Power and solidarity in elite interviews[1]

Anna Boucher, Ahmar Mahboob & Lydia Dutcher

(Department of Government and International Relations and Department of Linguistics,

University of Sydney)

A paper for the American Political Science Association General Meeting, Chicago
28 August – 1 September, 2013

Panel: Field Research, Principles, Allocations and Techniques, Friday 30 August, 2.00pm

Introduction

Elite interviewing is a key qualitative research method in political science. Interviews are useful not only for the purposes of political biography or to ascertain the perspectives of those at the centre of the policy-making process, but also because they allow researchers to trace the policy process that underpins key political events. Yet, elite interviews invert much of what social scientists know about power in interviewing. In contrast to interviews with economically or culturally disadvantaged groups, or with those who have not reached intellectual maturation (children, those with mental disabilities), elite interviews present a situation of potential powerlessness for the interviewer. As put colourfully by Schoenberger, powerful elites ("very powerful and self-assured people") are contrasted with "an obscure academic, who poses, so far as [the elites] are concerned, absolutely no threat" (Schoenberger 1992, 217, cited in Smith 2006, 646; see also Burnham 2008, 205; Richards 1996, 201). Yet, we argue in this paper that this purported unequal relationship between disempowered, nebbish academic and reputationally powerful elite cannot be assumed. This relationship must instead be interrogated empirically (and we argue, assessed linguistically) Do the

[1] Dr Anna Boucher is a Lecturer in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Dr Ahmar Mahboob is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics, and Lydia Dutcher is a

demographic features of the researcher and of the research subject (sex, ethnicity, age, position, educational levels, language abilities, etc) inform the power dynamics at play? Can elite interviews offer opportunities for solidarity building as much as power reinforcing? In turn, does the power differential in an interview impact upon the data collected via the interview?

There are several reasons why political scientists should be interested in whether power dynamics exist within elite interviews and whether, in turn, such interactions shape the perceived success of interviews, including the material acquired. The first relates to the issue of reliability, which is central in positivist approaches to political science. As has been argued, most famously in *Designing Social Inquiry* (King, Keohane and Verba 1994, 25-6; see also Brady and Collier 2004 and Brians et al 2010, 107-110), the reliability of elite interviews goes straight to the question of their use as a viable research method. This issue has not been considered comprehensively in the elite interviewing literature, or is often reconciled on pragmatic grounds (Berry 2002; Rathbun 2008, 690-1). However, if unequal power relationships do impact upon the extent to which answers are given to questions – as this paper will illustrate they might – one can question how interviews can be handled to improve the reliability of the information gathered. Secondly, for non-positivist political scientists, issues of power are important for entirely different reasons. Taking a cue from feminist scholars, political scientists may be motivated to form research relationships that are non-exploitative, harm reducing and ultimately, politically liberating.

Currently there are many claims made about power within elite interviewing but limited empirical evidence provided for how power and solidarity might actually play out. This interdisciplinary paper attempts to take a first step in addressing this issue by analysing the first 20 minutes of two elite interviews using a range of linguistic methods for assessing power in language. Based on this analysis, the paper presents a preliminary set of strategies used by both interviewer and interviewees in order to either exercise relative power over one another or to build solidarity with one another. The paper provides detailed examples from the interviews analysed to show how the participants in these interviews adopted various strategies. In the sections of the paper below, we first review the existing elite interviewing scholarship within political science. We then set out the value-added of linguistic tools, in particular, Conversational Analysis (CA), as a means to analyse power relations within elite interviews. In the next, third section of the paper, we apply the insights from linguistics to two elite interviews. In the final, fourth section of the paper, we consider the implications of our analysis for elite interviewing methodology more broadly.

1. The existing elite interviewing scholarship

The elite interviewing literature is a small but important area of qualitative research methodology in the social sciences, including within political science. There are two key definitions of "elite" that emerge from the elite interviewing literature. The first focuses on those in powerful positions. This generally refers to those in senior political and executive roles (see for instance Leech 2002, 663; Lilleker 2003, 207; Peabody et al 1990, 451; Rivera et al 2002, 683) or those who hold positions of professional prestige, such as high-level bankers (McDowell 1998, 2135). Richards (1996, 199) provides a useful definition of this form of elite as "a group of individuals, who hold, or have held, a privileged position in society and, as such, as far as a political scientist is concerned, are likely to have had more influence on political outcomes than general members of the public." The focus in these positional approaches is on individuals who occupy political and social power. In contrast to this positional approach, some authors draw a distinction between elites and experts, with the latter holding powerful positions and the second possessing qualified knowledge but not necessarily located in positions of power (Abels and Behrens 2009, 139, citing Meuser and Nagel 1997; Leech 2002, 663). However, other researchers do not find such a distinction between elites and experts very useful. Dexter (1970, 7) for instance, states that somebody can be an elite interviewee if they are "well-informed or influential on something." For this reason, he defines an elite interview broadly as an interview "with *any* interviewee ... who in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer is given special, non-standardised treatment" (Dexter 1970, 5). In this paper, we follow Dexter's definition of an elite interview and consider elite interviewees to be those who are influential in their area and/or are well informed about a particular subject.

Moving on from these definitional issues, much of the literature in political science dispenses practical advice to researchers on how to gain access to elites (Burnham 2008, 208-9; Dexter 1970, 28-36; Lilleker 2003, 208-210; Richards 1996, 202; Rivera et al 2002, 684). Scholars have also focussed on the preferred structure of interviews (Berry 2002, 681; Burnham 2008 210-13, 15; Dexter 1970 23-5; 50-78; Lilleker 2003, 210-11; Peabody et al 1990, 451) or the importance of adequate preparation (Burnham 2008, 201; Davies 2001, 76-7; Richards 1996, 202). Some of the most useful research in the mainstream political science field identifies possible applications of elite interviewing data. Tansey (2007) sets out the key functions of data acquired through elite interviewing. These include making inferences about a larger population's characteristics and decisions, such as a population of bureaucrats (Tansey 2007, 767; see also Goldstein 2002, 669). Elite interviews can assist in reconstructing an event or set of events and "can shed light on the hidden elements of political action that are not clear from an analysis of political outcomes or other primary sources" (Tansey 2007, 767). This latter purpose is particularly important when other sources of information such as documentary evidence are limited, due to government secrecy rules or executive decision-making processes (Ibid, citing George and Bennett 2005, 99 and Davies 2001).

It is with regard to this final function – shedding light on hidden political activity – that issues of reliability in elite interviews arise. Reliability, or being sure that our measurements are stable (Brians et al 2010, 107), is a key concern for positivist political science research, including elite interviewing, where the vagaries of human interaction can arguably influence what is said and interpreted (Rathbun 2008, 692; Berry 2002). This is particularly important when the function of the interview is to ascertain an accurate reflection on a series of events, rather than a personal biography or opinion. Issues of reliability take on a heightened importance when alternate sources of information and therefore opportunities for triangulation of data sources are limited. In light of possible reliability concerns that may arise in the use of elite interviews, it is crucial to consider the ways in which power relations between interviewer and interviewee can shape the production of the interview data.

A second reason to be interested in power dynamics within elite interviews arises from feminist studies. Oakley (1981, 41-9) famously argued that an interview must not be perceived as mere data collection but also as a process of empowerment in which the interviewee is also involved. To attempt to maintain scientific objectivity in interviewing is not only impossible, she argued, it also overlooks the role of emotion in interviewing and perpetuates a "masculinst paradigm" (Oakley 1981, 31; see also Acker et al 1983; Cotterill 1992; DeVault and Gross 2007; Fontana and Frey 2005; Oakley 1981; Olesen 2005). While, some feminist scholars working with elite interviews have instead interrogated whether empowerment opportunities present when female researchers interview generally male elites, the assumption is often, of an inverted power differential between the male elite and the female interviewer (Abels and Behrens 2009; Marshall 1984, 246, 7; Sarikakis 2003, 437). For those researchers interested in the nature of the interview process and the human dynamics that occur between interviewer and interviewee, power is therefore centrally relevant on ethical and normative grounds.

Despite the evident multifarious importance of power for elite interviewing, power issues are often overlooked or invoked only at the periphery of elite interviewing scholarship. Where issues of power have been considered, the assumption, as noted at the onset of this paper, is often that the interviewer will be in a position of relative disempowerment via-á-vis the respondent. Desmond (2004, 265,) argues that "with elite interviewees, the [relationship] is inevitably asymmetrical regardless of the research strategies deployed." Scholars warn of the risk that high profile elites will take control of the interview and view the management of this exigency as one of the key challenges of elite interviews (Burnham 2008, 214; Lilleker 2003, 211; Richards 1996, 201). As such, disempowerment is identified as the status quo position for the researcher. However, this body of work fails to provide any robust empirical data to support these assumptions of interviewer powerlessness, or to interrogate what such power relations might mean for data quality. The current paper provides detailed empirical evidence to question the assumptions in the literature. By using Conversation Analysis as an analytical tool, the paper shows that both the interviewer and the interviewee negotiate power and solidarity by using a range of interactional strategies. While an elite interviewee does have some inherent power given his or her status, the interviewer is not powerless and can use a range of strategies to negotiate his or her role and to keep the interview focused.

2. Methodology and Conversational Analysis

This paper draws on Conversation Analysis (CA) as a key method of analysis from within linguistics to identify various strategies used by the participants to negotiate power and build solidarity within elite interviews. Conversation analysis, which is discussed in detail below, allows researchers to develop a detailed analysis of how an interaction such as an elite interview unfolds turn by turn. CA requires detailed transcriptions of interview texts, where the construction and delivery of speakers' utterances are investigated in developing an analysis and interpretation of a conversation as it unfolds. Given the delicacy of CA transcription and the depth of analysis needed to carry out conversation analysis, two 20-minute interviews provide sufficient data for the purposes of this study. Preparatory analysis of the full one-hour interviews of four interviews lead us to conclude that the first 20 minutes of an interview is the crucial period for rapport building, or for the entrenchment of a power relationship in an elite interview.

Data

The data for this paper comprises the first twenty minutes of two elite interviews. Both these interviews were conducted by a female PhD student as part of her doctoral data collection process for a PhD in Political Science, over the period 2008 through to 2009. In total, 89 interviews were undertaken with elites from government, non-governmental organisations, industry, trade unions and the academy in Australia and Canada. For the purposes of this paper, we selected two interviews, both with middle-aged Australian men in high positions of importance in their respective fields. The first interview was with a leader in industry, representing an industry group that had been pivotal in immigration reform. The second interview was with a senior policy officer within the Australian federal bureaucracy, who had also been central in the immigration policy process. To protect their anonymity, where relevant, names and details are excluded from the transcriptions presented in this paper. For the purposes of this paper, we selected two men in an attempt to control for any gender effects that could be operating within the power dynamics.[2] Any content in the interviews that would reveal the identity of the respondents have been removed. The interviews were selected not only for the shared demographic qualities of the respondents, but also due to their differences. As the analysis below reveals, despite these shared qualities, the interviews diverged considerably in the extent of successful solidarity building.

Analytical framework

This paper adapts conversation analytic methods for the purposes of analysing the data. Traditionally, undertaking Conversation Analysis (CA) involves investigating the interactional practices of participants engaging in a naturally-occurring social event (Mondada, 2013). The primary data consists of audio and/or video recordings of these interactions. These recordings are then transcribed using a particular set of conventions that enable analysis of the actions speakers enact, such as greetings, questioning and informing, and considers how these actions are done through interactional practices such as language and intonation. Researchers using CA methodology have developed robust descriptions of practices that recur across a range of contexts, and are therefore “context-free”; for example, laughter occurs in a range of different contextual settings and is not implicitly tied to a particular setting. At the same time, such practices are carried out in response to local situations and are therefore considered to be “context-sensitive” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, 299). Again, in the case of laughter, it takes on particular qualities and has different implications depending on the context in which it is used. As speakers communicate, their utterances in the conversation (referred to by conversation analysts as

[2] We intend to compare interviews with male interview subjects against female interview subjects in a future paper to explore the gender dynamic in more detail.

"turns") display their understanding of the prior talk and project actions to come. In doing so, the speakers maintain intersubjectivity, which is the mutual, shared understanding that enables an interaction to progress (Heritage, 1998). As speakers display their understandings to each other, so these understandings are available for analysis by researchers (Heritage, 1984a). Because of the recurrent nature of these features in human interaction, any instance of naturally-occurring data is seen as possibly involving relevant interactional phenomena (Sacks, 1992). The tools of CA are used to examine the way speakers organise their talk, whether consciously or not, in relation to a set of sub-organising systems that recur in interaction.

Features relating to these concepts from CA were used in this study to inductively explore the interviews. The sub-organising systems of talk include, among others, turn-taking, sequence organisation, turn design, and repair. We define these briefly. First, "turn-taking" relates to the way that turns-at-talk are allocated and accomplished (Schegloff, 2006). When speakers take turns, they orient to turn constructional units (TCUs), which are the basic units of turns. Turns can be as short as a response token such as "mm", or they can consist of long, multi-unit utterances. The recipients of turns often project the ending of the TCU and thus next turns often take place at or near transition relevance places, which are the points of boundary between TCUs (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Different types of turns can do different kinds of actions, such as eliciting information, indicating receipt of information, or informing the listener. They can also set up an expectation for a certain type of turn in response. Sequence organization involves looking at the relationships between turns to identify the ongoing progression of action and to see how actions unfold in relation to each other (Schegloff, 2007). Investigating the way these turns are designed involves analysis of the way such actions are constructed through choice of language and other interactional resources, and how actions are carried off through these constructions. For example, a turn that does 'questioning' in the interviews can be constructed in interrogative form or as a statement that trails off at the end. Finally, repair involves looking at how speakers maintain intersubjectivity if some trouble occurs in the interaction, such as a problem with hearing due to background noise or a perceived misunderstanding of historical events. The organization of repair prevents the interaction from breaking down in the event of such trouble (Kitzinger, 2013). In the elite interviews presented in this study, the participants are seen to orient to these systems in different ways that result in building solidarity or asserting power within the interaction.

The indicators developed in this study are features, or interactional practices, of the conversation in the interviews that are used by the interviewer and interviewees as they attend to these systems of talk. Drew and Heritage (1992) argue that the recurrence of different interactional practices in different settings creates a kind of "fingerprint" for interaction in an institutional setting, such as an elite interview. For example, analysing sequence organization involves identifying the action done by a turn, and we found that different types of questions and responses recurred throughout the data. We see these different types of turns as being used by the participants to build solidarity or assert power at different times, and the same type of turn can have either of these effects in the interviews depending on the position of the utterance in the interaction. In this way power and solidarity, as used in this paper, relate to the concepts of (dis)affiliation and alignment, whereby speakers display their stance toward another speaker through interaction. As described by Lindstrom & Sorjonen (2013):

> In conveying affiliation (or disaffiliation), recipients in interaction draw on a wide range of resources, including lexical and grammatical elements of various types, phonetic and prosodic resources…laughter and other nonlexical items (such as inbreaths), as well as body behaviours…What resources are used for constructing any given resources is shaped by at least the following: (i) the

> sequential place in which affiliation is to be displayed, (ii) the type of action to which the response should be given, and (iii) the larger activity in progress (p. 353).

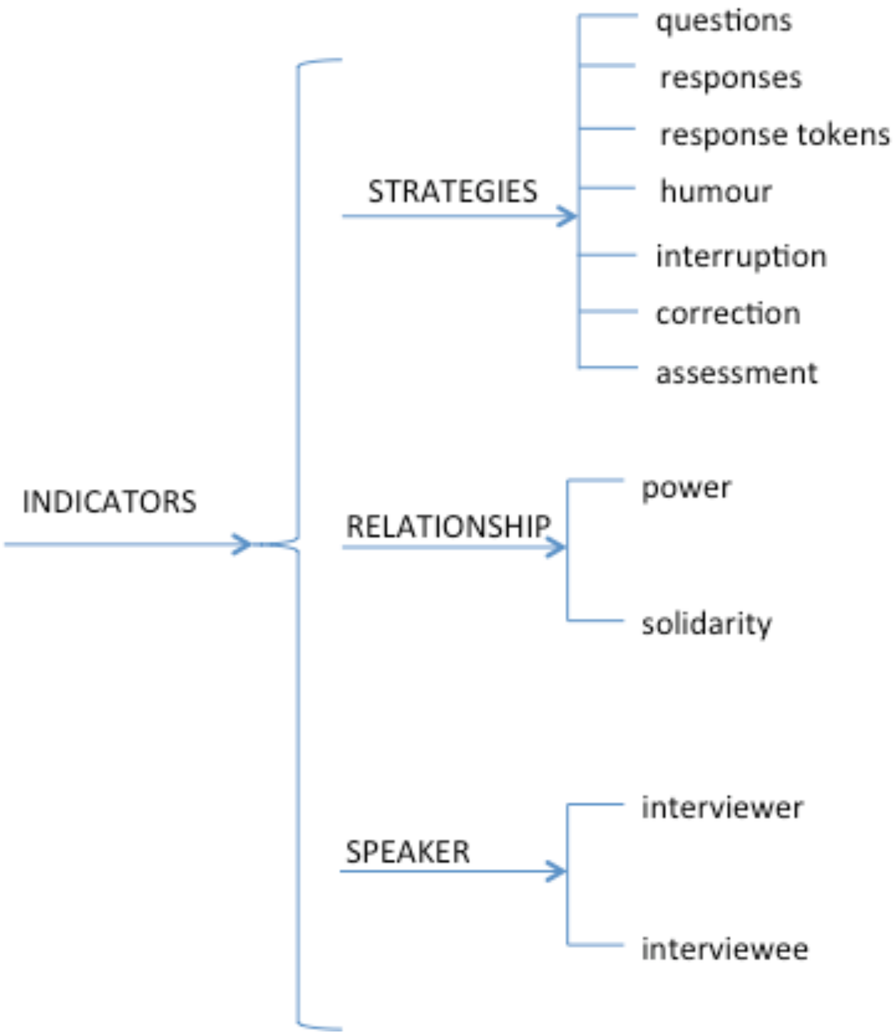
The indicators by which the speakers displayed power and solidarity through expressions of affiliation and disaffiliation emerged through an inductive approach. This involved investigating the organization of talk through the lens of the different sub-organizing systems, then noticing the practices (e.g. construction or overlap of turns) by which the participants attended to these organizations and the effects that were seen in the interaction.

As we look at the CA process of transcribing and analysing our data, we need to clarify that this paper draws upon CA, but does not follow its methodology in the strictest of terms. For the purposes of this study, the conversation analytic conventions of transcription and conceptual framework of sub-organising systems of talk were adapted to develop the indicators presented in this paper. In particular, given the purpose of this paper, we focused on how questions and responses were posed, responded to and the various strategies that the two participants used in trying to either play power or build solidarity. In order to do this, we first transcribed the data in some detail using the transcription methods set out in Appendix 1 of this paper. In CA methodology, transcription is considered to be the first stage of analysis (ten Have, 2007). The analyst begins to notice detailed characteristics of an interaction while engaging in the process of transcribing the language used by participants as well as the way utterances are delivered, including stress, pauses, lengthening of sounds, laughter, intonation, and overlapping of participants' talk (Jefferson, 2004). In our study, the transcription of the interviews formed the entry point into our analysis and we referred to the recording in order to verify intonation and stress patterns when needed. Next, each of the three authors (two linguists and one political scientist) analysed the text independently and inductively identified a set of interactional features that were used in the data that seemed to correlate with key moments of power or solidarity in the text. These features were collectively compiled by the researchers into a set of indicators, which each author then used to independently code one of the selected interviews. The relevant indicators are set out in Appendix 2, as well as coding rules that all three authors followed. These codings were then compared and any differences were discussed and resolved. Before and after the discussion, we conducted an inter-reliability analysis on the coding of the data. At each of these stages, the interrater reliability score was calculated using ReCal, an online reliability calculator (ReCal 2013). Initially, the rate of agreement was 60%, and after discussion and clarification of the coding rules, and a second recoding, the score was raised to 96%. Lastly, we identified moments of perceived shifts in power and solidarity and examined the way features co-existed at these moments in the data. This final stage of analysis was used to develop a smaller set of indicators, which included those salient features of talk that recurred at the identified stages. This final set of indicators was then used to code the second interview. At this stage, we compared the way these indicators were used differently at the key moments in the two interviews.

3. Indicators of Power and Solidarity in Elite Interviews

Strategies identified to build power and solidarity in the examined interviews include types of questions and responses to questions, response tokens, humour, interruption, correction and assessment. Each of these strategies includes a range of possible sub-strategies with its own function within the interview. Each strategy or sub-strategy may be adopted by either the interviewer or the interviewee to show his or her relative position of power, or alternately, to build solidarity. Graph 1, sets out the proposed functioning of speech through a systems network approach:

Graph 1: Proposed system network:



Thus, our starting assumption is that both speakers can exercise power or solidarity and that a variety of strategies can be employed conversationally to achieve this end. In this following section of the paper, we will describe each of these strategies in turn and provide examples to show how power or solidarity was negotiated in each instance.

Questions

We start with questions, which in a way comprise the sine qua non of elite interviews; without questions, there is no elite interview. Questions are turns constructed grammatically as an enquiry and/or a declarative sentence with rising intonation, to which the preferred response is a relevant answer. Questions can raise a new topic and ask for information that has not yet been discussed. Questions may also be posed in response to or relate to a previously uttered turn. Questions that relate to a previous question or response include clarification questions, reformulation/repetition of prior question, or extension of prior questions. Typically the interviewer asks questions in an interview and the right to ask questions reflects the relative position of power of the interviewer in the context. The interviewees' role is to respond to these questions; and they may adopt a range of strategies in doing so, including avoiding a direct response, or even a non-response. The ability to ask questions is a tool that the interviewer has in making sure that the interviewee stays focused. As such, it is one of the most important strategies that an interviewer has to exercise their power. New questions allow the interviewer to raise topics and reflect their position of power; however questions may also be asked to build solidarity and connection with the respondent. Extract 1 below includes several questions: the first of which (line 2) is a solidarity-building question.

Extract 1: Extract from interview 2

Interviewer	Okay (.) right (0.2) uh-huh (0.7) And um what
	positions did you hold with Immigration
Interviewee 2	With Immigration
Interviewer	Yes.
	(0.2)
Interviewee 2	.h (0.2) Um I- (.) I started with- as [position
	Stated]
Interviewer	Okay (0.3) mm hm

Interviewee 2	And (0.6) then I was uh (.) looking after (0.4) uh (0
	sort of a- (0.3) a- an organizational reform (.)
	type (.) area.
	(.)
Interviewer	Mm hm
Interviewee 2	.hh Uh Then I looked after [role stated]
	(0.2)
Interviewer	Mm hm
Interviewee 2	that ex[panded]

Lines 19-52 omitted

Interviewer	Alright, good (.) That helps me (0.3) know which
	questions to talk about
Interviewee 2	Mm hm
Interviewer	Um (.) so the welfare waiting period I guess is the
	first (.) [area] that I'm interested in you=
Interviewee 2	[mm hm]
Interviewer	=wouldn't've been there when the first welfare
	waiting period was (0.6) um the 6 month welfare
	waiting period was introduced=
Interviewee 2	=That was before (0.3) [uh] before nineteen ninety=
Interviewer	[Yeah]
Interviewee 2	=five that's right
Interviewer	Exactly yeah (0.4) So the second welfare waiting
	period where it was extended to two years what- (0.2)
	I'm interested what you'd say is the key rationale
	behind that and whether you see this policy as
	driven by (0.4) um social security or (.) just
	coming more (0.2) from within immigration policy
	(0.7)
Interviewee 2	My recollection it was an election commitment
	(.)
Interviewer	Right (0.4) mm
	(2.3)
Interviewer	Uh huh huh=
Interviewee 2	=That's it
Interviewer	So it came from [( )] from the government
Interviewee 2	[In-in gov-]
Interviewee 2	Yes=
Interviewer	=Yup=
Interviewee 2	=in-in government when it's an election commitment
	[it's] an election commitment You don't debate the=

```
Interviewer     [Yup ]
Interviewee 2   =point
Interviewer     Right okay .h There was a little bit of (.) um
                unclarity about whether- what payments it would
                extend [to ]
Interviewee 2          [Yes] there was (.) [(    )
                                           [Do you remember any of
Interviewer     those debates=
Interviewee 2   Yes and there was some d-discussion that took (0.3)
                place with the-with the department of (0.2) social
                security as I recall as to what should be covered
                and what shouldn’t be covered [.h] Um (0.5) um (0.2)=
```

In the extract above, the interviewer starts with a question about the interviewee’s previous work. This exchange goes over a number of turns and allows the interviewee to describe a range of his achievements. Such questions are not necessarily about collecting new or unknown information – especially as the elite is a public figure for whom this information should be already available – but rather give the interviewee a chance to talk about their accomplishments and therefore build a positive environment. It also allows the interviewer a chance to lead the interviewee into a certain direction before asking him or her the question. In the extract above, there is long exchange about the interviewee's engagement with the migration program including a confirmation of the date when he began to work on the program, which is not included in the extract. The interviewer uses this opening stage to frame her first information-seeking question. This new question (line 53) starts with a positive acknowledgment of the interviewee's points (‘‘All right, good’’) and then she uses the previous exchange to set up a new question. Such acknowledgements are one type of response tokens that is discussed in a later section. The interviewer then takes a number of turns to develop her question, during which time the interviewee acknowledges that he is following the question. In line 62, the interviewee interrupts the interviewer by restating what the interviewer had said. The interviewer agrees with the interviewee's interpretation of the question, again building solidarity, and then continues with her question.

The interviewee responds to the interviewer's question with a short response. The interviewer, however, appears to have been expecting a longer answer. This is noticeable in the long 2.3-second gap between the interviewer's two response tokens which continue to give the floor to the interviewee (line 75). Continuers are another type of response token; they are used by listeners to signal to the speaker that they are listening and do not intend to take up the turn. After the second continuer, 'Uh huh huh' (line 76), the interviewee explicitly says, "That's it" (line 77) to mark the end of his turn. The interviewer follows up this turn by asking a clarification question (line 78). The interviewee confirms the interviewer's understanding of the matter and again tries to end this topic by saying that if the government has made an election promise, that point is not debated (line 82-83). This is the second time that the interviewee attempts to close this topic. However, instead of shifting topics, the interviewer repeats her question by reformulating and extending it. She first uses the change in activity token (see the section on 'Response tokens' for a discussion of this) 'Right okay' (line 86) and then rephrases her question by identifying particular topics that were debated. By being specific about the details of the debate, the interviewee is positioned to respond to the question. He agrees that there was some debate about the points raised. The interviewer then immediately follows this up with a question that extends her previous question. The interviewee responds to this question and the interview then proceeds with a longer discussion of the issues at stake.

This extract shows how the interviewer used different types of questions for different purposes. The first question (line 2) was designed to build solidarity and to allow her to lead into her questions. The interviewer then asked her first information-seeking question, which was answered very briefly. However, instead of accepting that as answer, she followed up (line 65) by rephrasing and extending her questions. This continuation of asking different types of questions reflected her power in the interview by getting the interviewee to focus on the topic that she wanted him to talk about. Thus, within the first few minutes of the interview, we can see how the interviewer uses different questioning strategies to negotiate both power and solidarity with the interviewee. From the interviewee's perspective, he becomes more forthcoming in the interview in response to the line of questioning. These questions show one set of strategies that an interviewer can use to negotiate power at the early stages of an interview.

Responses to questions

There is a range of strategies an interviewee may adopt in responding to a question. In their analysis of semi-structured research interviews, Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995, in Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) found that responses by subjects of a study were used as a resource to either align with or resist the line of questioning and implicit assumptions made by the interviewer. This phenomenon was found in our data as well. In the two interviews analysed, we separated out new responses, that included turns uttered by one speaker that come directly after a question is asked by the other speaker, from continuations of response, which are turn increments after the initial response turn that cumulatively create a long response, usually with a number of responses in between. New responses were sub-categorised as direct answers, indirect answers, topically relevant responses, and unrelated responses.

In direct answers, the post-question turn relates to and answers the question posed by the other speaker.

Extract 2: Extract from interview 1

Interviewer	=Yep (0.8) So he was helpful in (0.7) back then
	even in nineteen eighty?
	(1.4)
Interviewee 1	Ah He was (0.6) he did time as (.) director of
	EPAC (0.6) .h I think uh (.) we (2.4)
	commenced a professional (.) relationship with
	Glen (1.6) um (2.3) mid (0.2) nineties
	(0.2)
Interviewer	okay right yep

In extract 2, from Interview 1, the interviewer starts by asking a clarification question, which is directly addressed by the interviewee. The interviewer acknowledges the response and then the interview continues. In indirect answers, the post-question TCU gives information relating to the question, but only when read 'between the lines'. These types of answers typically contain hedging and modality.

Extract 3: Extract from interview 1

Interviewer	And by that do you mean a-a large immigration
	program or a
	(1.8)
Interviewee 1	Well depends what you mean by large
Interviewer	yeah
	(2.0)
Interviewee 1	Not unrestrained
Interviewer	right

In the extract above, the interviewer starts with a clarification question. The interviewee responds by focussing on the word 'large'. This is an indirect reply to the question posed as it does answer the question, but relates to only part of the question. By saying that large does not mean not unrestrained, the interviewee focuses on clarifying the description of the size of the immigration program. His final response of 'not unrestrained' in line 60 answers the question, but he has amended the wording of the question and thus co-constructed it with the interviewer.

In topically-relevant responses, the post-question turn by the recipient speaker relates topically but does not answer the question.

Extract 4: Extract from interview 1

Interviewer	So with the-with the Fitzgerald inquiry I mean
	you've mentioned that a stable immigration
	program and one that would s-support um (0.4)
	issues of structural aging (0.5) what about
	the composition because this was a key issue
	(.) um from from the Fitzgerald on[wards]
Interviewee 1	[Ahh]
	Fitzgerald did recommend (0.4) uh (0.3)
	incidentally (0.7) sort of rolling (0.3) u:m
	(0.4) targets on [immi]gration
Interviewer	[mm hm]
	(1.4)
Interviewee 1	Um
Interviewer	((coughs))
	(1.8)
Interviewee 1	[The organisation] (0.5) was supporti::ve (0.6) of (0. the
	programme (1.3) um tilting (0.6) more emphasis
	(1.3) towards um skilled (0.5) migration=
Interviewer	=uh huh
	(5.8)
Interviewee 1	and (2.2) the evidence is that (0.9) that's
	been (0.9) beneficial

At the beginning of this extract, the interviewer asks a question related to 'composition' of immigration (lines 114-119). However, instead of responding to that particular question, the interviewee picks up on the broader issue of the Fitzgerald inquiry. The interviewer notes the response but uses a continuer ‘mm hm’ instead of either moving on or rephrasing the question. This continuer was followed by a silence of about 1.4 seconds. The interviewee fills the silence with a change of activity token ‘um’ (line 126) which suggesting that this sequence can be closed. At this point, the interviewer starts coughing, which is followed by another long pause (1.8 seconds). The interviewee then continues the prior turn. The interviewee provides a continuer; however, instead of continuing, the interviewer stops again. This long silence of 5.8 seconds then leads to the interviewee continuing the turn again but still not responding to the question posed by the interviewer. The use of topically-relevant response is a strategy used by the interviewee to not respond to the particular question being asked. He also uses change of activity tokens to attempt to change the topic of the discussion. The interviewer, on the other hand, uses acknowledgements and continuers as well as silence to keep the speaker on topic. This use of the topically-relevant response is a strategy that reflects the interviewee’s position of power within the interview – he can choose not to give the answers that the interviewer is looking for. In turn, the interviewer refuses to take the floor when it is offered, and uses a range of response tokens as well as silence to keep the interviewee speaking. By doing this she is refusing to accept the response and instead negotiates power within the context of the interview, although ultimately, the material provided does not answer the question as clearly as it could.

In unrelated responses, the post-question turn by the other speaker does not relate topically to the question, nor does it answer the question.

Extract 5: Extract from interview 1

Interviewee 1 So:: (2.1) <notwithstanding> (0.5) that (0.3)
immigration (0.8) can (1.6) increase (0.5)
significantly (1) the demand (1) for (0.5)

housing (3) very few (0.1) of the (0.2)
migrants (1.2) add to the supply capacity (0.2)
of the [residential building industries]
[((phone goes off))]
Interviewer °Excuse me I should have turned it off° ((unzips
bag; phone continues))
(0.7)
Interviewee 1 °s'okay°
Interviewer mm
(0.6)
Interviewer Sorry
Interviewee 1 s'alright
Interviewer ((gets phone out and turns off))
(1.8)
Interviewee 1 Mm
Interviewer Sorry can you say that again 'cause I was
(0.5)
Interviewee 1 It’s on [tape] isn't it or=
Interviewer [(Describe)]
Interviewer =Sorry
Interviewee 1 Sor-is it on tape
(0.9)
Interviewee 1 No
(1.0)
Interviewee 1 it's not on tape
(0.5)
Interviewer What’s not on tape
Interviewee 1 My comments
(0.7)
Interviewee 1 Are th-they being taped or=
Interviewer =Yes yeah I asked you [if I] could tape them=
Interviewee 1 [Okay]
Interviewee 1 =right (.) so=
Interviewer =Yeah
(1.7)
Interviewer If you want I can turn it off if you
[don't want]
Interviewee 1 [No no no] no [no it's just tha]t it's just=
Interviewer [yeah yeah]
Interviewee 1 =that (0.4) you can replay it
Interviewer Okay

(0.4)
Interviewee 1 U::hum (1.3) °yeah just° ((takes a drink of
water)) (3.3) Migration adds to the demand of
goods and services (1.4) and (1.2) clearly
there's a (0.4) a-additional demand for
accommodation
(0.4)

Extract 5 above starts at a point where the interviewee is speaking, and the interviewer's phone begins to ring. The interviewer immediately takes the phone out to turn it off and apologises to the interviewee (line 266) for not having done so before. The interviewer accepts the apology (line 269), and then the interviewer repeats her apology (line 272), which is again accepted (line 273). However, as a result of the interruption, she appears to have missed part of what the interviewee had said and asks him to repeat it (line 277). However, instead of responding directly to the question, the interviewee says that his comment is being recorded and is on the tape. This is an unrelated response, as it does not answer the question. This response confuses the interviewer, who says ‘sorry’ (line 281) to which the interviewee again says that ‘it is on the tape’ (line 282). The interview appears still to be confused and responds with a ‘no’ (line 284). The interviewee then asks a confirmation question ‘its not on tape’ (line 286). This further confuses the interviewee who responds by asking ‘What’s not on tape’ (line 288). The interviewer gives a direct response to this question and says ‘my comments’ (line 289). There is a slight pause at that point after which the interviewee reformulates and repeats her question to ask if the session was being recorded. (line 291). The interviewee responds to this question with an affirmative, but appears to be further confused. She adds that she had sought permission for recording the session. At this point the pace of the conversation picks up which is marked by the overlaps between the two speakers. The interviewee says ‘okay’ (line 293) and then ‘yeah’ in line 295. This is followed by a long 1.7-

second pause. The interviewer appears to be perplexed by the interaction and the question about being recorded and asks if the interviewee would like the recorder to be turned off. The interviewee realises that her initial non-response (line 279) had not been understood and so clarifies it by saying that the interviewer can replay the recording. At this point the interviewer understands what the meaning of the initial response had been and acknowledges it (line 302). The interviewee then acknowledges the interviewer's understanding of the matter and after a drink of water continues where he had left off before the phone interruption. In going back to that point, he in fact repeats the point that he had made earlier and which has been missed by the interviewer due to the phone call.

While the interviewee appears to have accepted the interviewer's mistake of not turning off her phone, his refusal to respond to the interviewer's question quickly reflects his position of power. This refusal to respond after the apology had been made confuses the interviewer and leads the conversation into a potentially confrontational situation. This extract shows how the interviewee's non-response triggered a lengthy episode of misunderstanding and miscommunication, which triggered a sequence of repair to resolve the interruption to the interview. In not responding directly to the interviewer's question (line 277) and directing her to listen to the recording, the interviewee took on a position of power in the interview, with lasting ramifications for the course of the interview.

Response tokens

Response tokens refer to signals that a listener makes to indicate that he or she is listening and following the speaker. They give confirmation that the speaker's turn is being paid attention to as it progresses. There were four main types of response tokens in the data: continuers, acknowledgement tokens, newsmarkers, and change of activity tokens (Gardner, 2001). Continuers are “used to pass up the opportunity to take a more substantial turn at talk” (Gardner, 2001, 25-26). Thus, continuers typically occur at turns in conversation and allow the listener to take over the floor. By using a continuer, the listener signals to the speaker that they are listening and do not intend to take up the turn. Normally continuers are the only utterance in a turn. Some of the most common types of continuers in the data included: ‘mm hm’, ‘uh huh’, ‘yeah’ (with rising intonation) or ‘mm’ (with rising intonation).

Extract 6: Extract from interview 2

Interviewer	And was there also research being done by particular
	academics that informed (1.5) this decision Or was
	it largely (.) a longitudinal study
Interviewee 2	.h It was largely a longitudinal survey
	(0.2)
Interviewer	ye[ah
Interviewee 2	[And the analysis done by- of the longitudinal
	survey was done by (0.2) Professor Sue Richardson

Extract 6 above starts with a question that extends the previous discussion. The interviewee responds with a direct answer. The interviewer marks that she is following the response by using a continuer at the turn. The purpose of the continuer to is to let the speaker know that the listener is following them and wants the speaker to continue. In this case, the interviewee does continue with his turn.

Acknowledgement tokens, like continuers, suggest that there is “no problem in understanding or agreement” (Gardner, 2004, p. 34); however, unlike continuers, they are not used primarily to give the floor to the other speaker, but to make “a claim to adequate receipt of the prior turn”, and thus they are “more retrospective than continuers” (p. 34). ‘Yeah’ and ‘mm’ are the most common acknowledgement tokens in the data, and are usually made with falling intonation; ‘mm hm’ can also be used as an acknowledgement with a unique rise-fall intonation pattern.

Extract 7: Extract from interview 1

483	Interviewer	When the- when the review of the points test
484		occurred was this something (0.2) in which
485		[the organisation] was involved
486		(.)
487	Interviewee 1	Uh yeah we made recommendations (.) in respect
488		to (0.6) uh (0.2) things like (1.5) um (0.6)
489		regional (.) dispensation
490		(.)
490	Interviewer	mm
491		(0.8)
492	Interviewee 1	um (0.2) state sponsorship
493	Interviewer	m

The interview starts off in this extract with an extension question. The interviewee responds with a direct response, which is acknowledged in line 490. The interviewee then continues the turn, which is again acknowledged in line 493.

Newsmarkers indicate that the information given in the prior turn is new to the listener (Gardner, 2004, p. 40). These tokens show a change-of-state: from a person not-knowing to knowing (Heritage, 1984b). Examples of newsmarkers are ‘oh’, ‘right’, ‘really’, and minimal questions (e.g. Did they? Is that right?).

Extract 8: Extract from interview 2

491	Interviewee 2	[The bona fide testing] had a marginal impact in
492		reducement not a big deal [I think] I think that-I=
493	Interviewer	[Oh okay]
494	Interviewee 2	=think that’s more um (0.2) smoke and mirrors

495		(0.2)
496	Interviewer	Okay

In extract 8, the interviewee tells the interviewer about the ‘marginal impact’ of a particular policy, to which the interview responds with ‘Oh okay’. These newsmarkers signal that the listener has found the information newsworthy and in this context it builds solidarity by showing that the interviewer is not only following but appreciates the response to the question.

Change of activity tokens are used to “propose a readiness” to close the conversation or sequence (Gardner, 2004, p. 52). Examples of these tokens include ‘okay’ and ‘alright’. We saw one example of a change of activity token in extract 4 (line 126), where the interviewee used a change of activity token in an attempt to close the sequence of conversation, but this was ignored by the interviewer, who stayed silent instead of taking the floor. In the following extract from the second interview, the interviewer prefaces a new question with the change of activity token ‘alright.’

Extract 9: Extract from interview 2

457	Interviewee 2	And she may have been involved in the third wave
458		(0.3)
459	Interviewer	Mm
460		(1.2)
461	Interviewer	°Alright° (0.3) .hh Um (1.7) and I understand that
462		these changes were (0.5) ones that had to be brought
463		in fairly quickly (0.4) with the rebalancing of the
464		(0.8) [the streams]

The interviewer acknowledges the interviewees response to the prior question with ‘mm’ in line 459. There is a 1.2-second silence, then she says ‘alright’ quietly, takes an in breath, and begins the next question. 'Alright' used in this way signals the transition from the prior question to the clarification question that follows.

<u>Humour</u>

Humour includes jokes and laughter. A joke is an utterance that is perceived by the analyst to have triggered subsequent laughter from the co-interlocutor. While it is easy to identify laughter in the conversation, it is not always easy to identify the particular utterance that results in laughter. Furthermore, it is not always clear whether the utterance that is followed by laughter was intended to be funny, or was perceived to be funny without the speaker's intentions. These are therefore challenging scenarios to code and analyse. We consider below an example from interview 2.

Extract 10: Extract from interview 2

```
Interviewee 2   Um [Chris] Richardson was very (0.6) keen on (0.4)=
Interviewer        [right]
Interviewee 2   =analyzing immigration issues and so uh .h he did a
                lot of work for us
Interviewer     Was he uh the (0.2) (      ) economist at Access and
Interviewee 2   Yes
Interviewer     Is that right (.) okay mm .hh okay (.) um (0.7) [and]
Interviewee 2                                                   [No ]
                relation to Sue
                (0.7)
Interviewer     Right uh hah hah hah I did ask myself that question
                (.) Um So this was something that (0.2) eh (0.2)
                really (.) was (0.5) only being discussed um (0.6)
                post coalition (0.2) then (0.2) 'cause the results
                from the LSIA (0.8) didn't come out
```

In the extract above, the interviewee is referring to an economist Chris Richardson in his response to an earlier question and the interviewer acknowledges and asks a clarification question (line 803). The response to this clarification question is an affirmative, which appears as news to the interviewer, who uses a newsmarker ‘Is that right’ (line 805) followed by a number of acknowledgements followed by an ‘and’, which suggest that she was going to extend the further question. The interviewee then adds ‘No relation to Sue’. The interviewer acknowledges this addition and laughs. The interviewee does not reciprocate this laughter; however, in the absence of a video recording it is not possible to know whether the interviewee smiled to acknowledge this or not. Thus, it is not possible to say whether the laughter in this extract builds solidarity or power. If the laughter had been reciprocated, or was acknowledged by the interviewee in a different way, then it is possible that laughter would have built further solidarity. If, on the other hand, there was no reaction to the laughter, then the attempt to build solidarity could have been refused through the use of this move. This strategy can work either to negotiate power, or to build solidarity; but, in the given case, we cannot be certain about what is happening.

Interruption

Interruptions are overlaps with another speaker’s turn-in-progress at an incomplete TCU that result in the discontinuing of the original speaker’s turn. Interruptions can either be successful or unsuccessful. Successful interruptions are those where one causes the speaker to stop talking (Anderson and Leaper 1998). Inversely, unsuccessful interruptions do not cause the other speaker to stop talking.

Extract 11: Extract from interview 2

351	Interviewer	Mm (0.5) You’re saying that the main thing that
352		happened was that there were (0.3) increases in
353		(0.4)
354	Interviewee 2	The skill stream=
355	Interviewee 2	=[but th-the other thing that happened]=

Interviewer	[T h e s k i l l s t r e a m]
Interviewee 2	=with the skills stream increased [(0.4)] in the=

Extract 11 provides an example of a successful interruption. The interviewer begins asking a clarification question, but before the turn is complete, the interviewee begins speaking. The interviewer attempts to continue her question, but the interviewee takes over the floor and continues after the overlap in lines 355-356. Most of the successful interruptions analysed in the data were done by the interviewees. This can reflects solidarity in that the interlocutors are engaged in the conversation and therefore feel comfortable about following the lead given by the interviewer and following up on it without them being asked. However, it is also possible that interruptions are being used as a a sign of power; for example, when an interviewee interrupts a question or a comment and shifts away from the direction of questioning that the interviewer was pursuing, as seen in the following extract from the same interview:

Extract 13: Extract from interview 2

Interviewer	The decision to actually (.) conduct the LSIA (.)
	Was that any way informed by (0.3) concerns over the
	skill immigration (0.6) built up
	(0.4)
Interviewee 2	.tdk .h No I-I think it was a [view that]
Interviewer	[I think] migrant
Interviewee 2	it was-it was-it was a- it was certainly a view
	within the department

Extract 13 starts with a clarification question, which the interviewee begins to responds to in line 823. The interviewee then tries to interrupt his turn (line 824), but is not successful. The interviewee keeps the floor. Refusing to let the interviewer interrupt or add to the discussion can be seen as a power strategy. In this case, the interviewee is able to continue to keep the floor and deflect the interviewer's attempt to interrupt.

<u>Correction</u>

'Correction' as an indicator refers to "the replacement of an 'error' or 'mistake' by what is 'correct'" (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977, 363). The concept of repair in CA is a broader term, which refers to any orientation to the resolution of trouble in talk, to the perception of an error and to attempts to rectify it. An error is something that is treated as problematic by the current or recipient speaker. A speaker can correct one's own error in 'self-correction' or correct another's error in 'other-correction'.

Extract 14: Extract from interview 1

634	Interviewer	[Although those] changes (.)
635		preceded (0.2) the move the move of the (.)
636		concessional class didn't they Because concessional
637		class was moved over in (0.9) nineteen ninety seven
638		(.) but the main changes for the points test were in
639		(0.3) ninety-eight ninety-nine

In the extract above, the interviewer has a number of false starts and she does self-repair to re-shape the turn. In line 639, she does a self-correction by changing 'ninety-eight' to 'ninety-nine'. In the following extract from the first interview, the interviewee does other-correction of the interviewer's pronunciation of a term used in her question.

Extract 15: Extract from interview 2

191	Interviewer	So there was a-a clear up-skilling (0.2) when
192		the points test was reformed in (0.5) nineteen
193		ninety eight nine there was a severe clear
194		up-skilling (0.9) um (0.5) in terms of (0.3) uh

195		what sort of umm (1.9) um occupations would be
196		defined as skilled and the-and the-the MODL
197		(0.8) Migrants on Demand List was introduced
198		(0.7) What was [the organisation's] position on that
199	Interviewee 1	Um (0.4) Consistently (0.8) uh (0.5) had
200		reservations about (.) the (0.6) reliability
201		(0.3)
202	Interviewer	yeah=
203	Interviewee 1	=and efficacy (0.6) of uh (1.4) °I call it the
204		MODL°=
205	Interviewer	=MODL Sorry (.) yep (.) yeah you're probably
206		right (.) MODL yeah
207	Interviewee 1	I think it is
208	Interviewer	Yeah yeah you're right (.) yep
209		(1.2)
210	Interviewee 1	A::nd (3.3) its been an ongoing [issue]for=

At the beginning of Extract 15, the interviewer discusses the introduction of the 'MODL', and follows this acronym by saying the full name 'Migrants on Demand List'. This prefaces the question in line 198 about the interviewee's department's position on the introduction of the so-called 'MODL'. The interviewer begins a direct response to the question in lines 199-200, which the interviewer acknowledges in line 202. As the interviewee continues in line 203, he then interrupts the TCU-in-progress and says 'I call it the MODL', using a different pronunciation than the interviewer. The interviewer repeats the term with the pronunciation used by the interviewee, then says 'you're probably right', and repeats the term again with the same pronunciation. The interviewee then says 'I think it is', which seems to relate to the interviewer's use of 'probably' when she acknowledged the correction. The interviewer follows by renewing the acknowledgement without hedging and with repetition of 'yeah yeah you're right (.) yep'. After a 1.2-second pause, the interviewee resumes his answer. Other-correction in general is overwhelmingly dispreferred in conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977). Even though there was no threat to maintaining mutual understanding, the interviewee halts the progression of the interview by treating the pronunciation of the term as problematic and emphasising this correction over a series of turns. This is an example of other-correction being used to assert power as he establishes the correctness of his pronunciation, even after the interviewer has already acknowledged and adopted his pronunciation of the term.

Speaker assessment

Speaker assessment is evaluation of an interlocutor or an utterance expressed. Assessment can be self-initiated or other-initiated. Both self and other assessment can be either positive or negative.

Extract 16: Extract from interview 2

Interviewee 2	=That was before (0.3) [uh] before nineteen ninety=
Interviewer	[Yeah]
Interviewee 2	=five that's right
Interviewer	Exactly yeah (0.4) So the second welfare waiting
	period where it was extended to two years what- (0.2)
	I'm interested what you'd say is the key rationale
	behind that and whether you see this policy as
	driven by (0.4) um social security or (.) just
	coming more (0.2) from within immigration policy
	(0.7)

Extract 16 shows a positive other assessment done by the interviewer. The interviewee gives a date for a certain event, which is assessed as correct by the interviewee in the following turn 'exactly yeah' (line 65). Here the positive other assessment seems to build solidarity between the interviewer and interviewee as the interviewer displays their mutual understanding of the chronology of immigration policy events. Negative other assessment was not found in the data from one speaker to the other. Given that this kind of move is incredibly face-threatening in everyday contexts, it is unsurprising that it is not found in this high-stakes, formal environment. However, in Extract 15, the interviewer does negatively assess the MODL in his turn as he responds to the interviewer's query about his organisation's position on this measure. It is not obviously seen in this data how such assessment of people outside of the interview would relate to power or solidarity, but the category may become relevant in analysis of other interviews in the future.

4. Concluding analysis

This paper presented a preliminary set of strategies used by both the interviewers and interviewees in order to either exercise their relative power or to build solidarity with one another. By analysing a number of extracts from two interviews, we showed how the participants in these interviews used these strategies and consider their implications in relation to power or solidarity building. An understanding of these strategies can also be helpful in interpreting interviews by focusing not just on the words (content) of the interview, but also looking at other features of speech and interaction.

There are a number of implications of the work presented in this paper. First, the strategies identified and the examples discussed show that both interviewers and interviewees have power in the context of an elite interview. In contrast to the assumptions in the existing elite interviewing scholarly, an interviewee is not inherently powerless. While the interviewee may have more institutional or reputational power than an interviewee, an interviewer might challenge this situation by using different strategies within the context of an interview. In addition, participants can build solidarity, which also requires the interviewee to relinquish some power, by using these strategies. Building solidarity and deflecting power moves allow the interviewer to collect data that is more directly relevant to their questions.

Further, the strategies identified in this paper can be used in analysing and evaluating elite interview data. Researchers need to not only look at the substantive content of what an interviewee is providing, but also look at the various power/solidarity strategies being employed as they can provide useful information in interpreting and evaluating the data. The strategies described here can also be used to train interviewers. They can help an interviewer in understanding the various strategies that can be used to negotiate an interview in a way in which they maintain power and control of the process and collect the data that they want.

Appendix 1

Transcription notation (adapted from Jefferson 2004)

[	Indicates beginning of overlapping talk
]	Denotes end point of overlapping talk; often used with left brackets to show the beginning and end of a segment of overlapped talk
(1.2)	Indicates length of silence, measured in tenths of a second
(.)	Indicates a micropause, which is a silence shorter than 0.2 seconds
=	Indicates latched utterances, which are delivered with no break between them
:	Indicates lengthened sounds; more colons indicate a longer lengthening
-	Indicates that a sound is cut-off before the word or phrase is finished
word	Shows stress of a particular sound
<>	Indicates talk which is delivered at a noticeably slower rate than surrounding talk
><	Indicates talk which is delivered at a noticeably faster rate than surrounding talk
.h	Shows an audible inbreath; more ‘h’s indicates a longer breath; often used in combination with laughter tokens, e.g. huh or hah
°word°	Indicates talk that is noticeably quieter than the surrounding conversation
( )	Indicates that the talk between the brackets is not decipherable
(word)	Indicates that talk between the brackets is the transcriber’s best guess
((word))	Indicates transcriber’s notes

Appendix 2: Coding book:

A Strategies

Simultaneous category with Relationship (B) and Speaker (C). Indicates interactional qualities and/or grammatical constructions of turns.

A.1 Questions

Turn constructed grammatically as a question and/or a declarative with rising intonation, to which the preferred response is a relevant answer

A.1.1 New topic

Question which deals topically with information that has not yet been discussed; may be present on the interview schedule

A.1.2 Question posed in response to a previously-uttered turn

A.1.2.1 Clarification

A.1.2.2 Reformulation/repetition of prior question

A.1.2.3 Extension of prior question

A.2 Responses to questions

A.2.1 New response

Turn uttered by one speaker that comes directly after a question by the other speaker.

A.2.1.1 Direct Answer

Post-question TCU relates to and answers the question posed by the other speaker

A.2.1.2 Indirect Answer

Post-question TCU gives information relating to the question, but only when read 'between the lines'. Most likely this type of answer will contain hedging, modality and/or other indicators.

A.2.1.3 Topically-relevant response

Post-question turn by other speaker relates topically but does not answer the question; may include answers such as 'I don't know + additional information'

A.2.1.4 Unrelated response

Post-question turn by other speaker does not relate topically to the question nor does it answer the question

A.2.2 Continuation of response

Turn increments after the initial response turn that cumulatively create a long response

A.4 Response tokens

A.4.1 Continuers

e.g. mm hm, uh huh; "used to pass up the opportunity to take a more substantial turn at talk"; normally the only utterance in a turn (Gardner, 2004, pp. 25-26); 'yeah' or 'mm' with rising intonation can also be in this category (p. 29)

A.4.2 Acknowledgement tokens

e.g. yeah, mm; used, like continuers, to claim "no problem in understanding or agreement"; however, unlike continuers, they are not used primarily to give the floor to the other speaker, but to make "a claim to adequate receipt of the prior turn", and thus they are "more retrospective than continuers" (p. 34).

‘yeah’ is the most common one, and it is usually done with falling intonation; ‘mm hm’ can also do acknowledgement with a unique rise-fall intonation pattern (p. 49)

A.4.3 Newsmarkers

e.g. oh, right, really, minimal questions (e.g. Did they?); indicate that the information given in the prior turn is new to the listener (p. 40). In particular, a lot of work has been done on ‘oh’ as a ‘change-of-state’ marker from not-knowing to knowing (Heritage, 1984).

A.4.4 ‘Change of activity’ tokens

e.g. okay, alright; these tokens are used to “propose a readiness” to close the conversation or sequence (p. 52)

A.6 Humour

A.6.1 Joke

Utterance which is perceived by the analyst to have triggered subsequent laughter from the co-interlocutor

A.6.2 Laughter

Occurrence of laughter token(s)

A.7 Interruption

Turn which overlaps with another speakers turn-in-progress (at an incomplete TCU) and results in the discontinuing of the original speaker’s turn

A.7.1 Successful interruptions

Interruptions where one causes the speaker to stop talking (Anderson and Leaper 1998; Beattie 1981; Roger and Nesshoever 1987; West and Zimmerman 1983)

A.7.2 Unsuccessful interruptions

Interruptions that do not cause the other speaker to stop talking

A.11 Repair & Correction

Repair occurs when there is some kind of trouble that occurs in talk that prevents its progression and this trouble is attended to by one of the interlocutors.

Correction occurs when a speaker attends to the factual integrity of an utterance. The progression of talk is not at stake, as in the case of repair.

A.11.1 Self-repair

A.11.2 Other-repair

A.11.3 Self-correction

A.11.4 Other-correction

A.12 Speaker assessment

Evaluation of an interlocutor or the utterance expressed

A.12.1 Self-assessment

A.12.1.1 Positive

A.12.1.2 Negative

A.12.2 Other-assessment

A.12.2.1 Positive

A.12.2.2 Negative

B Relationships

Simultaneous category with Indicators (A) and Speaker (C). Indicates places where shifts in the relationship between speakers are perceived to have occurred.

B.1 Power

B.2 Solidarity

C Speakers

Simultaneous category with Indicators (A) and Relationship (A). Indicates the speaker of a given utterance with its accompanying indicators/relationship.

- C.1 Interviewee
- C.2 Interviewer

References

Abels, G. and Behrens, M. (2009) Interviewing Experts in Political Science: A Reflection on Gender and Policy Effects based on Secondary Analysis. in A. Bogner, B. Littig and W. Menz (eds) *Interviewing Experts.* Houndsmill, Baskingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: ECPR Research Methods Series, pp. 138-56.

Acker, J., Barry, K., Esseveld, J. (1983) 'Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research', *Women's Studies Int. Forum,* **6(4),** 423-35.

Anderson, K. J. and Leaper, C. (1998) 'Meta-Analyses of Gender Effects on Conversational Interruption: Who, What, When, Where and How', *Sex Roles,* **39(3/4),** 225-52.

Berry, J. (2002) 'Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing', *PS: Political Science and Politics,* **35(4),** 679-82.

Brady, H. and Collier, D. (2004) *Rethinking social inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards,* Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Brians, C. L., Willnat, L., Manheim, J. B. and Rich, R. C. (2010) *Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods*, Longman.

Burnham, P., Lutz, K. G., Grant, W. and Layton-Henry, Z. (2008) *Elite Interviewing*, Palgrave Macmillan

Cotterill, P. (1992) 'Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability and Power', *Women's Studies Int. Forum,* **15,** 593-606.

Davies, P. (2001) 'Spies as Informants: Triangulation and the Interpretation of Elite Interview Data in the Study of the Intelligence and Security Services', *Politics,* **21(1),** 73-80.

Devault, M. L. and Gross, G. (2007) Feminist interviewing: Experience, talk, and knowledge. in S. N. Hesse-Biber (ed) *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 173-97.

Desmond, M. (2004) 'Methodological challenges posed in studying an elite in the field', *Area,* **36(3),** 262-69.

Dexter, L. (1970) *Elite and Specialized Interviewing,* Evanston Ill, Northwestern University Press.

Fontana, A. and Frey, J. H. (2000) The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text. in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp. 645-72.

Gardner, R. (2001) *When listeners talk: response tokens and listener stance,* Amsterdam, J. Benjamins Publishing.

George, A. L. and Bennett, A. (2005) *Case studies and theory development in the Social Sciences,* Cambridge/London, MIT Press.

Goldstein, K. (2002) 'Getting in the Door: Sampling and Completing Elite Interviews', *PS: Political Science and Politics,* 35(4), 669-72.

Heritage, J. (1984a) *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology,* Cambridge [Cambridgeshire], Polity Press.

Heritage, J. (1984b) A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. in J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds) *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 299-345.

Heritage, J. (1998) Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analyzing distinctive turn-taking systems. *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of IADA (International Association for Dialog Analysis).* Tubingen: Niemeyer, pp. 3-17.

Jefferson, G. (2004) Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction. in G. H. Lerner (ed) *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 13-31.

King, G., Keohane, R. O. and Verba, S. (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research,* New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Kitzinger, C. (2013). Repair. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 229-256). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
Leech, B. L. (2002) 'Interview Methods in Political Science', *PS: Political Science and Politics,* **35(4),** 663-64.
Lilleker, D. (2003) 'Doing Politics, Interviewing the Political Elite: Navigating a Potential Minefield', *Politics,* **23(3),** 207-14.
Marshall, C. (1984) 'Elites, Bureaucrats, Ostriches, and Pussycats: Managing Research in Policy Settings ', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* **15(3),** 235-51.
McDowell, L. (1998) 'Elites in the City of London: some methodological considerations', *Environment and Planning A,* **30,** 2133-46.
Meuser, M. and Nagel, U. (1997) Das ExpertInneninterview - Wissensoziologische Voraussetzungen und methodische Durchfuehrung. in B. Friebertshaeuser and A. Prengel (eds) *Handbuch Qualitative Forschungsmethoden in der Erziehungswissenschaft.* Weinheim/Muenchen: Juventa, pp. 481-91.
Mondada, L. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to data collection. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 32-56). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. in H. Roberts (ed) *Doing Feminist Research.* London: Routledge, pp. 30-61.
Olesen, V. (2005) Early millenial feminist qualitative research: Challenges and contours. in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 235-78.
Peabody, R., Webb Hammond, S., Torcom, J., Brown, LP., Thompson, C., Kolodny, R. (1990) 'Interviewing Political Elites', *PS: Political Science and Politics,* **23(3),** 451-55.
Rathbun, B. C. (2008) Interviewing and Qualitative Field Methods: Pragmatism and Practicalities. in J. M. Box-Steffensmeier, H. E. Brady and D. Collier (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 685-701.
ReCal (2013) ReCal: reliability calculation for the masses, available at http://dfreelon.org/utils/recalfront/, accessed 16 August 2013.
Richards, D. (1996) 'Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls', *Politics,* **16(3),** 199-204.
Rivera, S., Kozyreva, PM., Sarovskii, EG. (2002) 'Interviewing Political Elites: Lessons from Russia', *PS: Political Science and Politics* **34(4),** 683-88.
Sacks, H. (1992). On sampling and subjectivity. In G. Jefferson (Ed.), *Lectures on Conversation* (Vol. 1, pp. 482-488). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A. and Jefferson, G. (1974) 'A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation', *Language,* **50(4),** 696-735.
Sarikakis, K. (2003) 'A Feminist in Brussels (and Glasgow, Berlin, Duesseldorf....): Self-configuration in Research into European Union Politics', *European Journal of Women's Studies,* **10,** 423-41.
Schegloff, E. A. (2006). Interaction: The infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is enacted *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 70-96).
Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G. and Sacks, H. (1977) 'The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation', *Language,* **53(2),** 361-82.
Schoenberger, E. (1992) 'Self-criticism and self-awareness in research: a reply to Linda McDowell', *Professional Geographer,* **44(2),** 215-18.

Smith, K. (2006) 'Problematising power relations in 'elite' interviews', *Geoforum,* **37,** 643-53.
Tansey, O. (2007) 'Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-probability Sampling', *Political Science and Politics,* October 2007, 765-72.
Ten Have, P. (2007) *Doing conversation analysis*, SAGE Publications Limited.