

Challenging neutrality: Invoking extra parties in political TV-interviews

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ABSTRACT. The study focuses on a practice that interviewers exploit when asking questions in one-on-one political TV-interviews: they invoke extra parties. This happens when they alter the participant structure of the dyadic talk (Goffman, 1979) by speaking on another's behalf, inserting a video clip that speaks for them, inviting a guest at the table to take up a position in the argument-so-far or embed a physical object with a message in their utterance. The study aims to discover patterns and actions that coincide with the various forms of invoking extra parties. It also investigates whether the exploitation of an extra party touches upon the borderline between neutrality and non-neutrality.

The data collection encompasses fragments of interviews taken from the Dutch talk show *Pauw & Witteman*. The analysis focuses on turn-taking, repair, laughter, face-saving acts and meta-conversation.

Results show that two procedures for invoking extra parties in one-on-one political interviews – inserting a video clip and embedding an object with a message – put pressure on a central value of good journalism: its neutrality.

KEY WORDS:

TV-interviews

neutrality

participant framework

question design

conversational patterns

Introduction

It takes two to have an interview: a *speaker* and a *hearer*. A basic mechanism in interviews – just as in ordinary conversation – is that the speaker and hearer change roles: the current hearer becomes the next speaker and the current speaker is the next hearer, and so on. In the case of political TV-interviews, it is easy to think of another type of participant: the viewers at home. Characteristic for them is that they are involved as *overhearers*, but not as speakers. Interviewers and interviewees are switching speaker and hearer roles, while exchanging ideas and views in front of members of an audience at home who use the exchange to form their opinion. From the perspective of the politicians, the TV-interview provides a platform on which they argue in public on political issues, thereby attracting citizens and gaining voters.

The renowned American sociologist Goffman argued in a seminal article (1979) that notions such as speaker, hearer and overhearer are too global to deal with the subtleties of spoken interaction. He decomposes the notion of speaker into three distinct speaker roles: the animator (the individual uttering the content), the author (the individual formulating the content), and the principal (the individual whose content is expressed in the utterance). It is often the case that animator, author and principal are one, as in example 1. This is taken from the Dutch late-night talk show *Pauw & Witteman*.

Example 1: The interviewer is the animator of the question, the formulator and the principal (IR=Paul Witteman, IE = second candidate of a right-wing party Rita Verdonk).

1	IR	What are the arrangements between you and Mark Rutte ((member of the same
2		political party as IE and leader of the pre-election campaign)? As far as the
3		division of tasks in the campaign is concerned?

Nevertheless, institutionalized interaction shows many exceptions. A radio-news presenter, for example, is an animator, not an author or a principal. Particularly noteworthy in the context of the present study is the example of the TV-interviewer, who continuously animates and formulates his questions in alignment with the interviewee and the state of the talk, but also

quotes or makes reference to statements from others – ‘principals’ - who are not present in the setting of the interview. This phenomenon is called ‘attributing statements to third parties’ (Clayman 1988). Clayman argues that interviewers apply this procedure in their question design in order to meet the demands of their profession: staying neutral and at the same time being critical and putting forward views.¹ They elicit an argument in a one-on-one interview without taking a stance and being personally responsible. The following interview fragment provides an example (line 4 and 7).

Example 2: Attributing statements to third parties (IR=Paul Witteman, IE = left-wing party leader Jan Marijnissen).

1	IR	Jan Marijnissen, you did <u>not</u> take part in the debate ((i.e. a debate organised
2		shortly before by the commercial network RTL)), because it was RTL’s <u>choice</u>
3		to organize a <u>two</u> -way debate.
4		Femke Halsema had some very angry words to say about that in ↑De Leugen
5		Regeert ((‘A Pack of Lies’, a TV-programme that exposes ‘lies’ in
6		journalism)),
7		Andre Rouvoet stated this morning in De Volkskrant ((i.e. a national quality
8		newspaper with a high impact)) that he regarded it as ↑cheating the voters,
9		[(0.7) Do you agree?
10	IE	└mmhmmh

Goffman (1979) also decomposes the notion of hearer into an addressee (the hearer who is part of the conversation), a bystander (someone within the visual and aural range of the conversation who is not taking part as speaker or addressee), a sideplayer (a bystander who engages him- or herself as speaker) and overhearers (listeners who are not known by speaker and addressee). He shows with numerous examples that speakers as well as hearers shift and play with the various speaker and hearer roles, thereby making their alignment to the ongoing interaction and its participants a subtly varying phenomenon.

Figure 1 represents the ‘default’ participant framework of the interviews that we studied, i.e., the participant structure that the interviewers as the local controllers of the speech event use overwhelmingly and to which they return after digressions from it. The speaker roles – animator, formulator and principal – merge into one of the two interviewers.

The politician is the addressed participant. This dyad of speaker and addressee interacts physically within two circles of bystanders. The closest are the guests at the table, who become side players when they take the speaker role, and the audience in the studio, who have no access to the floor as speakers, but can participate in the interaction in a restricted, though meaningful way by signs of approval or disapproval. The outer layer of Figure 1 contains the viewers at home, a category of listeners who are not known or identifiable by speaker and addressee.

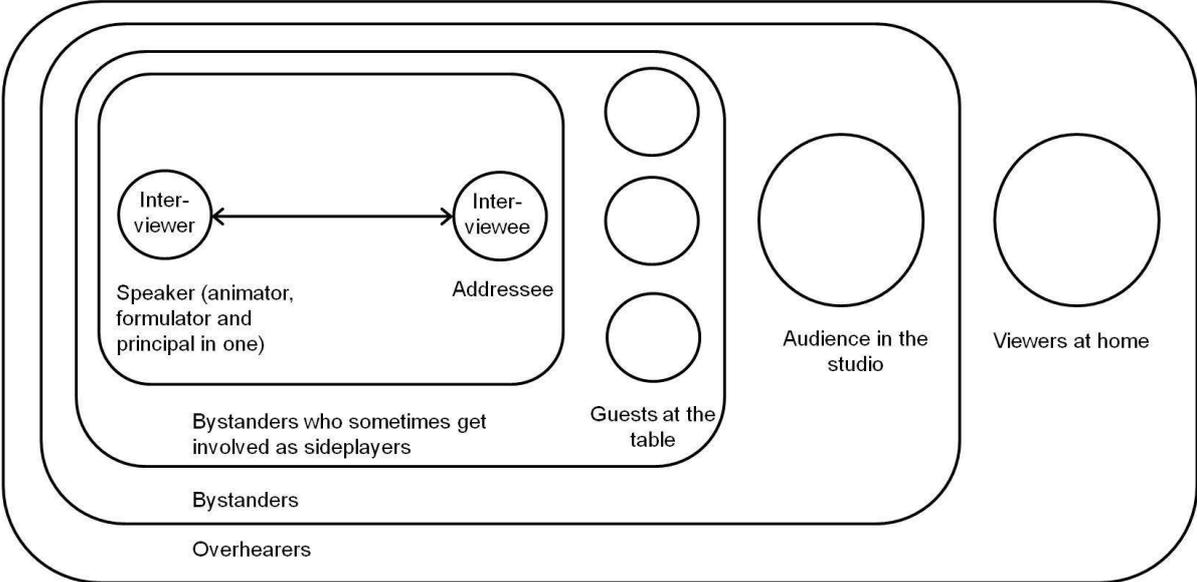


Figure 1: The ‘default’ participant framework in our data, based upon Clark (1996: 14).

This study focuses on the departures from this structure: the instances when the interviewer introduces an extra party into the dyad of speaker and addressee. Four procedures are analyzed: 1) attributing statements to third parties (see example 2), 2) invoking speakers in video clips on the video wall, 3) exploiting views of a guest at the table and inviting him or her to speak, and 4) embedding a physical object with a message into the production format of the question. Strictly speaking, procedure 4 does not concern an extra speaking participant, but we included it because it is similar to the other procedures in that it makes use of a source

of symbolic content external to the dyad. A fifth procedure was found (sharing characteristics with 2 and 4): invoking a photo. We excluded this from this article, because it occurred too infrequently. The first procedure has been analyzed thoroughly by Clayman (1988; 1992); the others have not been described before.² What the procedures have in common is that they provide the interviewer, whose discourse role is asking questions, with a means of performing actions that belong to the discourse role of the politician being interviewed, namely making statements. They help the journalist – as a watchdog of the government in representative democracies (Clayman et al. 2007) – to be adversarial and ask critical, investigative questions.

Starting from Clayman's (1988; 1992) finding that 'attributing third party statements' is a procedure for eliciting an argument while keeping a neutral position, the *aim* of our analysis is to answer the question whether all procedures that we compare have the same interactional characteristics and act similarly. Based on a close analysis of a collection of sequences where the interviewer invokes an extra party, and aided by insights from conversation analysis and pragmatics, we aim to answer the question of how the four forms of invoking an extra party are performed, taken up and evaluated. The upshot of the analysis is the notion of neutrality: does the introduction of an extra party into the one-on-one interview touch upon the borderline between neutrality and non-neutrality?

Data

The study is a *corpus analysis* of 71 fragments taken from the late-night talk show *Pauw & Witteman*. 29 fragments concern the attribution of statements to third parties, 26 the insertion of a video clip with spoken content, 12 a guest at the table who is introduced into the one-on-one interview and four an object with a symbolic meaning that is embedded in the utterance of the interviewer. The fragments are taken from interviews with politicians who were guests on *Pauw & Witteman* in the run-up to the parliamentary elections of December 2006.

Pauw & Witteman is a programme ‘with the topicality of current affairs, the talk of the town and the delusions of the day’ (Pauw and Witteman 2013). It is broadcast live on weekdays on the national channel. The interviewers, Jeroen Pauw and Paul Witteman, talk with guests who play prominent roles in politics, culture and science. It fits into a trend that one can observe worldwide: the provision of information on TV is moulded into an increasing number of interactive and lively formats (Ekström et al. 2006; Heritage and Clayman 2010). The show left the one-on-one format of the traditional political interview behind and instead used a more complex participant structure with two interviewers who change roles and complement each other, three or more guests round the table and an audience in the studio. In addition, the interviewers exploit the technical possibilities for invoking extra parties by means of clips that are shown on the video-walls all around and they have a number of buttons available on the table which they can use for the activation of specific video messages and so-called ‘running jokes’.³ The character of the shows is serious – i.e. not satirical and not belligerent – with a touch of humour, as is apparent from various relaxing rituals. Each show lasts approximately one hour. Each guest at the table is interviewed for about 15 minutes. The interview setting is represented in Figure 2.

The programme *Pauw & Witteman* covered the pre-election campaign of 2006. It has a high social impact. Right from the start in 2006 it had a regular market share (i.e. the percentage of the TV watching population that watches this talk show) of around 20%, which increased on some days to 30%. This meant that it was at the top of the viewer-rating lists.⁴ Newspaper articles and magazines underline its social impact (Kranenburg 2013; Kleijwegt and Van Weezel 2011).

This study is a secondary analysis of the material that Jasper Varwijk collected in his study of political bias in TV-interviews (Varwijk 2008). We have provided Varwijk’s transcripts with more conversational and interactional details, because these were needed for

the current study. The signs and conventions used in the transcripts are clarified at the end of this article. We used the Soundscraber (2004) and the Audacity program (2011) as aids in the transcription.



Figure 2: The interview setting: still with the attention of the guests focused on the video wall all around.

Analysis

The detailed study of political TV-interviews began to flourish in the eighties of the previous century with the pioneering work of, for example, Greatbatch (1982), Blum-Kulka (1983) and Heritage (1985). About thirty years later the results of the work on what became an established field of inquiry have been laid down in an impressive number of collections and books (Clayman and Heritage (2002a), Ekström et al. (2006) and Montgomery (2007)). Disciplines and sub-disciplines covering the range from linguistics to social psychology and sociology converge on the study of political TV-interviews and provide the researchers with analytical concepts and methods. An issue of divergence is the question whether one should

approach the data in a bottom-up manner, or top-down (see the debate of Schegloff (1997) versus Billig (1999) in *Discourse & Society*). Conversation-analysts represent the bottom-up view – they start with the data and their concepts need to be warranted by the data -, while pragmalinguists and discourse analysts – having backgrounds in linguistics or social psychology - argue that pre-existing concepts are unavoidable and helpful for understanding structures and processes in social interaction. Many empirical studies have adopted a middle course here (Montgomery 2007; Thornborrow 2002; Ekström 2001). Prominent topics of inquiry in the field are question design (Clayman and Heritage 2002b; Clayman et al. 2007) and participant framework (Lauerbach 2010; Clayman 2006), as well as politeness, indirectness and face work (Harris 2001; Bull 2008).

Our study fits in this thirty-year long tradition of studying political TV-interviews and at the same time it is new. It fits in with respect to the sub-disciplines that form its background - conversation analysis and pragmatics, its focus on question design and participant framework, and its choice of a middle course in the debate on bottom-up versus top-down ways of analyzing interaction. It is new in two ways: it includes procedures for invoking extra parties (IEP) that have not been studied before and it makes a mix of analytical dimensions that has not been used before.

The analysis includes some dimensions of interaction that are usual in conversation analysis CA (Sidnell 2010): sequential position, turn-taking and repair. It also includes laughter, which is not part of the standard CA method, but also not uncommon (Drew 1987; Glenn 2008; Eriksson 2009; Eriksson 2010). We analyze laughter, because it is a pervasive aspect of our data. In addition, the analysis includes speech acts of the interviewee and the guests at the table that occur after IEP. Here our analysis departs from the CA framework and is inspired by studies in pragmatics on the notion of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) and meta-communication (Watzlawick et al. 1972). It includes this mix of dimensions in order

to do justice to the many-layered functions of the procedures. Table 1 gives information about our analytical dimensions.

Table 1: The analytical dimensions of the study of invoking extra parties IEP.

<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Options in the data</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Source</i>
Sequential position	IEP occurs in the introduction to a first question, in the middle of a question-answer sequence or in the evaluation at the end (1)	IEP occurs in the introduction to the question in example 2 and 3 and in the evaluation in example 4	Schegloff (2007)
Turn-taking			
• Interaction	IEP is an action that IR performs in one and only one turn at talk (2), possibly supported by receipt tokens (3) of IE, or, alternatively, more parties are involved and it takes more turns	IEP does not require much interaction in examples 2 and 3. In contrast, it requires action and interaction on the part of both interviewers in example 4.	Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974)
• Gaps and overlap	IEP goes together with gaps and overlap (4): yes or no	The turn-taking in example 2 (see also its extension below) goes without notable gaps and overlaps; example 3 (line 22) contains a gap.	Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974)
Repair	Conversational problems (5) arise in the context of IEP: yes or no	IE breaks off her turn in example 3 (line 25); IR signals a problem and restarts (line 26 and 27).	Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977)
Laughter	IEP co-occurs with audible laughter (6): yes or no. If so, the question of who does the inviting to laugh, who accepts the invitation and who else shares is relevant, as is the question whether the laughter includes and excludes participants	In example 4, IR2 laughs (line 5 and 7), while IR1 invokes the extra party (line 4 and 8) and no one shares the laughter.	Glenn (2008)
Acts of IE			
• Face-saving acts	When IEP occurs, IE carries out face-saving (7) acts: yes or no	In example 4 (line 12, 13 and 14), IE carries out face-saving acts.	Brown and Levinson (1987)
• Switch to meta-conversation (8)	When IEP occurs, IE topicalizes the conversation by talking about its tone, its underlying intentions and aspects of its meaning, or its relational aspects: yes or no	Meta-conversation occurs in example 3 (line 23) and example 4 (line 10).	Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1972)

- (1) This terminology suffices for understanding this article. In the analysis, we have used Schegloff's (2007) terminology.
- (2) A turn at talk is defined as 'what someone says in between two moments of keeping silent' (Goffman 1976).
- (3) Receipt tokens are 'small responsive acts, such as "mm hm", "yes", "oh", "really" and so on, that are normally used to show attentiveness to what is being said, or surprise at it, or agreement with it' (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: 98). See example 2 (line 10).
- (4) A gap is defined here as a silence between turns of one second or longer; overlap is defined as starting a turn before a TRP ('transition relevant place', i.e. a place where the turn can be taken).
- (5) Indicators here are: re-starting and breaking off an utterance during simultaneous talk, simultaneously asking a question that does not get a continuation and the explicit mention of a conversational problem.
- (6) Although laughter can sound in many ways, it also sounds similar to a certain degree. A minimal laugh consists of an explosion of air in a speech segment or freestanding. Freestanding laughs consist of 'a number of short, rhythmic syllables, each containing the voiceless, glottal fricative *h*, preceding and/or following either an open-mouthed vowel or nasal' (Glenn 2008: 10). Laughter has standard characteristics, which ensure that it is recognized, and variable characteristics, which enable it to fulfil various functions. Laughter is frequently a shared phenomenon.
- (7) Face is the public self-image that all human beings want to claim for themselves. This face plays a role when someone is embarrassed or humiliated, or *losing face*. It can be threatened and attacked on purpose or accidentally, after which the person can try to limit the face loss by means of face-saving acts.
- (8) We have used the notion of meta-conversation instead of meta-communication, because the latter is difficult to define, while the former can be observed in the transcripts.

We limited the potentially subjective aspect of the analysis by describing observable characteristics. The authors cooperated here and discussed problematic cases until they agreed.

Studies like ours are vulnerable to anecdotal evidence (Silverman 2005: 211). We avoided this by basing our selection of fragments on quantification.⁵ Such a combination of the analysis of transcripts and quantification has been increasingly argued for in recent years (Ekström 2001; Glenn 2008; Clayman et al. 2007).

Results

Attributing statements to third parties

Example 2 is a clear example of attributing statements to third parties. It takes place in one turn early in the sequence. The interviewee fills the moment when the interviewer falls silent before asking his question with a well-timed receipt token (line 10): he acknowledges the views presented so far, but does not respond substantively, thus treating them as preliminary

to a question-in-progress (Clayman and Heritage 2002a: 155). The extension of example 2 below shows what happens next. The interviewee produces his answer after a short pause (line 11 and 12). Turn-taking continues to go smoothly: the interviewer demonstrates that he is listening (line 24) and starts his next question shortly before the TRP with a minor and therefore not problematic overlap (line 26).

Extension of example 2

11		(0.7)
12	IE	.hh Yeah:- I - yes - you know, I do not <u>understand</u> it. I it is <u>Really</u> (.) it is the
13		<u>media</u> particularly who (.) want to impress, <u>basically</u> , there is only ONE thing
14		that matters in these ↑elections, (.) <u>who</u> will be the prime minister, <u>who</u> will
15		settle down in the Small Tower ((i.e. the office of the prime minister). .hh And
16		it is my point of view that an election is not a cultivated <u>job</u> market for
17		becoming prime minister, .hh it is also not Idols, it concerns the future of the
18		Netherlands, the <u>policy</u> , the <u>government</u> . .hh And (.) there is ONE consolation,
19		the NOS-journaal ((i.e. the standard news programme on the national channel))
20		investigated this last week and it appears that people say I find the <u>government</u> ,
21		the coalition, more important than who the prime minister will be. .hh I find
22		the <u>policy</u> , (.) what are we going to <u>do</u> in the Netherlands, are we going to
23		solve some things <u>really</u> now, .hh I see that as more important =
24	IR	└─Mhmmh
25		=than the pup └─pets.
26	IR	└─But look there are a lot of debates the next three weeks.
27		((continues))

Example 2 is also an example of what regularly does *not* happen when the interviewer attributes statements to third parties: conversational problems and repair do not occur; laughter, face-saving acts and meta-communication are absent.

Invoking extra speakers in video clips

The practice of IEP in video clips shows similarities to the practice of attributing statements to third parties, but it is also different. Here follows an example.

Example 3: Invoking speakers in video clips (IR1=Paul Witteman, IR2=Jeroen Pauw, IE = Minister of Immigration and Integration and second candidate of a right-wing political party Rita Verdonk.

1	IR1	Mrs. Verdonk (0.2) uh: ((clears his throat)) (0.2) S- Shall we discuss the
2		general <u>pardon</u> for a while, because it is continuously being discussed by (.)
3		erm everyone and his ↑dog. There was a <u>demonstration</u> last ↑Saturday. I do not

4 know whether you got the point of it. .hh It concerns the asy:lum seekers who
5 have exhausted all legal ↑procedures, .hh also called the 26,000 faces. (.)
6 There aren't 26,000 left. .hh Erm but there are in- (.) actually an increasing
7 number of people, also in your own party, as is apparent from a questionnaire
8 study, who say .hh those people who are (0.3) still here now and who (0.4)
9 walk around in the erm Netherlands astray, let's say a few thousand, hh give
10 them the chance to stay (0.3) here. .hhh That demonstration, there was some
11 footage of it on RTL (.) Jour↑naal ((i.e. a news programme on the commercial
12 network RTL)). Let's look at ↑it.
13 (1.6)
((The footage of the demonstration is shown on video walls in the studio and,
for the viewers at home, on TV. The demonstrators want a humane asylum
policy, starting with a general pardon for the group of '26,000' asylum seekers
that has been in the Netherlands for years, but has not got a residence permit.
The number '26,000' is incorrect))
14 (0.7)
15 IR1 .hh And it goes on and ↑on. The protests contin↑ue. (0.2) .hh Erm, and my
16 question is to begin with actually of- of a humane ↑nature, are you completely
17 not worried (0.4) .hh about those few thousands of people, nobody knows
18 exactly how many there are, .hh who walk around in the Netherlands, who do
19 not have a status, who actually have to go away, do not go .hh and erm are
20 taken care for by (0.5) °people who happen to be well disposed towards them°
21 or are not taken care of?
22 (2.0)
23 IE Well, I am happy that you are giving me (.) the opportunity to (.) explain it just
24 one more time, because I hear now agai:n (0.4) it concerns 26,000 people who
25 have been in the Netherlands for years. (0.2).hh (0.2) I have er [m-
26 IR1 [That is not
27 what I said. [I said tha- that it started with that. Yes.
28 IE [No. No, no. I am citing [the erm the (broadcast)
29 IR2 [Yes. That's what we heard on RTL
30 Journaal.
31 IE Yes, yes.
32 IR1 Yes.

The video clip is inserted in the introduction to the question as if it is a third party: the interviewee acknowledges that the question has not yet been asked but is still in progress by keeping silent (line 13 and 14). When the question has been asked, the fragment deviates from what we found regularly in the collection of attributing statements to third parties. The interviewee starts meta-conversation after a gap (line 22 and 23). The interviewer signals a problem in understanding while the interviewee is talking and does not offer the prospect of a TRP (line 26 and 27). The interviewee breaks off (line 25). The simultaneous speech

continues and co-occurs with a restart (line 27). Interviewer 2 contributes to the solution of the problem in understanding (line 29). Finally, receipt tokens confirm that the problem has been resolved and the conversation can go on (line 31 and 32). Example 3 shows that, in the context of introducing video clips in interviews, progress of the conversation is regularly problematic.

Example 4 concerns an even more deviating case – in relation to example 2 – of IEP. The interviewee was a guest on the TV-show Catherine. She was accompanied by her adolescent daughter. The interviewers asked her for her motives for doing this and suggested that she did it to attract voters in the upcoming elections. The interviewee denied this several times, and, in contrast, emphasized that she did it because she enjoyed it. Our example starts after a long exchange on this topic. IEP occurs before the interviewee reaches a TRP (line 3). Interviewer 2 initiates laughter (line 5 and 7). When interviewer 1 explains his action, the interviewee accepts this with a meta-conversational action (line 10). Then she starts a face-saving defence, which proceeds into simultaneous starts, break-offs and restarts. What happens here is that the interviewers expose the politician as someone who is hiding her real motives. They do this by invoking Clinton.

Example 4: Invoking an extra party in a video clip (IR1=Jeroen Pauw, IR2=Paul Witteman, IE=member of parliament and second candidate of a left-wing party, Agnes Kant).

1	IR1	But you didn't have the slightest idea that this had anything to do with the
2		elections and that it could turn out to be smart?
3	IE	No noooh this is (.) th-I-I see it as nice that people see different ↑sides of - ((Interviewer 1 plays a video clip of Clinton's legendary statement:))
4		'I did <no:t [ha:ve sexual> relations with that woman.'
5	IR2	[huh huh huh °huh huh°
6		(0.6)
7	IR2	huh [huh °huh huh° huh huh
8	IR1	[If we <u>play</u> this, it means that we do not believe the guest.
9		(0.3)
10	IE	Yes. No, that's <u>O:K</u> . You are allowed to not [believe it, but .hh yes of =
11	IR1	[Okay.
12		= <u>course</u> it turns out <u>well</u> that there are elections now and that I am allowed
13		to sit in <u>such a nice programme</u> and I <u>rea::lly</u> enjoy it that now while the
14		elections are coming up that I can sit <u>he:re</u> [Of <u>cou::rse</u> , isn't it. =

15	IR1		└Yes. We too.
16		=	┌(0.4) It is <u>great</u> ! But-
17	IR2		└Even more because- Even more

Example 3 and 4 together show the characteristics of the collection ‘invoking speakers in video clips’. This practice is relatively often found at the end of a sequence, it requires more interaction, overlap is more frequent, as is the combination of gap and overlap. Progress of the conversation is more often problematic and shows characteristics of repair more frequently. Half of the fragments in this collection are accompanied by laughter. Face-saving acts and meta-conversation are also regular. In short, this procedure for IEP relatively frequently co-occurs with turbulence in turn taking, hilariousness and communicative tension.

Exploiting views of a guest at the table

Example 5 concerns the third procedure for IEP: exploiting views of a guest at the table. The interviewee takes a position against tolerance. The guest at the table Özdemir is famous for calling for positive thinking and tolerance.

Example 5: Inviting a guest at the table as extra party (IR=Paul Witteman, IE= right wing party leader Marco Pastors, GU=chief editor of a glossy magazine for Mediterranean women in the Netherlands Şenay Özdemir).

			((IE argues that tolerance has its boundaries and that the Netherlands have to be strict here))
1	IE		┌We are helping everyone by doing that.
2	IR		└But you are- there are two: people ((i.e. Pastors and Özdemir)) sitting=
3	GU		└But I want to say o:ne thing. I want I want to say one thing, =
4	IR	=	┌side by side now who who represent the extremes=
5	GU	=	└I see it as <u>odd</u> -
6	IR	=	┌in the formation of uh ┌public opinion. <u>You</u> ((i.e. Pastors)) (.) =
7	IE		└Yes. └Yes.
8	IR	=	compare islamization with the German occupation, and uh Şenay,
9			who says that the <u>Ne</u> :therlands are going to be funny again. (0.3)
10			┌And there- and that is a <u>comple:tely</u> different line of approach. =
11	IE		└mhmh.
12	IR	=	I mean I- I cannot imagine that you’ll ever come <u>close</u> (0.3) to each
13			┌other in this respect.

14 IE | Yes, my goal is also to make the Netherlands funny again,=
 15 GU | Yes, but what I what I do not understand is that mister Pastors=
 16 IE = | to use that awful word.
 17 GU = | argues for uh freedom of religion for uh the Dutch people, (0.4) but not for
 18 freedom of religion °for Muslims.° (0.3) That's odd, isn't it?
 19 IE Oh, but I do, absolutely.

The interviewer invokes the opposing views of the guest at the table (line 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13). One can observe a great deal of simultaneous talk (e.g., line 1, 2 and 3; 4 and 5). The interviewer restarts (line 2); the guest at the table restarts various times (line 3) and breaks off (line 5). The interviewee acknowledges the action of the interviewer by recipient tokens (line 7 and 11) and keeping silent for some time (line 6 to 13). Interviewee and guest start to react simultaneously, while both are overlapping with the interviewer (line 14 and 15). Neither of them gives up (line 16 and 17). The example has no gap, no laughter, nor face-saving acts or meta-conversation.

Example 5 is an example of the collection of inviting a guest at the table to take up a position in the argument-so-far. This procedure requires more turns than the two procedures that we treated above and fewer than the procedure that follows. Gaps do not co-occur. Overlaps are frequent, as are conversational problems and repair. In other words, the participants in the interview talk over each other, while they break off their utterances and restart. This is the procedure for IEP with the least laughter. Face-saving acts and meta-conversation are also relatively infrequent. The procedure results in a lively and animated debate remarkably often, while the interviewer elicits opposing arguments without taking a position.

Embedding a physical object with a message

Our last example, 6, concerns the fourth procedure for IEP: embedding a physical object with a message into the production format of the question. Previously to the interview from which

example 6 is taken, the public debate about wearing headscarves had erupted again. It was in the context of this debate and the pre-election campaign that the right-wing interviewee proposed having a headscarfless Sunday once a year, in order for Muslim women to show that wearing a headscarf is a matter of free will and not of social pressure. This idea was considered to be ‘beyond the pale’ by leading journalists as well as many others. The interviewers deal with it by an appeal to reciprocity: if the politician asks something from the Muslim women (namely not to wear a headscarf), he should do something in return (namely wear a headscarf).

Example 6: Embedding a physical object with a message (IR1=Jeroen Pauw, IR2=Paul Witteman, IE=right wing party leader Marco Pastors, GU 1 = chief editor of a glossy magazine for Mediterranean women in the Netherlands Şenay Özdemir, GU2 = presenter of the radio programme ‘Missing’ Jaap Jongbloed, GUs are guests at the table, PE = unidentified person, AU = audience).

1		⌊((IE talks about the free Netherlands))
2	IR1	⌊You say I <u>ask</u> something from the- I <u>ask</u> something from the Muslim
3		women with a headscarf. I ⌊ask actually from them: ONE day-, (0.3) =
4	GU1	⌊Yes but to you-
5		= do not wear a headscarf ONE day a year.
6	IE	Exactly.
7	IR1	Would you be willing to <u>wear</u> a headscarf? (0.4) You <u>too</u> have to make a
8		kind of gest gesture of course-
9	IE	On the same day, to make up for it?
10	IR1	Well yes like (.) <u>now</u> !
11	PE	hah hah hah
12	IE	Well maybe ⌊that’s a <u>nice</u> idea too.
13	IR1	⌊I mean put on a head scarf now.
14		(1.5)
15	IE	No, no, no. ⌊I am not going to put on a head scarf now.
16	IR1	⌊No, I’ve got ⌊one here-
17	IR2, GUs, AU	⌊hah hah hah
		((During 16, IR1 looks under the table and brings out a headscarf from there))
18	IE	⌊Do you <u>al</u> ways have one with you?
19	IR1	⌊Here. Yes. I ALWAYS DO.
20	IR2, GUs, AU	⌊HAH HAH HAH
21		(0.6)
22	IR1	⌊JUST IN CASE YOU RUN INTO SOMEONE. You never know.
23	IR2, GUs, AU	⌊hah hah hah hah hah hah hah hah hah
24	PE	⌊Yes, yes, yes, yes.

25 Exactly.
 ((IR1 throws the headscarf to IE in line 23))

26 IR2, GUs, AU {hah hah hah hah hah

27 IR1 {Well. {You ask something from the girls-

28 GU2 {I saw- {Yester- hey yesterday I saw that you had a shave by=

29 IE {Yes yes

30 =by a Turkish barber, wasn't it? Indeed? =

31 IE Sure. I I I liv- I also live in a {uh uh in a in a migrant-

33 GU2 {Mortal danger a migrant in your

34 situation, but-

35 IRs, GUs, AU {hah hah hah hah hah hah

36 IE {No not at all. I live in- I live in one of the poorest neighbourhoods in

37 {Rotterdam and there are lots of Turkish barbers over there.

38 IR1 {I suggest Marco Pastors puts on the headscarf and we just turn to the

39 zap service.

This example starts with overlaps (line 1 and 2). It takes 16 lines before the object is on the table. There is a problem of understanding (line 9) and a gap (line 14). However, most noteworthy is the hilariousness that is initiated by an unidentified person (line 11) and continued by others (line 17 and 20), while interviewer 1 and the politician stay serious. The 'laughable' is the directive of interviewer 1 (line 7 and repeated in line 13), which makes the interviewee the target of laughter (Glenn 2008) by swapping gender and ethnicity and turns his proposal into something insane. The shared laughter that follows is loud and lasts for a long time (line 26). It does not include interviewer 1 and the interviewee. The interviewee reacts seriously with meta-conversation (line 18), a typical action of people who are the target of laughter and who do not agree (Drew 1987; Hay 2001). It is not the target of the laughter, but a guest at the table who performs face-saving acts (line 28, 30, 33 and 34) and invites more laughter (line 33 and 34). He aligns himself with the interviewee by revealing that he has noticed that the interviewee is in fact less hostile to migrants than he often displays. Subsequently, the laughter also encompasses interviewer 1 (line 35) and is no longer at the

expense of the interviewee. In the end – all's well that ends well – the interviewee's face has been saved.

Example 6 represents the collection of the embeddings of physical objects rather well. These embeddings only occur at the extremities of an extended sequence of questions and answers. They require relatively many turns at talk and proceed in a relatively uncoordinated way, as is apparent from the absence of receipt tokens and the co-occurrence with gaps and overlaps. They also co-occur with more than the mean number of conversational problems and repair phenomena. Face-saving acts and meta-conversation follow upon them relatively frequently.

Procedures for IEP that put pressure on neutrality

The co-occurrence of laughter, face-saving acts and meta-conversations emerges in our data as a pattern that displays pressure on neutrality. It happens mainly in two procedures for IEP: inserting a video clip and embedding an object. These procedures are practised with humour. Moreover, the backbone of the laughter is not that everyone shares it or that the audience displays appreciation of the interviewer and interviewee, but that it happens at the expense of the politician. This means that the interviewers regularly invoke an extra party and laughter to change a question-answer sequence or an argument into degradation TV, thereby flouting their orientation to neutrality.⁶

The co-occurrence of laughter, face-saving acts and meta-conversations happens mainly in two contexts:

1. The politician displays behaviour that is socially not acceptable, absurd or bizarre, for example, not telling the truth or hiding it (see example 4); or harassing ethnic minority women (example 6).⁷ When this comes up, the interviewers try to invoke a participant framework where the politician is the target of laughter.

2. The politician is inconsistent (a left-wing politician is fond of chocolate that is produced by slaves; a left-wing politician prefers the party song of a competing left-wing party above the song of her own party). If inconsistency occurs, the interviewers try to expose it with the aid of an extra party and laughter.

The flouting of the orientation to neutrality is temporary and restricted to specific contexts: when politicians display behaviour that undermines the basic tenets of the social order (e.g. lying, expelling people, being unreliable), the interviewers do not let this pass unnoticed, but take an evaluating stance. The pattern that we found reflects a tension in the normative framework of journalists: they are oriented to neutrality, but also to a society in which everyone behaves as a decent citizen. Manoeuvring the participant framework of the one-on-one interview, evaluating with the aid of other voices than their own and invoking laughter is their way of dealing with this tension. The target of the degradation – the politician⁸ – resists the pattern by not laughing along and proceeding quickly to face-saving acts and meta-conversation.

The ultimate function of the pattern is similar to what Drew (1987) found in his study of teasing: social control. It urges the politician, with the aid of humour, to stay within the boundaries of the social order. These procedures for IEP offer journalists the means to distance themselves from communication by politicians that exceeds their normative framework and to exert social control on a platform where freedom of speech is operative to a large degree.

At the same time, the journalists take a risk when they apply them (Zajdman 1995). They lose face when the audience in the studio or guests at the table opt to align themselves with the interviewee rather than the interviewer, or when someone protests against the procedure because of its deviousness, its pre-cooked character, its lack of neutrality etcetera. At the end, it is not the journalists who judge, but everyone in the participant framework. The

one-on-one political TV-interview in talk shows bears the character of a multi-party evaluation of borderline behaviour by politicians from time to time.

Concluding discussion

We can conclude that the four procedures for IEP in one-on-one interviews vary in terms of interactional characteristics. They also vary with respect to their orientation to neutrality. The first procedure – attributing statements to third parties - is indeed, as expected (Clayman 1988; Clayman 1992), frequently used for eliciting an argument while keeping a neutral position. The practice of the third procedure – exploiting views of a guest at the table – also displays an orientation to neutrality. The interviewers appear to have an interactionally complex task in this practice, but the result is a lively debate where the interviewers stay neutral. However, the second and the fourth procedure – invoking speakers in video clips and embedding physical objects in the question – touch upon the borderline of neutrality, as is apparent from the high frequency of face-saving acts and meta-conversation. We found that neutrality, which is a basic value in the normative framework of journalism (Clayman 1992; Ekström 2001; NVJ 2008), comes under pressure in two of the four procedures for IEP.

Critics might refute our conclusion that one of the basics of the profession of journalism is being eroded by some applications of IEP. They might argue that we overlook the fact that the IEPs coincide with fun, which, in their view, converts the journalists into entertainers, for whom the requirement of non-neutrality is inappropriate. We enter a debate here on the nature of the political interviews that we studied in relation to the setting: do TV talk show interviews fulfil a serious, informative function, are they simply entertaining, or are they both?

Research on this matter is scarce (Clayman and Heritage 2002a). The few studies that have been carried out picture the TV talk show as a “soft and feel good genre” (Lauerbach 2007: 1388). The adversarialness of the interviewers in the traditional political news interview

is considered to be replaced in the TV talk show by a practice of an interviewer and an interviewee who co-construct mutually agreed upon stories, opinions and analyses (Eriksson 2010).

Pauw & Witteman - the example of the TV talk show that we studied – does indeed show various “feel good” characteristics. However, it would be going too far to suggest that the political interviews in this programme are predominantly cabaret, satire or amusement rather than political interviews. The interviewers are not looking for consensus and they take their role as critical and investigative journalists and as ‘watchdogs’ of a representative democracy seriously. A previous study by one of the authors of the current article provides an empirical underpinning of this (Huls and Varwijk 2011): it shows that the interviewers use dimensions of adversarial questioning (Clayman et al. 2007) frequently.

We conclude this article by commenting on a category of participants in our data that we have neglected until now: the overhearers in Figure 1, i.e. the viewers at home. We could not include their conversational reactions in the analysis, because these are not recorded. They see how various forms of invoking an extra party in one-on-one interviews are performed, taken up and evaluated. They witness when journalists sacrifice their neutrality to exert social control. They observe how politicians try to counteract their degradation. As future viewers of the talk show and as voters in the upcoming parliamentary elections they play an important role in the framework of our study. With respect to the journalists, who value exerting social control above neutrality, the viewers decide whether they will keep following their talk shows or give up. With respect to the politicians whose behaviour is exposed as inconsistent, unreliable or extreme, they decide to vote for him or her, or for someone else. Various procedures for IEP put pressure on a central value of good journalism, its neutrality, but citizens in democracies have ways to deal with that.

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Notes

¹ ‘Neutralism’ is distinguished from ‘neutrality’ in the professional literature and considered to be a better term for the concept (Clayman and Heritage 2002a; Heritage and Clayman 2010). The questions in media interviews cannot meet the norm of ‘neutrality’ in an absolute sense: the selection of topics and contexts is not neutral, questions unavoidably contain presuppositions that are problematic for the interviewee to a lesser or greater extent, and questions are formulated in such a way that they create a specific expectation in terms of the answer.

² To the best of the authors' knowledge at the time of writing the article. The third procedure remotely resembles the elicitation of a debate. The findings of researchers who focus on debates (Emmertsen 2007; Patrona 2009) are relevant here.

³ A ‘running joke’ is a joke, amusing act or amusing event in, for example, a film, book or TV-series that is repeated again and again. It often becomes ‘really’ funny simply by the act of repeating it.

⁴ These figures were provided by ‘KLO Informatie en Advies’.

⁵ The quantification is publicly available (Huls 2013).

⁶ Degradation TV is our term for what is called in popular speech *afzeik-TV*.

⁷ This is a politically sensitive judgment.

⁸ Or someone who speaks up for the politician (see example 6).

Transcription conventions - after Glenn (2008)

(1.5)	elapsed time in seconds and tenths of a second
(.)	a micro pause (\pm a tenth of a second)
talk1= =talk2	equal marks indicate contiguous utterances, or continuation of the same utterance to the next line
┌speaker 1 └speaker 2	these two participants in the conversation start a turn simultaneously
spea┌ker 1 └speaker 2	a second speaker starts a turn during the current speaker's turn, exactly at the point of the square bracket
,	continuing intonation
↑	rising intonation of sound it precedes
<u>emphasis</u>	emphasis on the sound or syllable that is underscored
stre::tch	stretching of the sound
LOUD	increased volume
°soft°	decreased volume
abr-	abrupt sound cut-off
< talk >	bracketed material is slowed down, compared to the surrounding talk
.hh	audible aspiration; each h indicates a time lapse of approximately 0.2 sec.
(only partly intelligible)	uncertain transcription
((clarification)) ((sniffs))	clarification (usually contextual information) or description of sound or feature of the talk which is not easily transcribable

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