typical features: monological versus dialogical narrative frames, reformulations and narrative shifts. Theoretically, the practice of quoting is approached through the concepts of reported speech and recontextualization. My exploration is guided by methods and theories derived from research on spoken discourse. Similar approaches have been fruitfully applied to written texts by Clayman (1990), Linell (1998) and Kroon (2001).

The analysis is based on a one-week sample of seven conventional Nordic morning papers (15–21 November 1999). The newspapers are: *Berlingske Tidende* and *Politiken* (both from Denmark), *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* (Finland), *Aftenposten* (Norway), *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* (both from Sweden). Hence, this is a comparative analysis on a cross-national level. However, in contrast to a large body of comparisons between nations and national cultures, the purpose here is not to focus on the variation of certain social parameters. Instead, I argue that the similarities in both news production and formats in Scandinavia (as elsewhere in many western societies) are at least equally important as the differences. This is also true of quoting practices.

The newspapers were selected from a larger newspaper data corpus that was collected for the purpose of international and comparative media studies. The focus is on the ‘lead story’ in each newspaper, referring to the story that has been given the largest space or a central position on the front page of a newspaper. Often, these lead stories are illustrated with a photograph. Further, I have only analyzed the story as it appears on the front page. In other words, any continuation inside the paper is not part of the analysis. In practical terms, the analysis that follows is based on 49 news stories with some 50 quotes. Some of the stories had several quotes on the front page, whereas others had none.

There is a special point in analyzing front-page news for the purposes of this study. To begin with, the front page covers strictly top-priority news. Despite the tabloidization of traditional newspapers, front-page news and lead stories are particularly characterized as ‘hard news’ (i.e., reports mostly about politics and economics, allegedly with strong relevance to and impact on society). In other words, news stories on the front page could be characterized as the opposite of other more ‘chatty’ stories included further within the paper. Additionally, front-page news achieves a typically greater exposure than do news stories that appear elsewhere within the newspaper, and reports that appear on the front page are subjected to a special editorial selection and evaluation process (see Clayman and Reisner 1998).

Reported speech and recontextualizations

Reported speech can be defined as speech that 'belongs' to someone other than the speaker or the author of a news story, and is applied on a massive scale within modern news discourse. Media sociologists have emphasized that reported speech is the backbone of objectivity in news. By referring to assertions made by news sources, as opposed to writing something that could be interpreted as the reporter's own personal bias, news media can claim to remain neutral with regard to the content of their assertions. To take a historical example from Tuchman's (1972) classical study: A US senator may claim that America lags behind the Soviet Union in the development of a specific type of missile. This claim can be either true or false. Given the working conditions of news journalists and the asymmetry of knowledge between the reporter and the news source, there may be few possibilities for the reporter to find verifications for the claim, especially within the time frame of his or her deadline. However, by ascribing the claim to the senator, the reporter can avoid taking a stance regarding the content of 'statement [A]'. The reporter may report truthfully that 'senator [X] said statement [A]', even if [A] is false. Of course, this can be regarded as no more than 'objectivity as a ritual' (Tuchman, *ibid*) and does not guarantee that the news stories are objective in anything but a formal or a practical sense. When it comes to evaluations, however, the truthfulness of a statement is not the primary issue. Compare, for instance, the following headlines about ethnicity taken from a Finnish (Swedish-language) local newspaper (Nylund 2000a):

- (a) Many adolescents accept racism (*Åbo underrättelser*, 16 September 1999)
- (b) Gypsy children should have access to daycare and nursery school (*Åbo underrättelser*, 29 September 1999)

Headline (a) is a statement that can be either true or false, but headline (b) cannot be approached in terms of truthfulness. One cannot determine in strictly logical terms whether or not children should have access to daycare and nursery school. Instead, the statement is an evaluation and, therefore, is a kind of a moral statement. As such, (b) is an exception as both a news headline and an independent textual element in a news story. When news reporters produce stories, they usually take an 'objective position' and present evaluations as reported speech (cf. Clayman 1992, Nylund 2000b). Obviously, there are many kinds of evaluations in news. The line between 'factual' and evaluative statements is rather blurry (see Pomerantz 1984), and descriptions involve a great deal of implicit evaluations and moral assumptions. Descriptions can also be organized in a way that may encourage the reader to make his or her own judgments (Nylund 2000a:171). However, at least for practical reasons, it is useful to make a distinction between descriptions and evaluations.

The origin of a quote

Quotes presented in newspapers texts usually originate from exchanges of questions and replies between reporters and news sources. Schudson (1994:565) describes the interview as 'the fundamental act of contemporary journalism' (see also Altheide 1974: 76-78). Another highly used source is the press conference, which is also based on spoken interaction (e.g., Bell 1991:57). Despite a longtime interest in reporter-source interaction, source influence and reporter integrity on a structural and/or organizational level (e.g. Gans 1979, Schlesinger 1980, Manning 2001), not many studies have been performed concerning the ways in which the exchanges between reporters and their sources are manifested in reporter-source interviews or press conferences (though, see Nylund 2003, Clayman and Heritage 2002). Hence, as newspaper readers we generally know very little about what goes on in the encounters between reporters and their sources as the interviews and press conferences are only rarely described *in extenso* in the newspaper. This is also true of political and other speeches. Instead, these discursive and interactional events are turned into and represented as quotes and sound bites sandwiched between the reporter's 'objective' descriptions. Most often, the original interactional context of the talk is completely omitted in the text (Geis 1987; Ekström 2001), a measure that can be seen as making the reporters invisible in and detached from their own text (and, consequently, 'objective'). Yet, sometimes parts of the original context of the quotes are preserved in the text. For instance, a quote in the text can appear alongside a printed reproduction of a 'tough' question asked in a press conference (Clayman 1990).

The process from talk (or 'talk-in-interaction') to text can be described as a recontextualization (Linell 1998) in which a statement or other type of message is extracted from one context and put into another. A change in context also implies a subsequent change in meaning. Therefore, every communicative continuation involves a transformation of meaning. For instance, a news story may represent a stretch of talk, or what might have been a reply to a question in the original context, as a 'statement', 'claim', 'accusation' or 'explanation'. In the process of a recontextualization the quotes are selected, set in a new context, edited, framed and often combined and mixed with other statements or stretches of verbal and/or visual content from other contexts in ways that the source him/herself can usually influence only to a highly limited extent (Hallin 1992; Nylund 2003). The original communicative context and the reporter's role are diminished and often substituted by a new, constructed dialogue in the text (Scollon 1998: 262, Ekström 2001). What the concept of recontextualization emphasizes, therefore, is that the practice of quoting should not be seen simply as 'mirroring' or 'representing' what is said in a way the transmission model of communication would suggest. This is especially important in newspaper journalism, in which a quote is a written reconstruction of an oral passage, not simply a selected

playback of an utterance as radio and television sound bites are. There is evidence, mostly from studies on everyday conversation, that interlocutors rarely manage to represent the speech of others without reformulating them to some extent (Linell 1998:47). This is probably also true when it comes to newspaper journalism, at least when interviews are recorded through note taking. As journalism – as both a social institution and a form of social discourse – has increased in power and as news is more strongly edited than before (Altheide and Snow 1991, Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994), there is a pressing need for media scholars to pay more attention to the ways in which utterances are recontextualized into and re-presented as quotes in news stories. This does not, of course, mean in any sense that the more structural forms of influence that various powerful sources have should be overlooked. Instead, this analysis can also be regarded as a contribution to studies of the structural communicative conditions in media societies.

The narrative properties of a quote

A general look at the front-page quotes in the data gives a kind of 'snapshot' of public discourse that, to a large extent, still prevails in Scandinavia and many other western countries. There are quarrelling politicians, blaming and counter-blaming 'them' and praising 'us'. There is the European Union 'sharpening its voice' in relation to Russia and, also, when fighting against market restraints in order to promote competition. There are business managers reassuring the public on the one hand about the benefits of yet another Nordic transnational merger and, on the other hand, about the safety of financial transactions when buying goods on the Internet ('the trade takes complete responsibility'). Apart from institutional and prestigious actors there are victims suffering, (e.g., one from the war in Chechnya and another from new tax laws) blaming the bureaucracy and the government. There are exposed (military) secrets, and accounts of responsible officials. Perhaps as a special Nordic feature, there is an abundance of medical researchers, physicians and scientists 'sounding the alarm' about cuts in institutional care, criticizing the bureaucracy, praising the limitless possibilities of information technology, making public another unique AIDS medicine (perhaps to be launched in the near future). Additionally, there is an overwhelming number of references to the future (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994). Things that 'can' or 'may' happen in the future, risks that can be activated and problems that can be solved (thanks to new technology or 'historical' political compromises). I will return to the issue of meta-narratives and social/narrative roles later in this text. In what follows, I will look more closely at some of the quotes and describe some of their elementary features. This will be related to the two basic modes of quoting: quotes organized in either a monological or dialogical frame. In the subsequent sections I will discuss more dynamic

features of the representation of quotes, by which content is exploited for various discursive and journalistic purposes.

Although quotes can be easily distinguished from the rest of a news story, it should be obvious that their meaning is also derived also from the (co-) text it is embedded in. The meaning unit of a quote is usually the quote in connection to at least the previous and subsequent sentences (although any definition of context is always somewhat arbitrary). The properties of a typical quote can be illustrated with a piece of war news in the Finnish *Helsingin Sanomat* (1):

[1, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 15 November 1999]

- Headline: Russia destroyed more Chechnyan villages
- Strapline: Thousands of civilians escaped the bombings of Ingushia
- Text: (a) The number of civilians who escaped the bombings in Chechnya rose to at least one thousand on the weekend while Russia continued to destroy Chechnyan villages.
- Quote 1: (b) “We tried to stay at home in the basement as long as we could, but last night our home perished,”
- Text: (c) said Zara Magomedova, 27, to *Helsingin Sanomat* in Ingushia on Sunday.
Magomedova sat on the edge of the road and nursed her three-month-old daughter Dinara.
- (d) The clear weather favored the Russian aerial forces. Fighting helicopters shuttled the whole day from Chechnya and back.

The properties of the quote as a narrative unit can be described as follows: (a) introductory description, (b) quote, (c) speech-reporting verb (“said”) and identification of the speaker. Hereby, the meaning unit is completed and there is a shift to another topic (d). The rest of the news story contains more quotes, but these are not connected to the first quote. In other words, various voices are speaking in the text, but are not speaking to each other.

The working relationship between a prior descriptive sentence and its attendant quote is crucial. The quotes elaborate on the prior description in various ways. In excerpt (1) there is a shift from general information to the subjective experiences that supply ‘the view of the victim’. The function of the quote is to illustrate a point being made in the introductory description. Together, the general and subjective information establish the primary narrative perspective of the news story. There is an aggressor (Russia), and a victim (Zara Magomedova). Women and children are typical victims, not only in news media (Höjjer 2003), but also in story telling and ancient and modern myths (Mustonen 2001: 149-150). Hence, one could say that Zara

Magomedova is identified as a sort of archetypal victim, a young mother nursing her baby at her breast, representing innocence and vulnerability. Her home has perished and she is now sitting "on the edge", both concretely and metaphorically. Such an individual and expressive identification builds a sharp contrast to the bombings of the faceless aggressor. Hence, the news report is far from being balanced or neutral.

The speech of the victim is contextualized in a somewhat unusual way. She is not talking out into the blue, as quoted sources so frequently are, but instead, there is a definite and concrete addressee (i.e., *Helsingin Sanomat*). This reportage-like self-reference contributes to a certain sense of authenticity concerning the narrative. It shows that the reporter has actually been there and witnessed the events (cf. Helland 1994). Hence there are, as it were, two levels of illustration involved in the quote. The first concerns the illustration of the subjective experiences of the quoted source, which confirm the reporter's descriptions as well as contribute, due to their character, to an emotional narrative. The second level illustrates the presence of the reporter, thereby contributing to the credibility and factuality of the narrative. As is typical of foreign reports (see Helland 1994), the story is a complex mixture of both concrete and more abstract events that take place within a large geographical territory. While there is little reason to doubt that Zara Magomedova has spoken to *Helsingin Sanomat*, it is much more doubtful that the newspaper reporter was an eyewitness to, say, 'the number of escaping civilians rising by at least one thousand' or the 'continuous destruction of Chechnyan villages'. Instead, it is more likely that the news story combines the reporter's first-hand experience with a certain amount of second-hand information. Of course, there are no claims that the reporter was somehow able to personally witness everything that was reported. Even so, various textual elements generated from different geographical locations and sources are combined with the representation of the reporter as 'being there' (Poulsen 1999). Being an observer and seeing things with your own eyes, rather than hearing them as second-hand knowledge, has a strong epistemological value in both scientific and everyday reasoning. Hence, the reported presence of the news reporter can be seen as a discursive strategy that strongly contributes to the factuality of a news story. More specifically, given the nature of everyday inference-making, by which causal relationships are both taken for granted as well as actively constructed as a part of continuous sense-making, the reported presence of the reporter can also be a strategy to make claims (that are not based on the reporter's first-hand knowledge) appear more convincing. The reported presence of the newspaper makes the reporter appear to be more closely connected to certain events that he/she may not have witnessed. These events are not represented as first-hand knowledge, and are not ascribed to other sources. Instead they are presented as undisputed knowledge, belonging to no one particular. Such ambiguous knowledge is recognized as a characteristic feature of news stories (e.g. Scollon 1998:233). However, in a more general

perspective, such utterances are connected with the intrinsic problem of any attempt to represent reality. Representations are necessarily incomplete and can always be elaborated indefinitely (Garfinkel 1967:35-53). Thus it would be impossible, at least socially, to ascribe every statement to a particular source. The story looks at the reported event from a specific moral, although commonsensical, perspective that is textually reconstructed through the combination of the descriptive elements, the quoted subjective experience and the identification of the source.

Representing both sides

Analytically, the opposite of the narrative organization of the quoted statement discussed above is the equally institutionalized representation of 'both sides'. This is illustrated below in a lead story that appeared in the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* (Example 2).

[2, *Aftenposten*, 20 November 1999]

Upper headline: Alarming report about antiquated methods in fight against abuse of alcohol

Main headline: Temperance people control

Lead: Temperance organizations receive more than 30 million crowns a year, more than half of the Alcohol Directorate's budget for fighting alcohol addiction.

Quote 1: “Habitual thinking”, says specialist.

Quote 2: “More than 75% is politically controlled”, says Chief Director Stein Berg at the Alcohol Directorate.

To begin with, the connection between the first quote and the reporter's narrative is more intimate than in Example 1. What is the actual source of this piece of news? It does not seem to be the allocation of the budget of the Alcohol Directorate indicated in the text. Rather, the news report is based on a document, a report about policy concerning alcohol. More precisely, the real news seems to be the conclusion made concerning this policy. The story represents these conclusions in different ways: 'Temperance people control' in the headline, 'Temperance organizations' in the lead and 'Habitual thinking' in Quote 1 of the news story, ascribed to a (male) 'specialist'.

The latter is an utterance (or part of an utterance) that has been completely decontextualized from its original context. There is no addressee, no age and no physical action included. Note as well the variation in the dramatic force of the statements. The journalistic description brings forth ‘alarming

reports' and issues of social power and big money. In relation to this, the quote 'habitual thinking' does not, analytically separated, appear as a very strong statement. Yet, embedded in the text, the preferred reading might be: 'a researcher criticizing the bureaucracy and for good reason'. This subtle lack of coherence between descriptions and quotes is an issue that will be elaborated upon later in the text.

Basically, quotes can either share or respond to the primary perspective in the news. In the news report illustrated in Example 1, the quote was represented as a response to a reported extra-discursive action, but as sharing the narrative perspective in the story. Further, quotes can be connected with either the reporter's narrative or another quote. The latter is illustrated in Example 2. In the news story, the first quote functions as an initiative. It expresses criticism, although the quote does not in itself tell us whom the criticism is directed to. However, in the news story it is very clear who is made accountable for the "antiquated" alcohol policy, namely the source of the second quote, Chief Director Stein Berg. This example illustrates the other basic way of using quotes in news narratives. There is a first quote that (a) shares the primary perspective of the story and (b) functions as an initiative to a subsequent discursive move – in this case, as in many others, by being presented as a blame attribution that (c) makes another part accountable for some previous action. The remarks of the two news sources are reproduced as if they were part of a sequentially and coherently unfolding argument; a blame attribution is followed by a denial, i.e. a socially preferred response (Heritage 1984:269). Hence, the news story is dialogically organized. What remains unknown, of course, is how this representation corresponds to the original context and the intentions of the quoted news sources. It might be, perhaps, that the sources simply thought that they were 'answering the reporters' questions', unaware of the kind of conflict that would be constructed with the help of their remarks. Or, it could be that the quoted researcher actually wanted to draw public attention to an incongruity.

Reformulating quotes

News stories are frequently dialogically organized, so that two different perspectives are represented and opposed to, juxtaposed with or balanced against each other. This representation of 'both sides' is certainly a basic narrative device in connection to controversial news topics. Nohrstedt and Ekström (1994:32) describe this as a 'reduction' of objectivity, and see it as a practical, as well as both routinized and ritualized, solution to a complex epistemological dilemma. Obviously, what is being reduced in Example 2 is the number of people and organizations influencing and being influenced by the reported phenomena (from indefinite to two). Yet, by balancing two

competing versions of the ‘truth’, the reporters can at least defend themselves as being objective and impartial (Manning 2001:68).

It should be emphasized that the concept of a dialogical narrative frame does not imply any kind of hierarchy in relation to the monological frame. This is especially so, because in most stories the representation of both sides is not always so balanced. It is usually the first quoted source that functions as a primary definer in the story, sharing and collaborating with the general perspective. However, there are also examples of the opposite, by which the narrative organization gives the second speaker the authoritative ‘last word’ (cf. Nylund 2000b:196). Reducing a social problem to the competing versions of the two sides contributes to a perception of a reality based on dichotomies. Moreover, one might ask if there are really ever only two parties in a story. Including the author/reporter of the story, there would be three, which makes a crucial difference to the social organization (Simmel 1950). In most cases, the role of the reporter is to act, not as a mediator helping others to moderate passions, but rather as a combination of what Simmel calls *tertius gaudens* – one who seeks to turn to her/his own advantage a disagreement between the other two – and a strategy of divide *et impera* – intentionally creating conflicts between the other two in order to attain personal gain (Coser 1977:187).

As stated earlier, news stories do not simply “convey” quoted messages. Instead, quotes are dynamic elements in the news story that contribute to the very making of news. Example 2 illustrates how quoted evaluations can be an intrinsic part of the news, and how they can implicate a second quote. Such verbal initiatives and responses are elementary properties of social life (Asplund 1987). They are, so to speak, what make the wheel turn. Versions of reality are always followed by new versions, confirmations and competing versions. To paraphrase Derrida (1972, quoted in Hall 1997:42), talking always leads to more talking. In news stories, initiatives and responses are also exploited in a more elaborate fashion. The following (Example 3) is an example of how quotes function as turning points in the relating of news and how quotes perform certain tasks in new stories.

[3, *Berlingske Tidende*, 15 November 1999]

- Headline: Every tenth adolescent with anorexia dies
- Lead: Anorexia: Every tenth anorexia patient dies – half of them commit suicide. Medical superintendent places part of the blame on health campaigns.
- Text: (Four sentences omitted)
- Quote 1: “Anorexia is clearly a more serious disease than we have assumed. And it seems like society does not care very much about it. It is not only something that only little girls come down with. The disease has huge psychological and medi-

cal consequences", says [Medical Superintendent] Søren Nielsen.

Text: (Three sentences omitted)

Quote 2: "Young girls will not accept their own healthy weight – the weight that our Lord has given them. And at one point or another life simply gets too complicated for the girls. Many campaigns have sent young people directly to our ward. I think we should respect the fact that we look different. It should not be only the slimmest 10% who are interesting."

Statistical descriptions of anorexia and death are followed by a reported blame attribution (the lead) and by an evaluative quote. The first quote turns the shares and numbers in the headline and lead into a 'serious' matter with 'huge psychological and medical consequences'. It confirms the newsworthiness of the story by emphasizing freshness, unexpectedness and relevance of information ('more serious disease than we have assumed'). It also provides criticism, although the blame attribution is rather mild and the recipient is vague ('seems like society does not care very much').

Yet, every time the voice of the medical superintendent is represented (the lead, Quotes 1 and 2) there is an element of conflict, criticism and blame. In Quote 2 the superintendent is reported as blaming 'campaigns' that 'have sent young people directly to our ward'. This statement is represented in the quote and reformulated in the lead of the story as 'Medical superintendent places part of the blame on health campaigns'. Such journalistic reformulations of messages appear frequently in news stories. Very often, quoted statements are reformulated or paraphrased elsewhere in the text as well.

The criticism of health campaigns is obviously valued as a newsworthy statement, as it is referred to twice in the story and is already represented in the lead. Two things strike me here. First, in the lead it is said that 'part of the blame' is ascribed to health campaigns. However, my claim is that as a consequence of the construction of the news story the 'health campaign factor' is turned into the *major* explanation of deaths and suicides due to anorexia. Second, to define Quote 2 as 'placing blame' is by no means the *only* way to characterize what is being said. The statements in Quote 2 could be equally defined as an 'appeal' for tolerance concerning weight differences, or as 'condemning' the prevailing beauty norm.

One explanation seems to be sufficient in order to produce a coherent news story. In Example 3, Quote 2 functions as a turning point. After this quote there is a shift in narrative focus in a way that was also illustrated in Example 1. Before the quote, the story deals with the medical study concerning deaths caused by anorexia. The beginning of the news story presents information, confirmation and evaluation about this study. Quote 2 serves as an initiative to form a different narrative, by which the nature

of the quote is also redefined as a blame attribution. The narrative evolves into a moral discussion, based on quotes by other sources, about whether or not health campaigns are to be blamed. After a rather short description of a medical study (almost no further information is added to the lead) the rest of the story deals with 'pro' and 'con' statements concerning health campaigns, and takes up the issue of who is to be blamed. Hence, the story presents an initiative blame attribution (Quote 2), an approval of this statement by another physician and a final counter-assertion by a lecturer, a man who has written 'many brochures about healthy lifestyles'. This man argues that there is a clear need for health campaigns, although they might also have some drawbacks. In this way, the blame attribution is turned into the primary event in the story, rather than the extra-discursive event, the medical study about anorexia.

This news story is based on what appears to be science. There is a reference to 'research' done by the medical superintendent, and there are representations of some statistical evidence. Yet, these 'facts' are almost immediately woven into a moral discourse that dominates the story. This kind of a narrative organization is in fact rather typical in news reporting. Kroon (2001:225-226) has demonstrated how particular news topics that remain on the news agenda for a longer period of time slide over into moral narratives, where the allocation of guilt and the distinction between right and wrong become major components (see also Altheide 1997). My claim is that this is also what often happens internally in news reports.

'Breaking the news'

News stories appear to readers as coherent stories. Quotes are embedded in the stories in seemingly reasonable ways. They are intertwined with, and seem to support, the claims and descriptions made in other parts of the text. Yet there are, of course, turning points and more subtle narrative shifts as well. A quote regularly manifests some kind of narrative shift: from objective to subjective, from general to particular, from description to evaluation, etc. These shifts are somewhat unavoidable, and there is no reason to avoid them when producing texts (media sociology is no exception). Yet, there is sometimes reason to take a closer look at them. This is what is done below.

[4, *Politiken*, 21 November 1999]

Headline:	Unscrupulous Nazi Collaboration
Lead:	Highly confidential reports from the meetings of the agricultural council in 1940-45 shed light on the very close collaboration between agriculture and the Nazis. Historians

wish to analyze the role of agriculture, industry and the Union during the occupation.

The headline and lead are from a story presented as a 'scoop', a journalistic disclosure of 'highly confidential' data (though allegedly relevant for the public). In this case, the exposed data indicate a major moral decline of the Danish agricultural establishment during wartime. The presentation of the story evoked a picture of perhaps the most prestigious (and highly idealized) form of news reporting, investigative reporting (cf. Kuutti 2001:13). Later in the text, it is stated that this indeed is something that the newspaper itself has discovered through an active investigative intervention. In fact, in this case, it is the newspaper and not the source that 'owns' the information. However, the first descriptive sentence in the lead is followed by a reference to 'historians' who wish to 'analyze the role of agriculture'. Hence, the representation follows the general pattern of description-evaluation. But what is actually the role of this reference? To begin with, the 'wishes of the historians' turns out to be a pluralization of the opinion of a single person, making the claim appear more generally held and therefore more convincing (cf. Nylund 2000a:64-67). Further, it is an indirect reformulation of a quote presented later in the story. Also in this context (i.e. in the text prior to the quote), immorality among the Danish establishment is strongly implied. Prior to the relevant quote, the news story describes the agricultural establishment as 'more than willing' to export goods to Nazi Germany. To decrease export in order to restrain the 'German war machine' was "never a consideration" for them, and the chief motive for export was reported to be 'to profit'. Again, a moral stance is established through descriptive devices, by juxtaposing eagerness and profit making with implications that restraining the German war machine was in fact a choice (indeed, the only truly 'moral' choice). Through such a description, the agricultural establishment is implicitly portrayed as virtually engaging in an act of treason. Hence, the story functions as an implicit blame attribution. However, this line of reasoning is not elaborated on in the subsequent quote:

Quote 1: "Already in the 60's we elucidated the role of politicians during the occupation. Today there is a need to see the period of occupation in a broader perspective and to analyze the role of large organizations. It is already an established part of our national self-understanding that resistance was the most prominent feature during the occupation. But, in reality, there was a broad consensus to do away with it as cheaply as possible. And politics were conducted in close cooperation between the higher-ups in agriculture, politicians, the Union and industry", Claus Bjørn points out.

The quote shares the perspective of the news story. It is a confirmation of the relevance of the reported information ('there is a need to see the period of occupation in a broader perspective') and its newsworthiness (to contest false perceptions of 'national self-understanding' with new knowledge). But what the source is definitely not doing is commenting on the prior description in the story, the 'disclosure'. There is neither an elaboration on nor an evaluation of the report. The source speaks of the role of politicians – already elucidated "in the 60's" – and espouses a general need to analyze other political organizations. Therefore, I argue, the quote functions mainly as a ritual confirmation of the news report. It co-constructs this controversial news story as knowledge (cf. Matheson 2000) and, as the story continues, implies that the newspaper is a legitimate institution that serves an important democratic (rather than, say, commercial) function for society. The problem depicted in the news story is, of course, the establishment (the temporal distance of the actions referred to is no excuse). The victims are the Danish people, and the newspaper is their advocate and representative. Hence, the upshot (meta-narrative) of this is that the establishment is corrupt, while the reporters are the legitimate moral guardians of society (cf. Gans 1979: 292-293). The good guys fight the bad guys and the quoted 'historians' act as authoritative witnesses. Finally, the quoted 'solution' to the problem is also an element in the construction of another narrative concerning (social) science: what society needs is more research, particularly in the discipline represented by the source himself. This is only one example of 'solutions' that basically reproduce and expand the system represented by the speaker. If it is not more research that is needed, quoted news sources call for more advanced technology, more freedom within the market, a budget increase, another political summit, etc. Of course, it is true that such measures may occasionally lead to true solutions, but what they undoubtedly do is produce social action that can be turned into many more news stories.

Summary

In this article, I have explored an essential feature of contemporary news reporting: the practice of quoting. Two basic narrative frames are described, the monological and the dialogical. Of the two, the latter works largely through juxtaposing statements and counter-statements (e.g., blame attributions-denials). Furthermore, the phenomena of reformulations and narrative shifts have been explored. I have argued that describing news as information represents a limited and one-sided approach. Indeed, the very concept of news presupposes a moral stance. News items are based on carefully manipulated selections of social reality. Something or someone is perceived as departing from the moral order, or from normal conventions (Nylund 2001b). Various moral positions are reproduced in the news stories, not only

explicitly through quoted evaluations but also through 'neutral' descriptive devices and, above all, through combinations of the two.

The roles of the news sources discussed in this article are all too familiar: there are politicians/bureaucrats who are responsible for problems, there are experts who identify these problems in cooperation with the news reporters, and there are victims who suffer because of these problems. In this way, news reporters and news sources co-construct our everyday problems, and, occasionally, provide solutions to them. However, it could be argued that these are not real solutions in any sense, but instead function mainly as quotes generally do, as fuel to drive forward the news, or, as described by Altheide (1997), as a 'problem-generating machine'. As many other discursive entities, quotes are intrinsically multi-functional. Some of the narrative features provided in news stories through quotes are:

- confirmation of claims of newsworthiness (novelty, validity and public relevance)
- evaluation (e.g., establishing large-scale problems)
- criticism and blame (providing conflict and drama)
- emotions (that cannot be expressed by the news reporter himself)
- subjective experiences
- sense of presence and validity (the reporter as 'being there')
- 'solutions' to problems (the media and their sources as 'agents of change')

In her textbook on journalism, Clayton (1994:14) emphasizes that quotes are what it takes to turn a short piece of non-fiction into journalism. She maintains that quotes are what give a news story its vitality and, indeed, what make it 'real'. This final characterization could be used to sum up the results from this study as well. However, I suspect that Clayton is using the word 'real' in a different way than are those media scholars who (as I do) subscribe to stronger or weaker notions of social constructionism. Quotes very frequently function as confirmations of the validity and newsworthiness of a news story. In this sense, quotes make the stories appear more real. They contribute to the sense of validity, and, no doubt, simultaneously give the story the vitality Clayton speaks of.

The field of communication studies is increasingly becoming synonymous with that of media studies. The imminent risk of such a tendency is that media scholars lose sight of everyday interaction, and start to perceive mediated communication as something altogether different from things we do in our social lives in general. Therefore, I will end by linking the highly institutionalized practice of quoting in the news to the same feature as it stands in everyday life. When we look at how people use 'quotes' or direct reported speech in everyday conversation, the confirming function of at-

tribution appears even more important. As I mentioned at the beginning of this text, people seldom manage to represent the words of others without at least partially reformulating them; perhaps this is a way to adapt them to personal communicative projects. There is evidence that people resort to reported speech in situations in which they have reason to believe their assertions will be met with doubt by others. A particularly illuminating account is provided by Wooffitt (1992:158-161) in an analysis of everyday reports concerning paranormal experiences. In such situations, people frequently support their stories not only by summing up the gist of others' reactions to the extraordinary, but by recounting it in their 'own words'. The everyday use of quotes to anticipate skepticism strongly indicates that quoting is indeed a strategy that is intended to make stories appear solid, valid – and real.

Note

1. This article is a substantially revised version of my text 'Quoting in front-page journalism: illustrating, evaluating and confirming the news' (Media, Culture & Society © 2003 SAGE Publications, Vol 25:844-851) and is reprinted by kind permission of Sage publications Ltd.

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Chapter 8

The Gendered Practice and Role of Pull Quoting in Political Newspaper Journalism

Åsa Kroon

This chapter deals with the ways in which top politicians' quotes are constructed and represented in a media context just before a general election. More specifically, I will explore the usage and function of pull quotes (PQs), i.e. quotes extracted from various news interviews – interviews that are never shown in their original form in the media. Instead, segments of an interview are cut out and recontextualized into a headline, sub-heading or the body of an article. According to Gibson, Hester and Stewart (2001: 66), the characteristics of these PQs are that they: “run larger in type than story text, are similar to other visual elements such as infographics and background boxes in that they also contain textual information that may help readers better comprehend accompanying stories.”

Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 307) points out that “no speech representation is objective or simply neutral”. Hence, I am assuming that social hierarchy is represented through speech representation, and “by learning how journalists quote those involved with power, we can perhaps better understand how journalism covertly reflects and reproduces not only power structures in society but also newsmakers' social identity.” (Satoh 2001: 70). In addition, Karen Ross (2002: 80) claims that “scant attention has been paid to the ways in which the media construct ‘women’ in their gendered-politics discourse, the ways in which the media undermine their status as politicians in myriad small – but important – ways” (cf. Carter, Branston and Allan 1998).

In contrast to several other studies on pull quoting and quoting practices, I will focus specifically on the role of PQs within the realm of political journalism, applying a gender perspective in my analysis. The general questions I will focus on when analyzing the PQs are: Who says what, where and how often? I would like to see whether pull quoting is a more common practice when it comes to men or women, and if there are any gender differences in what these quotes are about (issue-related or personally related) and how they are displayed. Do the quotes reveal any negative or positive relations between journalism and politics and, if so, what discursive techniques are used to position the two entities? And finally, I would like to discuss the kind of role pull quoting plays in political newspaper journalism today.

My aim is to show how pull quoting is a gendered practice in the sense that utterances made by female and male politicians in interviews that are picked up and used as PQs in prominent political newspaper texts are used differently depending on the gender of the quoted politician. However, at the same time, gender seems less relevant in trying to explain and understand the overall function of politicians' PQs in the studied texts. Instead, there seems to be a general tendency to use PQs as a way to belittle or disempower politicians as a group – a practice, then, which is irrelevant of gender.

The empirical data are taken from four different newspapers: two Swedish quality newspapers (*Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*) and two tabloids (*Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*). The time frame for the data is 1–15 September 2002 which was two weeks prior to the general election in Sweden that year.

Journalism and quoting

In news journalism, the practice of quoting is important as it relates to the journalistic ideal of objectivity. To quote someone is a way to certify the things that are being said (or written) and to give legitimacy to a story. It is also a way for the journalist to distance him/herself from that which is quoted (Tuchman 1978: 96), a quote which might appear provocative and/or otherwise problematic for the newspaper. It is also, of course, a technique that is used to make a story come alive and be more engaging to the audience that reads it. Nylund (2003) has studied front-page quoting and has concluded that, among other things, quotes in today's journalism have a multitude of functions: they confirm newsworthiness and are used to criticize, validate, evaluate, and provide solutions to problems, and add a sense of presence, emotion and subjective experience to a piece of news.

On the Internet, online forums about journalism and journalistic practice practically overflow with ethical and normative discussions about what is right and what is wrong when it comes to journalistic quoting practices, and opinions on the matter are far from homogenous. A great deal of online ethical concerns about journalistic quoting refer to the problems of war journalism: "Do not let parties define themselves simply by quoting their leaders" is one recommendation. Others see the problems of putting forth simplistic worldviews when quoting patriotically, and not giving 'the other side' a chance to have their say. Another more general dilemma is, for instance, that of tampering with quotes. How much can you be allowed to change a quote before you have committed a journalistic sin? Some seem to think that it is quite alright to change it as long as it does not "alter the substantive content" of what is said. Others say not to change it unless it is ungrammatical; or if it is ungrammatical, to be on the safe side do not

use it at all. It is generally recommended that quotes be used when they add something to a piece, and then it is seen as important to put the 'balanced' quote in its actual context, only quoting the subject's own words (Raugust 1994). Behind normative rules of this kind lie the assumption that journalists are indeed mere conduits of information: "...the profession's official stance, reflected in reporting textbooks, style books, and other public pronouncements, reinforces a mythology of quoting" (Killenberg and Anderson (1993: 39).

Research on quoting

Needless to say, researchers of journalistic discourse do not subscribe to "the mythology of quoting" as journalists are not seen as being able to merely transport politicians' words to the printed page in a neutral manner. Instead, in news discourse, journalists actively make use of quotations from politicians in their texts in such a way that they (at least try to) "control the way readers process and make sense of the report" (Teo 2000: 14).

Even when quoting someone verbatim, when extracting an utterance from one context to another, an inevitable shift of meaning is likely to occur (Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Linell 1998). To cite someone is actually to manage "the words of others to convey and serve the purpose of the writer, giving a slant to what is said" (Calsamiglia and Ferrero 2003: 149). Thus, journalists use reported speech from politicians as source material, but actively create new speech acts that are introduced and presented in new contexts (cf. Tannen 1989: 108).

Other people's words, and the way they are re-presented, play an important role in both verbal and written discourse (Bakhtin 1981). Research on reported speech or quotations and their general characteristics in news discourse has been conducted by discourse and media scholars over the past decades (see, for instance, Bell 1991, Scollon 1998, van Dijk 1988, Caldas-Coulthard 1993, Fairclough 1992, 1995). For example, quotations have been studied as ways to uphold journalistic objectivity and authority (Tuchman 1978, Zelizer 1989), as ways to reproduce social hierarchy in society (Teo 2000), or as ways to bridge the gap between verbal and written modes of communication in news discourse (Zelizer 1995). Although it is relevant in this study to differ between 'quoting' as a specific practice by which someone, either explicitly or implicitly, represents someone else's words and other kinds of non-quoting news texts, it is at the same time assumed that *all* discourses and utterances are dialogical in nature, meaning that all words and utterances are ascribed meanings that are based upon previous speakers' uses of those same words (Bakhtin 1986, also Linell 1998).

Interest in reported speech goes back to Voloshinov's (1973) analyses in the early 1900s. The term 'reported speech' is challenged by Tannen (1989)

who speaks instead of ‘constructed dialogue’. Going back to the theories of both Voloshinov and Bakhtin, she claims that it is quite impossible to quote someone and have words and meanings remain the same, for as the context of the reported words change, so does their meaning as the interpretation of words and utterances is always context-dependent. “Constructed dialogue”, Tannen says, is “primarily the creation of the speaker rather than the party quoted” (Tannen 1989: 99), and it is often difficult to distinguish the differences between indirect and direct quotation (also Zelizer 1995).

PQs are, just as headlines and photographs, prominent and important discursive markers when it comes to making sense of a news story. They help to provide a certain *frame* (Goffman 1974) to a story, or in other words, they help to support a certain *perspective* which helps along a kind of “preferred reading” (Hall 1999 [1980]), of a text. Linell (2002) argues that perspectives are prevalent features of discourse, yet are implicit and “halfway out of the text itself”, meaning that for instance both background expectations and assumptions of the reader, and properties of the text itself, are important contextual cues for a certain perspective to be invoked. Although dynamic in that they can change throughout a certain interaction, perspectives are also relatively stable:

...perspectives are usually kept relatively constant over single discourses/texts (or major sections thereof); ‘perspective’ is, like ‘topic’, a global concept. Yet single words, sentences, short passages may be taken to indicate special perspectives that deviate from the rest of the text, but they then tend to stand out (intertextually, interdiscursively) “borrowed”, said in different “voices”. (Linell 2002: 45-46)

As PQs are short sentences or passages that stand out and are said in different ‘voices’, they can and will here be seen as indexes of a perspective in the discourse. Although they may seem to be explicit (i.e., visually highlighted) elements of a news text, “the interpretation of explicit features is dependent on implicitness” (Linell 2002: 48). In addition, the PQ is used as an element in the layout that is there to catch the reader’s attention and form a “reading path” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998: 205) for the reader, much in the same way that a photograph can be used.

The gender perspective

Caldas-Coulthard (1993: 196) states, “if, in the media, women are less heard than men, and their contributions less reported, newspapers continue to encode bias and legitimate assumptions about linguistic behavior and social asymmetries.” The gender perspective in my analysis implies that I subscribe to the belief that what is perceived of as specifically ‘masculine’ or ‘femi-

nine' in society is socially constructed (cf. Christie 2000), and furthermore, that the media comprise an important instrument of cultural reproduction in which power structures and values of the world are reflected (Caldas-Coulthard 1995). Thus, if one believes that society is organized in such a way that men are assumed to be the norm, it is hardly surprising that this structural premise also will come to reflect the ways in which journalists conduct their work. Caldas-Coulthard (1995: 226) claims that "newspapers in general, both quality and the tabloids, are basically oriented to a male audience and exclude women from the speaking position." Given that my empirical data is taken from the newspages of four newspapers in the two weeks before the previous general election in Sweden in which three women and four men were the current leaders of their respective parties, I have found it relevant to focus especially on one aspect of their representation in the media, i.e. that of how men's and women's quotes are extracted and made newsworthy. Having a relatively equal number of elite politicians of each gender to choose from, who will be quoted and how?

Form of PQs

The PQs chosen are taken from the most prominent news texts that deal with the election that specific day, and are all directly or indirectly linked to a politician, and as these PQs tend to come in the form of "direct quotation" (Tannen 1989: 98), the majority are either highlighted by discursive markers such as quotation marks or (cartoon-like) balloons, or by explicit references to the someone's utterance:

Example 1: The Christian Democratic leader last night: "If you go into politics, you should strive to become Prime Minister".

Some PQs do not have explicit markers such as quotation marks, but are featured in a blown-up typeface and in them have a clear reference to the person speaking ("I" or "we") next to a photograph of the quoted party to make the representation of the utterance as a quote unequivocal. In all, 106 PQs were found and were divided among the newspapers as follows:

Table 1.

Newspaper	Sept 1-8	Sept 9-15	Total No of PQs
Dagens Nyheter	12	11	23
Svenska Dagbladet	11	6	17
Expressen	24	10	34
Aftonbladet	4	28	32
Total	51	55	106

As one can see from Table 1, the quality papers are less likely to use PQs in their prominent political news texts in comparison to the tabloids. While *Dagens Nyheter* tends to use PQs with an equal frequency over the two-week period, the number of PQs drops in *Svenska Dagbladet* during the second week. For the tabloids, the PQs in *Expressen* drop to less than half in the second week, while *Aftonbladet* greatly increases its number of PQs from the first to the second week. As shown earlier, 106 PQs are included in the analysis. I also concluded that the tabloids seem more prone to use PQs than do quality papers, at least in these political news texts. The next table shows where politicians' utterances are likely to be represented as PQs. The categories described are main headline, sub-headline (immediately below main headline), introduction (usually in bolder and larger typeface than the rest of the text), body headline (smaller headline introducing a paragraph in the body of text), column (including both headline for column paragraph and a single quote displayed in enlarged typeface in the column), caption, pseudo-balloon (an utterance encircled by a cartoonish-looking balloon but without immediate connection to a person), and balloon (an utterance encircled by a cartoon-like balloon with direct reference to a person's statement, i.e. the tip pointing to the person's mouth).

Table 2. Placement of PQs

Place of display	Men's PQs	Women's PQs	Total No of PQs
Main headline	3	1	4
Sub-headline	7	2	9
Introduction	3	1	4
Body headline	12	5	17
Body quote	10	2	12
Column	14	7	21
Caption	7	1	8
Pseudo-balloon	18	4	22
Balloon	6	3	9
Total	80 (75.5%)	26 (24.5%)	106 (100%)

Table 2 shows a clear gender difference in the amount of PQs being attributed to male and female politicians, respectively. Out of 106 PQs in total, 80 PQs are attributed to male politicians, while only 26 are attributed to female politicians. Thus, men are three times as likely to have an utterance displayed in a PQ than are women. Possibly, there is also a higher likelihood for a male politician to be quoted in visually attractive places. The table shows that in the analyzed news texts male politicians are most likely to have PQs displayed in pseudo-balloons, in a column (often in an enlarged bolder typeface that is singled out from the rest of the column and catches the eye), as a body headline or a body quote. Similarly, women tend to be

pull quoted in columns, body headlines and pseudo-balloons, but as the total number of female politicians' PQs is significantly so much smaller, it is harder to speak of a clear pattern concerning their display. The general tendency here, though, is that female politicians are pull quoted considerably less than the men are, and this in itself shows that what female politicians say is less interesting to use when displaying visually highlighted political utterances in the newspaper media.

Length of PQs

The average word count in men's PQs is approx. 9 words per PQ, ranging from a few to 26 words. Women's PQs do not differ much in length from the men's, but they tend to be quoted at length in the first week (on average 14 words per PQ) while in the second week the women's PQs tend to be shorter with an average of 7 words. The majority of all the PQs attributed to male politicians, almost 80%, form complete grammatical sentences:

Example 2: **The Prime Minister on the election: I think we have done a good job.**

The remaining percentage consists of shorter paragraphs or single words. About 60% of women's PQs form complete grammatical sentences:

Example 3: **"If the door to the Right is open for too long, there will be a draught, and the politics of the Social Democratic Party have caught colds before with those kinds of alliances".** (Quote attributed to Left Leader Gudrun Schyman)

The other 40% form incomplete short utterances ("*Very unlucky*") or consist of single words inserted into a constructed sentence:

Example 4: **Marit Paulsen got Lars Leijonborg "out of the woodwork".**

I think it can be argued that the grammatically complete PQs are easier both to interpret and attribute to a certain person, i.e. they are identifiable in a way that incomplete statements are not. The grammatically incomplete PQs are harder to attribute to someone, especially if they are placed in small subheadings within a larger body of text in which the reader has to read everything to be sure to whom the quote should be attributed. When female politicians are 'cut short' and placed more peripherally in relation to the main focus, it may be said that they appear more anonymous than their male counterparts. However, this tendency must be judged as weak, as the total number of women's PQs is relatively low.

The content of PQs

By turning the attention to what the quotes are actually about (in a broad sense), one can perhaps better understand what kind of political statements are deemed important in the journalistic discourse. Thus, I have divided the different PQs into various categories that supposedly say something about the *kind of* statement that is favored as an extracted quote. I have also tried to determine whether the quote, in its context, appears to be *a criticism* of a person, party, group or the quoted person him- or herself, or if it appears to be *in support* of a person, party, group or the quoted person. In cases in which neither sufficiently critical nor supportive elements have been found, the quotes have been labeled 'Non-determinable'.

Table 3. PQ content for male and female politicians

Category	Critical	Supportive	Non-determ.	Total
Person-related PQs				
Quote abt other politician	13	4	4	21
Quote abt oneself	5	8	6	19
Issue-related PQs				
Quote abt own politics	1	13	1	15
Quote abt others' party or politics	10	1	0	11
General	5	6	4	15
Attitude-related PQs				
Quote abt attitudes towards person or group	8	0	0	8
Unspecified PQs	9	5	3	17
				106

One of the most popular PQs used is when a politician is shown making a critical remark about another politician:

Example 5: **"The Liberals' Leijonborg is boring"** (quote attributed to the Prime Minister).

Example 6: **The Liberal Leader Lars Leijonborg demanded an apology from Göran Persson "because you called me xenophobic."**

Example 7: **"I trust people. Göran Persson doesn't. He wants to decide everything by himself. That's why I don't want to join the government with him", says Maud Olofsson.**

In all, 13 PQs have this kind of content. Equally popular is the PQ in which a politician is represented as making a statement in support of his or her own politics:

Example 8: **The Christian Democratic Leader: We have no problems, but others find problems with us. It is amusing, because it is a sign of them being scared.**

10 PQs deal with politicians 'attacking' or criticizing another party's politics:

Example 9: **Maud Olofsson attacks the Socials: The Social Democrats have become intoxicated with power. They don't know what reality looks like.**

Supportive PQs concerning oneself are not unusual:

Example 10: **"I think I did well"**. (Quote attributed to the Green Party's Peter Eriksson)

Example 11: **I think I got my message through**. (Quote attributed to the Moderate Conservative Leader).

The eight attitude-related PQs all appeared in the second week when the Swedish TV program *Mission: Inspection* (Sw. *Uppdrag granskning*) aired an episode in which a group of politicians, in a conversation caught on hidden camera with an apparently xenophobic potential voter, uttered hostile statements expressing their attitudes towards immigrants and refugees. Shortly after the program, several local politicians of the Moderate Conservative Party had to leave their positions, and in the general election the party lost massive numbers of votes and experienced their worst election in ages. Here is one example of a PQ that was taken from its TV context and quoted in the paper:

Example 12: **Torsten Karlsson (The Center Party): "As soon as they come to Sweden they look up their rights. They do not want to work, it seems as if they come here to exploit the standards of living we have social-wise."**

In sum, 40 person-related PQs appear in the data, in which critical comments by another politician dominate. The next largest sub-group in this category is supportive comments about oneself. Almost identical in size is the issue-related PQ with 41 in all. Here, supportive comments about one's own politics, as well as critical comments about another party's politics, are in majority.

Content of male politicians' PQs

When examining the PQs attributed to male politicians only, the same pattern is evident as for the total amount of PQs. This is hardly surprising, as 75% of the total number of quotes are in fact attributed to men:

Table 4. Male politicians' PQs

Category	Critical	Supportive	Non-determ.	Total
Person-related PQs				
Quote abt other politician	9	3	4	16
Quote abt oneself	4	8	5	17
Issue-related PQs				
Quote abt own politics	1	11	1	13
Quote abt others' party or politics	6	1	0	7
General	4	6	2	12
Attitude-related PQs				
Quote abt attitudes towards person or group	6	0	0	6
Unspecified PQs				
	3	4	2	9
Total	32	33	13	80 (75.5%)

The categories 'person-related PQs' and 'issue-related PQs' are virtually equal in size (33 to 32). In the former group, critical quotes about another politician and supportive quotes about oneself are in majority. In the latter group, supportive quotes about one's own politics dominate (11). Most of the attitude-related PQs, 6 of a total of 8, are to be found among the PQs attributed to male politicians. Only one attitude-related PQ is not of the xenophobic kind, and this is a positive comment made by The Christian Democratic leader in which he equates the value of "the little old lady" with "the successful surgeon". Self-critical quotes are not a very large group, but they do exist:

Example 13: **Everything I said could have been said more intelligently and more eloquently.** (Quote attributed to the Prime Minister).

Nine PQs were put into the unspecified category. These were PQs that were hard to place in a relevant category because of their abbreviated character (for instance "*Wrongly parked*"). However, these will be discussed later in the chapter when the functions of the PQs are addressed.

It is interesting to note that for the male politicians, the number of issue-related PQs in the first week (Sept 1-8), are as many as 29. However, in the

week just prior to the election there are only three issue-related PQs attributed to male politicians. Thus, the closer one comes to the actual election, the men are mainly represented as making statements about themselves or other politicians, and not about their politics. As we will see in the next section of this chapter, the opposite applies to female politicians.

Content of female politicians' PQs

When studying the numbers of the female politicians' PQs, one must again bear in mind that they comprise only one-third of the number of those attributed to men, i.e. 26 in all. Nonetheless, some interesting differences can be noted.

Table 5. Female politicians' PQs

Category	Critical	Supportive	Non-determ.	Total
Person-related PQs				
Quote abt other politician	4	1	0	5
Quote abt oneself	1	0	1	2
Issue-related PQs				
Quote abt own politics	0	2	0	2
Quote abt others' party or politics	4	0	0	4
General	1	0	2	3
Attitude-related PQs				
Quote abt attitudes towards person or group	2	0	0	2
Unspecified PQs				
	6	1	1	8
Total	18	4	4	26 (24.5%)

Also with female politicians, critical quotes about another politician or another political party are favored:

Example 14: **Olofsson sees “fear” in the Social Democrats. (Quote partly attributed to the Center Leader).**

There are also six unspecified but critical quotes. As mentioned earlier, these quotes are too short to label in a relevant way (for instance “*Very unlucky*” in a subheading attributed to one of the Green Party Leaders). There are two non-determinable PQs and as many supportive ones, of which two quotes are in favor of one's own politics:

Example 15: **“The issues we fight for engage most people.”** (Quote attributed to the female Green Party Leader).

Example 16: **“We stand for two explicit options.”** (Quote attributed to the Left Wing Leader).

Perhaps the most striking result is that all of the person-related PQs appear in the first week (Sept 1-8), whereas in the following week (Sept 9-15) the issue-related PQs dominate:

Example 17: **Maria Wetterstrand (The Green Party) on environmental pollution: Is it smart to place all your bets on the highest possible economical growth?**

This is the opposite of what could be observed for the male politicians who, the closer they get to the election, are quoted more and more on personal rather than issue-related questions.

As with the male politicians, there is also a third main category of PQs, namely that of attitude-related ones. As before, the two quotes here are recontextualized from the TV program mentioned before, and express apparent xenophobic statements attributed to local female politicians:

Example 18: **Eva Röder (The Liberal Party): “They use the system and steal and things like that.”**

Comparative PQ content analysis

In a comparison of the results of the content analysis of PQs for male politicians on the one hand and female politicians on the other, some differences are discernible.

For women, the person-related quotes exist only in the first half of the studied period. These PQs are mainly criticism directed at other male politicians:

Example 19: **Maud: Resign, Persson** (Quote attributed to the Center Party Leader directed at the Prime Minister).

In comparison, issue-related PQs dominate the first week among the male politicians, while the person-related PQs are in the majority the second week just before the election. The men are positioned as opponents who shoot poisonous arrows back and forth from two opposing political camps. Moreover, when making a positive statement it is often (in eight instances) one in which they pat themselves on the back and compliment themselves on a job well done.

In the second week, the women are represented as making both critical and supportive remarks on issues or political parties rather than on individual politicians. Instead of praising themselves, in two cases the women are attributed supportive statements in relation to their own politics. This result clashes with American studies of news coverage of women who are top political figures and who receive less issue-related coverage than do men (cf. Kahn 1996). Here, it seems the closer one gets to the election, favored women's PQs deal with politics and issue questions, while the men's quotes preferred just before the election are those in which they 'fight' and 'bark' at each other. A tentative idea as to why this is the case may be that women are traditionally the ones described as emotional and person-oriented, while men are the rationalists who discuss important matters objectively and make wise decisions. If a PQ represents the opposite gender pattern, perhaps it is found to be all the more suitable as a dramatic element in a body of text.

Another possible explanation is based on the results of a study on the news coverage of the American Republican presidential candidate Elisabeth Dole's campaign in 1999 by Heldman, Carroll and Olson (2000). Having compared male candidates with Dole and the way they were represented in the press, the authors conclude that men are more likely to be favored as winners of "a horse race" like an election, while women are positioned as having "unlikely prospects of victory" (p.12). With this conclusion in mind, one can interpret the men barking in person-related PQs close to the election as signs of them being framed as the most interesting ones in the sense that they are assumed to be the ones most likely to win the election. The women, on the contrary, are already left out of the race, so to speak, removed from center stage (and page), making issue-related remarks that no one cares about much anyway, especially if the forum is a tabloid from which people primarily seek entertainment rather than 'serious' political information.

Critically oriented PQs are more likely to be favored for both women and men, a result that is hardly surprising given the way news is constructed; a horror story is always judged more newsworthy than a happy one. Attitude-related PQs exist in both groups although the dominance of men quoted making xenophobic remarks mirrors the majority of men who were interviewed in the TV program *Mission: Inspection*. The unspecified PQs amount to about 11% in the male politicians' group, but as many as about 31% among the women. This is most likely linked to the fact that women's PQs tend, especially in the second week, to be shorter and often consist of just one or a few words that do not necessarily make much sense unless you read a whole body of text.

The function of PQs

It is easy to perceive of extracted quotes in headlines and captions as simply being there to make it easier on the eye to take in the rest of the page with its multimodal layout in print, photographs and graphics. Being as they often are, framed within quotation marks, they help close the distance between reader and politician, giving readers a sense of ‘being there’, as we ‘hear’ something being said that is either funny, controversial or heartbreaking. As impatient news consumers, our eyes roam the pages for interesting things to devour before we turn the page. But as shown so far, quotes are chosen to evoke a certain perspective on politics that is far from neutral. I will now concentrate on analyzing one particular discursive technique that is used in presenting a political quote, namely the practice of framing a quote within a balloon. What is the function of balloons in political news?

Ballooning as a discursive technique

The practice of drawing balloons around politicians’ utterances and ‘hand-printing’ inside the balloon what they have allegedly said is a rather frequent technique to frame a quote, even if, in this study, the ballooning technique is exclusive to the tabloids. Twenty-four times (30% of total), male politicians’ utterances are displayed in balloons, while for female politicians the number is seven (27% of total). However, balloon quoting on first pages and in large pictures where the utterances are truly highlighted is used only for male politicians.

Nine balloons are ‘real’ balloons, meaning that they look like, and contain, statements that look as if they are being said by the person, man or woman, linked to the balloon. Twenty-two are balloon-like in that they have words or utterances encircled against a white background beside the head of, or at least on the same photo as, the politician. The only thing missing is the small tip linking the balloon to the mouth of the person supposedly uttering the words. (To avoid mixing these types of balloons with the regular variant, I have referred to these kinds of quotes as pseudo-balloons.)

The pseudo-balloons in *Expressen* all appear in the Sept 1-8 period in two different articles that comment on the Prime Minister’s and one of the Green Party representatives’ achievements in the election race so far. There is a mix of issue-related and person-related PQs:

Example 20: **“Yes, I’m a feminist”**

Example 21: **“On January 1, 2006, we will have joined the EMU”**. (Both example 20 and 21 are attributed to the Prime Minister).

Example 22: **“We have a turtle”**.

Example 23: **"We want to decrease the Defense budget"** (Both example 22 and 23 are attributed to Green Party Leader Peter Eriksson)

When studying what the pseudo-balloons in the other tabloid *Aftonbladet* say, the fact that they are not actual balloons but only nearly so makes sense: *"hardcore player"*, *"drunk on the train"*, *"wrongly parked"*, *"on sick leave falsely"*, *"is getting divorced"*, *"secretly paid"* are a few examples from the pseudo-balloons. But still, in the way that they are displayed in close relation to the politicians with the statements usually within quotation marks, and even without the tip of the balloon, it looks like what is uttered is either secret thoughts or statements being made 'behind the curtains' by the politicians, or by someone closely related to them who knows 'the real truth'. Funny enough, when going through the article as a whole, the focus is on 'dirty tricks' in the last week before the election, with journalists writing about rumors and accusations that are not necessarily true at all but are used to implicate a certain politician to make him or her look flawed and guilty, and it is these reportedly false statements that are shown in the pseudo-balloons. The pseudo-balloon technique, then, especially as used in *Aftonbladet*, makes the distinction between what is a false accusation and a (previously) hidden truthful fact, and what is a quoted statement and what is not, very fuzzy.

The utterances as they are visually highlighted in the balloons catch the eye easily, and may be interpreted as being of more importance than other PQs. The nine utterances of the 'real' balloons are used for basically two explicit purposes: on the one hand, to contrast two conflicting ideas, views or interests:

Example 24: **We will reduce taxes by 130 billion** (balloon quote attributed to the Moderate Party Leader)

I will never join such a government (opposing balloon quote attributed to Leader of the Center Party)

and on the other hand, to 'give the last word' to the party leaders before the final countdown. These 'last words', however, seem to be chosen because they characterize the politician as being naïve:

Example 25: **The little old lady has as great a value as the prominent surgeon** (quote attributed to the Christian Democratic Leader)

The utterance may also appear rather ridiculous in its context:

Example 26: **Why should I accept the Moderate Conservative Party's promises when I do not even keep my own?** (Quote attributed to the Liberal Leader).

or just plain stupid:

Example 27: **Can you break a 100-bill into three 50-bills?** (Quote attributed to the Left Leader).

On a more implicit level, the technique of balloon quoting intertextually links the politicians to a cartoon discourse, where we normally find ballooned utterances; the politicians are thus removed from the real world and placed in a fictional one. Politics is defined as a practice removed from reality, populated by fictional characters with no sense of what it is like to be 'a regular person'. Furthermore, the balloons, as they are printed onto photographs that display real people in real contexts, make the people connected to the ballooned utterances look all the more animated and silly. The balloon becomes *the focal event* (Goodwin and Duranti 1992: 3) in the sense that the utterance and its cartoon-like framing become central and what frames it (the photograph as such, headlines etc.) simply form the background or context to the utterance. Adding to this, as the utterances within the balloons portray the speaker as conflict-oriented, naïve, stupid and generally silly, the ballooning technique works as an effective strategy to rob politicians of their professionalism and expertise. The preferred perspective implicit in the balloons is thus negative towards the quoted politicians.

It is also relevant to mention that ballooning is also used for framing a variety of famous people's predictions for the result of the upcoming election in *Aftonbladet* the day of the election, and is not only a technique used for politicians; for these people the balloons simply seem to have an esthetic function. The utterances are much longer than those of the politicians, often several sentences, and content-wise are replies to a direct question posed by the paper, namely "Who will win the election?"

Example 28: **Göran Persson. Given what the Moderate Conservative Party's representatives say in the news, I don't think they will do well. Among other things, I think their politics on immigrant issues is giving them minus points.** (Balloon quote attributed to the artist Mendez).

As they are replies to a relevant and well-defined question, these ballooned quotes are not demeaning to the person being attributed them, but appear focused and matter-of-fact. At the same time as an opinion is stated, the person quoted is also given the possibility to contextualize the statement, as Mendez does above, as he gives two reasons why he feels that the Moderates will not gain power over the existing Prime Minister Göran Persson and the Social Democratic Party.

Conclusion

From a gender perspective, it seems clear that female politicians have a much weaker 'voice' when it comes to the practice of pull quoting in political news before an election; they are quoted one-third as often as men and tend to be represented as making shorter statements which are represented in less attractive news spots. Women are generally not framed as contenders or opposing parties in the same way men are, and can thus be understood as not having anything to do with the real business of winning an election. On a more positive note, they are less likely to be represented as arguing children who hurl insults at each other but make comments on political issues rather than on other politicians' personal capabilities. However, as visibility is important immediately before an election, it may be that it is better to be represented and quoted, however badly, than to not be quoted at all.

From an idealistic and normative point of view, perhaps the role of the media before an election would be to inform and enlighten the public on important political issues and concerns, and to critically analyze politicians' standpoints on crucial questions that matter to society as a whole. However, as Liebes (2001: 502) points out, "media practices of horse race reporting, which relates to tactics and the odds of winning, only work to strengthen the cynicism (of the public towards the politicians, author's note), and socialize the public to suspicion."

My analysis shows that not only are political PQs explicit layout devices used when creating a page, they are also bearers of implicit material that confirms society's (and the reader's) previously taken-for-granted knowledge about politics, and for that matter, about men and women in politics. In my empirical data, there are a number of examples of quotes that strengthen the beliefs that politicians make promises they cannot keep, that they blame and criticize each other in a childlike manner, and that they like to compliment themselves rather than others. The quotes taken from *Mission: Inspection* emphasize the fact that politicians are not to be trusted as they officially never say what they really think, and in general seem to have a very low sense of morals, something that is also suggested by the use of the pseudo-balloons with their implicit accusations. The connotations brought about through the use of balloons confirm the views that politicians are distanced from the real world and are not truly knowledgeable about the situations and living conditions of ordinary people. Instead, they are shown arguing and making silly statements like cartoon characters in a strip.

Previous research, most of which was referred to at the beginning of this chapter, has shown that a quote can be seen as a discursive strategy that lends authority and status to the person being quoted, but that also consolidates the authority of the speaker who uses it (Zelizer 1993). In a study of British TV news in the early 1980s, a major finding was that the higher the status of the speaker in the news, the more direct was the representation (Glasgow Media Group 1980). Other researchers have reinforced this

claim. Satoh (2001) has studied how the Japanese Imperial Family is quoted in Japanese newspapers and has found that they are more often than not quoted in direct speech. Similarly, others have found that groups with less status and authority in society, for instance women (Caldas-Coulthard 1993, 1994) and certain ethnic groups (van Dijk 1991, Teo 2000), are less likely to be quoted directly in the media. Another comparison is that when researchers cite other researchers in articles in academic journals, the majority of the quotations are used to *confirm* the theories and assumptions of the author of the article; i.e., one *agrees* with what is being said by someone else rather than disagrees, also strengthening the status of the quoted party (McElhinny, Hols, Holtzkenner, Unger and Hicks 2003).

In one sense, top politicians must be seen as consisting of an elite group in society and are as such often quoted directly, in line with the research mentioned. My analysis also underlines the fact that women are quoted considerably less in the media, even in their role as leaders of national political parties. However, the understanding that direct quotes from elite sources in the news is interpreted as constituting a marker of a speaker's authority (Zelizer 1995: 34) must be challenged when it comes to political news reporting and the practice of pull quoting. My main conclusion from this study is that the role or function of quoting in political news journalism, particularly in the tabloid format, is that of *disempowerment*. The PQs analyzed do not equip or supply the politicians with any abilities; they do not work to strengthen their status, authority or expertise. Instead, favored PQs are those that invoke a reading that is skeptical, ironic and ridiculing. Politicians look like arguing children who never think alike and do not want to, who try to hide their real views and opinions from the media, and who are quick to pat their own back but even quicker to criticize others for their flaws. As readers we are invited to agree with the political cynicism perspective of the journalist, and not with the person quoted. Moreover, the use of pull quoting in political news reproduces and reinforces the claim that politics is still mainly a concern for and by men.

Journalism's willingness to uphold the thought of "a mythology of quoting", mentioned earlier, must indeed continue to be challenged as well. It is often virtually impossible to trace the many recontextualizations of an utterance from an interview situation until its 'final destination' as a PQ in a column or as a balloon in a tabloid. What looks like a direct quote made by a specific politician is represented with little or no contextual information as to from where it was taken and, needless to say, nothing is said about the ways in which it has been changed and redesigned to fit the given format. It seems highly reasonable to claim that PQs mainly fill a rhetorical as well as ideological need for the media to present politicians in a non-flattering light before an election. In doing so they tend to reproduce the idea of journalists as truth-seekers and reality-revealers when it comes to keeping those in power in check.

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Chapter 9

Framing of Politicians' Answers and the Mediazation of Politics

A Historical Comparative Study of the Discourse Practice of Framing in News Stories

Göran Eriksson

When interviews with politicians occur in news stories they are often heavily edited. Such edited interviews seldom consist of more than two or three turns. In most cases they contain only an answer – a short utterance or ‘sound bite’ – from a politician. This means that only small parts of original interviews are reproduced in the news stories, and that the politicians’ answers are to a large extent divorced from the questions to which they originally responded (Ekström 2001). Instead answers, or often only parts of answers, are integrated in a coherent (and often dramatized) narrative in which they are *framed* – and – by a journalistic text presented by the reporter’s (or sometimes the presenter’s) voice. In such frames, the character of the answers to follow is often described. The reporter’s voice could, for example, announce what the politician is feeling, thinking or actually doing when he/she makes the utterance. It is this discourse practice – what I call *the discourse practice of framing in news stories* – that will be investigated in this chapter. The aim is to reveal the *discursive strategies* that news journalism uses when politicians’ answers are edited and incorporated into news stories through the means of a journalistic text. How are the answers recontextualized by the reporter’s voice?

The study discussed here was designed as a historical comparative study. Data from 1978, 1993 and 2003 have been analyzed, and all data are taken from Swedish television. The news programs included in the 1978 data are *Aktuellt* (SVT 1 at 9 pm) and *Rapport* (SVT 2 at 7:30 pm). 1993 and 2003 also include the news program *Nyheterna*, broadcast by TV4.¹ From each year, news programs for a period of 14 days were collected and from the total of 111 programs a further selection was made. It is only the edited news stories that include edited interviews with politicians that have been analyzed, in sum 74 different news stories.

The main reason for a historical comparative design is the discussion about *the mediazation of politics*. These theories outline a more general

development during the past decades in which the media have become the dominating forum for public political communication, which also implies that politicians and political institutions depend on the media (or journalism) to be able to reach the public (Thompson 1995; Asp and Esaiasson 1996). Since politicians have to adjust their statements or speeches to this situation, it is often claimed that journalism – as an institution – dominates politics (cf. Bourdieu 1998). From this perspective, the news story and the discourse practice of framing comprise an important object of study as they give journalism “room to maneuver” (see Clayman and Heritage 2002).

The analysis presented in this chapter points to a radical change in the discourse practice of framing during this period of time. This change could be described as a switch *from* strategies that are more open-ended and tend to set the scene for the politicians to explain or describe their policies, *to* strategies that tend to narrow down these possibilities for the politicians and to fulfill a journalistic perspective of what is going on in politics. The analysis presented in this chapter is well in line with what Hallin (1992) claims. News journalism is becoming more active and independent in relationship to politicians, and treats politicians’ answers as “raw material to be taken apart, combined with other sounds and images, and reintegrated into a new narrative” (ibid 1992:9).

Framing as a discourse practice

Answers used in news stories are often an outcome of an interview (usually following a straight question-answer format) including a reporter and a politician, or could be the result of questions asked at press conferences. In the news story, answers from these forms of interviews are almost always heavily edited. What is left is often only a single answer, or parts of an answer. The original answers are cut and through the means of the reporter’s voice are transformed into a coherent and often dramatized story.

The analysis in this chapter is guided mainly by three partly different theoretical frameworks and traditions: (a) the concept of *frame*, developed by Goffman (1974/1986) but here used in a somewhat different way; (b) theories of *interpersonal functions of text* as it has been used within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of media discourse (Fairclough 1995); (c) theories of *mediatization of politics*, pointing out a more general and overreaching societal development in which the media have become the dominating form for public political communication (Thompson 1995; Asp and Esaiasson 1996). Here I will briefly sketch out how this study is informed by these traditions.

(a) The concept of frame has been widely used in Media and Communication studies. Entman (1993) describes frame as “a scattered conceptualization” and Scheufele (1999) claims that it lacks theoretical precision. It has been used with many different meanings, and in analyses of partly different

aspects of the process of media communication (Carragee and Roefs 2004). In his *Frame Analysis* (1974/1986), Goffman used the concept of *frame* to examine how individuals organize everyday experiences. His starting point was that when individuals are involved in a situation they almost automatically face the question: 'What is it that's going on here?' To be able to deal with different situations and understand what is going on, individuals use certain frames. As Tannen (1993:14) clearly demonstrates, frames are necessary elements for individuals to function in everyday life: "people cannot treat each new person, object, or event as unique and separate". Frames are ways for individuals to identify situations and organize experiences. They work as backgrounds through which it is possible to comprehend what is happening in different situations.

The concept points to a relational dimension of meaning. The core is that the process of creation of meaning is context-bound. A frame is something that makes an action or an utterance meaningful. Here I will use the concept of frame as a means to understand what is going on when journalists transform interview answers and use them in news stories. This could be treated as a practice of quoting. In news stories, both *direct* and *indirect quotations* occur. The latter is often used in journalistic texts that retell what someone has said. The focus in this analysis is on direct quotations. What characterizes these forms of quotations is that they are presented word-for-word. The viewers can actually view and hear with their own eyes and ears what the interviewed person said. When such quotation – even if it is verbatim – is incorporated into a news story it becomes what Tannen (1989: ch. 4) calls "an element of the reporting context". It always implies some form of recontextualization (cf. Linell 1998), which means that the meaning of an answer used in a news story will depend on the new context it is integrated in. The journalistic text that incorporates the answer is of great significance here as it works as a frame that will (to an extent) establish the meaning of the answer. A journalistic text that frames an answer helps viewers make sense of what the politician is saying; it works as a background that makes it possible to understand what is going on when the answer is given.

This study concentrates on sequences in which the question that originally elicited the answer from the politicians is replaced and *preceded* by a journalistic text. The journalistic text in such sequences could be performed by an announcer, an invisible reporter in a voice-over or a reporter who is visible on the screen, and often describes what is going on in the following answer. Framing politicians' answers with a journalistic text is a routine in the journalistic process of production, and the starting point for this analysis is that the discourse practice of framing is characterized by regular and more recurring ways to frame politicians' answers. Journalists use relatively established discursive strategies to incorporate politicians' utterances into news stories. These strategies represent tools necessary for journalists to produce news stories; it is a method by which it is possible to produce news stories that fulfill demands of rhythm and tempo (Altheide and Snow 1991).

(b) An important motive of this study is that journalistic texts that frame politicians' answers make a difference in how the viewers in front of the screen will understand these answers and the actions the politicians are involved in. The frames will also make a difference in how the viewer understands and relates to news journalism.² This dimension of text has been conceptualized as 'the interpersonal function of text' (see Fairclough 1992; 1995; cf. Halliday 1994). Every text has a tendency to function in a certain way – to create or uphold specific relationships between those involved in the communicative event.

The discursive strategies news journalism uses to frame answers set up the politicians in different activities. A frame could, for instance, describe what the politician is doing or saying when he/she is answering the question. In this way the frame gives meaning to the answer; it tells what a 'proper' interpretation of the answer could be. At the same time, news journalism appears in certain roles. It tries (consciously or unconsciously) to establish a certain relationship with the viewer. The analysis aims at identifying the different activities the politicians are involved in, how news journalism appears in the texts, and the possible ways to relate to politics and news journalism the journalistic texts tend to create.

For the purpose of this study (following Fairclough's idea in analysis of media discourse), it is useful to elaborate on the three major categories of participants involved in the news story: reporters, politicians and audiences. Here, reporters include not only the reporter(s) producing the particular news story, but also the presenter in the studio. In this study a politician is a person who appears on the screen as a representative of a political institution as a political party or the government. Audiences, or viewers, are not a category that is directly involved in the production of news stories. They do not appear on the screen, but are in a sense always present as "the overhearing others" (Heritage 1985).

(c) What makes the news story and the discourse practice of framing an important object of study is that it gives journalism "room to maneuver" (see Clayman and Heritage 2002). Changes over time in this practice could be understood as a part of the changing power relations between journalism and politics. As a genre, the news story is characterized by the fact that it is the journalist who has absolute control over what is being said. It is the journalist who chooses the answers (or parts of them) that are most useful for the purpose of the story, and who decides how these parts will be recontextualized. When an on-camera interview is conducted, the person interviewed has no, or heavily restricted, opportunities to affect how the answers will be used. In the news interview that follows a straight question-answer format and is often broadcast live, the politician (the interviewee) has possibilities to disagree or deny statements from the interviewer, or to negotiate (or even attack) the meaning of questions (Clayman and Heritage 2002).

An argument put forward in the discussions on the mediatization of politics is that news journalism is becoming more active and independent in rela-

tion to politicians. Grounded on research on news during American election campaigns from 1968 to 1988, Hallin claims that in the 1960s and 1970s reporters had a passive role: "Frequently he or she did little more than set the scene for the candidate /.../" (Hallin 1992:9). At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, he argues, news stories are no longer dominated by speeches or statements made by the politicians, but are instead becoming more dominated by the voice of journalism and integrated into news stories that include material brought in on the initiative of journalism.

These arguments are supported by research conducted in Scandinavia. In a study comparing how original interviews were discursively conducted with the final story that the viewers could take part in, Nylund (2003:531) claims that "the story that reaches the eyes and ears of the audience is no longer the interviewee's but the reporter's". According to Nylund, "the reporter's preliminary idea of what the news story could or should look like, seem to govern both how the interviews is conducted as well as how it is edited into the final news story". Relying on analyses of the production of news stories, Sand and Helland (1998) go as far as to argue that when news stories are produced journalists do not interview; they mainly collect sound bites that fit into the story.

This study concentrates on this development, but delimits itself to studying the discourse practice of framing in news stories. I am aware that this discourse practice is only one aspect of many in the changing relationship between journalism and politics, but it is still of importance. Through revealing these strategies and through the historical comparison, it is also possible to contribute to knowledge on the conditions of the mediaization of politics.

Politicians' answers and the edited news interview

Even if news stories have been the subject of extensive research within Media and Communication studies, interviews with politicians that occur in this context have only rarely been investigated. One exception is that of Hallin (1992). An important result of this research is that the average length of answers has declined significantly. As described above, Hallin interprets this as a more fundamental change in journalistic practice.

Another exception is the research conducted in Sweden by Ekström (2001), whose analyses focused on how answers from politicians were re-contextualized by journalists in the construction of news stories. An obvious conclusion from the study is that in the late 1990s (when it was conducted) it was a well-established method for news journalism to remove the original question and replace it with a journalistic text presented in the reporter's voice. More than 80% of the interviews with politicians started with answers. In these cases, the original question that initiated the answer was replaced

by the announcer's or reporter's voice. A clear majority (60%) of the interviews consisted of isolated answers and only a small portion consisted of more than two or three turns.

In a more detailed manner, influenced by discourse analysis and CA, Ekström also examined four more general discursive strategies that were used when the original question was removed and replaced with something else:

(1) *The reporter's voice reformulates the question that elicited the answer.* This refers to when the reporter's voice seems to replace a question. An example of this is when the answer from the politician starts with "well yes" or "yes". The answer could then seem to be a response to the reporter's narrative. The answers also appear to be more spontaneous comments, sometimes as though they were made on the initiative of the politician.

(2) *The reporter's voice describes what the politician is feeling/thinking/doing while giving the answer.* This is a method by which the reporter integrates answers into a coherent news story: "It is often a way of transforming the answer into a specific action that fits into the narrative" (Ekström 2001:574). Politicians' answers are often used to illustrate what is being said in the journalistic text.

(3) *Generalization and simplifications.* Such a strategy could be seen as characteristic of news as a genre. This strategy refers to the relationship between the presenter's announcement of news stories and answers occurring in the stories. The news story is often presented as sensational or extraordinary, and answers from politicians are often presented as a part of a dramatized story.

(4) *Answers from different interviews are put together to form an imaginary dialogue.* When answers from two (or more) politicians and from different interviews are placed one after another, they seem to be responses to each other; the politicians seem to be performing a dialogue. Ekström's study is an important point of departure for the analyses in this chapter. The study presented in this chapter could be seen as a continuation of his work, especially (1) and (2) above.

News stories and the practice of framing

The analysis presented in this section is organized as a comparison over time – the earlier data (1978) are compared with the latter (1993/2003). It also compares two more wide-ranging categories of discursive strategies. The analysis points at a radical change in the discourse practice of framing in news stories. What characterizes the discursive strategies in the earlier period (1978) is that they are more open-ended and tend to *set the scene for the politicians*. Frames are often used to set up answers that describe or explain the backgrounds for political ideas, proposals or decisions, or

answers that make explicit the differences between varying opinions. In these frames, news journalism operates as an *interrogator*, or as a *mediator* of political arguments or standpoints. The politicians are in a sense set up to give voice to their political convictions.

What characterizes the discursive strategies in the latter data (1993 and especially 2003) is that news journalism appears as an *interpreter of ongoing political processes* or as a *critical interrogator* who is seeking the truth behind the politicians' answers. It is the journalistic texts that explain or motivate political policies, decisions or proposals. The reporter's voice often describes or explains ongoing political processes, how actions carried out by the politicians should be interpreted, and what consequences such actions would have. Answers are often used to illustrate what has already been stated by the journalistic text, or to illustrate political conflicts. The frames tend to cast suspicion on the politicians. It seems that it would be easy for viewers to doubt what the politicians are saying or doing.

Setting the scene

Discourse Strategy: The politician's answer is preceded by a direct or indirect question

As a more wide-ranging category this discursive strategy implies that a politician's answer is framed by a journalistic text that contains a direct or indirect question.³ Though the reporter's voice formulates a question that the politician is set up to answer, it is a strategy that creates what seems to be a form of interaction. The answer often appears as a possible response to the formulated question. In some cases the original question has probably merely been replaced with a journalistic text. An example of this is when answers from politicians start with "Well, yes", "Yes" or "No" (Ekström 2001).

A more narrow discursive strategy is when the frame includes a "wh" question. Wh questions are interrogatively formed questions that include *what*, *why* or *who*. In an analysis of news interviews, Clayman and Heritage (2002) note that such questions are – not surprisingly – a frequent strategy. Wh questions also occur in journalistic texts that precede politicians' answers in edited news stories, but in this study this strategy (with one interesting exception, see below) occurs in the data from 1978. What characterizes this strategy is that the question seems to be open-ended and that the answer that follows is an explanation of ideas behind political decisions or proposals, an explanation of the difference between political ideas, or points out important political questions in the future. In the following examples (1 and 2), the reporter's voice (RV) formulates direct wh questions, which seem to elicit the answers.

Example 1: Rapport 8 November 1978

IE: Ingemar Mundebo, Minister of the Budget and Economic Affairs, (Liberal Party)

- 1 RV: /.../ If you have a taxable income of forty-five thousand crowns, it's four
 2 hundred and ninety-three crowns ; sixty-five thousand crowns – one
 3 thousand two hundred and fifty; one hundred thousand crowns a year
 4 – two thousand six hundred and eighty-two; and two hundred thousand a
 5 year is three thousand six hundred and two crowns less tax than without
 6 the indexation and today's proposal; then the main focus is on the high-
 7 income earners, you see. But in today's proposal the focus is on incomes
 8 between forty-eight and seventy-five thousand crowns a year, why?
 9 IE: It's mainly because in those income layers the marginal tax rates today are
 10 high and they affect most full-time workers. We could of course have gone
 11 farther up than we did. It doesn't cost too much to reduce marginal tax
 12 rates in the higher layers. But we rather wanted to stop at those income
 13 layers where we find most of the full-time workers anyway.

Example 2: Aktuellt, 11 November 1978

IE: Christer Nilsson, Chairman of the Liberal Party's Youth League

- 1 RV: But at the congress, which ends tomorrow, Ola Ullsten has only been
 2 met with enthusiasm. Having suddenly become a party in the govern-
 3 ment has given the congress a particular weight. When you have
 4 assumed power what the congress decides is much more important than
 5 before. And what message have these congress days sent, then? What
 6 will the Liberal Party's main issue in the electoral campaign be?
 7 IE: I think we should march under three headings in the election, and those
 8 are distribution of power, equality between the sexes and international
 9 solidarity. These are the Liberal Party's most central issues in the election.

Example 1 is from a news story that explains a government proposal for a general tax reduction. After the announcement of the story, the reporter's voice thoroughly describes the consequences for different groups of income. The numbers are also presented graphically on the screen. In the example, the reporter's voice ends an explanation of how this proposal is connected to earlier decisions (lines 1-6) before he asks the direct question "why" (line

8). The minister is then set up to answer the question by explaining the thoughts behind the proposal (lines 9-13).

Example 2 is from a news story reporting from the annual congress of The Liberal Party (*Folkpartiet*). Initially, the reporter's voice describes the difficulties facing the party (which then rather recently had come to power) in the future. One important problem they face, according to the journalistic text, is getting their proposals through Parliament without compromising too much with the other (liberal or conservative) parties. The reporter's voice then moves on to describe that now that Folkpartiet is in power, the annual congress is of real importance (lines 2-5). The text ends (lines 5-6) with two wh questions: "What message have these congress days sent, then?" and "What will the Liberal Party's main issue in the electoral campaign be?". These questions precede four different answers from four party meeting participants, among them Prime Minister Ola Ullsten. In these sequences the politicians describe what they believe are the most important questions in the following election campaign.

The questions asked in these frames are presented as they come from the journalists themselves. Questions are not attributed to a third party. Instead, the journalist operates as an *interrogator* who asks open-ended questions. The use of the wh question in these frames is a way for news journalism to bring political arguments out in public; it is a way to search for reasons behind political proposals or decisions. For news journalism, it is a means to perform what is often seen as a core democratic function.

Another discursive strategy that involves questions is when the reporter's voice formulates *yes/no questions*. Such questions are often indirect and constructed around the conjunction *if*. In a sense, such questions call for clear information from the politician who is set up to answer. If the politician does not deliver the requested information it could easily seem like he/she is avoiding answering the question. This strategy is used most frequently in 1978. What is striking about the use of this strategy in 1978 is that when it is used, it is used to set up answers that explain or describe ongoing political processes.

Example 3: *Rapport, 9 November 1978*

IE: Ola Ullsten (Liberal Party), Prime Minister

- 1 RV: At a press conference today, Prime Minister Ullsten was asked if the
- 2 government is now prepared to give the green light to an eleventh
- 3 nuclear reactor, that is, Forsmark 3.
- 4 IE: This is an issue we're working on. It calls for negotiations with both the
- 5 Forsmark company and the Oskarshamn group. For there is also a
- 6 twelfth unit to be considered which has been granted a concession, but
- 7 it's a private company that is in charge.

8 /.../

9 RV: Mr. Ullsten was also asked if and when the government is going to make
10 up their minds about the disputed representative legislation, whereby the
11 non-Socialist parties had a proposal prepared that was sharply criticized
12 by the trade unions.

13 IE: Since the issue is a controversial one, all the parties have had objections
14 to it, so we think it's reasonable to give the new government a chance to
15 study this matter, and that meant we decided to give it up in order to put
16 it forward when there's time to have it discussed in the autumn session
17 of Parliament, and therefore we haven't been in such a hurry.

Example 3 is from a report from the congress of the Liberal Party. The original interview was conducted during a press conference. This example contains indirectly formulated yes/no questions. On lines 1-3 the reporter's voice asks such a question by reporting what was said at the press conference. The question is "if the government is now prepared to give the green light on an eleventh nuclear reactor". The answer that is set up does not involve a yes or a no. Instead, the answer seems to be evasive, but Prime Minister Ullsten explains that the government is working on this issue, and continues to describe the processes involved in it. The next question (lines 9-12) is constructed in a similar way, but also includes the question "when". When the reporter's voice states that "Mr. Ullsten was also asked/.../" it refers to what took place during the press conference. The reporter then asks "if and when the government is going to make up their minds about the disputed representative legislation /.../". In the answer, Ullsten seems to avoid delivering the demanded information. He confirms that it is a controversial question, as though all involved parties have made objections. He also states that the new government has decided that there is no need to make any decision in the near future. Ullsten is set up to explain how this issue will be treated in the near future.

Another interesting aspect of these frames is that the reporter distances himself from the questions by attributing them to a third, unidentified party. It seems as if it was not the reporter who produced the story asking the questions. The reporter's voice is just 'animating' what was said at the press conference. At the same time, through the mention of the press conference it is obvious that these questions were asked by journalists. This reference also creates a transparency around these questions. It is possible for viewers to understand what the answers are responses to.

Discursive strategy: The reporter's voice describes what the politician is feeling/thinking/doing, etc.

As a more wide-ranging category, this strategy implies that the preceding journalistic text portrays the character of the following answer. The answer

framed by the reporter's voice, which describes what kind of action the politician is involved in when he/she is giving the answer.

A discursive strategy occurring only in the data from 1978 is when the journalistic text frames the answer as if the politician were explaining/motivating/describing political proposals/decisions/ideas. This is a strategy that sets the scene for the politician to speak. The politician who appears on the screen is allowed to present, motivate or explain his/her policies or describe possible consequences of his/her ideas or proposals. It is a strategy that fills a similar function as the *wh* question does, as this strategy leaves the floor to the politician. As is the case with the *wh* question, this strategy occurs only in the data from 1978. Example 4 is a clear-cut example of this strategy, with the journalistic text ending with an 'invitation' or 'encouragement' to the minister to justify a governmental proposal.

Example 4: *Rapport, 8 November 1978*

IE: Ingemar Mundebo, Minister of Budget and Economic Affairs, (Liberal Party)

- 1 RV: /.../ The government also wants to give extra money to employment
- 2 training: courses one billion, and to measures for generating employment
- 3 two billion. Industry investments will be encouraged by prolonging the
- 4 release of the investment funds, plus investment deductions and subsidies.
- 5 A new investment deduction for buildings will be introduced, and the
- 6 government motivates its standpoint as follows.
- 7 IE: Yes we think these contributions will further improve the prospects of a
- 8 favorable development in 1979 /.../

The reporter's voice ends a summary of the different proposals involved in a governmental package (lines 1-5). It ends this description by stating "and the government motivates its standpoint as follows" (lines 5-6). What the politician is doing is described in advance. The government, here represented by Minister of Budget and Economic Affairs Ingemar Mundebo, is said to "motivates its standpoint" in the ensuing answer. What follows is a rather short explanation of what the government thinks will be the consequences of its proposals. However, important here, it is the politician describing the consequences.

The discursive strategies used in 1978 not only set the scene for the politicians to speak. A discursive strategy that appears at this period in time is the reporter's voice describing the answer as a political disagreement. It is a method by which news journalism integrates answers into a narrative that underlines disagreements within the political field. This occurs throughout the investigated data. The following example is from 1978 and comes from a

news story describing a counterproposal from the Social Democrats concerning tax reduction. It contains careful description of the differences between the views held by the non-Socialist parties and the Social Democrats.

Example 5: *Rapport, 16 November 1978*

IE: Olof Palme, Party Leader (Social Democratic Party),

- 1 RV: The Social Democrats today proposed twice as large an increase of child
- 2 allowance and a reduction of local taxes by 10%. This is the party's
- 3 counterproposal to the government's proposal for tax reductions and other
- 4 things to advance Swedish finances. To be able to pay for this, the Social
- 5 Democrats want to remove the indexation of taxes. It has already
- 6 failed, the party maintains. Today, Mr. Olof Palme opposed the non-
- 7 Socialists who claim the indexation has eliminated inflation's effects on
- 8 taxes.
- 9 IE: This is wrong because it turns out that we have instead given real tax
- 10 reductions to high-income earners in particular, disguised as protection
- 11 against inflation. And there is of course no reason to maintain a system
- 12 that has proven not to function in practice. But instead now it's time to
- 13 try to distribute the money we have for tax reduction in a reasonable and
- 14 fair way, among other things, with regard to the effects of inflation.

Initially in Example 5, the reporter's voice retells the main ideas in the proposal from the Social Democrats (lines 1-6). It continues by stating that "Mr. Olof Palme today opposed the non-Socialists who claim that the indexation has eliminated inflation's effects on the taxes". In the ensuing answer the politician is set up to describe what the Social Democrats think is wrong with the indexation, and to suggest how they think the money should be distributed within society.

When the reporter's voice frames answers in this way ("opposed" or "criticized") the answer is integrated into a conflict; what is said becomes an element in a disagreement. The politicians involved in the story appear as opponents. Their different views on the subject matter are clearly demonstrated. What characterizes the frames from 1978 is that the politicians are set up in a news story that implies a polarization of political standpoints. The answers that are set up often involve a background or some kind of explanation of why the politicians take the stand they do. News journalism appears as a mediator of political opinions; it makes obvious the different standpoints taken by the parties.

Interpreting ongoing political processes

Discourse Strategy: The politician's answer is preceded by a direct or indirect question

With a few exceptions, this strategy does not appear in the data from 1993/2003, which indicates a more radical change in the discourse practice of framing in news stories. What is obvious in the later time periods is that news journalism is no longer setting the scene for the politicians. The more narrow strategy involving a wh question can be used as an example of this change. With one interesting exception, it is not used by news journalism in the 90s and 00s. This exception (Example 6) is from a news story reporting from a congress held by the Social Democrats.

Example 6: *Nyheterna*, 8 November 1993

IE: Göran Persson, Financial Spokesman (Social Democratic Party)

- 1 RV: Congress in Gothenburg. Again, the Social Democratic delegates vote for
- 2 30-hour working week. Allan Larsson, today a crusader against unemploy-
- 3 ment on behalf of Europe-Socialists, demands a 35-hour working week.
- 4 But in today's financial proposal the Party is still on the same old spot
- 5 with forty hours. So what do the Social Democrats actually want?
- 6 IE: In that case I'll sit down on the thirty-five-hour chair, that's a reasonable
- 7 I: Please do.
- 8 IE: Well thank you it's a reasonable working week in the long run in Sweden.
- 9 I don't believe in the thirty-hour chair in the foreseeable future.
- 10 I: But that is the congress chair, you know.
- 11 IE: Yes: the congress said we shall take a look at it and analyze
- 12 I: If we look at the situation today, then it's in fact the forty-hour chair; must
- 13 place you on that instead then, I think.
- 14 IE: I guess we'll have to sit between the chairs.
- 15 I: Go ahead.
- 16 IE: No (laughter) I've never done that, don't think I will now either.
- 17 RV: Mr. Persson's criticism of the government's savings policy is rather harsh /.../

The reporter's voice describes the different opinions within the party, concerning the number of working hours (lines 1-5). Three possible positions are pointed out: a 30, 35 or 40-hour working week. The reporter ends the text by asking the question: "so what do the Social Democrats actually want" (line 5). On the screen, Göran Persson, Financial Spokesman for the party, stands in front of three chairs. The chairs are marked with the numbers 30, 35 and 40. The politician is set up in a situation in which he is to choose

one of the chairs and take a stand on the issue. This is underlined by the reporter's voice accentuating "actually" in the journalistic text. The reporter is then present in the situation and in different ways encourages the politician to choose one of the chairs.

The reporter – even if the question is used as a discursive strategy – does not leave the scene to the politician. Instead, the possibilities for the politician to answer are delimited by the restricted answer alternatives. The reporter appears as a critical interrogator trying to determine what the politicians "actually" want, and is trying to make the politician deliver straightforward answers. In this role the reporter is operating as a representative of the viewers. He is operating on behalf of the viewers, trying to find out the truth about politics.

Discursive strategy: The reporter's voice describes what the politician is feeling/thinking/doing

This more wide-ranging category has undergone an obvious change from 1978 to today. During the 90s and 00s, news journalism has become increasingly more an *interpreter* of political processes. In journalistic texts the reporter's voice describes in advance what the politicians are actually doing when they are giving their answers. Instead of setting up the politician to explain or motivate his/her policies, decisions or proposals, the reporter's voice tends to explain/describe the ongoing processes, and how the actions carried out by the politician should be interpreted. It is more or less a rule that it is the journalistic text that describes what consequences political actions will have. Often, the answer used in the story functions more or less as a confirmation of what the reporter's voice is claiming.

Example 7 is from a news story on the Conservative Party ("the Moderates") and their leader Bo Lundgren. The answer is framed by a text that announces what the politicians think on a particular matter. This frame also reflects the way news journalism has become more autonomous in relation to politicians and their answers. News journalism no longer appears as a mediator, setting the scene for politicians to speak about ongoing political processes. Instead, it takes the initiative to conduct investigations, and uses politicians' answers to present and dramatize these investigations. A politician's answer is used to illustrate the results of the investigation.

Example 7: *Aktuellt*, 6 March 2003

IE: Katarina Brännström, Kronoberg County (Moderate Party)

- 1 RV: /.../ Aktuellt has interviewed all twenty-seven chairpersons of the
- 2 Moderates' county assemblies. A clear majority of them are of the opinion
- 3 that Bo Lundgren cannot remain Party Leader if he isn't able to turn
- 4 public opinion around before the party convention in October. And only
- 5 a clear minority believes he will succeed in doing so.

- 6 IE: I think it's a hopeless task right now. It – they have in some way I think
 7 in – other people in some way decided it isn't going to happen, and then
 8 it's difficult to make it succeed.

The story is based on an investigation conducted by the news program's own journalists. Twenty-seven chairpersons of the party's county assemblies have been interviewed. According to the journalistic text, "a clear majority of them are of the opinion that Bo Lundgren cannot remain Party Leader if he isn't able to turn public opinion around before the party convention in October" (lines 2-4). The text ends by stating that "only a clear minority believes he will succeed in doing so" (lines 4-5). The person set up to answer is one of the chairpersons. Her answer is used in a way that makes it seem to express the majority's opinion. In the answer she states that "I think it's a hopeless task right now". This answer works as a confirmation of what the reporter's voice is claiming. Also, by attributing the statements about Bo Lundgren to "the majority" and "the minority" of the chairpersons and by setting up an example of what the majority believes, the reporter is able to distance himself from the rather controversial statement that Bo Lundgren "cannot remain Party Leader".

Example 8, which is from a news story on a governmental decision to order two Iraqi diplomats to leave Sweden, is also an example of news journalism's more autonomous attitude to the answers that politicians deliver.

Example 8: *Aktuellt*, 13 March 2003

IE: Göran Persson, Prime Minister (Social Democratic Party)

- 1 PV: Yes two Iraqi diplomats have been ordered to leave the country. This
 2 information was given by the government today, but this is not a
 3 response to demands from the US a week ago, the Prime Minister says.
 4 RV: Two Iraqi diplomats employed here at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm have
 5 been ordered to leave the country immediately. The decision was made by
 6 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the reason is said to be refugee espionage.
 7 IE: You see, there is espionage on Iraqis who are staying in Sweden and who
 8 are critical of the Iraqi regime, and there are quite a few of them. Sweden
 9 is one of the countries that has the largest number of Iraqi refugees in rela-
 10 tion to our population. There are seventy thousand in Sweden with this
 11 background, and they have the right to live in security without having to be
 12 exposed to the kind of investigation that refugee espionage implies.
 13 I: Does it have anything to do with the current Iraqi conflict?
 14 IE: No it doesn't, for this is an investigation that has been going on for quite
 15 a long time.

What is striking here is that the story focuses on the reasons for the Prime Minister's denial (probably as a response to a reporter's question) and not on the reasons for which he is giving in the answers. In spite of what he says in the answers, what seems to have been the storyline is fulfilled. The answer from the Prime Minister (starting on line 7) is framed by both the presenter's voice (PV) and the reporter's voice. The presenter's text ends with an indirect quote from the Prime Minister (lines 2-3): "/.../this is not a response to demands from the US a week ago, the Prime Minister says". The reporter's voice states that two Iraqi diplomats employed at the embassy of Iraq "have been ordered to leave the country". The reporter's voice ends the text (line 6) by saying that "the reason is said to be refugee espionage", emphasizing the phrase "is said to be". In the answer that is set up, the Prime Minister explains the reason for the order. The reporter (in the original context) then asks "Does it have anything to do with the current Iraqi conflict?". This is denied. According to the Prime Minister, the order is the result of an investigation that has been underway "for quite a long time".

In this sequence, news journalism appears to be an actor seeking a hidden agenda; it operates as a critical interrogator seeking the real reason (the truth). By stating that the reason "is said to be refugee espionage" the journalistic text frames the answers in a way that creates suspicions about the true motive for the action. The Prime Minister could easily be understood as hiding the real reasons for the order. It seems that it would be easy for viewers to doubt what he is saying.

News journalism also tends to act in a more active manner to stage and dramatize disagreements in the political field. This also occurred in the earlier data, but when this strategy is used in 1993/2003 it is more incisive and focused on the disagreements as such. This means that it is not primarily used to mediate political opinions of the different parts. The politicians' answers are set up in narratives that appear to be about rather rough disagreements. The framing journalistic texts become more polarizing. The different views are often described as "political contentions" or "conflicts", and criticism aimed at a political opponent is often characterized as "sharp attacks". Example 9 is from a news story on the appointment of a new Governor of the Bank of Sweden (Riksbanken).

Example 9: *Rapport, 3 November 1993*

IE1: Jan Bergqvist (Social Democratic Party)

IE2: Staffan Burenstam-Linder (Moderate Party)

- 1 RV: This is how he looks: the man who will replace the authoritative Bengt
- 2 Dennis as Governor of the Bank of Sweden. Urban Bäckström is only 39
- 3 years old and is the right-hand man of Minister of Fiscal Affairs, Bo
- 4 Lundgren. During his years in opposition he was Chief Economist for the

- 5 Moderates, but has also been active on the financial market. But there
 6 was political contention over Mr. Bäckström's appointment. The Social
 7 Democrats wanted Mikael Sohlman instead, previously Social Democratic
 8 State Secretary and now CEO of the Nobel Foundation.
- 9 IE1: Now, Urban Bäckström has been elected according to the rules of the
 10 game and I do hope in the interest of the nation that everything will turn
 11 out right. And it's important that the Bank of Sweden does well.
- 12 I: Does that mean you aren't going to sack him if you win the election?
- 13 IE1: We haven't been thinking at all about what will happen in such circum-
 14 stances after the election.
- 15 I: Don't you think it is a bit hazardous to appoint someone who runs the
 16 risk of losing his job if the Social Democrats win the election?
- 17 IE2: I don't think he would lose the job if there were another government. I
 18 believe that a delegate who removes a Governor of the Bank of Sweden
 19 in that way does himself harm.

The journalistic text starts with a presentation of the new Governor (Urban Bäckström) and his earlier career within politics and the financial market (lines 1-5). The reporter's voice states that that "there was political contention over Mr. Bäckström's appointment" (lines 5-6), claiming that the Social Democrats preferred another candidate for the post. The term "contention" indicates that the discussion preceding the appointment was harsh. The first interview sequence starts with an answer from a politician representing the Social Democratic party. IE1 merely confirms that Bäckström has been "elected according to the rules of the game" and underlines that he feels "it's important that the Bank of Sweden does well" (lines 9-11). This answer is followed by a direct question expressed in the original situation (line 12): "Does that mean you aren't going to sack him if you win the elections?". The question indicates that firing Bäckström is an option for the Social Democrats, but there is nothing in the following answer that points towards the fact that such a discussion has occurred. This sequence is followed by an interview with a representative of the Moderates (the conservative party). The reporter goes on (in the original context) to ask a question that indicates that Bäckström risks losing his job if the Social Democrats win the election (lines 15-16). The politician (IE2) is, in a sense, simply confirming what the opponent has been stating; he cannot see that Bäckström risks losing his job (lines 16-18).

The framing of these interview sequences as "a political contention" is of real importance here. The answers used to illustrate the dissonance do not say anything about this disagreement; the interviewees do not express different views concerning the appointment. The only thing that hints at a disagreement is the journalistic text and the questions asked by the reporter.

It is the reporter who describes this as “political contention” and uses the answers (as raw material) to illustrate such conflicts. At the same time, the reporter is staging himself as a critical interrogator seeking a hidden agenda (in this case, that the Social Democratic party has decided to fire Bäckström if they win the election).

A strategy that appears in the later time periods is answers being framed so that it looks as if the politicians are not keeping their (election) promises. Example 10 is from a news story dealing with a move made by the government, having re-evaluated its forecast for economic growth in Sweden. In this example, the answer is framed by both the presenter’s and the reporter’s voices.

Example 10: *Aktuellt*, 5 March 2003

IE: Bosse Ringholm, Minister of Finance (Social Democratic Party)

- 1 PV: Do you remember how they talked before the general election last
- 2 autumn? Many of the country’s leading economists warned about hard
- 3 times coming, but the government stuck to its much brighter view of the
- 4 future and made generous electoral promises. Today, Minister of Finance
- 5 Bosse Ringholm admits that he was wrong.
- 6 RV: Last August Bosse Ringholm stood here on the steps of Harpsund, talking in
- 7 optimistic terms about strong government finances and promised raised
- 8 compensation caps in health and parental insurance. But that was when there
- 9 was less than a month left before the election. Today, the message is much
- 10 colder. Promises of raised compensation levels aren’t valid any more. For
- 11 two days now, the government will be sitting here at Harpsund discussing
- 12 an increasingly serious situation with the spring budget approaching, which
- 13 is to be presented in the middle of next month. In spite of happy smiles
- 14 before the cameras today, the Minister of Finance’s information was gloomy.
- 15 IE: Well, we did hope last autumn that we would have an increase of about
- 16 2.5%, that is, somewhat better than last year. I rather think the increase will
- 17 be somewhere between 1.5 and 2%, that is to say a lesser increase than last
- 18 year.

The angle of this news story is that the new economic forecast affects the possibilities for the government to fulfill an electoral promise, to raise compensation caps in the health and parental insurance. The presenter addresses the viewers when he announces the story by asking “do you remember how they talked before the general election last autumn /.../”. The presenter’s and reporter’s voices explain how the viewers should interpret the action

the government is conducting. It is framed as if they do not deliver their promises. The presenter states (line 4) that the government “made generous electoral promises”. The reporter’s voice continues to call attention to the electoral promises, and says (line 9) that this was when there “was less than a month left before the election”. This is contrasted with the statement that “today the message is much colder, promises of raised compensation levels aren’t valid any more” (line 10). This sequence ends when the reporter’s voice states (lines 13-14) that “in spite of happy smiles before the cameras today, the Minister of Finance’s information was gloomy”. In the ensuing answer, Ringholm describes what the government thinks is a plausible development, and what differs in the new forecast from the one that the government presented during the election campaign.

It is the reporter (not the politician) who describes what the consequences of the government decision will be. It is news journalism that interprets and explains what is going on in politics. In Example 10, both the presenter’s and reporters’ voices make clear that what the politicians are actually doing is not keeping their promises. In this role, news journalism operates as a representative of the viewers (or the people), in a sense holding the politician accountable for their actions. In their answers, politicians are often set up to defend their actions. Even this particular strategy also has a tendency to put the viewers in a position from which it seems easy to doubt what the politicians are saying or doing; the politicians do not keep what they promise.

Summary

Interviews with politicians occurring in news stories are often heavily edited. This study aims at deepening the knowledge regarding the discursive strategies used by news journalism when politicians’ answers are recontextualized in news stories. The discursive strategies that have been analyzed in this chapter are those used in journalistic texts that precede – or frame – politicians’ answers in news stories. Data from 1978, 1993 and 2003 have been analyzed. The analysis points at a radical change in this discourse practice during this period of time. News journalism goes from using discursive strategies that tend to set the scene for the politicians to speak, to strategies that tend to offer a journalistic perspective on what is going on in politics.

This change in the discourse practice of framing also indicates a change in journalistic practice and the relationship between news journalism and politics (as institutions). During the past decades, a more autonomous attitude towards politics and politicians has developed within news journalism. Interview answers are used more freely today than in the 70s. News stories are no longer dominated by the voice of the politicians, and have

become more journalistic-centered (cf. Hallin 1992). The role of describing backgrounds for political ideas, proposals or decisions or explaining the differences between varying opinions has been assumed by news journalism. It is news journalism that describes what is going on in politics and how it should be understood. Politicians' answers are used increasingly more to illustrate what is stated in journalistic texts or as "raw material" for news journalism to produce dramatized conflicts.

This change also implies a change in the relationship between news journalism and its viewers, which could also affect the relationship between politicians and viewers. In the 70s, news journalism appeared as a mediator of political motives, opinions and arguments. Today (as an interpreter of political processes or a critical interrogator), news journalism allies itself with the viewers (or the people). News journalism presents itself as working on behalf of the people, seeking the real motives (or the truth), which in turn tends to throw suspicion on politicians. It seems easy for viewers to doubt what the politicians are saying or doing.

Notes

1. SVT is the public service television company in Sweden. TV4 is privately owned and commercially financed.
2. As a frame, the journalistic text is a constituent part of the interpersonal structure of the news story. The interpersonal structure of text also consists of several other aspects as well, but the journalistic texts that frame answers are one necessary condition for news stories to perform this function. Without these texts, news stories would be qualitatively different. In every text this structure has a tendency to function in a certain way: to create or uphold specific relationships between those involved in the communicative event.
3. This category differs a bit from the one developed by Ekström (2001). He describes it as *the reporter's voice reformulating the question that elicited the answer*. This often means that the politician is set up to answer a direct or indirect question.

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Chapter 10

Control and Collaboration

Interviewing and Editing in Television News Production

Mats Nylund

This chapter explores a largely neglected area in media studies: the “behind-the-scenes” news interview and its relation to the news product. The point of departure is Ytreberg’s (2000: 52) claim that scholars of media production have failed to address the *relations* between processes of production and media output. The purpose here is, therefore, to explore the process from and transformation of journalistic interviews to television news and to analyze how the interviews are conducted, edited and rearranged, both verbally and visually, in the final news report. Another aim is to identify some general patterns in television news stories and see how these patterns are constructed, partly through the reporter’s question strategies in the interview and partly through editing.

Methodologically, this is accomplished by looking at one particular news-making process in which two interviews are transformed into a television news report. Since both talk-in-interaction and moving images are very rich in information, there is particular value in thoroughly penetrating one such process, even at the expense on a more (statistically) representative study. However, my observations are informed by work from a larger corpus of data and the purpose is to describe some recurring, standard question and editing strategies that also exist in the rest of my data.

The corpus includes both television news reports and reporter-source interviews on which the news reports are based. The corpus was collected 4-10 September 2000 from the Swedish-language public service television news in Finland. The main newscasts were video-recorded; the interviews were collected by the reporters themselves and were later transcribed. The interview excerpts analyzed in this paper are translated from the Swedish. The collection of interviews is by no means complete in a statistical sense, but covers most of the reporter-source interviews made during the week by domestic news reporters, including areas such as politics, current affairs and culture. In total there are 27 interviews in the corpus.

From the interview to news stories

The bulk of the research in and around the news interview can be divided into three categories. First, there is a growing body of literature concerning the practices and discursive devices applied by interviewers as well as interviewees as showed on various interview formats in television (e.g. Nylund 2000, Svensson 2001, Clayman and Heritage 2002, for further references see this volume's introduction). Second, there is the approach that dominates this anthology, in which the focus is on the representations of the interviews in newspapers. In a wider sense, this approach is connected to discourse analysis of media content and especially to concepts such as intertextuality, voices and reported speech. Third, there are news ethnographers studying news production 'from within' who have addressed the issue of interviewing (see, e.g., Epstein 1973; Altheide 1974, Helland and Sand 1998). However, these accounts never treat the interview as the focus of the study, and the analyses of it remain somewhat impressionistic. Hence, there remain only a small number of studies that address the relations between the interviews and the news stories as transformations across two communicative events (though, see Nylund 2003, also Clayman 1995, Economou and Svensson, this volume, Atkinson 1984).

In this context, such a research design concerns a deconstruction of the news story as genre, as well as the reporter-source interview and the editing process. However, in more conceptual terms this study can also be seen as a deconstruction of the concept of 'simplification', which is arguably at the heart of journalism studies, not least because of its close connection to the much more pejorative concept of 'distortion' (e.g. Altheide 1974). Journalism researchers have long argued (e.g. Hernes 1978, Ekström 2003) that journalistic representation simplifies (or distorts) the complexity of the real world. Given that this is in many respects a valid argument, and disregarding at this time its philosophical dilemmas, it seems fair to argue that journalism research has often used the concept in a somewhat unspecified manner. *What* is simplified and, even more, *how* is it simplified has not always been appropriately demonstrated. In what follows, I begin by looking at the finished news story and proceed to analyze the behind-the-scenes interview. Since the activities are described on a micro-level, the analysis points to the power of journalism, the collaborative and symbiotic relation between the news reporter and the sources as well as the both settled and constructed nature of the interaction.

The news format and reporter-source collaboration

It is by no means seldom that research on news shares the logic of the research subject, the news stories themselves: spectacular, deviant and controversial events draw attention at the expense of more perfunctory news

events. In this study the analyzed news event is hardly a very dramatic one, at least in retrospect. The report concerns a price increase in fuel oil that is reported to especially affect homeowners. The report is based mainly on numerical data on the price increase and on two interviews, one with a homeowner and one with a representative of the Finnish Homeowners' Association. A transcription of the news report is as follows:

- The studio presenter: The high price of fuel oil is raising household expenses significantly. For homeowners this will mean an increase of thousands of marks a year.
- Reporter's voice (RV): One liter of fuel oil costs almost one mark more today than a year ago. In August the price of fuel oil was 2 marks 36 pennies a liter, and homeowners feel it in their wallets.
- Homeowner: It amounts to about four thousand marks in the past year, when calculated according to present price levels.
- Reporter's question: In other words, it's quite noticeable?
- Homeowner: Well, that's for sure. Next time I pay my oil invoice, I'll start to notice it.
- RV: Many people have waited to order oil for the winter, hoping for prices to fall, but nothing indicates that.
- Representative: The price rise has been very fast. At the beginning of 1999, the average price was one mark 36 pennies, but now it's close to three marks a liter.
- RV: Homeowners in Finland consume an average of some 3000 liters of oil a year. For a family living in a detached house, household expenses have increased by almost 3000 marks.
- Representative: We've had many tel-telephone calls and our members are almost angry or, you could say, worried about the oil prices right now.
- RV: The Finnish Homeowners' Association would now like to see a debate on the price of fuel oil.
- Representative: The first step is publicity and a debate on the oil price, and we think a tax reduction is a possible and reasonable measure, which should be taken right now.
- RV: A tax reduction of eleven pennies a liter, a small reduction but a step in the right direction.

- Homeowner: The small tax that's there now can ... should be abolished, but then we could also think of a reduction in real estate taxes.
- RV: But so far the only way to economize is to reduce the ceilingheight.
- Homeowner: Maybe you think about it in the beginning when you're angry enough and remember it, but it would probably go back to the old, old way again.
- Studio presenter: Eventually oil prices will affect accommodation costs, also for people besides homeowners. For instance, there's pressure to raise rents.

The basic message in the news report is that the price of fuel oil is increasing by "thousands of marks". This message is established already in the presentation of the news read by the studio presenter. The rest of the report is mainly about repetitions, reactions and comments from one "affected" homeowner and one representative of the Homeowners' Association. Looking at the structure of the news, some general patterns stand out. In addition to the basic fact that the report is made up of a presentation, the reporter's descriptions sandwiched between sound bites from the interviewees and a closing read by the studio presenter, the following patterns can be identified:

- The reported event is abstract and symbolical rather than material and concrete, as contemporary news on money, consumption and economy tend to be (cf. Mårtensson 2003: 18).
- The story is based on an institutionally registered change of a numerical value. Thus, the report can be seen as a subgenre that is frequent especially within economic reporting, in which various values fluctuate up and down, comparisons are made and curves are drawn as indications of better or (as in this case) worse times (see Jensen 1987).
- The news report establishes a *problem* that affects a large group of people (cf. Altheide 1997, also Hardcup and O'Neill 2001).
- The drama is emphasized. The price increase is depicted as a precipitous one and (due to the time span in the news story) no shift in this reported tendency is suggested.
- The existence of the problem is *confirmed* through comments from interviewees (cf. Svensson 2001). Together, the two interviewees form a combination of news sources that provides both personal experience (the homeowner as an identifiable "example") and more general information (the representative as an "expert" and "advocate")
- The remainder of the news story supplies further details and figures about the problem, but generally this is a story based on various *repe-*

tition of the basic message. The price increase is repeated with very small variation on no less than seven occasions.

- There is a mechanism or procedure for fixing the problem (tax reduction) and there is a *repair agent* (the government). The whole story is geared for a “quick fix” rather than a deeper understanding of the situation (cf. Altheide 1997).
- The report rounds off with an inference. In the closing, the studio presenter links the problem to a related threat that could affect even more people in the future.

When reading literature on political news, especially, one can get the impression that news is very concerned with conflicts between opposing factions and that interviews are used to get statements from the competing sides. This overshadows the fact that news in general tends to be much more consensus-orientated, a phenomenon connected to the numbers of news sources used in the stories. According to Allern (2001: 164), almost eight out of ten (79%) Norwegian newspaper reports are based on no more than one source. In the television news report in our case, the two people interviewed share a single perspective, more or less confirming each other's statements. Furthermore, the news reporter gives voice to the news sources in a rather collaborative manner. Insinuations and irony that can sometimes be seen in political news reports (see Epstein 1973 [2000]:169) are not a part of this presentation. Hence, the news report is based on the epistemological principle in news reporting: “something is so because somebody says it” (Fishman 1980:92). The news report and its narrative format can be seen to serve the interests of two organizations, the news institution itself and the Homeowners' Association. Both organizations have, for different reasons, an interest in depicting the price increase as a dramatic and socially relevant one. The association is a special interest organization. When it comes to the news organization the interest is more implicit, but connects to a struggle for legitimacy with pressures from audience ratings and entertainment values as well as traditional public service principles.

Constructing “the victim”

The news report includes six sound bites. One is represented along with the prior interview question, whereas five are decontextualized in this respect. Statistically, this happens to correspond to the average distribution of sound bites in Swedish television news. Ekström (2001) reports that 84%, i.e. about five-sixths, of the sound bites are presented without a prior question. The production of the sound bites encompasses two stages: (1) the interviews between the news reporter and the news sources in which the sound bites

are produced as replies to the reporter's questions and (2) the editing, that is, the selection of sound bites and their incorporation in the news story.

In Conversation Analysis it is often emphasized that interview questions are not merely neutral information-seeking devices. Instead, the kind of "question authority" (Schudson 1994) news reporters exercise brings with it discursive and social power. Heritage (2002: 1430) argues that news interview questions (i) set agendas for responses by establishing the topical domains and requesting that recipients perform various types of action within these domains; (ii) assert propositions and establish presuppositions with varying levels of explicitness, and (iii) are frequently designed to "prefer" particular interviewee responses. Therefore, it is not unessential that interview questions are so often omitted from the final news report. In what follows, I will look at how the sound bites in the current news report were "dialogically" produced as replies to specific questions.

(1)

Reporter: How much have the household expenses risen in your case if we consider this [fact that] oil is expensive?

Homeowner: **It amounts to about four thousand marks in the past year, when calculated according to present price levels.**

Reporter: **In other words, it's quite noticeable?**

Homeowner: **Well, that's for sure. Next time I pay my oil invoice, I'll start to notice it.**

The first reporter question in the excerpt is also the first question in the recorded interview. The question presupposes that "oil is expensive" and that household expenses have risen. These are the basic starting points in the news report, are not challenged by the interviewee, and can reasonably be thought of as something that the news reporter and the homeowner have already agreed upon before the interview (perhaps in a "pre-interview"). The homeowner's agreement at this point has perhaps also been a central condition for his qualification as an interviewee for the news report. Hence, the reported "problem" is nothing that emerges from negotiations in the interview, but has been identified beforehand. Also, the reporter's follow-up question "In other words, it's quite noticeable?" carries strong presuppositions. The question (1) maintains the homeowner's *personal experiences* as the agenda for further talk, (2) is *inferentially elaborative* of the homeowner's reply, (3) explicitly paraphrases the figures mentioned by the homeowner into an *evaluative proposition* and (4) encourages the homeowner to *confirm* this (newsworthy) proposition. In his reply, the homeowner accepts and collaborates with the presupposition, confirms it and even upgrades it ("that's for sure"). Hence, the interview sequence is composed of questions

and replies, but can also be seen as a sequence in which the interviewer and interviewee negotiate and reach a common standpoint.

In the news report, this sequence with the homeowner's personal experience and reactions is incorporated into and combined with the reporter's descriptions of a more general character. Prior to the selected reply-question-reply sequence is the reporter's reference to homeowners in general: "In August the price of fuel oil was 2 marks 36 pennies a liter and homeowners feel this in their wallets". Subsequent to the interview stretch there is a similar reference of a general character when the news reporter claims that "Many people have waited to order oil for the winter, hoping for prices to fall, but nothing indicates that." Thus, the interview sequence is used to illustrate, warrant and confirm a much more general claim about the homeowners (cf. Ekström 2003: 273).

In the news report, the homeowner appears as a source in two further episodes. In the first, he calls for a tax reduction and in the second he considers lowering the height of the ceiling in his house in order to economize. In the following interview segment the reporter and the homeowner move into a discussion about "what should be done."

(2)

Reporter: How do you feel about paying this, then? What should be done?

Homeowner: Well, I guess you have to change the heating system. I guess soil heating comes next and, no problem, I can do that, but you don't want to change the heating system, the boiler, if it is a fairly new one. You should do it when rebuilding or renovating the house; then you can perhaps switch to soil heating. I think that's the future.

Reporter: It's also a cost.

Homeowner: Well, of course in the beginning, maybe some twenty thousand marks, well I guess it's more, perhaps thirty thousand marks, but then I can save four-five thousand marks a year.

No part of this sequence is incorporated in the report. Again, it is the reporter who takes the initiative. It is he who introduces the "repair activity talk" by presupposing that something "should be done" (note also the classic interview question "how do you feel"). As a reply to this "open-ended", multipart question the homeowner starts to consider the possibility of changing the heating system (and saving money), an issue that would have added a completely new perspective to the news report, but that also would have turned its "problem frame" (Altheide 1997) upside down. When the homeowner turns the price increase into a possibility he also refrains from assuming the role of victim.

The investment and sums he speaks about do not correspond much with the presentation in the news report, where he appears to consider lowering the height of the ceiling in the house in order to economize (see below). The news reporter can hardly be said to encourage his line of reasoning and counters the homeowner's talk by pointing out that this is "also a cost" and continues (immediately subsequent to the homeowner's second reply) his questioning as follows:

(3)

Reporter: The only way, then, for a homeowner to economize in the current situation is to lower the height of the ceiling, or?

Homeowner: Precisely, that's the only way in the short term. You have to lower the height, exactly.

Reporter: Have you thought about doing it yourself when winter comes?

Homeowner: Well, that's hard to imagine, **maybe you think about it in the beginning when you are angry enough and remember it, but it probably goes back to the old, old way again** I think.

In its form, the news reporter's question resembles the follow-up question in Extract (1). It is presented as an inference based on the homeowner's prior talk about changing the heating system, but the connection seems very loose. It is the reporter who suggests that lowering the height of the ceiling in the "current situation" is the only way to economize. The homeowner agrees (rather than replies) and the reporter continues by asking if this would be an option for the homeowner himself. The reply to this question is partly familiar from the news report. However, what is omitted from the news report (apart from the prior questions) is the *resistance* the homeowner displays when replying ("Well, that's hard to imagine"). Through the omission of the beginning of the utterance, the television audience gets quite a different picture of the homeowner's reasoning than what is actually the case in the interview. Furthermore, the epistemic downgrading at the end of the turn is omitted from the news report. Hence, the position of the homeowner is presented as less ambivalent than it actually was. When looking at Excerpt (3) the homeowner appears to be quite resistant to lowering the height of the ceiling. However, what is also evident in the reply is the orientation towards *consensus* with the news reporter. The homeowner starts by resisting the news reporter's suggestion, but proceeds by giving the suggested option a chance, although a fairly small one: "maybe you think about it in the beginning."

Constructing “the certified expert”

In contrast to the homeowner’s personal, layman experiences, an expert is assumed to contribute with general facts. There are two forms of knowledge that the representative supplies in the news report: (1) descriptions of numbers, in this case concerning the price increase, and (2) descriptions of attitudes or the mood among a relevant group of people. Apart from this, the representative (as well as the homeowner) appears in the role of advocate, calling for state measures in the form of a tax reduction. I begin by looking at how the role of expert is constructed in the interview:

(4)

Reporter: How much have household expenses increased for a detached house in Finland since last year?

Representative: Well, the first question is about the oil price and **the price change has been very fast. At the beginning of 1999, the average price was one mark 36 pennies, but now it’s close to three marks a liter.**

(One question-reply sequence omitted)

Reporter: Have you had many calls to the Homeowner’s Association about this, angry homeowners, or?

Representative: Yes, **we’ve had many tel-telephone calls and our members are almost angry or, you could say, worried about oil prices right now.**

In the first sequence, the news reporter is asking for figures using an open-ended question. The second question is somewhat more “slanted”, a yes/no question followed by a ‘candidate answer’ (Pomerantz 1988), the proposition “angry house owners”, and a tag (“or”). In the latter case the representative begins by affirming the question (“yes”), produces a modified affirmation of the proposed candidate answer (“members are almost angry”), and finally detaches himself somewhat from this position (“worried about oil prices”). This reply somewhat resembles the way the homeowner replies to the question about whether he sees lowering the height of the ceiling as an option. Both replies are characterized by a degree of *ambivalence*, tensions between the production of consensus and resistance in relation to the questions and their propositions and presuppositions. In both cases, the replies seem to be designed to conform to the presuppositions embodied in the questions and, thus, with the interviewer, although, as indicated by the ambivalence and resistance, the real view of the interviewee may be different. These two sequences could therefore be seen as instances in which questions (and the interview itself) truly have an observable impact on the replies. The questions are, as we have seen, omitted from the final

news report. Furthermore, in the case of the homeowner, the reply is edited in a way that hides the major resistance (cf. Nylund 2003a). In the case of the representative, the editing has omitted the affirmative “yes”, which distinguishes the utterance as a *reply* to a question. The representative’s first reply in Extract (4) is subjected to a corresponding edit. The opening line (“Well, the first question is about the oil price and”) in which the representative makes a meta-communicative comment about the *question*, is omitted. These instances represent a standard editing strategy aiming to transform elements from an interactive situation to a smooth narrative by omitting elements that index the utterances as replies.

Both interviewees, perhaps especially the representative, have an interest in collaborating with the news reporter. When looking at the details of the interaction we observe some resistance, but overall both interviews are characterized by collaboration between reporter and interviewees. For instance, when asked about the amount of the price increase (first question, Extract (4)), the representative supplies the figures, but also emphasizes the swiftness of the change, which corresponds perfectly with the general message in the news report. It is in the interest of both the news organization and the Homeowners’ Association to present the price increase as a serious, dramatic and relevant problem. As in the case of any special interest organization, business enterprise or other newsmaker, the Homeowners’ Association can gain from making its concerns public knowledge (“the first step is publicity, ” as the representative explicitly says in the news report). The news organization needs ‘experts’ in order to get knowledge and present their accounts of events as authoritative. Therefore, it is a standard form of news presentation to *not* cast doubt on the knowledge supplied by the ‘experts’, to present them as competent and knowledgeable, although ‘experts’, too, usually have reasons for appearing in public. This becomes especially important in this particular interview. The language of the interview is Swedish, the minority language in Finland and apparently not the representative’s strongest language. There is an instance during which the representative cannot find the appropriate word. He switches to Finnish and the interview breaks down. In the tape there is a small pause after which the prior question is repeated. Hence, the editing of the interview involves not only authorization of the representative, but also face-saving in a very concrete form.

The calls for state measures and tax reduction in the news report are also presented as legitimate claims, presented along with the reporter’s comment: “a small reduction, but a step in the right direction,” interpreted here as the reporter’s representation of the gist of the claim and the mood of homeowners. Hence, the news organization gives the Homeowners’ Association and its cause favorable and unchallenged publicity. In the interviews, the agenda of “fixing the problem” is introduced by the news reporter, but it is the interviewees who start to talk about the tax reduction:

- Reporter: What measures have you taken? Have you had any contacts, have you encountered any understanding for these demands for a tax reduction concerning fuel oil?
- Representative: Yes, well we have, we have been in contact with the state and other organizations and **the first step is publicity and a debate on the oil price and we think a tax reduction is a possible and reasonable measure, which should be taken right now.**
- Reporter: What should be done about the prices? Can one, can one do something about this?
- Homeowner: Well, our oil prices also include a small tax so... admittedly not as much as in diesel oil but a small one; it should be abolished.
- Reporter: A small tax reduction would be appropriate?
- Homeowner: A small tax reduction or **the small tax that is there now can ... should be abolished, but then we could also think of a reduction in the real estate tax.** But it's the municipalities who decide about that, or the municipal council.

Visual representations of talk

The televised representation of the interviews combines sequences of verbal and visual messages presented in a characteristic rhythm and tempo. Through images, verbal messages may be completed, reinforced and dramatized, but also contradicted. It is often argued that television is a medium that gives primacy to visualization (Ekström 2003: 264). Concerning television news, the alleged centrality of images is often connected to a commercialization of news (e.g., McManus 1994). However, some research results indicate the opposite: Apart from certain especially visually dramatic events (an example could be the collapse of the twin towers in New York, 11 September 2001), television images are often highly dependent upon accompanying news commentary (Hansen et al. 1998: 215), and this is also the case in the news report analyzed here. Furthermore, visualization can also pose a problem for news reporters, especially in the case of symbolic and abstract news events. For instance, how do you make a visual representation of price fluctuations? Research indicates, in fact, that a relatively small proportion of television news images are directly representative of the news events: A far greater proportion has an oblique and symbolic relationship to the text (ibid.).

Paradoxically, interviews are one solution to the dilemma of visualization. According to Epstein (1973 [2000]: 156), they "provide an easy means by

which an abstract or difficult-to-film concept can be presented". The visual representation of the interviews as "talking heads" functions (together with the verbal representation) as an epistemological guarantee of the "generalized objectivity claims" asserted in the news report (Hansen et al. 1998: 214-215). An important element in this construction of objectivity is the invisibility of the news reporter (Nylund 2000: 64). As a parallel to the editing of the verbal content, the two interviewees are the only people the audience can see talking. Hence, the impression created through erasing (most of) the news reporter's questions representing the news sources as independent characters acting without the incentive from of the news organization is reinforced through the visual editing. However, because of the framing of the images, the audience can nevertheless imagine the reporter's presence in his capacity as interviewer. The interviewees are shown in close-ups or medium shots. They are not looking at the camera, and, hence, are not addressing the audience directly. Instead, they are looking diagonally away from the camera (and the television audience), addressing the interviewer outside the image frame. Moreover, the audience sees the first interviewee looking diagonally to the right and the second one looking diagonally to the left. Hence, an impression is created that the interviewees are, if not talking to each other, then at least oriented towards each other. A kind of "imagined dialogue" (Ekström 2001) is constructed through visual means.

However, the interview too poses a visual problem for news reporters, as pointed out by Helland and Sand (1998: 199). Seen from a visual perspective, they argue, interviews are not the kind of material television journalists normally prefer. The conventional visual representations of interviews – the talking head and its standard alternatives, the "walk down a corridor" and "stepping in through a door" – do not correspond to what is conceived as "good television" (*ibid.*). In the news report, the abstract phenomenon of the rise in oil prices is illustrated with images of an oil replenishment of a detached house. What the audience sees is basically a tank truck, an oil worker doing his work, a house and its garden. When the interviews are filmed, additional material is shot as well: pictures with a distant focus in which the interviewer and interviewee are seen talking to each other but their lip movements cannot be distinguished. Such pictures may be used to cover a cut in the middle of a reply, added at the intersection of the clips. However, this kind of editing was not used for the news report and the film remained superfluous in this case.

If the interviews are by and large controlled by the news reporter, this is naturally even more the case when it comes to their representation. It is the reporter who selects, edits, organizes and frames the replies of the interviewees with his/her commentaries. Accordingly, Ridell (1998: 19) argues that news sources sometimes appear to be no more than extensions of the news reporters' claims and that the sound bites only illustrate what is already told by the reporters. Looking at the news report from an ordinary viewer's perspective, this would seem to be very much the case.

To start with, the news report is based on narrative transitivity, that is, one sequence follows another rather than interruption, digression and episodic construction (Hansen et al. 1998: 158). The reporter's claims and the sound bites are intrinsically interrelated and are interpreted as more or less coherent. Verbally, the news story is based on sequences in which the reporter's claims precede and anticipate the sound bite. The narrative function of the sound bite can be described in terms of confirmation, illustration and evaluation:

Reporter's voice: One liter of fuel oil costs almost one mark more today than a year ago. In August the price of fuel oil was 2 marks 36 pennies a liter, and homeowners feel it in their wallets.

Homeowner: It amounts to about four thousand marks in the past year, when calculated according to present price levels.

Reporter's question: In other words, it's quite noticeable?

Homeowner: Well, that's for sure. Next time I pay my oil invoice, I'll start to notice it.

At the beginning of the news story, the sound bite appears to confirm and illustrate the figures presented by the reporter. Through the reporter's question the homeowner is also evoked to produce an evaluation ("...quite noticeable? Well, that's for sure..."). The sound bite warrants and authorizes not only the preceding reporter's claims, but also the very newsworthiness of the story. Additionally, there are certain parallels between the reporter's claims and the sound bite. They both describe figures concerning the increase of household costs and the reporter's claim that "homeowners *feel* it in their wallets" corresponds to the evaluative line in the sound bite "well, that's for sure...". In contrast to these parallels, there is also a subtle lack of coherence involved. This is the case when the reporter later in the story claims that there is nothing that would indicate a price fall. Subsequent to this claim there is a "comment" from the representative stating that "the price rise has been very fast", as if this would warrant the preceding claim. Furthermore, it would be misleading to regard the sound bites only as extensions of the reporter's claims. This is evident when looking at the latter part of the news story, where it slides into a moral narrative, revolving no longer around what has happened but what *should be* done (cf. Nylund 2003). The homeowner and representative appear not only as news sources warranting and commenting upon the reporter's claims, but indeed as newsmakers whose views and positions the reporter is giving voice to. Here one might, on the contrary, claim that the reporter functions as an extension and amplifier of the news sources' views.

The reporter's claims and the sound bites are connected to each other in tempo and rhythm, which is characteristic for contemporary television news reports. According to Eriksson (2002: 231-232), "News reports can rarely be lengthier than two or three minutes." In the production of the report in question, the interviews with the homeowner and the representative (with a length of 5.48 minutes in total) are compressed into a 2.33-minute news story. However, the length of the entire news report is only a part of the temporal structure of television news narration. The story is split off into no less than 13 verbal units (the news presenter's introduction and closing, the reporter's claims and the sound bites). Consequently, the average length of such a unit is 11.8 seconds. Visually, the tempo is even higher. There are 18 visual sequences with an average length of 8.5 seconds. The news presenter's and reporter's share of this is 73 seconds (47%), whereas the sources stand for 80 seconds (52%). This figure diverges somewhat from the average distribution in the corpus (58% for the journalists and 42% for the news sources). However, it gives further evidence of the importance of sound bites and represented interview excerpts in television news stories, as they count for almost the half of the news content. Speaking in pure quantitative terms, sound bites appear to count for approximately half of the news story content. The average length of a sound bite is 13.8 seconds and the corresponding length of a reporter's commentary is 8.5 seconds.

Summary

In his classical ethnographic study of American television news production, Altheide (1974: 76) concludes that the news story is "pretty well set" already before the news reporters leave the newsroom, and that they tend to "seek evidence which supports the story line". Kunelius (2000, see also Ekström 2003) draws a similar kind of conclusion regarding interviews with people who have been interviewed for the news. The interviewees often experience that the interviews are controlled by the reporters' ideas about how the news story should look. The interviewees feel that they are expected to perform in accordance with this pre-determined idea and that they lack any real possibilities to impact the interview, much less the news report to be made. This case study demonstrates how the news reporter can indeed control the interview and the final news report through questions as well as selection and editing of statements that are incorporated in the news report. Additionally, the analysis of the presuppositions embodied in the questions and the editing strategies indicate that there was a fairly fixed and pre-determined agenda, which the news reporter was partly trying to (re-) construct through the interviews. However, in this case the news report resulted in very favorable publicity for the special interest organization involved. Hence, it can be argued that both the news organization and

the Homeowners' Association collaborated – for different reasons – in the construction and presentation of a serious and socially relevant problem, a story involving both a victim and an authoritative expert. The news sources provided personal experience and general information, as well as explicitly evaluative talk, i.e. calls for measures from the state. However, it was the news reporter who made the crucial selections and organized the information into a news story with a “proper news look” (cf. Altheide and Snow 1991). Although the interviewees partly contributed with their comments to emphasize the scale and dramatic character of the problem, the interviews also left the reporter with some ambivalence. The homeowner's comments about changing the height system could have resulted in a completely different story, with much less emphasis on the problem and with the homeowners portrayed as something other than victims.

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IV

The Interview as an Interdiscursive Phenomenon and Interaction on New Arenas

Chapter 11

Broadcast Talk

The Interview and Its Hybrids

Ulla Moberg

This article has its focus on a generic variant of political interviews, namely situations in which the “ordinary man” is invited to ask questions of a leading politician or to discuss political issues with a journalist in a public forum, on the radio. Hutchby (1996) and Thornborrow (2002) have analyzed open-line radio phone-in programs and have related them to the journalistic interview as regards the right to commit certain speech acts, seen from a perspective of asymmetry (Hutchby) and power (Thornborrow).

The aim of this article is to show how the interaction between a citizen and a politician and/or journalist gives birth to a sort of hybrid form of interview; as an illustration I will present examples from two phone-in programs broadcast on Swedish radio.

The interview is a speech event we are today rather familiar with. We have answered questions from teachers, doctors and employers, and we listen to news interviews on the radio and television. We know that the interview has at least two participants: one who asks questions and one who is expected to answer, although the word in itself comes from the French noun *entrevue* ‘meeting’ and the verb *s’entrevoir* ‘come together’.

The journalistic interview has its origin in the American press in the 1830’s when it was introduced by Benjamin H. Day. Different sorts of interviews have since been developed in radio and television – from a situation in which the conversation has been prepared down to the last detail, to the rapid-fire interview in which the journalist asks uncomfortable questions of a politician or an executive. Today media play a substantial role in political life, and interviews frequently occur – from short sequences of questions and answers to rather long interrogations. The interview is thus a dominant format in the media public sphere (Clayman and Heritage 2002). In news interviews, the journalist has the power to set the agenda while the interviewee is expected to answer the questions.

New genres are being introduced in radio and television by which the audience is invited to take part via telephone, SMS and e-mail. This is a natural consequence of a democratic society and the advances of techno-

logy – from the telephone to the internet (Hutchby 2001). The technological devices have opened up a multiplicity of ways in which people can communicate directly with those in power. But these programs could also be a strategy for ethermedia to enter into competition with the internet, whose most striking characteristics are its availability and interactivity.

Audience discussion programs offer new opportunities to groups previously without a voice in a media context. Radio, especially, is a medium that enables immediate and spontaneous interaction between two or more persons. People, "ordinary citizens", who usually do not have access to public debates, are invited to call in to phone-in-programs, to discuss and argue with a leading politician or a journalist about social issues of current interest. In these programs, people comment on political events that affect their own private everyday life.

The data for this article come from a collection of recorded and transcribed calls from two live broadcasts: an open-link radio program that invites listeners to call in and ask questions of a leading politician and "Ring P1", a program in which the callers are to give their personal opinions on public issues in a discussion with a journalist. The programs were sent in 2001 and 2002. The extracts are translated from the Swedish.

Institutional circumstances

Talk radio is an institutional interaction that takes place at a broadcasting company with at least one of the participants, namely the host of the program, representing this company. Listeners call to discuss matters of public interest on the air. Talk radio thus involves unscripted, direct encounters between media professionals, politicians and ordinary people, and the spoken interaction unfolds in real time (see also chapter 12). There is, however, a certain internal set of rules and roles.

Before reaching the host, the caller has been in contact with call-screening operators. When the conversation begins, the host knows the caller's name and geographical location. The person who calls in and is put on the air decides both the topic of discussion and the arguments. The host organizes the interaction and decides when to stop. In the program in which citizens interview politicians, the host/journalist is expected to ask attendant clarifying questions now and then.

The callers, usually inexperienced at public performance and therefore less skilled at debate, are speaking from the private sphere of their homes, while the host and politician are receiving the calls in a studio with technicians and other employees of Swedish Radio. The talk thus takes place in both a private and a public domain. Questions and opinions are improvised and presented locally in the interaction. You could say that liveness and spontaneity are characteristics for this sort of program. Ordinary people have

no status, but their accounts are sometimes regarded as reliable precisely because they are unscripted and direct – not calculating and manipulative (Montgomery 2001). The host and politician have little idea beforehand of the content of each call and must deal with unforeseen contingencies.

In a news interview in media the journalist is expected to be well-informed, to know a great deal about the subject of discussion. He/she has the obvious right to challenge the interviewee and to expect a relevant answer, while still remaining neutral. In radio phone-in broadcast there are other conditions. The caller takes part as an interviewer who asks questions from his/her point of view without an obligation to remain neutral.

The news interview with a professional journalist questioning a politician is prearranged, and the interaction is rather formal and impersonal. The interaction, turn by turn, is recognized by listeners as interview talk. It normally starts without mutual greetings but with an extended monologue produced by the interviewer addressed to the media audience rather than the interviewee. Then one party asks a question and the other answers, i.e. the interviewee is not allowed to ask questions. No vocal acknowledgements or continuers are produced, actions that are very common and even expected in ordinary conversation. By withholding such signals, interviewers decline to act as the primary recipients of the responses – the audience is the target of the talk and, furthermore, this is a way to maintain neutrality (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 121-122). The initiative for closing the interview rests with the interviewer, who must exert control over the length of the interview.

The news interview thus consists of certain characteristics, even if the genre sometimes has fuzzy boundaries (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 7). In the examples below, in which citizens are allowed to take part in public discussion, you may notice a breaking up of the interview format, a sort of cross or hybrid. Different genres influence each other and in a situated dialogue give rise to new sorts of interaction within the frame of the interview.

The first extract is taken from a program broadcast on the radio a few weeks before the general election in 2002. Listeners are invited to call in and ask questions of a political party leader. This call starts, as most do, with a sequence during which the host identifies the caller by name and location and the three participants exchange informal greetings with *hi* and by using *first names*. The participatory framework is then constructed and the questioning can begin.

Extract 27 August 2002: (Gudrun is the politician)

- 1517 Caller: I want to ask Gudrun about uh Norrland
 1518 Gudrun: about Norrland
 1519 Caller: yes exactly
 1520 Gudrun: m

- 1521 Caller: uh we actually have everything here in Norrland
 1522 except uh jobs
 1523 Gudrun: mm
 1524 Caller: and: we actually have lots of houses to live in
 1525 Gudrun: °m°
 1526 Caller: and besides that we have space and in the south
 1527 there are no no houses to live in that's the big
 1528 question it seems like=
 1529 Gudrun: =yes [in the big cities]
 1530 Caller: [they have their] (.) yes exactly so if you
 1531 could just create some jobs to uh in Norrland
 1532 Gudrun: (.) ye:s that sounds easy and fine [we create>>
 1533 Caller: [yes
 1534 Gudrun: >>some jobs in *Norrland*
 1535 Caller: yes certainly
 1536 Gudrun: I will tell you that there is actually massive
 1537 unemployment in many other places too [not only>>
 1538 Caller: [yes
 1539 Gudrun: >>in Norrland but [also in the interior areas and]>>
 1540 Caller: [yes but it is very massive there]
 1541 Gudrun: >> it is the same in the south in thinly-populated areas

After the exchange of greetings, the host remains silent while the caller begins a dialogue with the politician. Unlike an interview between a professional journalist and a politician, there are many continuers, both from Gudrun (lines 1520, 1523, 1525, 1529) and the caller (lines 1519, 1533, 1535, 1538). These occur between turns but also, as in lines 1533, 1538, 1540, as overlapping, supporting signals. This is normal conduct in ordinary conversation, but in news interviews tends to be withheld. In line 1532, however, Gudrun's response is a bit delayed and the caller's demand is met with mild skepticism.

The politician interacts in a friendly way even though the caller is rather opinionated, and after a couple of turns the host inserts a question about the taxation policy regarding sparsely-populated areas. This triggers a long extended answer from the politician, who takes the chance to convey to the remote audience – potential voters – the political message of her party. The interview is transformed into a monologue as if she had just entered a public platform. But at the same time she takes the opportunity to include the caller, host and all listeners through an abundant use of the personal pronoun *we*: *we have talked about*; *we have the right-wing party*; *how can*

we invest; how can we build up, etc. And at the end of this monologue, she suddenly puts a direct question to the caller/interviewer by using his first name:

- 1565 Gudrun: then the next question is uh how how can we make it
 1566 attractive for the enterprises Peter how how how do
 1567 we handle those who move north to settle down?

This is not supposed to happen in an interview – that the interviewee begins asking questions. However, the caller has no chance to answer or formulate a follow-up question because the host intervenes, apparently feeling it is time to end this call: *there uh I think we'll say thank you*.

This interview develops into an open dialogue between the politician and the caller, even if the politician uses the opportunity to proclaim her political message to a greater audience. And this public communication is apparently governed by mutual respect. The politician lives up to the democratic ideals of being common and kind.

Closing sequence

Ending a conversation is a delicate matter. The practices necessary for closing an interview with a minimum of abruptness are complex, and mastering them is an important skill (Clayman and Heritage 2002:93). In these phone-in programs the closings are usually accomplished by the host, who is responsible for the time schedule. The caller has little opportunity to actively influence the ending of the discussion. News interviews usually end with a "thank you" from the interviewer followed by the interviewee's name. No response is expected and the dialogue is closed in a rather formal way. The closing sequences here are usually, though not always, handled in a rather smooth and personal way with a mutual exchange of greetings and "thank you" phrases.

Extract 25 August 2002 (Alf is the politician)

- 109 Host: now we'll say thank you [Paul Eriksson
 110 Alf: [thank you Paul
 111 Caller: thanks so much Alf
 112 Alf: bye bye
 113 Caller: bye

The host utters both the first and last names *Paul Eriksson* with a falling intonation, a way to signal the end of the call. The politician recognizes

this and in overlapping talk delivers his thanks. The caller cooperates and informal greetings are exchanged before the conversation is closed. The closing sequence is short, but includes all participants and therefore the interaction is probably interpreted by the audience as a rather harmonic and nice one.

Who is the expert?

The next example is taken from Ring P1, a phone-in program on a Swedish public service station known as a serious station dominated by news broadcasts and political news. Maltreatment of animals is the subject for discussion. A male caller tries to explain why these tragedies occur. It could be, he claims, the effect of a difficult economic situation. He presents the legitimization *I used to be a farmer* to emphasize that he knows what he is talking about:

Extract 22 October 2001

- 536 PerO: but now I am a counselor which is really more profitable hh
 537 Host: but look here the fact that farmers eeh make no money
 538 and the subsidies from the European Union are so
 539 immensely important for the [survival that has>>
 540 PerO. [yes
 541 Host: >> actually nothing to do with the maltreatment of the cattle?
 542 PerO: yes it has to do with with the fact that you can't earn your
 543 living by stock breeding you have to get another job outside
 544 the farm=
 545 Host: and then you mean that that [the animals are suffering while yo-]
 546 PerO: [and in (.) in the end it doesn't]
 547 work and the situation is that the farmers have been enticed
 548 to go into debt and people really want to pay their way and
 549 Host: m
 550 PerO: and therefore they do whatever they can and the wife has to
 551 work in the county council or as a teacher or something and
 552 the farmer himself tries to start contract [work
 553 Host: [yes yes we we all
 554 know that the cou- that Sweden has the most rationalized
 555 farming in the world but [but that can't really justify] can't really>>

- 556 PerO: [yes this is the reason]
 557 Host: >>justify these tragedies where you where you leave the cattle
 558 to die in their own excrement?=
 559 PerO: =yes no of course not I love animals and [I've worked a lot>>
 560 Host. [m
 561 PerO: >> with animals myself I was born on a farm (SWALLOWING)
 562 in the fifties
 563 Host: but but d- don't you really think that that that as a matter of
 564 fact it is a question of individual tragedies?=
 565 PerO: =yes yes but of course this is the case
 566 Host: which are partly a result of an unstable economy=
 567 PerO: =yes yes but it is it is the bad economy that is the culprit

The host expresses his skepticism with a negatively formulated yes/no speech act: *the fact that farmers eeb make no money and that the subsidies from the European Union are so immensely important [...] has actually nothing to do with the maltreatment?* There is here a strong preference for *no*. The answer *yes* would usually be preceded by a short pause, some hesitation or an extenuating phrase. But the caller in this case answers *yes* without delay and gives a further explanation which the host tries to reformulate: *and then you mean that that the animals are suffering while...* The caller interrupts however, and in overlapping talk argues for the farmers, that they have a difficult situation and they have to go into debt and their wives have to work. The host tries again to reformulate and delivers with rising tone another negatively formulated speech act: *but that can't really justify can't really justify these tragedies?* [of neglected cattle]. Although this utterance embodies a preference for *no* the caller answers again *yes* without delay. But he modifies his rapid answer, trying to legitimize his position: *no of course not I love animals*. These speech acts, in this case with a strong preference for *no*, are treated by the caller as if they were expressing an opinion (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 16).

The caller has stood up for the farmers, explaining the circumstances and making two legitimations: *I love animals* and *I was born on a farm*. After this the host again expresses a negatively formulated yes/no question, which shows that he, although he has tried to give counterarguments, is now beginning to accept the facts that have been presented to him: *but but d- don't you really think that that that as a matter of fact it is a question of individual tragedies?* The preference for a *yes* is strong and the caller delivers it twice and with surprise: *yes yes but of course this is the case*.

The host asks the questions but changes his opinion during the interaction without explicitly admitting it. After having argued that a difficult economic situation cannot explain or excuse the neglect of one's cattle, he now claims

that an unstable economy can in fact give rise to individual tragedies. He has realized that the caller is the expert, the one who has first-hand knowledge. This shift in opinion is rather common in Ring P1. The following section illustrates what may happen when the host discovers during the interaction that the caller is not only an expert but also an obvious authority on the issue being discussed.

An unexpected turn

In ordinary conversation, the participants usually try to minimize conflict. They want to reach consensus. When conflict talk appears, it is a delicate matter that must be handled with great care. The person who does not agree lingers a bit, there is a small pause and they try to soften and modify with utterances like "yes this is how it can be but on the other hand" (Dickerson 2001). According to Cameron (2003), today we have rules for "good communication"; that is, even when participants are asymmetrically positioned one party is expected to try to minimize the distance, to choose an informal style and save the face of the other party. In Ring P1 these rules for good communication are followed when it comes to informality, using first names, informal greetings, ordinary vocabulary, etc. But in this program, the hosts meet the opinions of the listeners and the participants are openly antagonistic and deliver their opinions without extenuating formulations and euphemisms. The role of the host is to exhibit skepticism by asking questions, giving arguments and trying to refute the claims of the caller, encouraging disputation and confrontation with the aim of stimulating the audience.

The host of Ring P1 does not know in advance how the interaction will develop, and as a consequence it is impossible to always act as an expert. The host's legitimacy is thus sometimes at stake and it happens that the interaction takes an unexpected turn, one that neither of the interactants had expected. This is what is happening in the following example.

The acts of terror in New York on 11 September 2001 evoked feelings in the listeners of Ring P1, and this event dominated calls for a long time. In the example below from 18 October, a man calls in to the studio to the male host. The caller moves into the speaker's role and gives his opinion, namely that Muslims in the Western world live in a society in conflict with their religion and now must choose between society and religion. The host raises an objection, in a slowly delivered and distinctly articulated utterance:

Extract 18 October 2001:

368 Host: yes but surely that depends on <how we: who is living with them
369 i:n our society> act now=

- 370 Bo: =yes absolutely [but but it delpe-
 371 Host: [I I mean I]I want to reiterate for the umpteenth
 372 time during the last ten days that there are <one point two billion
 373 Muslims in the world>
 374 Bo: yes
 375 Host: <a very very small part actually a negligible minority of
 376 them are extremists and terrorists but [um the damage]>
 377 Bo: [°a- e-°
 378 Host: >> they cause is severe> so: that is a good reason for us
 379 trying to do something=
 380 Bo: =yes that's right .hh but a a part of the respo- you are quite
 381 right but perhaps the Muslims who live here in the Western
 382 world also have to take responsibility

The caller tries to start a counter-argument on line 370, but is interrupted by the host who concludes that we, as members of the Western world, must intervene against terror actions. The caller tries in vain to take a turn but the host goes on talking slowly and in an assertive way. The caller, however, is firm in his opinion that the Muslims living with us in the West have to assume their part of the responsibility (line 381–382). Although the host tries to undermine his arguments, the caller succeeds in formulating this opinion and in strengthening his position during the following twenty-four turns. He says at last: *I have been a little engaged in the intelligence service*. This information is delivered without emphasis, almost as a passing word, as something rather trivial. After this legitimization the caller has the floor for a rather extended turn while the host remains silent. Has he suddenly realized that this caller is not "an ordinary person" but a person of high standing? This legitimization puts the host on the defensive. He asks, in a presequence, a polite question:

- 433 Host: may I ask something?
 434 Bo: yes
 435 Host: <wh- when I see your name here> and th- and you tell me .hh
 436 that you have worked in the intelligence service was it you who
 437 was captain of the Orion?
 438 Bo: yes I gave a Russian a little push on Lejpaja fifteen years ago and
 439 there was an awful row yes
 440 Host: yes exactly that's right
 441 Bo: ye:s *that was definitely me*
 442 Host: oh yes then you know what it is all about then perhaps you may

- 443 may (SWALLOWING) uum admit that um this idea that the
 444 Muslims themselves of course should be able to control
 445 the terrorist um that this is in fact a good idea?
 445 Bo: yeah that is what I have been trying to say okay
 446 Host: °m°

The host lingers and starts in a faltering, hesitating way: *wh- when I see your name here and you tell me that you have worked in the intelligence service*. After this respectful preannouncement the host can utter a direct question: *was it you who was captain of the Orion?* The caller confirms this with a smiling voice and adds *I gave a Russian a little push on Lejpaja fifteen years ago*. After having dominated the conversation with a rich number of interruptions, counterarguments and an antagonistic and assertive style, the host is now swallowing, hesitating and stumbling over his words, and is markedly hesitant. Moreover, he changes his opinion and acknowledges the caller's expert knowledge (line 442): *then you know what it is all about*. Suddenly, in an attempt to regain his position and reaffirm his institutional identity as controller of the talk event, he presents the caller's opinion as his own, an opinion he now wants the caller to agree with: *this idea that the Muslims themselves of course should be able to control the terrorist um that this is in fact a good idea?* The caller is slightly surprised: *yeah that is what I have been trying to say okay*. To that the host answers with a hardly audible acknowledgement *mm*.

At the end of the program the host underlines one more time the legitimization of the caller when he addresses him as an expert:

- 454 Host: .hh you as a former officer now what do you think what will
 455 happen with the bombing and with uum uum possibly (.hh) with
 456 a deployment of: special troops?

It is rather unusual in a phone-in program that a caller is invited to discuss a new topic, namely a possible war against Iraq. Even here the host shows uncertainty: audible breathing-in, pauses, hesitations, hedgings, etc. After this the caller takes the floor and dominates the rest of the dialogue. At last the host initiates the ending of the call:

- 465 Host: .hh BO with this point of view we berth
 466 Bo: thank you
 467 Host: *thank you*
 468 Bo: bye bye
 469 Host: bye bye

The host pronounces in a rather loud voice the whole name of the caller and at the same time delivers a solidarity act by using a naval term in *with this point of view we berth*. The caller answers by "stealing" the host's turn when he says *thank you* and signals an end of the call with *bye bye*. The host's reaction to this is noticeable in his response which is given in a smiling voice, most certainly in this case a token of uncertainty.

This conversation – like other kinds of talk – is shaped by its immediate context. When this caller in a rather causal way announces a certain identity he is allowed to dominate, is asked respectful questions as an expert, has the chance to discuss two different topics, receives a solidarity act and is allowed to initiate the thank you-phrase. In addition, this call is more than twice as long as other calls usually are on this phone-in program. The discursive identities of the persons involved change during the interaction and at the same time the interaction is influenced by this change of positions. The host abandons his antagonistic style characterized by interruptions, counterarguments and assertive behavior. He adopts a style that is respectful and considerate, with polite expressions and indirect speech acts. The caller is suddenly allowed to talk in extended turns and the host produces supporting continuers. He has adopted a co-operative consensus-building style of discourse, which is unusual on this sort of program as it also is in professional interviews.

Why do I analyze this example, which in several respects differs from other calls on Ring P1? It illustrates how ordinary people are normally treated by the host when they present their arguments on political issues, i.e. it shows what the conventions are in an asymmetrical context in which the host controls the conversation. The identities as host and caller are not automatically relevant for the interactional flow. This example illustrates that the status and identity of the caller, and how they are consolidated in the interaction, constitute a matter of decisive importance in determining whether the host (and the listeners?) will accept his/her arguments as trustworthy.

Summary

Journalism constitutes an important condition for the public political debate. Much of what is published in the media comes, however, to nothing, i.e. it arouses no reaction. And if you, as a reader of the paper or listener to the radio, want to react, it is difficult to gain access to a public arena. New practices must evolve to ensure that democracy does not stagnate, and that stimulate a continuous discussion among citizens and open up for the questioning of politicians. Today it is quite common that the media provides resources for interactive communication and programs involving audience participation, by which ordinary members of society are allowed to make their voices heard. Such programs are rather inexpensive to produce, can

stimulate a discussion on what has been reported in the news via ethermedia and newspapers, and allow room for an alternative debate with a broad and democratic representation. Open-link radio programs that invite listeners to call in and ask questions of a leading politician and Ring P1 are such media formats, allowing people to debate publicly in a domain previously dominated by media professionals, politicians and other public figures. These programs can be considered rather serious, a public dialogue about matters of interest for a democratic audience. The interaction does not take place quite according to the rules of an interview but in an unplanned way. Citizens are encouraged to call in to a leading politician or a professional host who is willing to listen and take part in interpersonal communication, not deliver interviews with only questions and answers distributed to a mass audience. The participants meet in a dialogue by which the caller is an active participant rather than a mere consumer. Perhaps this is the only way for ordinary people to take matters into their own hands, an alternative for those who have no other public arena to act in. In these programs people react adequately and competently, give their opinions and are part of the public discourse.

An interview is made up of questions and answers, and the interviewee is expected to know who has the right to ask the questions. In these programs, however, an informal, mundane conversation is mixed with utterances reminiscent of the journalistic interview. A hybrid form has developed, with elements normally occurring only in conversations between equals. Here we have direct, unscripted encounters 'live' between callers and journalists and/or leading politicians. And in these programs, in which the ordinary citizen is an active participant, it is more crucial for the host and above all for the politician to have the capacity to carry on a conversation, to make personal comments in an informal but respectful way than it is to possess rhetorical, speechmaking skills or be able to handle a confrontational interviewing technique.

On the whole, broadcast talk has become more conversational (Fairclough 1992, Clayman and Heritage 2002) and the social distance between the participants (journalist, politician, ordinary citizen) has been reduced, at least in the interaction. The interview is blended with small talk, usually occurring in conversations between equals, as well as with speechlike monologues directed for the listeners.

Phone-in programs do not nurture well-planned interviews but are instead characterized by spontaneity and dynamics. This is a public arena that is open for social interaction among persons with social and cultural backgrounds other than those of traditional debaters. New groups, with new unexpected interests and viewpoints, have come onstage and the debate has become more heated. Issues are taken up that were formerly not even raised because they were not important to the middle-class debaters. The ordinary citizen communicates his experience, his expert knowledge, in a way common to all listeners. The callers are laypersons with little experience in dealing with mass media and leading politicians. They speak in lay

terms, perhaps without authority and in an opinionated way, but their basis is authentic knowledge.

Many people call in to these phone-in programs, and the discussions can be rather animated. Barber (1999) expresses the opinion that such debates in a public forum with direct interaction between two or more persons are undisciplined, polarized and unproductive. In these discussions, according to Barber, there is a lack of reflection and a tendency to express prejudices. The participation of ordinary listeners encourages exaggerations, stupidity and rash statements. Barber recommends instead a thoughtful silence and disciplined turn-taking.

Above all, Ring P1 is a program that has aroused a great deal of emotion, preferably among those who have access to the more prestigious public arenas (debate pages in the high-status morning papers, reviews on radio and TV, etc.), that is journalists, politicians and academics. A political scientist points out in a debate article that those who call in to Ring P1 are usually angry and excited. They are not willing to listen to other people's opinions, i.e. they do not follow the rules of a democratic dialogue. Phone-in programs are thus ridiculed and marginalized by reviewers and debaters, by the political and academic elite who regularly give their opinion in media.

Different persons use language in different ways, depending on the context and goal of the interaction. There is no end to the list of possible utterances, nevertheless Bakhtin (1986) maintains that the individual's freedom to express him/herself is in practice limited. Though every utterance is individual, in the different sectors of society regularities of speech and interaction develop and are passed on. The composition of the utterances follows the guidelines established by the situations in which the words and phrases have been used before. Which modes of expression are considered suitable in a speech situation and are thereby chosen or have precedence is culturally determined; it is a question of what others have said and which routines have emerged. In radio, we have a traditional public sphere with an elite espousing an idea of a form of conversation characterized by rationality, matter-of-factness and universality. Unfortunately, this prevents ordinary people from engaging in public discourse. People do have the capacity to express themselves when they talk about matters that influence their lives, but they are not used to talking publicly, have no institutional status or authority, use lay terms and express emotions. They simply have not learned to master the speech genre that public debaters take for granted, the genre that is also regarded as the norm for public speech.

The participant's status and identity, when recognized, shapes the kind of talk that is produced within the context of the phone-in conversation. The value of what is uttered depends on how it is formulated, according to the norm and the institutional legitimacy of the speaker (Bourdieu 1991). The result of this is that some performances are valued more highly than others. But now and then it actually happens that journalists in a serious way quote and re-use voices from the common man in other programs about politics and cultural questions. It seems to have become, as Clayman

says in this volume, a means "to take the pulse of the public with regard to specific issues and, more generally, to keep in touch with the concerns of ordinary people". It is naturally not possible to draw any conclusions from these observations, but perhaps journalists have realized that the public discussion might be enriched and appear more trustworthy when many different voices are heard – not only those of the professional journalists and politicians.

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Transcription conventions:

wo:rd	extended sound
wo[rd	overlap begins
[yes	
word]	overlap ends
yes]	
word=word	latching, indicates absolute contiguity between utterances
.hh	audible inbreath
hh	audible outbreath
°word°	quiet speech
<word>	the talk is slower than surrounding talk
(.)	micropause
question mark ?	rising intonation
WORD	loud talk
word	a smiling voice
(SWALLOWING)	description of an event

Chapter 12

Arenas of Interaction in the New Media Era

Steven E. Clayman

Since the late 1970s, broadcast news in the United States has undergone a fundamental and multifaceted transformation. Some of these developments have been a central focus of scholarly discussion – ie., that news has become more interpretive, more negative, more preoccupied with political strategy than policy substance, and more focused on “soft” subjects (crime, entertainment, health) to the exclusion of “hard” political news (eg., Baum 2003, Cohen 2004, Hallin 1997, Patterson 1993). Other changes, while no less important, have received less attention. Consider the discursive form in which news now appears. The traditional way of packaging and presenting news – in the form of a narrative or story, which dominated public affairs programming for many decades – has steadily declined in prominence. It now coexists alongside a plethora of communicative forms organized around human interaction – news interviews, news conferences, panel discussions, formal and informal debates, town meetings, and talk shows of various kinds. Some of these forms are fully institutionalized within broadcasting where they function as programming formats; others are *ad hoc* events occurring independently but then broadcast to the public. This diverse collection of media events shares a common property: each is comprised of relatively unscripted encounters involving some combination of public figures, media professionals, and ordinary people.

Numerous conditions in the U.S. have contributed to the growth of interaction as a vehicle for presenting broadcast news and information. Technological and legal changes have been enabling factors. The advent of cable greatly increased the number of channels and news outlets, while satellite feeds and more portable news gathering equipment now permit live encounters with newsmakers from virtually anywhere in the world. Correspondingly, the demise of the Fairness Doctrine (an FCC regulation mandating that broadcasters offer a range of views on controversial issues of public importance) reduced inhibitions stemming from government oversight of program content. All of this has yielded expanded opportunities for the development of new interaction-based forms of informational programming.

At the same time, economic conditions have encouraged broadcasters to exploit these opportunities. In the deregulatory environment of the 1980s, the three major commercial television networks in the U.S. – ABC, NBC, and CBS, which had long been stable corporate entities devoted primarily to communications – were each bought out by conglomerates that assumed substantial debt and were much less willing to allow their news divisions to remain insulated from the pressures of the bottom line (Auletta 1991, Hallin 1997). That changing of the guard occurred during a period of tremendous volatility in the media marketplace, with the networks facing a succession of new competitors starting with cable and the VCR and culminating in the personal computer and the internet. All of this has had a substantial impact on the ethos of broadcasting. Producers have become much more concerned about production costs and audience ratings and more willing to experiment with new formats for news and public affairs programming.

Moreover, such experimentation has taken place in an occupational culture that places a high value on “live” programming – the presentation of raw events that are, or appear to be, unfolding “in the present tense” (Timberg 2002: 4) – as the distinctive province of broadcasting. As former NBC president Reuven Frank put it in a famous staff memo, “the highest power of television journalism is not in the transmission of information, but in the transmission of experience” (quoted in Epstein, 1973: 39). Not only do many producers believe that relaying events-as-they-happen is what television does best, but such programming is also believed to have substantial audience appeal.

Against this backdrop, formats based on spoken interaction have been particularly attractive. Such formats are inexpensive to produce, and they embody qualities of “eventfulness”, “spontaneity”, and “liveliness” that are regarded as intrinsically televisual and popular with audiences.

Interactional formats have thus proliferated in recent years, transforming the public sphere as it is constituted through the news media. And yet to a significant extent social science research has failed to keep pace with this development. The discipline of communication studies continues to be dichotomized between “interpersonal” and “mass” communication subfields (e.g, both American and International Communication Associations maintain separate “interpersonal” and “mass” divisions), a split that seems increasingly archaic in light of the developments outlined above. More generally, studies of journalism across the social sciences remain preoccupied with the traditional story form of news. This preoccupation is apparent both in studies of news production that focus on the backstage work routines through which raw information is gathered, sifted, and assembled into finished news stories,¹ and in studies of news content that focus on the themes and perspectives that predominate within such stories.²

Neither production nor content studies have devoted much attention to newer interaction-based forms of news, which transcend the distinction

between news production and news content and thus require new modes of analysis. Recently, however, a small but growing body of work on the subject has begun to emerge. While studies of presidential news conferences have a comparatively well-established pedigree (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman et. al. 2006, Cornwell 1965, French 1982, Smith 1990), work has recently appeared on broadcast news interviews (Bull and Mayer 1988, Burger 2002, Burger and Filliettaz 2002, Clayman and Heritage 2002a, Croteau and Hoynes 1994, Ekstrom 2001, Greatbatch 1992, Laverbach 2004, Myers, 2000, Roth 1998, 2002, 2005, Schudson 1994), daytime television talk shows (Carbaugh 1988, Gamson 1998, Grindstaff 2002, Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Munson 1993, Shattuc 1997, Tolson 2001), talk radio (Davis and Curtice 2000, Hutchby 1996, 1999, Owen 1997, Thornborrow 2001), and broadcast talk more generally (Davis and Owens 1988, Herbst 1995, Hutchby 2005, Martinez 2003, Pan and Kosicki 1997, Scannell 1991, Timberg 2002).

This paper surveys a number of such communicative forms, with an emphasis on news interviews, news conferences, and various modes of audience participation (radio call-in shows, TV talk shows, and town meetings). These are analyzed as distinct arenas within the public sphere (Habermas 1989) – that aspect of civil society in which persons from various backgrounds meet to confer on matters of public importance. Contrary to some of the more abstract theoretical accounts of this subject, the public sphere is best understood not as a singular entity but as encompassing a variety of communicative arenas (Jacobs, 2000). The arenas of interest here are constituted not by media technologies (c.f., Meyrowitz 1985) or structures of ownership or journalistic organizations, but by specific modes of interaction, each with its own conditions of access and modes of conduct. Accordingly, each interactional arena will be examined from the standpoint of its historical development, constraints on who may participate, and for the more well-established arenas (news interviews and news conferences) the evolving norms and practices that organize actual conduct. The conclusion of the paper will address the broader ramifications that broadcast interaction has had for journalism, politics, and the public sphere more broadly conceived. Throughout, the analysis will focus primarily on the U.S. context, and it will be guided by a concern with how these arenas mediate relations between political elites and ordinary citizens.

News interviews

The *news interview* is a familiar and readily recognizable genre of broadcast interaction. It differs from other interaction-based genres by its distinctive constellation of participants, subject matter, and interactional form. In a prototypical news interview, the interviewer is known as a professional journalist rather than a partisan advocate or celebrity entertainer. Interview-

ees are public officials, experts, or others whose actions or opinions are newsworthy. The discussion normally focuses on matters related to current events, is highly formal in character, and is managed primarily through questions and answers. In the U.S., prototypical news interviews are featured on daily shows such as *Nightline* (ABC) and *The NewsHour* (PBS), and Sunday shows such as *Meet the Press* (NBC), *Face the Nation* (CBS), *This Week* (ABC), and *Late Edition* (CNN).

Notwithstanding these clear cases, the genre has fuzzy boundaries, with shows that share many of the features sketched above while differing in other important ways. Thus, cable news channels have numerous quasi-interview shows (e.g., *Hardball*, *The O'Reilly Factor*) hosted by partisan advocates of various stripes, who are less bound by norms of impartiality and are much more overtly opinionated in their dealings with public figures. Farther afield, *Larry King Live* is hosted by a former radio personality rather than a professional journalist, and although he questions his guests, he also takes telephone calls from the home audience. The result is a hybrid of the news interview and radio call-in formats.

Origins and institutionalization

The news interview prototypically involves the confluence of representatives of two key societal institutions – journalism and politics. Accordingly, the history of the news interview is thoroughly intertwined with the co-evolution of these institutions.

Although it now seems quite natural for journalists to interview elected officials and other prominent public figures, it has not always been so. In the U.S., interviewing was virtually nonexistent for the first half-century of the nation's existence. Institutions of national government only gradually became publicly accessible, and even as journalists were granted access first to the House of Representatives and later to the Senate, verbatim quotations were normally prohibited (Leonard, 1986). The aloofness of government officials was matched by the disinterest of most journalists. Newspapers during this period were financed by political parties and were vehicles for editorial opinion more than factual reportage (Schudson 1978).

The practice of interviewing can be traced to the rise of the American penny press in the 1830s, the first papers to devote themselves primarily to “news rather than views” and to employ reporters broadly devoted to the task of newsgathering. But published interviews with public figures did not become common journalistic practice until quite late in the 19th century. This new form of journalism first expanded rapidly in the U.S. and then more slowly in England and other European countries, in part at the prompting of American journalists in Europe. This expansion did not occur without controversy – interviewing was frequently attacked as an artificial and unduly intrusive journalistic practice (Schudson 1994).

Although these criticisms would not disappear entirely, the news interview became increasingly accepted as normal journalistic practice in the early decades of the 20th century. This development roughly coincides with the growing stature and professionalization of journalism (Schudson 1978, 1988) and the shift within government from backstage intragovernmental negotiations to public relations as tools of governance (Kernell 1986, Tulis 1987). The normalization of the news interview reflected these twin institutional changes, and it furthered their development. The advent of television subsequently increased the prominence of news interviews, first with weekly interview-based programs, and then nightly programs that began on the broadcast networks and later expanded onto cable news channels.³

In short, what used to be regarded as extraordinary has become standard practice across the political spectrum. Just as journalists were once criticized for questioning public officials, now officials are subject to criticism if they fail to make themselves sufficiently accessible to journalistic interrogations.

Patterns of participation

The news interview, as a journalistic form, is responsive to journalistic ideals of balance and fairness. However, these ideals are not interpreted to mean that any and all viewpoints should be equally represented. News interview programs do not provide “equal time” for terrorists, violent criminals, or political extremists on the left or right. Producers of such programs appear to distinguish between areas of legitimate controversy – where diverse perspectives are given their place – versus persons and viewpoints regarded as fundamentally illegitimate and hence undeserving of airtime (cf., Hallin 1994).

Beyond the wholesale marginalization of those regarded as “beyond the pale”, there is a general tendency for the major news interview shows to favor broadly mainstream and establishment guests. In a study of ABC’s *Nightline* and PBS’s *NewsHour* – the two main nightly news interview programs in the U.S. – Croteau and Hoynes (1994) demonstrate that guest lists are dominated by current and former government officials and other establishment elites, while leaders of labor, public interest, and racial/ethnic groups appear relatively infrequently. This emphasis, which is consistent with general patterns of news coverage (e.g., Fishman 1980, Gans 1979), reflects in part an understanding by program producers that the ideal guests are newsmakers who play a central role in shaping the events under discussion. Granting this justification, the emphasis on newsmakers plainly constrains the range of perspectives that are given voice in interview-based discussions of public affairs.

In addition to these general patterns of participation characteristic of news interviews as a group, there is also internal variation between particular programs. The most significant line of distinction is between those

airing weekly on Sunday – *Meet the Press* (NBC), *Face the Nation* (CBS), *This Week* (ABC), and *Late Edition* (CNN) – and those airing on a nightly basis – *Nightline* (ABC) and *NewsHour* (PBS). The Sunday shows have the greatest visibility, routinely generating subsequent news coverage in the form of stories for the Monday newspapers. Correspondingly, they attract the most prominent guests, a high proportion of which are senior Administration officials and Congressional leaders. In contrast, the nightly shows “make news” far less often, and their guests include fewer “heavyweight” newsmakers and more rank-and-file legislators, former officials, and expert commentators of various kinds.

Norms and practices

The news interview is not merely a reflection of journalistic and political institutions; it is also a social institution in its own right. Conduct within the news interview is organized around the roles of interviewer and interviewee, and is governed by a complex matrix of social norms and conventions.

The most fundamental and pervasive characteristic of news interview interaction is that it unfolds as a series of questions and answers. This is, in one sense, an empirical regularity that typifies news interview talk (Heritage and Roth 1995) but it is also a social norm that participants are obliged to uphold (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 4). The question-answer framework may seem obvious, but its very obviousness makes it constitutive of the news interview as a recognizably distinct form of interaction. Moreover, underlying this normative framework is a far less obvious substrate of practices that are necessary to produce interaction in manifest compliance with the question-answer norm. These practices include the systematic avoidance of a wide range of acknowledgement tokens and other responsive behaviors (e.g., *uh huh*, *yeah*, *right*, *oh*, *really*) that are absolutely pervasive in ordinary conversation but become redundant and incongruous in a context where the parties are supposed to restrict themselves to the actions of questioning and answering. Both the question-answer norm and the practices that underlie it are usually taken for granted by interview participants, but they may become more fully conscious of the ground rules at problematic or contentious moments, when those rules may be appealed to explicitly as a means or complaint of self-defense.

In building questions, interviewers are sensitive to two further journalistic norms that are difficult to reconcile. On the one hand, consistent with the overarching ideal of objectivity, they are supposed to be impartial or neutral in their questioning. While absolute neutrality is an unattainable ideal, interviewers do strive to maintain a formally neutral or “neutralistic” posture by restricting themselves to questions *per se* – avoiding all tokens of acknowledgement (e.g., *mbm*, *yeah*) that might be taken to indicate agreement with the interviewee’s prior remarks, and also avoiding un-

varnished assertions that express a point of view (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 5). For instance, although the interviewer below attacks the crackdown on civil liberties by the apartheid regime in South Africa as an effort to “suppress political dissent” (lines 1-5), that assertion is not done as an action in its own right. He attributes the assertion to “critics” (arrowed), thereby disaffiliating himself from the viewpoint it embodies. He also goes on to produce an interrogative (line 6), thereby retrospectively casting the prior assertion as mere “background information” leading up to a question soliciting the interviewee’s point of view.

(1) [PBS NewsHour 22 July 1985: South African Ambassador to the U.S.]

- 1 IR: Finally Mister Ambassador as you know the
 2 -> critics say that the purpose of the state of emergency
 3 the real purpose of the state of emergency is to
 4 suppress political dissent, those who are opposed
 5 to the apartheid government in South Africa.
 6 Is that so,

In general, while it is not uncommon for interviewers to make assertions, they often use practices like these to maintain a neutralistic posture.

On the other hand, consistent with the ideal of political independence and the “watchdog” role of the press, journalists are also supposed to be *adversarial* in their questioning and should not allow guests unfettered access to the airwaves to say whatever suits their interests. Interviewers pursue the ideal of adversarialness in part through the content of their questions, raising matters that run contrary to public figures’ interests and agendas (as in example 1 above) and subjecting their previous responses to challenge. Adversarialness is also implemented through the underlying form of such questions (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 6, 2002b) – for example, by designing questions in ways that narrow the parameters of an acceptable response, by “tilting” questions in favor of one particular response over others, and by encoding presuppositions that are difficult for the interviewee to counter or refute. An important resource for these various forms of adversarialness are the preliminary statements that interviewers often make when leading up to a question. Such statements are accountable as providing “background information” necessary to render the question intelligible to the audience, but as the previous example demonstrates they can be mobilized in ways that allow the interviewer to assert control over the discussion agenda and exert pressure on recalcitrant interviewees.

The balance that is struck between the ideals of neutrality and adversarialness is a signature that distinguishes individual interviewers, the news programs on which they appear, and historical periods characterized by dominant styles of interviewing.

Interviewees, in responding, face a different set of cross-cutting pressures. Adversarial questions create an incentive for resistant or evasive responses, encouraging interviewees to be less than forthcoming or to shift the discussion agenda in a more desirable direction. However, the normative question-answer framework obliges interviewees to answer straightforwardly, so that failure to do so can be costly. Interviewers often counter such maneuvers with probing follow-up questions and negative sanctions; audience members may infer that the interviewee has some ulterior motive for avoiding the question; and acts of evasion are often singled out in subsequent news coverage (Clayman 1990). Accordingly, interviewees almost always design their resistant responses in such a way as to minimize these undesirable consequences (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 7). They may choose to sidestep the question in an overt or explicit manner, which allows for equally explicit forms of “damage control.” For instance, in a discussion of health care reform, the interviewee (an insurance industry executive and reform opponent) briefly responds to a question (lines 4-8), and then shifts the agenda to counter remarks made earlier by a pro-reform interviewee. Notice that before shifting the agenda, the interviewee first asks permission to do so (line 9, arrowed), thereby continuing to honor the principle that the interviewer is in charge of the discussion agenda. In the course of asking permission, she also provides a rationale for her shift (she is seeking “equal time” on an issue raised by her discussion opponent), and minimizes the magnitude of what she is about to do (“just make one comment”).

(2) [PBS NewsHour 21 October 1993: Health Care Reform]

- 1 IR: .hhh Well Miss Jenckes he raises an interesting question.=
 2 =Again just as a matter of strategy your ad doesn't say::
 3 that it's sponsored by the health (.) insurance companies
 4 IE: [Margaret that's
 5 absolutely incorrect. .hh Our ads (.) whether they're
 6 on TV, .h our print a- advertisements, that appear in
 7 newspapers .hh even radio spots indicate that we have
 8 paid for it.=
 9 -> Let me may- just make one comment in [terms of what Ron says.
 10 IR: [hhh [wh- [ih-
 11 All right.]
 12 IE: [h h h] Of course. Any coalition, I don't care
 13 Whether it's Save: the What:es...

All of these practices can be understood as “damage control” aimed at portraying what might otherwise seem merely evasive in the best possible light.

Alternatively, when evading the question covertly, interviewees may take steps to obscure what is transpiring by giving it the surface form of an

answer. For instance, notice how the repetition of specific words from the question (“the difference”) obscures the fact that the response falls short of a straightforward answer.

(3) [BBC Radio World at One 13 March 1979: Arthur Scargill]

- 1 IR: .hhh er What’s the difference between your Marxism and
- 2 Mister McGahey’s communism?
- 3 IE: er The difference is that it’s the press that constantly
- 4 Call me a Ma:rxist when I do not, (.) and never have
- 5 (.) er given that description of myself...

By these various means, interviewees gain a measure of control over the discussion agenda and can to some degree “stay on message” even in the face of highly adversarial lines of questioning.

Many contemporary interviews involve multiple interviewees who represent diverse and frequently opposing viewpoints. The panel interview format is attractive to broadcasters, not only because it promotes varying degrees of dramatic conflict (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 8, Greatbatch 1992 Olsher forthcoming), but also because it creates a division of labor that helps to reconcile the divergent ideals of neutrality and adversarialness. With partisan interviewees playing the role of adversary *vis à vis* one another, the interviewer is left free to act as an impartial catalyst.

Evolving styles of questioning

Comparative research on the news interview remains underdeveloped, but styles of questioning appear to have changed substantially since the advent of television. In general, journalists’ questions to public figures have become less deferential and more adversarial during this period.

However, this trend has developed somewhat differently in America and Britain (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: Chapter 2). In Britain, a robust tradition of government regulation of broadcast journalism, coupled with the absence of competition prior to 1958, fostered a highly deferential style of questioning in BBC interviews of the 1950s. When the BBC monopoly was replaced by a duopoly in 1958, the resulting competition fueled a sudden and dramatic increase in adversarial questioning. In America, where government regulation of broadcasting has been comparatively minimal and where competitive pressures have been present from the outset, adversarial questioning has grown more modestly from a higher baseline. Indeed, the shift is far less apparent in routine news interviews than it is in presidential news conferences (see below).

To the extent that questioning has become more aggressive, the news interview (and its cousin the news conference) has been transformed into a

more formidable instrument of public accountability. It is now more difficult for officials to make purely self-serving statements in this invigorated journalistic arena. However, this revolution has stimulated a counter-revolution by politicians and public officials – increasingly sophisticated strategies of resistance, aided by a burgeoning cottage industry of media advisors and consultants (Jones 1992). There are broader ramifications for both journalism and government, and these will be explored in the conclusion.

News conferences

Closely related to the news interview is what was once known as the press briefing or conference, but is now perhaps more accurately termed the *news conference*. News conferences differ from interviews in a variety of important ways. They are independently-occurring events held at the behest of the public figure rather than the news media. They typically involve a much larger number of participating journalists from a variety of media outlets. And rather than consisting entirely of questions and answers, news conferences often begin with the public figure delivering an uninterrupted statement or speech and then fielding questions from participating journalists. This basic format not only characterizes news conferences *per se*, but it has also been exported to other public events. Thus presidential debates in recent years have often followed a quasi-news conference format, with each candidate answering questions from a panel of journalists.

Origins and institutionalization

Little is known about the early history of news conferences in the U.S., with the exception of those prominent encounters involving the president (e.g., Cornwell 1965, French 1982, Smith 1990, Tebbel and Watts 1985). The following historical account is thus limited to the presidential context and draws heavily on these sources. The institutionalization of the presidential news conference closely parallels that of the news interview, and it provides a useful exemplar of how the emergence of an interactional arena is tied to changes in both journalistic and political institutions.

In the nineteenth century, presidents occasionally had informal conversations with journalists, but they rarely participated in either formal on-the-record interviews or news conferences. Presidents did not, as a rule, instigate such encounters, and journalists do not appear to have been particularly enterprising in seeking them out. One journalist of the era recounts how, as late as the 1890s, reporters congregating outside the White House would approach cabinet officers for impromptu interviews, but they would refrain from speaking to the president as he passed by.

It is part of the unwritten law of the White House that newspaper men shall never approach the President as he passes to and fro near their alcove or crosses the portico to his carriage, unless he himself stops and talks to them. (Tarbell 1898: 214; quoted in Kernell 1986: 59)

This kind of self-restraint is of course unthinkable today. It is indicative of a vastly different president-press relationship, one in which the president is relatively inaccessible to direct journalistic engagements.

The only prominent exception during this period involves Andrew Johnson, who participated in at least a dozen formal interviews. Johnson's accessibility was extraordinary, but then so were the circumstances. Johnson oversaw the divisive post-Civil War reconstruction following Lincoln's assassination, and his conciliatory approach to the Southern states stimulated outrage in his own party in Congress. When impeachment seemed imminent, he fought back by using the bully pulpit, long before that term was coined, and doing newspaper interviews was part of this strategy (Tebbel and Watts 1985: 212-213). Thus, Johnson is truly the exception that proves the rule – the only nineteenth century president to be interviewed recurrently did so in a crisis situation, when his political survival was at stake.

Conferences involving groups of reporters did not emerge until the early decades of the twentieth century. As noted earlier, this was a time when journalism was becoming professionalized (Schudson 1978, 1988) and when presidents began to rely less on backstage negotiations with Congress and more on courting public opinion as a resource for governance (Kernell 1986, Tulis 1987). It is not coincidence that the presidents most responsible for developing and institutionalizing the news conference – Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt – were each progressive reformers with ambitious political agendas, and each sought to use such conferences to build popular support for their respective programs. Teddy Roosevelt began the practice of meeting regularly but informally with a select group of reporters, importing a practice from his prior experience as governor of New York. Woodrow Wilson made these meetings more open, more formal, and more interrogative in character, consciously or not following the British model of the Prime Minister's appearance before Parliament. After a period of retrenchment following the suspension of press conferences during World War I, Franklin Roosevelt held such meetings frequently and continuously through periods of both war and peace.

With FDR, the era of the journalistically accessible presidency was fully established. While the frequency of news conferences would subsequently decline, for more than four decades after FDR no president would avoid meeting openly with the press on a regular basis.

Patterns of participation

In order to understand who participates in news conferences, it is important to register that, from the public figure's vantage point, they provide what is in many ways a more attractive platform relative to the news interview. Consider first the sociopolitical environment of the news conference. Because news conferences are held at public figures' initiative, the timing and context of the encounter is more fully under their control. Recent presidents have exploited this to advantage, most notably by avoiding conferences during times of uncertainty, controversy, or scandal (cf., Lammers 1981). Thus, in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal, Ronald Reagan suspended news conferences for almost a full year, and Bill Clinton held only a single conference in the year following the Monica Lewinski scandal. Conditions of interaction *within* the news conference are also favorable to the public figure. This theme will be explored further in the next section, but for now it may be noted that, relative to news interviews, public figures here are less constrained by journalists' questions and are thus able to exert greater influence on the discussion agenda. Finally, because numerous journalists are often present, the public figure gains access to a wide range of media outlets and can in principle reach a larger and more diverse audience. In summary, compared to news interviews, news conferences allow the public figure greater control over the context of the encounter, greater control over the discussion agenda, and the potential for superior public exposure.

This platform, while advantageous, is not equally available to all who might seek it. One must be sufficiently newsworthy to attract reporters in significant numbers, and there is a clear hierarchy in the capacity of officials to do this. The president is, of course, the ultimate newsmaker, and presidential news conferences are widely attended and are usually broadcast live on cable news channels. While presidents since FDR have held such conferences with declining frequency (Grossman and Kumar 1981: 245), the slack has been taken up by the White House press secretary who holds briefings on a daily basis. Within the administration, daily briefings are also held at the Departments of State and Defense, but most other administrative departments and agencies do not meet regularly with reporters (Hess 1984: 61-62).

Legislators, who are obviously more numerous and less powerful than the president, have a more difficult time attracting journalistic attention. The vast majority receive little or no attention from the national media, which tends to focus on those few legislators who occupy leadership positions and, in election years, those who are running for president (Cook 1989, Hess 1986). Thus, while the Senate majority and minority leaders hold daily conferences with reporters, rank-and-file Senators hold conferences much less frequently, and these are concentrated among committee chairs (Hess 1991). Moreover, these events tend to be poorly attended, leading some rank-and-file Senators to actively promote their conferences – via personal

invitations and offers of free food – in an effort to attract reporters in greater numbers (Hess 1991: 10).

Norms and practices

Conditions of interaction within the news conference in many ways resemble those of the news interview. Both involve questions and answers which are responsive to a similar set of institutional norms and pressures. However, compared to news interviews, news conferences entail a substantial shift in the interactional balance of power that favors the public figure over the journalist.

This tilt toward the public figure is embodied in a variety of features, the most obvious of which is the opportunity to make a preliminary and uninterrupted speech. This can in principle set the agenda for subsequent questioning, although this happens to a lesser extent than might be assumed. In a quantitative study of Eisenhower and Reagan news conferences (the main findings of which are reported in Clayman and Heritage 2002b), the president's opening remarks were found to have relatively little agenda-setting impact, so that more than 80% of journalists' questions concerned other matters. Nevertheless, opening remarks are commonplace and the propensity to make them has increased significantly – from roughly half of Eisenhower's conferences to more than 90% of Reagan's conferences – suggesting that even though it only minimally constrains journalists, the opportunity for unfettered communication with the audience is too attractive to ignore.

The public figure also benefits from the presence of numerous journalists, which fundamentally alters the conditions of exchange – necessitating special turn taking arrangements that typically give the public figure some capacity to determine who gets to ask each next question. In presidential news conferences, there has been periodic experimentation with different methods for selecting questioners. Early in the 20th century, Warren Harding instituted a rule that written questions be submitted in advance, apparently because he wanted to avoid the negative inferences that can follow when the president momentarily hesitates or overtly declines to answer a given question. Concerning this arrangement, which persisted through the subsequent Coolidge and Hoover administrations, Cornwell (1965: 67) has observed that "silence can be at times as pregnant with meaning as a specific answer, or at least can be so interpreted." Written questions eliminate this problem, allowing presidents to pick and choose their questions without being accountable for the questions they pass over. In a different vein, the Reagan administration experimented briefly with a prearranged order for the questioners, supposedly in an effort to bring greater decorum to encounters that were then being broadcast live. This arrangement had an unintended consequence – without the din of journalists clamoring for the president's

attention after each response, follow-up questions became easier to request and harder to avoid (Schegloff 1987: 223-225). Given this, the arrangement was subsequently abandoned.⁴

Notwithstanding these experiments, by far the most commonplace turn-taking arrangement, not only in presidential news conferences but in news conferences more generally, is for journalists to “bid” for each next question (by raising their hands and/or calling out the public figure’s name) and for the public figure to select among the bidders. This of course facilitates the avoidance of journalists regarded as unfriendly or unduly aggressive.

Not only is journalists’ access to the floor relatively limited, but this has the effect of diminishing their power as interrogators. In this context, the capacity to ask probing follow-up questions is contingent on the discretion of the public figure, and follow-ups are in general much less common here than in news interviews. Journalists adapt to this constraint by asking more complex questions – often two or three questions within a single turn at talk – and their questions may become more elaborate in conferences that allow fewer follow-ups. Nevertheless, journalists are much less able to pursue resistant or evasive answers, and this in turn licenses politicians to exert greater initiative in their responses. Indeed, some particularly blatant forms of resistance, which are virtually nonexistent in news interviews, are more commonplace in news conferences (Clayman 1993). The journalistic role is thus fragmented in this context, making it rather easier for public figures to “stay on message” and pursue their own agendas.

Dynamics of questioning: The case of the presidential news conference

Among news conferences, those involving the president are of course the most prominent and consequential. When designing questions for the president, journalists can choose to be relatively polite and deferential, or they can take up a more aggressive stance. The manner of questioning is thus an important contingency affecting presidential communication with the public, as well as an index of the president-press relationship as it evolves over time and under different sociopolitical circumstances. A large-scale quantitative study of presidential news conferences from Eisenhower through Clinton (1953-2000) explores the circumstances under which journalists gravitate toward these different postures (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman, et al. 2006). The study examines various aspects of aggressiveness in question design, including (1) *initiative*, whether the question is enterprising rather than passive in its objectives, (2) *directness*, whether the question is delivered bluntly rather than cautiously or indirectly, (3) *assertiveness*, whether the question displays a preference for a particular answer and is thus opinionated rather than neutral, and (4) *adversarialness*, whether the question pursues an agenda in opposition to the administration.

The results reveal significant historical trends toward greater journalistic aggressiveness on all dimensions. However, this generalization glosses over various complexities. The increase in directness stands out as more gradual, continuous, and unidirectional than the other dimensions. Thus, while journalists in the 1950s were exceedingly cautious and indirect in their questioning (e.g., often asking questions in the form “Would you care to tell us...,” “Can I ask whether...”), they have gradually become more straightforward in putting issues before the president. Since this trend has steadily advanced across more than three decades, directness in question design appears to be a secular trend, one that is not driven by local sociopolitical events or conditions. Indeed, it may not be a journalistic trend *per se*, so much as one manifestation of broader societal developments such as the decline of formality in social relations.

By contrast, the other dimensions – initiative, assertiveness, and adversarialness – are more contextually sensitive, rising in a concentrated manner in certain historical periods and falling in others. These dimensions remained at a relatively low level from Eisenhower through Johnson (1953-1968), and then began an upward trend with Nixon that continued (with some perturbations) through Reagan’s first term (1969-1984). The dimensions subsequently declined from Reagan’s second term through Bush (1985-1992), only to rise again during Clinton’s time in office (1993-2000). Because most of the main historical shifts in aggressiveness extend across multiple presidents, the characteristics of individual presidents (e.g., their party affiliation, political skills, general popularity) do not adequately explain such trends. It seems more likely that certain historical events and conditions (i.e., declining trust in the president stemming from the deceptions of Vietnam and Watergate, levels of political dissent, and economic decline) prompted journalists to exercise their watchdog role much more vigorously from the late 1960s through the mid-1980s, although they subsequently retreated to a somewhat less adversarial posture.

Multivariate research aimed at teasing out these explanatory factors demonstrates that there are robust predictors of aggressive questioning. Consider question content – journalists behave differently depending on whether the question concerns domestic affairs as opposed to foreign and military affairs. Consistent with the “rally ‘round the flag” syndrome and the maxim that “politics stops at the water’s edge”, journalists are significantly less aggressive when raising foreign and military matters. This tendency toward deference on foreign/military matters is remarkably robust – its magnitude has remained essentially stable for nearly a half-century.

Aggressiveness in questioning is also contingent on the identity of the questioner. Contrary to stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity, female journalists tend to be more aggressive than their male counterparts, just as broadcasters tend to be more aggressive than those in print. Given that the White House press corps was originally dominated by male print reporters, it appears that “the new kids on the block” – women and those

working for radio and television news outlets – have tended to take up a more vigorous posture.

The broader context also matters. Journalists are not swayed by public perceptions of how well the president is doing (the president's job approval rating is not an independent predictor of aggressiveness), but they are attentive to the real state of the nation, growing more aggressive when economic conditions are poor. When either the unemployment rate or the prime interest rate is rising, journalists become significantly more aggressive in their questioning, although unemployment appears to have a stronger effect. Journalists thus exercise their watchdog role more vigorously during economic hard times, and they are attuned to conditions on both "Main Street" and "Wall Street".

Arenas involving audience participation

In contrast to the arenas examined thus far, which involve journalists and public figures exclusively, various arenas incorporate ordinary members of the public as active participants. These include radio call-in shows, TV talk shows that feature contributions from the studio audience and/or telephone calls from home viewers, and – in a somewhat different vein – town meetings.

The rise of the participatory audience

Audience participation is by no means a recent invention, even in the context of the mediated public sphere. Radio call-in shows have been around since at least the 1950s. But the participatory audience has become increasingly prominent in recent years, as measured by the growing number of programs organized around such participation and by the expansion of these programs beyond their humble origins in radio entertainment.

The audience participation show was pioneered on radio and became an institutionalized programming format by the 1960s (Munson 1993: 37ff). Although a few television programs in that period experimented with audience involvement in various forms, it did not come into its own as a prominent TV format until the 1980s. Not coincidentally, that was when the television marketplace was becoming increasingly competitive, and when the remote control and the practice of "channel grazing" sent TV producers in search of formats that would be "grazer-resistant" (Munson, 1993: 72). They turned to radio for inspiration, because radio channel grazing had been a fact of life for decades via the in-car pushbutton tuner. The participatory format seemed to have the kind of liveliness that could hold the home viewer's attention, while also capturing those who were just "grazing by."

Consider two major signposts of the rise of the participatory audience. Phil Donahue began his career on local talk radio and moved to local television in 1967. Although his daytime TV show was not initially conceived as involving the audience, he soon began to field questions and comments from those in the studio. Subsequent nationwide syndication of the popular program spawned nearly a dozen imitators, all built around the Donahue format and including a substantial dose of audience participation (Timberg 2002: 68-71, 93-95). Following a similar trajectory, Larry King created the late-night call-in show that bears his name on the medium of radio in the late 1970s, but he moved to television's CNN in 1985, and by the mid-1990s he was reaching an audience spanning more than 150 countries worldwide (Timberg 2002: 161-169).

Audience participation shows have not only expanded, but they have also become increasingly important in the realm of national politics. While political candidates once avoided these programs in favor of more "serious" news outlets, they have increasingly sought them out as part of a diversified campaign strategy in an increasingly segmented media market (Baum and Kernell 1999). The 1992 election season was a key turning point. In 1988, despite overtures from program producers, the major presidential candidates all refused to appear on both the *Donahue* show and *Larry King Live*, although Michael Dukakis reluctantly changed his mind and allowed a King appearance in an effort to counteract his weak performance in the debates. Four years later, in a dramatic turnaround, Ross Perot appeared on King's show and offered to toss his hat in the ring if "drafted" by the people, and tens of thousands later phoned his Dallas headquarters. Subsequently, George Bush and Bill Clinton each made three separate appearances on King's show, and a range of primary and general election presidential candidates appeared on *Donahue* (Kurtz 1996: 56-57, 90-92).

The town meeting, a forum that predates the broadcast media and continues to be held independently, has also shown signs of new life at the level of national politics. While it has long been used by political candidates as a way of connecting with potential voters and attracting news coverage, this forum has recently expanded beyond the domain of campaign strategy. Once again, 1992 appears to have been a turning point. That election season was the first in which a general election debate at the presidential level was conducted in accordance with a town meeting format, replacing the more common news conference format and thus placing ordinary citizens rather than journalists in the role of questioner. The format was used again in the presidential debates of 2000. Outside of elections, the town meeting forum has become a recurrent tool of presidential governance. Although it was rarely used in this way before 1992, Bill Clinton held a large number of town meetings on subjects ranging from health care to race relations, and George W. Bush has continued the practice albeit at a slower pace. Finally, the town meeting has also been taken up by broadcast news producers at ABC and CNN, who have recurrently exploited the format in recent years for special programs focused on pressing issues of the day.

Patterns of participation

The rise of the participatory audience gives ordinary people a greater voice in public deliberations, and it thus introduces a degree of “democratization” into the mediaeered public sphere. Indeed, one reason that politicians are drawn to audience-participatory arenas is that they are believed to yield insight into the prevailing climate of opinion. Such arenas enable politicians not only to gain publicity but also to take the pulse of the public with regard to specific issues and, more generally, to keep in touch with the concerns of ordinary people.

However, far from being a straightforward barometer of public opinion, audience members’ contributions are not necessarily representative of the general public. A sequence of gatekeeping processes determine which members of the public come to participate actively in such programs, and these have the potential to introduce nonrandom factors into the selection process. The first level of selection bears on the composition of the audience – only some members of the public actually listen to or watch such programs, and even fewer attend the live event to become part of the studio audience. Among audience members, only some nominate themselves to make a contribution (e.g., by calling in or, in the case of the studio audience, by raising their hands). Finally, among those who bid to contribute, only some are chosen by call screeners or the host.

Audience research, while limited, provides evidence that these selectional processes do indeed operate in a nonrandom manner. Consider the composition of the audience. The audience for daytime TV talk shows diverges from the general public on a range of demographic factors, with viewers disproportionately female, younger, less educated, and concentrated in lower income brackets (Davis and Owen, 1998: 149). There is also variation among programs, with the “classier” shows (e.g., *Oprah*) attracting more female, white, and middle class viewers than the “trashier” shows (e.g., *Ricki Lake* and *Jerry Springer*). The studio audience is even more distinctive, with a high proportion of tourists, school/church groups, college students, the unemployed, and the elderly (Grindstaff 2002: 61-64).

Correspondingly, the audience for talk radio is also demographically unlike the general population, with listeners wealthier, better educated, disproportionately male, and concentrated in the 30-49 age group (Davis and Owen 1998: 146). The talk radio audience is also politically distinctive, with listeners more likely to be affiliated with the Republican party and less likely to self-identify as “liberal” than the public at large (Davis and Owen 1998: 168-169, Herbst 1995). Not surprisingly, the audience for specific ideologically oriented programs like Rush Limbaugh’s is even more distinctly partisan and ideological (Pan and Kosicki 1997).

Nonrandom factors also condition the processes by which some audience members come to contribute to the discussion. In a study of a BBC program broadcast on both radio and television, Davis and Curtise (2000) examined

the composition of callers to the program, as well the selection decisions made by call screeners. In terms of demographics, callers tended to be more male, middle class, and middle aged than the general electorate. Call screeners tended to reproduce the first two biases via their selection decisions, but they resisted the age bias by favoring somewhat younger callers. In terms of partisanship, callers were not much different from the electorate – both were disproportionately affiliated with the Labour party – but call screeners tended to favor Conservative and Liberal Democratic callers. This presumably reflected not a bias against the Labour party *per se*, but rather an effort to maintain a greater balance of perspectives on the program.

Norms and practices

Audience-participatory arenas may consist exclusively of exchanges between the host and audience members, but the majority also involve public figures or other noteworthy guests as participants. Although the host moderates the discussion, nominating topics and at times asking questions of the guest, at other times audience members take a prominent role by making comments and asking questions to which the guest is obliged to respond.

How do audience members – most of whom are laypersons with no particular expertise in broadcasting or politics – compare to journalists or other media professionals in their conduct toward public figures? Comparative research along these lines remains underdeveloped, and what such research might yield is by no means obvious. Audience members are subject to many cross-cutting forces which are quite unlike those bearing on journalists, and which could propel them in different directions. On the one hand, audience members are in general relatively inexperienced at public speaking and have little background in dealing with either public figures or the mass media. Consequently, relative to journalists, they tend to be less skilled at political interrogation and debate, and are apt to feel less of an entitlement to confront prominent public figures on the issues of the day. This should in turn encourage a more deferential posture.

Preliminary research on town meetings held by Bill Clinton after his election suggests that audience members do indeed differ from their journalistic counterparts in ways that bear the imprint of their status as ordinary citizens rather than journalistic professionals. For instance, audience members tend to raise an issue only after making it clear that they have some immediate connection to the issue and hence that it is a matter of personal interest or concern. To illustrate, notice how this audience member prefaces a question about the appointment of anti-abortion federal court judges (arrowed) – the speaker repeatedly indicates that this is of particular concern to her.

(4) [Clinton Town Meeting 3 Oct 1993]

- 1 C: -> Mister president, my concern is that I've heard that
 2 you're considering the appointment of federal court
 3 judges who are anti-choice.
 4 -> That concerns me very much, because I'm one of those
 5 people who elected you, and one of the issues that
 6 -> I elected you was on being a pro-choice president.
 7 -> I'm concerned about that. I'm concerned about your position.
 8 Is it changing? And if it is, why sir, and how would
 9 you explain it to us?
 10 BC: Well the answer to your question is no, it hasn't changed....
 11 ((several lines omitted))
 12 So you don't have to worry about that....

Correspondingly, as Clinton avows his continued commitment to abortion rights in response, he concludes by registering the questioner's personal stake in the issue (line 12). Moreover, when audience members make claims to knowledge of public affairs, such claims may be epistemically marked in ways that not only display the grounds of knowledge but also portray it as having been acquired in a "casual" or unmotivated manner (e.g., "I've heard that...", "I noticed that..."). In the preceding example, the possibility that Clinton might appoint anti-choice judges is framed as something that the questioner has "heard" about (line 1), rather than something she understands or has been monitoring closely or simply knows as a matter of course. Thus, while audience members' interest in specific issues is presented as personally motivated, their knowledge of public affairs is cast as unmotivated. Neither of these features appear in professional journalists' questions, and in combination they both reflect and reinforce the questioner's status as an "ordinary citizen." Moreover, such features may be indicative of a modicum of cautiousness on the part of audience members regarding the issues they can raise and the knowledge they can claim in doing so (see also Moberg this volume; Myers, 2000; Thornborrow, 2001).

On the other hand, precisely because lay audience members are peripheral to the worlds of media and politics, they lack the relational baggage that might otherwise inhibit their participation. Members of the Washington press corps, for example, regularly encounter and come to know government officials, and they must act in the context of developing relationships and in anticipation of future encounters. Lay audience members, in contrast, stand in a detached and anonymous relationship to officials – a relationship in which direct contact normally does not extend beyond a single question-answer exchange. This could in principle facilitate greater levels of adversarialness. For instance, at Clinton's town hall meetings, it was rather common for audience members to ask the president to explain and justify his policies, thereby in effect holding the president accountable for his ac-

tions. For instance, in example 4 above, after asking the president to confirm that his position is indeed changing, the questioner goes on to ask him to explain why (lines 8-9). Professional journalists do not ask explicit accountability questions of the president very often, although the frequency of such questions has increased in recent years in tandem with other manifestations of aggressiveness in question design (Clayman and Heritage 2002b; Clayman, et. al. 2006). Accordingly, this is one way in which ordinary people do indeed withhold deference and act with some vigorousness toward the president. Whether lay aggressiveness toward public figures is manifest in other ways, and the circumstances that condition its expression, remain to be determined.

Implications

Given important differences between genres of broadcast talk – differences in historical development, conditions of access, and modes of conduct – theorizing about the broader sociopolitical significance of broadcast talk should proceed with caution. Sweeping generalizations must be disciplined by reference to specific interactional arenas and supported by empirical observations about how those arenas actually operate. With this cautionary note in mind, the following is offered as a set of grounded but as yet preliminary hypotheses that might guide future research.

Consider first the implications for politicians and political communication. The increasing prominence of interaction places new demands on public officials and political candidates, thus altering the communicative skills and practices that facilitate success in politics. Indeed, new technologies of communication have often had this effect. The rise of broadcasting fundamentally changed the nature of political speechmaking, fostering a more restrained, personal, and intimate style of oratory (Jamieson 1988). Correspondingly, the rise of interactional formats *within* broadcasting has reshaped the landscape of political communication once again. The new environment places a premium on the ability to speak without a script, deal with unforeseen contingencies, and manage the delicate balancing act of being properly responsive to others while continuing to “stay on message”. Just as Ronald Reagan was supremely suited to the communicative demands of the classic television era, Bill Clinton was particularly suited to the new interaction-based media age. Of course, older communicative skills are far from obsolete (Atkinson, 1986), but new skills have come to the fore as the communication environment has expanded and diversified.

This kind of communication environment has also reduced the social distance separating government officials and other elites from the public at large. Where a certain aloofness attends the act of delivering an unfettered speech, communication in the interactional arena requires direct engage-

ment with, and attentiveness to, both journalists and ordinary people. For U.S. presidents, the growing prominence of interaction thus continues a trend that began a century ago, when presidents first started to supplement backstage intragovernmental negotiations with public relations as tools of governance. Just as the practice of actively courting public opinion brought presidents closer to “the people”, the current practice of directly engaging ordinary people and their journalistic surrogates marks a new phase in this process.⁵ Moreover, if the sheer fact of interaction has a leveling effect on elite-public relations, this effect will be modulated by how elites are actually treated within interaction. Thus, while highly deferential patterns of conduct mark government officials as having elevated status, the withholding of deference and the willingness to act aggressively toward officials plainly “brings them down a notch”.

The increased prominence of interaction has had a corresponding impact on the institution of journalism. Broadcast interaction has substantially changed journalistic work routines, redefined professional skills, and altered the conditions of professional success. If journalists previously gained professional status and popular renown mainly by virtue of their investigative and literary abilities, their ranks have been joined by journalists known mainly for their skills at questioning and interrogation (e.g., Sam Donaldson and Ted Koppel in the U.S., Robin Day and Jeremy Paxman in the U.K.).

Moreover, as the obverse of the leveling effect noted above, interaction has placed journalists on the same public playing field as government officials from the president on down, although here again the specific consequences will be contingent on the level of deference journalists choose to display when dealing with their prominent guests. Through vigorous, nondeferential questioning (of the sort documented in presidential press conferences from the 1970s on) journalists enhance their own relative status, and they also present themselves as autonomous professionals who are willing to hold even the most elite agents of power accountable before the public.

Finally, the rise of interaction has introduced a degree of democratization into the public sphere, or at least that component of the public sphere constituted by the mass media (Carpignano et. al., 1990, Livingstone and Lunt 1994). Insofar as broadcast talk incorporates audience participation, ordinary people gain a voice in a highly prominent deliberative domain previously dominated by media professionals and public figures. On the other hand, this development does not alter the ways in which the contemporary public sphere may fall short of democratic ideals (cf., Habermas 1989). The deliberative promise of audience-participatory broadcast talk must be tempered with a realistic assessment of how conditions of access and norms of conduct impose constraints on participation.

Notes

1. Prominent news production studies include Altheide (1974), Epstein (1973), Fishman (1980), Gans (1979), Hess (1981), Kaniss (1991), Molotch and Lester (1974), Pedelty (1995), and Tuchman (1978).
2. See Entman and Rojecki (2001), Gitlin (1980), Hallin (1986), Jamieson and Waldman (2003), Kerbel (1994), Patterson (1994), and Robinson and Sheehan (1980).
3. For an historical account of the later development of news interviews on television, see Clayman and Heritage (2002a: Chapter 2).
4. The prearranged-questioner system has recently been resurrected in the current Bush Administration, but its fate remains uncertain.
5. The leveling effect of interaction dovetails with, but operates independently of, the leveling effects of electronic media discussed by Meyrowitz (1985).

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During the 20th century, the interview has evolved in such a way that it has become the dominating form for talk and text production in the mass media (i.e. in newspapers, radio, television). This book introduces the Interview Society as an innovative, provocative and challenging concept to understand the construction of news, the use of language, and the power of journalism in contemporary media society. It focuses on the journalistic interview and on the techniques for the representation of utterances, talk and conversation, and combines theories of the public sphere, news journalism, and the interview as a form of interaction. It relates discursive techniques on a micro level to institutional and cultural conditions on a macro level, with regard to journalism and the media public sphere, and takes a historically point of departure with the intention of pinning down important tendencies in the development of modern journalism during the 20th century. Without being nation-specific, it presents findings from a number of empirical studies from five different countries and various genres. The book is structured in relation to four main themes: (1) Historical perspectives, (2) Practices of interviewing and institutionalised interaction, (3) Quoting and editing, (4) New arenas and new forms of interaction.

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