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Politeness and Gender in BBC world News

Broadcast Interviews

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I am duly informed that any person practicing plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary sanctions issued by university authorities under the rule and regulation in force

Toumi Abderrazek

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CP Cooperative principle

FTA Face threatening acts

FER Female interviewer

MER Male interviewer

PP Politeness principle

M Male

F Female

MM Male Male

FF Female Female

Abstract

This study aims to investigate the application of the politeness principle in Broadcast media interviews by male/female interviewers and interviewees. It explores the politeness strategies and sub-strategies (of Brown and Levinson, 1987) which are used by either sex, in order to determine which sex is more polite than the other. This choice was motivated first by the researcher's interest in media discourse. Then by the fact that interviews are prominent features of many programmes on this station, and I was confident that the required number of interviews would be found. It was decided that the t specific programmes broadcast by the station would be Hard Talk, Dateline London and BBC Weekend for political interviews. These programmes are well established and well-respected news broadcasts. On these programmes, the presenters conduct interviews with politicians or members of a political party about the main political issues of the day. A small number of non-political interviews have also been taken from these two news broadcasts, as both programmes try to establish a balance between 'hard' news, and

'softer' items, including interviews on 'light-hearted' topics. The other non-political interviews were recorded from Global with Matthew, BBC weekend.

The data gathered through the recording of TV broadcast interviews are analyzed by means of a set of frameworks based mostly on Brown Livingston, Holmes and Harris.

Keywords: Politeness, gender, conversation analysis, BBC World News, media broadcast interviews, women, men

General Introduction

Ever since the mid-1970s, studying the difference between male and female speech forms has become an important feature of sociolinguistic research. Previous language and gender researchers have found that female interactants are more linguistically polite than their male equivalents, as they have a tendency to use co-operative discourse strategies. In contrast, males are likely to use competitive strategies. This study tests the co-operation and competition by examining the amount of attention male and female interviewers and interviewees pay to the norms and conventions of linguistic politeness in BBC world broadcast interviews.

A pattern steady with the co-operation and competitiveness framework is found, though there are exceptions, which cast doubt on the appropriateness of previous theories that claim to explicate why men and women speak differently. Humans to be part of relationships, Speech play the key role in communication, since it can express complex ideas through important nuances in the use of a wide range of meanings. Furthermore, speech functions in enabling interaction between people. Švárová (2008) claims that this interaction is supposed to be polite in order to enable the participants of the communication to feel at ease and enjoy conversation and interaction together..

In the words of Okamoto (1999:51): Expressions of politeness are in relation to specific social settings as well as to the speakers' ideas about Politeness. An adequate account of linguistic politeness thus needs a close analysis of the relations among linguistic expressions in discourse, speakers' ideas about politeness, and social context. Politeness is a central concept in linguistic pragmatics and it is one of the most relevant aspects of human communication. In carrying out an interview, discourse participants need to apply this phenomenon to build an emotional and social harmony when they interact with others in order to achieve their goals and wants by maintaining their interlocutor's public status. Politeness does not only encompass linguistic realizations, but also "the broad communicative spectrum including paralinguistic and kinetic detail" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 58).

Therefore, the way an interview is conducted, for instance, is part of a polite or an impolite behaviour. Since broadcast media interviews are not spontaneous, the interviewers and interviewees in this study strive to avoid face threatening acts (henceforth ;FTA) in their interviews as much as they can. Here, an attempt by either sex participant not to avoid these FTA is considered rude and impolite.

Researchers (Lakoff, 1975; Brown and Levinson, 1978 and Leech, 1983) have suggested that politeness is another level of conversational interaction in addition to the rules governing the Cooperative Principle of Grice (1975). According to Grice (1975), the cooperative principle consists of four maxims of Quantity (be informative as required), Quality (say the truth), Relevance (make your contribution relevant to your discussion), and Manner (be brief and clear). Most sociolinguistic studies have looked at politeness in terms of "face" (Hartung, 2001: 214). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness strategies are developed in order to save the hearers' "face."

Both Yule (1996) and Hirschova (2006) consider 'face' a crucial term for describing politeness. Often people try to avoid humiliating others. Pragmatics views language usage as shaped by the purposes of the individuals involved. Therefore, it is usually in the interest of the male and female interviewers and interviewees that face should be protected and preserved, and if threatened, should be saved or redressed with politeness strategies. Politeness is seen and understood in terms of sets of strategies on the part of the discourse contributors for mitigating speech acts

this research to concentrate on the pragmatic phenomenon of linguistic politeness because of the essential part it plays in verbal interaction. Politeness standards serve to govern what is regarded as co-operative behaviour in conversation. As Thomas (1995: 158) points out, politeness strategies are employed by speakers to achieve goals 'such as promoting and maintaining harmonious relationships'. As politeness typifies co-operative behaviour, it provides an perfect way to test notions of co-operation and competition in male and female speech.

This study looks at the BBC World News as interviews both political and non-political. This choice was motivated by the fact that interviews are prominent features of many programmes on this station, and I was confident that the required number of interviews would be found. It was decided that the the specific programmes broadcast by the station would be Hard Talk, Dateline London and BBC Weekend for political interviews. These programmes are well established and well-respected news broadcasts. On these programmes, the presenters conduct interviews with politicians or members of a political party about the main political issues of the day. A small number of non-political interviews have also been taken from these two news broadcasts, as both programmes try to establish a balance between ‘hard’ news, and ‘softer’ items, including interviews on ‘light-hearted’ topics. The other non-political interviews were recorded from Global with Matthew, BBC weekend.

The data gathered through the recording of TV broadcast interviews are analyzed by means of a set of frameworks based mostly on Brown Livingston, Holmes and harris. These frameworks are meant to measure such constituents as question and answer sequences, the turn-taking system, Interruptions and minimal responses

The main reason why media discourse was chosen as the contextual emphasis for this study is that linguistic politeness is relatively under-investigated in this setting, as the vast majority of previous research has focused on interaction in informal, domestic contexts. The decision to examine media discourse is also motivated by the significance of the mass media as a social institution. Caldas-Coulthard (1995) argues that, in general, the discourse of the media serves as a means of cultural reproduction which is highly implicated in society’s power structure. She considers that the media work to ‘encode bias and valid assumptions about linguistic behaviour and social asymmetries’ (1995: 227)

Fairclough believes that by analysing the discourse of social institutions rather than casual conversation, important issues surrounding the role that institutional discourse plays in producing and preserving society’s power structure can be examined.

Research problem and hypothesis

Research questions

Specifically, this study attempts to answer the following research questions:

Q1. How does the politeness principle apply to men and women (interviewers and interviewees) discourse in broadcast media interviews?

Q2. Which politeness strategies are used by either sex in their interviews?

Q3. How do the politeness strategies used by either sex differ?

Q4. Which sex is more polite than the other?

Hypotheses

H1. Men and women (interviewers and interviewees) in broadcast media interviews

apply the politeness principle in their discourse.

H2. Both sexes use Brown and Levinson's (1987) four levels of politeness

strategies in their interviews.

H3. The men (interviewers and interviewees) use different politeness strategies in

their discourse than their women counterpart.

H4. Women are more polite than Men.

H5. Men are more polite than Women

Purpose of the study

Politeness is used to refer to behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for and takes account of the feeling of others. A polite person makes others feel comfortable; therefore, being linguistically polite involves speaking to people appropriately in the light of their relationship to you whereas inappropriate linguistic choices may be considered rude. This study attempts to analyse the politeness strategies used in broadcast media interviews, especially on BBC world news interviews by men and women (interviewers and interviewees), and the frequency of using the strategies by either sex to ascertain which sex is more polite than the other.

This study shows that men and women (interviewers and interviewees) in the media use the politeness principle, and the different kinds of politeness strategies they apply in their interviews. By extension, it demonstrates that the interviewers use more of negative politeness while the interviewees use more of positive politeness in media interviews of English expression. It bridges the gap that exists between linguistics and sex difference studies since sex difference studies are cross-disciplinary in nature and sex differences in language use and the politeness phenomenon is a relatively novel area of research.

Linguistic politeness contributes to better understanding and assists the men and women in the broadcast media to reach better decisions during interviews. Understanding other's polite ways of talking is an enormous endeavor across the communication gap between women and men and a giant step towards opening lines of communication. At the same time, understanding the different polite communication patterns which women and men typically use makes it possible to understand the potential individual private cross-sex miscommunications and to achieve effective communication.

Chapter one

Language Gender and Politeness

Introduction

This chapter seeks to portray the relevant background literature of the research, examining the research carried out on sex differences in language use, sex, face and politeness studies till date, bringing out the necessity of this present study

1-language and Politeness

Research issues associated to sex difference and politeness have been widely discussed. Lakoff's (1975) publication aroused researchers' interest in language and sex issues. She attracted much attention in the light of sexism and the difference between men and women's speech. Lakoff inspired scholars to carry out studies in this field and much empirical research had been conducted either to disprove or to prove her claim, which mirrored the mainstream gender stereotype of her time and provided the researchers with a starting point.

Thomas (1995) conducted a research in the UK to show a high level of agreement as to which linguistic forms were most polite when taken out of context. She postulated that according to them, the more grammatically complex or extravagant the strategy was, the more highly it is rated for politeness. Forms like: 'I wonder if I might ask you to X?' was rated 'more polite' than 'please X' (Thomas, 1995: 155, as cited in Ewane, 2012:17).

Manno (1999) studied politeness in Switzerland in the context of respect and acceptance in English. She collected her data in threefold; first, some pragmatic studies of politeness were reviewed; second, a corpus of recent letters, received from *Deutschschweiz (DS)* and *SulsseRomande (SR)* and then some data from face to face interaction previously elicited from other purposes. For the last step, she submitted a questionnaire to about 30 Swiss people from SR and DS on their own and their neighbour's politeness routines. It revealed that Swiss politeness presents some features of its own, such as modesty and avoidance of disagreement. Aziz (2000) investigated politeness strategies used in Indonesia in the responses of Indonesian speakers of English who are defied with regressive speech acts.

Data collected involved 163 respondents with varied gender, age, education, employment, language and cultural background. This study revealed 11 strategies of refusing in Indonesia:

1. Hesitation and lack of enthusiasm
2. Offer and alternative
3. Postponement
4. Put the blame on the third party
5. General acceptance of an offer but giving no detail
6. General acceptance with excuse
7. Giving reason and explanation
8. Complaining and criticizing
9. Conditional yes
10. Questioning the justification of a request
11. Threatening

Danblon, De Clerk, and Van Noppen (2005) studied politeness in the Belgian context with Belgian speakers of English. Their research focused on face, distance and sincerity in service exchange rituals. They got their data by recording and observing in different shops (village bakeries, grocer's shop, sandwich shop, post office, chemist's, butcher's, baker's, and pastry shop and fast-food outlet) at different times. The results revealed that neither clienteles nor shop helpers envisioned their usage of politeness markers as strategies aimed

at redressing a face-threat but as part of a display of friendliness, good manners and conventional courtesy.

Significantly, Holmes and Marra's (2004) co-authored essay entitled "Relational Practice in the Workplace, Women's talk or gendered discourse." measured politeness in the workplace using Brown and Levinson (1987) linguistic politeness model. They studied the role of small talk in public areas, rather than only private ones and claimed that politeness in general played a significant part in building and consolidating workplace relations, and moreover note that togetherness at the workplace is essential to achieve organizational objectives. With regards to small talk in particular, they argued that the label "small talk" itself overtly signals the perceived status of this sort of talk as trivial and irrelevant to serious workplace business (2004:381). They believed that this needs to be challenged so that the importance of small talk in the workplace can be realized.

Holmes and Marra (2004) applied the term Relational Practice (RP) to their argument of workplace communication, which they used as an alternative to politeness. RP developed from the work of Fletcher (1999), based on three constituents: firstly, it is focused on the "face needs" of others. Secondly, it helped to advance the most important objectives of the workplace, and thirdly, they claim that RP practices at work are regarded as "dispensable, irrelevant or peripheral" (2004:78). RP played a crucial role in enforcing and "emphasizing the significance of good team relations in furthering project goals" (2004:388). They believed that small talk fits these categories and is important in building workplace relations, stating that small talk and social talk at work evidently serve the function of "establishing and nurturing workplace relationships" (2004:381).

Holmes and Marra (2004) thus argued that people preserve positive workplace connections by using small talk to develop on togetherness and inspire others to perform to the best of their aptitude.

In a later work, Holmes and Schnurr (2005) explained the thought behind using the term RP to refer to workplace politeness. Holmes and Schnurr (2005:124) posited that “it had the advantage of avoiding the definitional traps, referential slipperiness, and emotional baggage of the term politeness”. Nevertheless, it seems hard to see that much of a differentiation between the two, to the extent that Mullany (2002) had noted that it is unclear how Holmes and Schnurr’s (2005: 60) use of the term (politeness) differs from Brown and Levinson’s approach to politeness. Holmes, and her two co-authors, do not seem sure of this either, as Holmes and Marra (2004:381) concede that “the parallels with Brown and Levinson’s concepts of positive and negative face and a crucial components of politeness theory, are obvious”.

A disagreement strategy for politeness between American English and Mandarin Chinese was carried out by Guodong and Jing (2005). In researching on this study, Guodong and Jing used Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) to elicit data from English native speakers of American college students and Chinese who are non-English major students at the University of Science and Technology of China (USTC). They found out that Chinese students employed more politeness strategies and address forms than the American students do when disagreeing with a superior. In the case of peers, the study revealed that both the American and the Chinese students applied less politeness strategies if the social distance was increased. In addition, they found out that female students, both American and Chinese used more politeness strategies than male students do.

The above reviews dealt with sex differences in politeness use at varied contexts. These reviews drives this present study in this it serves as basis for us to investigate the same concept in another context

Brown and Levinson have been amongst the leaders of linguistic politeness research for twenty years. Their 1987 study into politeness was concerned with the concept of face as adapted from Goffman (1967). He defines face as the image that a speaker or hearer would like to maintain during the course of an interaction (Goffman, 1967, as cited in Bloomer,

Griffiths and Merrison, 2005:113). Brown and Levinson claim that we acknowledge and show awareness of the face of the people we address when we enter into a social relationship, and believe that politeness is measured by the amount of verbal ‘work’ that goes into an interaction to lessen or eliminate potential threats, or face threatening acts (FTAs), to the face of the hearer (Cutting, 2002: 45; Mills, 2003: 58). There are many ways in which a speaker can avoid FTAs in order to be polite. To achieve this, the speaker can either use positive politeness or negative politeness strategies. When a FTA is unavoidable, the speaker can lessen the threat to the hearer by respecting the hearer’s negative face or positive face. The negative face is concerned with the hearer’s need to be independent, free, and not imposed on by the speaker, and is catered for by negative politeness (Cutting, 2002: 45). Threats to a hearer’s negative face can include orders, requests, suggestions and warnings, among others (Bloomer et al. 2005: 113), as in the following example:

(1) a) I couldn’t borrow \$30, could I, if you don’t need it right now?

b) Could I borrow \$30?

(Cutting, 2002: 47)

A is an example of negative politeness as it uses the negative question “I couldn’t borrow \$30, could I”, which is used to avoid imposing on the hearer and anticipates rejection, making the question easier to refuse by the hearer. B is much more direct and is considered to be less polite. Positive politeness is also used to avoid FTAs. Positive politeness can lessen threat to the hearer’s positive face by appealing to friendship and making the hearer feel good (Cutting, 2002: 48). Acts such as indicating disapproval, criticism, disagreement or challenges can all threaten a hearer’s positive face (Bloomer et al. 2005: 114). FTAs can also be avoided indirectly, or off record. If a speaker were to say “Gee, these bags are heavy – I wish I had another pair of hands”, it would signal to a companion that assistance is needed, without having to directly ask and risk threatening their face (Cutting, 2002: 45).

2-Politeness and gender

The study of language and sex has become an interdisciplinary study, with contributions from intercultural communication, discourse analysis, gender studies, psychology, sociolinguistics, and anthropology since its emergence in the 1970s. Feminist theory has also made vital contributions to this field of study in recent years, although men and women communication has become the focal point of various fields of study, especially in the domain of sex differences and politeness. In the following reviews, the term gender is used as a broad term to refer to sex role identity used by humans to emphasize the distinctions between males and females. Scholars have attempted and brought various approaches and new perspectives to this field. Lakoff in her book *Language and Women's Place* (1975, 2004) is renowned for her publications on language and gender in particular. In part one of *Language and Women's Place*, Lakoff discussed various aspects of women's speech including hedges, empty adjectives and tag questions, among others, and the way that women are socially constructed to speak the way that they do (Lakoff, 2004). Lakoff claims that young girls are taught to speak and act like ladies, and are ostracized if they do not (Lakoff, 2004: 40). Boys are not treated so harshly and are not discouraged from using 'rough talk' like girls are, as this behaviour is more socially acceptable from a boy than from a girl (Lakoff, 2004: 41). This socialization process often leads to men and women speaking dialects of English: 'men's talk' and 'women's talk'. Lakoff also claims that women's use of tag questions is a part of speech that makes women sound more polite, as it does not force agreement on the hearer (Lakoff, 2004:50). Lakoff also touches on requests, which she also calls polite commands, and how they, like tag questions, do not force agreement on the hearer (Lakoff, 2004: 50). The following example of polite language variation is taken from Lakoff's *Language and Women's Place*:

a) *Close the door.*

b) *Please close the door.*

c) *Will you close the door?*

d) *Will you please close the door?*

e) *Won't you close the door?*

(Lakoff, 2004: 50)

These examples show a common request given at different levels of politeness in Chicago, with *a* being a direct order, *b* and *c* being simple requests, and *d* and *e* being compound requests. Example *e* is the most polite as it is phrased as a negative question, making the (implicit) assumption that the hearer is going to say 'no'. This way, the hearer will feel more comfortable saying 'no' (Lakoff, 2004: 51).

This proposal is closely related to Brown and Levinson's theory of avoiding face threatening acts with the use of negative face. Lakoff claims that women use more compound requests than men. In part two of *Language and Women's Place, Why women are ladies* (Lakoff, 2004), she also claims that women are taught to speak like ladies and that men are taught how to speak around ladies (Lakoff, 2004: 77).

Montgomery also makes claims about differences concerning politeness and gender. In Montgomery's 1998 study of multiple modals in the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States, he claimed that the sex of the interviewer is the single most important factor contributing to the occurrence of multiple modals (Montgomery, 1998, as cited in Bailey and Tillery, 1999: 389).

The study involved men and women of different races, ages, social status and genders being interviewed to assess the frequency of their multiple modal uses. The frequency of multiple modal uses was found to be twice that of men when with female interviewers, irrespective of location or any social categories (Montgomery, 1998, as cited in Bailey and Tillery, 1999: 389). On the basis of this finding, Montgomery argues that: both men and women are more sensitive to the face of a woman they are speaking with than to that of a man. In other words, they are more polite to women. Montgomery goes on to say that: if the sex of the interviewer is the social variable that correlates most strongly and consistently with multiple modal use, this indicates that speakers, more than anything about who they are themselves, are aware of their interlocutor and make linguistic adjustments based on who that person is (Montgomery, 1998, as cited in Bailey and Tillery, 1999: 389). This finding by Montgomery provides evidence of the role of politeness across geographical and social differences and agrees with the stereotype concerning manners and politeness towards women in the South of the United States.

Within the Latin American context, Brown (1990) and Cordella (1991) investigated gender and politeness in Mexico and Chile in English, respectively. Brown investigated interactional details of a court case in the Mexican community of Tenejapa and compared them with the characteristics of social interaction typical in that society. It was found out that the particular context of the courtroom allowed direct face-to-face confrontation that is not acceptable in other contexts in the same society and transformed gender meanings. On her part, Cordella (1991) examined apologizing in English among Chileans and Australians who speak English and concluded that positive politeness strategies are more frequently used among Australians than Chileans and that the gender of both speakers and listeners should be considered.

Few studies have been carried out on gender and politeness in the Japanese context. For instance, Ide (1992) investigated the phenomenon of polite speech among Japanese women than among Japanese men. The study was based on a survey of 256 men and 271 women of middle-class parents of college students at a college in Tokyo. It was found that gender

differences in language are the result of the duplex indexing functions of deference and demeanour, two behaviours characterizing politeness in this context. Also in Japan, Smith (1992) examined the linguistic practices of Japanese men and women giving directions and explained gender differences in terms of both a general theory of politeness as well as the culturally specific strategies for encoding politeness and authority in Japanese. In a more recent study, Saito (2010) particularly explored seven Japanese male workplace superiors' linguistic practices use of directive speech acts.

The findings revealed that the genders of the speaker, in addition to various contextual factors, play a role in the choice of the directive form chosen and that actual practice is not always consistent with gender stereotypes.

Jane Pilkington (1992, as cited in Holmes, 1995) investigated the pattern of politeness strategies in women and men's group working in the bakery in New Zealand who speak English. She collected her data by recording the interactions between a group of women and a group of men working at different nights in a bakery. She found out that women are likely to agree or at least respond to the assessment of their interlocutors, unlike the men. The study, then, concluded that New Zealand women tend to use positive politeness frequently, while men most frequently use bald on-record politeness.

It is worth mentioning that the differences in language use by gender have been discussed and researched in a lot of studies, as well as politeness studies (Kuntjara, 2003). In addition to previous studies, Mills (2003), in her book *Gender and Politeness*, described what language and politeness are and how they function. She went further to question the stability and solidity of these entities, by analysing various types of data (interviews, questionnaires, audio recordings of conversations and anecdotes). Mills further discussed stereotypes of gender and politeness. She said politeness is often considered to be a woman's concern. She then explained that women's linguistic behaviour is often characterized as being concerned with co-operation (more positively polite than the man)

and the avoidance of conflict (more negatively polite than the man), (Swacker, 1979 as cited in Holmes, 1995; Matz and Borker, 1982 as cited in Holmes, 1995; Holmes 1995; Hobbs, 2003; Mullany, 2002 and Karafoti, 2007). It happens because there is an assumption that women are powerless. Furthermore, women may show their powerlessness in language, thereby, this situation marks their subordination.

Furthermore, to Brown and Levinson (1987), discourse participants can show their politeness by maximizing areas of agreement and minimizing areas of disagreement. Yet, people do not always disagree with what the addressee says, and it is possible that women and men tend to approach the notion of politeness differently. Similarly, females and males have their different norms in interactions which are quite dramatically contrasted in some contexts, (Holmes, 1995). Holmes talks about women, men and politeness agreeable and disagreeable responses. The theory explains that women have a tendency to agree or at least respond to other speakers, different from men that have very few explicitly agreeing responses.

In a similar vein, Holmes (1995) says that females and males have different norms in interaction which are contrast quite dramatically in some context. In her book, *Women, Men and Politeness*, she explained through nice examples and interesting experiments using Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness model how gender differences may influence and affect linguistic politeness. She talked about women, men and politeness: agreeable and disagreeable responses. In the theory, she explained that women have a more tendency to agree or at least respond to the other speakers, different from man that had very few explicitly agreeing responses. Holmes also talked about women and men's use of language in different ways due to their different interpretations of the use of language. Men use language as a tool to give and obtain information (referential function of language), whereas women perceive language as a tool of keeping in touch (affective or social function of language). Holmes (1995:4) used politeness which she defined as “an expression of concern for the feeling of others”, within the affective or social function of language, and hence, women are more polite than the men as they are the ones who use language in this regard.

She pointed out several times that the most plausible reason why women and men interact differently is because of their different perceptions and usages of language (53).

In addition, using Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness model, Janet Holmes (1995) suggests that women are more likely to use positive politeness than men. For women, being positively polite means that they are being friendly, cooperative, and supportive, agreeing and encouraging with others. In addition, if women are found to disagree, they tend to soften their disagreeing utterances (Matz and Borker, 1982; as cited in Holmes, 1993) and modified it more often than men (Swacker, 1979; as cited in Holmes, 1995). In the second chapter of her book, she claimed that male interviewers talked more than female interviewers while male interviewees talked less than female interviewees who were more sensitive to their interviewers' needs.

Moreover, men asked more response-restricting questions, which focus on the content, than women who make more facilitative questions, which function as supportive elicitations rather than as information seekers. Again, Holmes analysed the use of some linguistic devices used by men and women to either increase or to reduce the force of an utterance. These devices are hedges, boosters, tag questions, and pragmatic particles such as "you know, I think, sort of, of course." Their interpretation in verbal interaction was based on their function in specific context. According to her, all these linguistic devices can be oriented either towards a referential or context-based function or an interpersonal and affective function. Her study showed that men tend to emphasize on the former function while women prefer the latter. Still, Holmes (1995) demonstrated how two different speech acts, apologies and compliments, can grant relevant insights into gender and politeness research. On the one hand, compliments are given, realized and received differently by men and women, with women in general giving and receiving more compliments than men. Interpretations of compliments also differ depending on the person who is receiving it. Females tend to view compliments as positive and affective politeness device, while males often see compliments as face-threatening. Another point of difference is the content of the compliments. Whereas men often compliment on ability and performance, women

compliment more on appearance. Therefore, Holmes (1995), as did Brown (1980) conclude that difference in the use of compliments by men and women can be related to women's subordinate social status in most societies. On the other hand, apologies constituted another element of male and female difference in dealing with speech acts. She concludes that females apologize more than men do, and for different reasons, they also respond differently.

Holmes (1995) concludes from her studies that males tend to be more competitive, aggressive, and argumentative than females. She says that the male tends to disagree baldly, challenge others statements, interrupt, and compete with others. However, the female tends to use positive politeness or negative politeness. It means that the female tends to avoid, minimize or mitigate disagreement or like Holmes says that females tend to involve agreeing with others, encouraging them to talk, expressing support verbally and ensuring they gain a fair share of the talking time.

Holmes (1995:222) final conclusion revealed that women's style of discourse has all these features:

1. Being active listener
2. Giving support to their addressees
3. Disagreeing in a non-confrontational manner
4. Asking facilitative questions
5. Using pragmatic particles in their affective function
6. Complimenting and apologizing frequently

Recently, research on language and gender has moved from focusing on the way women and men talk, to an exploration of the ways in which language is used in relation to the

socially constructed category of gender (Weatheral, 2002; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Paltridge, 2006 and Enongene, 2011).

Hermosilla (2012) analyzed different instances of advertising discourse used to understand the relationship between language, looking through the lens of Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory, and the social dimension of gender. Her analysis showed how advertising discourse is produced within a context which is constrained to the particular objective of moving hearers to buy a particular product. To do so, Hermosilla argues that speakers must pay attention to both the positive and the negative face of the hearers by means of using positive, negative and off-record politeness strategies. She went further to say that it was precisely in the speakers' attention to the hearers' face that gender identities may come into play. The study revealed how advertisements adapt to new postmodern views of consumption and try to adapt to postfeminist gender ideas but, at the same time, rely on traditional dualistic gender stereotypes which perpetuate, in a more subtle way, a dichotomous and dangerous vision of the world. Weatherall (2002:102) submits that:

... gender is not just a natural and inevitable consequence of one's sex but rather, part of the routine, ongoing work of everyday mundane social interaction which is the product of social practice,"

Sex differences and politeness use is a relatively novel area of research in, specifically, in the broadcast media. Talla (2006) examines some politeness particles: na, ya, eihnin Cameroon colloquial or informal English speech with a rising intonation. The study revealed that these particles are used by both male and female speakers, with a general tendency by female Cameroonian speakers to use them more frequently than their male counterparts. On her part, Ewane (2012) exploits the insight of Brown and Levinson (1987) face-saving politeness theory. She analyses the utterances of some 4 secondary and high schools' students and teachers in the Buea Municipality. The study illustrates and describe the various politeness strategies used by both classroom participants, consciously and

unconsciously, in their quest to facilitate teaching and learning. Data was collected and analysed from the observation of 32 lessons from Forms 1 and 4 classrooms. The data revealed that both teachers and students of secondary schools use a variety of politeness strategies during English language lessons. While teachers mostly use positive politeness strategy, students use negative politeness strategy and some specific positive politeness sub-strategies. She therefore concluded her study by asserting that these linguistic politeness strategies are accompanied by gestures, signs and prosodic features which have not been listed in Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory.

Her study only focuses on oral discourse (English language lessons in secondary schools). She did not set out to investigate the application of Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness principle; rather this theory only served as her theoretical framework. However, this research investigates the application of Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory in written discourse (print media interviews); examine the frequency of use by either sex, in order to ascertain which sex is more polite than the other, based on who uses the politeness strategies more.

Worthy of note is the fact that this research reviewed mostly western literature, portraying sex differences in politeness use in their different societies and their logical conclusions. In all of this, there were variations of culture, ethnicity, personality, education, discourse topic, just to mention a few. It is from this background that this present study takes its cue, fits and comes to fill in the gap that exists in sex differences and politeness research in print media (interviews) in Cameroon. Thus, we believe that the sexes for each society will vary in politeness use.

3- The Cooperative Principle

According to Dynel (2009), Grice (1989a, 1989b and 1989c) philosophy is the cornerstone of linguistic pragmatic model of communication. From this theory, Grice argued that conversationalists are rational individuals who are primarily interested in the

efficient conveying of messages. He made this argument in an attempt to clarify how glaring it is that speakers can mean more than what they say. In this regard, he proposed the Cooperative Principle (CP) which postulates that one should say what he/she has to say, when he/she has to say it, and the way he/she has to say it. Dynel (2008 and 2009) adds that the Cooperative principle is proposed as a tacit mutual agreement, a communicative *sine qua non* for producing and understanding what is said and implied. Grice (1975) based his Cooperative principle on four maxims:

The maxim of quantity: it says that people should make their contribution as informative as is required for the particular purpose and not make it more informative than is required.

The maxim of relation: it says that people should make their contribution relevant to the interaction, or they should indicate in what way it is not.

The maxim of manner: it says that people should be clear in what they say, they should avoid ambiguity or obscurity and they should be brief and orderly in their contribution to the interaction.

The Cooperative Principle runs as follows: Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Grice, 1975:45).

Grice goes ahead to present communicational cooperation, stating that talk exchanges “are, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts” (Grice, 1989a:26). “Cooperation” is then a technical term which should be understood not as a joint communicative effort towards a common goal (Thomas, 1986) but, as interlocutors’ rationality underlying communicative exchanges (Davies, 2000, 2007; Dynel, 2008, 2009). Being polite is more of a social and cultural rule or a background assumption independent from the CP model. Therefore, linguistic politeness, which can manifest itself in a variety of ways, will correspond to maxim and maxim flouts also in a variety of ways, just as any other intentional meanings

communicated. Perhaps, it is due to this remark made by Grice that several researchers have based their politeness theories on the Gricean framework.

Lakoff (1975, 1977, and 1989) deems Grice's notion of Cooperative Principle as insufficient and argues in favour of the Politeness Principle as an indispensable appendage whose aim is "to reduce friction in personal interaction" (Lakoff, 1977:64). Lakoff (1977) suggests two rules of Pragmatic Competence: (i) Be Clear (essentially Grice's maxims), and (ii) Be Polite. She takes these to be in opposition to each other, and notes that they are at times reinforcing, and at other times in conflict. In addition, she posits sub-maxims

(sub-rules), adapted as follows:

Rule 1: Don't impose (used when formal/impersonal politeness is required)

Rule 2: Give options (used when informal politeness is required)

Rule 3: Make a hearer feel good (used when intimate politeness is required)

These three rules are applicable more or less depending on the type of politeness situation as understood by the speaker. For example, if a speaker assesses the situations as requiring intimate politeness, window shutting might be requested by uttering: 'Shut the window', while informal politeness might be met with 'Please shut the window'. The reader is never told how the speaker or hearer is to assess what level of politeness is required.

Leech (1983, 2003 and 2005) presents his Politeness Principle as the Gricean Cooperative Principle's coordinate, which "rescues the CP from serious trouble" (1983:80). Leech (1983) thus introduces the complementary and indispensable Politeness Principle (PP) to elaborate some phenomena that are (allegedly) not captured by the Cooperative Principle, which cannot explain "why people are often indirect in conveying what they mean" (Leech,1983:80). Leech's Principle of Politeness can be stated as follows: other things being equal, minimize the expression of beliefs which are unfavorable to the hearer and at

the same time (but less important) maximize the expression of beliefs which are favourable to the hearer. Leech (1983:119) provides a finer differentiation within his principles. He proposes six Interpersonal Maxims:

Tact Maxim: Minimize hearer costs; maximize hearer benefit.

Generosity Maxim: Minimize your own benefit; maximize your hearer's benefit.

Approbation Maxim: Minimize hearer dispraise; maximize hearer praise.

Modesty Maxim: Minimize self-praise; maximize self-dispraise.

Agreement Maxim: Minimize disagreement between yourself and others; maximize agreement between yourself and others.

Sympathy Maxim: Minimize antipathy between yourself and others; maximize sympathy between yourself and others.

Based on this theory, Leech (1983:132) presents the following Interpersonal Maxims in pairs:

Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives)

(a) Minimize cost to *other*

(b) Maximize benefit to *other*

Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)

(b) Minimize benefit to *self*

(b) Maximize cost to *self*

Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)

(a) Minimize dispraise of *other*

(b) Maximize praise of *other*

Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)

(a) Minimize praise of *self*

(b) Maximize dispraise of *self*

Agreement Maxim (in assertives)

(a) Minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*

(b) Maximize agreement between *self* and *other*

Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)

(a) Minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*

(b) Maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*

As has been presented above, Lakoff (1977) considered CP to be a sub case of the rules of politeness. Leech (1983) claims that CP and PP are pragmatic principles of equal linguistic status, coordinate and complementary rather than subordinate (of one in relation to the other). Despite Leech's postulate, it must be claimed that the CP is always basic because it defines a norm from which departures are accounted for in terms of other principles, for instance, PP.

Furthermore, the maxims of CP are valid for and may apply to the maxims of (PP) rather than the other way round; which seems to support the view of CP as the basic conversational principle in pragmatics (Kopytko, 1993). Both the Cooperative Principle (CP) of Grice (1975) and the Politeness Principles (PP) of Leech (1983) are related. Leech himself

acknowledges the fact that CP prompted the development of PP. His complaint with the CP is that it cannot explain why people are often indirect in conveying what they mean as well as the claim that the CP maxims are not universal to language, because there are linguistic communities where all of them do not apply (Leech, 1983: 80). He therefore seeks to establish the weakness of the CP and entrench the PP, as “a necessary complement, which rescues the CP from serious trouble”.

In the work of Brown and Levinson (1978) who studied politeness phenomena in widely diverse languages and cultures, it is advanced that the origin of politeness is the same in all human societies. They submit that all human beings, in order to enter into social relationships with one another, must acknowledge the faceoff other people. So, while CP is narrow and limited in application, PP is universal. A quick look at the CP and PP reveals that they are often in conflict. “Politeness and truth”, notes Cook (1989: 23) “are often in conflict with each other.” In other words, more often than not in our day-to-day relationships, politeness and truth are mutually incompatible, and so are politeness and brevity. For instance, truth is sacrificed in the example below at the altar of politeness, as the hearer is conscious of the weirdness of the speaker’s hairstyle but wants only to please her: Student A wears a weird hairdo, which she has just made.

A: Do you like this hair style?

B: Well, yes (smiles).

In the above example, the CP maxim of manner (be brief) is deliberately flouted for the sake of politeness, in a situation where ‘no’ would have been adequate and sufficient. Besides the aforementioned theories, this research chooses to focus on Brown and Levinson’s (1987) Politeness theory as its theoretical foundation. Our choice of Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory as the main theoretical and analytical approach for this study is informed by the fact that amongst the other theories, the most ground breaking universal politeness theory in language use and the most widely known and extensively

used approach to the study of politeness, is without doubt, Brown and Levinson politeness theory (Meyerhof, 2006; Alaoui, 2011).

Brown and Levinson (1987) based their politeness theory on face-to-face interaction (in oral discourse) in different languages and cultures (with reference to no specific context). However, the tenets of their politeness theory can be applied and investigated with reference to specific cultural contexts and languages (the focus of this study), given that politeness is a universal concept (Mills, 2003; Watts, 2005; Bax, 2011; Hermosilla, 2012 and Ewane, 2012). Its difference in these specific cultural contexts and languages can only be seen in the manner of application. They have set out to develop an explicit model of politeness which will have validity across cultures and gender. Brown and Levinson treat the terms ‘culture’, ‘society’ and ‘group’s synonyms (1987: 242). For them, culture is a factor responsible for varying assessments of gender differences in the selection of politeness strategies resulting from these assessments.

2-The Politeness Principle

Brown and Levinson (1987) produced the most comprehensive theory of politeness to date, the basis of which is used for analytical purposes in this paper. They argue that polite linguistic behaviour shows up as a deviation against the rational and efficient nature of talk, but through a consideration of linguistic politeness, the hearer finds reasons for the speaker’s apparent irrationality or inefficiency. Brown and Levinson (1987: 62) base their theory on the concept of face (Goffman 1967). Face is defined as the public self-image that all rational adult members have when engaged in spoken interaction, and it must be constantly adhered to.

Face consists of two related aspects: positive face and negative face. Positive face is the wish all speakers have that their face ‘wants’ be desirable to fellow interactants. Negative face is the ‘want’ all speakers have that their actions will not be impeded by others. In

general, participants will co-operate with each other due to the mutual vulnerability of face. However, it is not possible for conversation to flow without a demand or intrusion being made on another person's autonomy. A simple act such as asking someone to sit down is a potential threat to their face. Brown and Levinson define the performance of such utterances as potential face-threatening acts (FTAs). When confronted with the need to perform a FTA, the speaker needs to decide how it should be uttered. Brown and Levinson argue that the first choice to be made is whether the FTA should be performed on record or off record. If the on-record strategy is chosen, a speaker can either perform the FTA baldly without redressive action or mitigate the FTA by uttering it with redressive action. Performing an act without redressive action involves uttering it in the most 'direct, clear, unambiguous way possible' (1987: 69). Conversely, performing an act with redressive action actually gives face to the addressee, making it clear that no face threat is intended. This can be achieved by adopting the strategies of either positive politeness or negative politeness.

Positive politeness is a redressive action directed towards the addressee's positive face, demonstrating that the hearer's wants or needs are thought of as desirable. In contrast, negative politeness is a redressive action directed to the addressee's negative face, demonstrating the speaker's desire not to impose upon the hearer by restricting their actions. The off-record strategy enables the speaker to avoid the responsibility of performing a FTA. This can be achieved by inviting conversational implicatures (Grice 1975).

Holmes (1995) has produced the most detailed and methodologically sound work on linguistic politeness and sex differences to date, which examines speech in a wide range of contexts. She concludes that, in general, female speakers are more co-operative as they pay far more attention to politeness principles than their male counterparts, who instead favour competitive strategies. Researchers including Fishman (1980), Goodwin (1980), Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990) also found the competitiveness and co-operativeness founders of modern politeness research theories, but Brown and Levinson (1987) produced the most comprehensive, influential, and now a classic theory of politeness to date (Fraser,

1990; Johnstone, Ferrara and Bean, 1994; Thomas, 1995; Holmes, 1995; Cheng, 2001; Perez de Ayala, 2001 and Watts, 2003), the basis of which is used for analytical purposes in this research.

Brown and Levinson (1987) base their theory on the concept of 'face' (Goffman, 1967). This idea results in two types of face: positive face and negative face. Positive face occurs when the individual desires to be liked, approved of, respected and appreciated. Negative face is staged when the individual desires freedom from imposition by others. It has been observed, however, that contexts differ in the realization of positive and negative face,

the basis of which this study seeks to investigate its application in the BBC media interviews media using Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. Within positive and negative faces are integrated threatening acts (FTAs), that is, illocutionary acts that can damage or threaten an individual's positive or negative face. Face threatening acts (FTAs) can be performed on record or off- record. In order to reduce the possibility of these face threatening to either the speaker or hearer, the male/female interviewers and interviewees adopt certain strategies; the choice of which is made on the basis of the speaker's assessment of social distance (D), absolute power (P) and rating of the imposition (R), (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 16).

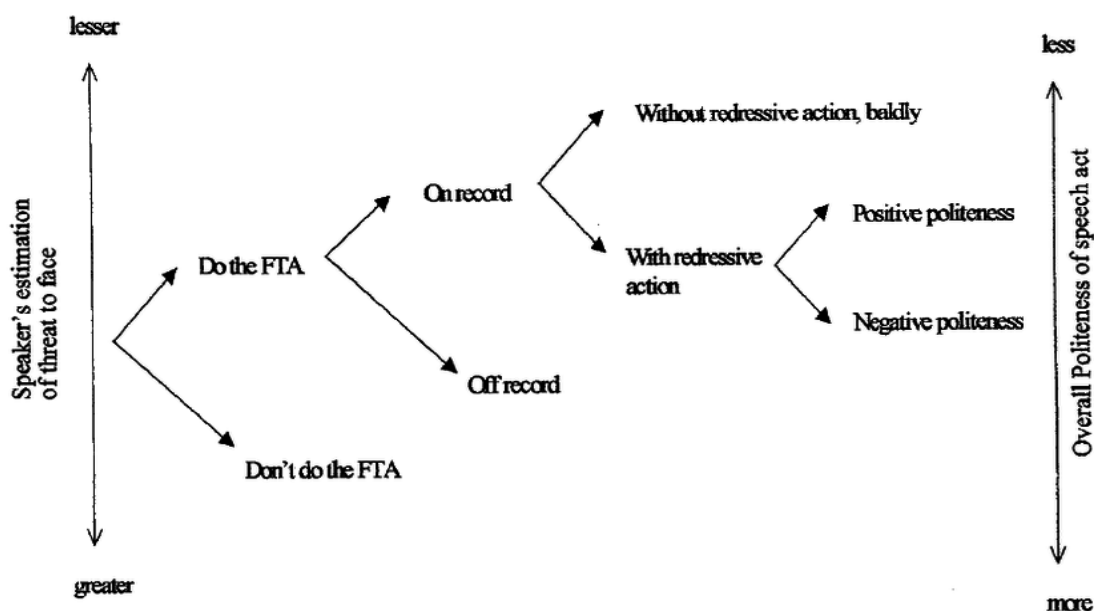


Figure 1 :Circumstances determining choice of strategy

The diagram demonstrates that when there is a lesser risk of face loss, the speaker uses any of the sub-strategies of a lesser numbered super-strategy, for instance, a positive politeness sub-strategy. On the contrary, when there is a greater risk of face loss, the speaker uses any of the sub strategies of a higher numbered super-strategy, for instance, a negative politeness or an off-record strategy.

Brown and Levinson (1987) outline the following strategies as being the main strategies of the politeness principle:

1. On-record strategy
2. Positive politeness strategy
3. Negative politeness strategy
4. Off-record strategy

These politeness strategies are represented diagrammatically below:

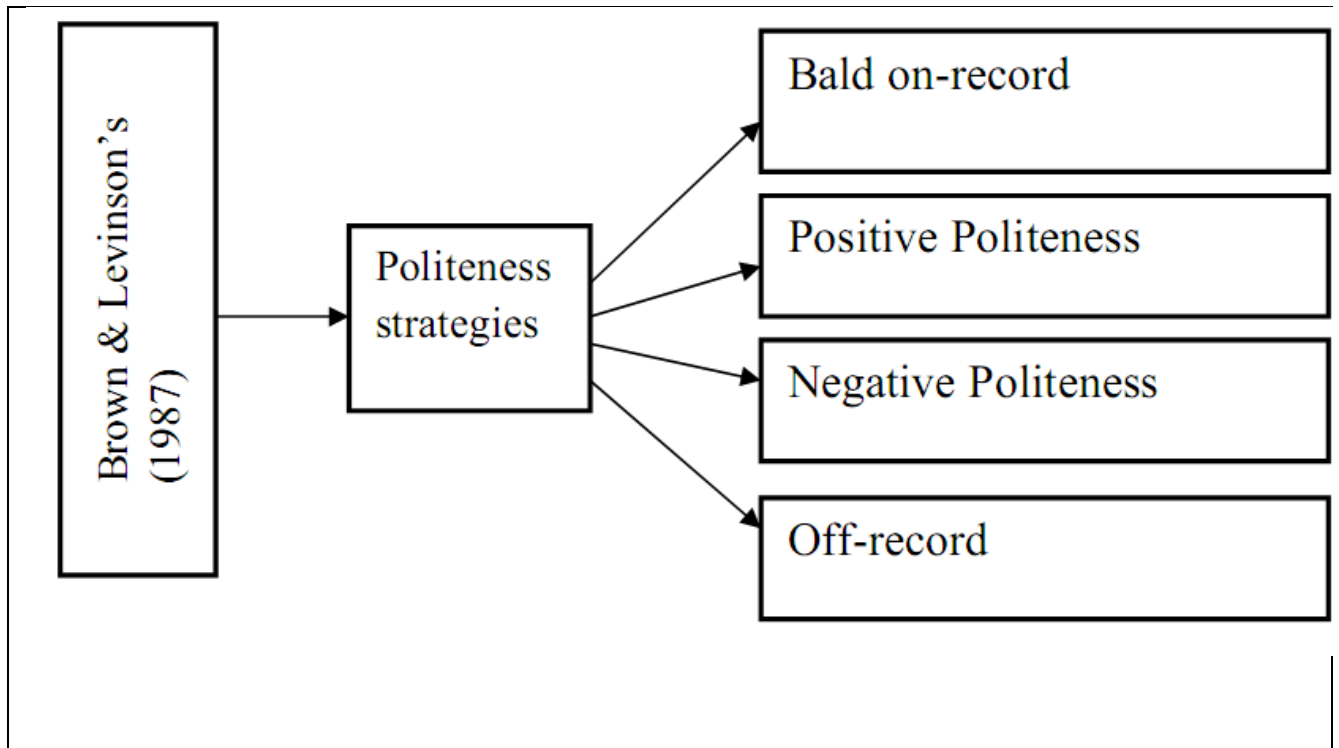


Table 2: Brown and Levinson (1987) outline the following strategies as being the main strategies of the politeness principle

Conclusion:

This chapter was divided into three parts. The first one tackled Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. In this part, the researcher gave a summary of the theory highlighting the positive and negative politeness strategies and presenting various views on the theory. The second part was concerned with conversational gender differences. It provided a detailed overview on the conversational patterns related to politeness and turn-taking model in English studies, and the approaches to explaining gender differences.

Chapter two

TV broadcast interviews

Introduction

Broadly speaking, an interview is a verbal interaction in which one person attempts to elicit information from another. Understood in this simple way, interviews can be dated back to Ancient Greece. Socrates, for example, used the questioning technique as a method of inquiry. As a journalistic procedure, however, the interview did not appear until the nineteenth century. At that time, it was used as a means of gathering information which would later be used for reporting. The advent of broadcasting changed the nature of the interview from a mere news-gathering technique to a presentational device that made it possible to listen to or view the news in situ.

As a broadcasting technique, the interview falls within the domain of mass media communication. Mass media are social, highly organised, structured institutions. In this sense, the interview reflects the features of one of those institutions: broadcasting. Broadcasting is a powerful public process of communication. Like other mass media, it produces messages that simultaneously reach different members of large audiences without generally obtaining direct feedback. Its purpose or social objective is to inform (collecting, analysing, and interpreting news), to educate (transmitting the social heritage from generation to generation), and to entertain the general audience. These functions have arisen from the need of man to satisfy curiosity, to seek self-promotion, and to combat loneliness. Applied to the field of the interview, these objectives show up in varying degrees. Thus, political interviews aim, primarily, to inform and, secondly, to entertain, whereas in talk show interviews the function of entertaining is paramount. Nonetheless, both functions combine in all types of interviews. As far as the educational function is concerned, it can be said to pervade all media messages, and hence also interviews.

A first classification of broadcast interviews distinguishes between (a) in-depth interviews, which last up to one hour, constitute an item on their own right, and focus on a detailed analytical approach to (a) topic(s) which need not be up-to-the minute news; and (b). short interviews, which only last a few minutes, are a component of a programme, and

focus on an immediate, topical subject arising out of a 'hard news' story. Cutting across this classification is the division into information, opinion, and personality interviews. The former type deals with information about the who, when, where and how of newsworthy facts. To this group belong the news interview and the current affairs interview, both of which are very short although the news interview is briefer. The opinion interview exposes and examines in great detail an individual's particular position regarding a specific issue. Hence, this type belongs to the in-depth interview. The interviewee is usually an expert in the area of the issue under examination. Political interviews, for example, basically belong herein. Finally, the personality interview, whose length is variable, inquires into the private life of individuals, concentrating on their emotional state. Despite this division, it is difficult to find interviews which stick to only one of these rigid categories since most share, to a varying degree, elements corresponding to at least two of them. This is especially the case with the categories opinion and personality. It is not at all infrequent to hear an interviewee give his/her opinion on an affair of public interest within a personality interview.

1. Delimiting TV genres

1.1. The notion of genre

The notion of genre It varies depending on the field in which it is used. In literary studies it has commonly referred to classes of texts.² It has been put to a similar use by anthropologists in folklore studies, whence the classification into narratives such as myth, legend or tale results (vid. Oring, 1986a). It was indistinguishable from register in early linguistic studies focusing on register analysis, which can be considered predecessors in genre analysis (vid. Crystal & Davy, 1969; Huddleston, 1971). Halliday (1978) used the notion of register to analyse context in terms of the variables field, tenor, and mode. For him register embodies the relationship between texts and social processes, whereas genre refers to only one of three characteristics of a text, namely its organisational structure defined in terms of obligatory elements in a specific order (cf. id.; Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

Although the social functions of texts are always implicit in his work, attention focuses on the formal characteristics of texts.

Systemic linguistics has only fairly recently been able to distinguish genre from register (vid. Martin, 1984, 1985; Couture, 1986a). The main difference between genre and register lies in the emphasis of the former on social purpose as a variable determining language use.³ In other words, emphasis falls on language as discourse, whereas register focuses on language as text, privileging linguistic (syntactic and lexical) over social factors. Linguistic studies, then, recognise genres as goal-directed communicative events with a schematic structure which are distinct from registers or styles (vid. Widdowson, 1983; Swales, 1990; Eggins & Slade, 1997).⁴ Using Martin's functional model, goal is a key element in that a genre represents an activity that is performed with the purpose of reaching some culmination.⁵ Achievement of the goal requires a process that unfolds through different stages or steps identified in functional terms.

1.2. A definition of genre

Following Swales (1990:58),

“Genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. [...] In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience.”

This definition needs some explanation. First, each exemplar of a genre is a communicative event which is identified not only by the indispensable role of language and by the participants but also by “the role of that discourse and the environment of its production and reception, including its historical and cultural associations” (id.:46). In other words, a genre occurs within a functional setting (vid. Swales, 1986). Secondly,

communicative events pertaining to the same genre are recognised primarily by a set of shared communicative purposes that the participants aim to fulfil. Genre membership is determined by the achievement of specific communicative goals. Thirdly, these goals shape the internal structure of the genre and constrain the choice of content and style. After Bhatia (1993), then, it is predictable that a major change in communicative purpose is likely to render a different genre, sub-genres being distinguished on the basis of minor goal modifications.⁸ Also, participants' behaviour must conform to the restrictions imposed by the genre as to structure, and choice of content and style. This point connects with the "more or less standardised" nature proposed by the same author in earlier definitions (Swales, 1986:10).

1. 3. TV genres

1.3.1. The political interview

Within the broad generic type of the broadcast interview, I shall focus on the political interview and the talk show interview. Both are purposive encounters, taking place in the same institutional context –the television– between, at least, one interviewer and one interviewee. The key differences lie in the areas of the events, the relationships between the participants including the audience, and the degree of formality of the occasions.

A political interview is a type of formal interview with main political representatives (generally government ministers or shadow ministers), frequently establishing a programme on its own, and staged either in an official room or in a television studio without any audience present (e.g. *On the Record*, *Walden*). What the talk is about, how it shall start and the newscasters predefine end, and the parts played by the participants. The affair is organised and organising as well. The roles of interviewer and interviewee are played by, respectively, a journalist and a politician appearing in his/her professional political role. The encounter is staged for the benefit of the general public, who is absent and passive, and is built as a mass audience. The ultimate addressee of the communicative event is, therefore,

not the interviewer but the audience. Politicians are accountable to the general public. Demand for accountability is the ultimate goal of the encounter. The public has a right to be fully informed about political affairs in order to, later, decide with their votes whether the governing party should stay in office or whether a different one should take over. Politicians are consequently made to explain their actions to the public. With this general goal in mind and acting on behalf of the public, the interviewer attempts to unmask the truth about policies and political dilemmas in which the politician and the party by him/her represented are involved. Several purposes may be behind the interview. Following Dimbleby (personal interview), the interviewer may be interested in :

(a) the conflict or potential conflict between individuals in the same party because there are different ideological perspectives;

(b) a party's view on an issue because they have not expressed it publicly;

(c) testing a weak policy; or

(d) simply trying to find out what a party's policy is. In any case, the interviewer tries to expose the thorny, and often hidden, side of affairs, which is not commonly explained by politicians unless it favours their party's image to the detriment of other parties. By contrast, the purpose of the politician in an interview is to sell a favourable image of his/her party that may increase the number of supporters, or to simply clean-up the image in moments of crisis. The political interview is thus part of a culture of persuasion where "the elite try to persuade and the mass consume according to personal taste" (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994:20).

As bad organization of matters does usually contribute to damaging the image of the supervisor, politicians try to hide or misrepresent them to their benefit. However, the interviewer brings out the potential negative aspects of a policy. The interviewer's exposing task results very often in moments of conflict due to the clash between the interviewer's proposals of what the insinuations of a policy are and the interviewee's description of it,

which will always be intended to saving the interviewee's and his/her party's status. For the success of the interviewer's purpose, he/she often adopts a tough investigative tone. The interviewer is meant to cross-examine the politician inasmuch as he/she and his/her party are accountable for policies.

1. 3.2. The talk show interview

The talk show is a complex genre whose boundaries are difficult to draw. Carbaugh's (1988) classification of talk shows into personality-type and issue-type reflects the change that talk shows have undergone from the format of mere chat with a personality to the discussion with audience members about social issues. I shall use the term "talk show" to refer only to the personality-type talk show. This genre comprises a series of short interviews with (and occasionally also performances of) personalities, mainly of the entertainment industry. Its characteristics are loosely based upon the rules defining the political interview. However, the talk show interview frequently transgresses those protocols and presumes an increasing sophistication on the part of the television audience. The result is a certain ambivalence between forms of talk which are designed both to inform and to entertain. (Tolson, 1991:178)

Unlike the political interview, where the informative function is paramount, the function of the talk show interview is constantly shifting between information and entertainment. The information-seeking purpose of the interviewer is approached from within the format of an informal conversation or chat whose content frequently centres on the personal and private, sometimes adopting the form of gossip, and is often characterised by its humorous and witty tone. With respect to this dyadic conversation, audience members, as Tolson (1991:182) correctly points out, are not exactly constructed as eavesdroppers listening in on a private conversation (vid. Greatbatch, 1988). Though they are audible only inasmuch as they provide applause and laughter, the audience is on few occasions overtly addressed as a third party to the conversation by the interviewer and/or guest in the form of very short utterances often trying to convince the audience of the truth of a humorous statement.

Dimbleby (personal interview) compares them with the audience in a theatre; both audiences are viewers at a stage event, watching an entertainment. Following Tolson (id.), the possibility of transgressing the generic interview protocols is the most characteristic feature of the talk show, and this results from the informal character of the encounter. Distinction between formal and informal interviews is based on the level of formal procedures used for the allocation of turns, turn order, length, and so forth. The closer the interaction to mundane conversation the more informal, but nevertheless retaining certain 'formal' properties in terms of who opens, closes and directs the interaction. Thus, for example, the interview will be considered less formal the more it deviates from a relatively fixed agenda, and the more participants deviate from their pre-established fixed role. The informal character of talk show interviews makes it acceptable for the interviewee to ask questions, to introduce topics, and even to mock the role of the interviewer. Nevertheless, after a gap of transgressions the interaction is generally reoriented by the interviewer to follow generic conventions, so that, to a certain degree, it does always display an orientation towards the principles of formal interviewing. The informal character of the talk show interview lends it its flexible generic structure. Related to transgression of the generic interview principles is the frequent mixture of truth and insincerity contained in Tolson's (id.) notion of the synthetic personality, reflecting the genre's mixture of information and entertainment. This mixture is especially characteristic of nighttime talk shows (e.g. Clive Anderson Talks Back; Des O'Connor Show; Jonathan Ross; Wogan). As a performance, the interview reveals only partly the real personality of the guest. Part of the experiences recounted may be invented. Moreover, the use of jokes further contributes to hide or distort the truth about the personality. The real personality is consequently open to question. The complexity of the interview, derived from the mixture of features of comedy and of serious talk show interview, presumes a sophisticated audience, capable of discriminating between the true and false pieces of the guest's personal disclosure, a decoding process which is not always successful. The, at times, fuzzy boundaries between the political interview and the talk show interview become the more so when it is a politician that features on such a show. In those cases a clash between the informal style of these speech events and the attempt to

adopt features of formality typical of the political interview genre comes especially to the fore. Though the interaction lacks the seriousness of the political interview, it is with politicians when displays towards formality are most often attempted. It is the possibility of focusing the interview on aspects of the guest as a political personality rather than as a private person which makes the interaction shift from a humorous to a more formal stance, the change being often initiated by the politician who, influenced by his/her professional position and, consequently, by his/her obligation for accountability, decides to make truth the centerpiece of the interaction. In sum, the talk show interview is understood as a personality-type interview forming a continuum between relatively formal interviews at one end and pure chat trespassing all traditional interviewing conventions at the other end. Though all institutionalised variants of the continuum pursue the double goal of information and entertainment, the more transgressing interviews put more emphasis on entertainment as a result of the exploitation of the structural conventions and especially of the synthetic personality of the guest.

1. 3.3. The audience debate

The third and last genre considered for this study is the audience debate. It constitutes one of the genres on which the broad genre of the audience discussion programme draws (e.g. Esther; Kilroy; The Time, The Place; Vanessa) (vid. Livingstone & Lunt, 1994).²⁵ As one of its generic forms, the debate can be characterised by the main features that define the audience discussion programme, namely (id.:39):) Experts and/or guests and lay studio audience sit together. Experts are singled out by their location, usually in front rows, and visual identification labels. Alternatively, experts and guests may be sitting on a stage facing the studio audience.

(2) The host moves among the studio audience with a microphone.

(3) Each programme focuses on a different topic of social or political concern.

(4) The programme consists of controversial conversation and argument on the chosen topic, expressing oppositional and diverse views.

(5) Selection and order of participants not only depends on the host's management but also on the flow of the argument and on the contribution of the studio audience.

(6) The programmes are cheap to produce, and not part of prime-time broadcasting. (7) The programmes are either 'live' or recorded in 'real time' soon before broadcasting, with little or no editing.

As Livingstone & Lunt explain, the audience discussion programme has become a forum for the critical discussion of contemporary social and political matters. It is the public sphere (vid. Habermas, 1989) where ordinary people are given access to discuss public issues with representatives of established power, who are publicly accountable due to their official role. As an arena that mediates between society and the state, the programme offers an opportunity to the lay public to try to influence political decisions with their opinions.

The programme breaks with the traditional opposition between programme and audience, and expert and laity. The conception of the audience is no longer as passive and controlled viewers. The audience is a mixture of lay public and experts placed in the studio in order to debate a social or political issue among them under the management of a host. The studio audience is profoundly active. Of the studio audience the lay participants are the true protagonists since very often they question expert status with their knowledge gained from personal experience, thereby challenging the traditional expert-lay differentiation.

The goal of the audience discussion programme, and hence of the debate, is threefold: entertainment, information, and public service. It "challenge[s] existing conceptions of genre, particularly the distinctions between entertainment and current affairs, ideas and emotions, argument and narrative" (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994:37). Its fuzzy boundaries derive from the many genre overlaps it originates, a feature which has won it the label of "'intergenre'" (id.:179). As mentioned above, of the genres on which the audience

discussion programme draws I shall concentrate only on those programmes where the debate genre dominates. I shall consider debates those discussion programmes that adopt the classic debate format in the sense that a social or political problem is discussed in terms of two groups pitted against each other, each supporting one side of the matter and trying to convince of the correctness of the side they support with their arguments. Minor storytelling may be present but only inasmuch as it serves as a warrant for the claims made against the supporters of the other side. The host acts as the chair, keeping order and selecting contributors in such a way that disagreement is sought (e.g. demanding answers to refutations); in other words, provoking confrontation, but preventing the debate from developing into a quarrel as the degree of emotional intensity increases. The debate is generally established between lay participants and experts, each of the two groups formed by supporters of the two sides of the topic discussed. Although in the debate the dyad format typical of the political interview and talk show interview is lost, there are remnants of it in that the host usually initiates a dyadic interaction with a member of the audience by asking his/her opinion about the topic. Nevertheless, the debate format is immediately established either by the host selecting a representative of the opposite view as the next speaker or by a supporter of the other side opting to take the floor. Within the debate structure, the dyad format is also maintained during the give-and-take of the two confronting parties. Alternatively, the debate may be understood in a more traditional way as a panel of experts debating firstly among themselves in front of an audience, and secondly with the audience. In this case the role of the audience is to put questions to the panel related to the topic of the programme, questions which will trigger a debate not only between the panel members but also between the panel, more specifically the member of the panel selected by the question, and the member of the audience who addressed the question. After the topic has been sufficiently debated, the audience express their opinion on the topic of debate through a vote at the end. Excluded from the debate genre are audience discussion programmes that draw mainly on the therapy genre. Though they share the setting, type of participants and style with debates, they differ on the choice of content, the schematic structure, the roles of the participants, and the goal of the programme.

As in debates, programmes typified as belonging to the therapy genre are also staged in a television studio between a host and an active audience made up of ordinary people and experts who engage in an informal dialogue. The programme is also issue-oriented, but while the debate genre concentrates on issues of social policy or public sphere, the therapy genre focuses on domestic or personal matters. The guests, typically women, act as personifications of the problem that constitutes the topic of the programme, recounting their personal experiences. They are portrayed as unable to solve the problem and seeking help. The format of the programme is typically therapeutic: primarily inquiry on the part of the host and story-telling on the part of the guests, followed by the expert's analysis and subsequent teachings of self-help formulas to overcome the problem.

The expert acts as the representative of educated knowledge, whereas the host frequently becomes a moral authority inasmuch as he/she makes moral judgements. Both mediate between guests and the rest of the audience. The aim of the programme is to allow ordinary people to discuss their problems and to provide them with solutions to solve them.³³ Summarising, the three genres I shall analyse are

(a) the political interview, a formal face-to-face encounter between a journalist and a politician who deal in great detail with political affairs;

(b) the talk show interview, understood as a personality-type interview between a famous person and a host, which adopts the format of an informal conversation where transgression of the formal interviewing conventions is allowed; and, finally,

(c) the debate considered in a restricted sense as one of the genres on which audience discussion programmes or issue-type talk shows draw, and which is characterised by a controversial discussion about a social or political issue between audience members made up of ordinary people and experts, and managed by a host

2. Talk show interviews

While interviewing has long been used by journalists as a tool to gather information, it is increasingly being used as a final TV product. There are many reasons for this trend and technological innovation is only one of them. High competitiveness and importance of audience ratings force broadcasters to experiment with new formats (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.2). Formats based on spoken interaction are easy to produce both financially and technically and they are attractive for viewers, which makes them particularly popular with

broadcasters.

The popularity of interaction based genres shows on the number of various formats that can be found in current broadcasting. The category is a fluid one including genres such as talk shows, panel discussions, debates, audience participation programmes (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). Moreover, each of them comes in many variations, Lauerbach (2007) lists issue shows, self-help, counselling and therapy shows, political and celebrity shows, celebrity-cum-comedy shows, confrontation and reconciliation or „„trash““ shows as examples of talk show sub-genres. Wide range of talk show variants makes it difficult to pinpoint the distinctive features of this genre, as individual sub-genres differ in their audience segmentation, type of guests, themes that they deal with and interactional form. Furthermore, every show has an ambition to be unique and win viewers over other shows. Although Ilie's (2001, p.210) definition of a talk show as a “host-controlled, participant-shaped and audience-evaluated speech event” applies to most TV genres based on interaction, it puts focus on the most distinctive characteristic of talk show, namely the importance of all the participants and their respective roles.

2- Institutional talk

Becker (2007, p. 110) asserts that media interviews belong under “institutional talk”, a term that was introduced by Conversation Analysis to set off certain types of discourse from ordinary conversation. Participants in institutional talk have fixed roles and do not change them during the course of conversation. As teacher and pupil do not exchange their roles, so do neither host nor guest of a talk show, even if the guest in one show may be a host of another. Furthermore, these roles are connected with specific types of turns. The actions that the participants can take are predetermined by their role and cannot be altered in specific conversation. If a guest in a political interview tried to control the interview by asking the host questions, he would break the rules of this particular type of discourse and would be judged as uncooperative. The relationship between the participants is asymmetrical and certain utterances can be made only by some of them. Although talk shows largely follow the rules of institutional talk, they include patterns that may be associated with more types of discourse. Features of conversational discourse are also present, manifested through spontaneous role switching and looser distribution of question-answer adjacency pairs. Ilie (2001) uses the term “semi-institutional talk” referring to the mixed nature of talk shows, which fluctuate between the more strict news interview and rather relaxed and easy-going infotainment.

3-Celebrity and political interviews

As already mentioned, the difficulty of defining talk shows is caused by the internal variation of the genre. Celebrity and political interviews are similar to the extent that in both the guests are supposed to be known to the audience and they are invited because of connection to recent events, whether it is forthcoming election or a new film; however, the dynamics of the conversation are visibly different. In celebrity interviews, “the goal is human interest rather than politics” (Norrick, 2010, p. 526); therefore, more relaxed and less antagonistic atmosphere is established. To achieve this, the rules of institutional talk are not always obeyed and the division of roles is more fluid. “The give-and-take of

everyday conversation” is preferred to the strict question and answer structure (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 108).

As Norrick (2010, p. 526) suggests, the personal identity of both host and guest plays a more important role than it does in the political interview. In this sense, celebrity interview is more demanding for the interviewer, because he cannot rely so much on factual information, but has to win the interviewee and the audience over by his personality more frequently during the course of conversation.

Furthermore, Norrick (2010) implies that celebrity has advantage in the interview, since in order to keep the audience interested, the interviewer has to elicit personal information which the celebrity may decide not to share.

Interviewers in political interviews, on the other hand, also face many challenges. Although the host of guests from politics can better prepare in advance, he must obey the rules of institutional talk more thoroughly and manage to keep the advantages over the interviewee in a much more antagonistic situation. Moreover, the audience is more sensitive to the interviewer’s mistakes and has higher expectations regarding professionalism (Morizumi, 1997).

4- First- and second-frame interaction

Interviews in TV shows can be characterized as “show conversations” (Hess- Lüttich, 2007, p. 1361). They are “pseudo-conversations” that are oriented towards multiple addressees and thus differ from conversations in which the only addressees are the participants that actively take part in the conversation. To account for complex relationships between the participants, Fetzer (2006) uses the terms “first-frame” and “media-frame” interaction, defining the communication as “negotiating validity claims with regard to the first-frame interaction of interviewer and interviewee and with regard to the second- or media-frame interaction consisting of the first-frame (interviewer, interviewee) interacting with the media frame” (p. 180).

Audience is crucial part of the talk show. Hess-Lüttich (2007) sees in the orientation toward different addressees the most important characteristic of the genre. He cites Dieckmann who names the TV interview a “dialogue”, since the speaker “moves in relationships with two groups of listeners, both groups differing completely in their communicative status for each of the contributions signify different types of verbalaction” (Dieckmann, 1981, p. 266 in Hess- Lüttich, 2007, p. 1362).

The role of the audience is usually not obvious, since the shows are arranged in a way that simulates natural conversation without audience. In interview shows, the viewers do not actively participate and the vast majority of them is distant from the interview both spatially and in time. Furthermore, the interviewer and interviewee do not orientate towards the audience, but address each other as if they themselves were the main addressees. Fetzer (2006) observes that references to media-frame are unmarked only in opening and closing sequences of the interview; references during the course of the interaction are seen as marked and are done only exceptionally in order to achieve a specific goal.

5. Managing turns

The success of interviewer and interviewee depends on how they manage to use their question and answer turns. The simple rule of interview that expects the interviewer to ask questions and the interviewee to give answers is only a tip of the iceberg of “complex and contestable substrate of conventions and practices through which the appropriateness of a question and the necessity of answering it are negotiated by the participants” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 96).

Although the participants prepare for the interview and the topic of the interaction is defined beforehand, the content is created during the conversation and is dependent on the ways the participants utilize their turns. The contributions should be therefore understood also in terms of “how they bear on the unfolding interactional game being played by

interviewer and interviewee” (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.13). The participants are restricted by their asymmetrical relationship and by the fact that the types of turns are strictly divided. However, they still have certain freedom in formulating their contributions. The interviewer can decide to introduce a new issue in his question or build on the answer he got in the previous turn. He can also influence the dynamics of the conversation by making his questions more or less confrontational. In following chapter, questions and various ways of their formulation will be explored.

6. Questions

As it was already established, one of the defining characteristics of an interview is that it more or less adheres to the format of question and answer adjacency pairs. The interviewer’s task could thus be defined as asking the interviewee questions and waiting for the answers. However, a brief look at any interview reveals that the turns of the interviewers are far more complex and that it is often the case that the interviewer’s turn does not contain any interrogative structure at all.

While Heritage (2002, p. 1427) defines question as “a form of social action, designed to seek information and accomplished in a turn at talk by means of interrogative syntax”, he remarks that it is not always the case and goes on to explain when the definition does not apply in the next paragraph. The discrepancy between the task of the interviewer to ask questions and the lack of interrogative syntax in some cases can be explained with the theory of indirect speech acts.

6.1. Indirect Speech Acts

Most world languages have three sentence types: declarative, interrogative and imperative; and these are usually associated with three basic illocutionary forces: asserting/stating, asking/questioning and ordering/requesting, respectively (Huang, 2007; Levinson, 1983). However, each of these illocutionary forces can be achieved through any sentence type. Speech acts are called indirect, “if there is no direct relationship between a

sentence type and an illocutionary force (Huang, 2007, p. 110). Levinson even asserts that most usages are indirect and he sets as example requests that are only rarely expressed via imperative in English (Levinson, 1983, p. 264).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that with most utterances both direct and indirect speech acts are performed at the same time (Robinson, 2006, p. 91). Thus, a classification of utterances based solely on their form is not sufficient, as one formal sentence type can be used to express various illocutionary forces and “what people do with sentences seems quite unrestricted by the surface form” (Levinson, 1983, p. 265).

The use of indirect speech acts expects the addressee of the utterance to be able to infer the intended meaning. As Blakemore (1992, p. 92) puts it, successful communication is “a matter of having your intention to perform a particular type of speech act recognized”. In other words, the hearer needs enough information and resources to be able to recognize which speech act the speaker is performing. Addressee’s understanding of an indirect speech act always involves some kind of inference (Huang, 2007, p. 112). Levinson (1983) names four essential properties that are shared by all inference theories:

- (i) The literal meaning and the literal force of an utterance is computed by, and available to, participants
- (ii) For an utterance to be an indirect speech act, there must be an inference-trigger, i.e. some indication that the literal meaning and / or literal force is conversationally inadequate in the context and must be “repaired” by some inference
- (iii) There must be specific principles or rules of inference that will derive, from the literal meaning and force and the context, the relevant indirect force
- (iv) There must be pragmatically sensitive linguistic rules or constraints (p. 270)

The second rule emphasizing the importance of context for inferring the meaning of an indirect speech act is especially important for hosts of talk shows. It is not difficult for them to infer the interviewer's intended meaning; the context of an interview is itself an inference-trigger. The guests in talk shows know that the rules of the genre involve them having the task of answering questions. Even if the interviewer's turn has the form of declaration, they infer that the indirect illocutionary force can be roughly understood as having the meaning "Can you tell me something more about it?" The use of indirect speech acts is generally associated with politeness (Huang, 2007, p. 115).

By opting for the indirect rather than the direct speech act, the speaker offers the hearer the opportunity to react only to the literal meaning of the utterance and ignore the inference. Thus, even though the interviewee knows that the interviewer used a declarative to seek information and may also be aware of what kind of information the interviewer expects, he has a certain amount of freedom to evade the answer.

6.2. Types of questions

The amount of freedom that the interviewer gives the interviewee for phrasing his answer depends not only on the choice between direct and indirect speech act, but also on the type of question. The definition of question as a "semantic class which is primarily used to seek information on a specific point" (Tsui, 1992, p. 89) and its classification into three types was introduced by Quirk (Tsui, 1992). Yes/No questions, alternative questions and WH-questions expect different kinds of answers; the addressee having the most freedom in answering the WH-questions, while with the other two types, he must choose from the options included in the question. However, the basic rules of answering respective types of questions can be manipulated. Yes/No questions are characterized by placing the operator before the subject and by expecting an information that is either confirmation or denial of the proposition expressed in the question. The neutral polarity that seems to be connected with a free choice of yes or no answer as the only possible outcome is not guaranteed to all for the questions in this category. Sometimes more than

a simple yes or no answer is expected and offering no further information could be understood as reluctance to communicate (Tsui, 1992, p. 91).

There is also a type of Yes/No questions that is not used to seek information at all, namely negative interrogative. According to Heritage (2002, p. 1428) it rather expresses point of view, As evidence serve exchanges, in which a question beginning with “Isn’t it” or “Don’t you” is not followed by a yes or no answer, but by formulation such as “I disagree”. Negative interrogatives are biased towards a positive answer (Heritage, 2002). They assert the proposition of the question as a fact and the addressee is expected

to provide his opinion on the matter. A mere “yes” or “no” would thus be regarded as an insufficient answer.

6.3. Multi-unit questioning turns

Becker (2007) emphasizes the importance of characterizing questioning turns also according to their complexity, differentiating between single-unit and multiunit questions. A multi-unit questioning turn can be defined as a turn consisting of more than one unit and being marked by one or more interrogative indicators and its complexity corresponding to the notion of indirectness. One of its communicative goals is to mitigate the FTA posed by the question by means of conventional indirectness (Becker, 2007, p. 120).

7. Politeness in talk show questions

As the complex relationships between interview participants and restricted means for enforcing their agendas imply, both interviewer and interviewee need to be careful and inventive in phrasing their turns. The act of saving face is made more difficult by the presence of the audience. While in casual, noninstitutional conversation the speaker has to take into consideration only the hearer’s perception of face threatening acts, an interviewer in a talk show is constantly watched over and judged by the audience.

The rest of this thesis will deal with the practices the interviewers use to mitigate FTAs. Even though “argumentation is not a constitutive feature of all variants of talk shows”, every utterance is “potentially vulnerable to challenges

Conclusion

This chapter dealt with media discourse, focusing mainly on its characteristics, and particularly emphasizing political media discourse. The following chapter presents the methodology used in collecting and analyzing the data.

Chapter three

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The corpus-based study is adopted for this research to investigate the research problem from the chosen broadcast interviews. The data from these interviews is quantitative and qualitative in nature since the analysis is descriptive with numerical scores, tables and statistics.

3-1- Measuring linguistic politeness

Measuring the level of linguistic politeness participants use in spoken interaction is a complex activity. The norms and conventions of linguistic politeness vary greatly from one culture to another, and different social groups express politeness differently. The degree of politeness expected is highly dependent on the contextual setting of the communicative event. The linguistic means used to express politeness are also dependent on the context, and on the relationship between the participants

Holmes (1995) and Brown and Levinson (1987) point out that the levels of linguistic politeness expected between participants depends upon the degree of solidarity or distance between them. This is inextricably linked to the power relationship between the interactants, and the formality of the context.

In the specific context of the broadcast interview, the degree of solidarity-distance is constrained due to the highly formal nature of the interaction. Holmes (1995: 19) points out that in formal contexts speakers tend to focus on the ‘transactional’ roles of the discourse rather than on establishing personal relationships. Indeed, this is the case in broadcast interviews, where the main purpose of the encounter is to elicit information from interviewees.

The degree of distance is also due to the fact that participants have unequal rights to the local power management of the discourse. Interactants have pre-established roles as either

interviewers or interviewees, and it is the interviewers who have control of the discourse at a local level.

3-2- The Linguistic variables

Question-answer sequences and participants' adherence to the turn-taking system were analysed to measure politeness and sex differences. The analytical frameworks that identify the form and function of each of these variables in relation to linguistic politeness are now detailed. The frameworks developed by Mullany (1998: 32-41) specifically for the interviewing context are presented and defined in relation to Brown and Levinson's definitions of politeness. Detailed examples of each linguistic variable are given in Mullany (1998: 32-41).

3-3-Questioning strategies

In order to examine the pragmatic function of questions, I have adopted Holmes's (1992) framework designed for analysing questions and politeness in the formal context of conference presentations. The category 'facilitative' has been added by Mullany (1998) specifically for the interviewing context. This is because some questions posed by interviewers do not contain evaluation, whereas Holmes's framework was designed specifically for questions which evaluate the preceding discourse at the end of formal presentations. The categories are:

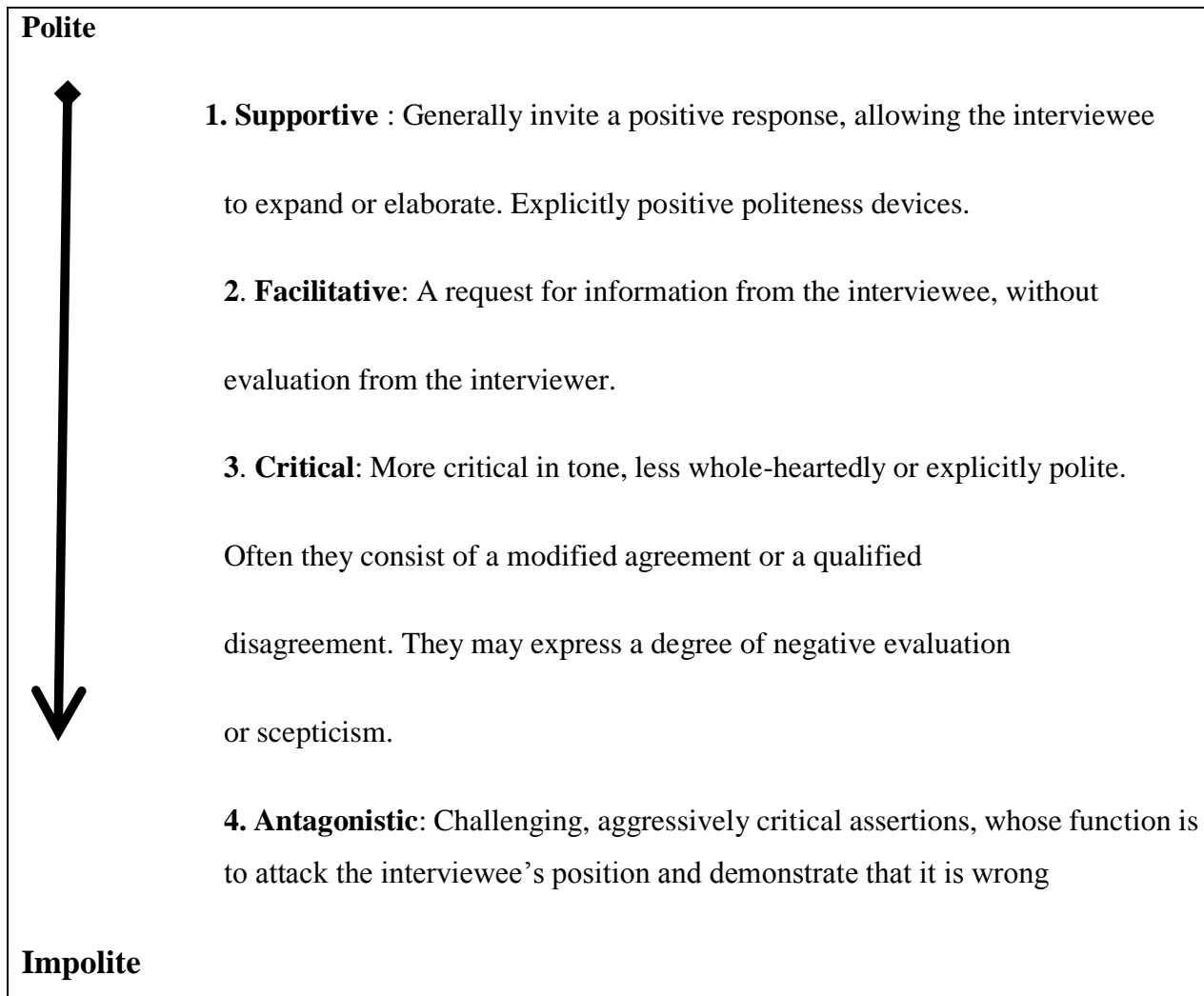


fig 5: Framework designed for analysing questions and politeness based on Holmes(1992:138-140)

3-4- Answers

In order to assess the degree of attention male and female interviewees pay to politeness principles when answering the interviewers’ questions, I have used a framework based upon Harris’s (1991) classifications. Harris’s study focused specifically on indirect answers given by politicians in broadcast interviews. She defined answers as either direct, indirect or challenging. I have adopted the general definitions of these categories, as detailed in figure 2.

Direct: A response which explicitly expresses ‘yes’ ‘no’ ‘of course’ ‘right’ etc;

or a response which provides a value for the missing variable in response to a wh- question.

Indirect: A response which involves inference: either the selection of some

intermediate position between ‘yes’ or ‘no’, or where a value for

the missing variable in response to a wh- question can be inferred.

Challenging: A response which challenges one or more of the presuppositions of a

question, or a response which challenges the illocutionary force of

a question.

fig 6 :Framework designed for analysing questions and politeness based on Harris(1991:87)

Harris (1991: 80) points out that questions in political interviews are put forward by the interviewer in order to elicit agreement or disagreement from the interviewee, i.e. either ‘yes that is the case’ or ‘no that is not the case’. On the basis of this, it was decided that the ‘direct’ category would be split into direct positive (+ive) responses and direct negative (-ive) responses. Direct +ive responses are positive politeness devices. They pay attention to the addressee’s face needs by giving positive feedback, generally by providing agreement with the addressee. Conversely, direct -ive responses threaten the addressee’s positive face needs by giving negative feedback, generally by providing disagreement.

It is hard to classify direct responses to wh- questions as either directly positive or negative, as the question form makes it difficult to locate these responses on a

positive/negative continuum. For the purposes of this study, it was decided that direct responses to wh- questions would be classified as direct +ive responses. By providing a value for the missing variable, the speaker is attending to the addressee's positive face needs by providing a contingent answer to a request for information.

Indirect responses demonstrate that the interviewees are paying close attention to their own face needs. Obeng (1994, 1997) and Wilson (1990) point out that due to the cancellable nature of implicatures, politicians cannot be accused of any statement they make in a political interview if it is made indirectly. Obeng (1994: 42) defines verbal indirectness as a strategy used to communicate 'difficulty'. Any potential face-threatening act can be seen to communicate difficulty. Indirectness is therefore a face-saving or face-maintenance strategy. It protects the interviewee's face needs from both the interviewer and the listening audience. Challenging responses are bald on record strategies which directly threaten the addressee's face. By directly challenging either the illocutionary force or a presupposition of the question posed, the interviewee overtly attacks the interviewer's positive face in order to demonstrate that their position is wrong.

4- The turn-taking system

In the specific context of interviews, the turn-taking system is constrained as the basic question and answer adjacency pair framework pre-allocates the turns. The interviewer has main responsibility for the turn-taking procedure and the interviewee is expected to answer accordingly.

A number of studies which examine turn-taking and sex differences have tended to focus on the disruptive elements. Malam (1995) points out that if a clear picture of sex differences in interaction is ever to be achieved, then a model of interaction which considers all aspects of turn-taking is needed, not just the disruptive elements. In light of this it was

decided that supportive simultaneous talk and minimal responses as well as disruptive responses would be analysed. The detailed frameworks for examining these variables are now illustrated.

4-1 Interruptions

Previous studies have been heavily criticised for not providing a clear definition of exactly what constitutes an interruption. In this study, I follow Holmes in defining an interruption as a ‘disruptive turn’ (Holmes 1995: 52). Interruptions are utterances which break the symmetry of the turn-taking system, threatening the speaker’s negative face need of not being imposed upon. They are competitive discourse strategies, signaling a battle for management of the conversational floor. The number of overall interruption attempts are calculated in order to establish which dyads are most competitive. Interruptions are also classified as either successful or unsuccessful. A successful interruption prevents the current speaker from finishing their turn as the interrupter gains the floor.

Malam (1995) claims that unsuccessful interruptions demonstrate that the interrupter is paying some degree of attention to the addressee’s negative face needs by allowing the current speaker to continue. She argues that an unsuccessful interruption is less threatening ‘since the potential interrupter recognises the possible threat, and withdraws’ (1995: 230).

However, there is another conceivable explanation for an unsuccessful interruption. It may be the case that the potential interrupter stops as he/she is not a powerful enough participant to succeed.

4-2 Simultaneous talk

Edelsky (1981) emphasises that simultaneous speech can also function as a form of co-operative linguistic behaviour. She distinguishes two conversational floors: the *single* floor and the *collaborative* floor. Whilst the single floor refers to Sacks, Schegloff and

Jefferson's (1974) idea of one speaker at a time, the collaborative floor is open to all participants to speak simultaneously in order to work together to produce shared meanings.

In broadcast interviews, the single floor is expected, as if two participants speak at the same time it is very difficult for the listening audience to comprehend the discourse being transmitted. However, short periods of co-operative simultaneous talk are evident in some of the non-political interviews.

Coates (1996: 129) provides comprehensive definitions to identify co-operative simultaneous talk which I have followed. She states that simultaneous speech is when speakers say the same thing but at slightly different times; when speakers complete an utterance simultaneously but differently; when speakers comment on what each other are saying, or when speakers pursue a theme simultaneously, saying different but related things at the same time.

Simultaneous talk is potentially a threat to the speaker's negative face. However, as it pays attention to the speaker's positive face needs by providing support and agreement, the face threat is mitigated (Makri-Tsilipakou 1994).

4-3 Overlaps

In order to distinguish clearly between an interruption and an overlap, I have followed Coates's (1993: 109) definition. She argues that overlaps represent 'instances of slight over-anticipation by the next speaker'. In this paper, overlaps are instances of simultaneous speech that are uttered at transition-relevant places (TRPs) in the discourse (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). TRPs are signaled by verbal and non-verbal clues which suggest the end of the current speaker's turn. These clues include pauses and a fall or rise in intonation. Overlaps have been identified and removed from the data to

ensure that the only instances of simultaneous speech classified as either interruptions or simultaneous talk are not just instances of slight over-anticipation by the speaker.

4-4 Minimal responses

The term minimal response is generally used to refer to brief utterances such as ‘mm’ or ‘yeah’. Minimal responses can play either a supportive or non-supportive function in the discourse, depending on factors such as intonation and timing (Holmes 1995: 56). Supportive minimal responses are positive politeness devices which indicate active listenership and support.

Supportive minimal responses have a function similar to supportive simultaneous talk, though the major distinction is that uttering a minimal response does not involve an attempt to hold the floor. Instead minimal responses signal active listenership and encourage the current speaker to continue. In the specific context of the broadcast interview, the interviewer can use supportive minimal responses to encourage the interviewee giving an answer, and the interviewee can use them to show attention to the interviewer’s question before providing a response.

Previous researchers including Zimmerman and West (1975) and Fishman (1980) have found that minimal responses do not always have a supportive function. The form and function of each minimal response is thus carefully analysed to ensure an accurate classification is given, as is the case with every variable in this study.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter presented the methodology followed by the researcher in conducting the study. First, it summarized the theory on which the frameworks used to measure the data collected for this research. Third, it provided a thorough account of the

steps followed by the researcher in collecting and analyzing the data. The next chapter applies this methodology to the collected data, namely, four political media conversations.

Chapter Four

Research methodology

Introduction

The strategy for material collection and methodology design needed to be in line with the aims of the research study. Moreover, my objective was to lay a solid foundation for the quantitative and qualitative investigation of politeness and gender-related usage patterns in political and non political interview discourse

1-1- Quantitative Methodology

This study is primarily qualitative and based on methods used in Conversation Analysis. The quantitative analysis is used mainly to support the qualitative analysis. The first thing measured was the percentage of the interview time during which the interviewees speak, in relation to the time the interviewer takes to ask questions or give information.

Secondly, the number of hedges used by the interviewees was counted. Hedges are typically expressions which could soften and lessen the impact of an utterance. This essay mainly studies constructions such as I think or As far as I am concerned, which could be seen as unnecessary, as the clause would have been complete without these softening expressions. As an addition to this, occurrences of the hedging tag question you know were also counted.

Thirdly, actual questions asked, and the answers to these questions, were categorised. The questions were divided into "yes/no-questions" and "other questions", and the answers were likewise divided into the subgroups "answering the question", "overtly avoiding answering" and "covertly avoiding answering".

An answer was labelled "answering the question" if the interviewee simply gives an answer to the question asked at one point in the following turn. An answer was labelled "overtly avoiding the question" if the interviewee does not give an answer to the question, but is seen to be upfront and honest about his or her resistance, for example by saying that he or she is unable to answer the question or asking for permission to diverge from the

subject. If the interviewee on the other hand did not give any reason for not answering the question or departed from the subject without being open about doing so, the answer was labelled "covertly avoiding the question".

Finally, the number of mentions of other parties or colleagues in a negative manner was counted. To count as a "passing blame"-unit, the utterance had to clearly mention another party or politician, and additionally point out something negative about their actions or statements.

1-2 Qualitative Methodology

As mentioned before, the news interview is an interesting platform for Conversation Analysis as the situation is predetermined in many ways, but also allows for both interviewers and interviewees to diverge from the rules and conventions of an interview. These characteristics will therefore ideally create interesting data for conversation analysis. This research focuses on gender differences in answers to interview questions in the interview situation.

The qualitative analysis took as its starting point the results from the quantitative analysis, i.e. seeing if there were any differences in the use of hedges, as well as the frequency of covertly and overtly resisting questions. In addition to these results, the qualitative analysis also looked at the types of hedges IEs use and in what way, and with what possible purpose, they overtly or covertly avoid questions. Additional attention was also given to the phenomena of passing blame, or the negative mentioning of other parties or politicians. These mentions were looked at from a point of view of how they were delivered, as well in what situations they occurred. Finally, minimal response given by the IE was marked and analysed with focus on how and in what situations it occurred.

2-sampling

The chosen area of research for this work is the broadcast media in general and BBC world news broadcast interviews in English in particular. All the media interviews in BBC world news constituted the population of this study and from these; four programmes' interviews were purposively selected for this study as a source of data collection. The programmes interviews that were purposively chosen for this study are broadcast between July, 2012 and April, 2013 (ten months), in order to collect sufficient data for analysis.

In order to collect a detailed corpus of media language, sampling decisions are required in three major areas: media *genres*, media *outlets* and media *outputs* (Bell 1991).

The decisions made in each of these areas are now detailed. The decision to focus on the *genre* of broadcast interviews was motivated by the fact that the notions of female co-operativeness and male competitiveness could be firmly tested. The interviews collected were viewed either as competitive or co-operative encounters, defined by drawing a distinction between political (competitive) and non-political (cooperative) interviews.

Co-operative interviews were classified as those where political issues were not relevant to the topic of the encounter. These interviews are non-confrontational and they generally focus upon the interviewee's personal life or career. Any political affiliation the interviewees may have is not relevant to the topic of the interview and none of the interviewees are politicians or members of a political party to my knowledge.

On the other hand, interviews conducted with either an MP or a member of a political party on a political topic were classified as competitive encounters. The fact that political interviews are confrontational encounters is widely documented by researchers in this area (Greatbatch 1986, Harris 1991), and by media personalities themselves (Day 1975, 1991; Dimpleby 1975).

The speech of both male and female interviewers and interviewees was examined in dyadic interviews. This was based upon the fact that the relationship between the two participants is clearly defined, as the interviewer and interviewee have pre-established, ‘a priori’ roles (Winter 1993: 122). In order to examine discourse strategies in all possible settings, it was necessary to collect interview data from 8 dyadic settings, as illustrated in the following table

Political interviews		Non political interviews	
M (interviewer)	F (interviewee)	M (interviewer)	M (interviewee)
M (interviewer)	M (interviewee)	M (interviewer)	F (interviewee)
F (interviewer)	M (interviewee)	F (interviewer)	M (interviewee)
F (interviewer)	F (interviewee)	F (interviewer)	F (interviewee)

Table 1: the 8 dyadic settings the interviews

The decision to use BBC world news as the media *outlet* for this project was motivated by the fact that interviews are prominent features of many programmes on this channel, and I was confident that the required number of interviews would be found. Additionally, a large number of BBC world interviews are broadcast live. Winter (1993: 121) points out the importance of this in relation to political interviews, stating that live broadcasts do not allow repair or blatant planning from politicians. To my knowledge, all political interviews selected for this study were live at the time they were broadcast. It was not always possible,

however, to obtain live non-political interviews, as many of these encounters are prerecorded. Using pre-recorded non-political material was thus unavoidable on some occasions.

It was decided that the main media *outputs*, it means the specific programmes broadcast by the channel would be *Politics Europe* and *Hardtalk*. Both programmes are well established and well-respected news broadcasts which were transmitted three days a week at the time of recording. On both programmes, the presenters conduct interviews with politicians or members of a political party about the main political issues of the day.

A small number of non-political interviews have also been taken from these two news broadcasts, as both programmes try to establish a balance between ‘hard’ news, and ‘softer’ items, including interviews on ‘light-hearted’ topics. The other non-political interviews were recorded from *r*, *Kaleidoscope*, *Woman’s Hour* and *Personal Records*.²

Interviews were recorded from 6 different programmes in order to collect encounters with different interviewers. These programmes were also chosen as they were broadcast at different times of the day, thus enabling a variety of interviews from RBBC World News programmes to be collected.

Two interviews for each of the eight dyadic settings were collected. A sample of 16 interviews was thought to be large enough and representative enough to enable reliable and valid conclusions to be drawn. Interviews were recorded between July 2012 and April 2013. In total, programmes broadcast on 46 different days were recorded, totalling over 4 hours of material.

The encounters needed to be of a similar length in order for a credible analysis to take place. Interviews conducted on *rendez-vous with zineb elbadawi*, and

the bottom line averaged between thirty minutes. As interviews from *hardtalk*

and *Global with Jon Sopel* generally ran for forty-five minutes, it was decided to select randomly a sample from these interviews which matched the average length. The table above shows the political and non political broadcast interviews used in this research

2.1-Political interviews

Programme	Interviewer	Interviewee	Dyadic form	Topic	Date
Hard Talk	Stephen Sackur	Gorge galloway MP	M-M	The results of war on Irak	May 05, 2013
Hard Talk	Stephen Sackur	Hazel Blears MP	M-F	Discussion on what the UK government is doing to counter an increasing 'home grown threat' from terrorism	June 20,2013
BBC news today	Katty Kay	Brian Hansford	F-M	The relationship between conflicts and the creasing number of refugees	May 14 ,2013
Bbc world news today	Lyse Doucet	Janet Ecker President of torronto fianacial alliance	F-F	Risks with bank business	April 24, 2013
BBC Sunday politics	Gavin Elser	Nigel Farage UKIP	M-M	UK economy and taxes	June 20 ,2013
World News Hour	James Coomarasana	Axelle Lemaire	M-F	Protests in Paris	May 06, 2013
World News today	Zineb El Badawi	Azzam Tamimi	F-M	Conflict in Egypt	May 15, 2013

BBC World News	Katty Kay	Sarah Spellman	F-F	Area 51 in usa	August 17, 2013
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fig 4 :collected political interviews

2.2-Non-Political Interviews

Programme	Interviewer	Interviewee	Dyadic form	Topic	Date
Hard Talk	Stephen Sackur	Martin Amir (Author)	M-M	Martin's writings	Mar12,2013
Hard Talk	Stephen Sackur	Ping Fu (Softwear developer)	M-F	Softwear developping	Apl02,2013
Hard Talk	Zineb el Badawi	Danny Dorling (social thinker)	F-M	Revolution against the 10% impoverishing the rest	Apl12,2013

Hard Talk	Zineb al badawi	Rosaline Picard	F-F	Affective computing	May 03, 2013
Global with Matthew Amroliwala	Matthew Amroliwala	Mark Turin Director of world oral literature project	M-M	Endangered languages	Nov 04,2013
Dateline London	Gavin esler	Nabila Remdani	M-F	The war in lybia	Nov 30,2013
BBC weekend	Mishal Husain	Riz Ahmed (actor)	F-M	Riz participation in a film	Oct25,20013
BBC weekend	Mishal Husain	Angelina joli	F-F	Migration	May16,2016

Fig 3 :Collected non political interviews

Method of dta analysis

The data collected were analyzed using both Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and conversation analysis (CA). First, the researcher listened to each recorded episode several times to transcribe it. The data was transcribed using a broad transcription, following the method of transcription outlined by the turn taking model proposed by Sacks et al. (1974). Second, each interview was analyzed separately, by analyzing the turns of each participant first and then comparing between the results of the three participants. Two variables related to the turn taking model, namely the turn length and interruptions, were investigated in the data. The researcher counted the number of words each participant

uttered, the number of turns s/he made throughout the interview, and the frequency of words s/he used per turn to determine who spoke the most, who took the most turns, and who made the longest turns. In addition, I also examined the types of interruptions and divided them into three categories: successful, failed and supportive interruptions. Successful interruptions are those where the interrupter succeeds to take the turn.

On the contrary, failed interruptions are those where the interrupter attempts to take the turn but fails. In supportive interruptions, unlike in successful and failed interruptions, the interrupter does not intend to take the turn, but rather to keep the flow of the conversations, to show enthusiasm for the topic or agreement with the speaker, or to show that s/he is listening carefully. Interruptions of the three types were counted in the turns of each participant. Third, I counted and analyzed the positive and negative politeness strategies made by each participant. I also provided examples for types of interruptions and politeness strategies from each interview. After that, the aggregated results of the four interviews were discussed. The 12 participants were divided into two groups: one for the hosts and another for the guests, and the results of the male and female participants in each group were compared.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is the analytical theory selected for this study. This theory is the most influential and comprehensive theory of politeness (Fraser, 1990 and Thomas, 1995) and Watts (2003:13) affirms that Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory will undoubtedly continue to exert as much influence on research into linguistic politeness in the coming years as it has in the past. The tenets of this theory will be the analytical framework for this work. This study uses quantitative and qualitative methods of analysing sex differences and politeness in broadcast interviews, so as to assess the validity of the hypotheses by relying on measuring politeness in the following linguistic variables :

1-Questioning strategies:

I used Holmes' (1992) paradigm for analyzing questions and politeness in the formal context of conference presentations to investigate the pragmatic role of questions. Mullany has added the category of 'facilitative' (1998). particularly for the purpose of interviewing. This is due to the fact that certain interview questions do not include evaluation, whereas Holmes' questions do. these categories are ranged from more ppolites to less polite ass foollow:

Supportive : Generally invite a positive response, allowing the interviewee to expand or elaborate. Explicitly positive politeness devices.

Facilitative: A request for information from the interviewee, without evaluation from the interviewer.

Critical: More critical in tone, less whole-heartedly or explicitly polite. Often they consist of a modified agreement or a qualified disagreement. They may express a degree of negative evaluation or scepticism.

Antagonistic: Challenging, aggressively critical assertions, whose function is to attack the interviewee's position and demonstrate that it is wrong

2-Answers

I utilized a framework based on Harris' (1991) classifications to measure how much attention male and female interviewees pay to politeness principles when answering the interviewers' queries. Harris' research focuses on politicians' indirect responses during TV interviews. She categorizes responses as direct, indirect, or confronting.

Direct: A response which explicitly expresses 'yes' 'no' 'of course' 'right' etc or a response which provides a value for the missing variable in response to a wh- question.

Indirect: A response which involves inference: either the selection of some intermediate position between 'yes' or 'no', or where a value for the missing variable in response to a wh- question can be inferred.

Challenging: A response which challenges one or more of the presuppositions of a question, or a response which challenges the illocutionary force of a question.

3-The turn-taking system

In the specific context of interviews, the turn-taking system is constrained as the basic question and answer adjacency pair framework pre-allocates the turns. The interviewer has main responsibility for the turn-taking procedure and the interviewee is expected to answer accordingly

Interruptions: Interruptions are statements that disrupt the turn-taking system's symmetry, jeopardizing the speaker's negative face requirement to avoid being imposed upon. It's a war for control of the conversational floor, and they are competitive discourse methods. The total number of interruption attempts is calculated to determine which dyads are the most competitive. Interruptions can also be a problem.

Simultaneous talk : Simultaneous talk is potentially a threat to the speaker's negative face. However, as it pays attention to the speaker's positive face needs by providing support and agreement, the face threat is mitigated (Makri-Tsilipakou 1994). Overlaps: I used Coates' (1993: 109) concept to make a clear distinction between an interruption and an overlap. Overlaps, she claims, are "instances of minor over-anticipation by the next speaker." Overlaps are instances of simultaneous speech that occur at transition-relevant sites (TRPs) in the dialogue in this research (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). TRPs are a type of signaling molecule.

Minimal responses: The term minimal response is generally used to refer to brief utterances such as 'mm' or 'yeah'. Minimal responses can play either a supportive or non-

supportive function in the discourse, depending on factors such as intonation and timing (Holmes 1995: 56). Supportive minimal responses are positive politeness devices which indicate active listenership and support.

Supportive minimal responses have a function similar to supportive simultaneous talk, though the major distinction is that uttering a minimal response does not involve an attempt to hold the floor. Instead minimal responses signal active listenership and encourage the current speaker to continue. In the specific context of the broadcast interview, the interviewer can use supportive minimal responses to encourage the interviewee giving an minimal reactions do not necessarily serve a supportive function, according to previous studies by Zimmerman and West (1975) and Fishman (1980). As is the case with every variable in this study, the shape and function of each minimal response is thoroughly examined to achieve an appropriate classification.

Conclusion:

To sum up, this chapter presented the methodology followed by the researcher in conducting the study. First, it summarized the turn-taking model which was proposed by Sacks et al (1974). Second, it highlighted the linguistic variables. Third, it provided a thorough account of the steps followed by the researcher in collecting and analyzing the data. The next chapter applies this methodology to the collected data, namely, four political media conversations.

Conclusion:

To sum up, this chapter presented the methodology followed by the researcher in conducting the study. First, it summarized the turn-taking model which was proposed by Sacks et al (1974). Then, it provided a thorough account of the steps followed by the researcher in collecting and analyzing the data. The next chapter applies this methodology to the collected data, namely, four political media conversations

Chapter Five

Data analysis and results

Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of the results shown in a set of tables. These tables presented throughout the next pages are the totals of the two individual interviews which make up the four dyads. The interviewer is always referred to first in the presentation of the results. The individual interviews have been given close examination to ensure that the Politeness and sex differences in BBC world broadcast interviews findings presented here are indicative of a pattern, and are not just found in one interview.

1- Question and answer sequences: political interviews

As would be expected in this confrontational context, there are no instances of supportive questioning strategies in any of the dyadic encounters. Critical questions are the most common type in the F-F, F-M and M-M interviews. In the M-F encounters, whilst 35.3% of elicitions are critical, 47.1% are antagonistic. Although this difference is slight, it gains significance when it is compared to the instances of antagonistic questions in the other three dyads, as illustrated in the table bellow

F-F	6.7 %
F-M	10.5%
M-M	15.4%
M-F	47.1%

Table 2: Percentage of questions classified as antagonistic in the political interviews of antagonistic questions

This evidence shows that female interviewers are least likely to utter antagonistic questions, especially in the F-F dyads, suggesting that the female interviewers are paying the greatest attention to their addressees' face needs by avoiding the most face-threatening questioning strategy. In contrast, male interviewers are six times more likely to use

antagonistic elicitations to female interviewees than female interviewers. Furthermore, the male interviewers in the M-F dyads are almost three times more likely to use antagonistic questions to female interviewees than male interviewers in the M-M pairings. This appears to indicate that male interviewers pay far less attention to the face needs of their interviewees when the interviewees are female. In the face of this evidence, it is important to analyse individually the five interviews which make up the total for each dyadic category. Antagonistic elicitations are discovered in only two out of the five interviews in the F-F and F-M dyads, three out of the five interviews in the M-M dyads, and four out of the five interviews in the M-F dyads. This adds weight to the argument that antagonistic questions are more likely to be used by male interviewers to female interviewees. Analysis of the interviews which make up the M-F category reveals that a large number of the antagonistic questions are found in one interview: an encounter between John Sopel and Matthew , as illustrated in

example 1.

Example 1 MER: How come they are high quality now when in the past you've attacked the Tories for the spending that's been so low with capping and all the rest of it, all of a sudden now you're in power, they are high quality, they didn't used to be did they?

This interview accounts for 63% of all antagonistic elicitations in the M-F category. Stephen Sacku is also an interviewer in the M-M dyad, in an encounter with George Galloway MP. This interview is of a similar length to the encounter with Hillary Armstrong. If the tables for the interview with Stephen Sacku and George Galloway are analysed, it emerges that 33.3% of the total of antagonistic questions in the M-M category are uttered in this encounter. This evidence indicates that Stephen Sacku is a confrontational interviewer. A direct comparison between the questioning strategies used by Stephen Sacku to address Hazel Blearsand George Galloway reveals some interesting findings, as illustrated in Table 4

	SS-F	SS-M
Facilitative	0%	16.7%
Critical	23.5%	50%
Antagonistic	76.5%	33.3%

Table 3: Percentage of questioning strategies used by John Humphrys (JH) to female interviewee Hillary Armstrong (F) and male interviewee Jack Cunningha

Stephen Sackur uses over twice as many antagonistic questions to Hazel Blears, and no facilitative forms are found in this interview. These findings suggest that Stephen Sackur pays less attention to his female interviewee's face needs by uttering far more face-threatening forms. The fact that antagonistic questions are found in four out of the five interviews in the M-F pairing adds credence to the argument that male interviewers are more likely to use the most overtly face-threatening questioning strategies when addressing female interviewees. The highly critical and antagonistic nature of the questioning strategies used in the political interviews sets up the expectation that interviewees will frequently use indirectness as a face-saving strategy, as previous work on political interviews has shown (Obeng 1997).

Indeed, examination of my data has found that indirect responses are the most common strategy used by interviewees of both sexes in all dyadic encounters, as in example 2.

Example 2

FER: *Would you be doing better if Kenneth Clarke was the leader?*

MEE: *I think William's done a great job, I think he's done an excellent job, I think it's easy or perhaps it isn't easy to forget the scale of what happened to us on May the First, and whoever took over in those circumstances was going to have a very difficult job.*

Indirect responses are found in all four interviews which make up the F-F and M-M categories, and four out of five interviews in the F-M and M-F dyads. There is relatively little difference between male and female interviewees' use of indirectness. It is used the most in the single sex encounters: F-F 46.7%, M-M 46.2%, whilst the tables in the mixedsex dyads are slightly lower F-M 39.5%, M-F 35.3%. The number of direct positive, direct negative and challenging responses given by all interviewees is illustrated in Table 5

	F-F	F-M	M-F	M-M
Direct +ive	33.3%	34.2%	28.2%	35.3%
Direct -ive	16.7%	7.9%	7.7%	23.5%
Challenging	3.3%	18.4%	17.9%	5.9%

Table 4: Percentage of answers classified as direct positive, and in the political interviews of, direct negative and challenging answers Direct +ive Direct -ive Challenging

There is hardly any difference between the proportion of direct positive responses in the F-F, F-M and M-F dyads. The lowest instances of positive responses are in the M-M encounters, which may suggest that in single-sex male pairings, the male interviewees are least likely to give positive feedback to their addressees. Female interviewees in both F-F and M-F dyads use more direct negative responses than their male counterparts. The proportion of negative responses is highest in the M-F pairings. However, when the tables for the two interviews that make up this category are analysed, half of the total number of these responses come from the highly confrontational interview between Hazel Blears and Stephen Sacku. The real surprise with direct negative responses is therefore in the F-F dyads. These responses are discovered in four out of the five interviews in this category. This finding casts doubt on the assertion that participants are paying the greatest attention to the face needs of their addressees in these encounters. However, a possible explanation

for the high occurrence of direct negative responses from female interviewees can be found by examining the tables for challenging responses.

The male interviewees are three times more likely to give challenging responses to interviewers of both sexes than female interviewees. Challenging answers are least likely to be used in the F-F dyads. There is one instance of a challenging response in all five interviews that make up the F-F category. This indicates that, although females use direct negative answers more frequently, the males appear to favour the most overtly face-threatening form instead. They are more inclined to challenge the interviewer's position with the aim of attempting to retain, or even enhance their status. There is a small increase in challenging responses from female interviewees in the M-F dyads. Analysis of the interviews that make up this category reveals that all of these responses come from the encounter between Hazel Blears and Stephen Sackur, as illustrated in example 3.

Example 3

MER: *That's what Frank Dobson attacked the last government for doing precisely a year ago.*

FEE: *Well I was doing the rounds in the studio as well then John and we weren't saying precisely what you're saying.*

Whereas challenging responses are found in only one of the five interviews in the M-F dyads, they are discovered in all five of the interviews in the M-M category, and four out of the five interviews in the F-M category.

2-Question and answer sequences: In the non-political interviews,

there are no antagonistic question forms, and very few critical forms, as would be expected in this context. Supportive and facilitative questions are therefore most frequent, as illustrated in Table 6.

	F-F	F-M	M-M	M-F
Supportive	54.7%	40.5%	23.5%	19.3%
Facilitative	45.3%	56.8%	76.5%	71%

Table 5: Percentage of questions classified as supportive and facilitative in the non-political interviews of supportive and facilitative questions

The highest number of supportive questions is used by the female interviewers especially in the F-F pairings. The lowest instances of supportive elicitations are in the M-F interviews. The female interviewers use a far higher number of supportive elicitations to male interviewees in the F-M pairings than their male counterparts in the M-M dyads, as in example 4.

Example 4

FER: Those flaps look like extraordinary gills or legs or something but there looks like about half a dozen of them on one side, but it's the hair that's startling isn't it for a sea creature?

The low instance of supportive questions in the M-F dyads once again indicates that the male interviewers are paying least attention to the face needs of their female addressees. The highest number of facilitative forms is found in the categories where the interviewers are male. They are most common in the M-M dyads. This suggests that the male interviewers' main priority is to elicit information from their interviewees, whereas the female interviewers also focus on being supportive in their questioning style. These findings are very similar to those of Holmes (1995). She argues that whilst females are more concerned with the affective nature of talk, males prefer to concentrate on its referential function. In the F-F and M-M pairings, there are no instances of critical elicitations. The F-M dyads contain a small number (2.7%), but the highest number is in

the M-F category (9.7%). Although this difference is relatively slight, it adds further weight to the argument that male interviewers in the M-F dyads are paying least attention to their female interviewees' face needs. There are no instances of challenging responses in the non-political interviews, as would be expected in this context. Direct positive answers are discovered in each of the five individual interviews that make up the four dyadic categories. table 7 illustrates the distribution of direct positive, direct negative and indirect responses in the four pairings.

	F-F	F-M	M-M	M-F
Direct +ive	90.6%	78.4%	70.6%	80.6%
Direct -ive	0%	10%	5.9%	0%
Indirect	9.4%	8%	23.5%	19.4%

table 7. Percentage of answers classified as direct positive, direct negative and indirect in the non-political interviews of direct positive, direct negative and indirect answers Direct +ive Direct -ive Indirect

The female interviewees do not use any direct negative responses to either female or male interviewees. Female interviewees in the F-F dyads are more likely to utter direct positive responses than interviewees in any other of the three pairings, as in example 5.

Example 5

FER: *Staff is your married name isn't it*

FEE: *That's right Staff is my married name I changed it when I decided on going into television because you had sort of insurance cards in those days, and if it was a different name it was very awkward, so I changed it to Staff the surname to Staff which is my married name.*

This suggests once again that these encounters are the most supportive, with interviewees paying very close attention to the positive face needs of their addressees. Although there are very few instances of direct negative responses overall, a small number are uttered by the male interviewees to interviewers of both sexes. They do so on slightly more occasions when the interviewers are female, suggesting that male interviewees in the FM dyads are paying less attention to the female interviewers' face needs. Interviewees of both sexes use fewer indirect responses to female interviewers than to males. The F-F and F-M dyads contain the highest number of supportive questions. Therefore, it appears that due to the highly supportive nature of these interviews, there is little need for interviewees to use face saving strategies, as the majority of questions are of a supportive nature. It is interesting to note that although fewer supportive and more critical questioning strategies are used in the M-F encounters, the male interviewees in the M-M dyads use indirect responses slightly more than the female interviewees in the M-F pairings. This suggests that male interviewees may be more concerned with saving their own face than the female interviewees are.

2- The turn-taking system

In order to gain an accurate picture of the turn-taking system, the participants' use of interruptions, minimal responses and simultaneous talk have been calculated as a percentage rate per number of overall turns taken. Again, the individual encounters have been scrutinised carefully to see if the results are indicative of an overall pattern, and not just the result of one encounter.

2.1 Turn-taking: political interviews

2-1-1 Interruptions

Table 8 reveals the number of attempted interruptions by interviewers and the success rate of these attempts in all four dyads. Table 8. Percentage of turns classified as attempted interruptions by interviewers in the political interviews and their success rate of attempted interruptions and their success rate

Attempts	Success rate
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	F-F	F-M	M-F	M-M
Attempts	17.5%	36.2%	43.9%	30.4%
Success rate	2.5%	13%	13.2%	36.8%

Table 8: Percentage of turns classified as attempted interruptions by interviewers in the political interviews and their success rate of attempted interruptions and their success rate Attempts Success rate

Interruptions are least likely to be attempted in the F-F dyads, and not surprisingly, the success rate is lowest in these encounters. There is a considerable increase in interruption attempts by female interviewers when the interviewees are male. Attempted interruptions are found in 3 out of the 4 interviews that make up this dyadic category. Interruption attempts are highest in the M-M dyads. They are found in all 4 interviews which make up this cell. There is little difference in the success rates between F-M and MM interviews. The most notable finding here appears to be the low instance of interruptions by male interviewers in the M-F dyads. The findings indicate that female interviewers actually attempt to interrupt male interviewees more than male interviewers in the M-F dyads. This goes against previous findings such as Zimmerman and West (1975) and Holmes (1995) which state that males are more likely to disruptively interrupt female participants. However, the male interviewers in the M-F pairings have a far higher success rate for interruption attempts than interviewers in any other dyad. 26.8% out of 30.4% of interruptions are successful, meaning that when male interviewers attempt to interrupt female interviewees they are successful 88.2% of the time, as in example 6.

Example 6

FEE: *No this means [because that makes up p-]* MER: *[presumably everybody wants] better services don't they and that's no mystery.*

The male interviewers are more than twice as likely to succeed as female interviewers in the F-M dyads. Table 9 illustrates the number of attempted interruptions by interviewees in all four dyadic encounters:

	F-F	F-M	M-F	M-M
Interviewers	8%	6.8%	2.5%	4.4%
Interviewees	12.9%	8.5%	7.3%	7.7%

Table 9. Percentage of turns classified as interruption attempts by interviewees in the political interviews and their success of attempted interruptions and their success rate
Attempts Success rate

The lowest number of interruption attempts are again in the F-F dyads. The surprising finding here is that the female interviewees in the M-F dyads attempt to interrupt their male interviewers more than in any other pairings. However, only 2% of these attempts are successful, the lowest success rate of all the dyads. When the interviews which make up this category are analysed, it emerges that Hazel Blearsis responsible for 71% of the total number of interruption attempts in the encounter with Stephen Sackur. Although male interviewees attempt more interruptions in the M-M dyads, the success rate for interruptions is higher in the F-M dyads. This suggests that male interviewees pay less attention to the face needs of their female interviewers.

2-1-2 Minimal responses

The number of turns classified as minimal responses are low, as would be expected by the constraints of the interview as a speech event. There are no instances of minimal responses by interviewees in the political interviews. Initially, the results for minimal responses are surprising. There is relatively little difference between the number of supportive minimal responses given by interviewers in three of the dyadic settings. 7.5% of overall turns are minimal responses in the F-F dyads, 8.7% in the F-M dyads and 8.9%

in the M-F dyads. The highest number of minimal responses are in the M-M dyads (13.2%). These findings go against previous research which suggest minimal responses are typically a trait of female speech. However, when the form of the minimal responses are analysed, it emerges that a large proportion of them take the form of 'right', as in example 7.

Example 7

MEE: *I think people have understood that is my position, I've also said there are formidable obstacles throughout [in*

MER: *[right*

MEE: joining monetary union Such responses do not appear to function as supportive positive feedback. They could be seen as attempts by the interviewers to get the interviewees to shift the focus of the topic. They appear to be saying, 'I understand this, can we move on'. The use of the lexical item 'right' in these examples therefore appears to have more of a referential, information focused function than an affective, supportive function. 'Right' as a minimal response occurs as 2.5% of the overall number of turns in the FF interviews, 4.4% in the F-M interviews, 8.8% in the M-M interviews, and 5.3% of the time in the M-F encounters. It is interesting that 'right' appears most frequently in the M-M dyads. This could add further evidence to the argument of males in single sex pairing focusing specifically on the referential nature of talk. This would be an interesting line of enquiry for future research. It would also be interesting to examine whether 'right' occurs with such frequency in other contextual settings.

3.2 Turn-taking: non political interviews

3.2.1 Interruptions

The female interviewers in both the F-F and F-M dyads do not attempt any interruptions in the non-political interviews. Any instances of simultaneous speech are either overlaps, or

co-operative simultaneous talk. This suggests that female interviewers in the non-political interviews are paying very close attention to the face needs of their addressees. In the M-M dyads 2.5% of overall turns are classified as interruption attempts, and in the M-F dyads 13% of overall turns are attempted interruptions. The male interviewers are thus over five times more likely to attempt an interruption when the interviewees are female, suggesting that the males are paying far less attention to the female interviewees' face needs. 4.3% out of the 13% of attempts are successful in the M-F dyads, meaning that when a male interviewer attempts an interruption in my data, they succeed 33% of the time. None of the attempts in the M-M dyads are successful. There are no interruption attempts by female interviewees in the F-F dyads. Once again this demonstrates female participants paying greatest attention to their addressees' face needs in the F-F pairings. The highest number of attempted interruptions are in the FM dyads (10.7%). The male interviewees in these pairings are more than twice as likely to attempt an interruption than the interviewees in the M-M dyads (4.9%). Female interviewees only attempt a small number of interruptions to male interviewers (2.5%). However, the only successful interruptions are in the M-M interviews, where 50% of attempts are successful. While the number of attempted interruptions are far higher in the F-M dyads, none of these attempts are successful. This may indicate that males are paying some attention to the face needs of their female addressees. However, the fact that no attempts are made in the F-F dyads, and that the very small number of interruption attempts by female interviewees in the M-F dyads are all unsuccessful, indicates that female interviewees are paying more attention to their addressees' face needs, especially in the single-sex pairings.

3.2.2 Simultaneous talk

Table 10 illustrates the percentage rate of simultaneous talk given per total number of turns by all participants.

	F-F	F-M	M-F	M-M
Interviewers	8%	6.8%	2.5%	4.4%
Interviewees	12.9%	8.5%	7.3%	7.7%

Table 11 : Percentage of turns classified as minimal responses by interviewers and interviewees in the non-political interviews of minimal responses Interviewers Interviewees

These results demonstrate that simultaneous talk is used most frequently by female interviewers and interviewees, especially in the F-F dyads, as in example8:

Example 8 FEE: *I wanted to be a ballet dancer but my parents [couldn't afford to have]*
FER: *[didn't work out that way]*

FEE: *me trained.*

It is interesting to observe that male interviewers are more likely to use simultaneous talk to female interviewees than to male interviewees. It is possible that this result could be an example of speech accommodation (Thackerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982), though more detailed research would need to be conducted to test such an assertion. It is also notable that the male interviewees are responsible for more instances of simultaneous talk when the interviewers are female, than female interviewees in the M-F dyads. Again, this could be interpreted as an example of speech accommodation. Female interviewers make the encounters less face-threatening, so highly supportive and co-operative strategies may be more likely to be used, even when the interviewees are male.

3.2.3 Minimal responses

All minimal responses in this context are of a supportive nature, and no instances of ‘right’ are discovered in these encounters. Table 11 illustrates the rate of minimal responses per number of turns given by all participants.

	F-F	M-M	F-M	M-M
Interviewers	6.5%	9.1%	10%	15.2%
Interviewees	24.5%	2.1%	4.9%	10.3%

Table 11. Percentage of turns classified as minimal responses by interviewers and interviewees in the non-political interviews of minimal responses Interviewers Interviewees

The results for the interviewers are surprising. The male interviewers in the M-F dyads are most likely to use minimal responses, whereas female interviewers in the F-F dyads are least likely to use them. This suggests that male interviewers do use minimal responses as supportive strategies, especially to female interviewees, which is in opposition to previous findings. However, as with the political interviews, the occurrence of minimal responses as overall number of turns is low due to the constraints of the interviewing context. The difference between the tables is thus relatively slight. Unlike the interviewers’ tables, the pattern for interviewees’ use of minimal responses is in accordance with the findings of previous research. Female interviewees are more likely to use minimal responses than their male counterparts, especially in the F-F pairings, and male interviewees in the F-M pairings are least likely to use them.

4- Interpretation and recommendations

By focusing on the institutional context of broadcast interviews, it is hoped that the benefit of focusing studies of politeness on discourse in institutional settings has been emphasised.

The neglect of impoliteness by previous linguistic politeness researchers has been overcome by using the CofP framework to theorise how notions of politeness can be conceived. To answer the research questions the interpretations fall into two categories first, determine which gender is more polite than the other. second show which politeness strategies are used by both genders

4-1-women are more polite in broadcast media interviews

in the light of the results of this study, one could argue that both politeness and impoliteness exist in the discourse of broadcast media interviews. Furthermore, gender and the topic play significant roles in the user's choice of politeness strategies used. It is found that females tend to use politeness more than males do; however, males use impoliteness more than females do. This finding supports the view of women's language by many scholars such as Coast (1996), Tannen's (1991), and Holmes (1995). For example, Holmes asserts that women are more polite than men, as they are more concerned with the affective rather than the referential aspect of utterances and 'politeness is an expression of concern for the feelings of others' (Holmes, 1995:4).

As advised by Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003, p. 15). For instance Number of interruptions and their percentage of occurrence for each gender group (male interviewee, and female interviewee) were provided. Afterward, a detailed description and interpretation of some examples of how guests of both genders "do interruptions" and "do being interrupted" are given to display how power derived from their knowledge of the topic is carried out through their interruptions.

The results of this study broadly support earlier work such as Goodwin (1980) Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990) which found that female participants are far more cooperative interactants than their male counterparts, as they appear to pay the greatest

attention to their addressees' face needs in both the political (competitive) and the non-political (co-operative) settings. Conversely, male participants are more likely to use on record strategies which do not mitigate the threat to the addressee's face, thus demonstrating the competitive nature of their discourse strategies in both interview settings.

However, despite this evidence, it is unjustifiable to state that female participants will always use co-operative discourse strategies more whereas men will always use competitive strategies more, as the data analysis has revealed some exceptions to this. There are instances where the male participants do use co-operative strategies more than their female counterparts, and vice versa.

The most surprising results are found in the non-political interviews, when examining supportive positive politeness strategies. Male interviewers in both the M-M and M-F dyads utter slightly more supportive minimal responses than the female interviewers in either the F-F or the F-M dyads. In fact, the female interviewers in the F-F pairings are least likely to use minimal responses, whereas the male interviewers in the M-F dyads are most likely to use them.

Analysis of simultaneous talk produced the expected results with interviewers, though exceptions are found with the speech of the interviewees. Whilst the female interviewers in both the F-F and F-M dyads produce more simultaneous talk than their male counterparts, the male interviewees in the F-M dyads utter slightly more instances of simultaneous talk than the female interviewees in the M-F dyads.

Therefore, the evidence for both minimal responses and simultaneous talk in the nonpolitical interviews questions the findings of previous researchers who claim that these discourse strategies are favoured by female speakers. In the co-operative interview setting, male participants use these strategies more than their female counterparts on some occasions.

There also appear to be exceptions to the expected pattern with female speech. In the F-M political interviews, the female interviewers are responsible for the second highest rate of interruption attempts, and they succeed in interrupting just as often as their male counterparts in the M-M dyads. This evidence questions the findings of previous studies including Zimmerman and West (1975) and West and Zimmerman (1983) which state that males will disruptively interrupt female participants more. These exceptions prove the need for a new perspective for language and gender theory.

Cameron (1995, 1997) believes that the way forward is to view gender as a performative social construct. This reconceptualisation of gender should enable the definitions of where men and women come from to be given fresh examination. Cameron hopes that by conceiving gender in this way, researchers will not just document the styles that are typical of male and female speech. The idea of problematising gender in this way has its origins in recent feminist social theory (Butler 1990, Bem 1993). Butler (1990) emphasises that one is never finished becoming a woman or man, as individuals make varying accommodations to femininity and masculinity in producing and reproducing themselves as gendered beings. She argues that gender is performative: femininity and masculinity are not traits that we have, rather they are effects we perform by the things that we do.

Cameron (1997) points out that the notion of performativity sheds some light on the phenomenon of gendered speech. She argues that men and women do not simply learn, and then mechanically reproduce ways of speaking appropriate to their own sex. Instead, men and women 'are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating' (1997: 280). Boys and girls do not only learn the gendered meanings associated with their own sex during the socialisation process. Rather, they learn a much broader set of gendered meanings that are complexly attached to different ways of speaking. The speech they produce is dependent upon these gendered meanings. Both male and female participants are capable of using discourse strategies associated with traits of either masculinity or femininity.

However, Cameron's (1997) findings and indeed the findings of this study emphasise that in the majority of cases, speakers do produce the speech patterns most commonly associated with the norm for their sex. Therefore, although male and female speakers are aware of the others' cultural norms and are fully capable of using them, it must be realised that if they deviate from the speech patterns associated with their sex, their speech will be viewed as marked (Ochs 1992). Freed (1996) states that this is a consequence of the fact that the way men and women perceive one another in society is deeply entrenched in gender stereotypes. She points out that when the language of male or female speakers does meet the expectations commonly associated with their sex, then a set of judgements is made about them. Their language is seen as 'marked', and they themselves are viewed as 'deviant' (1996: 70).

4-2 women use more positive strategies than men

The findings obtained from the data analysis represents that the politeness principle is used by both men and women (interviewers and interviewees), but with a high frequency by men to use it more frequently than women. The interviewer used more of negative politeness strategies in order not to impose on the interviewee, unlike the interviewee who uses more of positive politeness strategies in order to show respect and appreciation for the interviewers face. Both sexes were found to use bald on-record and off-record strategies interchangeably in the interviews.

Men and women (interviewers and interviewees) perception and application of the politeness principle in this study was principally influenced by the discourse topic. This study did not consider other factors that may influence gender in politeness use like ethnicity, education, personality, age and socio-political status. This present study brings new knowledge to the area of gender in politeness use in the Cameroonian media context. Thus, this finding supports the claim of Hawisher and Selfe (2000); Paltidge (2010) and Ewane, (2012) that gender in politeness use is complex and therefore, vary with context and culture, amongst other factors. The findings revealed that there were significant

differences in the use of onrecord strategy and sub-strategies in all the interviews in the data by both genders.

The view of gender as a performative social construct represents a clear step forward from previous linguistic theories. It accounts for the flexibility of speakers, and represents a rejection of the rather simplistic explanation of sex differences in language use advocated by previous theorists. Greenwood (1996) also expresses the need for gender to be viewed as dynamic. In a study of adolescent speakers, she disputes the claim that boys interrupt girls more, and suggests that in some contexts, gender is not the most salient factor in distinguishing linguistic behaviour. Instead, she points to the use of speech accommodation theory (Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982) to explain the strategies interlocutors use. Speech accommodation theory advocates that when speakers want to signal solidarity, they will adopt a style similar to the members of a group they feel most allied with. If speakers want to signal distance, their speech style will shift away from that of the members with whom they wish to contrast themselves. Indeed, analysis of the data in this study has also indicated that there may be evidence of speech accommodation, especially in the non-political interviews (see section 4.3.2). The findings of this study, and new ideas including those of Cameron and Greenwood outlined above, prove the need for a new perspective on language and gender theory to be found. It is no longer possible to apply the definitions of cooperation and competitiveness to account for sex differences, as this argument has proved to be too simplistic in its explanations.

6. Conclusion

This study has produced new empirical evidence on sex differences and linguistic politeness in the previously under-investigated context of media discourse. It is hoped that the wealth of data that is presented illustrates the value of using linguistic politeness to analyse the difference between male and female speech patterns. A large number of linguistic variables were incorporated into a politeness framework designed specifically for analysing differences in the context of broadcast interviews. By examining the form and function of each linguistic variable, it is hoped that this study avoids the methodological criticisms that have been levelled at previous work. By applying the empirical findings of the study to current debates in

language and gender research, it is also hoped that the need for a new theoretical perspective which accounts for sex differences in language use has been clearly emphasised.

4-3 recommendations

Based on the analysis and findings of this study, the following recommendations can be made:

- Broadcast media journalists (interviewers) should be careful in choosing strategies that maintain their communication. They also must be aware that their interaction is supposed to be polite in order to enable the participants (interviewees) of the communication to feel comfortable and enjoy conversation (interviews) and interaction together.

-Scholars should be aware of the influence of cultural and contextual factors in determining choices of politeness strategies by both genders .

General conclusion

This study has investigated the application of the politeness principle in BBC Broadcast interviews. It examined the politeness strategies and sub-strategies (of Brown and Levinson, 1987) that are used by men and women in the broadcast interviews, so as to ascertain which sex is more polite than the other. After having analysed and discussed the data in the previous chapter, this chapter presents the findings derived from the discussions of the data and proposes some recommendations and suggestions for further research.

The findings obtained from the data analysis represents that the politeness principle is used by both men and women (interviewers and interviewees), but with a high frequency by women to use it more frequently than men. The interviewer used more of negative politeness strategies in order not to impose on the interviewee, unlike the interviewee who uses more of positive politeness strategies in order to show respect and appreciation for the interviewers face. Both sexes were found to use bald on-record and off-record strategies interchangeably in the interviews

Men and women (interviewers and interviewees) perception and application of the politeness principle in this study was principally influenced by the discourse topic. This study did not consider other factors that may influence sex differences in politeness use like ethnicity, education, personality, age and socio-political status. This present study brings new knowledge to the area of sex differences in politeness use in the BBC Broadcast interviews context. Thus, this finding supports the claim of Hawisher and Selfe (2000); Paltidge (2010) and Ewane, (2012) that sex differences in politeness use is complex and therefore, vary with context and culture, amongst other factors. The findings revealed that there were significant differences in the use of onrecord strategy and sub-strategies in all the interviews in the data by both sexes. Here, the men used more on-record strategies with the aim of direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way of speaking without any minimization to the imposition of the hearer than the women. The analysis of the sampled interviews shed light on the fact that the women used the positive politeness strategies more, unlike the men. In this instance, the male is directing his linguistic expressions to maximize the hearer's want of being liked, approved of and respected.

This research concludes that the men used more negative politeness strategies in all the interviews than the women with the aim of attending to the interlocutor's negative face need with indirectness and apologies inclusive. The expressions used expresses consideration; avoid conflicts and imposition on the hearer by softening the utterance.

Equally, important results were provided in the section covering off-record strategies. The findings revealed that the men used more of the off-record strategies in their interviews than the women. This is intended by the male/female interviewer and interviewee to differ from conventional or direct language in a way that the statements are deliberately confusing.

This research also concludes that our study lends support the view that “sex cannot be isolated as an independent variable for determining language use, and ... other variables need to be considered like culture, context, ethnicity and social status as simultaneously relevant.”

To sum up, this research has revealed the application and use of Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness strategy in TV broadcast Media interviews in BBC world news and has discovered some significant differences in both sexes. Moreover, it has also described the unique assertion that the women are more polite than their men counterpart in the broadcast media interviews of English expression owing to the influence of their discourse topics

Based on the analysis and findings of this study, the following recommendations can be made:

_ broadcast media journalists (interviewers) should be careful in choosing strategies that maintain their communication. They also must be aware that their interaction is supposed to be polite in order to enable the participants (interviewees) of the communication to feel comfortable and enjoy conversation (interviews) and interaction together.

_ Scholars should be aware of the influence of cultural and contextual factors in determining choices of politeness strategies by both sexes.

Principally, in carrying out this research, we had constraints regarding collecting broadcast interviews within the duration set out in this study because many of BBC guest's english fluency was not close to that of a native speaker. As a result, some of the broadcast interviews collected were replaced by other ones and used as source of data analysis.

For further research ,it is worthwhile to recommend Firstly, other cultural and contextual factors that influences sex differences in politeness use could be done since this present study focuses just on the discourse topics.

Secondly, a larger corpus could be sampled within an expanded time frame to give the study a much wider scope.

Thirdly, this study can still be replicated broadcast interviews of both English, French and Arabic expressions especially for the sake of comparative studies.

Lastly, this same topic can also be replicated with print media text.

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ملخص باللغة لعربية

منذ منتصف السبعينات ، أصبحت دراسة الفرق بين أشكال التعبير لدى الذكور والإناث سمة هامة من سمات البحث اللغوي. وقد بين الباحثون في موضوع النوع ان الإناث أكثر تهديبا لغويا من الذكور، كما أنهم يميلن إلى استخدام استراتيجيات الخطاب التعاونية. في المقابل، من المرجح أن الذكور يستخدمون استراتيجيات تنافسية. هذه الدراسة تحاول اختبار التعاون ومخطط المنافسة عن طريق فحص مقدار الاهتمام لدى الذكور والإناث في المقابلات. و ذلك اعتمادا على المعايير والاتفاقيات حول التهذيب اللغوي في مقابلات بي بي سي الدولية

تم العثور على نمط ثابت مع التعاون وإطار القدرة التنافسية، على الرغم من وجود استثناءات، مما يلقي بظلال من الشك على مدى ملاءمة النظريات السابقة التي تدعي تفسير لماذا الرجال والنساء يتكلمون بشكل مختلف.

يلعب خطاب الناس دورا رئيسيا في مجال الاتصالات، حيث يمكن التعبير عن الأفكار المعقدة من خلال الفروق الهامة في استخدام مجموعة واسعة من المعاني. وعلاوة على ذلك، فوظائف الكلام تكمن في تمكين التفاعل بين الناس. و أن هذا التفاعل من المفترض أن يكون مهذبا لتمكين المشاركين من التواصل لتشعر بالراحة والتمتع في المحادثة والتفاعل معا. من خلال قواعد مجموعة الجبهة الوطنية من التهذيب، والناس قادرة على التواصل (إجراء مقابلات) على نحو فعال.

على حد تعبير أو كاموتو (1999: 51): التعبير عن التهذيب متعلق ببيئات اجتماعية محددة وكذلك بأفكار المتكلمين عن التأدب. حساب كاف من التهذيب اللغوي وبالتالي يحتاج إلى التحليل الدقيق للعلاقات بين التعابير اللغوية في الخطاب، وأفكار المتكلمين عن التهذيب ، والسياق الاجتماعي. التهذيب هو مفهوم مركزي في البراغماتية اللغوية وأنها هي واحدة من أكثر الجوانب ذات الصلة من التواصل الإنساني. في إجراء مقابلة، يتعين على المشتركين في الخطاب تطبيق هذه الظاهرة لبناء الانسجام العاطفي والاجتماعي عند تعاملهم مع الآخرين من أجل تحقيق أهدافهم ويريد من خلال الحفاظ على الوضع العام المحاور الخاصة بهما التهذيب لا يشمل فقط انجازاتهم اللغوية، ولكن أيضا " طيف من التواصل الواسع بما في ذلك التفاصيل الموازية والحركية" (براون وليفنسون، 1978: 58). ولذلك، فإن الطريقة التي تجري بها المقابلة، على سبيل المثال، هو جزء من التهذيب أو سلوك غير مهذب. المقابلات في الإعلام المرئي والمسموع ليست عفوية، والمقابلات في هذه الدراسة

تسعى إلى تجنب افعال الحراج الوجه، (FTA) في المقابلات التي أجريت معهم بقدر ما تستطيع. واقتراح أن التهذيب هو مستوى آخر من التفاعل والتخاطب بالإضافة إلى القواعد التي تنظم المبدأ التعاوني من جرایس (1975). ووفقا لجرایس (1975)، ، يتكون مبدأ التعاونية من أربعة ثوابت من الكمية (تكون مفيدة كما هو مطلوب)، الجودة (قل الحقيقة)، الصلة (جعل مساهمتك صلة المناقشة الخاصة بك)، وطريقة (تكون قصيرة وواضحة). وقد بدأت معظم الدراسات اللغوية الاجتماعية في الأدب من حيث "وجه" (هارتونغ، 2001: 214). وفقا لبراون وليفنسون (1987)، ووضع استراتيجيات التهذيب من أجل إنفاذ. "وجه". السامعين

على وجه التحديد، تحاول هذه الدراسة الإجابة عن الأسئلة البحثية التالية:

Q1. هل ينطبق مبدأ التادب عند الرجال والنساء (الصحفيون و الطيوف) الخطاب في بث المقابلات الإعلامية؟

Q2 ما هي استراتيجيات التادب المستخدمة من قبل كلا الجنسين في مقابلاتهم؟

Q3. كيف تختلف استراتيجيات التادب التي يستخدمها الجنسين ؟

Q4. اي الجنسين هو أكثر تهديبا من الآخر؟

من أجل جمع المواد من وسائل الإعلام، وقرارات أخذ العينات مطلوب في ثلاثة مجالات رئيسية هي: أنواع وسائل الإعلام، وسائل الإعلام ومخرجات وسائل الإعلام (بيل 1991).القرارات التي تمت في كل من هذه المجالات هي الآن مفصلة.

كان الدافع وراء قرار التركيز على هذا النوع من المقابلات التلفزيوني من حقيقة إن مفاهيم ا وتعاونية لإنات و القدرة التنافسية الذكور يمكن تختبر بحزم وكان ينظر إلى المقابلات التي تم جمعها إما تنافسية أو لقاءات التعاوني،

صنفت المقابلات التعاونية مثل تلك التي تكون فيها القضايا السياسية لاذات الصلة بموضوع اللقاء. هذه المقابلات هي غير تصادمية، وأنها تركز عموما على الحياة الشخصية الضيف أو مهنة. أي انتماء السياسي للمقابلاتهم قد يكون غير ذي صلة لموضوع المقابلة وأي من أجريت معهم المقابلات هم السياسيون أو أعضاء من حزب سياسي على حد

من ناحية أخرى، أجرت مقابلات مع أي عضو في البرلمان أو عضوا في السياسية تم تصنيف الحزب على الموضوع السياسي لقاءات تنافسية. حقيقة أن السياسية المقابلات لقاءات المواجهة تم توثيقه على نطاق واسع من قبل الباحثين في هذا المجال (جريتباتش 1986، هاريس 1991) أنفسهم ؛

البرامج أيضا لأنها بثت في أوقات مختلفة من اليوم، وبالتالي تمكين مجموعة متنوعة من المقابلات من ال بي بي سي، وكانت مقابلتين لكل من الإعدادات الديناميكية الثمانية مقابلتين في خلية التي تم جمعها. يعتقد عينة من 16 مقابلة إلى أن تكون كبيرة بما فيه الكفاية وتمثل بما يكفي لتمكين الاستنتاجات الموثوقة والصحيحة التي يمكن استخلاصها. وسجلت مقابلات بين أكتوبر 2013 و فبراير 2014. وفي المجموع، تبث برامج على 46 سجلت أيام مختلفة، بلغ مجموعها أكثر من 70 ساعة من المواد.

لقاءات اللازمة لتكون ذات طول مماثل من أجل تحليل موثوق لاتخاذ مكان. المقابلات التي أجريت في اليوم، الحديث الصعب، نشرات اخبا ال بي بي سي. وركض السجلات الشخصية بشكل عام لمدة خمس وأربعون دقيقة، فقد تقرر تحديد عشوائيا عينة من هذه المقابلات التي يقابل متوسط طول الآخر مقابلات في الخلية.

وقد أنتجت هذه الدراسة الأدلة التجريبية الجديد على الفروق بين الجنسين ولغوية التأدب في سياق سابق تحت التحقيق من الخطاب الإعلامي. ومن المؤمل أن ثروة من البيانات التي يتم عرضها توضح قيمة استخدام المداراة اللغوي لتحليل الفرق بين أنماط الخطاب من الذكور والإناث. وهناك عدد كبير من أدرجت المتغيرات اللغوية في إطار المداراة التي صممت خصيصا تحليل الاختلافات في سياق مقابلات البث. من خلال دراسة شكل و وظيفة كل متغير اللغوي، ومن المؤمل أن هذه الدراسة يتجنب المنهجية الانتقادات التي وجهت في العمل السابق.

من خلال تطبيق النتائج التجريبية للدراسة في المناقشات الحالية في اللغة و البحث الجنسين، ومن المأمول أيضا أن الحاجة إلى منظور النظري الجديد الذي وقد تم التأكيد بوضوح حسابات الفروق بين الجنسين في استخدام اللغة..

Appendices

Appendice 1

BBC Sunday Politics : Nigel Farage with Gavin Elser

GE: Europe dominated domestic politics last week with scenes in the Commons reminiscent of the Maastricht was of the early 1990s. If these are uncomfortable days for the Prime Minister there are happy days indeed for a man who's made his career banging on about Europe. Nigel Farage of the UK Independence Party.

NF: So with one poll this morning putting UKIP third ahead of the Liberal Democrats could they really be on the verge of a major political breakthrough These are exciting times for Nigel Farage and UKIP their Eurosceptic views for many years on the margins of politics are increasingly mainstream. And after this week's defeat for the government on the EU budget and Labour's tactical shift over Europe the prospect of an in out referendum is growing.

GE: This is paying off in the polls with the party's support rising as high as 12 percent over the summer.

NF: No wonder those urging David Cameron to forge a pact with UKIP in time for the next general election are being taken seriously. Mr Farage says any deal would require a referendum promise written in blood. In the meantime UKIP have high hopes of beating the Tories into second place at the 2014 European elections. But as the party scraps its old logo and looks to enter a new phase as a serious player in UK politics UKIP and their leader must endure the greater scrutiny that comes with success.

GE: You gave leader Nigel Farage joins me now for the Sunday interview.

GE: Farage welcome. Now your primary purpose is withdrawal from the European Union so let's go and look at the economic impact. Let me show you this slide coming up here because this it shows that the EU accounts for 48 percent of our exports even the experts even the United States has a per second at 16 China way down 3 percent. You would put our access to this huge market at risk.

NF: Well firstly that figures wrong the figures there is there are 40 percent and all sorts of tricks that are used with this. But the important thing to recognize is that that figure is falling every single year as the EU becomes a smaller market place in the world. It's still very important. But of course it is. I mean you know our next door neighbors are a very important marketplace. But remember a couple of things. Firstly we trade with the EU at a massive deficit. I mean the last year for which we have figures is 2010. They sold us nearly 50 billion pounds worth of goods more than we sold them. And secondly you don't need to be in a political union in order to go on buying and selling goods to European countries.

GE: You just point out figures out from the Office of National Statistics and look at the India where you've often said oh we should be trading a lot more with emerging markets. Look at India down there at 2 percent China. Now of course there's a huge upside. I understand that. But it will take years to get these markets to end.

NF One I read one of the reasons we're doing so little business with countries like India is because we are prohibited forbidden band from making our own trade deals with any other country in the world because we're part of a European Customs Union and thus our whole thinking for four decades has been Eurocentric and that is a huge mistake. We're living in a global economy. We need to be free and able as the Swiss are to do our own deals.

GE: Well you might not think it would be bad for British business if we were to leave the people who run British business clearly think it.

GE: Look at this from a Ipsos Mori poll. Would leaving the EU damaged British business 73 percent. Yes. Well maybe they are able to invest well.

NF: Well I tell you what they didn't ask. Small businessmen in Britain they didn't ask medium ranking business people in Britain that would be 73 percent I'm guessing of multinational companies or big companies. Yes that's right. But we always do just that the BBC has always done this. It misrepresents the big businesses as being the British economy. The truth is 60 percent of jobs are created in companies that employ less than 10 people. Most of those firms know you will find bases in Europe and they love the European Union because the regulation that comes with the

single market puts out of business small and medium sized competition. Can you name a single large exporting company which supports leaving the EU. I have spoken as I've traveled around manufacturing companies city institutions over the last few months and there is now a you know I would tell you if they not in that's for them to say not for me but I would say it's probably now 50/50 even amongst the bigger size firms where they're saying look whilst we want access to the European market the cost of regulation is now something we frankly can't afford. Now you said quote not one job in Britain depends on EU membership other than people like yourself of course and the taxpayers.

HB: [00:00:00] A comeback. The question is it working. And I ask it in the context of the words of the my five chief Jonathan Evans just a month or so ago when he said as I speak as I speak terrorists are methodically and intentionally targeting young people and children across this country they are radicalizing indoctrinating and grooming young vulnerable people. And he said that not two and a half years ago.

SS: But last month and I think he's right that the terrorist threat that we face in this country is severe and it's growing. And it's still growing. I think that the sense is that that it is growing. That we now have numerous people who are actively engaged in terrorist plots but we also have people who are being drawn in to this kind of extremism. So I have to stop you there and ask you How come. The policy that we established you worked on for two and a half years is failing because we never said that this would be a problem that was capable of easy resolution that you would manage to solve this overnight. I think we've always said that this is a generational challenge for this country. Now over the last year we've had an action plan about winning hearts and minds and this has meant doing projects right across the country particularly in those areas where we know from the intelligence that there are real problems. And it is the first year that we had six million pounds to spend in those areas doing a whole range of projects particularly trying to engage women young people the moderate mainstream Muslim people who want to fight this threat in their own communities. We now have plans for a much expanded program that we're beginning to see what works what doesn't work. We're evaluating the work that we're doing and I think this is a long haul.

HB: It's about trust as much as anything is not getting the community to trust you. But if you look at the surveys looked at one that came out not too long ago this year a national survey of Muslim opinion. Fifty six percent of Muslims. Not at all or not very confident that they will be fairly treated if arrested in this country. That's a real problem of trust. I think when you've got issues like this which are complicated and they're about how people feel about this sense of why accept that there is a real problem there relationships between the Muslim community and the police.

SS: I would certainly accept that issues like this depend on building relationships with people building trust building confidence and it isn't just about a police issue. It's also about building confidence between people from different backgrounds. That's why it's complex and that's why it's long term. I'm heartened actually in the number of people who want to work with us on this agenda. When I first set off on this journey I thought that this would be a sense of government doing things to people and they would resent it. And in fact the reverse is true. People are coming forward and wanting to be part of it.

HB: But you see some crucial members of the Muslim community in this country. We'll talk about how that community works in a minute. But one of them Mohamed Abdel Bari who's chief of the Muslim Council of Britain he said again just a couple of months ago some police officers and sections of the media are demonizing Muslims treating them as if they are all terrorists and it creates a community went on to say which is to use his words depressed and angry. That's the state as he sees it of the Muslim community today in this country.

Appendice3

Rosalind Picard with Zineb badawi

RP:] Is the stuff of science fiction.

ZB: It is a choice that we think it's the stuff of science fiction. You don't think it's possible that they could become smarter superior.

RP: Well it's our choice right. Do we choose to make them that way. I pray I do the math. I do the programming that creates the way that they function. And if I choose to make it you know arrogant and demeaning toward us you know that I suffer from making something like that you know.

ZB: Do I get what you're saying is it not desirable. But I'm asking you whether it's feasible or viable because I mean for instance if you look at Professor Hugh Price here in the UK at Cambridge University from the Center for the Study of existential risk he says the scientific community people like you must consider such issues as robots and computers he says become smarter than humans. We could find ourselves at the mercy of machines that are not malicious but machines whose interests don't include us scarier.

ZB: So there is I see the temptation to scare right they're going to be smarter than us.

RP: Their interests don't include us deep inside that is you know what does it really mean to be smarter. You know it's simply more a mathematical equation solving or they can look at more things on the web faster.

ZB: The choice we have is how do we make them into the kind of future that we want to have. And this is one of our focuses at the Media Lab. Maybe why we've shifted so much from building the ultimate artificial intelligence to building technology that helps us all be more intelligent.

RP: But I mean we've talked about the fact that you know if we do develop robots that become kind of artificial companions and the dangers of humans perhaps attaching themselves to these artificial companions which is Sherry Turkle was saying quite a demeaning thing and also the possibility of them becoming smarter and possibly superior to us. But the point I'm trying to get here is under the umbrella of an issue that you yourself have raised which is the greater the freedom of a machine the more it will need moral standards. And in this field in which you are so closely involved we need ethical guidelines don't we.

RP: I completely agree.

ZB: And as computers get more ability to make decisions without our direct control we have to face some hard questions about how they are going to make those decisions. And do we bias them toward one kind of preference and away from another in accord with maybe my values or or

perhaps somebody with very different values for me wants to see them make decisions in a different way.

RP: And that's why you've been involved. Are you involved in these kind of ethical discussions yourself or are you just involved in the technology that's going to bring about better computers that have emotional intelligence and robots.

RP: I'm I'm involved. When I wrote my book affective computing some people said you know why did you include that chapter on potential concerns of the technology it hasn't even launched yet. It's like shooting yourself in the foot before you've taken the first 10 steps. And I just thought that it was important that we think not just about what we can build but what we should build.

ZB: But I mean you can say sure but I'm I'm trying to get here a sense of how concerned you are because you know another colleague of yours at M.I.T. Professor Cynthia Brazile who's Professor personal robot says now is the time. Certainly she says to start hammering things out. People should have serious dialogues before these robots are in contact with vulnerable populations in particular she says. So I mean are you involved in these serious dialogues.

ZB: I know you mentioned it in your book affective computing. But are you just perhaps too preoccupied with the technological aspects and not doing enough on this kind of ethical field.

RP: So it's a great question. There is so much to do. You know we can always wonder where to put the limited resources of time. I think the dialogues need to be much broader than those of us. Building the technology we need to be involved because ultimately we're the ones making those program decisions. They really need to be societal dialogue. So you know kudos to you for raising that to a broad audience.

ZB: Let's take it to an extreme. The killer robots. That's the big thing that really worries many people that lethal autonomous robotics to give them their proper name that they can kill targets without the involvement of human handlers which is a very worrying aspect of the kind of work you're involved in. And Peter Singer who is an expert on warfare at the Brookings Institution in the United States has said that you know the robot warrior raises profound questions from the kind of military tactics you use on the ground but also the bigger ethical questions like the ones we are discussing and you have a detached killing right.

RP: We get out something to do it for us and somehow it enables us to pull back emotionally and machine on the battlefield.

ZB: Deciding whether competence should live or die. That's that's really quite repugnant although evil.

RP: Although you have to recognize that the algorithm the machine is using to decide is an algorithm that a bunch of people got together and said how do we make the best decision possible given all of the information that a machine and a person and sensors you know could sense. So just like future cars may be able to you know drive with fewer accidents being 100 percent vigilant with great sensors. It may be that in the future a robot deployed to a site where an individual is may have more medical expertise to make a lifesaving decision than the first soldier to arrive.

ZB: So you say get the technology right. You don't agree for instance with the American winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 Jody Williams for her work against landmines who says killer robots loom over our future if we don't take action to ban them now. She's very worried about what will happen. Do you think. Do you agree with her that we should ban this kind of research now because it's not only the Pentagon that's looking into this. There are 76 other countries all around the world or doing that.

RP: You know you're asking somebody who who wishes that there was no war and that everybody would sit down and you know play computer games to duke it out instead of taking people's lives so I would certainly be on the side of why don't we put as much money into alternatives to help people get along and to show off their prowess and something you know some way besides murdering it. Would you like to see a moratorium. Jodi I would like to see the huge amount of resources that has sunk into weapons being sunk into technology that helps people live healthier more fulfilling lives and especially people with limited abilities extending their abilities to live a better life. But do you know your research. As I said you're one of the pioneers in this field is enabling the killer robot the warrior robot whatever you want to call it does actually apply to it in the file following way if you were to give such a robot a sense of compassion and caring for people's feelings then it might deliberate out there about the killing and you know instead of the dystopic

science fiction there might be the case of the robots real can you do that because machines like it's a virus that could be stuck in it because I mean machines lack morality and mortality.

ZB: And as Christopher Haynes the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial killings Chris Lehane says as a result of that they should not have life and death powers over humans so they lack morality and mortality. I mean are you saying they do.

RP:] Or they won't. Well again it depends on the biases that we programmed them with. So if we programmed them to value human life perhaps you know maybe the military is going to program them to take human life. Somebody hacks the squadron of robots to actually you know disobey the military and to value human life. Know there's a tantalizing thought right. It's much harder to hack a group of human soldiers who have been ordered and sworn their allegiance than a group of machines. So that's a new kind of risk that they face that the machines may become disobedient.

ZB: Are you not really delving into the realms of creating humanoids in a way and if you're saying that these machines have worth they're not worthless do you then give them dignity and if you give them dignity then you have to give them morals as you were saying so that they can make the right decisions if they are for instance on the battlefield. And as somebody who started life as an atheist but then as a young adult became a very committed Christian does that not worry you though you are kind of creating humanoids and I'm not worried about making machines that have human like characteristics have a lot of questions in there.

RP:] I think we as we try to build something.

ZB: It's a way of trying to understand something as we try to build a computer vision system it's a way of trying to understand how our own eyes work which turns out to be pretty amazing and miraculous and we still don't fully understand it. You know we open them and they work and you think it's easy as we build complicated human being which by the way we're very far from doing anything that really you know more than looks like us to get the insides of the behaviors is extraordinarily complex. It gives us even more appreciation for how we work and more are for how we are made.

RP: And you're referring there to the fact that you believe obviously you believe that God made us and that that you're in awe of that process of creation.

ZB: Yeah I I I. Mind you I don't deny what biology has shown with genetics and you know the evolutionary process science I have no problem with.

RP: You don't want to be put in that kind of tight category of a creationists. the evolution it says are false categories.

ZB:] I don't know anybody who actually fits in the extreme ignore everything science has shown.

RP: Category what science has not shown however is why we're here and what gave rise to those first particles those first forces.

ZB: [So what is the reality in space. You see a really major scientific article when somebody like the biologist Richard Dawkins British scientist says one of the truly bad effects of religion is that it teaches us that it is a virtue to be satisfied with not understanding.

ZB: She do as a good scientist not say there are no limits to what I can understand as a scientist in order to be a truly good scientist.

RP: I'm afraid his comments are misleading to people and he speaks with authority that he really doesn't have to make claims like that doesn't it. It's not that these are in opposition they address different things you know science addresses what we can measure what's repeatable and it gives us mechanisms for describing something. It gives us a very powerful way to understand things. I don't believe we should take something that we don't understand scientifically and just say no and then miracle happen and God that is called the God of the gaps and I'm not I don't practice that. So he needs to see that there are plenty of scientists who are actually are quite devout Christians and theists and it's not incompatible.

ZB: Finally I should say that the research that you've worked on is also being used in the area of trying to help autistic people you know people who have difficulties recognizing human emotions and so on and you know that there's a lot of work being done in that area. But as the mother of three young energetic Boys would you like to have a robot helping you in your duties as well as that of their father to help you bring them up.

RP: I would love to have a robot in the house that helps us. I think I would task at were with helping clean up and maybe nagging them to do a little bit more sometimes. I have three amazing wonderful sons and also an incredible husband who all work together to get us through each day that a robot would be what but a robot would be welcome. We would rather have a robot than a dog or a cat. Professor Rosin pickle thank you very much for coming on hard took pleasure. Thank you.

Appendice 4

Riz Ahmed with Mishal Husain

Z: It was already a successful book. Now the film of The Reluctant Fundamentalist is opening around the world in the UK on Friday. India and Pakistan next week.

MH:] Its star is a young British Asian actor who has won plaudits for work including the comedy for lions. He also happens to be a successful rapper balancing acting and music in what one critic has called an extraordinary double life. We'll speak to resumed live in the studio after a glimpse. Of his new film.

ZA: [Picked a side after 9/11 I didn't have to. It was picked for.

MH: Step up here sir. He's our problem. He's an employee Follow me please.

ZA: Ever been a member of a terrorist organization. How do you feel about the United States of America isn't it. I love the United States of. Violence had wormed its way into my life. Go.

MH: Down to that office could you do the job you were hired to go. You just need some feisty nature. Yes. Like.

MH: That's a glimpse of the Reluctant Fundamentalist and Reza Ahmed is the main character. He sat in the studio with me now. Were you familiar with with the book already went.

ZA: When this came your way I was I was very familiar with it. I kind of fell in love with it instantly to be honest. And. It's a very strange feeling as soon as I kind of stopped reading it I just felt like this has to be a film that has to be made into a film and I won't be a part of it. I remember calling up the publishers to see who had the rights. Oh yeah. I didn't get very far with that. They hung up on me pretty quickly. And then years later I found out Mira and I had it. And she's one of my

favorite directors so the combination of one of your favorite books one of your favorite directors. It was a dream. We had that in common because I'm a big fan of. Oh really. Well what was he like to work with. She's she's a very unique combination of being incredibly intelligent and analytical but then also very much in touch with the kind of aesthetics of storytelling by the color about the music you know about the clothes they're kind of the full sensory experience. And she's also kind of she leads yoga in her room every morning before filming.

MH: Was that something you had to do then. It was with yoga. I remember I think I turned up on the first day and I'll be a good idea limber up open the door. And she was stood on her head and I kind of thought I think I will go back to bed. I don't think I'm ready for this.

ZA: Well did the storyline of the film is it's all about a young Pakistani man. He's in America loves America. And then. Things start to change for him.

MH: His environment changes he changes after the 9/11 attacks. Was there something in that that struck a chord with you. Did did the role in the story speak to you in some way.

ZA: Well I mean the role spoke to me on a personal level because I've also grown up between classes and cultures. But Chung is high on the character I play. I mean those seeming contradictions in his life. I'm far more pronounced he is bugs tiny and he lives in America. I'm very much British Pakistani and at ease with that. And that is very much a kind of comfortable established part of the tapestry. What it means to be British I think for John Gay is his whose identity is more up in the air. And. So I can relate to on a personal level but I kind of feel like people are relating to it from all different backgrounds and ages because it speaks to a very modern condition which is that of having a very complex identity you know we're all multi hyphen it's either in our professional lives personal lives and in a kind of globalized multicultural world we often wear different hats.

MH: But when you say complex complex in a good way or or a difficult way in complexity is is both inevitably it's both.

ZA: That's why it's complex way and and and really changes his journey is one of realizing that yes you may end up living both more coherently if you shed your complexity if you embrace the labels people sling around your neck whether that's banker Pakistani or American if you embrace two dimensionality it can be a more comfortable place to be. But it comes at a great cost.

MH: I want to talk about another aspect of your identity actually because I'm unusually for actors.

MH: You've got a you've had a successful career in music because you've been a very successful well-known role I will see you was successful.

MH:] I mean you know you've. Your work has been you know critically acclaimed and actually before we talk about that I just want to show people one of you in action. Would you rather show me. The post 9/11 blues.

ZA: What can I do. I'm not the poster child of the blues on the telly like Palestine or Iraq. Suicide bombs stop hogging the limelight makes my songs. Anyway it's all reruns. We need to do more to get Iran talking about your mom's TV channel what's the case. But what's this a fun fun fundamentalism breaks Nike's advertising bomb proof case that we've been showing these cave on cribs.

MH: So that was the post 9/11 please. Now I know you have rapped on other subjects.

MH: It so happens that we've chosen this one but it does feel like um you know there is a there is a theme run running through your work.

ZA: I'm not sure. I mean I kind of feel like some of my work has engaged with the kind of the post 9/11 narrative and I'm very proud of that very feel very privileged to have been a part of stories that have overturned assumptions and smashed stereotypes in that narrative.

ZA: It's very been very dominant narrative of our times and I think one of the while I hope is one of the higher callings of art is to try and engage the issues and problems of our time and try and add nuance and some humanity to those narratives.

MH: Yeah I wonder then what was the reaction that you had when you went to screenings in the US of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* because if you look at some of the opinion opinion polls on things like Guantanamo you know attitudes are very hardened in the US amongst many people on terrorist suspects on on terrorism post 9/11.

ZA: But you know that's the special thing about telling stories. That's a special thing about art whether it's whether it's film or stage play or a book is that people don't view it as a political position because it's not. This film doesn't have an agenda. It's trying to shove down your throat. It's a story that's a conversation. Absolutely. And I think people really appreciating that you know it was amazing a kind of 60 year old white woman from Tennessee stood up one of the screenings in Los Angeles and said your character's story was my story. Now if we were to view both myself or the film or her in reductive terms we might think that we've got nothing in common that's that's the great thing about great stories and great storytellers like Mira is that we connect with a common humanity at the heart the character. So although I accept that yes this film does touch on 9/11 I don't think it's actually about that. It's about a young man coming of age coming to terms with who he is in terms of your roles.

MH: Obviously you know you you have had mainstream roles if you've got nothing to do with you know Muslims or being Asian or anything like that. Is it a good time then to be an actor of your background in the West and that there is less stereotyping you know less of a feeling of you know let's find an Asian role or an actual to play.

ZA: Well I think these things kind of you know happen in stages. I think first you get stereotypes then you get stories which engage with very ethnic sized terrain but actually subvert assumptions and overturn stereotypes. And those are films like Reluctant Fundamentalist and films like four lines I've been proud to be a part of. And then finally you get you know a kind of de resonated portrayals where it's just a guy and I've been really lucky and proud to be part films like that as well like Shifty or Trishna. So I think things are changing. I think one thing is very interesting is the idea of being an actor in the West or in the east thing that's evaporated. I think a globalized film industry and this is a really good example of that.

MH: You've got you know a very international cast and director Navid congratulations on the film which is starting to be seen around the world thanks for being with us on impact.

ZA:] Lots more coming up in just a moment stay with us.

Apendice 5

Axelle with James Coomaras

JC: Protests are being held in Paris and other cities in France to mark the end of President Francois loans first year in office. Some people are accusing the socialist leader of turning his back on the left while others are denouncing his backing of gay marriage. The communist back Left Front says it hopes to rally 100000 people for a march starting at the Place de la Bastille. With me now is Axel Lemaire she's a socialist member of the French National Assembly represents French people living in northern Europe at the heart of all this all these problems for France while on is the fact that people a year ago were voting against Nicolas Sarkozy rather than for him.

AL: No not only. There was a part of that but I think it's also the fact that we're going through a very difficult economic and social situation in France actually across Europe as well. And people do not see the results of the policies we're implementing we've done a lot. Hollande has fulfilled more than half of his electoral promises after one year in office. But still with you know with passing legislation that people are impatient because of the high unemployment rate because of the tough. They're tough daily life. And so they're impatient to see the results and they're not seeing them yet.

JC: [00:01:17] Of course the trouble is some of those key policies you're you're trying to implement are an anathema to the Socialist Party aren't they. The kind of policies that you you wanted to connect with the people like the 75 percent tax were thrown out by the courts while having a tough time to sell policies because then they're not national policies for your party are.

AL: The 75 percent tax is probably the only one policy that we can actually put into action. But we're companies will still have to pay that rate on behalf of their employees for salaries over one million euros. The broader austerity is not something that we are not doing austerity. We are clearly reducing the deficits and we're doing that. A third of that is done by reducing public spendings but tutors are by increasing taxes. But taxes on wealthy individuals and wealthy companies only. So we're protecting low and middle income earnings.

JC: What about on the social level are you surprised you think President alone is surprised about the social rift which has really been exposed by the gay marriage issue and pushing through the legalization of it as he promised.

AL:] I'm not sure it's a social rift. I think it showed the real face of some conservatives in France day. They've shown how intolerant and how violent and aggressive they can be. So it's a it's what it's what it's shown the whole debate about gay marriage is that Mr. Alon was very steady in his line here. He didn't change his mind but was a certain riot in France. Kids can be extremely intolerant.

JC: And is he going to continue on that same line he has four more years of course. His polls ratings possibly could well I'm sure you hope can't get any worse than they are at the moment. Does he just continue this course or does he change it.

AL: Well he won't change his cook cook course he's a social democrat. And I think that that's his forces. His strength is that he's got a steady line and he's sticking to it. And all the socialists and he's in the National Assembly and he has a broad support and in Parliament and also following all your party hasn't wavered in its support for him.

JC: No no no no don't.

AL:] So he's got that support. He's got four more years in office and there is political stability in France compared with some other countries in Europe. Thank you very.

Sarah Spellman BBC News 17 August 2013 - Area 51.mp4

KK; America's Central Intelligence Agency has officially acknowledged the existence of a secret site known as Area 51. Newly declassified documents relating to the U to spy plane program make reference to the airbase in the state of Nevada which has long been the subject of elaborate theories about aliens and flying saucers. Here's Jane Bennett Paul.

SS: Gambling honey pot that is Las Vegas. Couldn't be more different from the secret project out in the desert. But it's from here that staff will be flown out to work at Area 51. It's 80 miles or so north west across the vast Nevada desert. The CIA called the site Paradise Ranch to try to lure skilled technicians to work there. It was in the 50s that the intelligence agency chose an old

abandoned airstrip by a salt flat called Groom Lake on ground controlled by the Atomic Energy Commission.

KK: They developed the U 2 reconnaissance plane which flew at 60000 feet to carry out Cold War spying operations. Other top secret aircraft were tested there later including the B 12 stealth bomber and the supersonic reconnaissance 812 aircraft.

SS: Repeated requests about what went on at Area 51 went unanswered.

KK: Now after years of denials its precise location has been revealed at last researcher George Washington University in WashingtonD.C. asked for information eight years ago. He's not surprised it's a source of mystery.

SS: You take the combination of a remote location an enormous degree of secrecy around it. Plus all the rumors and the claims concerning alleged connections with with UFO is the enticement though or the interest in secret aircraft itself. I mean they all combined to make it something that people are interested in reading about and people are interested in writing about.

KK: We've known that it's existed for more than 30 years so it doesn't come as a surprise. It's good that the information has come out. It's a very very real facility. It's a top secret military facility. There are some questions to be raised on why the information is coming right now.

SS: Those who believe in unidentified flying objects think Area 51 made contact with beings from outer space and the remaining redactions in the CIA document do nothing to dispel those suspicions. JANE BENNETT Powell BBC News.

KK: Well joining me now from Birmingham is Sara Spelman from the Association for the Scientific Study of anomalous phenomenon or a s s AP for short.

Thank you very much indeed for joining us. First of all how significant is this revelation from the CIA.

SS: It is a pretty significant revelation because it is the first time that the CIA has acknowledged the existence of Area 51 the newly unclassified sections of this report do confirm that the site was used for testing and development of the YouTube pipeline and the 812 plan. So it is really important because it raised new information about Area 51. However it doesn't entirely remake the UFO

investigation landscape because many people within it. And people in military history circles as well were written about the possibility that Area 51 was the site for testing and development of the plane.

KK: We know some of what went on there. Have we found out more about some of the other things that the American authorities were perhaps trying out in that area.

SS: Yes I mean the report is an internal history within the CIA of the site. So there is a lot of information in there that we didn't have before. There are things like information about individual missions for these these planes pilot code names things like that. There is quite a bit of detail and this can help sort of confirm or deny certain things that have been written about before about the sites use as a military testing facility. We weren't able to to verify before. So it is it is quite important and in that sense.

KK: So from the perspective of your association does this mean that there actually was a pretty straightforward explanation for all these sightings of what people took to be UFO. Was this simply the American military testing out some of its new equipment.

SS: Well I think it's important to view all sides of a phenomenon like this as SAP tries to stay neutral just go where the evidence leads so. So we would say is there are various sides to it one side of it is that we do have confirmation now that the two was being flown and tested out of Area 51. That's really important also. However some followers have noted that it's it's certainly very plausible. The the the YouTube and the 84 planes were responsible for many UFO sightings in the area. There are many other UFO sightings where people were reporting gravity defying maneuvers. So they're saying that they saw something that say hovered or stopped stopped after a sort of very high speed acceleration or accelerated from nothing or did a very fast right angle turn or landed vertically. And these aren't capabilities that the YouTube plane had. So. So if that's you know if that's what people are reporting then obviously we're sort of open to further evidence coming through about those particular sightings as well.

KK: And so the veil has been lifted somewhat on this area but there is still some mystery and it's not as though you can actually go there and find out for yourself even today. No no.

SS: I mean even though the CIA has acknowledged the existence of Area 51 it's not as though they've thrown open the doors for us all to come and examine the work that's that's going on there. So so there is certainly still an aura of mystery around around the site and I think for people who who do believe that there's something more going on people who believe that there is reverse engineering availing craft for example those people's beliefs are probably going to be dented by this so. So this there's a lot of folklore built up around Area 51. So I don't think that this will dispel all of all of that and certainly by by any means so I think it's something that will continue to be a Alive issue within for a long time to come.

KK: Spellman thank you very much for talking to us. Thank you

APPENDICE 6

ZEINAB BADAWI--- bbc World News - HARDtalk -

RP: Is the stuff of science fiction.

ZB: It is a choice that we think it's the stuff of science fiction. You don't think it's possible that they could become smarter superior.

RP: Well it's our choice right. Do we choose to make them that way. I pray I do the math. I do the programming that creates the way that they function. And if I choose to make it you know arrogant and demeaning toward us you know that I suffer from making something like that you know.

ZB: Do I get what you're saying is it not desirable. But I'm asking you whether it's feasible or viable because I mean for instance if you look at Professor Hugh Price here in the UK at Cambridge University from the Center for the Study of existential risk he says the scientific community people like you must consider such issues as robots and computers he says become smarter than humans. We could find ourselves at the mercy of machines that are not malicious but machines whose interests don't include us scarier.

ZB: So there is I see the temptation to scare right they're going to be smarter than us.

RP: Their interests don't include us deep inside that is you know what does it really mean to be smarter. You know it's simply more a mathematical equation solving or they can look at more things on the web faster.

ZB: The choice we have is how do we make them into the kind of future that we want to have. And this is one of our focuses at the Media Lab. Maybe why we've shifted so much from building the ultimate artificial intelligence to building technology that helps us all be more intelligent.

RP: But I mean we've talked about the fact that you know if we do develop robots that become kind of artificial companions and the dangers of humans perhaps attaching themselves to these artificial companions which is Sherry Turkle was saying quite a demeaning thing and also the possibility of them becoming smarter and possibly superior to us. But the point I'm trying to get here is under the umbrella of an issue that you yourself have raised which is the greater the freedom of a machine the more it will need moral standards. And in this field in which you are so closely involved we need ethical guidelines don't we.

RP: I completely agree.

ZB: And as computers get more ability to make decisions without our direct control we have to face some hard questions about how they are going to make those decisions. And do we bias them toward one kind of preference and away from another in accord with maybe my values or or perhaps somebody with very different values for me wants to see them make decisions in a different way.

RP: And that's why you've been involved. Are you involved in these kind of ethical discussions yourself or are you just involved in the technology that's going to bring about better computers that have emotional intelligence and robots.

RP: I'm I'm involved. When I wrote my book affective computing some people said you know why did you include that chapter on potential concerns of the technology it hasn't even launched yet. It's like shooting yourself in the foot before you've taken the first 10 steps. And I just thought that it was important that we think not just about what we can build but what we should build.

ZB: But I mean you can say sure but I'm I'm trying to get here a sense of how concerned you are because you know another colleague of yours at M.I.T. Professor Cynthia Brezina who's Professor Personal Robot says now is the time. Certainly she says to start hammering things out. People should

have serious dialogues before these robots are in contact with vulnerable populations in particular she says. So I mean are you involved in these serious dialogues.

ZB: I know you mentioned it in your book affective computing. But are you just perhaps too preoccupied with the technological aspects and not doing enough on this kind of ethical field.

RP: So it's a great question. There is so much to do. You know we can always wonder where to put the limited resources of time. I think the dialogues need to be much broader than those of us. Building the technology we need to be involved because ultimately we're the ones making those program decisions. They really need to be societal dialogue. So you know kudos to you for raising that to a broad audience.

ZB: Let's take it to an extreme. The killer robots. That's the big thing that really worries many people that lethal autonomous robotics to give them their proper name that they can kill targets without the involvement of human handlers which is a very worrying aspect of the kind of work you're involved in. And Peter Singer who is an expert on warfare at the Brookings Institution in the United States has said that you know the robot warrior raises profound questions from the kind of military tactics you use on the ground but also the bigger ethical questions like the ones we are discussing and you have a detached killing right.

RP: We get out something to do it for us and somehow it enables us to pull back emotionally and machine on the battlefield.

ZB: Deciding whether competence should live or die. That's that's really quite repugnant although evil.

RP: Although you have to recognize that the algorithm the machine is using to decide is an algorithm that a bunch of people got together and said how do we make the best decision possible given all of the information that a machine and a person and sensors you know could sense. So just like future cars may be able to you know drive with fewer accidents being 100 percent vigilant with great sensors. It may be that in the future a robot deployed to a site where an individual is may have more medical expertise to make a lifesaving decision than the first soldier to arrive.

ZB: So you say get the technology right. You don't agree for instance with the American winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 Jody Williams for her work against landmines who says killer robots loom over our future if we don't take action to ban them now. She's very worried about what will happen. Do you think. Do you agree with her that we should ban this kind of research now because it's not only the Pentagon that's looking into this. There are 76 other countries all around the world or doing that.

RP:] You know you're asking somebody who who wishes that there was no war and that everybody would sit down and you know play computer games to duke it out instead of taking people's lives so I would certainly be on the side of why don't we put as much money into alternatives to help people get along and to show off their prowess and something you know some way besides murdering it. Would you like to see a moratorium. Jodi I would like to see the huge amount of resources that has sunk into weapons being sunk into technology that helps people live healthier more fulfilling lives and especially people with limited abilities extending their abilities to live a better life. But do you know your research. As I said you're one of the pioneers in this field is enabling the killer robot the warrior robot whatever you want to call it does actually apply to it in the file following way if you were to give such a robot a sense of compassion and caring for people's feelings then it might deliberate out there about the killing and you know instead of the dystopic science fiction there might be the case of the robots real can you do that because machines like it's a virus that could be stuck in it because I mean machines lack morality and mortality.

ZB: And as Christopher Haynes the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial killings Chris Lehane says as a result of that they should not have life and death powers over humans so they lack morality and mortality. I mean are you saying they do.

RP: Or they won't. Well again it depends on the biases that we programmed them with. So if we programmed them to value human life perhaps you know maybe the military is going to program them to take human life. Somebody hacks the squadron of robots to actually you know disobey the military and to value human life. Know there's a tantalizing thought right. It's much harder to hack a group of human soldiers who have been ordered and sworn their allegiance than a group of machines. So that's a new kind of risk that they face that the machines may become disobedient.

ZB: Are you not really delving into the realms of creating humanoids in a way and if you're saying that these machines have worth they're not worthless do you then give them dignity and if you give them dignity then you have to give them morals as you were saying so that they can make the right decisions if they are for instance on the battlefield. And as somebody who started life as an atheist but then as a young adult became a very committed Christian does that not worry you though you are kind of creating humanoids and I'm not worried about making machines that have human like characteristics have a lot of questions in there.

RP: I think we as we try to build something.

ZB: [00:09:05] It's a way of trying to understand something as we try to build a computer vision system it's a way of trying to understand how our own eyes work which turns out to be pretty amazing and miraculous and we still don't fully understand it. You know we open them and they work and you think it's easy as we build complicated human being which by the way we're very far from doing anything that really you know more than looks like us to get the insides of the behaviors is extraordinarily complex. It gives us even more appreciation for how we work and more are for how we are made.

RP: And you're referring there to the fact that you believe obviously you believe that God made us and that that you're in awe of that process of creation.

ZB: Yeah I I I. Mind you I don't deny what biology has shown with genetics and you know the evolutionary process science I have no problem with.

RP: You don't want to be put in that kind of tight category of a creationists. the evolution it says are false categories.

ZB: I don't know anybody who actually fits in the extreme ignore everything science has shown.

RP: Category what science has not shown however is why we're here and what gave rise to those first particles those first forces.

ZB: So what is the reality in space. You see a really major scientific article when somebody like the biologist Richard Dawkins British scientist says one of the truly bad effects of religion is that it teaches us that it is a virtue to be satisfied with not understanding.

ZB: She do as a good scientist not say there are no limits to what I can understand as a scientist in order to be a truly good scientist.

RP: I'm afraid his comments are misleading to people and he speaks with authority that he really doesn't have to make claims like that doesn't it. It's not that these are in opposition they address different things you know science addresses what we can measure what's repeatable and it gives us mechanisms for describing something. It gives us a very powerful way to understand things. I don't believe we should take something that we don't understand scientifically and just say no and then miracle happen and God that is called the God of the gaps and I'm not I don't practice that. So he needs to see that there are plenty of scientists who are actually are quite devout Christians and theists and it's not incompatible.

ZB: Finally I should say that the research that you've worked on is also being used in the area of trying to help autistic people you know people who have difficulties recognizing human emotions and so on and you know that there's a lot of work being done in that area. But as the mother of three young energetic Boys would you like to have a robot helping you in your duties as well as that of their father to help you bring them up.

RP: I would love to have a robot in the house that helps us. I think I would task at were with helping clean up and maybe nagging them to do a little bit more sometimes. I have three amazing wonderful sons and also an incredible husband who all work together to get us through each day that a robot would be what but a robot would be welcome. We would rather have a robot than a dog or a cat. Professor Rosin pickle thank you very much for coming on hard took pleasure. Thank you.

Appendice 7

Stephen Sackur with George Galloway

[SS] Britain's main political parties supported the war in Iraq. Neither advocates an immediate pullout of coalition forces as a result much of the anger generated by the war has been harnessed by my guests today. The founder of the Respect Party who's been described as a man who glories

in his ability to rub people up the wrong way faster than anyone else. But what really motivates George Galloway.

[GG] George Galloway welcome to Hardtalk you very much. You had more than 30 years inside the Labor Party sitting on your own in the House of Commons for the Respect Party. That's not really where you want to be is it.

[SS] No that's why I'm mainly on the streets mainly travelling around Britain making theatre appearances meeting appearances leading demonstrations. I have a national radio show three nights a week and I do as much television as I can because frankly the parliament of poodles and pagers that we have now is very rarely worth being in. I will be there this week in the debate on Iraq. But for the most part I'm required to either vote for the Prime Minister's motion or David Cameron's amendment and I seldom wish to vote for either.

[GG] But I suppose my bigger point was that you you took your career very seriously You wanted to achieve things in politics and you presumably wanted to reach a position of power and now that's completely beyond you.

[SS] Sure. But I am now speaking for the majority in the country and that's an unusual position for someone to do that. It's arguable but but the point is you are isolated and you are nowhere near power in fact ISIL sure but not many people would argue that the majority in Britain are not in my place saying that the war on Iraq was both a crime and a blunder saying that we ought to get out of here as quickly as we can. This is a consensus now in the country and of course around the world it's overwhelmingly so. You're right. If you're asking me would I rather have been sitting in Downing Street than sitting on the other side a one man parliamentary party. Of course the answer to that is yes.

[GG] I'm not necessarily asking you that but I am asking you whether you regret getting thrown out chucked out of the Labour Party. Well.

[SS] In a sense the alienation had begun much longer ago than that really.

[GG] Dating back to the election of Tony Blair which I predict predicted in 1994 after the death of John Smith that would end in tears and Heaven knows that's another of my predictions that turned out to be accurate. Mr Blair is leaving the leadership of the Labour Party if he's not in tears most

of the members of the Labour Party that remain are in tears. But it's true. I spent 36 years in fact and the Labour Party was like a stab to the heart. To be expelled but I pick myself up dusted myself down and got back on the road. That's the only thing I can do.

[SS] You set up this party respects 2004 you founded it. Your website calls it a radical alternative that are white rightward march of New Labour that will speak for millions. Isn't there a problem when that sort of rhetoric comes up against harsh reality and there appears to be such a mismatch.

[GG] I think we are speaking for millions. We are the fastest we are. You've got one MP in what just over a dozen councillors in the entire country actually we've got 28 councillors which is a bit more than just over a dozen and we've got one MP. No party to the left of Labour has had an MP for 60 years. We've got a higher vote than any left wing party in Britain's history including the Communist Party at the height of its power if you like after the Second World War. We have the fastest growing student organisation got the busiest website in Britain and so on. So we are speaking for millions in the sense that we are the ghost of Labour's past. We say the things Labour used to say stand for the people Labour used to represent and therefore we are hunting them. No it's true there's not a majority in Britain for all Labour politics but there's millions in favour of old Labour politics and we're seeking to represent them.

[SS] Without getting too far into Old Labour politics generally let's stick with Iraq for the time being because there is no denying you. You struck a chord and you brought out hundreds of thousands I believe your own party says oh well over a million people onto the streets in in 2003 to protest the war. But the problem for you is that two years after that there was a general election and two thirds or more of the British public chose either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party both of which support the war and want to see troops continue in one form or another to play a role in Iraq. So democracy has worked. People have spoken and in the end again I come back to this same point. You're isolated.

[GG] No actually the majority of people either didn't vote or voted for other than the two main parties. The growth of small parties and above all the growth of the none of the above party has left Mr Blair in Downing Street with the positive support of the smallest number of people in British history. 21 percent of the electorate voted for Mr Blair and he's lost half his members. He lost half his parliamentary majority and he's leaving three and a half years early fire. So it's true we didn't

stop the war. It's true we didn't knock the government out in the general election but the Prime Minister has been knocked out the mainstream political parties and their system is pretty discredited. Nobody believes a word. The government says nobody actually is terribly excited about the official opposition either. But what's your position. The same backside.

[SS] What is your position on Iraq now. Because in the end your party is defined first and foremost by Iraq. So what's your position.

[GG] If it is first and foremost why do you quarrel with that kind of word. But if it is we're we're not going out of business any time soon because the war in Iraq and the broader war that it has spread the conflagration which it has spread in the world isn't going out any time soon.

[SS] But but in Iraq are you pushing for troops out now.

[GG] Of course. Yesterday the only thing the Iraqi people need know from Mr. Bush and Mr. Blair is the site of the back of the heads of the armed forces they sent in there on a pack of lies taller than the Tower of Babel itself. The idea that the people who caused this disaster have some role to play in sorting it out is discredited every day. Yesterday was the third heaviest rate of allied casualties since the war began. This problems getting worse.

[SS] Well over 3000 Iraqis are dying every month and many people on the ground who have no lions to British or American policy believe that when those troops pull out the killing of Iraqis by Iraqis will get much much worse.

[GG] So it's not true that many people believe that more than 90 percent of the people of Iraq according to the opinion polls taken under the noses of the occupation say that they want the occupation to end. The puppet regime inside the Green Zone which is the group that most journalists talk to and most ministers talk to they definitely want the troops to stay because they will hang from the lampposts as soon as the occupation forces leave. The reality on the ground is that as Major General Sir Richard Dannatt told

Appendice 8

Matthew Amroliwala with Mark Turin

AB:] Let's speak to.

who joins us from Yale University. Director of the world oral literature project. Sad but is it more than sad but Languages die out because isn't this just Darwinism in action.

MT: Well let's focus for a moment on the fact that this is an incredible story of hope and perseverance and endurance and I commend the reporter for picking up this tale and running with it because so often we hear stories of language death. Here's a story of language reclamation and survival.

AB: Yes but the question was that. I mean however attractive it is. Isn't this just the Darwinian process. It is the survival of the fittest. If more people are speaking another language then that's what happens and that's just the way life is.

MT: I think that's a common perception. But I think the situation is more complex than that way of thinking reflects. I think the Anglo-Saxon worldview which is dominated by monolingualism for most of the world's history in most countries people have been multilingual speaking many different languages. So, Darwinian survival may be an appropriate way to think about species but I don't think it works really for languages. States have been punitive about Indigenous languages for most of the world's history. Now we have a chance to celebrate some of that diversity. And when you look at say countries like Spain under Franco who banned people speaking Basque or Catalan what sort of effort is needed by state authorities after something like that to rekindle and get that interest going again in a language. I think to support speech and minority speech forms around the world. We need a coming together of two things state support from the top down with resources and I suppose a progressive nation state that acknowledges linguistic diversity at the same time you need community interest and sometimes those things don't come together. There are cases when the state is ready the community are reluctant in most cases it's the other way around where communities want to do something about their languages. But states don't have the resources.

AB: How many languages do you think have disappeared in the past 50 years. What is the projection.

MT: Many linguist talk about one language dying every couple of weeks now. It's not to say that at the same time on Sunday another speech form just passes away but of the world's six thousand five hundred languages. About half of those are endangered. There are many different reasons that

languages can become endangered and sometimes people willingly give up their speech forms. But other times a community themselves may maybe the last remaining speakers a handful of people themselves die out and when they go they take their languages with them and that is what you mean is it by language being moribund.

AB: That there's there's an older generation which speaks but the children the children aren't. And how do you how do you make of a language which is spoken perhaps by people in their 80s sexy and attractive for children. I mean do you allow them to bastardized it it becomes their own slang and they can they can incorporate perhaps their own language into that as well.

MT: You succeed when they're attractive to speak and when the states are supportive of their speech and use. So there are wonderful stories from New Zealand of language nests for Maori which have now been taken up or so in Hawaii. And that really focuses on intergenerational transmission and that's really the key to your point. Older people have to work with younger people to encourage language transmission across the generations and for young people to want to sing speak rap maybe even tweet in their own languages. Technology has a role to play here also. Increasingly the Web is a great place for languages to thrive and survive.

AB: Yeah I mean say if you make it cool that is. That is probably as you say the key. When people talk about the language being lost every two to three weeks they're how separate how different how identifiably unique are these languages or are we looking really at dialects and languages which have the same the same root either romance or whatever. Can you just just help us a bit with that.

MT: I'm living in the States at the moment speaking to you from Yale and I often joke that I'm divided here by a common language with many of my colleagues. So yes the English spoken in the UK and in the States is the same language but all too often we think of dialects in quite a disparaging way. And really a language is a dialect that has an army and navy and a flag. In many parts of the world. And my work is in South Asia particularly in Nepal in the Himalayan range. You could argue that a language is a dialect that has its own library and a font and some form of written tradition and languages that are primarily oral. Which is most of the world's languages after all are often called dialects but they are distinct speech forms that are not mutually intelligible with other speeches.

AB: It is a fascinating note too and thank you very much indeed for joining us from here on the program.

Appendice 9

Katty Kay with Sarah Spellman

[00:00:01] America's Central Intelligence Agency has officially acknowledged the existence of a secret site known as Area 51. Newly declassified documents relating to the U to spy plane program make reference to the airbase in the state of Nevada which has long been the subject of elaborate theories about aliens and flying saucers. Here's Jane Bennett Paul.

[00:00:24] Gambling honey pot that is Las Vegas. Couldn't be more different from the secret project out in the desert. But it's from here that staff will be flown out to work at Area 51. It's 80 miles or so north west across the vast Nevada desert. The CIA called the site Paradise Ranch to try to lure skilled technicians to work there. It was in the 50s that the intelligence agency chose an old abandoned airstrip by a salt flat called Groom Lake on ground controlled by the Atomic Energy Commission.

[00:00:58] They developed the U 2 reconnaissance plane which flew at 60000 feet to carry out Cold War spying operations. Other top secret aircraft were tested there later including the B 12 stealth bomber and the supersonic reconnaissance 812 aircraft.

[00:01:18] Repeated requests about what went on at Area 51 went unanswered.

[00:01:22] Now after years of denials its precise location has been revealed at last researcher George Washington University in WashingtonD.C. asked for information eight years ago. He's not surprised it's a source of mystery.

[00:01:38] You take the combination of a remote location an enormous degree of secrecy around it. Plus all the rumors and the claims concerning alleged connections with with UFO is the enticement though or the interest in secret aircraft itself. I mean they all combined to make it something that people are interested in reading about and people are interested in writing about.

[00:02:04] We've known that it's existed for more than 30 years so it doesn't come as a surprise. It's good that the information has come out. It's a very very real facility. It's a top secret military facility. There are some questions to be raised on why the information is coming right now.

[00:02:25] Those who believe in unidentified flying objects think Area 51 made contact with beings from outer space and the remaining redactions in the CIA document do nothing to dispel those suspicions. JANE BENNETT Powell BBC News.

KK] Well joining me now from Birmingham is Sara Spelman from the Association for the Scientific Study of anomalous phenomenon or a s s AP for short.

[SS] Thank you very much indeed for joining us. First of all how significant is this revelation from the CIA.

[KK] It is a pretty significant revelation because it is the first time that the CIA has acknowledged the existence of Area 51 the newly unclassified sections of this report do confirm that the site was used for testing and development of the YouTube pipeline and the 812 plan. So it is really important because it raised new information about Area 51. However it doesn't entirely remake the UFO investigation landscape because many people within it. And people in military history circles as well were written about the possibility that Area 51 was the site for testing and development of the plane.

[SS] We know some of what went on there. Have we found out more about some of the other things that the American authorities were perhaps trying out in that area.

[KK] Yes I mean the report is an internal history within the CIA of the site. So there is a lot of information in there that we didn't have before. There are things like information about individual missions for these these planes pilot code names things like that. There is quite a bit of detail and this can help sort of confirm or deny certain things that have been written about before about the sites use as a military testing facility. We weren't able to to verify before. So it is it is quite important and in that sense.

[SS] So from the perspective of your association does this mean that there actually was a pretty straightforward explanation for all these sightings of what people took to be UFO. Was this simply the American military testing out some of its new equipment.

[SS] Well I think it's important to view all sides of a phenomenon like this as SAP tries to stay neutral just go where the evidence leads so. So we would say is there are various sides to it one side of it is that we do have confirmation now that the two was being flown and tested out of Area 51. That's really important also. However some followers have noted that it's it's certainly very plausible. The the the YouTube and the 84 planes were responsible for many UFO sightings in the area. There are many other UFO sightings where people were reporting gravity defying maneuvers. So they're saying that they saw something that say hovered or stopped stopped after a sort of very high speed acceleration or accelerated from nothing or did a very fast right angle turn or landed vertically. And these aren't capabilities that the YouTube plane had. So. So if that's you know if that's what people are reporting then obviously we're sort of open to further evidence coming through about those particular sightings as well.

[KK] And so the veil has been lifted somewhat on this area but there is still some mystery and it's not as though you can actually go there and find out for yourself even today. No no.

[SS] I mean even though the CIA has acknowledged the existence of Area 51 it's not as though they've thrown open the doors for us all to come and examine the work that's that's going on there. So so there is certainly still an aura of mystery around around the site and I think for people who who do believe that there's something more going on people who believe that there is reverse engineering availing craft for example those people's beliefs are probably going to be dented by this so. So this there's a lot of folklore built up around Area 51. So I don't think that this will dispel all of all of that and certainly by by any means so I think it's something that will continue to be a Alive issue within for a long time to come.

[KK] Spellman thank you very much for talking to us. Thank you.

Appendice 11

Lyse Doucet with Janet Ecker

[BD] Now while the British bank Barclays has said first quarter profits fell by a quarter compared to the same period last year losses at its European business and a hefty bill for reorganizing its operations were behind the steep loss pre-tax profit for the three months ended March came in at one point seventy nine billion pounds. Well that's just two and three quarter billion dollars which

is a 25 percent drop on the previous year. But the investment bank is going well. Profits they're up eleven percent. Credit Suisse says bank said that profits jumped almost one point four billion dollars in the past three months. That's doing well. A sharp rebound by the way from the same period a year ago. But then of course it was hit by a large charge related to debts. Now like Barclays Credit Suisse says that its investment banking business is performing well. The bank also said the cost cutting efforts have started to pay off the size of the workforce has been cut by 4 percent since the first quarter of last year.

[JE] Meanwhile two former bosses of cult thing which is which was once Ireland's biggest Iceland's biggest bank have been charged with fraud manipulating the bank's share price collapsed in 2008 along with another large bank Landsbanki. Now former chief executive Haidar Moore and the former chairman go to both plead not guilty to the charges. So that's an update on the banking industry. And what about the deeper issue that of trends the financial crisis that hit five years ago. Who's raised a lot of questions about the role of the banking industry. There's still a lot of anger that taxpayers had to bail out some of the biggest players and it was a shock to many people. The chief executives of some banks had little idea about the risks hidden within their empires or in fact what went on within the walls. Janet Ecker is the president of the Toronto Financial Services Alliance and used to work closely with the future governor of the Bank of England by the way.

[BD] Mark Carney we'll talk about that in a sec. Let's talk about the banking industry as well. You in Canada of course and that's that's your focus nonetheless. Is your sense now that banks after being mired in crisis and scandal for very very long time are now starting to emerge that confidence is returning.

[JE] Well hopefully it will be because the banking industry despite the troubles that they've gone through in Europe in the United States is a very important support to your economy. You can see what happens when your financial system blows up. If you will if I can put it that way. So hopefully they will get the problems behind them you're starting to see as they said today some profits get back on a more stable keel.

[BD] But here's the point that coming from the investment banking business aren't they. And you know markets have performed pretty well since the start of the year. You know Wall Street up 10

percent and so on Europe is not doing badly either. That's a little bit what's driving investment banking profits. It's not the lending side.

[JE] You know there's a lot I mean listen the economies are still facing major headwinds. A lot of challenges. And even in Canada that has come through the crisis as they like to joke we had a good crisis you know came through very well. But you know we're seeing we're seeing a softening of the economy. Banks are well capitalised they're very sound and it's been the fifth year in a row that the World Economic Forum has said that Canada's big banks are the safest and soundest in the world. I mean that's certainly been an asset for our economy but nobody's taking anything for granted because when you look at the world economy you look at sovereign debt you look at some of the political instability in some countries around the world there's there's a lot of there's a lot of risks out there.

[BD] Yeah. Well Mark Carney of course was has been heading up the Canadian central bank has received a great deal of credit for steering the country through the crisis very well indeed. He's coming over to the Bank of England and hopefully he could do the same thing that there is a big disparity between how North America in terms of central banking is handling this particular moment and Europe isn't there.

[JE] Well Canada doesn't have the challenges. We went into the crisis for example with a balanced budget actually having paid down debt because we went through a fairly serious debt crisis in the 90s. So we were in a a little stronger position. So I think that you know the Bank of Canada where people are expressing their concern about how long you know low for long as they call it interest rates have been very low for a long period of time as they have been in in the United States and other places. That's had an impact on consumer spending. So Mark Carney has been very vocal to say the Canadians watch that household.

[BD] So it's a little bit of a different situation than what you're seeing in Europe in terms of what the central bankers are trying to deal with the US central bank has been blamed quite a bit over this quantitative easing that it's been doing and at low interest rates for creating various asset bubbles. I've seen it linked to Italian debt and all manner of things. Do you think that there are some. Shall we say untold unfolds consequences of this very low interest rate environment that we're seeing and this quantitative easing.

[JE] Well there's always going to be an unintended consequence. I mean if there's one thing that we've learned about financial services the history of financial services is there's always an unintended consequence. I think the good news is that Bernanke and the other leadership in the United States I mean they know they're in uncharted territory if I can put it that way. So you know they're watching things very carefully in terms of are they going to be able to turn off the taps if you will fast enough. And at the right time and there's no question that is certainly a risk. But at the same time they've been confronted with an unprecedented situation too. And. The good news is is that in 2008 the global system did not collapse. The challenge now I think for a lot of central bankers regulators around the world is can we get back to some sort of concerted joint action in the regulatory field in the economic field because finances are it's global. It is a global system and it works well when it's a global system and so I think the responses to the problems need to happen on a global basis. So I think hopefully Mr. Carney and Mark's experience in Canada with the call it elevated position here in England and UK will have an opportunity to have an influence on the global debate.

[BD] Thanks so much. Thank you.

Appendice 13

Gavin Esler with Nabila Ramdani

Gavin Esler: Nabila Ramdani is a French journalist who specialises in Anglo French issues and Islamic affairs and she joins us now from Paris. Nabilia Ramdani, welcome to Lateline.

NABILA RAMDANI, JOURNALIST: Thank you.

: Gavin Esler Many are signalling this presidential election as the end of the wave of far right nationalistic populism across the west but Marine Le Pen still managed to snare 35 per cent of the vote. It is not insignificant?

NABILA RAMDANI: Well I think what Marine Le Pen has been doing is she has been riding an artificial populist wave all along and what she has managed to achieve throughout her campaigning is to rally call supporters of the National Front which effectively ranged between 15-30 per cent traditionally. In the final round she was able to muster a bit more support but not more than her traditional basis if you like.

And it's entirely due to the fact that the main traditional parties have effectively collapsed and have crumbled.

I mean the party put forward an indicted criminal suspect in Francois Fillon while the socialist left just exploded. So her rise, or her getting through to the second round and facing Macron in the final round was entirely due to that.

Gavin Esler: In fact the socialist left from the party, from which Francois Hollande came from actually put their weight behind Emmanuel Macron?

NABILA RAMDANI: Absolutely. A lot of socialists were attracted by Emmanuel Macron although he doesn't want to burden himself with that label. He made it abundantly clear that he was a pragmatist who didn't believe in ideology.

He is first and foremost a technocrat and he would want his administration to be defined by the implementation of policies to deal with very pressing issues, ranging from mass unemployment to global terrorism and it has to be said that he moves in the most convincing circumstances possible.

This is somebody who came from absolute obscurity to winning one of the most powerful executive positions on earth. He is presenting himself as an alternative to the political crisis at the heart of his country's democracy.

There is no doubt that he will have a daunting task ahead governing the country and uniting the country and, as your correspondent was saying, his first task will be to form a working majority in the National Assembly.

Gavin Esler: He has promised to unite a divided France but here is a President who talked about Marine Le Pen leading a party of hatred that wanted a civil war in France.

As we mentioned, a significant sum of voters actually were attracted to Marine Le Pen so the challenge of uniting the country seems quite immense?

NABILA RAMDANI: Well indeed, but it has to be said that Emmanuel Macron was quite right to call Marine Le Pen's party a bigoted one, let's not forget the reality of what the National Front is.

It is a party that is still steeped, you know in racism, in anti-Semitism and indeed fascism so the party attracts that kind of people. But also it attracts disillusioned voters, it attracts protest vote and

people who are prepared to ignore the reality of what the National Front is, to challenge the European Union for example, to challenge immigration.

It doesn't mean that the label of the party has gone away. It remains a nasty party and it remains a party that represents a dark side of French society.

So the question is how do you deal with far right members of society? How do you deal with prejudice and hate? Even though Emmanuel Macron sounded quite conciliatory last night in his victory speech, he will have a difficult time to work with these kind of people who are not prepared to collaborate with different types of people themselves.

So it's going to be pretty challenging for him to bring the nation together in a climate that is quite divided at the moment.

Gavin Esler: It is significant isn't it that the first meeting scheduled for Emmanuel Macron on the international stage is with Germany's Angela Merkel.

They must have crossed the European Union be breathing a collective sigh of relief?

NABILA RAMDANI: Absolutely. I think he would want to stress his cooperation and his partnership with Germany which is a powerful ally in the European Union and indeed one of the founding members of the EU project.

I was able to speak to Emmanuel Macron in fact on Friday on the last day of his electioneering and he made it abundantly clear to me that he was a passionate pro-EU politician and he spoke very movingly about growing up in Amiens in the Somme area in the battle fields and visiting grave yards, where a lot of soldiers, including a lot of British soldiers died during the Second World War, during the war and he - that shaped his vision of France and indeed its relation to the European Union.

And he made it abundantly clear that he is going to make it very difficult for Theresa May to have its way. He doesn't want Britain to retain all the privileges that the EU has to offer while it is exiting at the same time.

Gavin Esler: Across this election campaign we saw not only Emmanuel Macron but also his wife and now France has a very high profile First Lady as well. What does the country make of her?

NABILA RAMDANI: She is a very approachable woman. I was able to have a little chat with her as well on the last day of the campaign. She is very fond of what her husband stands for, evidently.

It seems that she will be playing a very important role as a First Lady and that the Presidency will define a proper function for her, as it were. She has always been defined by her husband as a pivotal person in his life and indeed in his politics as a rock in fact as he would call her. We are likely to see a redefinition of the role of the First Lady in French politics.

Gavin Esler: In what way?

NABILA RAMDANI: In the sense that she won't just be there to, remember in France, it is not a clearly defined position, it is highly symbolic and it seems that Emmanuel Macron would like to formalise the role of the First Lady, perhaps involving her playing a more political role, a more formal role on his side.

He made it clear that she was going to be extremely visible at all times and that will be a change from the usual First Lady who is mainly there to accompany, let's be honest about it, the President. A lot of changes ahead.

Gavin Esler: Nabila Ramdani, we're out of time. Thank you.

Appendice 14

Damon: First of all thank you obviously for your time. What is your main aim in this visit -- what are you trying to accomplish while you are out here?

Jolie: Well I came to the region about 6 months ago, I first went to Syria because I work with U.N.H.C.R. and there are 1.5 million refugees in Syria alone from Iraq and while I was there, I went inside and met with some internally displaced people. And this trip is to get a better picture of the internally displaced people and to discuss with the local government, with our government, with the NGOs and with local people, the situation and try to understand what is happening, because there are over 2 million internally displaced people and there doesn't seem to be a real coherent plan to help them and there's lots of good will and lot's of discussion --but there seem to be a lot of uh -- just a lot of talk at the moment and a lot of pieces need to be put together. So, trying to figure out what they are.

Damon: What kind of a sense have you been able to get so far in terms of how severe the crisis is and what actually needs to be done to help out?

Jolie: Well, I in my research before I came here, I looked at the numbers and there are over 4 million people displaced and of the 2 million internally displaced it's estimated that 58 percent are under 12 years old. So it's a very high number of people in a very, very vulnerable situation and a lot of young kids. So far the different U.S. officials I've met with and different local people I've met with all have shared concerns and very, very strongly you know they have spoken out about the humanitarian crisis but um, but there seems to be a block in.

I'm not good at policy and fixing all this and saying what's wrong but I do know that for example U.N.H.C.R. needs to be more active inside Iraq. In order for that to happen, they need they feel strongly about having some better protection ... better security in talking with the U.S. officials, they're willing to give that security to the extent that they can give it.

And so you know I don't have the answers but I know that this is one thing that needs to be addressed and solved because there does need to be a real presence here to help count the people and register the people. Also even just the government here needs to empower the prime minister ... here needs to empower the government that deals with migration and displacement to be able to address the concerns for these people and that hasn't happened in a significant way yet.

Damon: Do you think that the global community has a responsibility to address that?

Jolie: Well I think the global community always has a ... has a responsibility to any humanitarian crisis. And I think it's in our best interest to address a humanitarian crisis on this scale because displacement can lead to a lot of instability and aggression and you know pop. We don't ... we certainly we just don't want that we have.. A lot of people feel it's a little calmer now ... this is the time to really discuss and and try to get these communities back together. But if these communities don't start coming back together properly, if we don't start really counting the people ... understanding where they are ... what they need ... making sure the schools are being built ... making sure the electricity the water and all these needs are being met and also understanding that a lot of the people that will return are going to come back to houses that are occupied or destroyed and bombed out and we have to we have to have... It's going to be a big operation to understand the needs ... to address it to help people put the pieces of their life back together and return to their

communities. So it's really just putting kind of ... getting the plan together ... getting the group together and everybody actively focused on helping the IDPS and the refugees.

Damon: What would the message that you would want to carry out of here back to the States or even the message that you would want to get out internationally in terms of what's happening here ... the refugee crisis ... how serious it is and the consequences that could happen in the future if it's not properly addressed?

Jolie: I always hate speculation on the news, so I don't want to be somebody who speculates. Um but I think it's clear, I think, I think you know a displaced unstable population is you know is a very what happens in Iraq, and how Iraq settles in the years to come is going to affect the entire Middle East. And a big part of what is going to affect how it settles is how these people are returned and settled into their homes into their community and brought back together and whether they can live together and what their communities look like, so it does have broad implications.

Damon: On a personal level why is this so important to you ... you willing to come here and risk your life?

Jolie: Uh, what about you (laughs) why are you here? (laughs) It was an easy choice to make. I've uh, I felt I had to come here because it is very difficult to get answers about especially the internally displaced people. It's as I said even U.N.H.C.R. who I traditionally work with -- they are not able to be inside at the moment and so I was very frustrated and just getting a bunch of ideas and papers but not knowing what's really going on, so so today I'm able to talk to all different people from our government and their government and really get some answers as to what is holding up the processes to really really assist these people properly.

Damon: Do you think that you in your position can try to push this process forward put ... pressure perhaps on the U.S. government to let more refugees into the U.S. to address the situation within Iraq and of course address the situations in Syria and Jordan?

Jolie: To put pressure on the U.S.?

Damon: On the U.S. or to try to just put pressure in general create awareness?

Jolie: (interrupting) I think certainly creating awareness. And I think you know what I found is there is... I spoke to the State Department today about meeting our goal, you know the U.S.'s goal

of 12,000 people and they still intend to reach that goal and they have and you know there are many different people who can be cynical or say well how are they going to do it, and I will ask them how are you going to do it and is there some way we can help to ... you know ... is there some thing we all need to understand more is there ways we can help to process different people in different countries better is there because uh because we do need to get those people and we do need to in eight months get as close to 12,000 people as possible we should and I have to believe that there are people working towards that goal so.. So at least that and um, what was your other question?

Damon: Why is it so important? What do you think needs to be (interrupted) Why is Iraq important?

Jolie: Well as I said, if it is not stable it can affect the entire Middle East and that will effect our entire world. If you don't simply want to look at it as of course it's important because there are human beings living here .. I don't see borders and I see lives and I see children and this is you know an environment where there is a war but there is a humanitarian crisis. And they have to be addressed simultaneously. We can't wait for one to end to then finally take the time to address the other, it has to start right now.

Damon: There are reports out of Hollywood that... (laughs)

Jolie: Oh don't. Stop it. (interrupts I had to ask) Stay true to your tradition. You're CNN. Don't do it!

Damon: I know that's why I have to... (Laughs)

Jolie: But I don't have to answer. OK?

Damon: No you don't. I completely and totally ... you're right and will not press the matter.

Jolie: Thank you