

Slide 1

Political bias in TV-Interviews: A co-construction of interviewers and overhearers?

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The slide features a blue header with the title and a small image of a TV interview. Below the header, the presenter's name and affiliation are listed. The main content area contains the seminar details.

The study that I present today is a follow-up to the study that I presented last year in the Ross Priory Group.

Thanks are due to Jasper Varwijk, who contributed in many ways to the study that I present here.

Slide 2

Occasion of the study

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- In the Netherlands, the political bias of media interviewers is a hotly debated issue
- Example of a politician accusing a journalist of biased questions:  
Interviewer (IR) Sven Kockelmann and interviewee (IE) Geert Wilders (Goedemorgen Nederland, 15/02/2007)
  - IE: *Once again, we are from the party whose people say what they think. You may be from the party whose people only say something when it helps.*
  - IR: *I do not belong to any party.*
  - IE: *Well, that's not what it looks like.*
  - IR: *How is that?*
  - IE: *Well, your questions are quite suggestive.*
- See also Benjamin & Keunen 2010: *Coloured or neutral news*
- Research on this matter is scarce. Our study focuses on the possible political bias of Dutch media interviewers during the run-up to the parliamentary elections of 2006

The slide has a blue header with the title and a small image of a TV interview. Below the header, a navigation bar shows 'Introduction' as the active slide. The main content area contains a list of bullet points.

In the Netherlands, the political bias of media interviewers is a hotly debated issue. It is not a debate on journalistic norms and values, but on journalistic *practice*. Just as in all countries that value the freedom of the press, Dutch news interviewers are expected to adhere to certain basic standards of professional conduct such as impartiality and objectivity. However, journalists in the Netherlands are alleged to support left-wing rather than right wing ideas and to influence future voters in propagating a preference for left-wing political candidates over right-wing ones. The slide shows an example of a politician accusing a journalist of being biased.

This debate on journalists being biased provided the practical impetus for our study. Although it is an empirical issue, research on the matter is scarce. We have tried to fill this gap by empirically investigating the possible political bias of Dutch media interviewers during the run-up to the parliamentary elections of December 2006.

Slide 3



Interaction in TV-interviews

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- The TV-interview has now become the dominant means of political communication (Elliott & Bull 1996: 49; Ekström 2001)
- Interviewers are intermediaries between politicians and the general public
  - ◆ Institutional role of talk manager
  - ◆ 'Watchdog' of a participatory democracy (Clayman et al. 2007: 23)

The TV-interview has now become the dominant means of political communication (Elliott & Bull 1996: 49; Ekström 2001). Particularly in the run-up period to elections, politicians appear on TV-interviews almost daily. In the context of a growing number of 'floating voters' in the Netherlands, estimated at 30% before the elections of 2006, gaining access to the electorate through TV-interviews can be of decisive importance. Thus it is no wonder that politicians are eager to exploit this setting to reach and attract voters.

Although it is potentially helpful to politicians in gaining political success, taking part in a TV-interview is also a risky endeavour. On more traditional political platforms, like public speeches or political advertising, politicians have full control over content and process. In the TV-interview, however, there is a third party involved, the interviewers, who take over a lot of the control. In their institutional role as talk managers, interviewers set the topics, ask the questions, determine who speaks, and decide when a question has been answered satisfactorily. Moreover, as mediators between politicians and the viewers at home, interviewers fulfil a democratic function in that they are expected to probe policy issues and to organize the public debate. It is the politicians' task to present themselves to the viewers while answering difficult questions, posed by interviewers who enter the scene as 'watchdogs' (Clayman et al. 2007: 23) of a participatory democracy.

Slide 4

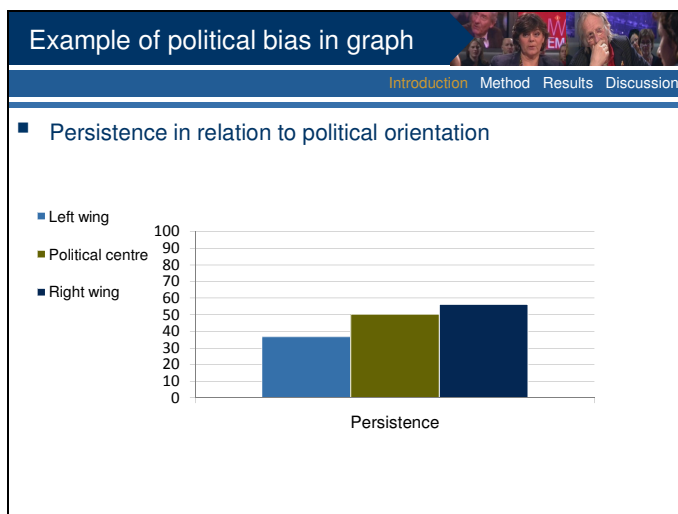
## Political bias

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- Our previous study of the important Dutch late-night talk show 'Pauw & Witteman' concerned *bias in question design*, defined as an unequal treatment of politicians differing in orientation – left wing vs. centre vs. right wing - with respect to the ways in which answers, reactions, statements and accounts are solicited
- We made use of and elaborated on Clayman and Heritage's category system for the analysis of question design QAS (Clayman & Heritage 2002b: 754-771; Clayman et al. 2007: 30), which is aimed at measuring 'adversarialness' of interviewers
- We found a political bias in several aspects of adversarial questioning, namely assertiveness, opposition and persistence. This bias could not be explained by the contextual factors that were included in the design
- The conclusion was that *interviewers* are partial in shaping the way in which politicians can present themselves: left-wing politicians are approached less adversarially than politicians in the political centre and right-wing politicians (Huls & Varwijk, to appear in *Discourse & Society* 22(1), January 2011)

The bias in persistence is clarified on the next two slides.

Slide 5



The interviewers were more persistent when they were interviewing right-wing politicians; they were less persistent when interviewing politicians of the political centre and least persistent when they interviewed left-wing politicians.


Slide 6

## Persistence

Introduction Method Results Discussion

The notion of persistence applies to the interviewer's behaviour in extended sequences of questions. The interviewer shows persistence when he does not simply take the politician's answer for an answer, but repeats his question, explicitly addresses the politician's evasive reactions or interrupts the politician

See example 1 in your handout.



The handout can be found at the end of this document.

Slide 7

## Aim of the study

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- If the many contextual factors studied cannot clarify the interviewer bias, where does it come from and how does it work?
- There is a group of factors that we did not include in our previous study and that might explain the interviewer bias: the platform factors
- The platform of political TV-interviews includes an increasing number of parties, participants and positions (Montgomery 2007), which make it possible for participants to co-construct political bias

The aim of the study is:

- To provide empirical data on the platform dynamics of the interviewer bias that was found in Huls & Varwijk (2011)

In this presentation, the focus is on the bias in *persistence*

If the many contextual factors studied cannot clarify the interviewer bias, where does it come from and how does it work? This question stands central in the present study. There is a group of factors that we did not include in our previous study and that might explain the interviewer bias: the platform factors

It is an interesting development in the Netherlands, and maybe worldwide (as documented by Montgomery 2007), that the platforms of political TV-interviews include an increasing number of parties, participants and positions. The minimum requirement is three parties, i.e., an interviewer, a politician and a remote audience at home, but it is no exception nowadays for there to be several interviewers, who can fulfil different roles such as main interviewer and 'side kick'; they interrogate eyewitnesses and exploit the possibilities of inserting video clips, live feeds, and 'running jokes'. Moreover, there are other guests at the interview table, who may intervene in the political interview and support the interviewer or interviewee, there is an editorial team that casts

the platform, and there is an audience in the studio which may align itself with the differing parties whose views and opinions are presented on the record. Although these complex platforms are potentially helpful in an open, participatory democracy, they are also platforms on which political bias can occur in many different ways.

In the present study, the focus is on the potential role of *other participants* in the interview setting in the construction of political bias.

The aim of the study is to provide empirical data on the question concerning to what extent the political bias that we found is a co-construction of the various parties that are present on the platform, such as the editorial team, interviewers, other guests at the table, and the audience in the studio. In short, its aim is to unravel the platform dynamics.

In this presentation, the focus is on the bias in *persistence*. The main reason for this is that there is not enough time to include the bias in assertiveness and opposition. Moreover, *persistence* was the most frequent aspect of adversarialness in our previous study, and is therefore most amenable to further analysis. And finally, *persistence* is a relatively new analytical perspective in the study of adversarialness, and therefore needs to be explored in-depth.

Slide 8



**Data collection**

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

- Multiple Case Study
- 8 interviews from Dutch late-night talk show Pauw & Witteman
  - 4 featuring a left-wing politician and 4 featuring a right-wing politician
  - So-called *Kieskompas* - a sociologically-based positioning of the political parties in the Netherlands in a conceptual framework with two dimensions: left vs. right and progressive vs. conservative - was used in defining political orientations
  - Equal distribution of party leaders and party members
  - Audio-visually enriched transcripts were made
  - In total: 130 minutes, 497 questions
- The interviews were broadcast in the context of the parliamentary elections of December 2006



We carried out a *multiple case study*. We analysed 8 interviews taken from the late-night talk show 'Pauw & Witteman', in which interviewers Jeroen Pauw and Paul Witteman receive guests who play prominent roles in politics, culture and science. The shows last approximately one hour. With one exception, all the interviews were broadcast in the ten-week period preceding the parliamentary elections of December 2006. The format of the analysed programmes was such that one party-leader or MP of a political party active in the electoral struggle was interviewed for 10 to 15 minutes, while there were two or three other, non-political guests sitting round the table. With the aid of the *Kieskompas* - a sociologically-based positioning of the political parties in the Netherlands in a conceptual framework with two dimensions: left vs. right and progressive vs. conservative -, we decided which two of the eleven political parties were most prototypically left-wing and right-wing. For each of these four parties, an interview with the party leader and an

interview with an MP was included in the analysis. The interviews in the original data collection featuring the two parties and four politicians in the political centre were excluded from this study. The table on slide 10 gives an overview of the interviews that were analysed.

The interviews were transcribed and segmented into parts that were relevant to the present analysis. Each part includes a question from the interviewer, the conversation between that question and the preceding question, and the conversation that follows that question, but precedes the politician's reaction to it. We used a pragmatic notion of 'question' (see Huls 2009: 158-159). When we observed a phenomenon that was relevant to the analysis of the platform dynamics, we tried to capture it in an audio clip, video clip or still, and enriched the transcripts by inserting these clips and stills. An example of such an audio-visually enriched transcript is given on slide 9.

The data collection encompasses 130 minutes of conversation and 497 questions.

### Slide 9

S	A	Transcription	Comment
			
PW	IE	And then, I do think, Femke Halsema, yes, uhh I believe that GroenLinks (i.e., the political party to which IE belongs) passed a parliamentary investigation into the review about this issue. That is too heavy an instrument for what might have been a bit of coercion.	
→	IE	Yes, but in my view uhhh it is a bit strange to compare the situation in Iraq with what we regard further as acceptable.  = = Uhhh I mean, 3000 fatalities in a few months uuhm that does not yet allow you to say OK, a bit of coercion can happen. We have made international agreements and that means that you may not coerce prisoners, that you may not humiliate them, that you have to treat them respectfully, and that you may not use pressure to wrest [confessions].	Support GU-IE
→	GU	[And and and this man ((i.e., the Iraqi ambassador on the video clip)) appears to me pre-eminently to be a puppet. [I am sorry.	Support GU-IE
	IE	Thank you.	[Yes, exactly. (<)]

See example 6 in your handout. In this fragment, the interviewers are dealing with the interviewee's attempt to get a parliamentary investigation into the behaviour of Dutch soldiers in Iraqi prisons after it became apparent that the soldiers had mistreated and tortured their prisoners. The interviewers have just shown a video clip from the broadcast news in which the Iraqi ambassador to the Netherlands says that the misbehaviour of the Dutch soldiers might have been a case of coercion, but not of torture, and they then continue the interview.

Quick guide to the signs in the transcript (after Montgomery 2007; Jefferson 2004 in Liddicoat; Huls 1982)

- (>) pause of two seconds or more
- (<) pause of less than two seconds
- (only partly intelligible) uncertain transcription
- ((clarification)) clarification, usually contextual information

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=  
.  
,  
?

beginning of overlapping stretch of speech  
introduces latched turn  
a full stop marks a falling intonation  
a comma marks a 'continuing' intonation  
a question mark marks a rising intonation

Slide 10

Data collection						
Introduction Method Results Discussion						
Overview of the data collection						
Nr	Date	Politician	Function	Party	Orientation	
01	03-11-06	Jan Marijnissen	♂ Party leader	SP	Left wing	
02	30-10-06	Agnes Kant	♀ Member of Parliament	SP	Left wing	
03	17-11-06	Femke Halsema	♀ Party leader	GroenLinks	Left wing	
04	18-01-07	Mariko Peters	♀ Member of Parliament	GroenLinks	Left wing	
05	07-09-06	Mark Rutte	♂ Party leader	VVD	Right wing	
06	06-11-06	Rita Verdonk	♀ Member of Parliament	VVD	Right wing	
07	14-11-06	Marco Pastors	♂ Party leader	Eén NL	Right wing	
08	25-10-06	Joost Eerdmans	♂ Member of Parliament	Eén NL	Right wing	

Slide 11

Data analysis						
Introduction Method Results Discussion						
<p>Montgomery (2007) developed notions and distinctions on the changing broadcast news platforms. We tried to apply these empirically, and studied the following six aspects of the platform dynamics:</p> <p>1. Casting of the interviewee</p> <p>The casting of the interviewee is the position in which the interviewee is placed while he or she participates in the talk. The regular position of the interviewee is the position of a political expert. However, he or she can participate in other positions too, for example, as someone who has seen or heard the news fact – i.e., as a witness - , as someone with some responsibility for the news fact, as a politician who takes part in the elections, as guest at the table and participant in the conversation, as someone who has to carry out an act such as commenting on pictures or reading something aloud and as a politician in the interview with another guest. These other positions can be observed as either in addition to the regular position, or instead of it</p> <p>Example 2 in your handout shows a casting of the interviewee as a political expert; example 3 shows a casting as a responsible person</p>						

Slide 12


## Data analysis

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

### 2. Casting of the platform

The casting of the platform is the locally constructed positioning of opinions and views in the studio. This casting can be supportive, hostile/annoying or neutral to the politician. A neutral casting is the regular one, but the interviewers and/or the editorial team can exploit a view, experience, religious or political identity of a guest at the table, and also audio and video clips, photographs, objects and utensils in an argument pro or against the politician

Example 4 in your handout shows a casting of the platform as supportive to the politician; example 5 shows a hostile platform



Slide 13

## Data analysis

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

### 3 Affiliation of a guest at the table with the interviewee

The affiliation of a guest at the table with the interviewee is his or her observable support or lack of support for the interviewee. This affiliation becomes apparent in listening signals, approving nods, smiles and laughs, frowns, head shaking, and in conversational contributions

Example 6 shows support for the interviewee from a guest at the table



Slide 14



## Data analysis

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

4 Affiliation of a guest at the table with the interviewer

The affiliation of a guest at the table with the interviewer is his or her observable support or lack of support for the interviewer. This affiliation becomes apparent in listening signals, approving nods, smiles and laughs, frowns, head shaking, and in conversational contributions

Example 7 shows support for the interviewer from a guest at the table



Slide 15


## Data analysis

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

5 Affiliation of the audience in the studio with the interviewee

The affiliation of the audience in the studio with the interviewee is his or her observable support or lack of support for the interviewee. This affiliation becomes apparent in approving nods, smiles and laughs, frowns, and head shaking. Sometimes you can hear it

Example 8 shows disapproval of the interviewee by a member of the audience in the studio




6 Affiliation of the audience in the studio with the interviewer

The affiliation of the audience in the studio towards the interviewer is his or her observable support or lack of support for the interviewer. This affiliation becomes apparent in approving nods, smiles and laughs, frowns, head shaking, and in conversational contributions. Sometimes you can hear it

The transcript on the next slide shows an example of disapproval of the interviewer by the audience in the studio, indicated by an arrow

Slide 16

Nr	S	A	Transcription	Comment
	JP	Vie	It is Thursday 7 September. The day that the police in Pijnacker is the party who gets the blows. Welcome to Pauw & Witteman. ((Leader  )) ((Applause 🙌 ))	
	JP	Vie	Good evening. (-) Tonight at our table. A lady who uh speaks than uh who 'd rather beat than speak, but we have asked her whether she wants to speak with us anyway. She is 18 years old, she is from The Hague and she is world Thai boxing champion, Soumia Abalhaya.	
	PW	Vie	Also here is the man who uh actually was the darling of politics. A bit of a soft guy, but he is getting an increasing number of enemies, VVD-leader Mark Rutte.	
	→ Au		[Tss 🗯️]	disapproval of IR
	JP	Vie	And the man who has a gut hatred of everything that moves, Midas Dekkers.	
	PW	Vie	((Introduction to the first topic))	
1a	PW	MR	Mr. Rutte, party leader of the VVD. Today the mayor of the village Pijnacker has uh has apologised. He thought it necessary. He thought that the police should do the same, but they found it not yet very =	
	MR	PW	[Mmhhhh.	
1b	PW	MR	=necessary. Because they want to await the investigation. Isn't it precisely incidents like this that make the citizens always loathe the government?	

Slide 17

### Data analysis

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

- Judgment of every segment of the interview with respect to the presence or absence of the indicators of the seven aspects of the platform dynamics according to guidelines
- The reliabilities of these judgments are to be checked by more than one observer
- The results have been quantified:
  - This fits in with our main analytical perspective QAS, which is quantitative. It has been developed and validated by CA-scholars (Clayman et al 2007; Clayman & Heritage 2002),
  - It is difficult to underpin political bias empirically in a qualitative analysis
  - CA's methodology is generally not quantitative. However, this is not a rigid precept and, recently, one has been able to find explicit appreciation for quantification in texts written by renowned CA-scholars (Drew)
  - Quantifications are used increasingly in CA-based studies (Heritage et al. 2007; Mangione-Smith et al. 2003)

Every segment in our data collection was judged with respect to the presence or absence of the specific indicators of the six aspects of the platform dynamics. This judgment was made by myself. It was based as much as possible upon formal aspects of the platform dynamics, and thus could be made with a relatively high degree of reliability (Clayman et al, 2007: 31). Problematic cases were discussed with a second researcher, Naomi Pijnenburg, and treated consistently by adding guidelines to the coding manual. Furthermore, the second researcher will carry out an independent judgment of the questions in the near future. This judgment will be compared with my assessment, and Cohen's Kappa, a measure that gives insight into the agreement between the judges, will be computed (Cohen 1960).

The codings were entered into SPSS and analysed according to the statistical standard (Kinneer & Gray 2001). The variables have a nominal measurement level and were analysed by making use of cross tables, chi-square statistics and binary logistic regressions.

Slide 18

### Design of the study

Introduction **Method** Results Discussion

```
graph TD; A["Main determining factor  
Political orientation of IE"] --> B["Phenomenon studied previously  
Bias in question design of IR  
- Persistence"]; C["Platform factors  
- Casting of IE  
- Casting of platform  
- Affiliation of guest at the table and IE  
- Affiliation of guest at the table and IR  
- Affiliation of audience in the studio and IE  
- Affiliation of audience in the studio and IR"] --> B;
```

First, the analysis focuses on the relationship between the political orientation of the interviewee and the platform factors. Are left-wing and right-wing politicians sitting on the platform in a different way? And if so, is the position of the left-wing politicians more favourable than the position of the right-wing politicians in the sense that left-wing politicians receive more support, less hostility and are more often in a position that mitigates the persistence of the interviewer than the right-wing politicians?

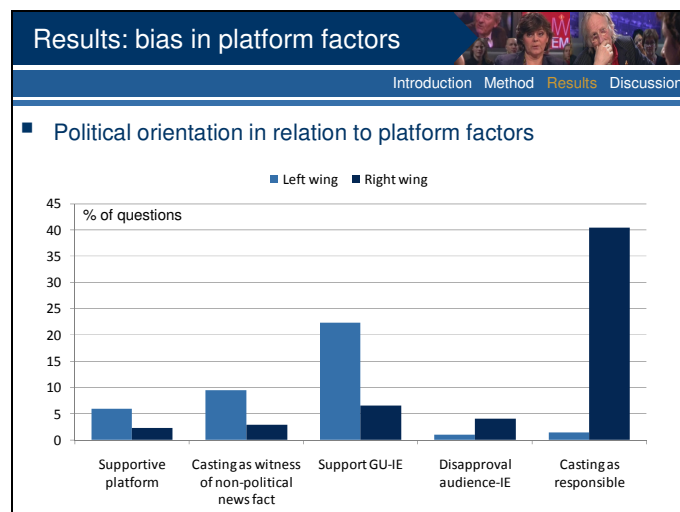
Second, the focus is on the platform factors as potential explanations for the political bias in persistence. This bias is not per se an *interviewer* bias, because it might be determined by these platform factors. For example, it is easy to imagine that a casting of a politician as someone who is responsible for certain actions is related to more persistence of the interviewers. If right-wing politicians are more often cast in this position, then the political bias found is made understandable as shaped by differences in the casting of the politicians.

In order to get insight into the platform factors as potential explanations for the political bias in persistence, I checked all possible relationships between the platform factors and persistence. If this relationship was statistically significant, I made platform-specific cross tables and studied the political bias in platform-specific circumstances. In this way it became clear to what extent the platform factors can explain the political bias in persistence that was found previously.

As a preliminary to both analyses, I reorganized the platform factors. This was necessary because I used a fine-grained coding scheme, which resulted in unbalanced distributions within some platform factors. I recoded some factors by aggregating infrequent values into meaningful categories. Moreover, I dichotomized some platform factors on the basis of the underlying concepts of the analyses, as represented on slides 11 to 16. The coding scheme which is inserted in the final slide describes this dichotomization.

I will present a selection of the analyses that are outlined above, and the conclusions.

Slide 19



A total of sixteen platform items is studied. Nine of these items vary in relation to the political orientation of the interviewee. Four of these could not be classified as favourable or not favourable to the politicians. The remaining five items are represented on slide 19. The political bias in the platform factors is represented on the slide. It is apparent in five respects.

Legend to the graph:

- 1 Casting on a supportive platform: 5,9 vs. 2,2; favourable
- 2 Casting as someone who has seen or heard a non-political news fact: 9,5 vs. 2,9; favourable
- 3 Support for the interviewee from a guest at the table: 22,3 vs. 6,5; favourable
- 4 Disapproval for the interviewee from the audience in the studio: 0,9 vs. 4,0; not favourable
- 5 Casting as someone with some responsibility for the news fact: 1,4 vs. 40,4; not favourable

The conclusion is that, in five of the sixteen studied respects, the left-wing politicians have better positions on the platform than the right-wing politicians. None of the respects studied showed a bias in favour of right-wing politicians.

Slide 20

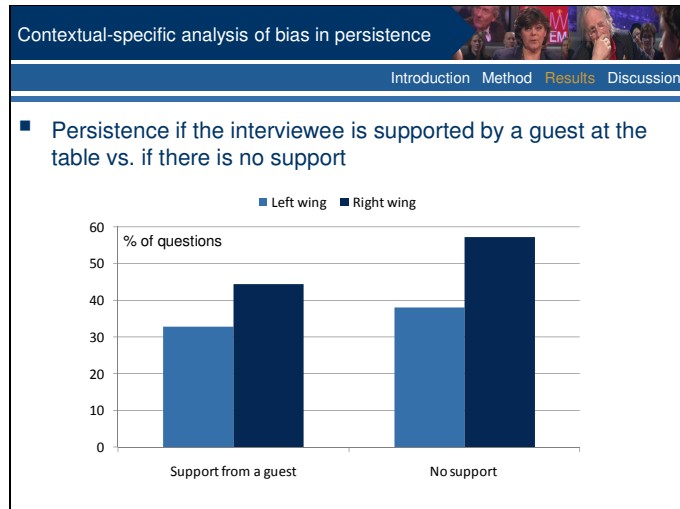


Conclusion on platform factors

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- Of the sixteen platform items that we studied, five showed a meaningful political bias: left-wing politicians have more favourable positions on the platform than right-wing politicians

Slide 21



On slide 18 I argued that the bias in persistence that was found previously might be determined by platform factors. First, these factors were investigated with respect to their effect on persistence. Six of the sixteen effect determinations were statistically significant.

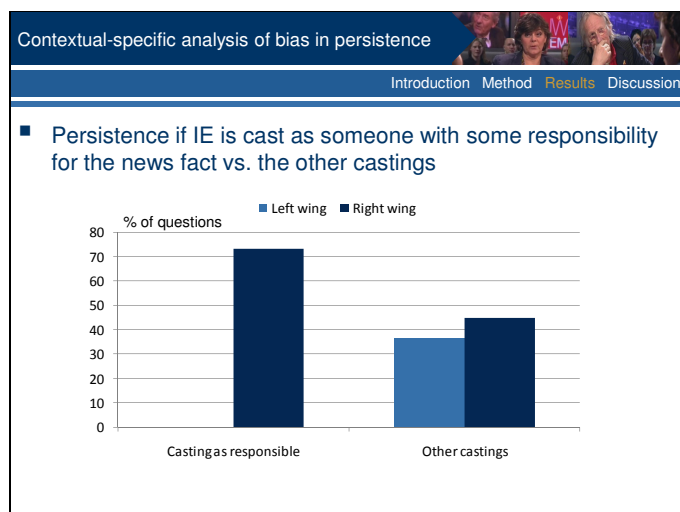
Next, I made contextual-specific cross tables and studied the precise character of this effect on what really concerns me: the political bias. The bar diagrams on the slide show an example of such an effect determination and contextual-specific analysis.

The interviewers are less persistent if the interviewee is supported by a guest at the table: the figures on the left are lower than those on the right, but their bias is apparent in both the figures on the left and on the right.

The bar diagrams on the next slide show another example of an effect determination and contextual-specific analysis.

The results of the six contextual-specific analyses are described in Table 2.

Slide 22

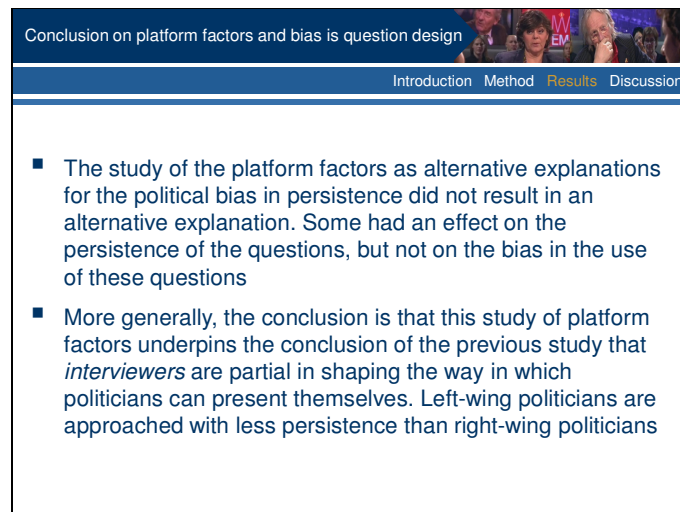


The interviewers are more persistent if the interviewee is cast as someone with some responsibility for the news fact: the bar on the left is higher than those on the right, but their bias is apparent on the right, while it cannot be made apparent on the left, because left-wing politicians are too infrequently cast in this position. We conclude that this aspect of the platform dynamics shapes the question design, but does not offer an alternative explanation for the bias in question design.

In this way, I studied what happens to the political bias in the 12 contexts that are encompassed by the 6 factors that proved to be relevant. If there were enough observations, I found the pattern that left-wing politicians are approached in a less persistent manner than right-wing politicians, i.e., the pattern shown on the slides. We conclude from these contextual-specific analyses that the platform factors shape the question design, but not the political bias.

The study of the platform factors as alternative explanations for the political bias in persistence did not result in an alternative explanation. Six of these factors had an effect on the persistence of the questions, but none on the bias in the use of these questions. More generally, the conclusion is that this study of platform factors underpins the conclusion of the previous study that *interviewers* are partial in shaping the way in which politicians can present themselves. Left-wing politicians are approached less persistently than right-wing politicians.

Slide 23



Conclusion on platform factors and bias is question design

Introduction Method Results Discussion

- The study of the platform factors as alternative explanations for the political bias in persistence did not result in an alternative explanation. Some had an effect on the persistence of the questions, but not on the bias in the use of these questions
- More generally, the conclusion is that this study of platform factors underpins the conclusion of the previous study that *interviewers* are partial in shaping the way in which politicians can present themselves. Left-wing politicians are approached with less persistence than right-wing politicians

Slide 24

## Conclusion on co-construction of bias

Introduction Method **Results** Discussion

- The political bias in the TV-interviews that we studied is in favour of left-wing politicians, and it is a co-construction of the editorial team of the programme, the interviewers, the other guests at the table and the audience in the studio

The political bias is *not* a collaborative effort.

Slide 25

## Discussion

Introduction Method Results **Discussion**

- The measurement instrument of political bias and platform factors
  - Reliability
  - Validity
  - Qualitative analysis of the casting of the platform
  - Other factors in the conversational context produced by IE
  - Announcements of the interviewees
- Political bias of the media
  - Political bias as a co-construction vs. a collaborative effort
  - Generalizability

Slide 26

End



Coding scheme platform factors

Table 1

Table 2



## Political bias in TV-interviews: A co-construction of interviewers and overhearers?

Handout XVIIIth International Seminar in Broadcast Talk: Broadcast Talk in Diachronic Perspective

Bertinoro, 11th -14th July 2010

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### Examples:

Example 1: *Persistence*

In the following fragment, the interviewers are dealing with a comment by right-wing politician, Pieter Winsemius, a fellow party member of interviewee Rita Verdonk, in which he states that, in the next cabinet, he is willing to take over Verdonk's portfolio as Minister of Immigration and Integration because she failed to solve the problems in the city neighbourhoods.

(1) *Repeating the question, commenting on evasive answering (CEA) and interrupting IE (IR1=Paul Witteman, IR2=Jeroen Pauw, IE = right-wing MP Rita Verdonk)*

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IR1: Q<sup>1</sup>→ And do you think it is a good idea that? Do you think it is a good idea that he will finish your job?  
IE: Well, look. What I do think is that his report is an inventory he has made and we still have big problems in the neighbourhoods. But, to me, it goes too far, and that was your first comment, that it is all integration pro [blems. I have said there is a complex  
IR1: Q<sup>2</sup>→ [Yes. That is what you have said, but do you mind if he finishes that job?  
IE: Well, look, that is I don't think that you can put it in this way. We are all dependent on coalition [negotiations.=  
IR1: [Hmhm  
= Let's wait for these first and then see what [comes out.  
IR1: Q<sup>3</sup>→ [Would you be happy to get rid of it? Of this portfolio?  
IE: (<) Uh I have to say that it has been spoken of as a headache portfolio. Well, it is not like that, but I get as far as the integration part is concerned you get gray hairs from that. [I mean.=  
IR1: [Yeh.  
IE: = A complete cultural change has to be brought [about. (Under)  
IR1: Q<sup>4</sup>→ [So you don't mind if you leave it?  
IE: Well. I no I am terrifically interested in it. And it also keeps me very busy. So yes of course leaving it would definitely affect me.  
[Sure of course, but the same applies to immigration.  
IR1: Q<sup>5</sup>→ [Yes. You you you prefer to keep doing it.  
IE: Well, that is not what I am saying. You know, I have just said, it's all about these coalition negotiations. So [yes  
IR1: Q<sup>6</sup>→ [No. it's about I [asked what you want.  
IR2: Q<sup>7</sup>→ [No, but the issue is what you [want.  
IE: [No.  
Nohohohoho no yes and then after that you uh god and you say just with respect to Mister Winsemius. I 'm getting to know you now, gentlemen. Noho, this is not what is

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		<i>going to happen.</i>
IR2:		<i>No.</i>
IR1:	CEA→	<i>But, we uh simply ask questions and (then I [don't understand.]=</i>
IE:		<i>[Yes.</i>
		<i>= Either you say yes we I know you as interviewers and I would rather not give an answer. But we don't know you for this.</i>
IE:		<i>No, oh but I keep on giving I do [my utmost to give good answers.</i>
IR2:	Q <sup>8</sup> →	<i>[But fine. You just said I just discussed it with Mister uh Winsemius, and so in my view you will have said just normally Pieter, before he said it on Buitenhof. So he probably also said like I do want to do that and I feel I might well say it on Buitenhof ((i.e., a political TV talk show)). What did you say then?</i>
IE:		<i>Well, I mean, he can say that if he wants to. And I can give my reaction to that, [the (weeks) erm [which I have.</i>
IR1:	Q <sup>9+10</sup> →	<i>[And it was? [And what was your reaction then?</i>

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When the interviewer asks Verdonk whether she sees Winsemius taking her place as being a good idea (Q<sup>1</sup>), she doesn't provide an adequate answer to that question, i.e., she comments on the topic of the question, but does not answer the question in terms of the action that the question requires: a yes/no answer. This leads to the interviewers repeating the question six times (Q<sup>2</sup> to Q<sup>7</sup>), while also interrupting Verdonk in each case. Next, Verdonk evades the question openly, after which the interviewers comment explicitly on her series of inadequate answers (CEA). After an account of the interviewee, the interviewers continue repeating the question and interrupting the interviewee (Q<sup>8</sup> to Q<sup>10</sup>).

By interrupting the interviewee, repeating their question, and commenting on evasive action, the interviewers demonstrate to the interviewee as well as to the audience that they regard the question as being answered inadequately. They display persistence in obtaining an adequate answer, thereby expressing adversarialness in the questions they ask.

## Example 2 *Casting as a political expert*

Left-wing party leader Jan Marijnissen is invited to comment on some video clips of a political debate from which he was excluded, a debate between the two politicians who were nominated as future Prime Minister. The focus is in particular on a rhetorical pattern that was used by the left-leaning candidate: he asks his right-leaning opponent to cite three points from his party's political programme that are tough on the rich. The right-leaning candidate could not even mention one point. Although the pattern was successful, its weakness was that it was corny, because the left-leaning politician had used it before. In the following fragment, the interviewers are dealing with the interviewee's opinion on the repeated use of a pattern that was successful once.

### (2) *Casting as a political expert (IR=Jeroen Pauw, IE=left-wing party leader Jan Marijnissen)*

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IR:	U	<i>Is that ((the rhetorical pattern that is clarified above)) something from which you</i>
	→	<i><u>also as a politician</u> know I am very strong in that, I know that I'm simply going to score three goals in succession.</i>
	Q	<i>That's the one that I'm definitely going to take with me to the debate?</i>

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Example 3 *Casting as someone with responsibility for the news fact*

On the agenda is the Schiphol fire that took place on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2005 in a complex of cells on Schiphol-East. Eleven detained illegal immigrants died, and there were fifteen people hurt, among whom were some custodians. The interviewee, Rita Verdonk, was Minister of Immigration and Integration at the time of the fire.

(3) *Casting as someone with responsibility for the news fact (IR=Jeroen Pauw, IE= right-wing MP and Minister of Immigration and Integration Rita Verdonk)*

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IR: U      *OK. Fine. We've just asked you also about uhh uh successes that you brought in.*  
Q      *What is actually uh a if you look back to this period in office your nastiest memory?*  
IE:      *The Schiphol fire.*  
IR: Q      *The Schiphol fire.*  
IE:      *Yes.*  
IR: Q→    *(<) Do you think that you did something wrong in that?*

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Example 4 *Casting of the platform as supportive to the politician*

The interviewers address right-wing MP Rita Verdonk in an interview with a Frisian horsewoman, who saved a herd of horses from starvation and drowning. The horses had become isolated when the sea rose, and didn't dare to cross the water back to the mainland. The Frisian horsewoman, together with some friends, succeeded in driving the herd to the shore. Video clips of this event were shown. The interviewers cast this event in such a way that Rita Verdonk benefits from her personal statement "Rechtdoorzee", which is translated in this context as "Keep right on, through hell and high water".

(4) *Casting of a supportive platform (IR1=Jeroen Pauw, IR2 = Paul Witteman, IE= right-wing MP Rita Verdonk)*

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IR1: Q→    *This is uh really 'keep right on, through hell and high water', isn't it?*  
IR2: Q→    *And uh decisiveness too ((laughs))*  
IE:      *Absolutely 'keep right on, through hell and high water'. Yes. Decisive woman. 'Keep right on, through hell and high water'. Indeed. A woman after my own heart, isn't she?*

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Example 5 *Casting of a hostile platform*

In the following fragment, the interviewers are dealing with left-wing MP Agnes Kant's reasons for being a guest on the TV talk show, Catherine, and taking her daughter with her. The interviewers argue that the interviewee showed off in this way on this platform because of the elections, and they persist in this argument. After several denials on the part of the interviewee, the interviewers cast a hostile platform by playing a video clip of Clinton with the legendary statement "I did not have sexual relations with that woman".

(5) *Casting of a hostile platform (IR=Jeroen Pauw, IE= left-wing MP Agnes Kant)*

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IR: Q      *But you didn't have the slightest idea that this ((i.e., your appearance on the talk show, together with your daughter)) had anything to do with the elections and that it could turn out to be smart?*  
IE:      *No Nooh this is I see it as nice that people see different sides,*  
→      *((IR plays the Clinton video clip))*  
IR: Q →    *If we play this, it means that we do not believe the guest.*  
IE:      *Yes. No, that's OK. You are allowed to not believe it, but yes, ((IE continues arguing))*

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Example 6 *Support for the interviewee from a guest at the table*

In the following fragment, the interviewers are dealing with the interviewee's attempt to get a parliamentary investigation into the behaviour of Dutch soldiers in Iraqi prisons after it became apparent that the soldiers had mistreated and tortured their prisoners. The interviewers have just shown a video clip from the broadcast news in which the Iraqi ambassador to the Netherlands says that the misbehaviour of the Dutch soldiers might have been a case of coercion, but not of torture, and then continue the interview:

(6) *Support for the interviewee from a guest at the table (IR=Paul Witteman, IE = left-wing MP Femke Halsema, GU = guest at the table and comedian Freek de Jonge)*

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IR:	Q	<i>And then, I do think, Femke Halsema, yes uhh I believe that GroenLinks ((i.e., the political party to which IE belongs)) passed a parliamentary investigation into the review about this issue. That is too heavy an instrument for what might have been a bit of coercion.</i>
IE:	→	<i>Yes, but in my view uhhh it is a bit strange to compare the situation in Iraq with what we regard further as acceptable. [video 1: GU nods] Uhhh I mean, 3000 fatalities in a few months uhhh that does not yet allow you to say OK, a bit of coercion can happen. We have made international agreements and that means that you may not coerce prisoners, that you may not humiliate them, that you have to treat them respectfully, and that you may not use pressure to wrest [confessions.</i>
GU:	→	<i>[And and and this man ((i.e., the Iraqi ambassador on the video clip)) appears to me pre-eminently to be a puppet. [I am sorry.</i>
IE		<i>[Yes, exactly. (&lt;) Thank you.</i>

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Example 7 *Support for the interviewer from a guest at the table*

(7) *Support for the interviewer from a guest at the table (IR=Paul Witteman, IE = right-wing party leader Marco Pastors, GU = guest at the table Şenay Özdemir, chief editor of SEN Magazine, the glossy for Mediterranean women in the Netherlands)*

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IR:	U	<i>But you are there are two people sitting side by side now ((i.e., Pastors and Özdemir)) who who [represent uh the extremes in the formation of public opinion=</i>
IE:		<i>[Yes.</i>
IR:	U →	<i>=You ((i.e., Pastors)) compare islamization with the German occupation [video 7: GU supports IR], and uh Şenay, who says that the Netherlands are going to be funny again.</i>
IE		<i>Mhmm.</i>
IR:	Q	<i>And that is a completely different line of approach. I mean I I cannot imagine that you'll ever come close to each other in this respect.</i>

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Example 8 *Disapproval of the interviewee by a member of the audience in the studio*

The interviewer discusses the expulsion policy of the interviewee.

(8) *Disapproval of the interviewee by a member of the audience in the studio (IR=Jeroen Pauw, IE = right-wing MP and Minister of Immigration and Integration Rita Verdonk)*

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IR:	U	<i>We've had here this week girls uh who have been going to secondary schools for four or five years, neat and nice western girls, who we send back to Afghanistan, where they're going to be back under the burka.</i>
	Q	<i>And we regard Afghanistan obviously as a safe country.</i>
IE:		<i>Well. Especially erm for erm this group erm of single women from Afghanistan a special [photo 26: member of the audience shows disapproval] policy has had to be developed, because I they [also ( )</i>
IR:	Q	<i>[They have to go back then?</i>
IE:		<i>Yes, then they come in a they are going to be as far as I can see now with the entire family and they go back to uh uh Afghanistan as an entire family.</i>

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*Transcription conventions*

(<)	pause of a second or less
(only partly intelligible)	uncertain transcription
((clarification))	clarification, usually contextual information
[	beginning of overlapping stretch of speech
=	introduces latched turn
,	a comma marks a 'continuing' intonation
→	indicates line which is the focus of comment or discussion