

**EVASION STRATEGIES BY POLITICIANS IN NEWS
INTERVIEWS**

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ABSTRACT

This research is a comparative study of evasion practices between Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak (Malaysian politician) and President Barack Obama (American politician) in selected news interviews. For each evasive answer given by the politicians, the researcher adapted Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion in determining the level of evasion and exploring how the politicians evaded questions by using specific strategies. In order to analyze the data, the researcher used the Conversational Analysis (CA) approach to see how the turn-taking of the participants was organized in the news interviews as they asked and answered questions.

The main data consists of four political news interviews, two with Prime Minister Najib Razak and two with President Barack Obama. The videos of the news interview were downloaded from the YouTube website and together they lasted for approximately 110 minutes. The topics discussed in the news interviews with both the politicians differed due to the different national and international issues they were dealing with.

The findings of the research showed that both politicians practiced evasion in the news interviews at different levels. President Barack Obama from the U.S. evaded the questions at three levels according to Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion. The levels include full evasion, substantial evasion, and medium-level evasion. Whereas the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak, evaded the questions from interviewers using substantial and medium-level evasions.

In addition, the findings also showed how politicians evade answering in news interviews by applying various evasion strategies. Prime Minister Najib Razak used various strategies to evade including anaphoric pronoun, operating on the question, justifying shift, and subversive word repeat. Whereas President Barack Obama used

strategies such as justifying shift, minimizing the divergence, token request for permission, anaphoric pronoun, and operating on the question. Surprisingly, all of these strategies were applied in both covert and overt ways by the politicians. Furthermore, the findings also revealed other evasion strategies applied by the politicians in this study that are not included in Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion. The strategies include generalization in language, hedging, declining to answer, address term, and overlapping utterance. Based on the frequency of the strategies used, the findings revealed that the evasion practiced by Prime Minister Najib Razak is deemed to be more covert in nature as compared to the evasion of President Barack Obama.

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ABSTRAK

Kajian ini adalah kajian komparatif mengenai praktis hindar antara Perdana Menteri Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak (ahli politik Malaysia) dan Presiden Barack Obama (ahli politik Amerika) dalam temuduga berita yang terpilih. Pengkaji menggunakan rangka kerja hindar yang diasaskan oleh Clayman (2001) dalam menentukan tahap hindar dan meneroka bagaimana ahli-ahli politik menghindari soalan-soalan dengan menggunakan strategi-strategi yang spesifik berdasarkan jawapan yang diberikan oleh ahli-ahli politik tersebut. Untuk menganalisis data, pengkaji telah menggunakan pendekatan Analisis Perbualan (AP) untuk melihat bagaimana ukutan giliran setiap peserta ketika menyoal soalan dan menjawab soalan dalam temuduga berita tersebut.

Data utama termasuk empat temuduga berita politik, dua adalah bersama Perdana Menteri Najib Razak dan dua lagi bersama Presiden Barack Obama. Video-video temuduga politik ini dimuat turun dari laman sesawang YouTube dan video ini adalah kira-kira selama 110 minit. Topik-topik yang dibincangkan dalam temuduga berita bersama dengan kedua-dua ahli politik tersebut berbeza disebabkan oleh perbezaan negara dan isu-isu antarabangsa yang dikendalikan oleh mereka.

Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa kedua-dua ahli politik mempraktikkan hindar dalam temuduga berita pada semua tahap. Presiden Barack Obama dari Amerika Syarikat menghindari soalan-soalan pada tiga tahap menurut rangka kerja hindar Clayman (2001). Tahap-tahap tersebut termasuklah hindar penuh, hindar besar, dan hindar sederhana. Manakala ahli politik Malaysia, Perdana Menteri Najib Razak, menghindari soalan-soalan daripada penemuduga pada tahap hindar besar dan hindar sederhana.

Selain daripada itu, hasil kajian juga menunjukkan bagaimana ahli-ahli politik dalam temuduga berita dengan menggunakan pelbagai strategi hindar. Perdana Menteri Najib Razak menggunakan pelbagai strategi untuk menghindari soalan termasuklah kata ganti nama anafora, kendalian ke atas soalan, pengalihan yang berjustifikasi, dan pengulangan kata subversif. Manakala Presiden Barack Obama menggunakan strategi-strategi seperti pengalihan yang berjustifikasi, meminimumkan penyimpangan, tanda permintaan untuk keizinan, kata ganti nama anafora, dan kendalian ke atas soalan. Menariknya, kesemua strategi ini diaplikasikan dengan cara tersembunyi dan terbuka oleh ahli-ahli politik tersebut. Selain itu, hasil kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa terdapat strategi-strategi hindar lain yang tidak termasuk dalam rangka kerja hindar Clayman (2001) telah diaplikasikan oleh ahli-ahli politik dalam kajian ini. Strategi-strategi tersebut termasuklah generalisasi dalam bahasa, “hedging”, menolak untuk menjawab, “address term”, dan ucapan bertindih. Berdasarkan pada frekuensi strategi yang digunakan, hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa praktis hindar oleh Perdana Menteri Najib Razak dikira lebih bersifat tersembunyi berbanding Presiden Barack Obama.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

IR	:	Interviewer
IE	:	Interviewee
LoV	:	Levels of Evasion
P	:	Politicians
D	:	Data
ES	:	Evasion Strategies

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study aims to explore the evasion practices employed by politicians from two different countries, namely Malaysia and the United States of America (U.S.). This chapter discusses the background of news interviews, the political systems in Malaysia and the U.S., and the problems that led to this study being conducted. In addition, this chapter also covers the aims of the study and how the study benefits the readers and second language (L2) learners in understanding evasive language. Lastly, it also covers the limitations and significance of the study, and the definitions of terms used in this study.

1.1 Background of the Study

News interviews have been greatly studied by researchers around the world over the last half of the 20th century (Montgomery, 2008). Undeniably, the news interview has a special place in the setting of broadcast journalism and political communication. The rise of the news interview as a media platform for politicians to deliver messages publicly has attracted many researchers to conduct research in this field. The news interview is an interesting subject to study as it offers unscripted encounters between journalists and a broad range of public figures, including government officials who hold the highest position such as prime minister or president. Clayman

and Heritage (2002a, p. 13) describe it as “a course of interaction to which the participants contribute on a turn-by-turn basis, for the most part by asking and answering questions”. In other words, it can be understood that the news interview is a mediated platform for journalists and politicians to produce news through the exchange of question-answer between them.

Montgomery (2008) described four types of broadcast news interviews that serve different purposes, namely accountability interviews, experiential interviews, and expert interviews. However, the present study takes only accountability interviews into consideration as they are related to the purpose of the study – to explore the evasion practices among the politicians. Montgomery (2008) explained that the accountability interview emphasizes the responsibility of a public figure to justify the issue or event either for the sake of his own deeds, words, or actions/statements of the institution with which he is associated. Therefore, it is notable for this study as the journalist will ask questions that are designed to seek justifications for the politicians’ lines of action and also to challenge them.

When discussing news interviews with public figures such as politicians, the media takes a step forward to create a more flexible, lively, and influential tool to produce news. In doing so, the journalists take a chance to be more aggressive in the style of questioning. Due to that, the response given by the politicians is mostly challenged, probed, clarified, and even reformulated (Heritage, 1985). This view is supported by Heritage and Clayman (2013), who concurred that journalists tend to increase the pressure on politicians to address particular issues in news interviews. Despite that demanding condition, politicians are expected to give a commitment when answering the questions in news interviews. The commitment can be in the form of a

pledge, affirmation, declaration, promise, assurance, or even swearing an oath (Bull, 2008). However, politicians may also avoid those kinds of speech acts when they have to deal with adversarial questions that might threaten their credibility or their “face” – “the positive social value a person claims for himself” (Goffman, 1955, p. 222). In fact, Clayman (1993) claims that politicians sometimes answer straightforwardly but they may also attempt to evade the questions when responding to journalists. Bull (2008) also states that politicians are often portrayed as slippery and evasive, or even as being downright deceitful. These terms are made relevant to the context of political news interviews as evasion becomes a powerful tool for politicians. It gives the politicians an opportunity to make statements without necessarily giving any information at hand. Therefore, the study of evasiveness in politicians’ language in news interviews is a very meaningful subject to explore.

The study of news interviews has attracted many researchers to look more in depth at the evasion practices among politicians from different countries with different kinds of approaches, which will be explained more detailed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the political systems in Malaysia and the U.S. will be explained below for more insights in this study.

1.1.1 The Political System in Malaysia

According to Knirsch and Kratzenstein (2010) in their international report, Malaysia is considered as “a constitutional, democratic parliamentary elective monarchy” (p. 96). The tradition of a constitution has been upheld since independence in 1957 as it serves as a key to preserving harmony among Malaysian citizens. In view of media and politics in Malaysia, the

endless communication platforms such as Internet, provides a forum for Malaysians to criticize the government easily (Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010). This is due to an exposure of wide information for different parties in the Malaysian political regime. However, the media in Malaysia still concerns to censor any critical voices online (Weiss, 2012). Weiss (2012) also mentioned in her book that the government ruled by Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak, has received a lot of criticism from Malaysian citizens through media such as blogs. As a result, the Prime Minister chose to increase the openness and accountability of the government through the media forms of Twitter, Facebook and perhaps, news interviews are being held purposely to inform the public of what the government is doing as well (Leong, 2015). These media platforms help to inform public about current political events of the day and new plans published to readers (Knirsch & Kratzenstein, 2010). Nevertheless, media freedom in Malaysia is still restricted to the extent that "the media in Malaysia is fully controlled by the government and media companies associated with government leaders for political survivability of ruling government party and leaders to hold the power" (Mohd Aizuddin, 2005, p. 341). This sort of control in media freedom may probably shore up the government's reputation in terms of upgrading national security and political stability through the words of the Prime Minister as the leader of the government. Therefore, it is vital to study the ways Malaysian politicians answer questions pertaining to the Malaysian government in political news interviews, despite any criticisms Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak has received. Additionally, the role of media freedom in Malaysia in restricting the availability of news or information to the public may be slightly countered by the presence of Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak in disseminating news to the public via news interviews.

1.1.2 The Political System in the United States

The political system in the United States (U.S.) is rather similar to Malaysia to the extent that both are considered as constitutional democracies. The U.S. government is primarily shaped by two major political parties namely the Democratic and the Republican. The latest president, Barack Obama, won the election in 2008 making him the head of government in the United States (U.S.). President Barack Obama has surprisingly brought new ideas and values to his administration as he has called for the transparency and openness of his government. Coglianese (2009) asserts that these open government reforms are deemed as politically appealing in the short term as it can attract many voters and supporters from the U.S. communities. However in the long run, this strategy is quite risky to the extent that it may create distrust or suspicion among the public, thus disappointing them as well. It may in fact, disrupt the internal deliberation and increase the criticisms of government officials. Therefore, it is crucial to study the way the U.S. politicians answer the questions posed by interviewers in the political news interviews, as what is inherently linked to President Barack Obama's concept of transparency.

Based on these backgrounds of the political systems and their regimes in Malaysia and the U.S. respectively, it can be concluded that it is meaningful to conduct this study of how politicians project their answers in news interviews by means of evasion practices. Furthermore, the comparison study of evasion practices between Malaysia and the U.S. is deemed justifiable in highlighting the evasion practices in answering questions as both of the national leaders are carrying different ideas politically. As mentioned above, Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak celebrates the openness of his government but at the same time, he still sets restrictions on

the media to reveal anything about his government's decisions. On the other hand, President Barack Obama upholds the idea of transparency in government and welcomes interviews or conferences to talk about the government's policies. So, these ideas of two politicians contrast in terms of the openness of the government.

The study explores the evasion practiced by Prime Minister Najib Razak (Malaysia) and President Barack Obama (the United States) in answering questions which might result in damaging their face as trustworthy public figures. In political news interviews, there might always be room for interviewers to ascertain the direct justification from the politicians by asking adversarial questions. These adversarial questions would thereby, give challenges to politicians as they are held accountable for any responses given. Therefore, this study offers insight into the level of evasion practiced by politicians in news interviews, while they also endeavor to conceal the fact in order to avoid any negative consequences.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Politicians are known to be ambiguous in their speeches for the purpose of hiding their true agenda from the public (Bull, 2008). Evasion occurs recurrently in the context of political news interviews where the broadcast audiences are not present when the interview is being held. As discussed earlier, most interviewers attempt to pose hostile questions in order to make the interview session more challenging and adversarial in nature (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). In turn, the politicians are required to answer the hostile questions despite the challenges involved.

Therefore, it can be said that politicians are expected to respond to every question asked by the interviewer in news interviews.

Apart from that, the broadcast audiences or general public are easily misled by the information given by politicians in news interviews. The information given by the politicians in news interviews might be misleading when they use evasion strategies. Due to the public's lack of awareness of this phenomenon, people might treat every politician's answers as true and reliable. Hence, it is important for the general public to know what makes answers evasive as it will benefit them in choosing and supporting the right leader.

Other than that, only a few studies have been conducted in Malaysia about the evasion practices among politicians. Most of the evasion studies have been conducted on British politicians, American politicians, Chinese, and Montenegrin politicians (Clayman, 1993; 2001; Bull, 2008; Li, 2006; Vukovic, 2013). Therefore, there are insights to be gained from a study of how Malaysian politicians evade the questions in news interviews.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study examines the practices of evasion among Malaysian and the U.S. politicians in political news interviews. More specifically, this study aims to:

1. Explore the levels of evasion among Malaysian and U.S. politicians in news interviews.
2. Examine how Malaysian and U.S. politicians evade the questions in news interviews.

1.4 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the levels of evasion among Malaysian and U.S. politicians in news interviews?

By answering this question, the researcher will be able to categorize the levels of evasion practiced by both Malaysian and U.S. politicians in news interviews based on the selected research data, as either full, medium-level, substantial or subtle evasion.

2. How do Malaysian and U.S. politicians evade the questions in news interviews? By answering this question, the researcher will be able to show the strategies used by both Malaysian and U.S. politicians in an attempt to evade the question in news interviews. The types of evasion practices (overt and covert) and their elements will be highlighted.

1.5 Scope of the Study

- i. Politicians

In this study, the politicians involved in the selected news interviews are from Malaysia and the U.S. The Malaysian politician, Dato Sri Najib Abdul Razak is the Prime Minister of the country. Meanwhile, the U.S. politician, Barack Obama, is the U.S. President. It thus excluded the other

kinds of politicians such as Deputy Minister, Sports Minister, and so forth. These two prominent politicians were chosen because they hold the top position in their countries and are responsible for any policies made by their other ministries and societies. Hence, the scope of the study only encompassed the analysis of the evasive answers and their practices among Prime Minister Dato Sri Najib Abdul Razak and President Barack Obama.

ii. Political news interview discourse

The study is only conducted in the news interview context, which is mainly focusing on the political issues discussed by the politicians in the domain of question – answer sequences. In particular, the study only looked at the evasion practices among the politicians in one-on-one interviews – the participants are only the interviewer and interviewee.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations for this study. First of all, the analysis of this study is deemed as inconclusive as it cannot be generalized to all Malaysian and U.S. politicians. The findings of this study can only explain the evasion practices by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama.

Apart from that, this study is also limited in a choice of evasion strategies because the researcher mostly looked at the verbal or linguistic strategies as presented in the Clayman's (2001) framework. The non-verbal strategies such as gaze, laughter, and prosodic variation were

excluded. Therefore, the transcription notations only included the overlapping utterances, pauses, stress marks and so forth as explained in detail in Chapter 3.

Lastly, the limitations of this study include the length of the news interview data. One of the news interviews with President Barack Obama was twice as long as the other three interviews, 47 minutes, compared to 25 minutes (interview 1 with Prime Minister Najib Razak), 18 minutes (interview 1 with Prime Minister Najib Razak), and 20 minutes (interview 2 with President Barack Obama). This unequal distribution of the length might have influenced the findings of the study.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in the field of political communication as it addresses awareness of evasion practices used by the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak, and the U.S. politician, President Barack Obama. Having the knowledge of evasion practices, politicians might be able to practice answering problematic questions effectively in news interviews as they are held accountable in the eyes of public for the justifications they give.

Besides that, this study benefits the general public in evaluating the statements given by politicians in news interviews. By exploring the evasion practices used by politicians, the public will be able to evaluate politicians' statements accurately and avoid misleading information. Therefore, they will be able to analyze and evaluate the truthfulness of the information given.

Lastly, this study also serves as a guide to second language (L2) users in using the language practically in a social interaction. It helps L2 learners to counter any arguments made in interactions or any challenging questions in daily interactions. For example, L2 learners will know how to use evasive language when facing difficult questions from friends or teachers at school. As Clayman (2001) stated about being evasive, this act can give advantages or disadvantages to the individuals depending on how they use it, where they use it, and why they use it specifically. Furthermore, the use of language-specific evasion also helps L2 learners to be indirect in giving messages to other people. This is because it can promote a good relationship among them as politeness is valued. Therefore, it can be understood that this study is also significant to enhancing communication strategies in a social interaction (Buller & Burgoon, 1994) especially among the L2 learners and L2 speakers.

1.8 Definition of Terms

1. **News interview:** News is defined as “information about current or recent events, happenings, or changes taking place outside the immediate purview of the audience and which is considered to be of likely interest or concern to them” (Montgomery, 2007, p. 4). Clayman and Heritage define interview as “a course of interaction to which the participants contribute on a turn-by-turn basis, for the most part by asking and answering questions” (2002a, p. 13).

2. **Adversarial question:** A question that sets the challenge to the interviewee in answering it, either damaging his face (“the positive social value a person claims for himself”; Goffman, 1955, p. 222) or setting at restriction on his selection of possible answers (Rendle-Short, 2007).

3. **Evasion:** Evasion is regarded as “actions that are treated as inadequately responsive by the interview participants” (Clayman, 2001, p. 407).

4. **Assertiveness**

Assertiveness concerns “the degree to which the journalist manages to suggest or imply or push for a particular response in the course of asking a question” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b, p. 762).

1.9 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the rationale and general idea of this study. The statement of the problem, research objectives, and research questions are also included in this chapter to show the overall direction of this study. In addition, the significance of the study, limitation and definition of terms are also thoroughly discussed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses related studies on news interviews, adversarial questioning, and evasion techniques and strategies using different frameworks. Previous and current studies of the aforementioned areas are discussed in detail and synthesized towards the end of the chapter.

2.1 News Interview

The news interview is different from an ordinary conversation (or even slightly different from talk shows, panel discussions, debates, and audience participation programs). Clayman and Heritage (2002a) stated that, “news interview encounters have been prearranged for the benefits of the media audience” (p. 67), which means that the interviewee is invited before the interview goes on air. Besides that, it is also fundamentally understood as an interaction process between a journalist who acts as an interviewer and one or more people who have authority in society (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). Based on this definition, the interviewer is someone who is a professional in journalism rather than a partisan advocate or merely a celebrity entertainer. The interviewee is likely someone who holds authority as a public figure such as a politician, a party leader or a certified expert and has some relation to current news events. The audience plays no active role in the interaction. They simply act as an “overhearing audience”. Furthermore, as the

definition suggests, the interaction in the news interview is the product of question and answer which normally focus on matters related to recent news events (Heritage, 1985; Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). Compared to an ordinary conversation, the news interview is regarded as an institutional talk in which a few distinct features are observed in aspects of turn-taking patterns and the recipients of the message (Heritage, 1984; Clayman & Heritage, 2002a).

2.1.1 Turn-taking in the News Interview

As a whole, the news interview is normally restricted to only questions and answers as it is conducted formally and face to face. Besides that, the interview participants act under the token of institutional roles – interviewer and interviewee. The turn-taking system serves to shape the production of questions and answers in news interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a).

As far as the turn-taking system is concerned, it functions practically as a means for the interview participants to manage the legal and moral constraints that shape this form of talk (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) so that the goal of the interview is institutionally oriented between the participants involved (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The legal and moral constraints refer to the rules and restrictions set on the interviewer and interviewee in managing their interactions in the news interview context. More specifically, it shows how the interview participants adhere to the boundaries and also encroach on it to certain extents (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). For example, in the news interviews' turn-taking system, the interviewer is restricted to only asking questions,

by contrast, the interviewee answers the questions asked by the interviewer. This legal and moral constraint shapes the turn-taking system to follow this simple pattern:

- 1 Question (Interviewer)
- 2 Answer (Interviewee)
- 3 Question (Interviewer)
- 4 Answer (Interviewee)

This pattern of turn-taking is also called “turn-type pre-allocation” where the exchange of question-answer is pre-allocated in reference to the roles of interviewer and interviewee in the news interview setting (Atkinson & Drew, 1979). In short, it can be simply meant that the interviewer is not supposed to express opinions, debate, agree with, support, or defend the interviewee. Likewise, the interviewee is not supposed to ask questions of the interviewer, make solicited comments on previous remarks, initiate change of topic, or divert the discussion into criticism of the interviewer. Due to these restrictions, Clayman and Heritage (2001) argued that the interviewer’s questions might adversely affect the agenda of the interviewee’s response and the evaluation of interviewee’s answers by the interviewer, be it to be honest, truthful, combative or to certain extent, evasive. Furthermore, the interviewer is allowed to take control, leading to new topics and deciding when to end the interview. Thus, the interaction in news interviews is socially constructed based on the formal features of news interviews and the understanding of the interviewer and interviewee in reaching the goal of the interview.

2.1.2 Talk for Overhearing Audience

Given the explanation of the turn-taking system in news interviews, it is notable that news interviews possess a distinctive feature of the turn-taking system which is that both the

interviewer and interviewee are conventionally required to strictly adhere to either questioning or answering without violating their roles. In particular, this setting involves the production of talk for an “overhearing audience” (Drew & Heritage, 1992). This simply means that the responses given by the interviewee are not directly addressed to the interviewer although the question *per se* is asked by the interviewer. In return, the interviewer withholds vocal acknowledgment (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) so that he might not appear as the first recipient of the response given. Moreover, it also helps the interviewer to take a stance in neutrality as the news interview’s turn-taking pattern suggests.

The distinctive features of news interviews as mentioned earlier – turn-taking and an “overhearing audience” – have made news interviews an interesting subject for researchers to study aspects of neutrality, adversarial challenges, and most specifically evasiveness, aspects which will be discussed further in the following sections.

2.1.3 Types of News Interviews

Many researchers (Heritage, 1985; Harris, 1991; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) agree that the broadcast news interview is widely acceptable as a form of news report and presentation (Lundell & Eriksson, 2010), which offers journalists a fundamental tool for sourcing quotable materials to highlight the news (Montgomery, 2008). According to Montgomery (2008), there are three main generic types of interview: the accountability interview, the experiential interview, and the expert interview. The first involves public figures such as politicians being interviewed in relation to a relevant current news event (Montgomery, 2008). In

this kind of interview, the interviewee is held accountable for what they say or justify throughout the spoken interaction with the interviewer. This is because the interviewee is ostensibly featured as both participant and “newsmaker” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a) in the course of interaction. They are informally involved in shaping the news event (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a), which will generate the material to be used for accountability purposes in the aftermath of the interview. Even though they are not directly involved in the news event, they are actually certified to comment on it based on their specific knowledge of the subject. In this type of interview, the journalists are often more adversarial in their questioning strategies and push the interviewee to give desired answers (Clayman, 2001; Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Montgomery, 2008), but at the same time preserve their stance of neutrality as an interviewer.

In contrast, the experiential interview involves an ordinary individual being interviewed to speak about an event he witnesses, survives, or experiences himself (Montgomery, 2008). In other words, the interviewee is invited to express his feelings, thoughts or opinions about the first-hand experience he had, be it as a witness, victim, or survivor. In this type of interview, the interviewer normally covers only “bad news” such as natural disasters, accidents, and emergencies (Montgomery, 2008). Montgomery (2008) further stated that the construction of the experiential interview is simpler and shorter compared to the accountability interview. There is no overlap between turns of both interviewer and interviewee in this interview. This is due to the undisputable perspectives elicited by the witness or the survivor of an event as he has a personal and particular connection to the news material.

In regard of the expert interview, the interviewee is likely someone expert in the field with a particular and relevant credential. Montgomery (2008) stated that,

the expert interview is designed to elucidate the event or topic of the news by providing “background” through eliciting supplementary information, clarifying unfamiliar concepts, spelling out the implications of a development or providing independent comment. (p. 270)

In this type of interview, the interviewee is interviewed to explain particular issues in the news using his expert knowledge. He may also need to clarify certain concepts precisely in order to provide a qualified explanation to the public. For example, in the expert interview extract with BBC for the topic of cannabis, Montgomery (2008) mentioned that the expert interviewee re-formulated the unqualified comparative “more powerful” given by the interviewer with the term “more potent”. Despite the element of re-formulation, it is deemed as not evasive rather it is described as one of “striving for accuracy” (Montgomery, 2008).

In turn, it is perhaps not surprising to see evasiveness (Clayman, 2001; Clayman and Heritage, 2002a; Heritage & Clayman, 2013; Montgomery, 2008) in the course of politicians’ answering practices.

2.2 Questioning and Answering Practices in News Interviews

The study of news interviews has revolved around questioning practices by journalists and answering practices by politicians. These two kinds of practices are the main sources producing news for the public. As discussed in previous sections, news interviews can be a media platform for politicians to give opinions about issues pertaining to their administration, policy, or their

credibility as leaders. The journalists are expected to elicit the responses from the politicians in order to gain the necessary information needed for making news. Journalists and politicians employ these practices while at the same time, abiding by the rules of turn-taking in news interviews. Hence, the practices of questioning and answering in news interviews have been the most prominent aspects studied (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Despite that, this study only focused on the answering practices of politicians, and focused particularly on evasive answers. From the 1980s, these aspects of news interviews have been widely studied by many researchers (Heritage, 1985; 2002; Clayman, 1993; 2001; Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; 2002b; Heritage & Clayman, 2013; Kantara, 2012; Emmertsen, 2007) in light of conversational analysis: adversarial challenges in news interviews and evasion practices by interviewees.

2.2.1 Adversarial Challenges in News Interviews

Previous research into the interactional context and news interviews has shown how interviewers design their questioning turns to elicit the required information from interviewees (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; 2002b; Heritage, 2002; Emmertsen, 2007; Rendle-Short, 2007; Gnisci, 2008; Kantara, 2012; Heritage & Clayman, 2013) by means of challenging the interviewees at hand. The adversarial challenges are regarded as ways journalists “challenge politicians to adequately respond to a particular line of questioning” (Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 388) by presenting different ideas, making an assertion with the yes-no interrogative type of question, footing, and others. The news interview questions must be designed to strike a balance between interviewers’ impartiality and adversarialness (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a). Even though interviewers are expected to be neutral in conducting news interviews, the interviewer may use their questions to

defeat interviewees' claims when the interviewee is pursuing his own agenda. It is very important to note here that news interview questions such as assertive questions have been more adversarial in nature since 1953 to 2000 (Heritage & Clayman, 2013). These types of adversarial questions have been readily applied to news interviews with U.S. politicians by journalists over time (Heritage & Clayman, 2013). Heritage and Clayman (2013) in their study of the changing pattern of questioning in U.S. news interviews, defined assertive questions as a yes/no type of interrogative such as "*Isn't it...*" and "*Don't you...*" where it is often understood as asserting rather than merely seeking information. As Clayman and Heritage (2002b) pointed out, the phenomenon of adversarialness in question design is identified through its four basic features: initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility. The adversarial questions can be manifested in an exercise of initiative where interviewers ask multiple questions within a turn. In turn, the multipart questions may increase the demands placed on the interviewees. Directness involves deferential questions like "*Can/Could you...*" and "*Will/Would you...*" in which the former is framed by reference to the interviewee's ability to answer and the latter highlights interviewee's willingness to respond by choice. Another feature of adversarialness in question design is assertiveness. Clayman and Heritage (2002b) stated that assertiveness concerns "the degree to which the journalist manages to suggest or imply or push for a particular response" (p. 762) when asking the questions. Assertiveness is strictly found in yes-no questions where the type of question is "tilted" against the interviewees in favor of either yes or no. To some extent, the tilted yes-no question can be strong in a form of negative yes-no interrogatives. Clayman and Heritage (2002a) termed this type of question as negatively formulated question and it has a strong effect of tilting the question toward a yes answer. For example, the questions begin with a phrase "*Isn't it...*", "*Aren't you...*" or "*Don't you think that...*". The last feature of adversarialness in question

design is hostility – the extent to which a question is overtly critical of the interviewee or his administration. The question can be hostile to the interviewee when it highlights contradictions between the interviewee’s words and actions, disagreement with something the interviewee has said, and accountability of the interviewee on their policies and actions which places him in the position of having to defend himself. These findings in Clayman and Heritage’s (2002b) study suggest that the rise of adversarial questioning has impacted the answers or responses given by interviewees. Clayman and Heritage (2002b) argued that this phenomenon demands more attention in evaluating the presidential conduct and behaviors.

Despite the aggressive questioning strategies used by interviewers, interviewees are not constrained by that as they can refuse to answer or shift the discussion on occasion (Clayman, 2001), which will be discussed later in the following section. Therefore, it is promising to explore the answering practices of interviewees as they are deemed an interactional and sequential achievement in the realms of question-answer pair sequences in conversation (Leon, 2004).

In particular, Heritage (2002) did a study on the use of negative interrogatives as a base for adversarial questioning turns in news interviews. The negative interrogatives are framed as negative yes-no questions such as *“Isn’t it...”*, *“Doesn’t this...”*, and *“Don’t you...”*. These types of interrogative are treated as expressing an opinion rather than questioning to seek information. Clayman and Heritage (2002a) emphasized that the negative interrogatives embody a very strong preference for a ‘yes’ answer. At an initial phase, interrogative syntax generally applies a neutral condition for a ‘question’ turn in search of information (Heritage, 2002).

However, it is rather radical to the extent that the negative interrogative is understood as an assertion by the interviewees, which ultimately makes the question more adversarial in nature. Heritage (2002) stated that the use of adversarial questioning in the news interview will violate the objectivity of the interviewers, and also will proportionately put interviewees in a situation to face the problematic question. Thus, evasion may occur as the result of the adversarial questions used to challenge interviewees in news interviews (Heritage, 2002).

Rendle-Short (2007) claimed that journalists are inclined to abandon their neutral stance as they prefer to convey their own viewpoints by means of posing adversarial challenges to politicians. The study revealed that there are three main ways journalists pose challenges to the interviewee: challenge the content of the prior turn, employ an “interruption” to the prior turn, and present the challenge as a freestanding assertion rather than on behalf of a third party. Rendle-Short (2007) explained that the content of the prior turn can be challenged by presenting an idea opposing what the interviewee has said. By doing so, the journalist puts a challenge on the interviewee’s prior statement, which “presents a contrast between what the interviewee promised and what he actually did” (p. 392). The journalist can also pose challenges to the interviewee by using an “interruption” to the prior turn. The journalist commences his turn at talk with “*but*” showing that he wants to present a contrasting idea. It also shows that the journalist is about to take the turn from the interviewee before the interviewee has completed his turn at talk. In addition, the journalist makes a freestanding assertion that is not qualified by a third party, as in, “*today’s report mentions x*”. The assertion made is presented as a challenge to the interviewee. Thus, Rendle-Short (2007) concluded that “the journalists appear to be expressing their own perspectives on the topic at hand” (p. 390). According to Rendle-Short (2007), by means of

adversarial lines of questioning, journalists ensure that politicians answer the questions adequately, tell the truth and give responses oriented to the topic at hand. In this study, Australian politicians tend to object to certain adversarial line of questioning overtly while they still respond to the contents of the prior turn. The adversarial nature of the news interview does not violate the specific interactional feature of the discourse and is accepted by both journalists and politicians.

Gnisci (2008) specifically analyzed coercive and face-threatening questions to left-wing and right-wing politicians in Italian interviews based on both the social and psychosocial points of view. He also aimed to compare the results with the questions posed to English politicians in Bull's (1994) study. The analysis was done using the conversational indexes proposed by Bull and Elliot (1998) in order to evaluate the toughness and neutrality of interviewers. This study was much more relevant to the face model introduced by Goffman (1955) as it concerned the factors of communicative conflict on the occurrence of evasion in political interviews (Bavelas, Black, Bryson & Mullet, 1998; Bull, 1998). Gnisci (2008) stated that, "in general, the more the questions are communicative-conflict or face-threatening, the tougher the interviewer and the interview, and the more equivocal a politician risks appearing" (p. 10). His overall findings showed that coerciveness in question turns seemed to be a nearly stable feature of political interviews, regardless of national differences of the politicians.

Similarly, the practice of questioning has the same orientation as the efforts made by interviewers to challenge interviewees in news interviews. As Heritage and Clayman (2013) suggested, the adversarial challenges in news interviews are inevitable in order to elicit

information from interviewees to be channeled to the public or the “overhearing audiences”. Kantara (2012) investigated these adversarial challenges and their implementation in a Greek political news interview. His findings revealed that the journalist or interviewer attempted to challenge the interviewee or politician by

predicting the interviewee’ answer and immediately after finishing his question explicitly asking him not to answer along specific lines, explicitly stating that the interviewee either repeats himself when answering or has given an evasive answer, using colloquial language, jokes and layman’s words as the outside source (footing), and presenting contrasting opinions as a ‘matter of personal disagreement’. (p. 171)

In turn, interviewees may respond to these challenges by “issuing direct attacks on the interviewer as a professional, issuing indirect attacks on the interviewer as a person, using questions to answer a question” (Kantara, 2012, p. 171). Based on these findings, Kantara (2012) argued that Greek journalists and politicians become more adversarial in the news interview “to either legitimise their questions for the sake of overhearing audience or to find more subtle ways to evade answering difficult or unanswerable questions” (p. 187).

Alfahad (2015) conducted a study of equivocation in Arab media, particularly in two different news channels, *al-Arabiya* and *al-Ekhbariya*. The former channel is a news division of the well-known Saudi Arabian media company, MBC group, while the latter channel is a state-owned channel, which belongs to its government. In total, he used 12 news interviews on various topics pertaining to local conflicts, governmental agencies performance, Saudi domestic news and many more. He analyzed the data using a quantitative framework adopted from Harris (1991) and Bull and Mayer (1993) in order to examine to what extent the politicians evade. Here, the term equivocation has the same meaning as evasion in this study. Bavelas et al. (1990, p. 28)

defined equivocation as “nonstraight forward communication, it appears ambiguous, contradictory, tangential, obscure or even evasive”. The findings show that the practice of equivocation was relatively higher in the *al-Arabiya* channel compared to *al-Ekhbariya* channel. The percentage of equivocation in *al-Arabiya* was 21%, and *al-Ekhbariya* only 4.8%. He explained that these politicians tended to equivocate more in *al-Arabiya* news interviews due to adversarial questions posed by interviewers on that channel. However, in news interviews on the state-owned *al-Ekhbariya*, the interviewer asked more straightforward questions which made it easier for politicians to answer them directly. This is because the answers given by the politicians have no negative consequences for their government or themselves. Based on this result, it can be concluded that equivocation did occur due to adversarial moves in questioning strategies by interviewers. This questioning action had a tendency to limit the range of preferable answers available for politicians, thus they resorted to resisting the questions by practicing equivocation. Nevertheless, Alfahad (2015) only discussed about the rate of equivocation and the adversarial questions in both the interview channels, while excluding the evasion strategies applied by the politicians. Hence, there are no evasion strategies shown in that study.

The studies mentioned above illustrate at least how such challenges and adversarial questioning strategies affect the mode of answering on the part of interviewees, which leads to evasion. More studies and discussions on the evasion practices used by interviewees in news interviews will be presented in the next sub-sections.

2.3 Studies on Evasion

Historically, the term evasion is derived from different kinds of terms such as “resist”, “sidestep”, “agenda shift”, “non-replies” and “equivocation”. Every term is understood as a way an individual, particularly a politician, evades answering the questions in news interviews. These terms have a close link with each other and for this study the researcher chose the most suitable definition based on the explanation below.

2.3.1 Evasion and Its Dimensions

The term evasion has been variably described by previous researchers in light of the question-answer domain of news interviews. Bull (2000) claimed that most of the present research is greatly influenced by earlier work done by Janet Bavelas and her colleagues. Harris (1991) in her previous study on evasion used the word “evasion” or “evasive response” to describe the responses or answers that do not answer the questions asked by interviewers. Harris (1991) in her book about broadcast talk, stated that politicians appear to be more evasive in news interviews compared to other participants in other institutional contexts such as police interrogations. This is because the context of a police interrogation requires more factual answers from the suspects compared to news interviews. In addition, the nature of questions asked in news interviews would usually lead to elaboration or indirectness (Harris, 1991, p. 92). She conducted research in evasion using the scale of directness to evasion, nevertheless the scale given is best regarded as only an approximation. This is due to the type of the questions asked in the news interview, which contain a frame followed by an embedded proposition. According to Harris (1991),

embedding a proposition within a frame provides the politician with the choice of responding to the frame ('yes I am' or 'no I'm not' – 'saying that') rather than to the proposition directly ('yes he should' or 'no he shouldn't go out and look for work) while still providing a direct answer to the question. (p. 91)

Therefore, it shows that coding direct answers of yes/no is complex and also difficult to devise them in any scale of directness to evasion. In addition, Harris (1991) also mentioned that evasion often occurs when politicians are asked questions that “seek to expose contradictions in a position, draw attention to intra-party conflicts, or the deficiencies of unpopular policies” (p. 93).

In other studies, researchers regarded responses or answers that do not answer the questions asked by interviewers as “non-replies” or “equivocation” in the contexts of political news interviews and courtroom examinations (Bavelas et al., 1990; Bull & Mayer, 1993; Bull, 2008; Gnisci & Bonaiuto, 2003). Bavelas et al., (1990, p. 28) defined equivocation as “nonstraightforward communication, it appears ambiguous, contradictory, tangential, obscure or even evasive”. Similarly, Bavelas et al. (1988) defined the term as “non-straightforward communication which includes speech acts such as: self-contradictions, inconsistencies, subject switches, tangentialisations, incomplete sentences, misunderstandings, obscure style or mannerisms in speech... and so forth” (p. 137). More recently, Bull (2008) stated that equivocation is deemed as “the strategic and intentional use of imprecise language” (p. 4). He further emphasized that in certain circumstances, politicians equivocate about the interviewer's questions when answering those questions might threaten their face. In other words, they do not necessarily need to follow the maxim of conversation: quality, quantity, relation, and manner in the news interviews as pointed by Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle. Furthermore, Bull

(2008) viewed equivocation as a means of effective self-presentation for politicians in the political news interviews. This is because equivocation is practiced to either avoid making politicians look bad or to make them look good in the eyes of others.

In an earlier study, Greatbatch (1986) viewed evasion practices as an “agenda-shifting procedure”. He further elaborated that an agenda-shifting procedure is an evasive action performed by interviewees in an attempt to undermine the normative question-answer format of the news interview. Moreover, Greatbatch (1986, 1988) explained that this procedure could be applied by interviewees before or after they had answered the questions. Clayman (2001) on the other hand, regarded evasion as “actions that are treated as inadequately responsive by the interview participants” (p. 406) as it is possible that the occurrences of evasion can be detected or highlighted by the interviewer, who thus may resort to follow-up questions to get adequate answers for what the original questions asked. However, the interview participants – interviewees – may choose to overlook the evasive answers as they are constrained by time or general policy and confidentiality of certain issues. Clayman (2001) also argued that the term used by the analyst to characterize responses given by politicians in news interviews can be problematic. Clayman (2001) justified the reason that,

while an interviewer may treat a given response as improperly evasive, the interviewee who produced it may treat it as an essentially valid way of dealing with a difficult and perhaps flawed question. (p. 406)

Apart from that, Clayman (2001) uses the term “resist”, “sidestep”, or “agenda-shift” to encompass responses or answers that move away from the agenda of the question. Rasiah (2007) on the other hand, defined evasion as “responses that do not answer the question” (p. 9).

Even though the term evasion has been defined variably by many the researchers mentioned above, the present study will adopt the definition proposed by Clayman (2001). To reiterate, evasion is defined as “actions that are treated as inadequately responsive by the interview participants” (Clayman, 2001, p. 406). Therefore, it is very crucial to understand that evasion is not only about what one says or not, but also about how one says it.

2.3.2 Evasion in Other Contexts

So far the literature review illustrates the type of news interview and its features, adversarial challenges in news interview, and the notion of evasion. Thus, it is remarkable to extend the understanding of evasion studies in different contexts other than in news interviews.

In the most recent study, Neary-Sundquist (2013) conducted a study of “hedges” as a way to perform vague language in interpersonal communication among ESL learners and English native speakers. Her study involved the two groups of ESL learners and a group of native speakers. She aimed to investigate the rate and range of use of hedges in different task types: news, personal, passing information, and telephone. Neary-Sundquist (2013) found that both the ESL learners and native speakers most frequently used the hedges “*I think*” and “*just*” when communicating in the monologic oral task. It is also interesting to note here that the use of hedges by the

participants was dependent on the type of task given. Neary-Sundquist (2013) revealed that the participants tended to use hedges in a news task where they needed to elicit or give opinions on the news item they had read. On the other hand, the use of hedges decreased in the personal and telephone tasks. Based on her findings, she proposed that hedges can be used by ESL learners to evade the task given when they are uncertain about the information delivered. Therefore, it can be understood that the ESL learners and native speakers use hedges to achieve a pragmatic competence in conversation.

Rasiah (2007, 2010) conducted a study of evasion practices in parliamentary discourse where both government politicians and opposition members were involved in the actions of asking and answering questions. She even expressed the view that having had evasion as a matter of concern in political interviews, evasion practices in the parliamentary discourse had not been systematically studied yet. Rasiah (2007, 2010) specifically conducted this study to devise a framework for the analysis of evasion in parliamentary Question Time in Australia. For this purpose, she combined and modified various approaches in the study of evasion or equivocation in political broadcast interviews, including Bull and Mayer's (1993) and Clayman's (2001) approaches. She also included the strategies politicians use to evade the questions in Australian's Question Time. The results revealed that evasion did occur even in parliamentary discourse. The government politicians and opposition members attacked each other with hostile questions that led to evasion. In addition, Rasiah (2007, 2010) also discovered new covert practices used by politicians in Australian's Question Time such as the use of 'similar words' and 'vague, general terms'. Her findings on the new covert practices contributed to the study of evasion. Furthermore, Rasiah (2007, 2010) took a further step in the analysis. She identified the agenda

shifts politicians employ in every evasive response. She adapted Bull and Mayer's (1993) typology of non-replies in political interviews (see the next sub-section). Perhaps, the biggest contribution of Rasiah's (2007, 2010) analytical framework for evasion in Australian's Parliamentary Question Time is that, with appropriate modifications, the framework might be used in other contexts of talk in interaction such as political news interviews and press conferences. This is because those contexts of talk also have the same distinctive features and a defined set of rules and norms as parliamentary discourse: the interaction is managed through the format of question-answer sequences and the interviewer and interviewee are restricted to only ask and answer questions respectively.

As we know, evasive language can also be understood as deceptive or equivocal language used by individuals when they fail to reach a successful communication or the intended goal of communication. Sikhwari (2009) conducted a study of deceptive message among ESL speakers from South Africa who spoke Tshivenda language. The data were taken from the conversation among the male and female Tshivenda ESL speakers based on various topics. His findings showed that evasion occurred within statements that showed uncertainty. For example, when the male participant said, "It's *just* that you cannot see what will happen in the future", the word "*just*" indicated the level of uncertainty in his message. In a conversation between a daughter and a mother, the daughter evaded using the pronoun "*this*". The daughter told her mother "*This* would never happen again". Sikhwari (2009) proposed that the word "*this*" is equivocal and deceptive as the daughter was not sure if what she had done would not happen again.

2.3.3 Evasion in News Interviews

There is an expanding literature on the practice of adversarial lines of questioning and the evasive responses in news interviews. In the present study, the literature review on the study of responses or answers is focused more on evasions in news interviews particularly. It is interesting to see that evasive responses have been empirically and theoretically researched from a variety of perspectives.

Evasion practices and the reasons they occur in political interviews are discussed in Bavelas et al. (1988). They argued that politicians are not intrinsically evasive, rather evasion occurs due to the nature of the political interview itself. According to Bavelas et al. (1988), politicians usually evade when asked a question to which all of the possible replies lead to negative outcomes, but a reply is still expected. Bavelas et al (1988) called this situation as avoidance-avoidance conflict in which politicians are placed in the situation where all of the possible replies are deemed negative, but the reply is still expected. They (Bavelas et al., 1988) further proposed that the understanding of evasion or equivocation can be achieved in terms of four dimensions, namely “*sender, content, receiver, and context*” (p. 334). The messages that are regarded as equivocal could happen in any one of these four dimensions (Bavelas et al., 1988). The sender dimension refers to the extent to which the response is the speaker’s own opinion. Content refers to the comprehensibility of the message – the more unclear the statement is, the more it is considered equivocal. The receiver dimension refers to the extent to which the message is directly addressed to the interlocutor in the situation. Context, on the other hand, refers to the relevance of the

response to the question. Therefore, Bavelas et al. (1988) arguably conform to this approach for emphasizing that equivocation should be understood as a multidimensional phenomenon.

This idea is supported by Vukovic (2013) in her latest study, where her findings showed that evasion practices are context-bound, rather than politicians' attributes. In fact, her analysis supported Bull's hypothesis that evasion occurs due to the adversarialness of the questions. Vukovic (2013) investigated the evasion rates in four interviews with former U.S. President George W. Bush. The result showed that evasion varied in the four interviews with the same politician. She further proposed that the politician practiced evasion using hedges like "*Well*" and "*I think*" at an initial turn of the answer. Vukovic's (2013) findings in Montenegrin interviews also surprisingly showed that both high and low levels of adversarialness result in more evasive actions. In the case of high levels of adversarialness in questioning, politicians evade because they have to. On the other hand, in case of low level of adversarialness, politicians evade because they can. Hence, evasions do not only occur due to toughness of interviewers in questioning turns, but also to the leniency of the interviewers as well. This hypothesis is in line with Clayman's (2001) discussion about the costs and benefits of using evasion in news interviews. Clayman (2001) in his paper states that,

alternatively, increasingly adversarial questioning could have precisely the opposite effect: insofar as adversarialness includes a greater propensity to ask follow-up questions that pursue evasive responses, it could encourage interviewees to adhere more closely to the question agenda. (p. 440)

Despite these findings in relation to the adversarial setting of interview, the analysis of the evasive answers was only based on yes-no interrogative questions. Here, it shows that

researchers in previous studies were able to highlight different reasons and factors for the occurrence of evasive answers in news interviews particularly with political leaders.

Bull and Mayer (1993) examined the practice of equivocation by two British politicians namely Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister 1979-1990) and Neil Kinnock (Leader of the Opposition 1983-1992). They used the term “non-replies” for evasive answers. The findings of the study were based on the typology of non-replies to questions that can be considered as the evasion strategies. There are 11 main categories of non-replies: ignores the question, acknowledges the question without answering it, questions the question, attacks the question, attacks the interviewer, declines to answer, makes a political point, incomplete answer, repeats answer to previous questions, states or implies that the question has already been answered, and apologizes. The findings revealed that both the politicians showed no difference in their evasion practices. The level of non-replies by Neil Kinnock in the study is 36.8%, which is a little higher than that of Margaret Thatcher, 25.9%. Although the politicians showed a similar pattern of using non-replies to answer, they applied different strategies to evade. For example, the most frequent evasion strategies used by Neil Kinnock were negative answers, stating that he had already answered the question, and reflecting the question. In contrast, these strategies were not employed by Margaret Thatcher. The most frequent evasion strategy used by Margaret Thatcher was attacking the interviewer. Using this strategy, she put the interviewers on the defensive by taking their questions and criticisms as accusations. Bull and Mayer (1993) finally concluded that Margaret Thatcher was more aggressive in evading the question in political news interviews compared to Neil Kinnock who seemed to be more defensive in his evasion moves.

Mehdipour and Nabifar (2011) investigated the evasion techniques in 20 samples of American political interviews. Using Bull and Mayer's (1993) and Clayman's (2001) approaches to study evasion, they concluded that "making a political point" was the most frequent evasion technique used by the American foreign minister (or Secretary of State), while "attacking the questioner" was the least frequent technique used by ministers to evade in the selected news interviews. In addition, they found that politicians tend to evade answering the question by using a "topic shift" in a positive dimension of resistance and "incomplete answers or providing short answers" in a negative dimension of resistance as proposed by Clayman (2001). The positive dimension of resistance refers to "the degree that the politician moves beyond the parameters of the question, saying and doing things that were not specifically called for" (Clayman, 2001, p. 413). On the other hand, the negative dimension of resistance refers to "the degree that the politician's response falls short of an adequate answer to the question" (Clayman, 2001, p. 412). Notwithstanding the results obtained, the researchers (Mehdipour & Nabifar, 2011) did not show the readers how they analyzed the data in their study. Instead, they merely presented the final result descriptively in tables. Thus, the findings remained inconclusive.

Li (2006) analyzed a corpus of data consisting of twelve news interviews with six non-politicians and six politicians in China. Using a Face Theory model, Li (2006) came up with a typology of face-saving efforts, which included bald-on record evasion, on-record evasion with redressive actions, and off-record evasion. Goffman (1955) defined the term face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" (p. 222). In daily interactions, people tend to save their face from face threats and to repair their damaged face from the threats as well. This notion applies in the interview context in which a politician manages his answers to protect his face

from threats. Face is divided into two types: positive face and negative face. Positive face concerns with the desire to be accepted, while the latter concerns the desire for freedom of action (Goffman, 1955). Politicians use bald-on record evasion when they evade answering questions straightforwardly. In this case, they willingly refuse to provide answers to interviewers by saying “No comment”. Alternatively, by using on-record evasion with redressive actions, politicians evade answering questions with modifications to save the interviewer’s face. It can be done by stating the reasons why they do not answer the questions: unavailability of the information or principled rationale underlying the refusal. Off-record evasion, on the other hand, is done when politicians “move beyond the parameters of the question, saying and doing things that are not called for” (Li, 2006, p. 28). They also conceal any acknowledgement of the fact that the evasion is being taken place. These face-saving efforts are seen as evasion strategies applied by an interviewee in an attempt to evade the question for the sake of sustaining, protecting, and saving his positive and negative face. His study yielded three results that are very significant to this present study. Firstly, Li (2006) discovered that both politicians and non-politicians tend to evade tough questions that might threaten their face. Hence, it can be understood that the choice of evasion strategies does not depend on the social identities of the interviewees. Secondly, he also found that the interviewees most frequently used on-record evasion with redressive action when evading questions. The redressive action normally involved justification, neutralization, estrangement and hedging. However, there was no case of “no verbal reply” in the twelve news interviews. Therefore, it can be understood that from Li’s (2006) study, the Chinese politicians answered all the questions in news interviews regardless of the face threats contained in the questions. They chose to evade them using the evasion strategies as stated. Lastly, the findings showed a positive, though slight, correlation between the toughness of questions and the

implicitness of interviewee's evasion. In addition, the evasion of positive threats is a little more implicit than that of negative face threats.

Bhatia (2006) took a slightly different perspective in analyzing evasion and its motives in political press conferences. He analyzed press conferences held by Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President George W. Bush using critical discourse analysis (CDA). The results showed that evasive answers were used by both the politicians in order to “prioritize and lessen the crisis-element of certain events, minimize negative reactions, deflect moral and political blame, and assert control over laymen and journalists” (p. 20), which is the crux of controversial issues. The politicians evaded the answers posed by journalists by using a typical use of linguistic forms: expression of generality and repetition of phrases or expressions. Bhatia (2006) pointed out that politicians used these linguistic forms in answering questions or making statements so that the objective of the press conferences will be achieved, without necessarily giving any other information. For example, the use of generality in language when politicians evade questions can be seen in the phrase “...we're working with all the countries...” (Bhatia, 2006, p. 199). It portrays the strategy used by politicians to give an answer in a general way, not focusing on the specific country as probably demanded by the question. Besides that, Bhatia (2006) also discovered that politicians would repeat certain phrases or expressions about general principles, the talks, and stated policies to evade controversial issues. Therefore, these findings are valuable as they showed how politicians enact the strategies to evade the questions posed in political news interviews.

2.4 Summary

This chapter highlights past studies of news interviews and other studies associated with them, specifically the evasion studies. While the studies on evasion have been done among the U.S., British, Chinese, and Montenegrin politicians, this present study will fill in the gap to explore the evasion practices used by the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak. In order to carry out the study, the methodology will be discussed in Chapter 3.

University of Malaya

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The aim of this study includes examining evasion practices and the strategies applied by Malaysian and U.S. politicians in political news interviews. The political language has always been associated with ambiguousness, vagueness, and implicitness, which draw the researcher's attention to look more in depth at how politicians evade and the particular strategies used. In order to carry out the research, the main research design, source of data, research instrument, theoretical framework, and research procedure will be discussed further in the following sections.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

In order to analyze the data, the researcher adapted Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion in political news interviews. Using this framework, the researcher was able to analyze the evasion practices based on the selected transcription of Malaysian and U.S. political interviews, thus answering both of the two research questions in this study. The Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion is divided into two parts. The first part helped the researcher to analyse the extent to which the politicians evade the questions or as the study called, the levels of evasion in order to answer Research Question 1. The second part of the framework deals with how the acts of evasion are managed through discursive practices by politicians in news interviews. These

discursive practices are considered as evasion strategies employed by politicians when managing their responses, which evade the agenda of a question whether it is done overtly or covertly. According to Clayman (2001), these strategies can also be considered as damage control when the politicians evade the questions. In this case, this framework is used to answer Research Question 2. Overall, Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion is used to answer both Research Question 1 and Research Question 2 respectively. Each part of the framework will be explained in the following sections.

3.1.1 Levels of Evasion

The levels of evasion used in this study are based on Clayman's (2001) categorization of the positive and negative dimensions of resistance. Clayman (2001) used the term "negative dimension of resistance" to describe when the response given by the interviewee (IE) does not answer the question posed by the interviewer (IR) as adequately as required. In fact, Clayman (2001) suggested that strongest evasion occurs when "the interviewee declines to provide any information at all that bears on the question" (p. 412). Therefore, instances in which the questions were not answered and no explanations were given were considered as "full evasion".

The example of full evasion is as shown below:

IR: You wouldn't serve in a Cabinet committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament of Britain would you Mister Shore?

IE: .hh What I do believe:: er: Mister Day (which)
→ I will not answer that question, I'm not (.)
→ deliberately answering that question.
What I do believe is this: I do actually genuinely believe
long believe: (d) .hhh that unilateral initiatives: (.) can
assist (.) multilateral disarmament....

(Clayman, 2001, p. 412)

The example above shows that the interviewee flatly refuses to answer (arrowed) when asked whether he would serve in a Cabinet in that matter.

The other levels of evasion were based on Clayman's (2001) dimension of positive resistance. According to Clayman (2001), this positive aspect of evasion is manifested to the "degree that an interviewee moves beyond the parameters of the question, saying and doing things that were not specifically called for" (p. 413). Clayman (2001) further suggested that interviewees 'depart' from the question as an attempt to evade the question asked by the interviewers in political news interviews. Pertaining to this dimension of positive resistance, Clayman (2001) introduced various departures. In this research, the departures are considered as a "level of evasion" as explained below.

The most extreme departure under this positive aspect of evasion involves a substantial change of topic. In this case, "the interviewee veers sharply away from the topic of the question and toward a substantially different area of discussion" (Clayman, 2001, p. 414). In this research, this kind of departure is considered as a "substantial" level of evasion. An example of substantial evasion is as shown below:

IR: Continuing our conversation now with Doctor Rosalyn Yalow.
Doctor Yalow uh- ehh lemme put it in very simple terms.
If it's doable, if it is: easily disposable, why don't we. (1.0)

IE: Well frankly I cannot- (.) Answer all these scientific
questions in one minute given to me. On the other
hand there was one horrible thing that happened tonight
that you have- .h in addition extended. .hh And that is
huh Notion that there is an increased incidence of
cancer associated with the Three Mile Island accident.

(Clayman, 2001, p. 414)

The example above shows that the interviewee is asked about nuclear waste disposal. However, she refused to answer and then went on to dispute the issue of Three Mile Island accident and its corresponding health problems. Here, the issue of nuclear waste disposal efforts is substituted with the issue of power plant accidents (Clayman, 2001). Thus, substantial evasion occurs here as the interviewee deviated from the original issue of the question to another, substantially different issue.

Another type of departure from a question's agenda involves a "medium level of evasion" where a response given by the interviewee is within the parameters of the question but he or she performs "a task or action other than what was specifically requested by the question" (Clayman, 2001, p.414). An example of medium-level evasion is as shown below:

IR: Talking about money, what about Paul Volcker, whose term
is up next year? Would you like to see him reappointed
to the fed?

IE: I, I think he's been very effective.

IR: Well, would you like to see him reappointed?

(Clayman, 2001, p. 414)

The example above shows that the interviewee did not specifically endorse Paul Volcker's reappointment as asked by the interviewer. Instead, he assessed Paul Volcker's past performance. Clayman (2001) regarded this example as a medium-level evasion because the interviewee performed a different task than the question asked for even though the response is still within the parameters of the question which is "about" Paul Volcker.

The last type of departure is subtle in nature as it changes the term of the question so that it may appear the interviewee is answering the question. This kind of departure is considered as "subtle evasion" in this research. Clayman (2001, p.45) illustrated the example where the interviewer asked for the politician's confirmation on the issue of U.S. troops being exposed to chemical weapons during the Gulf War. In response to that, the politician mentioned "widespread use" of chemical weapons in relation to the exposure of the troops. Thus, there is a subtle shift in the answer given by the politician from the way that the term is used in the question. This subtle evasion addresses the question's agenda, but extra 'turn components' that shift away from the focus of the agenda were also included.

According to Clayman (2001), all these dimensions of resistance or the levels of evasion, whether to change the whole topic of the question, the tasks required or even some terms in the question, are all considered as attempts made by the interviewees to evade the question in political news interviews. The illustration of each level of evasion was elaborated in Figure 3.1 below.

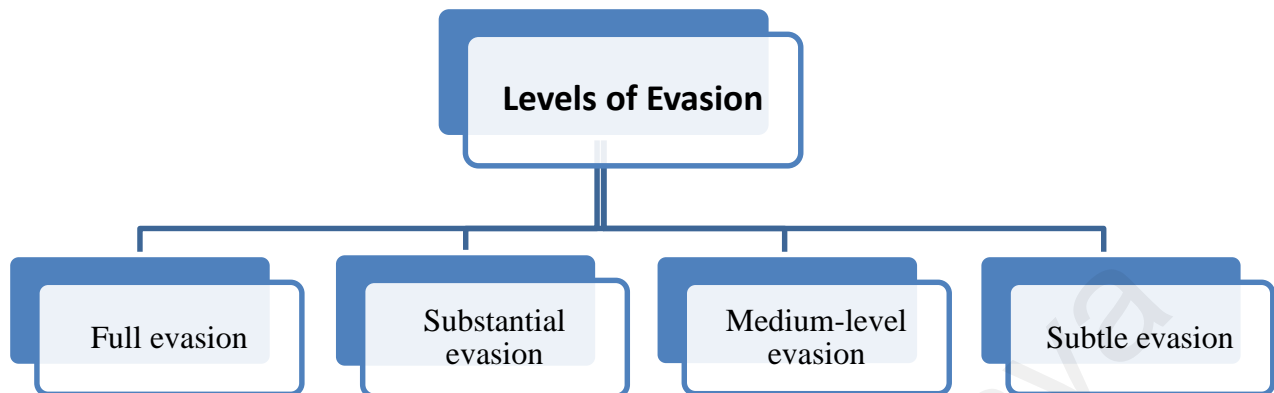


Figure 3.1: Levels of evasion (Clayman, 2001)

The summary of all these levels of evasion was presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Summary of levels of evasion (Clayman, 2001)

Levels of evasion	Explanation	Examples
Full evasion	Occurs when a question is neither answered nor acknowledged.	UK, Greatbatch 1986b:451: Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament IR: You wouldn't serve in a Cabinet committed to <u>unilateral</u> nuclear disarmament of <u>Britain</u> would you Mister Shore? IE: .hh <u>What I do</u> believe:: er: Mister Day (which)

Table 3.1, continued

Table 3.1: Summary of levels of evasion (Clayman, 2001)

Levels of evasion	Explanation	Examples
		<p>→ I will not answer that question, I'm not (.)</p> <p>→ deliberately answering that question. What I do believe is this. I do actually genuinely believe <u>long</u> believe: (d) .hhh that unilateral <u>initiatives</u>: (.) can assist (.) multilateral disarmament....</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 412)</p>
Substantial evasion	Involves a significant change in topic whereby the respondent moves away from the topic of the question to an entirely different topic or area of discussion.	<p>U.S., 6 June 1985, <i>Nightline</i>: Nuclear Waste</p> <p>IR: Continuing our conversation now with Doctor Rosalyn <u>Yalow</u>. Doctor Yalow uh- ehh <u>lemme</u> put it in very simple terms. If it's doable, if it is: <u>easily</u> disposable, <u>why don't</u> we. (1.0)</p> <p>IE: Well frankly I cannot- (.) Answer <u>all</u> these scientific questions in one minute given to me. On the other hand there was one <u>horrible</u> thing that happened tonight that you have- .h in addition <u>extended</u>. .hh And that is thuh Notion that there is an <u>increased</u> incidence of <u>cancer</u> associated with the Three Mile Island <u>accident</u>.</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 414)</p>

Table 3.1, continued

Table 3.1: Summary of levels of evasion (Clayman, 2001)

Levels of evasion	Explanation	Examples
Medium-level evasion	A response that is within the parameters of the topic but performs a task entirely different from that required by the question.	<p>US, This Week: Senator Bob Dole (from Donaldson 1987)</p> <p>IR: Talking about money, what about Paul Volcker, whose term is up next year? Would you like to see him reappointed to the fed?</p> <p>IE: I, I think he's been very effective.</p> <p>IR: Well, would you like to see him reappointed?</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 414)</p>
Subtle evasion	A subtle shift changes the terms of the question so slightly that it appears the respondent in answering the question.	<p>US, 12 March 1995 60 Minutes: Gulf War Syndrome</p> <p>IE: hh Our most thorough (0.2) and careful efforts to determine (.) whether chemical agents were used in the Gulf, (.) .hh lead us to conclude that there was no: (.) widespread use of chemicals against U.S. troops.=</p> <p>IR: =Was there <u>any</u> use.=Forget w[idespread. Was there <u>any</u> use.]</p> <p>IE: [I- I do <u>not</u> believe:ve] I do not believe there was <u>any</u>: offensive use of chemical agents <u>by</u>: .hh uh- Iraqi: (0.2) uh military: (.) troops. Ther[e was <u>not</u>-</p> <p>IR: [Was there any- any <u>accidental</u> use. Were our troops exposed in any <u>way</u>:.(0.4)</p> <p>IE: .hhh Uh- I do not believe that our troops were: exposed in any <u>widespread</u> way to: u[h:</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 415)</p>

3.1.2 Overt and Covert Practices

In Clayman's (2001) framework of evasion, two main practices of evasion may appear in the news interviews, overt and covert practices. The practices and choice of strategies are shown below in Figure 3.2. Each strategy will be explained in detail in the following sections.

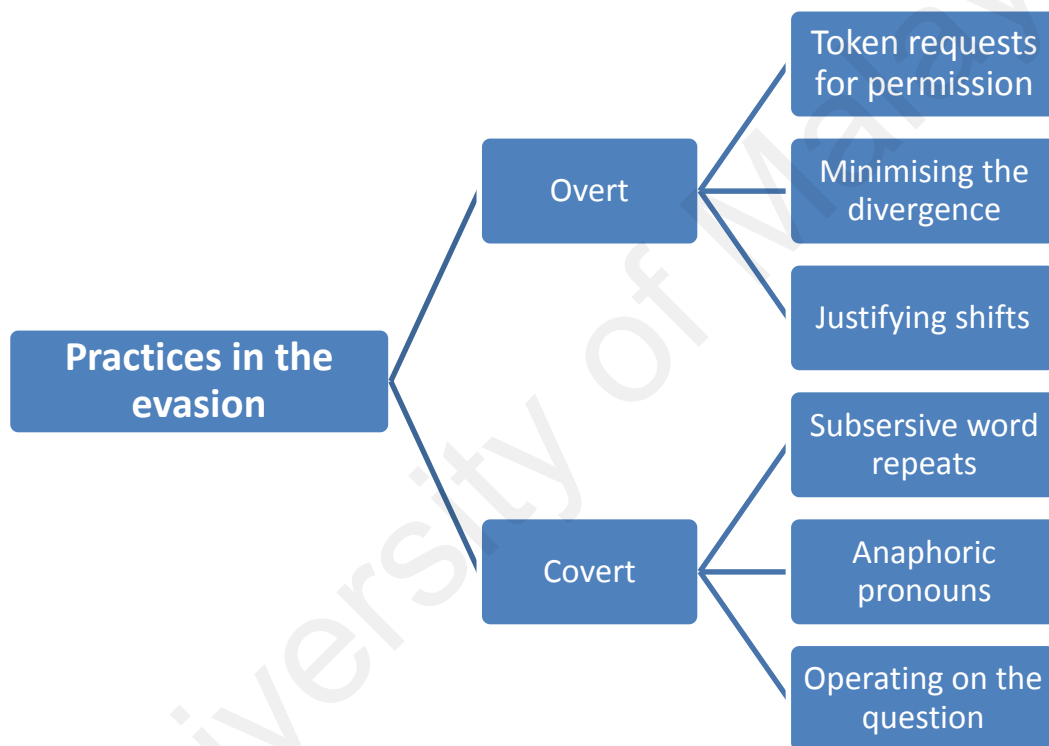


Figure 3.2: Overt and covert practices of evasion and its strategies (Clayman, 2001)

3.1.2.1 Overt Practices

Overt practices are when the interviewees evade answering questions explicitly; let the interviewers and audiences notice their evasive moves. Clayman (2001) recognized three categories of overt practices including *token requests for permission*, *minimizing the divergence*, and *justifying shifts*. These can be considered as overt strategies used by politicians to evade as stated in Section 3.3. Token requests for permission take place when the interviewee appears to ask for permission to shift the agenda but he or she does not wait for permission to be granted or denied before proceeding with his or her response. The interviewee may also wait for permission from the interviewer to be granted before he or she proceeds with what he or she had to say. Clayman (2001) illustrated an example of how this strategy is used by the politician to evade the question overtly below.

- IR: Well what do you think do you think this strengthen:s
(1.0) a great deal: the hand of Zhao Ze Young and the
reformers, the radicals.
- DH: I think that (0.2) Jao Ze Young just as he was
responsible for bringing (.) China out of the turbulence
which followed the .hhh uh resignation of Hu Yao Bung as
General Secretary in=uh January nineteen eighty seven.
.Hhh just as he (.) brought China out of that turbulence
He will bring Chi:na out of this turbulence .hhh and I
think his stature has already been increased (.) by
recent events (.) .h and ah (.) I'll go out on a limb
and say: I think it's likely to be increased further
.hh by future events
→ but I would like to make two very quick points.=
- IR: → =Very quickly if you would.
- DH: There's a genera:tional thing he:re. .Hhh U:um (0.4) ih
Deng Zhao Peng is going to be ei:ghty fi"ve on the twenty
second of August this yea:r. .Hh he joi"ned the [...]

(Clayman, 2001, p. 416)

The example above shows how the politician named DH evaded the question by using token request for permission “I would like to make two very quick points” and waiting for the permission to be granted before proceeding. In another example given by Clayman (2001), the interviewee made a token request to shift the question’s agenda and then proceeded with what he or she had to say without waiting for the interviewer to grant the permission. In this case, the interviewee said, “And can I also point out...” (Clayman, 2001, p. 418) before he or she proceeded with what he or she had to say.

The second overt strategy is minimizing the divergence. The interviewee uses this strategy overtly when he or she downplays or gives the perception of minimizing the departure from the question agenda. It includes both ‘temporal’ and ‘numerical’ minimizers such as ‘a very quick’ or ‘just one’ comment (Clayman, 2001, p. 418-419).

UK, Newsnight: Civil Unrest in China

IE: But I would like to make *two* very quick points...

(Clayman, 2001, p. 419)

Furthermore, the adverb ‘just’ is also used by interviewees to evade the question in a way to downgrade what is about to be said. An example is shown below.

UK, *Today*: Child Support

IE: Can I say just to (set) the context...

(Clayman, 2001, p. 419)

The third overt strategy introduced by Clayman (2001) is justifying shift. This strategy is used when the interviewee overtly justifies or explains his or her shift away from the question agenda. In this case, the interviewee may use this strategy based on two grounds; firstly, in the interest of fairness that he or she be given a chance to rebut any accusations or negative comments directed to him or her, and secondly, on the basis that the shift is relevant to the topic under discussion. For instance, the interviewee used the justifying strategy by saying, “On the other hand I think the real concern that has not been addressed previously in this program...” as in Clayman’s (2001, p. 420) example to evade the question overtly. To summarize, each element of overt strategies will be presented in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Summary of overt practices of evasion and its strategies (Clayman, 2001)

Category/Element	Explanation	Examples
Token requests for permission	This occurs when the respondent appears to be asking for permission to shift the topic but does not wait for the permission to be granted before proceeding with his/her response. For example, this agenda shift can be practiced with a request-like object such as “ <i>Can I also point out...</i> ”.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Can I also point out?</i> • <i>Let me just make one comment...</i>
Minimizing the divergence	The interviewee downplays or gives the perception of minimizing the departure from the question agenda.	Minimizing characterization: “ <i>a very quick</i> ” or “ <i>just one</i> ” comment

Table 3.2, continued

Table 3.2: Summary of overt practices of evasion and its strategies (Clayman, 2001)

Category/Element	Explanation	Examples
		Temporal and numerical minimizer: Inclusion of the adverb “ <i>just</i> ” – further downgrades what is about to be said.
Justifying shifts	The interviewee overtly justifies or explains his/her shift away from the question’s agenda. Justifications may be embedded within or outside of permission requests.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “<i>If I could just speak to Molly’s point...</i>” • “<i>On the other hand I think the real concern that hasn’t been addressed previously in this program...</i>”

3.1.2.2 Covert Practices

Likewise, Clayman (2001) recognized three categories of covert practices including *subversive word repeats*, *anaphoric pronouns*, and *operating on the question*. Rasiah (2007) stated that “covert practice is used to conceal the fact that they are shifting away from the questions’ agenda, thereby avoiding any open acknowledgement of the move and perhaps ‘getting away’ with it” (p. 671). In short, these covert strategies are used by politicians to avoid being seen as evasive in giving their answers in political news interviews. These can be considered as covert strategies used by politicians to evade as stated in Section 3.2. Clayman (2001) expressed his views on these strategies especially the use of subversive word repeats and anaphoric pronouns as part of the process involved in doing ‘answering’. Rasiah (2007) further stated that these evasion practices are used by politicians so that they may appear to be answering the questions whilst evading them covertly. Subversive word repeat is used when the politician repeats a word used in the question while at the same time, shifting its meaning to something other than what

was originally intended. For example, a politician is asked to explain the difference between ‘his’ communism and that of someone else’s. The politician repeats the term ‘difference’ in his response but veers away from the question agenda to counter the press’s presupposition that he is a Marxist. He answers, “The difference is that it’s the press that constantly call me Marxist when I do not, and never have given that description of myself...” (Clayman, 2001, p. 425). The politician appears to be answering the question but has actually evaded it by repeating the word ‘difference’.

In a similar vein, anaphoric pronouns also function as an evasion strategy when politicians evade the question covertly. In an example given by Clayman (2001, p. 426), the interviewee was asked whether Ross Perot is going to get out and meet with the voters during the presidential election campaign. The interviewee then replied “Let’s talk about this...” implying that the use of the pronoun ‘this’ as a back-referencing statement. By doing so, the interviewee may appear to be answering the question while in fact, he or she did not. Apart from that, Clayman (2001) also explains that anaphoric pronouns can be used together by politicians to evade the question covertly. In an example given by Clayman (2001, 427), the interviewee is asked about his concern about the time constraint in handling the abortion issue. However, the interviewee repeated the word ‘concern’ to mean ‘concern about late term abortion’ instead of ‘concern about the limited time to handle abortion issues’ as required in the question agenda.

- IR: .hhh (Oh) can we now take up then the main issues of that bill which remain substantially the same and indeed have caused a great deal of concern. But first you'll note is the clause about time limits in which abortions can be legally =
- IE: = (Yes) =
- IR: =ha:d. And the time limit h (.) according to the bill has now dropped from twenty eight weeks to twenty weeks. Now a lot of people are very concerned about this. How concerned are you?
- IE: → .hhh Uh: (.) I think this is right. I think that um: .hh again one's had a lot of conflicting evidence
 → on this but .hh what has come out an' I think that .h the public have been concerned about this. .hhh is that there have been th' most distressing cases. .hhh of (.) live (.) kicking babies who have been destroyed. .hh I've had nurses come to me in great distress (0.2) about this .hh and there was undoubtedly (0.1) throughout the whole (ambit) of public opinion .hh very great
 → concern .h on this whole question...

(Modified from Clayman, 2001, p. 427)

Another covert strategy described by Clayman (2001) is operating on the question. This strategy is used by the interviewee to 'operate' on or modify the question in various ways before answering it. He or she can either characterize or paraphrase the question in an attempt to evade the question covertly. Clayman (1993) describes this covert strategy using the term 'reformulating the question'. Clayman (1993, p. 163) explains that strategy of 'reformulating the question' strategy is used when the interviewee "refers to the preceding question or some aspects of it, and paraphrases or re-presents what was said". In an example given by Clayman (2001) below, the interviewee operated on the question to broaden the agenda of the question in order to be able to fit the answer he wanted to give.

- IR: Did you have an affair with Miss Rice?
- GH: [...] if the question: (.) is in the twenty nine years of my marriage, including two public separations have I been absolutely and totally faithful: to my wife .hhh I regret to say the answer is no:...

(Modified from Clayman, 2001, p. 428)

The example shows that the interviewee named as GH, uses the strategy of operating on the question by widening it to the extent that the interest of the question lies in his loyalty in marriage and the divorce periods. Clayman (2001) explains that the question is modified using this strategy within an *if*-clause. Even though he appears to answer “no” for that question, but Clayman (2001) explains that GH’s acknowledgment is done by the reformulation instead of the original question.

Besides that, Clayman (2001) suggested that the strategy of operating on the question also involves parts of the question. For example, the interviewee may not only operate on the whole question, but also do so on a particular phrase or a part of the various parts that the question has. In an example given by Clayman (2001) below, the interviewee changed a negative term “mishandling” in the question to a positive term “handling” when answering the question. In this manner, the interviewee is deemed to evade the question covertly.

IR: Mr. President, are you personally investigating the *mishandling* of some of your campaign funds, and do you agree with Secretary Connolly that these charges are harmful to your re-election?

RN: Well, I commented upon this on other occasions, and I will repeat my position now. With regard to the matter of the *handling* of the campaign funds, we have new law here in which technical violation have occurred and are occurring [...]

(Modified from Clayman, 2001, p. 430)

To summarize, each element of covert strategies is presented in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Summary of covert practice of evasion and its strategies
(Clayman, 2001)

Category/Element	Explanation	Examples
Subversive word repeats	Subversive word repeats deal with the 'lexical repetitions' which are found in the question. Key word(s) in a question are repeated (lexical repetition) in a response although the question remains unanswered.	<p>UK, 13 March 1979, World at One: Striking Mineworkers</p> <p>IR: .hhh er <u>What's</u> the difference between <u>your</u> Marxism and Mister McGahey's Communism.</p> <p>AS: → er The difference is that it's the <u>press</u> that constantly call me <u>Ma:rxist</u> when I do <u>not</u>, (.) and never <u>have</u> (.) ere r given that description of myself....</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 425)</p>
Anaphoric pronouns	Anaphoric pronouns are used as an obscure shift with the back-referencing statement and lexical repetition, to make it almost invisible to the interviewer.	In Clayman's (2001, p. 426) example, a politician starts his response by saying: "Let's talk about this..." implying through the use of the pronoun 'this' that he/she is sticking to the question agenda though he/she subsequently shifts away from its direction, thus evading the question.

Table 3.3, continued

Table 3.3: Summary of covert practice of evasion and its strategies
(Clayman, 2001)

Category/Element	Explanation	Examples
Operating on the question	The interviewee ‘operates’ on or modifies the question before answering it by either referring to, characterizing, or paraphrasing the question.	<p>U.S., <i>Nightline</i>: The Best of Nightline</p> <p>IR: Uh- (0.5) I told you:: (0.4) some days ago when we spoke, and I told our audience this evening that I would ask you both questions. I will ask you the first now: just before we take a break because I think I know what your answer’s gonna be.=</p> <p>→ =Did you have an affair with Miss Rice:</p> <p>GH: →hhhh Mister Koppel (1.1) if the question: (.)is in the twenty nine year:s of my marriage, including two public separations have I been absolutely and totally faithful: to my wife .hhh</p> <p>→ I regret to say the answer is no:....</p> <p>(Clayman, 2001, p. 428)</p>

3.2 Research Site

The research site of this study is the Youtube websites where the researcher obtained her sources of data from. There are four Youtube websites for all the downloaded samples of news interviews.

News interview 1: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8L4TQ2FJhiI>

News interview 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPyxT7HGGxg>

News interview 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIThTTJgKYo>

News interview 4: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHYjknhJy0I>

News interview 1 and 2 are the interviews conducted with the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak. They were downloaded on 28 June 2014. Whereas, news interview 3 and 4 are the interviews conducted with the U.S. politician, President Barack Obama. They were downloaded on 7 July 2014.

3.2.1 Selection of Data

The selection of data is issue-driven; the researcher chose the interviews discussing challenging issues: government policies, administration, and political party's support. In fact, the challenging issues might include conflict and war, which might place the politicians in a position of being responsible in every question he responds to. The election campaign is also deemed to be challenging for politicians as they need to uphold their own government and policy despite negative reactions they may receive from media, opposition parties, and the public as a whole. Montgomery (2007) explains that conflict, war, and election topics are worthy for the news to be presented to the public. Hence, the data for this study were selected based on the challenging issues as mentioned above. To do that, the researcher used a purposive sampling in collecting the data from YouTube.

With regard to this study, only one-on-one news interviews were chosen as its setting provides more room for evasions to occur (Clayman, 2001). The date of news interviews were chosen from 2005 to 2013 because in that time news journalism has become more adversarial and more frequently attempts to attack the politician's actions (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Heritage & Clayman, 2013). In fact, the politicians were chosen from among the top leaders (e.g. prime ministers and presidents) of the country; holding them accountable for any justifications and answers given (Montgomery, 2008). This context is mainly referred to as an accountability interview which involves prime ministers and presidents of a country (Montgomery, 2008).

3.2.2 Source of Data

The study used the spoken data of four political news interviews which were collected from the online YouTube videos. The data were comprised of political news interviews with both Malaysian and U.S. politicians, namely Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak and President Barack Obama. The overview of the source of data is illustrated in Table 3.4 below:

Table 3.4: Source of data collected

Interviewees	Interviewees' Political Roles	Interview Topics	Interviewers	Length of interviews	Date
Prime Minister Dato' Sri Najib Abdul Razak	Prime Minister of Malaysia (politician)	Malaysia's election challenge	Veronica Pedrosa	25 min	26 April 2013
		Malaysian economy and UMNO party	Fauziah Ibrahim	18 min	2 April 2010
President Barack Obama	President of the United States (politician)	ISIS, Syria and Iraq war, NSA	Charlie Rose	47 min	16 June 2013
		ISIS, immigration policy, and midterm election	Bob Schieffer	20 min	9 November 2014

The information and the background of the issues for each of the videos will be explained below.

3.2.2.1 News Interviews with Malaysian Politician

There are two videos of news interviews with the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak. The videos were downloaded from these links:

News interview 1: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8L4TQ2FJhiI>

News interview 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPvxT7HGGxg>

i. News Interview 1 (Malaysia)

The source of the first selected news interview is from the *Al-Jazeera* channel. In the interview, the Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak, was interviewed by an international interviewer named Veronica Pedrosa. The interview was held on 26th April 2013 and lasted for approximately 25 minutes. To be more specific, it was conducted prior to Malaysia's general election which was on 5th May 2013. In the interview, Prime Minister Najib Razak had been speaking about his vision as an example to the world of a moderate Muslim country. He aimed to show that Malaysia could be a part of a global coalition of moderates despite the challenges they have had. The interviewer, Veronica Pedrosa, in fact, had brought up the issue of difficulties in restoring confidence and belief in a multiracial Malaysian society. This is because the coalition party United Malays National Organization (UMNO) led by the Prime Minister was having a hard time facing the perceptions of corruption and cronyism in the government. This bad perception adversely affected the outcome of the general election later that year. Another challenge posed to the Prime Minister during the interview was his defeat by the leader of the opposition People's Justice Party (PKR) via debate ahead of the vote. So, the news interview was mainly held to find out how Prime Minister Najib Razak would respond to the challenges and important issues facing Malaysia. The issues in the interview were all about the political challenges to the Malaysian politician, the UMNO party and the country as a whole. The full transcript is provided in Appendix B. A still shot the video clip is shown in Figure 3.3 below.



Figure 3.3: A still shot from the video clip of news interview 1 with Prime Minister Najib Razak

ii. News Interview 2 (Malaysia)

The second selected news interview is also from the *Al-Jazeera* channel. Prime Minister Najib Razak was interviewed by an international interviewer named Fauziah Ibrahim. The interview was held on 2nd April 2010 and lasted for approximately 18 minutes. In this interview, the interviewer had brought up the issue about a bold New Economic Policy (NEP) created by the government. The issue was made relevant as it had been a year since Dato' Seri Najib Razak became the Prime Minister of Malaysia in 2009. The Prime Minister claimed to make a revolutionary change to attract more foreign investment via the NEP. Furthermore, the issue also addressed the need for the Prime Minister to win back voters from different races. It was crucial for him to enforce the NEP move while at the same time, maintaining the harmonious race relations between Chinese, Malays, and Indians. The full transcript is provided in Appendix C. A still shot from the video clip is shown in Figure 3.4 below.



Figure 3.4: A still shot from the video clip of news interview 2 with Prime Minister Najib Razak

3.2.2.2 News Interviews with the United States Politician

There are two videos of news interviews with the U.S. politician, President Barack Obama. The videos were downloaded from these links:

News interview 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIThTTJgKYo>

News interview 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHYjknHJy0I>

i. News Interview 1 (U.S.)

The first selected news interview is from the *CBS News* channel. President Barack Obama was interviewed by an interviewer named Charlie Rose. The interview was held on 16th June 2013

and lasted for approximately 47 minutes. The interview covered topics ranging from Islamic State of Iraq (ISIS), Syria, China, the National Security Agency (NSA) leaks, and the U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) Court. This interview was crucial for President Barack Obama, since it was his first interview regarding the NSA leaks in his country. The U.S. government was criticized for weak security in the NSA. Besides that, President Barack Obama also talked about the provision of U.S. military support to countries like Iraq and Syria in managing conflicts. Thus, both national and international issues were covered in this news interview. The full transcript is provided in Appendix D. A still shot from the video clip is shown in Figure 3.5 below.



Figure 3.5: A still shot from the video clip of news interview 1 with President Barack Obama

ii. News Interview 2 (U.S.)

The second selected news interview is also from the *CBS News* channel. President Barack Obama was interviewed by an interviewer named Bob Schieffer. The interview was held on 9th November 2014 and lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The issues presented in this interview include American forces in Iraq, immigration policy, and mid-term elections in general. The President talked specifically about the U.S. air support and troops in Iraq to fight against ISIS, the winning Republicans in the mid-term elections, the President's low approval rating, and also the change of immigration policy in the U.S. These issues were challenging for President Barack Obama as he was placed in a position to defend his government's rule. The full transcript is provided in Appendix E. A still shot from the video clip is shown in Figure 3.6 below.



Figure 3.6: A still shot from the video clip of news interview 2 with President Barack Obama

3.2.3 Research Instruments

The YouTube videos of news interviews with both the politicians were obtained online using the researcher's laptop. The researcher observed the videos and then downloaded them into a Windows Media Player format using a tool called YTD Video Downloader. As far as naturally occurring data is concerned, the selected interview videos were kept in a full format for the purpose of research references (see Appendix F).

3.3 The Study

This study is a qualitative study. The researcher focused on two issues in this research including the levels of evasion and evasion strategies used in political news interviews. The analysis of the data is primarily qualitative. However, simple quantitative data will be shown (see Chapter 4) to prove some similarities and differences in patterns. The use of quantitative data is useful to reinforce the qualitative discussion. Nevertheless, it is still qualitative in nature because this study involved naturally occurring data and interpretation of the data *per se*. Due to that, Conversation Analysis (CA) was used as an approach for analysis in this study. The importance of the CA method and its purpose will be explained in Section 3.4.

3.4 Conversation Analysis

Historically, many past studies (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Heritage, 1985; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 2002) show that Conversation Analysis (CA) is an interesting approach to the

study of talk in interaction. CA was developed from ethnomethodological tradition and later developed further by Harold Garfinkel (Liddicoat, 2007). Talk-in-interaction is recognized as one of the interesting topics in CA. The purpose of using CA as an approach of analysis in this study is to describe the structure, sequential patterns, and organization of the interaction. Furthermore, CA is deemed as a powerful method to analyze news-interview conduct in detail and its comparison with natural conversation (Heritage, 1985). Sidnell (2010) also stated that CA is very significant to highlight the role that language plays in the organization of talk and logicity which motivates human practice in interaction.

Using conversation analysis as an approach when analyzing evasion practices among politicians in news interview, the researcher was able to interpret the evasive answers based on news interviews participants' understanding for achieving the goal in the interaction (Clayman, 2001). Moreover, CA helps the researcher to see how the evasion practices were carried out by the politicians by looking at the interruptions or follow-up questions from the interviewer. This structural action of evasion in answering can thus be seen in turn-taking of the interaction using the CA approach. In so doing, the notational convention adopted by Atkinson and Heritage (1984) was used in this study in order to analyze the practices of evasion among the politicians in news interviews (see Table A.1 in Appendix A).

3.5 Data Collection and Procedure

The research procedure for this study involves nine (9) steps. These steps will be explained one by one from how the data were collected to the way they were analyzed.

Firstly, the researcher selected the online news interview videos based on the issues and conflicts which are relevant to the country where the politicians reside in. The selection was made only for one-on-one news interviews. Then, the category of the video –*News & Politics* – in the YouTube page was identified. The videos were then downloaded into a portable format to keep the data tangible for references (see Appendix F). The videos were then transcribed with notations adopted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984). Following these steps, the researcher identified the sequences of question-answer in the interview transcriptions. To do that, the researcher identified the *Wh*-questions (What, Where, Why, Who, Which, When) and yes-no interrogative type of questions such as “*Do you...?*” and “*Are you...?*”. In addition, the researcher also looked at the questions that began with the word “*but*” and ended with a question mark as they can be considered as follow-up questions. Also, the questions can also be in a form of modal verbs such as “*Can you explain...*”. Following the questions’ turns of each of these types, the researcher identified the answers in the next turn. As mentioned earlier in Section 1.8, evasion is defined as “actions that are treated as inadequately responsive by the interview participants” (Clayman, 2001, p. 407). Following this, the researcher extracted the answers that were considered as evasive based on the first part of Clayman’s (2001) framework of evasion – levels of evasion. Another indicator of evasive answer also includes the presence of a follow-up question from the interviewer (IR) where the IR interrupts the interviewee’s (IE) response with the word ‘but’. The coding for the data to be analyzed was done at this stage. Later, the researcher determined the levels of evasion based on Clayman’s (2001) framework (see Table 3.1). Lastly, the researcher analyzed the evasion strategies and types of evasion practices whether they were covert or overt in nature based on the same framework used (see Figure 3.2). In particular, data analysis was done according to the sequences of question and answer and the organization of the turn-taking

in the news interviews. The nine (9) steps of research procedure are illustrated in the Figure 3.7 below.

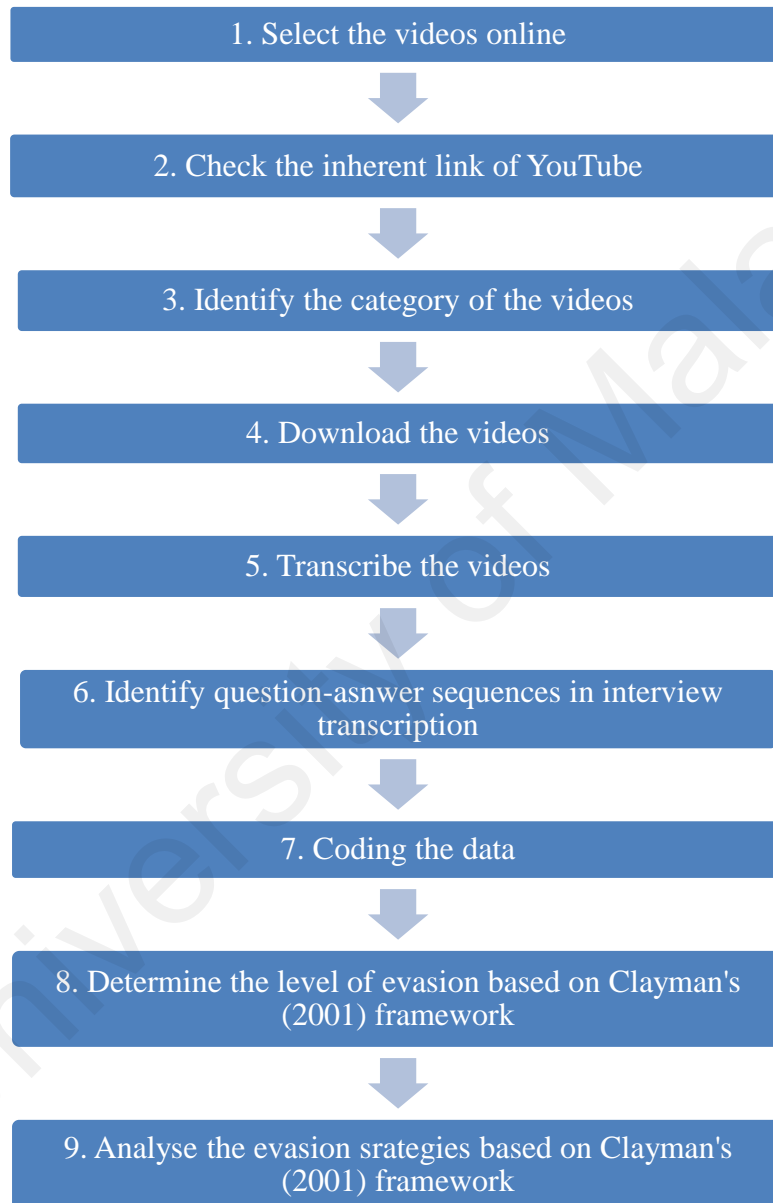


Figure 3.7: Research procedure flow chart

3.6 Coding

In the data to be analyzed, each instance of evasion was coded according to the country, evasion, and the number of the excerpt and news interview transcript using those abbreviations:

M- Malaysian

U- United States (U.S.)

E- Evasion

FE- Full evasion

SE- Substantial evasion

ME- Medium-level evasion

SE- Subtle evasion

OE- Overt practice of evasion

CE- Covert practice of evasion

For instance, the excerpt M1E1 refers to first evasion practice used by the Malaysian politician in the first news interview transcript. The rest of the excerpt was followed accordingly with appropriate numbers of evasion. (e.g., M1E2, M1E3, and etc.)

3.7 Confidentiality

For this research, no confidentiality issue matters throughout the study as the data were obtained from an open source, the YouTube website. It is made open to everyone who logs in to the

website. Thus, it is permissible to download the video for personal records, without giving prior notice to the subscribers or its owners.

3.8 Data Analysis

Using a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, the researcher analyzed the use of evasive language by Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Abdul Razak and President Barack Obama in their news interview sessions.

The researcher used expert review approach to ensure reliability and validity of this study. An expert reviewed the coding process of how the researcher found the evasive answers in the samples of news interviews. After the data have been coded and transcribed, the expert validated the data, confirming whether each evasive answer fitted the chosen category of evasion or not.

The selection of the expert was based on her expertise and experience in teaching in the Pragmatics' field of study. In this study, the researcher selected an expert who has been teaching at the University of Malaya (UM) for 20 years in that field of study.

3.9 Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology of the study, which includes the main research design, source of data, research instrument, framework of analysis, and research procedure. The analysis, findings, and discussion of all the results will be presented in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis, findings, and discussion of this study. The findings are presented based on the research questions asked in Chapter 1. Based on the sample of four news interviews, the total number of evasive answers found in the data was 18 altogether as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Total questions and evasive answers in the sample of interviews with two politicians

Politician	Number of questions	Number of evasive answers
Prime Minister Najib Razak	37	9
President Barack Obama	44	9

All the evasive answers in the data are discussed individually in this chapter. This chapter starts with the analysis of the levels of evasion used by both the Malaysian and U.S. politicians and is followed by the strategies used by them to evade the questions asked by the interviewers (IR) in the political news interviews. This chapter also highlights whether the practice of evasion used by the politicians (interviewees, IE) was overt or covert. Lastly, the similarities and differences of the overall evasion practices applied by the Malaysian and U.S. politicians will be elaborated.

4.1 Levels of Evasion in News Interviews

4.1.1 Interview Sessions with Prime Minister Najib Razak

M1E1 excerpt

54	IR:	<u>Those</u> people who are not your customers according to the surveys .hhh 21%
55		undecided, <u>42%</u> would vote for BN (,) 37% for the opposition - Pakatan Rakyat
56		(.) 21% is a lot (,) of people a:nd they <u>come</u> from your very diverse society here
57		in Malaysia. It's one of the hhh things that Malaysia were very prou::d of - but
58		obviously you are aware that it is also critici:zed that for having a <u>race</u> -based
59		political system .hhh and that's one of the things that unless <u>say</u> , that it's kind of
60		- under <u>test</u> at this point (,) you spoke about your candidate (,) - and how (?)
61		30% of them are going to be new faces (,) But one of them - is not a new face -
62		and he's criticized for be:ing - for having made anti-Hindu statement (,) I'm
63		talking about .hhh for people who are familiar with Malaysia politics. uhh a
64	→	man called Zulkifli Nurdin. Is he <u>re:ally</u> an ideal <u>candidate</u> if that's what you
65		are trying to - put across?
66	IE:	He - he has <u>changed</u> - he <u>made</u> that statement 10 years ago (,) when he was in
67		<u>PAS</u> .hhh and [and
68	IR:	[but the video has gone <u>vi::ral</u>

Analysis M1E1

In the excerpt M1E1, the IR inserted an extensive prefatory statement about the statistics of Malaysian citizens who are eligible to vote for a race-based political system (lines 54-55). Then, she further stated that there was a candidate in the election campaign, who was criticized for making an insensitive anti-Hindu statement (lines 61-62). Following these prefatory statements, the IE was asked whether the man called Zulkifli Nurdin is really an ideal candidate to be put on board (lines 64-65). The question asked is a yes-no interrogative type of question which demands a 'yes' or 'no' response from the IE. However, the IE responded to the question by asserting the fact the Zulkifli Nurdin has changed. In fact, he emphasized that the statement the candidate made was such a long time ago when he was a PAS party member (lines 66-67). In this evasive

maneuver, the IE attempted to evade the yes-no type of question by moving away from the topic of the discussion to an entirely different area of discussion (Rasiah, 2010). This can be seen in the IE's answer when he talked about changes made by the new candidate, instead of directly saying whether the new candidate is ideal or not to hold a post in UMNO party. It was salient that the IE was bound to the yes-no question which made it difficult for him to directly answer either yes or no because he might be pledged to the damaging implications of that question itself (Emmertsen, 2007). Moreover, his response inadequately answered the question as the IR directly continued to claim that the video of the case has gone viral (line 68). Therefore, the IE is considered to have practiced substantial level evasion. This finding is in line with Kantara's (2012) finding in which the Greek politicians responded to challenging questions by shifting the topic of the question.

In this example, the IE made an attempt to evade the question substantially by using the covert strategy. This is evident in the portrayal of anaphoric reference used in terms of the pronoun "**He**" (line 66). By repeatedly responding "*He has changed...*" twice, he is deemed to give a vague response to the IR by referring his claim to the action that has been performed by Zulkifli Nurdin. He made a response to the prefatory statement, instead of the question. This anaphoric pronoun of "**He**" is directed to oppose the criticism made about Zulkifli Nurdin rather than responding to IR's actual question whether he is an ideal candidate or not. Therefore, instead of agreeing with the IR, the IE seemed to defend his new candidate in UMNO party.

M1E2 excerpt

89	IR:	=Would you:: (0.1) <u>be</u> ready to:: <u>face</u> : the <u>opposition</u> - politicians .hh in a
90		debate? <u>Could</u> we see during the campaign (,) “Prime Minister Najib .hh uhh
91		<u>facing</u> off with (.) Anwar Ibrahim”?
92	IE:	You know – um:: there are many ways (,) in which uh you know - we can -
93		reach out to the public. Debate - is - is only one <u>form</u> of reaching out to the
94		people (.) it’s <u>not</u> the only way hhh =
95	IR:	= but you wouldn’t <u>rule</u> it out?

Analysis M1E2

In the excerpt M1E2, the IR asked the IE two questions in the same turn regarding the readiness of the IE to face opposition leaders in a debate during the campaign. The two questions (lines 89-92) are considered a question cascade. A question cascade refers to the question produced as a second or third version of the first question in the same turn. In other words, following the given question, the IR went on to produce a second version of that question on the same issue (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). The two questions show the different version of what is apparently is the same question (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). It is adversarial in nature as the later version of the question (lines 90-91) restricts the adequate response (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). In the next turn, the IE appeared to be evasive in his response by suggesting that there are many ways to reach out to the public in an election campaign. His assertiveness in his turn (lines 92-93) shows the substantial evasion as it involves a substantial change of topic (Clayman, 2001). The IE was asked about his state of readiness to face the opposition leaders in a debate (line 89) and the possibility of seeing that happened during the campaign (line 90). The IE suggested that there are many ways to reach the public (line 92); he then went on (lines 93-94) to emphasize that the debate is not the only way to do that. In this case, the IE veered away from the topic of the question and towards a substantially different area of discussion. Instead of

responding to his state of readiness to face the opposition in a debate, his response is shifted away from the original topic of question by providing unsolicited statements about the credibility of debates.

The strategy of evasion the IE is shown to use in the excerpt is that of generalization. The strategy of generalization is considered as a new finding in this study, because it is not identified in Clayman's (2001) framework. This strategy shows how the IE used linguistic form to evade the question in news interview. Generalization is used when the politicians tend to make a required answer general rather than specific – what has been expected (Bhatia, 2006). In this example, instead of stating whether he is ready or not to face the opposition, he responded evasively using the word "*many ways*". Using this strategy, the politician managed to divert from the topic of the question. This evasive move did not escape the notice of the IR as she latched the IE's response with "*but*". The IE seemed forthcoming in giving a response broadly, yet was not forthcoming in giving an adequate response as required by the question. Therefore, the IE covertly evaded the question by asserting that there are other alternatives available to face the opposition leaders during the election campaign, rather than only debate.

Based on this excerpt, Prime Minister Najib Razak again applied substantial evasion in his course of his answer, which concurs with Li's (2006) result on the use of off-record evasion by Chinese politicians and non-politicians in the news interview. In addition, the finding of the generalization strategy used is in line with Bhatia's (2006) research on evasion in political press conferences.

M1E3 excerpt

95	IR:	= but you wouldn't rule it out?
96	IE:	It's <u>no:t likely</u> we will have a debate because (,) uhh. you know - I believe
97	→	there's the important thing for us to (.) .hhh <u>engage</u> the people(,) - and the
98		people .hh <u>throughout</u> this campaign period (.) we <u>will</u> do our (.) <u>engagement</u> -
99		<u>opposition</u> will do their engagement .hhh and hhh <u>the peo:ple</u> <u>will</u> have hh the
100		freedom to <u>choose</u> based on – on - on the <u>freedom</u> of information that they will
101		have. =
102	IR:	= but if you <u>look</u> at the policies of the manifestos (.) (0.1) <u>Malaysians</u> are:
103		<u>comparing</u> them and thinking where they are <u>not</u> really that <u>different</u> . =

Analysis M1E3

In the first turn of the question (line 95), the IR began with “*but*” and provoked the IE by asking “*you wouldn't rule it out?*” to actually rule out the debate with the opposition leader, Anwar Ibrahim. The IE then responded, “*It's not likely we will have a debate*” which is unavoidable for him to say no. This is because “the aspect of the yes-no question in news interview makes it a resource for IR's challenges in questioning practices” (Emmertsen, 2007, p. 580). In other words, the IR can restrict the IE to answer the question that he may have reasons not to want to answer by limiting the range of answers to only ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Then, the IE continued to provide reasons why he might not want to do so (line 96). In his response, the IE stated that he was planning to do his engagement with the citizens and the opposition will do the same as well (line 98-99). In lines (99-101) he suggested that people would have the freedom to choose based on the freedom of information they have. However, the IR tended to oppose the plan suggested by the IE by stating that “*but if you look at the policies of the manifestos...Malaysians are comparing them and thinking where they are not really that different*” which showed the necessity for the IE to face the opposition leader in the debate so that people will see clearly the difference between the two big parties in Malaysia. As the news interview is a social action between interviewer and

interviewee (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a), the interaction is produced in the domain of question-answer between participants' own understandings of their conduct. The IR treated the IE's answer as evasive as the subsequent turn by the IR starting with 'but' demonstrated that he wanted to present an opposing idea (Rendle-Short, 2007) or "to present information that counters what the IE has said" (p. 393). Therefore, it can be seen that the evasive answer given by the IE in this excerpt, did not escape the notice of the IR. The IE answered differently from that required by the question, even though it was still in the parameters of the topic, the debate. Therefore, in this excerpt, it is deemed that the IE practiced a medium-level evasion which has the same finding as Clayman's (2001) study on evasion.

In this excerpt, the IE used the overt strategy which is called justifying shift. The IE attempted to justify his deviation from the question by asserting that "*I believe there's the important thing for us to (.).hhh engage the people*". He justified his evasive maneuver in which he led the IR to the fact that there was an important thing for them – his government and party – to engage the people for the sake of the election. Therefore, in the M1E3 excerpt, the IE used the justifying shift strategy overtly to evade the question which is in line with Rasiah's (2010) study.

M1E4 excerpt

128	IR:	=Alright then <u>let's</u> look at Malaysia specifically (.) <u>because</u> there have been
129		(0.1) <u>criticisms</u> (,) for example of this <u>notorious</u> ca:se (,) which went to the
130		court (,) over the <u>use</u> of the word - 'Allah' in a <u>Catholic</u> Bible. .hhh Um (0.1)
131		<u>how</u> does a <u>case</u> like tha:t happening hhh <u>in</u> Malaysia under your:
132		administration which <u>wants</u> to be:: an epitome (.) of moderate Islam?
133	IE:	.hhh Well there's a certain huh you know <u>fundamental</u> principles (,) that you
134		have to <u>understand</u> (.) because hhh (0.2) you know <u>when</u> we - <u>believe</u> in
135		moderation .hhh huh we we <u>shouldn't</u> do something that - be hurtful to <u>others</u> .
136		You know (,) for example as a Muslim (.) I <u>shouldn't</u> do something that will
137		<u>upset</u> the Catholic and the <u>Christians</u> .hhh and <u>likewise</u> (,) Christians shouldn't
138		do something that will upset - the Muslims. There must be <u>other</u> way:s of doing
139		it (.) hhh there must be <u>other</u> solutions. .hhh So what I am trying to say (,) look
140		(.) fi:nd <u>solutions</u> hhh huh that will will a peace a:ll you know I mean
141		Christians, Hindus, Muslims so that huh <u>whatever</u> <u>we</u> <u>do</u> : will <u>not</u> you know: (.)
142		will not huh (0.2) be <u>so</u> sensitive will not hhh upset the <u>feelings</u> of <u>others</u> .
143	IR:	I went to a <u>Mass</u> in Beirut (,) and: um they: speak in Arabic (,) they celebrated
144		in Arabic (,) and they say 'Allah' <u>a lot</u> and <u>all the time</u> (?) Why isn't it a
145		problem why is it a problem in Malaysia? =
146	IE:	= <u>It's</u> a problem <u>because</u> huh you know the <u>concept</u> of 'Allah' is <u>different</u> (.) in
147		a Muslim sense .hhh [and then in a Christian sense
148	IR:	[but then Muslims in Lebanon <u>as</u> well]

Analysis M1E4

In the M1E4 excerpt, the IR presented a view of criticisms of the use of the word 'Allah' in a Catholic Bible. The IE was then asked, "*how does a case like tha:t happening hhh in Malaysia under your: administration which wants to be:: an epitome (.) of moderate Islam?*" (lines 131-132) which made it challenging for the IE to answer. This is because the question is globally hostile to the IE when it is designed "to highlight a contradiction between the president's words and deeds, or between policies or actions" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). In addition, the word '*happening*' referred to an event that is happening at the moment, thus the criticism was treated as something new and true. In order to answer this question, the IE broadly stated that Muslims and Christians should not do something that is hurtful to others in an understanding of

moderation (lines 125-128). He even continued to assert that there must be other solutions to overcome this resentment between Christians, Hindus, and Muslims regarding the use of word 'Allah' in other holy scriptures, the Bible. Instead of explaining why such a case is happening in Malaysia under his administration, the IE veered away by asserting what Muslims, Christians, and Hindus should do and general solutions to be put in action. Due to this inadequate answer given by the IE, the IR then continued asking another question "*why isn't it a problem... why is it a problem in Malaysia?*" (lines 144-145) while the Christians in Beirut have no problem to say 'Allah' all the time. Therefore, the IR was trying to elicit the reasons behind the notorious case which had not been stated clearly yet by the IE. In this evasive maneuver, the IE performed a task entirely different from that required by the question despite the fact his answer still lied in the parameters of criticism. The IE is deemed to practice medium-level evasion in answering the hostile questions which made him accountable to justify the criticisms. The finding is in line with Clayman's (2001) study on evasion.

In an attempt to evade the question, the IE started his evasive turn "*Well there's a certain huh you know fundamental principles (,) that you have to understand*" which redirected the IR to the fundamental principles to be understood as explained above. The IE used justifying shift as his strategy to explain his shift away from the question's agenda. He seemed to actually justify why the Malaysian administration was facing severe criticism, while he did not answer the part of the question pertaining to 'Why' – why the administration was criticized despite its aims to be an epitome of moderate Islam. This justifying shift strategy was used together with the hedging strategy "*Well*" before the IE explained his justification in his response. Using the hedging device "*Well*" helped the IE to strategize his evasive attempt by delaying the evasive response

given at the turn's beginning. Thus, the IE can be considered to use evasion strategies – justifying shift and hedging – covertly to evade the question. The use of the hedging strategy “Well” is similar to Vukovic’s (2013) study of evasion among American and British politicians. Whereas, the use of the justifying shift strategy is in line with Li’s (2006) study on evasion with Chinese politicians in news interviews.

M2E1

4	IR:	.Hhh in <u>your</u> new outli:ne fo:r the eco:nomic <u>model</u> you <u>e</u> mphasize
5		<u>inclusiveness</u> - uh in the pla:n for a:ll races hh but you've a:lso kept the
6		affirmative actions for the Bumiputera's which is made up o:f about 43%
7		Malays and 20% of the indigenous <u>people</u> (.) .hhh (1.0) but then you've also
8		said there are also affirmative action <u>in your</u> plan is different to the from
9	→	<u>previous</u> one. <u>What</u> is the difference about it?
10	IE:	It's different because uh you kno::w we've learnt from uh implementing the
11		hhh affirmative action in the pa::st uh we kno:w uh where are the weaknesses
12		are =
13	IR:	What- what a::re the weaknesses?

Analysis M2E1

In the excerpt M2E1, the IR highlighted the statement made by Prime Minister Najib Razak regarding the issue of affirmative action. The IE was then asked about the difference between current affirmative action for the Bumiputeras in his economic model plan and the previous one (lines 5-9). Then, he responded to the question by saying that his affirmative action is indeed different from the previous one (lines 10-11) without stating the difference it had. He gave his response within the parameters of the topic but he did not specifically explain the real difference between the two types of affirmative action in his plan and the previous plan. In this maneuver,

the politician evaded the issues required by the question *per se*, thus the medium-level of evasion appeared in this excerpt.

In this context, the politician's evasive answer shows his intention to deceive the IR by appearing to be moving straightforwardly to answer the question. Instead, the politician used the word **different** (line 10) for just reiterating the fact that the current affirmative action is different from the previous one. In the question, the **difference** (line 9) indicates a difference between the two types of affirmative actions. In the response, the **different** (line 10) refers to the reason of why the affirmative action is different which has been clearly stated in the IR's question preface. The IE veered away from the question itself in order to counter a presupposition that was embedded within it – that the current affirmative action is different from the previous one. This evasive move is considered as mild divergence as the IE did not change the subject substantially. Nevertheless, he still did not answer the question in the way in which it was framed. However, the use of subversive word repeats here, in this context, is a covert strategy. Thus, the strategy used by the politician to evade in this extract is the use of a subversive word repeat within the covert practice of evasion. These findings on the level of evasion and its strategy used are in line with Clayman's (2001) study.

M2E2

10 IE: It's different because uh you know::w we've learnt from uh **implementing** the
11 hhh affirmative action in the pa::st uh we know uh where are the weaknesses
12 are =
13 IR: What- what a::re the weaknesses?
14 IE: **Well - I think** basically (,) you know we have to cha::nge the wa::y we
15 **implemented** (,) so that it's more in tune huh with the huh current huh market
16 especially the market expectations .hhh huh that is should be market friendly.
17 Huh (0.1) it should be based on merit (?) - it should be huh mo:re transparent
18 (0.2) it should also be on on need basis (,) and the you know I emphasized
19 that we have to be fair (,) hhh when you point (,) when we implement an
20 affirmative action (,) it means for the Bumiputera (,) .hhh and the when we say
21 the Bumiputera (,) is not just - for the Malays (,) it must also include the other
22 indigenous people (,) especially Sabah and Sarawak (?). =

Analysis M2E2

In the excerpt M2E2, the question asked by the IR is a follow-up question of the IE's turn in M2E1. The IR asked the IE about the weaknesses of the affirmative action plans in the past. The question asked provides a big scope for the IE to build his response (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). The IE then asserted that the government must change the way affirmative action was implemented so that it is compatible with the current market (lines 14-15). Instead of answering clearly what the weaknesses of the affirmative actions are, the IE suggested what should be done to overcome the weaknesses. Thus, the value of the missing variable in the 'What' question was not provided. In this evasive maneuver, the IE is considered to practice a medium-level evasion. This is because the response given was within the parameters of the topic – weaknesses of the affirmative action in the past – but the IE's response was about how to overcome the weaknesses.

In the excerpt above, the IE also hedged his evasive answers by initially responding “*Well – I think.*”. The hedges “*Well*” and “*I think*” were used by the IE prior giving the evasive answers. The IE seemed to be in doubt and uncertain with his answers when he began his utterance with the hedge “*Well*”. Then, the IE continued hedging his answers with “*I think*”. Using this hedge, the IE tended to invite the IR and “overhearing audiences” to accept the IE’s perspective on the issue being discussed. The IE then continued to use the strategy of operating on the question to evade the question. When the IR asked about the weaknesses of previous affirmative actions, the IE began his response (lines 14-18) by operating on the question in terms of the ways to overcome the weaknesses. Even though the IE answered the question pertaining to weaknesses of the previous affirmative actions, he modified the term of the question ‘What’ to ‘Why’. By doing so, the IE was able to fit the answer he wanted to give. Besides that, with the use of hedging strategies at hand, the IE could also evade the specific answer to the question. Therefore, it can be considered that the IE managed his evasive responses covertly with the use of hedging and operating on the question strategies. This finding is also in line with Neary-Sundquist’s (2013) study where she found that the hedge “*Well*” and “*I think*” are most frequently used by ESL speakers to evade in a news task.

M2E3

52 IR: : =Many people have said that this affirmative action has .hh led to:: a -
53 generation of uh Mala::ys who feel that they are:: - entitled to the:se special
54 privileges .hhh uh there are some of minority groups who feel sideline - they
55 feel second class because of this affirmative action. These are what the
56 criticism's saying about this affirmative action (.) do you really think that
57 there's still a need for affirmative action (,) why not just make it hh you know -
58 affirmative action for all races? =

59 IE: =Well - when I said that it should be implemented in a fairer way I mean if you
60 talk about hhh affirmative action it should benefit you know 65% of the
61 population right (,) .hhh and then this of course for non-Bumiputeras and - you
62 must have programs for them - as well and uh because there are:: uh in a
63 market economy (,) uhh if you give uhh promote private sector investment for
64 example (,) and opportunities for the private sector - and naturally the non-
65 Bumiputeras will benefit - from it (,) so to say that we have excluded the uh
66 non-Bumiputera from () is entirely wrong (,) hh =

67 IR: = but there has been some opposition from Malay Right's groups who fear
.

Analysis M2E3

In the M2E3 excerpt, the IE was asked about the need for affirmative action and the extent to which it should be established for all the races in Malaysia (lines 56-58). As shown above, the questions were preceded by the preliminary statements (lines 52-55), which contained contextual background information (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b). The IR elaborated the question by stating that the implementation of affirmative action has been criticized for catering its special privileges to only Malays, thus creating resentment from other races. When the line of questioning was embedded with extra preliminary remarks (Greatbatch, 1988), the IR made it adversarial for the IE to answer that question satisfactorily. In turn, the IE started his turn by responding, “*Well when I said that it should be implemented in a fairer way...*” (lines 59-66), making it less pointed towards the question being asked. Instead of answering yes or no to the question “...do you

really think that there's still a need for affirmative action...?", the IE diverted his answer by asserting that the affirmative action should benefit 65% of the population in Malaysia and for non-Bumiputeras as well (line 61). In the last turn, he made an assertion that it is entirely wrong to say he and the government excluded the non-Bumiputeras from affirmative action (lines 65-66). Based on his answer, the IE is deemed evasive because he merely asserted that the affirmative actions would benefit 65% of the population, instead of providing the reasons why affirmative actions should not be made for all races. Even though he talked about affirmative actions, he accomplished a task different from what the question required (Clayman, 2001). Thus, the evasion maneuver in this excerpt falls under medium-level evasion category. This finding is in line with Rasiah's (2007) study on evasion.

With regard to this evasive answer in the M2E3 excerpt, the IE used the strategy of operating on the question to evade the question. The use of the *if*-clause "*if you talk about affirmative action it should be benefit you know 65% of the population right*" in this strategy is to make himself appear as forthcoming in giving the answer asked by the IR. The strategy of operating on the question within *if*-clause is made tentatively by the IE to shift the agenda in a more desirable direction. In the course of his answer, the IE operated on the question (lines 60-62) by making it broader in context so that it was focused more on the benefits the non-Bumiputeras could get from the implementation of the affirmative actions. He further operated on the question (lines 63-66) by providing a hypothetical situation within an *if*-clause "*if you give uhh promote private sector investment for example...*" in the subsequent response. This strategy made his evasive answer less politically damaging as he did not directly assert the necessity or the importance of affirmative actions or the possibility of permitting affirmative actions for all races. Even though

he answered the question of *why* in this example, his answer was set by the reformulation. This strategy enabled the IE to appear as ‘forthcoming’ but his answer is still considered as less pointed. Upon completing this question’s operation, the IE provided his answer in lines 65-66 “*to say that we have excluded the uh non-Bumiputera from... () is entirely wrong*”. In this case, it can be said that the IE treated the question as an assertion from the IR. That is why the question is asked whether to make the actions for all races is possible or not. Prior to giving these evasive answers, the IE hedged by responding “*Well*” at the beginning of the answer’s turn. Beginning his answer’s turn with the hedge “*Well*” made the IE seemed uncertain to give a truthful answer. This hedging strategy was used prior to operating on the question to covertly strategize his evasive attempts. Thus, the IE evaded the question covertly by using the strategy of operating on the question and hedging.

M2E4

125 IR: Well u also lea::d a pa:rtly that champions Mala:y rights, Mala:y needs, Mala:y
126 interests, and you're also trying to push the agenda of a uni:ted Malaysia. Do
127 you yourself see, the (interrupted) the irony in this?
128 IE: [It's not a zero-sum game.. it's not a zero-sum game
129 IR: [Do you yourself see (,) the irony in this?
130 IE: it's not a zero-sum game::] it's not – it's rea:lity – it's
131 not a zero-sum game because if you promo:te hh uh interest on Malays uh it's
132 not an exclusion of the non-Malays - I think .hhh there's enou:gh uh - resources
133 for us to help everyone in this country (.) .hhh and I think uh I'm confident in
134 fact (,) uh you know - with the polici:es based on the spirit and and philosophy
135 1Malaysia .hhh that uh everyone will have a rightful place - under the
136 Malaysian side (?) =
137
138 IR: = but u ca:n't get away from the fact that Malaysia - runs on ra:ce based politics.

Analysis M2E4

In the M2E4 excerpt, the interviewee (IE) was asked about the irony of leading a party that champions Malay rights and interest, but at the same time also trying to push the agenda of a united Malaysia, a policy known to the public as “1Malaysia”. The IR’s turn in lines 125-126 pressed the IE to accept a proposition that having an idea of a united Malaysia while at the same time, championing Malay rights and interests was ironic. The IR’s turn in lines 126-127 is regarded as a compound question consisting of a declarative question preface in lines 125-126, followed by an interrogative in lines 126-127. In turn, the IE responded by stating that that idea was “*not a zero-sum*” twice. He even continued the answer by stating that “*if you promo:te hh uh interest on Malays uh it's not an exclusion of the non-Malays*”. This answer is a maneuver in medium-level evasion because the IE performed the task differently to what was required by that question. Even though the answer given was still within the parameters of the topic – championing Malay rights and interests – the IE did not directly provide the answer required by the question – agree or disagree that it was ironic to be championing Malay rights and interests

while at the same time pushing the agenda of a united Malaysia. The IR appeared to disagree with the IE's answer by stating, "*= but u ca:n't get away from the fact that Malaysia - runs on ra:ce based politics*". As Clayman (2001) claimed, evasion is an action that is treated as inadequately responsive by the interview participants (p. 406), the subsequent turn from the IR thus "presents information that counters what the IE has said" (Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 393). This challenge was openly stressed as a response to the evasive answer made by the IE. This finding is similar to Rasiah's (2010) study on evasion with Australian politicians.

In this excerpt, the IE evaded the question by providing overlapping utterances. The strategy of overlapping utterances is considered as a new finding in this study, because this linguistic form is not identified in Clayman's (2001) framework. The IE can be seen as evasive when the IE overlapped his answer within the IR's question. The IE tried to take over the IR's turn by repeatedly saying, "*it's not a zero-sum game...*" (line 128 and 130). The overlapping utterance is made apparent in the course of his answer, thus allowed him to evade the question using this strategy overtly. He overlapped his answer within the IR's question and then continued to operate on the question. This operating on the question strategy can be seen as embedded within other activity such as disagreement. For example, the IE portrayed his disagreement in his turn (line 126) by asserting that championing Malay rights while at the same time pushing the agenda of a united Malaysia is not a zero-sum game. He re-stated the same statement twice, which it is understandable given that the IE actually disagreed with the question. Then, the IE proceeded to operate on the question within the *if*-clause "*if you promote the interest on Malays it's not an exclusion of the non-Malays*" (lines 131-132) in order to shift the agenda in a more desirable direction. This strategy of operating on the question is subtle in some ways, yet still

advantageous for the IE. He proposed the favorable idea of promoting Malay interests and uniting all races under his administration. Instead of responding directly ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to this yes-no interrogative type of question, the IE operated on the question by hypothetically stating that non-Malays would not be excluded if they promote interest on Malays. This strategy made his evasive answer less politically damaging. This is because by answering ‘yes’ or ‘no’, the IE’s political status may have been damaged. A direct answer ‘yes’ might commit the IE to agreeing that he only supported one race’s rights, Malay. Meanwhile, a direct answer ‘no’ might commit the IE to being against his own policy to push the agenda of united Malaysia for all races. This finding on the use of the strategy of operating on the question is in line with Clayman’s (2001) study on evasion. Therefore, in this excerpt, the IE is deemed to use operating on the question to evade the question covertly.

M2E5

155	IR:	= <u>Let</u> me then just a:sk you. Are you a Malay first and a Malaysian second?
156	IE:	Well technically – technically (,) if we talk about the constitution (,) i am a
157		Malay (,) but <u>I</u> ’m comfortable hhh - being a Malay in a Malaysian society (,)
158		and I want us towards becoming a truly “1Malaysia” society. But I am proud
159		to be a Malay (.) I am proud to be a Muslim (.) hhh but the fact that I am proud
160		to be a Malay and a Muslim (,) it <u>doesn</u> ’t mean that I cannot uh rela:te to
161		others (?)

Analysis M2E5

In the M2E5 excerpt, the interviewee (IE) was again asked a yes-no question whether he is a Malay first and a Malaysian second (line 155). As shown above in line 136, the IE did not answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ as expected from the interrogative type of question design. Instead of giving a straightforward answer of yes or no, the IE asserted he is Malay in terms of the constitution but

he is comfortable to be Malay in a Malaysian society. He then elaborated that he hopes every Malaysian works together to be a truly “1Malaysia” society. His assertiveness in his answer was even justified by stating that even though he is both Malay and Muslim, it does not mean he cannot relate to others. At this juncture, the IE attempted to evade the question set by the IR of whether he considered himself as a Malay first and a Malaysian second. According to Clayman’s (2001) framework of evasion, the IE is considered to practice medium-level evasion because he performed a task entirely different from that required by the question, even though his answer is within the parameters of the topic relating to his credential as a Malay and a Malaysian. In this example, the IE actually answered half of the whole question as he stated that he was Malay in regard of constitution but he did not state that he is Malaysian. Nevertheless, the IE was being evasive in his response as his answer can be seen as inadequate. This finding is in line with Rasiah’s (2007) study on evasion in Australian parliamentary discourse.

In the course of his evasive answer, the IE operated on the question and at the same time, used the subversive word repeat. This example portrayed the use of two strategies by the Malaysian politician in an attempt to evade answering the question adequately. Moreover, prior to pursuing his evasive answer, the IE also hedged his answer with a hedging device “*Well*” at the beginning of his utterance. It thus showed that the IE was uncertain about giving his answer to the question. The IE used the hedging strategy to mitigate what would be said in the course of his answer. The IE then tried to operate on the IR’s question stating that he is considered as Malay based on the constitution by reformulating the essence of the question itself. The use of the *if*-clause “*if we talk about the constitution, I am a Malay....*” is made apparent in this strategy to make appear himself as forthcoming in giving the answer intended by IR. This strategy of operating on the

question within *if*-clause is made tentatively by the IE to shift the agenda in a more desirable direction. Nevertheless, this strategy made his evasive answer less politically damaging as he did not straightforwardly claim that he is a Malay first. His answer continued to further emphasize that he is comfortable to be Malay in a Malaysian society. Notice here, the IE again tried to operate on the question by using the subversive word repeat of 'Malaysian'. In the question, the term 'Malaysian' is meant as the IE's nationality but in his evasive answer, he changed the key term of 'Malaysian' in a view of Malaysian society. It is thus reasonably covert to the degree that the IE moves away from what the question is all about. Based on this analysis, the IE used three different strategies at one time when evading the question, each of which came very much in play. These findings are in line with Neary-Sundquist's (2013) study on the use of hedges by ESL speakers in an interpersonal communication and Clayman's (2001) study on evasion.

4.1.2 Interview sessions with President Barack Obama

U1E1

88	IR:	= A couple things come out of this. Um:, clearly you had a red line (.) and
89		clearly you say you have confirming evidence of that. Other people have
90	→	raised questions as to why you didn't do it earlier (,) Senator McCain (,) even
91		last week (,) former President Clinton.
92	IE:	[Right]
93	IR:	[Um::] there is also the question as to <u>whether</u> you <u>knew</u> if you supplied
94		weapons they would stay in the hands of people that you intended them for.
95	→	Have you been <u>settled</u> on <u>that</u> question (?) that you can <u>ship</u> weapons (,) and
96		they can go to the hands of the people (,) that you intend to benefit?
97	IE:	Well (,) first of all (,) Charlie (,) - I've said I'm <u>ramping up</u> support for both
98		the political and military opposition. I've not specified exactly what we're
99		doing and I won't do so on this show. .hhh Uhh - That's point number one.
100		Point number two is that this argument that somehow we had - gone in earlier
101		or heavier (,) in some fashion that - the tragedy and chaos taking place in Syria
102		wouldn't be taking place (,) I think is wrong. [And]
103	IR:	[Why do you think it's wrong?]

Analysis U1E1

In the excerpt U1E1, the IR asked the IE exactly two questions. First of all, the IE was asked about his actions in providing support for both political and military opposition. This can be referred to as a previous sequential turn (see Appendix D, lines 75-82). Preceding the question, the IR stated preliminary statements regarding the question about IE's knowledge of supplied weapons. The IE was then asked, "*Have you been settled on that question that you can ship weapons and they can go to the hands of the people that you intend to benefit?*" which pushed the IE to agree on those statements. However, the IE tended to become evasive in answering the question by not agreeing or disagreeing with IR. He flatly refused to specify exactly what the United States were doing such as any information about the supplied weapons (lines 98-99). In this evasive maneuver, the IE can be considered to practice full evasion because he declined to

provide any information asked for by the IR in his question. The IE then made a second attempt to evade by veering sharply from the topic of the question about the IE's ability to ship weapons to the hands of the people he intended to benefit with his answer "...*this argument that somehow we had gone in earlier or heavier in some fashion that the tragedy and chaos taking place in Syria wouldn't be taking place I think is wrong...*" (lines 100-102). Here, the issue of shipping weapons to those he intended to benefit was substituted with the issue of the tragedy and chaos taking place in Syria. For second part of this answer, the IE is deemed to practice substantial evasion in his evasive maneuver.

In this example of evasive maneuver, the IE hedged his evasive answer with the hedging device "Well" at the beginning of his utterance. The hedging strategy used by the IE showed a sign of uncertainty in the course of his answer. Then, the IE addressed the IR with his name "Charlie" to signal his disagreement in his evasive answer. Clayman (2010) noted that the address term is deemed as a sign of disagreement when responding to an adversarial question. The IE then proceeded to use the strategy of justifying shift in order to evade the question. He justified it by using the adverb "*first of all...*" and continued to take issue with the IR's question over his action of shipping weapons to those he intended to benefit. He overtly evaded the question by stating that he gave support for both the political and military opposition. The strategy of justifying shift applied by the IE was made explicit and elaborated to the IR and viewers with the use of justificatory elements "*Point number one...*" and "*Point number two...*". In this way of shifting the agenda, the IE preceded his evasive answers by ascribing the important points that should be highlighted in virtue of the question asked. Therefore, the answer is considered to be

inadequate for what question required, which was acknowledging his ability to ship weapons to the people he intended to benefit, by using the justifying shift strategy overtly.

In this excerpt, President Barack Obama evaded the questions at two levels, namely full level and substantial level. These findings are in line with Li's (2006) study on evasion by Chinese politicians and non-politicians in news interviews. The findings on the use of the hedging strategy "*Well*" by the U.S. politician is in line with Vukovic's (2013) study with American and British politicians in news interviews. This analysis also shared the same finding with Rendle-Short's (2007) study on the use of address term by Australian politicians in evading questions in news interviews. Lastly, the finding on the use of the justifying shift strategy is similar to Clayman's (2001) study on evasion. In Clayman's (2001) work, he found that the politician used a phrase "*if I could just speak to Molly's point*" as a justificatory element in an attempt to evade the question particularly in the debate interview. Clayman (2001) claimed that this element is used as a sign of implicit rationale for the IE to evade the question. In this example, President Barack Obama used different justificatory elements which were "*Point number one...*" and "*Point number two...*". Despite the different elements used, the function is still the same – to justify the shift.

U1E2

237	IR:	Let me go to China. Last week at this time you were meeting with the
238		President of China, Xi Jinping. =
239	IE:	= Yes. =
240	IR:	=What came out of that? =
241	IE:	Well , you know, this was an unconventional summit. Uh:. We did it outside
242		of the White House. First time - a Chinese president, I think, had been outside
243		of a formal [state visit].
244	IR:	[Did it make things better?] [The informality of it?]

Analysis U1E2

In the excerpt U1E2, the IR asked about the result of the IE's meeting with the President of China, Xi Jinping. However, the IE evaded the question by asserting that the meeting was an unconventional summit. He even continued "*We did it outside of the White House. First time - a Chinese president, I think, had been outside of a formal [state visit]*" (lines 241-243). He thus performed a task entirely different from that required by the question albeit still within the parameters of the topic – the meeting. The IE's evasion practice did not escape the notice of the IR. The IR's follow-up question "*[Did it make things better?] [The informality of it?]*" (line 244) overlapped with the IE's last words. This shows that the IR noticed that the IE did not answer the question adequately and attempted to narrow down the question. Therefore, the IE is considered as having evaded the question at a medium-level of evasion.

In the excerpt above, the IE used the hedging strategy in an attempt to evade the question. For example, the hedges used like "*Well*" showed the IE's hesitation in giving his answer, thus evaded it. The hedges were used right before the IE made an effort to evade, specifically at an initial turn of IE's answer. These findings are all similar to Clayman's (2001) and Vukovic's (2013) studies on evasion.

U1E3

286	IR:	= And are they responsive to that? Are they looking at situations like (.) you
287		know (,) we can be almost a kind of G-2?
288	IE:	Right. Well (,) <u>look</u> obviously there are a lot of countries around the world
289		who are significant, both regionally and internationally.
290	IR:	[We're talking] about the two biggest economies in the world.

Analysis U1E3

In the excerpt U1E3, the IR asked in one turn two questions with yes-no interrogative question design. The IE was asked whether “*they*”, referring to China, were responsive to the idea proposed by the IE to be a partner to set up international “rules of the road” (lines 281-282, refer to Appendix D). The IR even elaborated that question by asking, “*Are they looking at situations like, you know, we can be almost a kind of G-2?*” to put the question in perspective. The IE in lines 288-289 answered the question by asserting that “*there are a lot of countries around the world who are significant both regionally and internationally*”. In this evasive turn, he displayed other countries all around the world who can be partners with the U.S. internationally. Subsequently, the IR latched onto the response made by the IE by stating that they are talking about the two biggest economies in the world – China and the United States – which meant the topic was slightly veered away from. In this example, the IE is deemed to have practiced substantial evasion because he veered away from the topic of the question and toward a substantially different area of discussion. This finding is similarly found in Mehdipour and Nabifar’s (2011) study of evasion. Mehdipour and Nabifar (2011) found that Secretary Clinton applied a positive dimension of resistance in which the answers were given through “topic shift”.

In this excerpt, the IE made an attempt to evade the question by using the justifying shift strategy. The IE attempted to justify his deviation from the question by asserting that “...*Well* (,) *look obviously there are a lot of other countries around the world who are significant, both regionally and internationally*”. He justified his evasive maneuver in which he led the IR to the fact that there were a lot of other significant countries rather than only China and the United States – as required by the question. In addition, the IE also used generalization in the course of his evasive answer. Instead of stating that China can be partner with the United States internationally, he responded evasively using the phrase “*a lot of other countries*”. Prior justifying his shift here, the IE hedged it with the hedging device “*Well*”. Beginning the answer with “*Well*” showed that the IE was about to avoid answering the question adequately as expected by the IR. Therefore, the IE overtly evaded the question using these strategies at hand. These findings on evasion strategies used by the IE are similar to Clayman’s (2001), Bhatia’s (2006), and Vukovic’s (2013) studies.

U1E4

412	IR:	[But] have any of those been turned down? All the
413		requests to FISA courts (.) have they been turned down at all?
414	IE:	Let me finish here, Charlie (.) because I want to make sure. This debate has
415		gotten cloudy very quickly.
		.
		.
		.
		.
		.
		.
435	IR:	[But] has FISA Court turned down <u>any</u>
436		request?
437	IE:	Because first of all, Charlie (.) the number of requests are surprisingly small (.)
438		number one. Number two (.) folks don't go with a query (.) unless they've got
439		- a pretty good suspicion (?)

Analysis U1E4

In the excerpt U1E4, the IE was asked whether the FISA Court has turned down any request of a single NSA spy (lines 412-413) which are often made by the National Security Agency (NSA). The IE evaded the question by not giving any information about the issue raised. The interaction kept moving until the IR asked the same question “*But has FISA Court turned down any request?*” in line 435. This yes-no type of question design is typically designed to compel the IE to respond either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (Raymond, 2003). These yes-no interrogative questions have both conforming and nonconforming responses. (Raymond, 2000). The ‘yes’ answer is termed the conforming response, thus is constructed as the preferred response. Raymond (2003) explained that “preferred responses are produced immediately and without qualification” (p. 943) which shows the acceptance of the IE about the question being asked. On the other hand, the ‘no’ answer is termed as the nonconforming response which is constructed as a dispreferred response – the answer might be delayed with silence, or mitigated or accounted for. It shows the

declination in the IE's answer towards the IR's question. Thus, it is understood that the question is treated as problematic by the IE. In this evasive maneuver, the IE did not acknowledge the question with the answer 'yes' or 'no', but rather he asserted that "*the number of requests are surprisingly small*" and "*folks do not go with a query unless they have got a pretty good suspicion*" (lines 437-439). Even though his response was within the parameters of the question – it was "about" the number of requests – he can be considered as evasive. He performed a task other than the question demanded. Therefore the IE practiced a medium-level of evasion according to Clayman's (2001) framework.

In this excerpt, the IE made an attempt to evade the question about the FISA court by means of a token request for permission and justifying shift. The IE started his evasive turn by stating, "*Let me finish here....*" (line 414) in order to veer away from what was required by the question. The IE used the phrase "*Let me finish*" to appear to be asking for permission to shift the topic of the discussion but he did not wait for an approval from the IR. It seemed that the IE did not expect a response from the IR as he then continued to state his answer in lines 437-439. Following the token request for permission, the IE addressed the IR with his name "*Charlie*" as a sign to veer away from the agenda of the question. It can be understood that the IE addressed "*Charlie*" prior giving his evasive answer to signal that he was deviating from the agenda of the question overtly. Clayman (2010) suggested that the use of address terms in answering a question can be multi-functional instead of merely addressing the interviewer. Then, the IE attempted to evade again the same question when the IR asked it for the second time. In this example, the IE used the justifying shift strategy to evade the question. He justified it by using the adverb "*first of all...*" and continued to talk about the number of requests and the U.S. people's attitudes to the requests

made. The strategy of justifying shift used by the IE was made explicit to the IR and viewers with the use of justificatory elements “*number one...*” and “*number two...*”. By using these kinds of phrases, the IE overtly justified his move away from the agenda of the question – has the FISA Court turned down any requests or not. In this way of shifting the agenda, the IE preceded his evasive answers by highlighting important issues about the number of the request and the requests made by the U.S. people. Therefore, these findings of justifying shift and token request for permission strategies used by the IE are similar to Clayman’s (2001) study of evasion. On the other hand, the address term as a strategy to evade is in line with Clayman’s (2010) study.

U1E5

497	IR:	Let me just ask you this. If someone <u>leaks</u> all this information about NSA
498		surveillance, as Mr. Snowden did, did it cause national security damage to the
499		United States (?) and therefore should he be prosecuted?
500	IE:	Uh: I’m not going to comment on prosecutions.

Analysis U1E5

In the U1E5 excerpt, the IR asked IE an adversarial question with a feature of assertiveness. According to Clayman and Heritage’s (2002b) basic dimensions of adversarialness, the term of assertiveness is related to the extent to which the journalist is able to force the politician to provide a particular answer. Under this line of assertiveness, the IR asked a yes-no question which embodied a preference towards saying yes. In lines 497-498, the IE was asked whether someone leaking information about NSA surveillance causes national security damage to the United States. The IR then further asked the IE whether Mr. Snowden should be prosecuted. Both these questions were designed to favor gaining a ‘yes’ answer from the IE himself.

However, the IE evaded the question by clearly stating that he was not going to comment on prosecutions. He still abandoned the first part of the question – “*did it cause national security damage to the United States*” – leaving it unanswered. In this example of evasive maneuver, the IE can be considered to practice full evasion as he declined to give any of the evidence or information that was required by the question. He flatly refused to answer it, which made his response (line 500) seemed inadequate. In this excerpt, the finding is similar to Li’s (2006) study on types of evasion among Chinese interviewee participants.

In this excerpt, it is clear the IE evaded the question by stating that “*I’m not going to comment....*” (line 500). This strategy was clearly made explicit to the IR. There are no more propositions made after this turn. The phrase “*I’m not going to comment...*” clearly showed that the IE was unwilling to answer those questions. Using that phrase, he cast his refusal to answer as a willful choice. So, it can be considered that the IE has used the strategy of declining to answer within the phrase “*I’m not going to comment...*” in his answer. The new finding of this strategy is in line with Bull and Mayer’s (1993) study on equivocation techniques used by British politicians. Bull and Mayer (1993) found that Margaret Thatcher evaded the question by using the declining to answer strategy. Specifically, the politician used that strategy to appear as unwilling to answer the question asked by the interviewer. For example, Margaret Thatcher declined to answer by stating, “***I am not going to prophesy what will happen on Thursday and I’m not going to be tempted along this route***”.

U1E6

633	IR:	[But if he wanted to be reappointed (,) you would reappoint him?
634	IE:	He has been an <u>outstanding</u> partner (.) along with the White House (.) in
635		helping us recover <u>much</u> stronger than (,) for example (,) our European
636		partners (,) from what could have been uh: (0.1) an economic crisis of epic
637		proportions.

Analysis U1E6

In the excerpt U1E6, the IE was asked a yes-no interrogative type of question which demanded an answer of yes or no. He was asked whether he would reappoint Ben Bernanke if he wanted to be reappointed (line 633). In turn, the IE offered a generally positive appraisal or evaluation of Ben Bernanke's previous accomplishments (lines 634-637), but he did not specifically endorse his reappointment. Therefore, this evasive maneuver in this example is considered to be medium-level evasion because his answer lay within the question's topical parameters but performed a task other than what was specifically requested by the question. Broadly speaking, the IE's answer is within the parameters of the topic – it is “about” Ben Bernanke – but even so it is regarded as evasive because it performs a different task than the question required. In this excerpt, the finding of the medium-level evasion applied by the U.S. president is in line with Rasiah's (2007) study on evasion.

In this excerpt, the IE was asked about the reappointment of Ben Bernanke on a government board. The IE began to respond by saying, “*He has been an outstanding partner along with the White House...*” (line 634), using a pronoun “**He**” – referring back to Ben Bernanke in the question. Even though the pronoun “**He**” was used to refer to Ben Bernanke, the IE did not answer the question whether he would reappoint Ben Bernanke or not as the question asked. This

kind of anaphoric pronoun strategy directed praise to Ben Bernanke rather than responding to the IR's actual question of whether the IE would reappoint him or not. It thus seemed to assure a real answer as this shift was obscured by the initial back-referencing statement "**He**". Therefore, the IE can be considered to practice evasion covertly using the anaphoric pronoun strategy. A similar finding of this strategy is found in Sikhwari's (2009) study. He found that the pronoun "*this*" was used by the ESL speakers from South Africa to appear evasive or equivocal in giving the message.

University of Malaysia

48 IR: =.Hhh yeah. Harry Truman once famously said (,) if you want a friend in
 49 Washington, get a dog (,) and I've thought of that when I heard the hhh chief
 50 of staff of the Democratic leader of the Senate (,) Harry Reid (,) say and this is
 51 his quote "The President's approval rating is basically forty percent. Hhh what
 52 else more is there to say?" He's basically saying it was your fault. Do you feel
 53 it was your [fault? =

54 IE: [=Well, look, (0.4) another - saying of Harry Truman's was (,) the buck stops
 55 with me. With me (?) the buck stops right here (,) at my desk (,) and so::
 56 whenever as the head of the party (,) it doesn't do well, I've got to uh take
 57 responsibility for it. (0.6) The message that I took from this election and we've
 58 seen this in a number of elections (,) successive elections (,) .hhh is:: - people
 59 want to see this city work. .Hhh and they feel as if it's not worked. .Hhh the
 60 economy has improved significantly. There's no doubt about it. We had a jobs
 61 report (,) (0.1) for October that sho:wed that once again over two hundred
 62 thousand jobs created (,) we've now created more than ten million (,) hhh the
 63 unemployment rate has come down faster than we could've anticipated. **Just**
 64 to give you some perspective **Bob** (,) hhh we've created more jobs in the
 65 United States than every other (,) advanced economy (,) combined since I
 66 came into office (,) hhh and so we're making progress but people still fee:l (?)
 67 like their wages haven't gone up (,) still hard to save for retirement (,) still
 68 hard to send a kid to college (,) .hhh an::d - then they see Washington gridlock
 69 (,) and they're frustrated (,) an::d you know, they know one person in
 70 Washington and that's the President of the United States. So - I've got to make
 71 this city (,) work better (,) fo::r them.=

Analysis U2E1

In the excerpt U2E1, the IR posed an adversarial question which had an element of assertiveness. Prior asking the IE a question, the IR stated prefatory remarks that stressed the negative comment made by Harry Truman on the issue of foreign policy. The IR stated the prefatory remarks "The President's approval rating is basically forty percent. What else more is there to say?" He's basically saying it was your fault" (lines 51-52). Here, statements from Harry Reid about the IE's low approval rating combined to favor a yes answer to the question soliciting his fault's acknowledgement. When the IE was asked, "Do you feel it was your fault?" (line 52), he did not answer a simple 'yes' or 'no' towards the yes-no interrogative type of question. He

responded that Harry Truman also said that he, himself, was responsible for the failure of foreign policy (refer to Appendix E, line 44). The IE continued stating that he has to be responsible if it does not work. Basically, instead of answering the IR question whether he felt that it was his fault or not, the IE rather highlighted Harry Truman's responsibility on this issue. Later on, the IE changed the topic of the discussion in lines 62-71 in an attempt to evade the question. He said the economy in the United States has grown rapidly, the number of jobs in the country has increased, and so on just to give the idea that he was doing his best to make the city of Washington work better for U.S. citizens. In this evasive maneuver, the IE actually moved away from the topic of the question which asked about his feelings of guilt to a different topic – jobs creation and economic development. The IE can be considered to evade the question at a substantial level. In this excerpt, the finding of the substantial evasion applied by the U.S. president is in line with Clayman's (2001) and Bhatia's (2006) studies.

In this excerpt, the IE hedged his evasive answers with a hedging device "*Well*". This kind of expression implies a lack of certainty in the IE's answer. The IE then continued evading the question by justifying that Harry Truman also said that the buck stops with him. The IE, as a president, needs to take a responsibility for his low approval rating. Instead of answering 'yes' or 'no' to the IR's question "*He's basically saying it was your fault. Do you feel it was your [fault?]*" (lines 5-53), the IE is considered to have evaded it by justifying another saying made by Harry Truman. Following that, the IE kept evading the question using the same strategy – justifying shift. He also justified that he had done his best to make improvements in the U.S. (lines 60-63). Then, the IE tried to minimize his divergence from the topic by using a minimizing characterization "**Just**" (line 62). In this part of his answer, the IE said, "**Just** to give you some

perspective Bob...” in order to appear as deviating himself from the agenda of the question. From this line, he talked about the increase of jobs in the U.S. and the living standard of U.S. citizens, which were not within the original question agenda. Using this kind of evasion strategy, the IE actually tones down his evasive response by describing the poor economic situation as irrelevant and thus providing another perspective from his own view. Therefore, in this excerpt the IE can be considered to evade the question overtly by means of justifying shift and minimizing the divergence strategies. Embedding this strategy, the IE addressed the IR with his name “*Bob*” to imply that he was about to disagree with what the IR proposed in the question – Harry Truman said the president’s low approval rating occurred because of the IE. This strategy is used by the IE to signal his deviation from the agenda of the question. This strategy is in line with Clayman’s (2010) research on the use of address term to resist the topical agenda of the question. Clayman (2010) found that address terms feature highly appears as politicians launch their resistant responses for the purpose of departing from both the topical and action agenda in news interviews. In terms of the use of hedging as an evasion strategy, the finding is in line with Li’s (2006) study. The findings on the use of justifying shift and minimizing the divergence strategies are similar to Clayman’s (2001) study on evasion.

158 IR: You sent a secret letter to to Iran: Supreme Commander or a Supreme Leader
 159 last month about our two countries' shared interest in fighting ISIS. hhh I
 160 guess I'd ask you the first question (.) has he answered?=
 161 IE: =I tend not to comment on - any communications that I have with various
 162 leaders. - I'm I have got a whole bunch of channels where we're
 163 communicating to various leaders around the world. - **Let let me speak** (,)
 164 more broadly about the policies vis-à-vis Iran. We have two big interests in
 165 Iran that is short term and then we got a long-term interest. Our number one
 166 priority with respect to Iran is making sure they don't get nuclear weapon an::d
 167 because of the unprecedented sanctions that this administration put forward
 168 .hhh and mobilized the world to abide by they got squeezed their economic
 169 tanked and they came to the table in a serious way for the first time (.) in a
 170 very very long time. We've now had - significant negotiations they have
 171 abided by freezing the program and in fact reducing their stockpile of nuclear-
 172 grade material (.) or weapons-grade material. And - the question now are we're
 173 gonna be able to close the final gap (,) so that they can reenter the international
 174 community, sanctions can be slowly reduced and we have verifiable lock-tight
 175 assurances that they can't develop nuclear weapons. There's still a big gap. We
 176 may not be able to get there. The second thing (?) that we have an interest in is
 177 (0.1) that Iran has influenced over Shia both in Syria (,) and in Iraq (,) and we
 178 do have a shared enemy in ISIL (.) but I've been very clear publicly and
 179 privately we're not connecting in any way the nuclear negotiation from the
 180 issue of ISIL. We're not coordinating with Iran on ISIL. There's some de-
 181 conflicting in the sense that since they have some - troops or militias they
 182 control in and around Baghdad yea we'll let them know hhh - don't mess with
 183 us we're not here to with you we focus on - common our enemy (,)
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .

Analysis U2E2

In the U2E2 excerpt, the IR put forth a question which contained an element of preface hostility. According to Clayman and Heritage's (2002b) basic dimensions of adversarialness, a question can be hostile when "the president or his administration was overtly treated as responsible" (p. 766). In another context, the president might be invited to answer or respond to the criticism contained in the preface, thus the question is actually related to its preface. In this example, the

statement made by the IR concerned the IE's actions in sending a letter to Iran Supreme Leader last month regarding the two countries' shared interest in fighting ISIS (line 158-159). The IE was then asked whether Iran Supreme Leader had answered his letter or not (line 160). At this juncture, the IR managed to hold the IE accountable for the upcoming answer regarding sending the letter to the Iran Supreme Leader and for providing a satisfactory answer to the IR for the sake of the "overhearing audience". However, the IE showed his unwillingness in not commenting on any communications he had with various leaders. He even continued to justify his speech act of assertion in lines 162-163 by stating that "*I have got a whole bunch of channels where we're communicating to various leaders around the world*". From line 162 to 183, he did not provide any answer to the IR's question as he already refused to comment on that (line 161). The IE can be considered to practice full evasion for his refusal in his answer. In this excerpt, the finding of the full evasion applied by the U.S. president is in line with Li's (2006) study.

In the above excerpt, the IE began his shift with a statement that showed deference to the IR. This kind of strategy can be seen in terms of token requests for permission such as "*let me speak broadly about the policies vis-à-vis Iran*" in lines 163-164. As shown in the excerpt above, the IE first answered the question about whether Iran's supreme commander had answered his secret letter in a disaffirmative way (lines 161-162), and then he continued to talk about other matters regarding the policies in relation to Iran (lines 164-183), including U.S. interests in Iran. By so doing, he actually asked the IR for permission to comment on the broader issue of Iran in terms of its policy and interest, which was not what the question called for. In addition, the IE used the generalization strategy in his attempt to evade the question. For example, instead of mentioning Iran Supreme Leader as the question asked for, the IE made the topic broader using the term

“*various leaders*”. Therefore, in this example, the IE can be considered to evade the question overtly by providing a token request for permission which openly acknowledged the fact that an evasion was about to take place. In this example, it shows that President Barack Obama declined to answer the question from the IR and instead tended to speak on other unrelated issues. This evasion strategy is deemed to be quite successful for President Barack Obama as he proceeded with the points he wanted to make without having a grant of permission from the interviewer. This finding is in line with Clayman’s (2001) study on evasion.

U2E3

196	IR:	= <u>Six</u> years into an administration is <u>the time</u> (,) that <u>Presidents</u> seem to make
197		<u>changes</u> some of them are trying to <u>really</u> shake things up (.) they bring in <u>new</u>
198		<u>people</u> they launch <u>new programs</u> . Do <u>I</u> get the <u>sense</u> that you’re not planning
199		something like that? =
200	IE:	= Well I think there’re always gonna be changes (.) um I mean if you look at
201		after each election
202	IR:	= the <u>I don’t</u> see that you from what I’ve heard from you <u>so</u> far you <u>didn’t</u> plan
203		to do much <u>different</u> than what you’ve <u>done</u> so far =

Analysis U2E3

In the U2E3 excerpt, the IR stated a prefatory remark that Presidents often made changes six years into an administration such as bringing new people and launching new programs. The IR then asked, “*Do I get the sense that you’re not planning something like that? =*” (lines 236-237) which was designed to be adversarial in nature. This sort of question implies the element of disagreement with the president (Clayman & Heritage, 2002b) in terms of policy and action in administrations. It can be shown in the question when the IR asserted that the IE was not planning to make changes in his administration. By so doing, the IR seemed to disagree that the IE has made changes in government. In fact, Clayman and Heritage (2002b) pointed out that

global hostility can be found in a simple question (as in excerpt M1E4) when the IR tended to highlight the contradiction between the President's words, statement, actions or policies. In turn, the IE evaded the question by stating that “= *Well I think there're always gonna be changes (.) um I mean if you look at after each election*” (lines 238-239). In this evasive maneuver, the IE unconvincingly asserted that he thought there were always going to be changes after each election instead of directly stating what plans he has made so far. His evasive action did not escape the notice of the IR as he was pressed again for an explicit endorsement (Clayman, 2001) – “= *the I don't see that you from what I've heard from you so far you didn't plan to do much different than what you've done so far* =” – in lines 202-203. By broadly stating that there were always going to be changes in the Presidents' administration, the IE's answer was still within the parameters of the topic – it is “about” changes and plans – but he actually performed a different task than the question originally required. The IE is considered to apply medium-level evasion. In this excerpt, the finding of the medium-level evasion applied by the U.S. president is similar to Bhatia's (2006) study.

In the extract above, the IE tended to evade the question by using the justifying shift strategy. This is apparent in his answer “= *Well I think there're always gonna be changes (.)*” (line 200). He used the justifying shift strategy in providing an answer or view that was not being asked for by the IR. Using this strategy, the IE justified that there are always going to be changes in the President's administration. He then further elaborated his justification by mentioning, “*...I mean if you look at after each election*” (lines 238-239). Here, it is understood that the IE tried to justify his shift by means of directing his answer in a much broader way. In other words, his justification relies on the fact that there will always be changes following each election. In

addition, the IE hedged his evasive answer with a hedging devices “*Well*” and “*I think*”. Beginning his answer with the hedging devices, the IE implied that he was not fully and personally committed to the belief that he was not planning any changes in his new administration. With this strategy, the IE’s commitment towards his answer may involve uncertainty or doubt. This finding on the use of hedging strategy to evade is in line Vukovic’s (2013) study on evasion in political news interviews. Whereas, the finding of the justifying shift strategy is similar to Li’s (2006) study on evasion among Chinese politicians.

4.2 Similarities and Differences of Evasion Practices Between Malaysian and U.S. Politicians in News Interviews

Based on the results and discussion above, there are similarities and differences in evasion practices between the Malaysian and U.S. politicians in the selected news interviews. This study revealed that both the politicians practiced evasion in answering the questions in the news interviews. However, based on the selected data the politicians evaded the questions at different levels. To illustrate this, the Table 4.2 below shows the occurrence of the levels of evasion applied by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama and their percentage.

Table 4.2: Percentage of the levels of evasion applied by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama

LoV \ P \ D	Prime Minister Najib Razak	Percentage (%)	President Barack Obama	Percentage (%)
	Occurrence		Occurrence	
Full	0	0	2	22
Substantial	2	22	3	33
Medium-level	7	78	4	45
Subtle	0	0	0	0

Table 4.2 shows that Prime Minister Najib Razak applied medium-level evasion most frequently, followed by substantial level evasion. He applied medium-level evasion seven times compared to substantial evasion twice. This indicates that Prime Minister Najib Razak used 78% of the medium-level evasion and 22% of the substantial evasion. However, there were no full and subtle evasions in the selected news interviews with Prime Minister Najib Razak. On the other hand, President Barack Obama used three levels of evasion in the selected data. Medium-level evasions occurred four times in the excerpts while substantial evasion occurred three times. President Barack Obama also used full evasion twice, a level of evasion that was not used by Prime Minister Najib Razak at all. This denotes that President Barack Obama used 45% of medium-level of evasion, followed by 33% of substantial evasion and 22% of full evasion. However, there was no subtle evasion used by the President in evading the questions. Hence, it can be concluded that President Barack Obama made use the three levels of evasion, all except subtle evasion, in answering the questions in the news interviews at hand.

In addition, the study also shows the similarities and differences in the ways they evaded the questions. These ways can be regarded as evasion strategies, which help them to move forward with the adversarial questions posed to them by the interviewer. Table 4.3 shows the occurrence of the strategies used by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama in the selected news interviews. To note here, there are five other additional evasion strategies found in the data of evasive answers: hedging, declining to answer, overlapping utterance, address terms, and generalization. These additional evasion strategies are considered as the new findings in this study. They are not included in the Clayman's (2001) taxonomy of evasion strategies.

Table 4.3: Distribution of the evasion strategies by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President

Barack Obama

ES		P D		Prime Minister Najib Razak	Percentage (%)	President Barack Obama	Percentage (%)
				Occurrence		Occurrence	
Overt practice (OE)	Token request for permission			0	0	2	11
	Minimizing the divergence			0	0	1	5
	Justifying shift			2	13	5	26
	Hedging			4	26.5	5	26
	Declining to answer			0	0	1	5
	Overlapping utterance			1	7	0	0
	Address term			0	0	2	11
Total				7	46.5	16	84
Covert practice (CE)	Subversive word repeat			2	13	0	0
	Anaphoric pronoun			1	7	1	5
	Operating on the question			4	26.5	0	0
Covert Practice (CE)	Generalization			1	7	2	11
Total				8	53.5	3	16

Table 4.3 shows the evasion practices and the strategies used by the politicians to evade the questions according to Clayman's (2001) framework. As well as the strategies recognized in Clayman's (2001) framework, Table 4.3 also includes the additional evasion strategies used by

the politicians that emerged from the data in this study. The Prime Minister Najib Razak used the strategies to evade in a more covert way. He used covert strategies (53.5%) more than overt strategies (46.5%) with the proportion of eight to seven. He frequently used covert strategies such as operating on the question (26.5%), followed by subversive word repeats (13%), and anaphoric pronoun (7%). Meanwhile, Prime Minister Najib Razak only used one of the overt strategies from Clayman's (2001) taxonomy, justifying shift (13%).

In contrast, President Barack Obama used the strategies to evade in a more overt way. He used overt strategies (84%) more than covert strategies (16%). He frequently used overt strategies such as justifying shift (26%), followed by token request for permission (11%) and minimizing the divergence (5%). On the other hand, based on Clayman's (2001) taxonomy President Barack Obama only used the covert strategy of anaphoric pronouns (5%). The subversive word repeat strategy and operating on the question were not found in the data with President Barack Obama.

In addition to the evasion strategies from Clayman's (2001) framework, the study also revealed additional findings on this subject. Table 4.3 shows that both Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama used generalization in language as a strategy to evade covertly at least once. President Barack Obama used the strategy of generalization for 11% of his evasions, while Prime Minister Najib Razak used it for 7% of them. Besides that, the politicians also used the hedging strategy in an attempt to evade questions overtly. President Barack Obama used the hedging strategy for 26% of his evasions, while Prime Minister Najib Razak used it 26.5% of them. In addition, Prime Minister Najib Razak used overlapping utterances (7%) as a strategy to evade. President Barack Obama did not employ overlapping utterances but he used address terms

(11%) and the declining to answer (5%) strategies to overtly evade the questions, whereas Prime Minister Najib Razak did not. Despite the new findings of generalization, hedging, and address term as strategies to evade questions, overlapping utterance and declining to answer are also considered as new findings in this study of evasion strategies by politicians in news interviews, albeit as single occurrences in the data excerpts.

Based on the analysis of this study, President Barack Obama is deemed to be more overt when evading the question in news interview compared to the Prime Minister Najib Razak. Prime Minister Najib Razak was more covert in nature when evading the questions in news interview. He tended to make his evasive attempts in answering the questions hidden from the public by using more covert strategies than overt ones. On the other hand, President Barack Obama is deemed to practice evasion more overtly as evident in the use of more overt strategies than covert ones in evading the questions in news interviews. In other words, he tended to make his evasive attempts in answering the questions open to the public rather than hidden.

This difference in the evasion practices among these two politicians can be explained in view of the political systems in the two countries. In the United States, the President, Barack Obama, upholds the idea of openness in his government in which he welcomes any discussion, interviews, or conferences to share the government policies and decisions with the public. However, President Barack Obama chose to make his evasive attempts open and explicit to the interviewer and public. He is more open to criticism. This idea can be explained that the U.S. President welcomes openness in his own government and he is ready to share the government policies and decisions with the public (Coglianese, 2009). President Barack Obama seems to

evade the adversarial questions openly probably to show how he deals with the challenges in his government openly as well. However, the political system in Malaysia is more restricted in terms of media representation of Malaysian national leaders in the public broadcast news. The Malaysian government has control of the media and the news can be manipulated by the government leaders to maintain power (Mohd Aizuddin, 2005). In other words, there is a media restriction in Malaysia that will allow only good opinions about government. Furthermore, the increase in criticisms of the Malaysian government in social media (Weiss, 2012) would probably make the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak more cautious and implicit in evading the adversarial questions from the interviewer in political news interviews.

Other than that, the difference of evasion practice between Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama can also be explained by culture: high-context and low-context. These two contexts of culture are terms introduced by the anthropologist Edward T. Hall in his 1976 book *Beyond Culture*. They refer to the tendency to use direct or indirect messages in people's interaction. The high-context culture is frequently practiced by people from Eastern countries while the low-context culture is frequently practiced by Western people. Malaysia is an Asian country where people practice a high-context culture (Lailawati, 2005). In Malaysia, the people tend to be indirect and more implicit in their communication. Lailawati (2005) stated that the speaker tends to provide only half of the message as he may expect his interlocutor to understand the cues in the message. In fact, they also tend to use nonverbal cues in communication as the cues "provide the missing link in the communication process" (Lailawati, 2005, p. 4). Lewis (2006) in his study of culture also stated that in this cultural context, individuals tend to practice indirect verbal communication with each other and avoid giving offense. Therefore, Prime

Minister Najib Razak practiced evasion more covertly due to the value placed on indirectness in Malaysian culture. On the other hand, the United States (U.S.) is a Western country where a low-context culture is practiced. In the U.S., people tend to be direct and more assertive in social interaction. That is why President Barack Obama was more overt in practicing evasion. Vukovic (2013) points out that politicians' evasive actions occur in respect of culture-specific patterns, nevertheless culture is still not a main initiator of evasion in the context of political new interviews.

4.3 Summary

This chapter presented the analysis, findings, and discussion of this study. The level of evasion, the evasion strategies, the similarities and differences of evasion practices between Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama were analyzed and discussed. Thus, both of the research questions were successfully answered in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions of this study. It includes summaries of the findings for each research question and the recommendations for future research.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

This section provides a summary of findings which answer the two research questions, (1) What are the levels of evasion among Malaysian and U.S. politicians in news interviews? and (2) How do Malaysian and U.S. politicians evade the questions in news interviews?

5.1.1 Levels of Evasion used by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama in News Interviews

The findings of the study reveal that both Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama evaded questions in news interviews. The Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak, evaded the questions at two different levels, namely substantial and medium-level. He practiced medium-level more than substantial level evasion but he did not practice full evasion and subtle evasion.

On the other hand, the U.S. politician, President Barack Obama, evaded questions at three levels, namely full, substantial, and medium-level. His most frequent evasion practices were substantial and medium-level evasions. Full evasion occurred twice in the news interviews. He nevertheless did not practice subtle evasion.

5.1.2 Evasion Strategies Used by Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama in News Interviews

The findings of the study reveal that the Malaysian politician, Prime Minister Najib Razak evaded the questions in news interviews using more covert strategies than overt ones. From Clayman's (2001) taxonomy, the covert strategies used include subversive word repeats, anaphoric pronouns, and operating on the question. Subversive word repeats and operating on the question were his most frequently used covert strategies while anaphoric pronoun was the least used covert strategy. Whereas, the overt strategies used by Prime Minister Najib Razak include justifying shift, hedging, overlapping utterance, and generalization.

On the other hand, the U.S. politician, President Barack Obama used overt strategies more than covert ones in evading the questions in news interviews. From Clayman's (2001) taxonomy, the overt strategies used included token requests for permission, minimizing the divergence, justifying shifts, hedging, declining to answer, address terms, and generalization. Justifying shifts and hedging were the most frequently used overt strategy by the President. The only covert strategy used by the President was anaphoric pronouns which occurred only once.

In addition to the evasion strategies from Clayman's (2001) taxonomy, the researcher also found several other strategies. Both the politicians used hedging strategies frequently. For example, they used hedges such as "Well" and "I think" at the beginning of their answers or responses. The use of hedges here helped them to downgrade their level of certainty in their answers. The politicians could then minimize their personal commitment to the questions asked by the interviewer. Apart from that, the politicians also used strategies like generalization in language to evade the questions in news interviews. For example, Prime Minister Najib Razak used the phrase "many ways" to redirect the specific answer – debate – into the more general answer. President Barack Obama on the other hand, used the phrase "a lot of countries" to take a broad view on the countries all over the world which have good economic relation with the United States.

Lastly, other additional evasion strategies used by the President Barack Obama were declining to answer and address terms. The president declined to answer with the use of phrase "I'm not going to", to show his unwillingness to answer the question in the news interview. Moreover, he also used address terms for the interviewer in an attempt to evade the question. For example, he addressed the interviewer (IR) as "Charlie" at this answer's turn as a sign that what he was going to say contradicted the proposition made by the interviewer.

5.2 Summary

The data revealed that Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Barack Obama practice evasion in news interviews. They used overt and covert strategies differently to evade questions. The data

also showed additional evasion strategies used by the politicians to evade the questions, namely generalization in language, hedging, declining to answer, overlapping utterance, and address terms.

5.3 Recommendations

Since the study limited its data to verbal linguistic strategies, non-verbal evasion strategies could be a promising area to study. Evasion practices could include non-verbal cues such as gaze and prosodic variation. Furthermore, research could include how the type of adversarial questions that affect evasive responses and the significance of strategies at different levels of evasion. Lastly, there are also insights to be gained by exploring the effectiveness of the evasion strategies employed by the politicians in the news interviews.

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Appendix A

Table A.1: Notational conventions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

Examples	Explanation
A: <u>That's</u> my view. A: That's my:: view.	<u>Underlined</u> items were hearably stressed. Colon(s) indicate the prior sound was prolonged.
A: .hhh That's my view. A: hhhh At least for now.	<u>Strings of 'h'</u> mark audible breathing. The longer the string, the longer the breath. A period preceding denotes inbreath; no period denotes outbreath.
A: That's my view.= B: =But should it be?	<u>Equal signs</u> indicate that one event followed the other with no intervening silence. (latching)
A: That's my () At (least for now).	<u>Open parentheses</u> indicate transcriber's uncertainty as to what was said. <u>Words in parentheses</u> represent a best guess as to what was said.
A: That's my view? B: But it should be.	<u>Punctuation marks</u> capture intonation at unit boundaries: period=falling (indicates a stopping fall in tone, with some sense of completion, but not necessarily the end of a sentence);

Table A.1, continued

Table A.1: Notational conventions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

Examples	Explanation
<p>A: That's my view, B: But it should be.</p>	<p>comma=slightly rising (indicates a slightly rising tone giving a sense of continuation); question mark=rising (indicates a rising tone which may or may not indicate a question)</p>
<p>Within parenthesis: A: come in (2.1) hello mr</p> <p>Or between utterances: A: stop right up (1.3) B: Ok as u wish</p>	<p>Pauses are timed in tenths of a second and inserted within parenthesis, either within utterance.</p>
<p>A: and did you look at the – brick shop?</p>	<p>A short untimed pause within an utterance is indicated by a dash.</p>
<p>((pause)) A: are you ready to order ((pause)) B: yes thank you we are</p>	<p>Untimed gaps between utterances are described with double parentheses and inserted when they occur.</p>

Table A.1, continued

Table A.1: Notational conventions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

Examples	Explanations
A: now are the details the same as when you applied? B: [yes A: [back in Road A?	SIMULTANEOUS UTTERANCES: When two speakers start talking at the same time, their utterances are linked together by a left hand bracket.
A: no, I think you crossed the wrong ones there just ah [(xxx)] B: [right]	OVERLAPPING UTTERANCES: These are marked with left and right hand brackets to show which parts of the speakers' utterances occur simultaneously.

Appendix B

(Interview transcript Malaysian politician 1)

Title: Talk to Al Jazeera – Najib Razak: Malaysia's election challenge

Channel: Al-Jazeera

Interviewer: Veronica Pedrosa (Al-Jazeera Journalist)

Interviewee: Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak

Duration: 25:00 minutes

Date: 26 April 2013; 15:04

Context: Political interview

Youtube source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8L4TQ2FJhil>

- 1 IR: Prime Minister Najib Razak (.) thank you very much fo:r joining us on talk to
2 Al-Jazeera. We appreciate that it must an extraordinarily .hhh busy and crucial
3 time for you. .hhh There are: descriptions hh of the election ahea::d has been
4 indeed a struggle for - the – Mala:y souls as it were. Do you think that's a fair
5 enou:gh description?
- 6 IE: Hhuh let me put it this way (.) I think this is will be:: this will be a very hard
7 fo:r robust election. Huhh huh but I will commit (.) because in the sense it's
8 reflective of how far .hhh we've come and in the - in the - democratic process in
9 Malaysia (.) how much more matured .hhh in that sense (0.3) hhuh but um (0.3)
10 as a political party (0.1) huh we we have (0.2) been power for 55 years (.)
11 .hhh but within this time (.) we have brought - in a real change and development
12 in Malaysia. (0.2) So although I expect this to be huh a keen effort contest:: but
13 the (0.3) I'm consciously optimistic (0.1) that the voters wi:ll return huh Barisan
14 National (.) national front - back into par.
- 15 IR: Ho::w do you: personally feel about that? You've been hh in politics since
16 you were 22 (?) you come from .hhh um political dynasty.
- 17 IE: In that sense but huh my father died (0.3) when I entered politics so (.) he he
18 was not there to ensure .hhh that I I rose in politics (.) I I had to do it - my way
19 or lead with the good family name. I had no doubt about that. That helped (.)
20 .hhh but huh I had to defend for myself (.) you know I had to show that (0.3) I
21 could stand on my own (.) a:nd hhuh I'm proud of my: personal record (0.2)
22 because hhuh I've recent through the ranks (.) step by step (.) (0.3) and now
23 I'm - privileged and honoured to be able to: lead this country (.) and lead huh
24 my party.
- 25 IR: When you speak about the Malaysian people (.) it seems from su:rvey:s that
26 they – are:: (0.3) differentiating between yourself (.) your personal approval has

27 risen (0.2) in the four years that you speak of (,) .hhh but (?) your party UMNO
28 (0.1) remains rather unpopular. How do you explain that?

29 IE: I think hhh in the sense that I have changed (.) (0.2) and I've I've taken this
30 this this personal .hhh huh commitment - that I need to change for the times
31 .hhh huh and and as the leader of the party (,) and as the head of the government
32 hhh huh I must be ahead the change (0.2) and and I'm I'm basically I believe
33 I'm a reformed minded leader of this country (,) .hhh and I brought in huh
34 unprecedented [changes

35 IR: [Yes I would like]

36 IE: in political economic and hhh and and the entire government this (sphere) but I
37 will concede the party (,) will take time because the party is a collection of (,) (0.2)
38 if you talk about UMNO 3.2 million people .hhh it's the strongest party
39 hhh huh but huh we have that strength we have that the single largest party with
40 three over three million members hhh huh but - you know to change hhh huh
41 a big party will take time.

42 IR: The elections about two and a weeks away (,)

43 IE: No: but people must believe that UMNO is is on track to change hhh huh it is on
44 track huh you know we can see that huh you know we're putting new faces hhh
45 will be [more

46 IR: [Other new candidates (,) the candidates]

47 IE: The candidates we are more responsive hhh to the needs of the people (,) we
48 are more - people friendly huh we are: engaging with huh you know (,) with the
49 wider constituency because one of the things that I want UMNO to realize that
50 it's not good just being hhh a leader of UMNO (,) (0.1) a divisional leader of
51 UMNO of unite (,) but you must you must have the support - of all the others
52 one who are not your .hhh not your customers if you like you know or not your
53 supporters so:: UMNO has to realize that it has to have the broad appeal.

54 IR: Those people who are not your customers according to the surveys .hhh 21%
55 undecided, 42% would vote for BN (,) 37% for the opposition - Pakatan Rakyat
56 (,) 21% is a lot (,) of people and they come from your very diverse society here
57 in Malaysia. It's one of the hhh things that Malaysia were very proud of - but
58 obviously you are aware that it is also criticized that for having a race-based
59 political system .hhh and that's one of the things that unless say, that it's kind of
60 - under test at this point (,) you spoke about your candidate (,) - and how (?)
61 30% of them are going to be new faces (,) But one of them - is not a new face -
62 and he's criticized for being - for having made anti-Hindu statement (,) I'm
63 talking about .hhh for people who are familiar with Malaysia politics. huh a
64 man called Zulkifli Nurdin. Is he really an ideal candidate if that's what you

65 are trying to - put across?

66 IE: He - he has changed - he made that statement 10 years ago (,) when he was in
67 PAS .hhh and [and

68 IR: [but the video has gone vi::ral

69 IE: [Exactly (,)]

70 IR: now (?)]

71 IE: But he did it 10 years ago and he has apologized. He has huh repented .hhh and
72 mind you (,) at that time he even criticized me (0.2) you know but now he has
73 come on board .hhh he was in the PAS party (.) .hhh and you know what PAS
74 party is all about - you see so he had a very very hhuh skewed and warp view at
75 things at that time =

76 IR: =What what is the PAS party is all about? =

77 IE: =It's a very theocratic and inward looking party (,) it's not hhh really a party
78 that is .hhh stands fo:r hhh real moderation (,) progress hhh and modernity .hhh
79 huh you know - that's that's a kind of thinking (,) and it was a [lot worst before..

80 IR: [but there's
81 slating
82 candidates from other races people are extremely surprised [to see Chinese

83 IE: [but yeah

84 IR: candidates for example]

85 IE: Yeah but it's been regressing you know - its its it doesn't you know I mean they
86 are committed to introduce hudud and syariah .hhh theocratic huh Islamic (0.2)
87 policies in this country. So do you really think one or two Chinese candidates
88 will make a difference? =

89 IR: =Would you:: (0.1) be ready to:: face: the opposition - politicians .hh in a
90 debate? Could we see during the campaign (,) "Prime Minister Najib .hh uh
91 facing off with (,) Anwar Ibrahim"?

92 IE: You know - um:: there are many ways (,) in which uh you know - we can -
93 reach out to the public. Debate - is - is only one form of reaching out to the
94 people (,) it's not the only way hhh =

95 IR: = but you wouldn't rule it out?

96 IE: It's no:t likely we will have a debate because (,) uhh. you know - I believe
97 there's the important thing for us to (,) .hhh engage the people (,) - and the
98 people .hh throughout this campaign period (,) we will do our (,) engagement –
99 opposition will do their engagement .hhh and hhh the peo:ple will have hh the
100 freedom to choose based on – on - on the freedom of information that they will
101 have. =

102 IR: = but if you look at the policies of the manifestoes (,) (0.1) Malaysians are:
103 comparing them and thinking where they are not really that different. =

104 IE: =Ooo no:: on the contrary now .hhh that falls apart. .hhh hhuh we've done the
105 numbers I mean the the the huh manifestoes of the opposition is (0.2) wholly::
106 irresponsible .hhh huh physically responsible (,) it is not doable (,) .hhh huh it is
107 pure:ly populist hhh hhuh and huh it's just:: will lead to huh u know huh (0.4)
108 catastrophic outcome for the country hhh. For example (,) in the first year hhh
109 the deficit of the country will go up to 11.5 % (,) and the state of the current
110 account surplus that we have in the government hhh immediately overnight will
111 be:: in deficit. In other words you will be borrowing money .hhh to pay for
112 salarie:s (,) to pay for subsidies and so forth .hhh

113 IR: Let me ask you Prime Minister. Um as you rai:sed the issue of Isla:m (,) huh
114 you: gave some very inspiring um speeches giving - a vision that you ha:ve for -
115 um huh (0.3) collisions of moderates around the world (,) that the united nations
116 general assembly . Can you:: tell us (,) .hhh what that vision is about and how it
117 squares with what you are doing in Malaysia?

118 IE: Malaysia is actually: huh a epitome of that you know huh even before I spoke I
119 don't want to claim huh credit for this (,) but hhh even from from our inception
120 we have always been huh in a practice. We practise Islam in a very hhh
121 moderate way in Malaysia. .hhh That's why:: basically (,) over 55 years (,) hhh
122 we have been able to successfully manage a ve::ry very complex diverse society
123 (,) in Malaysia (,) hhuh and huh that's the kind of hhuh version that I like to
124 project and I like other countries to come on boa:rd to support this idea (,) .hhh
125 that being huh moderate (,) being huh moderation (,) .hhh huh being balanced
126 huh rejecting extremism (,) rejecting violence (,) .hhh rejecting bigger tree hhh
127 it's the only way - to secure huh you know peace and stability in this world. =

128 IR: =Alright then let's look at Malaysia specifically (,) because there have been
129 (0.1) criticisms (,) for example of this notorious ca:se (,) which went to the court
130 (,) over the use of the world - 'Allah' in a Catholic Bible. .hhh Um (0.1) how
131 does a case like tha:t happening hhh in Malaysia under your: administration
132 which wants to be:: an epitome (,) of moderate Islam?

133 IE: .hhh Well there's a certain huh you know fundamental principles (,) that you
134 have to understand (,) because hhuh (0.2) you know when we - believe in

135 moderation .hhh huh we we shouldn't do something that - be hurtful to others.
136 You know (,) for example as a Muslim (,) I shouldn't do something that will
137 upset the Catholic and the Christians .hhh and likewise (,) Christians shouldn't
138 do something that will upset - the Muslims. There must be other way:s of doing
139 it (,) hhh there must be other solutions. .hhh So what I am trying to say (,) look
140 (,) fi:nd solutions hhh huh that will will a peace a:ll you know I mean Christians
141 (,) Hindus (,) Muslims so that huh whatever we do: will not you know: (,) will
142 not huh (0.2) be so sensitive will not hhh upset the feelings of others.

143 IR: I went to a Mass in Beirut (,) and: um they: speak in Arabic (,) they celebrated
144 in Arabic (,) and they say 'Allah' a lot and all the time (?) Why isn't it a
145 problem why is it a problem in Malaysia? =

146 IE: =It's a problem because huh you know the concept of 'Allah' is different (,) in a
147 Muslim sense .hhh [and then in a Christian sense

148 IR: [but then Muslims in Lebanon as well]

149 IE: Yes I know (,) but it's different (,) in a different in a cultural malleus. There is
150 different than here. So:: huh I'm just talking about hhh you know: so that we
151 don't upset - the Muslims in Malaysia (,) Muslims don't upset the Christians in
152 Malaysia (?) .hhh and we have lived in har:mony for so:: lo::ng. Is it su::ch a big
153 issue that we can't manage?

154 IR: .hhh You: have lived past of your life. We're talking about your education in -
155 the West (,) in the UK. .hhh Um in UK: though (,) you don't need to write what
156 races you belong to when you apply for [various

157 IE: [yes yes (,)]

158 IR: hhh loans and things like that. For people, it's something for people don't
159 understand. There're so many layers:: which talk about talk about race (,) we
160 talk about religion (,) and it is very sensitive issue in Malaysia. Hhh so um do
161 you see a time when people won't be asked these questions when it won't
162 matter? =

163 IE: =Yes (?) eventually. You see what what you know what [we believe in

164 IR: [in in in your
165 administration?]

166 IE: We believe (,) we believe that you know you know to be (0.1) huh to have a
167 stro:ng huh and and and and prosperous Malaysia. What is important (,) is the
168 underpinning. The underpinning is social justice. Hhuh in a sense that (,) wealth
169 in this country should be distributed equitably (,) hhh between the various rac
170 .hhh because if you have hu::ge huh (0.2) divergent in wealth (,) (0.2) huh that

171 that will lead to – instability (.) political instability. Hhuh and and I can quote
172 you many examples of that. So what is important for us (,) as as we progress in
173 Asia (,) .hhh it's to ensure that the wealth of nation (.) is distributed fairly (0.2)
174 and and and social justice in country. =

175 IR: =Yeah I understand that I have a friend in media resear:ch. He said that you
176 know .hhh I:: have a proclift and I don't like to being asked that question. I
177 write - when it says ra:ce (.) I say “amazing” or “human” (,) but am I wrong?
178 They they they say no. You're making things difficult for (0.1) advertising
179 research .hhh but it's in my - it's a lot in people hea:rt that they don't think it
180 should matter.

181 IE: No (?) no (,) I know and I don't think so. And and and as you can see (,) our
182 policies are moving toward that. And for example (,) .hhh when we want to help
183 the: the poor (.) and the lowered-income group (,) it's irrespective of a race. You
184 know - when we we gave the three the five hundred ringgit (,) it was said (,) anyone
185 who earn:s three thousand ringgit and below (.) (0.4) will get that you
186 know. So that's the example of huh of huh you know (,) a policy that doesn't
187 take into account hhh ethnic huh considerations at all.

188 IR: Um but poverty is practically ba::d in Sabah and Sarawak (,) .hhh and the
189 people there:: often complaint that they get less development (,) that you know -
190 real difficulty (,) hhh and (0.1) there very important politically (,) in this
191 election campaign. On top of that (?) there is stro:ng sense hhh of corruption - in
192 the government (,) of the state. Particularly after I'm sure you're: awa:re of
193 global weakness hhh hhuh () inside Malaysia secret or shadows state.
194 What's been done about – corruption (,) seriously?

195 IE: It's one of my priorities (,) in of huh my administration. As you know huh (0.2)
196 it's part of our:: huh national key result areas (,) with listed corruption (,) hhh as
197 one of the seven important areas (,) .hhh and the:: with instituted quite a number
198 of huh important changes and reforms (,) hhh to combat huh corruption. Hhuh it
199 will not huh go: away overnight. It's a process (,) but huh important steps - have
200 been undertaken. For example (,) we have the Whistleblowers' Act (,) hhh we
201 have strengthen the anti-corruption agency MACC. .hhh huh In fact, hhuh huh
202 it's part of my election - promises hhh that there would be: an independent
203 commission to: employ future officers of MACC hhh so that (,) they would be
204 able to select their own people. We have made huh government contracts more
205 transparent (,) huh we have introduced harsher punishment (,) .hhh we have
206 prosecuted five hundred cases. So so result actually huh begin to show.

207 IR: What about this call for a rea:l commission of inquiry – into (,) the: corruption
208 of which the Chief Minister - accused?

209 IE: I'm not preferring to any particular case (,) but all cases will be - investigated by
210 MACC hhh and there is a due process. We shouldn't jump to any conclusion. =

211 IR: =But they can't prosecute (,) can't I?

212 IE: They can prosecute. They have power to prosecute. For prosecution – lie:s with
 213 the hh Attorney General. But like every case (,) they huh must hhh do: the
 214 proper investigation (,) they must have huh strong evidence (,) that can be hhh
 215 brought to court.

216 IR: Isn't also (?) the case though that the - Minister Taib is very important
 217 politically (,) that Sabah and Sarawak are crucial politically hhh for:: the
 218 elections. They could be the swing vote (?).

219 IE: Yes (?) but no one is above the law (,) you know. It has to be: predicated on the
 220 due: process.

221 IR: Prime Minister (,) while we're talking about situation in Eastern Malaysia: (,
 222 let's talk a little bit (,) about Sabah. There: was an extraordinary: almost
 223 biza::re event (,) with the Lahad hhh Datu stand of. When - huh people ca:me
 224 and landed from the Philipines (,) heavily a:armed men - fighters. They:: (0.1)
 225 then - got into a deadly situation. So it - kinda mo::ve from biza:re to
 226 downright brutal (,) .hhh and the Malaysia Arm Forces acted very: um crap
 227 down (,) very ha::rd some would say. Hhh can you tell us what you: think
 228 happened why:: this occurred?

229 IE: First of all (,) we wanted to avoid any bloodshed. Hhuh so huh my:: huh
 230 mandate to the - Security Forces is that (,) you know (,) we should try
 231 diplomacy first. Hhuh our (0.2) and the we allowed (,) (0.2) you know time (,
 232 befo::re we decided that huh (0.4) we need that to take military actions against
 233 them (,) but they they are the ones who actually started .hhh huh shooting and
 234 killing two of our policemen. And the:: (0.2) at that point of time (,) I decided
 235 that the (0.6) enough is enough. (,) and I ordered them a complete the hhh huh
 236 crap down on them. It is a legitimate response hhh of any government. .hhh But
 237 nevertheless (,) we did allowed them sometime (,) hhh huh for diplomacy to
 238 take place (,) but unfortunately, hhh they [chose otherwise.

239 IR: [But did you]

240 IE: The word is bizarre because really a hundred men hhh you know crossing over
 241 (,) even though as you said (,) heavily armed (,) couldn't possibly hhh you know
 242 to try to to overthrow a government or takeover Sabah or even a small part of
 243 Sabah. (0.3) And huh certainly huh whatever they did is inexcusable (,) huh
 244 because hhh huh it was suicidal. It was a suicidal mission. And:: the you know
 245 for them to have done it (,) there must be some kind of huh huh promise for
 246 them (,) or some supports.
 247 (0.4)

248 IR: Do you expect the election impact (,) because when my understanding is that
 249 there were some hhh talk about the - ethnic group to which the fighters belong::

- 250 .hhh um which lives on both sides of the border (,) .hhh huh disputed as it is.
 251 Um (0.2) the they want to break away from the Barisan Nasional coalition.
- 252 IE: No (?). About first of all (,) let me correct you the huh the international huh
 253 demarcation has solely been settled. So there's no dispute about that. .hhh huh
 254 secondly (,) the Suluk people are very happy (,) to be part of Malaysia (,) and to
 255 support the Barisan Nasional government. In fact (,) huh hhh immediately after
 256 the incident (,) we: engaged with the leader of Suluk community and they
 257 expressed (,) .hhh the wholehearted support huh for the Barisan Nasional
 258 government. So I don't see: this as huh affecting our political standing (,) if
 259 anything at all (,) hhh it has strengthen Barisan Nasional position in Sabah.
- 260 IR: Um in the Philippines (,) there a sense that the Malaysians are:: cracking down (,) o:n (0.1)
 261 people who have moved there from the Philippines and there are many
 262 who are illegal hhh stateless. Um that - they're fleeing the country. What is
 263 really happens in down there?
- 264 IE: There's no crack down as such (,) but the we do need to have a long term
 265 solution (,) .hhh because the problem of illegal huh immigrants (,) in Sabah is a
 266 big issue (,) huh particularly with the Kadazandusun. Hhuh they feel ve::ry very
 267 uncomfortable (,) with the presence of so many illegals .hhh huh in in in Sabah.
 268 So we do need huh to have a long term solution (,) hhh but the long term
 269 solution that must respect human rights (,) of of of of those including the
 270 illegals.
- 271 IR: Let's talk about the campaign. It could get ve:ry dirty. (0.3) How do you want
 272 the campaign to go?
- 273 IE: I like the campaign to focus more on policies (,) on the what kind of direction (,) .hhh
 274 Malaysia should take the future destiny of Malaysia (,) and who is .hhh
 275 who can be trusted huh (0.2) to lead Malaysia and to deliver Malaysia .hhh in
 276 the way that fulfill people's expectation.
- 277 IR: There's a worry that - we could (,) see um (0.3) the first hung parliament (,) um
 278 on the basis of the result. Apparently (,) this is something that analyst and
 279 pollsters hhh - can't rule out. Um what (0.2) can you see (?) on the working
 280 with the PKR? =
- 281 IE: =We we first of all (,) is not an outcome that's that's good for the country (,) (0.4)
 282 because anything less than strong mandate (,) would lead to greater
 283 uncertainty. Um (0.2) but the::: the market the last few days (,) have have huh
 284 become - more positive. You know (,) the stock has changed (,) the ringgit has
 285 gone stronger. So I think it bodes well (,) for the general expectation that the
 286 Barisan Nasional will do well this election.
- 287 IR: You don't want to talk about the () you think you can - do business (,)

288 under a big tent?

289 IE: You know (,) anything is possible in politics (,) because you know (,) I'm I'm
290 I'm someone who really wants .hhh pea::ce and I I want - this country to be
291 stable (,) .hhh and feel that this country has so much promise for the future (.)
292 .hhh and and anyone who belie::ves in that (.) wants to work constructively with
293 me (.) I would welcome that. .Hhh huh but huh if if you embark on policies that
294 will hhh you know undermi::ne the future and trust of Malaysia (,) hh and then
295 that's something different.

296 IR: What happened to your predecessor hhh might happen - to you (?) if the BN
297 (0.1) doesn't (0.2) win convincingly (,) as in gaining back one of its (,) lost
298 constituencies from - last time um and winning (,) you know (,) (0.3) ha::lf of
299 the seat. (0.3) Um (0.4) that could be the end of the:: hhh Najib's
300 administration. What would you:: want people to know – about - your record to
301 remember about your record?

302 IE: Hhuh I'm not really to write (,) my legacy yet (,) and the I'm - working
303 tirelessly - to ensure that Barisan Nasional will win (,) and win convincingly (.)
304 and I'm taking one step at a time. And to me: there's pure academic (,) to go
305 into that kind of argument. .Hhh and in any case (,) huh as I said UMNO would
306 be a more democratic party (,) and they are free to choose their leaders.
307 (0.3)

308 IR: Thank you very much Dato' Prime Minister Najib Razak.

309 IE: Thank you.

310 IR: Thank you for joining us.

Appendix C

(Interview transcript Malaysian politician 2)

Title: 101 East - Interview: Najib Razak

Channel: Al-Jazeera

Interviewer: Fauziah Ibrahim

Interviewee: Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak

Duration: 18:00 minutes

Date: 2 April 2010

Context: Political interview

Youtube source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPyxT7HGGxg>

1 IR: Join us now: on 101 East (,) is Malaysian's Prime Minister - Najib Razak. Sir (,)
2 thank you very much for joining us today.

3 IE: My pleasure.

4 IR: .Hhh in your new outli:ne fo:r the eco:nomic model you emphasize
5 inclusiveness - uh in the pla:n for a:ll races hh but you've a:lso kept the
6 affirmative actions for the Bumiputera's which is made up o:f about 43%
7 Malays and 20% of the indigenous people (.) .hhh (1.0) but then you've also
8 said there are also affirmative action in your plan is different to the from
9 previous one. What is the difference about it?

10 IE: It's different because uh you kno::w we've learnt from uh implementing the
11 hhh affirmative action in the pa::st uh we kno:w uh where are the weaknesses
12 are =

13 IR: What- what a::re the weaknesses?

14 IE: Well - I think basically (,) you know we have to cha::nge the wa::y we
15 implemented (,) so that it's more in tune huh with the huh current huh market
16 especially the market expectations .hhh huh that is should be market friendly.
17 Huh (0.1) it should be based on merit (?) - it should be huh mo:re transparent
18 (0.2) it should also be on on on need basis (,) and the you know I emphasized
19 that we have to be fair (,) hhh when you point (,) when we implement an
20 affirmative action (,) it means for the Bumiputera (.) .hhh and the when we say
21 the Bumiputera (,) is not just - for the Malays (,) it must also include the other
22 indigenous people (,) especially Sabah and Sarawak (?). =

23 IR: =Well there have been criticisms (,) that the wa:y [it's been implemented

24 IE: [yes]

25 IR: [has been corrupted (,)]

26 IE: [absolutely]

27 IR: has been abu:sed in the pa:st. Would you agree with that?

28 IE: There'll be shortcoming (?) yes (,) I'm not (,) entirely huh disappointed with
 29 with the result. I think .hhh huh if you look at it the across the board I mean in
 30 new generation hhh of Bumiputeras have emerged huh the you know the entire
 31 (,) middle class for example (,) will not be there (0.2) if not for new economic
 32 huh new economic policy .hhh and there're quite a number of a (0.4) huh
 33 Bumiputeras in the corporate fie::ld hhh managing huge:: enterprises with a
 34 great sense of confidence now.

35 IR: There is no doubt that (,) some Bumiputera have definitely hhh benefitted from
 36 the plan itself (,) but you know there are some who would say (,) .hhh after the
 37 nearly 40 years of affirmative action why (?) is there still a need for affirmative
 38 action for the Malay for the indigenous people?

39 IE: It's because hhh you know the goals have not been huh hhh fully achie::ved
 40 number one. Number two (,) hhh you know unbridled (,) capitalistic - market
 41 economy hhh huh without some degree of affirmative action (,) hhh huh then
 42 you will get this marginalization - to appear once again (,) hhh and and that's
 43 will be quite huh catastrophic (,) hhh huh for a society because .hhh huh our
 44 society i:s predicated on - on stability (,) and the stability is the bedrock (,) hhh
 45 in terms of huh where Malaysia hhh has come from (,) [in in a past ()] from
 46 expe:rience

47 IR: [We're talking about
 48 racial stability?]

49 IE: I'm talking about political and racial (?) I mean hhh racial stability is pa:rt of
 50 political stability(.) hhh and that's so important because if you have .hhh
 51 stability benefits for all. =

52 IR: =Many people have said tha:t thi:s affirmative action has .hh led to:: a -
 53 generation of uh Mala::ys who feel that they are:: - entitled to the:se special
 54 privileges .hhh uh there are some of minority groups who feel sideline - they
 55 feel second class because of this affirmative action. These are what the
 56 criticism's saying about this affirmative action (,) do you rea:lly think that
 57 there's still a nee:d for affirmative action (,) why not just make it hh you know -
 58 affirmative action for all races? =

59 IE: =Well - when I said that it should be implemented in a fairer way I mean if you
60 talk about hhh affirmative action it should benefit you know 65% of the
61 population right (,) .hhh and then this of course for non-Bumiputeras and - you
62 must have programs for them - as well and uh becau:se there are:: uh in a
63 market economy (,) uhh if you give uhh promote private sector investment for
64 example (,) and opportunities for the private sector - and naturally the non-
65 Bumiputeras will benefit - from it (,) so to sa:y that we have excluded the uh
66 non-Bumiputera from () is entirely wrong (,) hh =

67 IR: = but there ha:s been some opposition fro:m Mala:y Right's groups who fear
68 that perhaps these special privileges (,) hhh their rights may be taken away
69 from them as well (?) =

70 IE: =No (,) I didn't say they will be taken away. =I never

71
72 IR: [=but this is what they fear (?) This is what they're saying. This is what]
73 PERKASA is saying.

74 IE: [I never say. Yeah I have to engage us ()] But (,) PERKASA is not so
75 extreme (,) if you if you listen to them care:fully (,) .hhh um they can shout
76 about uh - what Malay rights (,) for as long as they are not extre:me in their
77 view:s and huh (0.1) you know to the extent that hhh we can accommodate (,) PERKASA
78 and we can (?) accommodate also the non-Malays as well (?) hhh I
79 do engage the non-Malay groups as well. So:: as Prime Minister I fully said I'm
80 Minister for a::ll Malaysians.=

81 IR: =About PERKASA (,) has said that you know as hhh the group that represents
82 hhh huh the Malay groups that fear their special privileges ma:y be taken away
83 from them (,) they (?) have [said (,)] that you know in the next election hhh they
84 may not support UMNO because of this action that you may be taken that you
85 know in the next election hhh they may not [support UMNO because of] this
86 action that you ma:y be taken =

87 IE: [No no (,) that's not true.]
88 =No no (,) that's not true (,) that they are - by lar:ge supportive of UMNO (,) hhh
89 and they believe that UMNO is the only vehicle (0.4) huh that can really
90 hhhuh huh (0.2) not only promote Malay interests (,) but there's you know (,) really
91 really really um huh hold this country together. I think UMNO hhh is a stro:ng
92 party (,) UMNO is well-established (,) UMNO (,) can deal with the emergence
93 of PERKASA as well as other groups as well.

94 IR: Prime Minister (,) we are going to have to take a break here. .Hhh when we
95 come back (,) we will have mo::re when we speak with Malaysia's Prime
96 Minister (,) Najib Razak. Stay with 101 East.
97 (0.9)

98 Welcome back (,) to 101 East. This week we are talking with Malaysia's Prime
99 Minister Najib Razak (?) as he completes his first year - in office. Prime
100 minister (,) you have introduced the concept of 1Malaysia. What is 1Malaysia to
101 you?

102 IE: 1Malaysia (?) is about a sense that we are together (,) as one people (,) hhh huh
103 as one nation. And huh I have said that huh hhh (0.2) it is huh base (,) is
104 predicated on a - on a change of mindset (,) and the very minimum would be
105 tolerance. In other words (,) you tolerate one another (,) you know the
106 differences (,) hhh huh racial differences (,) religious differences (,) you
107 tolerate. But that huh that is the basic (,) minimum. Then (,) you go on to the
108 next stages which is um (0.2) to accept it. You know you accept diversity (,)
109 huh a::s a something good (?) for the country. Huh that's the next (,) the next
110 huh () if you like in terms of in terms of (0.1) value system (,) in terms of
111 mindset (,) hhh and ultimately (,) the final (?) if you like (,) will be to celebrate
112 diversity. I mean if you celebrate diversity (,) hhh means you entirely
113 comfortable (,) hhh with the notion of huh a multiracial (,) multi-religious
114 society. =

115 IR: =but surely sir (,) after 50 years of independence (,) Malaysians need to be
116 taught how to live harmoniously? =

117 IE: =Absolutely (?) [the fact]

118 IR: [Why? Why after 5] decades of independence? =

119 IE: =Come on (?) look (,) look what happened in Europe (,) I mean hhh even
120 Yugoslavia broke up ok? We had problems in northern Ireland (,) we have
121 extremist even in America. We have more than () as well (,) in America
122 (,) ok. There are extremists in any society (,) (0.3) and including us (,) and
123 the very fact that there are: some extremists (,) in our society (,) mea::ns you
124 need 1Malaysia.

125 IR: Well u also lea::d a pa:rtly that champions Mala:y rights, Mala:y needs, Mala:y
126 interests, and you're also trying to push the agenda of a uni:ted Malaysia. Do
127 you yourself see, the (interrupted) the irony in this?

128 IE: [It's not a zero-sum game.. it's not a zero-sum game

129 IR: [Do you yourself see (,) the irony in this?

130

131 IE: it's not a zero-sum game::] it's not – it's reality – it's not a zero-
132 sum game because if you promote hh uh interest on Malays uh it's not an
133 exclusion of the non-Malays - I think .hhh there's enou:gh uh - resources for us
134 to help everyone in this country (,) .hhh and I think uh I'm confident in fact (,)
135 uh you know - with the polici:es based on the spirit and and philosophy

136 1Malaysia .hhh that uh everyone will have a rightful place - under the
137 Malaysian side (?) =

138 IR: = but u ca:n't get away from the fact that Malaysia - runs on ra:ce based politics.
139

140 IE: Well yeah (,) that's history (,) I mean I cannot change history overnight. I have
141 to hhh I have to:: um take it from - from whe:re it is (,) and when it was when I
142 took ove:r (,) and huh and slowly hhh um huh get Malaysians to:: to be toge:ther
143 in this journey (,) =

144 IR: =How [long do you think it]

145 IE: [to transform Malaysia.]

146 IR: take befo::re Malaysia can be rid of race based politics (,) before .hhh someone
147 stop (,) saying somebody is a Malay or and Indian or a Chinese and sa:ys that
148 they are Malaysians first? =

149 IE: =It's an evolution (,) it's a change of mindset hhh and huh you cannot legislate
150 hhhuh huh you cannot make la::ws (,) it's the change in mindset. And and I and I
151 think it's (0.2) it might take a bit of ti:me (,) but you know (,) for as long as - we
152 li:ve in a peaceful and harmonious society (,) it doesn't matter .hhh you know (,)
153 you can be a Malay a Chinese (,) or an Indian but as long as you believe that
154 you are you are a Malaysian. =

155 IR: =Let me then just a:sk you. Are you a Malay first and a Malaysian second?

156 IE: Well technically – technically (,) if we talk about the constitution (,) i am a
157 Malay (,) but I'm comfortable hhh - being a Malay in a Malaysian society (,) and I want us towards becoming a truly “1Malaysia” society. But I am proud
158 to be a Malay (,) I am proud to be a Muslim (,) hhh but the fact that I am proud
159 to be a Malay and a Muslim (,) it doesn't mean that I cannot uh rela:te to
160 others (?)

162 IR: However (,) there is this lar::ge group of Malays who feel that with you (,) pushing
163 them (,) they do: feel that the special privileges - that their rights (?)
164 maybe trampled (,)

165 IE: I have never said (,) I'm gonna change the constitution. I have never said (,) that I said 1Malaysia is predicated on the constitution on Malaysia (,) .hhh and the constitution huh you know (,) has permission to protect Malay special rights hhh and those things will be in the constitution.=

169 IR: =but some people had said (,) that it i:s that statement (,) in the constitution .hhh that is the basis for the social racial problems that - are in Malaysia today (?) that make the Chinese (,) the Indians feel side-line.

172 IE: No I think it's the way you implement things (.) hhh and if you implement
173 things in a fair way (.) .hhh you can reach out (.) huh you know to the Mala::ys
174 (.) to the non-Malays as well and don't forget when we implemented .hhh (0.2)
175 the new economic policy back in the 70s and 80s (.) and even (.) even now in
176 the 90s before the Asian financial crisis (.) hhh it coincided with huh with huh
177 you know the growth rates of Malaysia (.) being a brag neck - speak. You know
178 89 % was the no::rm those days. .Hhh so (.) so: new economic policy for the
179 confection has never really hampered (.) huh you know the growth - of
180 Malaysia (.) into into a more modern economic. =

181 IR: =There are: critics who have accu::sed UMNO o:f becoming .hhh arrogant (.)
182 self-indulgent after (0.2) over 50 years of being in power hhh and that UMNO
183 has lost touched with - the grou:nd sentiment. .Hhhh um (0.5) take for example
184 the last elections (.) UMNO did lose a lot of seats in those elections. .Hhh
185 UMNO has also lost the la::st 8 out of 10 by elections as well. Hhh is UMNO
186 still relevant (.) in Malaysia? =

187 IE: =Of course (?) I truly belie:ve so. Um [the evident lately (.)]

188 IR: [but have lost touch with the ground (.)]
189

190 IE: Ok we we to some extent hhh that's true:: .Hhuh but, you kno:w it's a party that
191 has been in power for so long hhh so, the challenge (.) is for us to huh (0.5)
192 present UMNO (.) as a progressive dynamic party (.) hhh and and not for us to
193 be:: in this kind of a syndrome that - we are too complacent:: or that we fill that
194 - whatever we do hhh we're gonna get the support of the people (.) I keep on
195 telling people (.) that we don't change. We will be changed by the people. .Hhh
196 I am very frank (?) and I admit (.) - we have shortcomings (.) hhh cause
197 otherwise we wouldn't have done - badly (.) but in the international context (.)
198 it's it's people would lo::ve to have the kind of majority of hhh in par::liament.
199 =

200 IR: =I want to go back and talk about the NAM (.) which you: are trying to
201 implement to try to attract more foreign investments in Malaysia (.) to make
202 Malaysia a more: (.) globally competitive economy (.) .hhh but many financial
203 analysts have been - rather looked warm in their response to your recent out
204 cline (.) and they are actually pointing to hhh huh mo:re deep seated problems
205 (.) like the a percei:ve lack of judicial independence in a country (.) hhh a
206 seemingly grow:ing rise in Islamic fundamentalism hhh and um and they also
207 point to the fact that (.) - Malaysia has slit down the corruption index la:st year.
208 In 2008 (.) you are at 47 (.) .hhh in 2009 (.) you find yourself at 56. How do you
209 chan:ge these perceptions?

210 IE: Metaphorically I've described this (0.3) hhuh like the side of a house (.) you
211 know you have the roof (.) which is - the overarching philosophy 1Malaysia (.)

212 people first (.) performance now. .Hhh then you have two pillars (.) one is the -
213 government transformation program and one for economic transformation
214 programs (.) and you have the floor which is the 10th and 11th Malaysian huh
215 pla:ns. So - the government transformation program (.) is desi:gned to - address
216 one of the - issues (.) corruption to reduce huh corruption (.) and and reduce the
217 crime rate in Malaysia (.) plus the other (.) you know six (.) all together huh six
218 key: result areas. So we we've recognized this (.) and and this is work in
219 progress. Hhuh its too early but its work in progress (.) but I'm generally quite
220 happy hhh with the progress thus far.

221 IR: While you're implementing (.) the NAM to try to attract huh foreign investors
222 (.) and to try to boost their confidence in Malaysia (.) .hhh the wo:rd is also
223 watching very closely (.) the trial of Anwar Ibrahim. How do you think this trial
224 is affecting Malaysia on the international stage?

225 IE: Well I think we have to (0.3) we have to make people understand (.) that this is
226 not - the Malaysian government against Anwar Ibrahim ok. This is not a
227 political trial (.) it's about a you::ng - intern well not intern officer (.) chosen by
228 him (.) in his office (.) a 22 year old hhh huh ma::n who feel very aggrieved (.)
229 made a police repo:rt (.) against his employer (.) and that was the the genesis of
230 - the present case (?) it's got nothing to do with the government. If that -
231 per:son (.) do not make a police report (.) there will be no case against hhh
232 Anwar Ibrahim (.) so =

233 IR: =but you you can't get away from the fact that this is the second time (.) Anwar
234 Ibrahim [is going to court and it seems like it is being compare to the previous
235 case]

236 IE: [I know it should not - be shouldn't be compared] because this is the message
237 we're telling (.) ok it's not the same as the fir:st trial. This is an individual (.) in
238 his own office (.) appointed by him - who has felt very strongly - that he has
239 been (0.3) made to do certain things (.) that we found totally unacceptable (.)
240 made a police report (.) hhh and and investigation was launched (.) and as u
241 know under law (.) whether it is - Saiful (.) or it is Anwar Ibrahim (.) hhh
242 everybody has the same right (.) under the law. =

243 IR: = So do you think the first case is political?

244 IE: I don't think it was political (.) the first case (.) but - there was a maybe lack of
245 provocative evidence (.) and I think this case I wouldn't like to comment on it
246 (.) because it is it will be considered - subjudice (.) but huh we want it to be a
247 fair process (.) we want to be transparent (.) and huh you know the Malaysian
248 government know:s that at the end of the day (.) hhh we're gonna be judged huh
249 international is one thing (.) but the people in Malaysia huh will judge us (.) so::
250 we've realized that.

251 IR: You've come from - political aristocracy. What do you think your: legacy will

252 be?

253 IE: Hhh I wouldn't have gone that far yet (,) to think huh I don't think I want to:: to
254 I you know (,) to put the huh what do you call it put the cart before the horse. I
255 think what I like to do:: is to get o:n with you know (,) the four pillars that I
256 have mentioned (0.2) huh as part as our main agenda of the government (,) a:nd
257 and and that the people judge me in time to come.=

258 IR: =Prime minister thank you very much for speaking with us. .Hhh and that's all
259 the time we have for this edition of 101 East (,) from a:ll the team here in Kuala
260 Lumpur Malaysia. Thanks for watching.

University of Malaya

Appendix D

(Interview transcript U.S. politician 1)

Title: President Barack Obama Sits Down with Charlie Rose 06/17/2013 (FULL INTERVIEW)
Channel: CBS News
Interviewer: Charlie Rose
Interviewee: President Barack Obama
Duration: 45 minutes
Date: 16 June 2013
Context: Political interview
Location: White House

Youtube source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IIThTTJgKY0>

- 1 IR: Thank you for this opportunity on Father's Day as you're about to go – to:
2 Ireland for the G8 Conference. Um: (,) it's been an extraordinary week (?) =
- 3 IE: = Yeah. =
- 4 IR: = Syria, Iranian elections, demonstrations in Turkey, N.S. A. questions, so (,) I
5 want to talk about all of that. =
- 6 IE: = Alright. =
- 7 IR: = Let me begin with elections in Iran. =
- 8 IE: = Alright.
- 9 IR: Um:. .hhh How do you read them? Uh:, - 75% of the people voted. The
10 moderate won (?) Um:, what does this say and what are the opportunities there?
- 11 IE: Well (,) I think it says that - the Iranian people want to move in a different
12 direction (,) an::d (,) you know (,) if you contrast this with - the violence and
13 suppression that happened - in the last presidential election, obviously (,) - err::
14 (,) you have a much more positive atmosphere this time. The Iranian people
15 err::: rebuffed the hardliners and the clerics in the election (,) err::: who were
16 counseling no compromise on anything, anytime, anywhere. Clearly (,) you're
17 having hunger (,) within Iran (,) err::: to engage with a international community
18 in a more positive way. Now (,) err: Mister Rouhani (,) who won the election (,)
19 err: I think indicated - his interest in shifting - err::: how Iran approaches - many
20 of these international questions. Err: but (,) I think we understand that under
21 their system (,) the supreme leader (,) err::: will be making a lot of decisions (,)

22 err:: and:: so (,) we're going to have to continue to see how this develops and
23 how this evolves over the next - several weeks, months, years (?). Uh: I do think
24 there's a possibility that - they decide (,) the Iranians decide (,) to take - us up
25 on our offer to engage in a more serious err: substantive way (.) And and (,) our
26 bottom line is they (.) show the international community that you're abiding by
27 international treaty obligations that they're not developing a nuclear weapon.
28 Based on that (,) err: there are whole range of err: measures that can be taken (,)
29 to err:: to try to normalize err:: the relationship between Iran and the world.
30 Um::: but (,) we don't know yet if there's gonna be able to take up that offer,
31 they did not for my entire first term (,) when: we showed ourselves open to
32 begin discussions. =

33 IR: = Are you prepared to have someone in your administration to talk to them (,)
34 immediately (?) or does it have to be conditioned on other things that you
35 suggested? =

36 IE: =No (?) I I think that err::: my general view is err::: we are open to discussion
37 both through the P5 Plus One (,) and through err::: potential bilateral channels (,)
38 and (,) we recognize that you're not going to solve problems - all upfront as a
39 precondition to talks. But (,) there has to be a serious recognition that the err:
40 sanctions we put in place (,) for example (,) err: the most powerful economic
41 sanctions that have ever been applied against Iran (,) that those will not be lifted
42 in the absence of err: significant steps in showing the international community
43 that Iran is not pursuing a nuclear weapon. As long as there's an understanding
44 err::: about the basis of the conversation (,) then (,) I think there's no reason
45 why we shouldn't proceed.

46 IR: In terms of Syria, err:: define the new policy that you're articulating (,) with
47 respect to Syria (,) and why now?

48 IE: I'm not (?) sure that you can characterize this as a new policy. This is consistent
49 with the policy that I've had (,) err::: throughout. Err::: remember how this
50 evolved. Err::: the President of Syria (,) Assad (,) was presented with peaceful
51 protestors in the wake of the Arab Spring. Err::: he responded with violence (,)
52 and suppression (,) and that has continued to escalate (,) and - the United States
53 has err: humanitarian interests in the region (?). We've seen at least a hundred
54 thousand people slaughtered (,) inside of Syria. Many of them women, children,
55 innocent civilians (,) err::: and the United States always has an interest in
56 preventing that kind of bloodshed when possible. We have a regional interest
57 because we now have for example, more than five hundred thousand err: Syrian
58 refugees in neighboring Jordan (,) Jordan is a strong ally of ours. We do not
59 want to see err: Jordan destabilized as a consequence of what's happening in
60 Syria. We're also seeing Iraq affected (,) Lebanon obviously affected. So we
61 have regional interests. And finally, we've got a direct interest when it comes to
62 chemical weapons. We got a strong taboo (,) that's been established in the
63 international community in using weapons of mass destruction (,) including

64 chemical weapons. And (,) what (0.1) developed over (0.2) several months (,)
65 was (0.1) high confidence that the Assad regime had used chemical weapons.
66 And I've been very clear (,) that if we saw the use of chemical weapons taking
67 place by the regime inside of Syria (,) that will change my calculus (,) and it
68 has. Now in terms of what my goals are. The goals are (,) err: .a stable (,) non-
69 sectarian (,) representative (,) Syrian government (,) err: that is addressing the
70 needs of the people through political processes and peaceful processes. We're
71 not take in side in a religious war between Shia and Sunni (,) err:: really we're
72 trying to do to take side (,) against extremists (,) of all sorts (,) and in favor of (,)
73 people who are in favor of moderation, tolerance, representative government (,)
74 and: err:: over the long term stability and prosperity for the people of Syria. And
75 so my goal (,) we've been supporting an opposition (,) err: we've been trying to
76 help the opposition (,) err:: along with our international partners err::: helped the
77 opposition to become more cohesive. We've been assisting not only the political
78 opposition, but also the military opposition (,) so that there is a counterweight
79 that can potentially lead to political negotiation with err::: the evidence of
80 chemical weapons. What we've said we're going to ramp up that assistance.
81 An:d my hope continues to be, however, that we resolve this through some sort
82 of political transition. Umm:: but (,) what's been clear is this that Assad - at this
83 point, in part because his support from Iran and from Russia (,) believes that he
84 does not have to (,) engage in the political transition, believes that he can
85 continue to simply violently suppress over half of the population. And (,) err: as
86 long as he's got that mindset (,) it's going to be very difficult to resolve the
87 situation. =

88 IR: = A couple things come out of this. Um:, clearly you had a red line (,) and
89 clearly you say you have confirming evidence of that. Other people have
90 raised questions as to why you didn't do it earlier (,) Senator McCain (,) even
91 last week (,) former President Clinton.

92 IE: [Right]

93 IR: [Um::] there is also the question as to whether you knew if you supplied
94 weapons they would stay in the hands of people that you intended them for.
95 Have you been settled on that question (?) that you can ship weapons (,) and
96 they can go to the hands of the people (,) that you intend to benefit?

97 IE: Well (,) first of all (,) Charlie (,) - I've said I'm ramping up support for both
98 the political and military opposition. I've not specified exactly what we're
99 doing and I won't do so on this show. .hhh Uhh - That's point number one.
100 Point number two is that this argument that somehow we had - gone in earlier
101 or heavier (,) in some fashion that - the tragedy and chaos taking place in Syria
102 wouldn't be taking place (,) I think is wrong. [And]

103 IR: [Why do you think it's wrong?]

104 IE: Well (,) I think it's wrong because err: the fact of the matter is that - the way (.)
105 these situations get resolved (,) are politically. An:d (,) you know (,) the people
106 who are being suppressed inside of Syria who developed into a military
107 opposition (,) these folks are carpenters (,) and you know (,) blacksmiths (,) and
108 dentists. These aren't professional fighters. The notion that there was some (.)
109 professional military inside of Syria for us to immediately support a year ago or
110 two years [ago ()]

111 IR: [Yes, but there were former] Syrian generals who were part of the
112 Free Syrian Army. =

113 IE: = There were those who were a part. But I don't think that anybody would
114 suggest that somehow that there was (.) err:: a ready-made (,) military
115 opposition inside of Syria err: that could somehow have - quickly and cleanly
116 (0.1) defeated err: the Syrian army or Assad or overthrown it. An:d what is also
117 true is that we've had to sort out (,) and figure out exactly err: who it is that is in
118 the opposition [()]

119 IR: [And you have done that now?]

120 IE: Well (,) we have deepened our relationship (,) and we have better information
121 about who are the moderate members of the opposition (,) who are members of
122 the opposition (,) who are affiliated with al Nusra (,) who are affiliated with al
123 Qaeda (,) who are coming in from Iraq or Yemen or Pakistan or Afghanistan.
124 An:d one of the challenges that we have is that - err: some of the most effective
125 fighters within the opposition have been those who (,) frankly (,) are not
126 particularly friendly toward the United States of America. And arming them
127 willy-nilly (,) is not a good recipe fo:r meeting American interests over the long
128 term. The last point I'd make on this is (,) you know (,) a lot of critics have
129 suggested that if we go in (0.1) hot and heavy (0.2) no-fly zones, setting up
130 humanitarian corridors and so forth (,)

131 IR: [Heavy artillery?] =

132 IE: = Heavy artillery that that offers a simpler solution. But the fact of the matter is
133 for example 90 percent of the deaths - that have taken place (,) haven't been
134 because of - err:: air strikes by the Syrian Air Force. The Syrian air force isn't
135 particularly good. They can't aim very well. It's been happening on the ground.
136 [An:d]

137 IR: [So you think] a no-fly zone is not necessary?

138 IE: What I'm saying is that (,) if you haven't been in the Situation Room (0.1)
139 poring through -intelligence (,) an:d meeting directly with our military folks (.)
140 and asking what are all our options an:d examining what are all the
141 consequences and understanding that (,) for example (,) if you set up a no-fly

142 zone (.) err: that you may not be actually solving the problem on the ground or
143 if you set up a humanitarian corridor, are you (?) in fact, committed not only to
144 err:: stopping aircraft from going over that corridor (,) but also missiles? And if
145 so (,) does that mean that you then have to take out the armaments in
146 Damascus? And are you prepared then to bomb Damascus? And what happens
147 if there are civilian casualties? And have we mapped all of the chemical
148 weapons facilities inside of Syria to make sure that we don't drop a bomb on a
149 chemical weapons facility that ends up then dispersing chemical weapons and
150 killing civilians, which is exactly what we're trying to prevent. Unless you've
151 been involved in those conversations (,) then it's kind of hard for you to
152 understand the complexities of the situation and how we have to not rush into
153 (0.3) one more war in the Middle East. And we've got [()]

154 IR: [But that's why] people
155 think you're hesitant because you do not want to get involved in another conflict
156 having extricated the United States from Iraq and also soon from Afghanistan.

157 IE: [Charlie] (,)

158 IR: [That the idea] of another conflict and getting involved in a war that has real
159 significant Sunni-Shia implications and could explode into the region (.) you
160 want no part of that. Even though (,) err: there has been a turn in the tide in
161 Syria (.) err: with the Assad regime and the Assad army (,) with the help of
162 Hezbollah doing better.

163 IE: Charlie (.) that shouldn't just be my concern. That should be everybody's
164 concern.=

165 IR: =Yes.

166 IE: We went through that. We know what it's like to rush into a war in the Middle
167 East without having thought it through. An::d err: there are (.) elements within
168 the Middle East who see this entirely through the prism of a Shia-Sunni conflict
169 and want the United States to simply take the side of the Sunnis (.) an::d that I
170 do not think serves American interests. As I said before, the distinction I make
171 is between extremists and those who are recognize in a 21st century world that
172 the way the Middle East is going to succeed is when you have governments that
173 meet the aspirations of their people (,) that are tolerant (,) that are not sectarian.
174 An::d working through that is something that we have to do in deliberate
175 fashion. So (,) when I hear debates out there (,) on the one hand folks saying (.)
176 you know (,) "Katie bar the door, let's just go in and knock out
177 Syria."[(without)]

178 IR: [They're not asking that.] I mean it seems to me what they're asking is, you
179 know, supply them with heavy artillery (,) [

180 IE: [But here's what happens, Charlie. The err:: it is very easy to slip-slide your
181 way (.) into deeper and deeper commitments (.) because if it's not working
182 immediately (.) then what ends up happening is six months from now (.) people
183 say "Well, you gave the heavy artillery, now what we really need is X. And
184 now what we really need is Y," because until Assad is defeated (.) in this view
185 (.) it's never going to be enough, right? Now on the other side there are folks
186 who say "You know we are so scared from Iraq, we should have learned our
187 lesson, we should not have anything to do with it." Well I reject that view as
188 well (.) because the fact of the matter is that we've got serious interests there (.)
189 and: not only humanitarian interests (.) we can't have a situation of ongoing
190 chaos in a major country that borders err:: a country like Jordan which in turn
191 borders Israel (.) and:: we have a legitimate need to be engaged and to be
192 involved. But for us to do it in a careful, calibrated way (.) sometimes it's
193 unsatisfying (.) because what people really typically want is - a clean solution, a
194 silver bullet. Here's what we're going to do and we just move forward. Well,
195 that's not unfortunately [()]

196 IR: [You do not accept the idea] that if you do what the rebels want you do (.) the
197 Free Syrian Army wants you to do (.) and what Arab governments want you do
198 (.) that it would turn the tide and lead to Assad leaving (.) which has been (.) I
199 think (.) your objective (?)

200 IE: Well my objective (.) understand (.) is Assad leaving because he delegitimized
201 himself [

202 IR: [Right.]

203 IE: by what he did to his people.] Err: my genuine objective, though, is a Syria that
204 is functioning (.) and is representative (.) and is not engaged in sectarian civil
205 war (.) and you know, represents all factions within Syria. That's my objective.
206 And I believe that it is important for us to support (.) a legitimate, credible
207 opposition that might usher in that day. But any notion that somehow we're just
208 a few err: anti-helicopter or tank weapons away from tipping in that direction. I
209 think is not being realistic analyzing the situation [on the ground].

210 IR: [But I understand] Denis
211 McDonough on "Face the Nation" this morning suggesting there may be more
212 coming (?) =

213 IE: = What is true is that I will preserve every option - available to me - and
214 continually make assessments about what's in the interests of the United States.
215 =

216 IR: = Does this mean that what the possibility that Senator Kerry had been working
217 on (.) for some conference in Geneva (.) has been delayed because of this
218 decision by you?

219 IE: Err: What it means is that we have not yet seen (.) a serious commitment on the
220 part of both the Assad regime and the Russians (0.1) to:: deliver on what was in
221 the original Geneva Communique which said that (,) we would put in place a
222 political transition process - that would lead to a genuine transfer of power. Err:
223 And: until we see a commitment for a serious negotiation as opposed to just
224 stalling tactics (,) I don't want err:: Assad to have comfort in thinking that he
225 can simply continue to kill people on the ground, not engage politically and that
226 at some point the international community err: loses focus.

227 IR: Ok. But were you concerned that the tide seemed to have turned for Assad -
228 with the help of Hezbollah (,) and that he was making victories that would
229 enable him - to achieve some turn in the way the war was perceived and you felt
230 the urgency to act?

231 IE: I felt concern err: both about the lack of progress on the political track (?) I felt
232 that we had done better preparatory work (?) in identifying and working with
233 opposition figures. And what we saw was clear evidence that we have high
234 confidence in (,) and that we will with our allies be presenting to before the
235 United Nations (,) that (,) in fact (,) the Assad regime has used chemical
236 weapons.

237 IR: Let me go to China. Last week at this time you were meeting with the
238 President of China, Xi Jinping. =

239 IE: = Yes. =

240 IR: =What came out of that? =

241 IE: = Well, you know, this was an unconventional summit. Uh:. We did it outside
242 of the White House. First time - a Chinese president, I think, had been outside
243 of a formal [state visit].

244 IR: [Did it make things better?] [The informality of it?]

245 IE: [Well what] it allowed for I think is a more honest conversation. Err: My
246 impression of President Xi (,) is that he has (,) consolidated (,) his position (,)
247 fairly rapidly (,) inside of China (,) that he is younger and more forceful (,) and
248 more robust (,) and more confident (,) perhaps than some leaders in the past.
249 An::d the discussions were very useful (,) for example (,) on a problem like
250 North Korea (?). We've seen the Chinese (0.1) take more seriously the:
251 problem of constant provocation and statements from the North Koreans
252 rejecting denuclearization (,) and they've been acting on it in ways in the past
253 they would try to paper over the tensions and you know [what's

254 IR: [Right, right.

255 IE: the kind of push those problems aside. What we're seeing, I think, an interest
256 and a willingness to engage with us in a strategic conversation around those
257 things. You know, what I wanted to underscore (.) and establish (.) with him is
258 the kind of relationship that - recognizes it is in China's interests and the United
259 States' interests for this relationship to work (,) that - err:: (0.1) both leaders
260 would be betraying their people if a healthy competition largely economic (,)
261 degenerated into serious conflict. Err: China's got, obviously, continues to have
262 enormous potential but they've also got big challenges. =

263 IR: = Yes they just announced a challenge that they have to move people from the
264 rural areas to the cities today.

265 IE: Look (,) you know they've got they've got a hundred million people who live in
266 extreme poverty. Meaning they're making (0.2) \$2 bucks a day. Err::: you
267 know they've got pollution problems that are unbearable even for a rising
268 middle-class there. Huge problems of inequality and and they're going to have
269 to rethink their economic model that's been based entirely on exports and
270 refocused on domestic demand. So (,) there are a series of strategic
271 conversations that they're about to make and they also have to think about how
272 are they operating with their neighbors as they continue to rise? Because what
273 we've seen is, is that as they get bigger, the folks around them get more
274 nervous. =

275 IR: = Right.

276 IE: And around maritime issues, for example, in the South China Sea, we've seen
277 smaller countries like Vietnam and the Philippines feel very nervous about
278 China's behavior. And so part of the conversation with President Xi is to say -
279 that (0.1) as a rising (,) we want to encourage you to continue your peaceful
280 rise. But as a rising power (,) you have now (,) responsibilities. And it is in
281 your interests to partner with us and other countries to: set up international rules
282 of the road (,) [

283 IR: [And their response to that in the words of Robert Zoellick to the Chinese, "You
284 have to be a stakeholder now."

285 IE: You are a stakeholder. =

286 IR: = And are they responsive to that? Are they looking at situations like (,) you
287 know (,) we can be almost a kind of G-2?

288 IE: Right. Well (,) look obviously there are a lot of countries around the world
289 who are significant, both regionally and internationally.

290 IR: [We're talking] about the two biggest economies in the world.

291 IE: [But but] we're talking about the two biggest economies in the world. We've
292 got to get this relationship right and China does need to be a stakeholder. And
293 (.) I think that they recognize that but (.) look (.) err: (0.2) they have (0.1)
294 achieved such rapid growth (.) and they have (.) grown so fast (.) almost on
295 steroids (.) that there's a part of them that still thinks of themselves as this poor
296 country that's got all these problems. The United States is, you know, the big
297 cheese out there trying to dictate things, perhaps trying to contain our rise. And
298 so I think what you're seeing inside of Chinese leadership is - the desire to
299 maybe continue not to be responsible (.) not to be a full stakeholder (.) work the
300 international system (.) on something like trade (.)

301 IR: Yes.

302 IE: Or intellectual property rights. Get as much as they can.

303 IR: Right.

304 IE: And and be free riders and let the United States worry about the big hassles and
305 the big problems. At the same time, a growing nationalist pride where they say
306 yes we're big too (.) and we should be seen as equals on the world stage. And
307 what we're saying to them is you can't pick and choose. You know you can't
308 have all the rights of a major world power (.) but none of the responsibilities.
309 And if you accept both (.) then I think you will have a strong partner in the
310 United States. So I'm optimistic about the future but you know what I've found
311 - working with the Chinese government is candor (.) being clear about
312 American values (.) pushing back when the Chinese are trying to take advantage
313 of us (.) [()]

314 IR: [Speaking of pushing back,] what happened when you pushed back on
315 the question of hacking and serious allegations that come from this country (.)
316 that believe that the Chinese are making serious - strides and hacking not only
317 private sector but public sector?

318 IE: We had a very blunt conversation about cyber security.

319 IR: Do they acknowledge it?

320 IE: You know, when you're having a conversation like this (.) I don't think you
321 ever expect a Chinese leader to say "You know what? You're right.
322 [You caught us] red-handed."

323 IR: ["You got me."] Yes.

324 IE: We're just stealing all your stuff and every day we try to figure out how we can
325 get into Apple.

326 IR: But do they now say “Look? See you’re doing the same thing. We’ve been
327 reading about what NSA is doing (,) and you’re doing the same thing that we’re
328 doing and there are some allegations of that.” And the man who is now
329 unleashing these secrets who’s telling everybody is in Hong Kong (?)

330 IE: Yes.

331 IR: And may be talking to the Chinese.

332 IE: Well (,) let’s separate out the NSA issue which I’m sure you’re going to want to
333 talk to and the whole full balance of privacy and security with with the specific
334 issue of - cyber security and our concerns [()]

335 IR: [And cyber] warfare and cyber
336 espionage.

337 IE: Right. Every country in the world (,) large and small (,) engages in intelligence
338 gathering. An:::d that is an occasional source of tension but is generally
339 practiced within bounds. There is a (0.1) big difference between China wanting
340 to figure out how can they find out what my talking points are (,) uh: when I’m
341 meeting with the Japanese (,) uh: which is standard fare (,) and we’ve tried to
342 prevent them from (,) [()]

343 IR: [Right.]

344 IE: penetrating that and they try to get that information. Err::: There’s a big
345 difference between that (.) and a hacker directly connected with the Chinese
346 government or the Chinese military (,) breaking into Apple’s software systems
347 to see if they can err::: obtain the designs for the latest Apple product. That’s
348 theft. And uh: we can’t tolerate that. And so we’ve had very blunt
349 conversations about this. They understand (,) I think (,) that this can adversely
350 affect the fundamentals of the U.S. China relationship. We don’t consider this a
351 side note in our conversations. We think this is central in part because our
352 economic relationship is going to continue to be premised on the fact that the
353 United States is the world’s innovator. We have the greatest R&D. We have
354 the greatest entrepreneurial culture. Our value added is at the top of the value
355 chain (,) and if countries like China are stealing that (,) that affects our long-
356 term prosperity in a serious way. =

357 IR: = It’s said also that the reason they do it is that they want to achieve some kind
358 of military parity at some point (?) and that’s a motivating factor (?)

359 IE: I’m sure that that is.

((pauses))

360 IR: Let's turn to NSA

361 IE: Yes.

362 IR: You famously talked about the what you called the wrong choice between
363 security and freedom. Where do you put what NSA is doing (?) in that balance
364 between security and freedom?

365 IE: Well.

366 IR: A false choice is what you called it.

367 IE: Let me start with - the fact that at National Defense University several weeks
368 ago (0.2) err: when most of the focus was around the drone program (,) and my
369 plans in Afghanistan (,) and the need for us to move away from a perpetual war
370 footing (,) that I specifically said one of the things we need to debate and
371 examine is our surveillance programs (,) because those were set up right after
372 9/11, it's now been over a decade and we have to examine [them].

373 IR: [And what] should
374 the debate be?

375 IE: Well (,) and what I've said and I continue to believe is that we don't have to
376 sacrifice our freedom (,) in order to achieve security. That's a false choice.
377 That doesn't mean that there are not trade-offs involved in any given program
378 (,) any given action (,) that we take. So: all of us make a decision - that we go
379 through - a whole bunch of security at airports (,) which, when we were
380 growing up that wasn't the case, right? You ran up to the gate.

381 IR: Exactly. You're there.

382 IE: You're at the plane, you're running on.

383 IR: Right I've been there.

384 IE: And you know it's been a while since I went through commercial flying but I
385 guess the experience is not the same [anymore, right.]

386 IR: [It is not]. It's gotten worse.

387 IE: Right. And so (,) that's a trade-off we make. The same way we make a trade-
388 off about drunk driving. We say occasionally (,) there are going to be
389 checkpoints. They may be intrusive. Um:: to say there's a trade-off doesn't
390 mean somehow that we've abandoned freedom (?) I don't think anybody says
391 we're no longer free [because we have checkpoints at airports].

392 IR: [But there is a balance here].

393 IE: But there is a balance. So so I'm going to get to your get to your question. The
394 way I view it (,) my job is both to protect the American people and to protect
395 the American way of life which includes - our privacy. And::: so every program
396 that we engage in (,) what I've said is let's examine and make sure that we're
397 making the right tradeoffs. Now (,) with respect to the NSA (0.1) a government
398 agency that has been in the intelligence-gathering business for a very long time.

399 IR: Bigger and better than everybody else.

400 IE: Bigger and better than everybody else uh:: and we should take pride in that (.)
401 because they're extraordinary professionals. They're dedicated to keeping the
402 American people safe. Uh: (0.2) What I can say - unequivocally is that if you
403 are a U.S. person (,) (0.2) the NSA cannot listen to your telephone calls (,) and:
404 the NSA cannot target your e-mails (,)

405 IR: And have not?

406 IE: And have not. They cannot and have not (.) by law and by rule (,) and unless
407 they and usually it wouldn't be they, it would be the FBI (,) go to a court (,) and
408 obtain a warrant (,) and seek probable cause. The same way it's always been.
409 The same way when we were growing up and we were watching movies, you
410 know, you wanted to go set up a wiretap, you've got to go to a judge, show
411 probable cause and then [the judge ()]

412 IR: [But] have any of those been turned down? All the
413 requests to FISA courts (,) have they been turned down at all?

414 IE: Let me finish here, Charlie (,) because I want to make sure. This debate has
415 gotten cloudy very quickly. So point number one if you're a U.S. person then
416 NSA is not listening to your phone calls and it's not targeting your e-mails
417 unless it's getting an individualized court order. That's the existing rule. There
418 are two programs that were revealed by Mr. Snowden (,) err:: allegedly (,) since
419 there's a criminal investigation taking place and: that caused all the ruckus.
420 Program number one (,) called the 2015 program. What that does is it gets data
421 (,) from the service providers (,) like a Verizon (0.2) in bulk. And basically you
422 have (0.1) uh call pairs. You have (0.2) my telephone number connecting with
423 your telephone number. There are no names, there's no content in that
424 database. All it is, is the number pairs (,) when those calls took place (,) how
425 long they took place. So that database is sitting there. Now (,) if - the NSA
426 through some other sources maybe through the FBI (,) maybe through a tip that
427 went to the CIA (,) maybe through the NYPD (,) gets a number that where
428 there's a reasonable, articulable suspicion that this might involve foreign
429 terrorist activity (,) related to al-Qaeda (,) and some other international terrorist

430 actors (,) then what the NSA can do is it can query that database (,) to see does
431 this number pop up. Did they make any other calls? An:d if they did - those
432 calls will be spit out (,) a report will be produced (,) it will be turned over to the
433 FBI. At no point is any content revealed because there's no content [in the
434 database].

435 IR: [But] has
436 FISA Court turned down any request?

437 IE: Because first of all, Charlie (,) the number of requests are surprisingly small (,)
438 number one. Number two (,) folks don't go with a query (,) unless they've got
439 - a pretty good suspicion (?)

440 IR: Should this be transparent in some way?

441 IE: It is transparent. That's why we set up the FISA Court. Look, the whole point
442 of my concern before I was president (,) because some people say, "Well,
443 Obama was this raving liberal before, now he's Dick Cheney". Dick Cheney
444 sometimes says, "Yes, you know, he took it all, lock stock and barrel." My
445 concern has always been - not that we shouldn't do intelligence gathering to
446 prevent terrorism (,) but rather (,) are we setting up a system of checks and
447 balances? So, on this telephone program (,) you got a federal court (,) with
448 independent federal judges overseeing the entire program (,) and you've got
449 Congress overseeing the program. Not just the intelligence committee (,) not
450 just the judiciary committee (,) but all of Congress had available to it before the
451 last reauthorization exactly how this program works. Now (,) one last point I
452 want to make (,) because what you'll hear is people say "OK, we have no
453 evidence that it has been abused so far," and they say "Let's even grant that
454 Obama's not abusing it". There are all these processes, DOJ is examining it, it's
455 being audited, it's being renewed periodically, et cetera. The very fact that
456 there's all this data (,) in bulk (,) it has enormous potential for abuse because
457 they'll say, you know, when you start look at metadata even if you don't know
458 the names (,) you can match it up. If there's a call to an oncologist and if
459 there's a call to a lawyer (,) and you can pair that up and figure out maybe this
460 person is dying (,) and they're writing their will (,) and you can yield this
461 information." All of that is true. Except for the fact that for the government
462 under the program right now to do that (,) it would be illegal. We would not be
463 allowed to do that. =

464 IR: = So what are you going to change? Are you going to issue any kind of
465 instructions to the director of National Intelligence, Mr. Clapper, and say "I
466 want you to change it at least in this way"?

467 IE: Here's what we need to do. But before I say that (,) and I know that we're
468 running out of time (,) but I want to make sure I get uh: very clear on this
469 because there's been a lot of misinformation out there. There's a second

470 program called the 702 program. And what that does (,) is that does not apply
471 to any U.S. person (,) has to be a foreign entity (,) it can only be narrowly
472 related to (0.1) counter-terrorism, weapons proliferation, cyber hacking or
473 attacks and a select number of identifiers, phone numbers, emails, et cetera,
474 (0.1) those and the process has all been approved by the courts, (0.2) you can
475 send to providers - the Yahoos or the Googles and what have you. An:d in the
476 same way that you present essentially a warrant and what will happen then is
477 you there can obtain content but again that does not apply to U.S. persons and
478 it's only in these very narrow bands. So, you asked, what should we do?

479 IR: Right.

480 IE: What I've said is that - what is a legitimate concern, legitimate critique (,) is that
481 because these are classified programs. Even though, we have all these systems
482 of checks and balances (,) Congress is overseeing it (,) federal courts are
483 overseeing it. Despite all that the public may not fully know and that can make
484 the public kind of nervous. Right? Because they say, "Well, Obama says it's
485 OK or Congress says it's OK. I don't know who this judge is, I'm nervous
486 about it." What I've asked the intelligence community to do is see how much of
487 this we can declassify (,) without further compromising the program (,) number
488 one. And they're in that process of doing so now. So that everything that I'm
489 describing to you today (,) people, the public, newspapers, et cetera, can look at
490 because frankly if people are making judgments just based on these slides that
491 have been leaked, they're not getting the complete story. Number two, I've
492 stood up a privacy and civil liberties oversight board (,) made up of independent
493 citizens, including some fierce civil libertarians. I'll be meeting with them and
494 what I want to do is to set up and structure a national conversation not only
495 about these two programs but also about the general problem of these big data
496 sets because this is not going to be restricted to government entities.

497 IR: Let me just ask you this. If someone leaks all this information about NSA
498 surveillance, as Mr. Snowden did, did it cause national security damage to the
499 United States (?) and therefore should he be prosecuted?

500 IE: Uh: I'm not going to comment on prosecutions.

501 IR: Ok.

502 IE: He (,) the case has been referred to the DOJ for criminal investigation.

503 IR: And possible extradition.

504 IE: And possible extradition. I will leave it up to them - to [answer those
505 questions].

506 IR: [So what's your fear]

507 what's your fear about this?

508 IE: hhh Look (.) we have to make decisions about how much classified information
509 (.) and how much covert activity we are willing to tolerate as a society (?)
510 An::d we could not have carried off the bin Laden raid (.) if it was on the front
511 page of papers. I think everybody understands that, right. So that will be [one
512 example]

513 IR: [Of course that,] but I don't want to say what the relevance of that is.

514 IE: Well no, no, the reason I'm saying that is that we're going to have to - find ways
515 where the public has an assurance that there are checks and balances in place,
516 (0.2) that they have enough information about how we operate. That they know
517 that their phone calls aren't being listened into (.) their text messages aren't
518 being monitored (.) their emails are not being read (.) by some Big Brother
519 somewhere. They have to feel that confidence (.) and that it is not potentially
520 subject to abuse because there's sufficient checks and balances on it while still
521 preserving our capacity to act (.) against folks (.) who are trying to do us harm.
522 And it's not just terrorists. We already talked about cyber theft (.) we already
523 talked about potentially critical infrastructure that could be compromised. You
524 know, there were a handful of yokels up in New York who stole \$45 million out
525 of ATMs uh:: over the course of I think it was 18 hours (.) and the public
526 expects - me and the Justice Department and others to protect them from those
527 things. To make sure that their bank accounts aren't being compromised, their
528 medical records aren't being compromised. All that stuff requires the
529 government to have some capacity to engage with the private sector and to have
530 [some of ()]

540 IR: [And we ought to have a debate about it all].

541 IE: So we have to have a debate about it.

542 IR: Let me turn to a number of things. Let me just before I do, though, the notion of
543 that you have simply continued the policies of Bush-Cheney. Does it (?) how
544 do you (?) how does that make you feel? How do you assess it? Because many
545 people say - you know, you're Bush-Cheney light and then people write
546 columns saying, "No, no, he's not that at all. He's tougher in terms of drones (.)
547 in terms of surveillance (.) in terms of many things (.) [Guantanamo Bay]".

548 IE: [Well (.) look.] Uh: I haven't yet closed Guantanamo so: one of the things you
549 learn as president is "What have you done for me lately?" If you didn't get it
550 done, then it's your problem and I accept that. That's my job. So until I close
551 Guantanamo Bay, they're right. I haven't closed Guantanamo Bay. When it
552 comes to [

553 IR: [Drones?

554 IE: when it comes to um: drones I gave an entire speech on this and: what I have
555 said is and this is absolutely true is that we have put in place a whole series of
556 measures (.) that are unprecedented (.) and we will continue to do so. Err:: You
557 know, we ended enhanced interrogation techniques. We ended some of the
558 detention policies that had been in place that violated our values. There are a
559 whole range of checks and balances that we put in place. But (,) I think it's fair
560 to say that - there are going to be folks on the left and you know (,) what amuses
561 me is now folks on the right who were fine when it was a Republican president
562 (.) but now Obama's coming in with a black helicopter.

563 IR: Politics makes strange bedfellows, doesn't it?

564 IE: Who are not yet going to be satisfied (,) I've got to tell you (,) though. Charlie,
565 generally I think this is a healthy thing because it's a sign of maturity uh: that
566 this debate would not have been taking place five years ago. And I welcome it.
567 I really do. Because I (0.1) uh: because I contrary to what I think some people
568 think (.) the longer I'm in this job, the more I believe on the one hand that (0.2)
569 most folks in government are actually trying to do the right thing. They work
570 really hard, they're really dedicated, [they

571 IR: [But you are frustrated

572 IE: but let me say this. That's on the one hand. On the other hand what I also
573 believe is, you know, it's useful to have a bunch of critics out there who are
574 checking government power (,) and who are making sure that we're doing
575 things right(,) so that if we triple checked how we're operating any one of these
576 program (,) let's go quadruple check it. And and I'm comfortable with that and
577 I'm glad to see that we are starting to do that. The one thing people should
578 understand about all these programs though is they have disrupted plots. Not
579 just here in the United States (,) but overseas as well. And you know you have a
580 guy like Najibullah Zazi

581 IR: Right.

582 IE: who was driving across country trying to blow up a New York subway system.
583 We might have caught him some other way. We might have uh:: disrupted it
584 because a New York cop saw he was suspicious. Maybe he turned out to be
585 incompetent and the bomb didn't go off. But at the margins (,) we are increasing
586 our chances of preventing a catastrophe like that (,) through these programs and
587 then the question becomes can we trust all the systems of government enough
588 (?) as long as they're checking each other, that our privacy is not being abused
589 but we are able to prevent some of the tragedies that (,) unfortunately (,) there
590 are people out there who are going to continue to try to strike against us.

591 IR: We've talked mostly about national security and talked about the

592 responsibilities around the world and you certainly indicated by the last answer
593 that the number one responsibility of a president is national security to keep the
594 American people safe.

595 IE: Right.

596 IR: Correct?

597 IE: Well (,) it's my number one priority because if I don't get right obviously, we
598 don't get anything right. I will say (,) though (,) that I think that the biggest
599 challenge we face right now in addition to the ongoing challenge of national
600 security is having recovered from the worst recession since the Great
601 Depression (,) having dug our way out (,) with the economy now growing, jobs
602 being created, auto industry back, stock market back, housing recovering by
603 about 10 percent in terms of prices. How do we now go back to the issue that
604 led me to run for president in the first place (?) which is the fact that - the
605 economy is not working for everybody, that we have the structural problems
606 that could lead us to second-rate status if they continue.

607 IR: The level of debt and all that (?)

608 IE: Well, here's what I would say. Number one, we've got to make sure that we
609 have an education system that is meeting the challenge of the 21st century;
610 number two, that we've got a great infrastructure; number three, that our lead in
611 research and development continues; number four, that we are ensuring that
612 we've got a tax code that's sensible and allows us to grow; and number five, in
613 addition to deficits and a stable fiscal system, that we also have (0.3) a country
614 where the idea that anybody can make it if they work hard (,) and that there are
615 ladders of opportunity (,) and a middle-class is growing, that that continues.
616 And, you know, one of the biggest challenges that I see along with some things
617 like climate change, by the way, that we haven't had time to talk about so far is
618 the fact that (,) we have recovered from the worst of the crisis. But (,) the
619 underlying problem which is growing inequality, wages and incomes stagnant
620 or even going down in some cases for middle-class families. That trend line has
621 continued. It's not unique to America. We're seeing it worldwide. It's partly
622 because of globalization, partly because of technology. We've got to address
623 that if we are going to continue to be the greatest nation on earth. And that (,) is
624 the thing that I'm going to be focused on for the remainder of my presidency,
625 along with the basics like making sure nobody blows us up.

626 IR: Some people would like to see you announce that you are reappointing Ben
627 Bernanke as chairman of the fed.

628 IE: Well, I think Ben Bernanke's done an outstanding job. Ben Bernanke's a little
629 bit like Bob Mueller, the head of the FBI

630 IR: Yes.

631 IE: where he's already stayed a lot longer than he wanted or he was supposed to.
632 But I think he's [

633 IR: [But if he wanted to be reappointed (,) you would reappoint him?

634 IE: He has been an outstanding partner (,) along with the White House (,) in
635 helping us recover much stronger than (,) for example (,) our European
636 partners (,) from what could have been uh: (0.1) an economic crisis of epic
637 proportions.

638 IR: I'm at the end of my time. But I do take this opportunity to say "Happy Father's
639 Day". You're off to a recital by Sasha or Malia I'm not sure which one.

640 IE: Sasha, yes. She's the dancer in the family.

641 IR: And you have spoken well about fatherhood and what it means (,) and the
642 absence of having a father (,) you know (,) has given you a sense of appreciation
643 of what a father can mean to the life of children. And I thank you for taking
644 time on this day (,) to share a conversation about the country.

645 IE: Well, I appreciate it very much, Charlie. Thank you so much.

646 IR: Thanks. Great to see you.

Appendix E

(Interview transcript U.S. politician 2)

Title: President Obama talks ISIS, immigration, and midterm elections

Channel: CBS News

Interviewer: Bob Schieffer

Interviewee: President Barack Obama

Duration: 20:45 minutes

Date: 9 November 2014

Context: Political interview

Youtube source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHYjknhJy0I>

1 IR: Mister President, thank you so much for joining us on the sixtieth anniversary of
2 FACE THE NATION.=

3 IE: =Congratulations.

4 IR: It's a pleasure to have you.=

6 IE: =Wonderful to have you here.

7 IR: =Thank you .hhh I wanna start with the: - your decision to - basically (.) double
8 the si:ze of the American force in Iraq (,) and bring it up to about three thousand
9 ah: when you ordered the airstri:kes (.) three months ago you didn't seem to
10 think that was gonna be necessary (.) - What is what is the signal (.) that what
11 we've done so far hasn't worked? =

12 IE: = No actually what it signals is a new face. (0.1) First of all (,) let's be clear.
13 ISIL is a threat not only to: Iraq (,) but also the region a::nd ultimately over the
14 long term could be a threat to the United States (.) .hhh this is (0.1) an extreme
15 group of the sort we haven't seen before (,) but it also combines terrorist tactics
16 (.) with hhh on-the-ground capabilities (,) in part (.) because they incorporate a
17 lot of Saddam Hussein's o:ld hhh military commanders (.) a::nd (0.1) you know
18 this is a threat that we are committed not only to degrade but ultimately destroy.
19 It's gonna take some time. .Hhh what we knew was that (0.1) phase one was
20 getting (,) an Iraqi government that was inclusive (,) and credible hhh and we
21 now have done that. And - so - now (?) what we've done is rather than just try
22 to ha:lt ISIL's momentum. We're now in a position to start going on some
23 offences - The air:strikes have been very-effective in-degrading ISIL's
24 capabilities and slowing-the advance that they were making. Now what we need
25 is ground troops (,) (0.1) Iraqi ground troops they can start pushing them back. =
26

27 IR: =Will these Americans be: going into battle with them? =

28 IE: =No. So what hasn't changed is (0.1) our troops are not (?) engaged in combat.
 29 Essentially what we're doing is we're taking .hhh fou:r-training-centers (0.1)
 30 with coalition members (.) that - allo:w us to bring in-Ira:qi recruits (.) some of
 31 the Sunni tribes that are still resisting ISIL (.) giving them proper training (.)
 32 proper equipment (.) helping them with strategy - helping them with logistic.
 33 We will provide them close air support (.) once they are prepared to start going
 34 on the offence against ISIL (.) hhh but - what we will not be doing is: having
 35 our troops do the fighting. What we learn from - the previous engagement in
 36 Iraq is tha:t - our military is always the best. We can always knock out (.)
 37 knock back any threat (.) .hhh but then when we lea::ve that threat comes back.
 38 =

39 IR: =Should we expect that more troops may be needed before this is over? =

40 IE: =You know (.) as commander-in-chief (.) I'm never gonna sa:y - 'never'. But-
 41 what (1.0) you know (.) the commanders who presented the plan to me say hhh
 42 is - that (.) we may actually see: fewer troops over time because now we're
 43 seeing coalition members hhh starting to partner with us on the training and
 44 assist effort. =

45 IR: = I wanna get back to foreign policy but I also - wanna ask you about what
 46 happened on Tuesday? =

47 IE: =we got beaten=

48 IR: =.Hhh yeah. Harry Truman once famously said (.) if you want a friend in
 49 Washington, get a dog (.) and I've thought of that when I heard the hhh chief of
 50 staff of the Democratic leader of the Senate (.) Harry Rei:d (.) say and this is his
 51 quote "The President's approval rating is basically forty percent. Hhh what else
 52 more is there to say?" He's basically saying it was your fault. Do you feel it was
 53 your [fault? =

54 IE: [=Well, look, (0.4) another - saying of Harry Truman's was (.) the buck stops
 55 with me. With me (?) the buck stops right here (.) at my desk (.) and so::
 56 whenever as the head of the party (.) it doesn't do well, I've got to uh take
 57 responsibility for it. (0.6) The message that I took from this election and we've
 58 seen this in a number of elections (.) successive elections (.) .hhh is:: - people
 59 want to see this city work. .Hhh and they feel as if it's not worked. .Hhh the
 60 economy has improved significantly. There's no doubt about it. We had a jobs
 61 report (.) (0.1) for October that sho:wed that once again over two hundred
 62 thousand jobs created (.) we've now created more than ten million (.) hhh the
 63 unemployment rate has come down faster than we could've anticipated. Just to
 64 give you some perspective Bob (.) hhh we've created more jobs in the United
 65 States than every other (.) advanced economy (.) combined since I came into

66 office (.) hhh and so we're making progress but people still fee:l (?) like their
67 wages haven't gone up (,) still hard to save for retirement (,) still hard to send a
68 kid to college (.) .hhh an::d - then they see Washington gridlock (,) and they're
69 frustrated (.) an::d you know, they know one person in Washington and that's
70 the President of the United States. So - I've got to make this city (,) work better
71 (.) fo::r them.=

72 IR: = All the presidents in the modern history who have been successful (.) I mean
73 in a various ways (.) hhh LBJ (,) FDR (,) Ronald Reagan (,) Teddy Roosevelt (,) Bill
74 Clinton (.) they all:: seem to have a zest for politics. .Hhh they they like (?)
75 to give and take. They like (?) the - twisting of arms. They like (?) the cajoling.
76 They liked (?) all the things that Presidents do (.) hhh but I don't sense (,) that
77 you: have the same feeling uh that they did. It makes me wonder do you like (?)
78 politicians - do you like (?) politics? =

79 IE: = [You know]

80 IR: = [Do you like this jo:b?] =

81 IE: = Let me tell you Bob. I love this job (,) and here's I think a fair statement. If
82 your name is Barrack Hussein Obama (,) you - you had to have liked (?) politics
83 in order to get into this office. I wasn't born - into politics an:d (0.1) wasn't
84 encouraged to go into politics. I got into politics because I believe (,) I could
85 make a difference and I would not have been successful and would not be hhh
86 sitting at this desk every day (.) hhh if I didn't love politics. Um you know the
87 the fact is that (,) we wouldn't have gotten health care passed if - there wasn't a
88 whole bunch of arm-twisting. We would not (?) ha:ve - been able to - make
89 progress on the deficit (?) if I hadn't been willing to cut some deals (,) with
90 Republicans. Um I think every president that you've mentioned hhh would also
91 say (,) that while they were in office (,) people weren't always as
92 complementary of them as=

93 IR: =but who is it what you thought it would be? =

94 IE: = you know here's one thing that I will say (,) um - tha:t (0.1) campaigning -
95 and governance are two different things. (0.1) I've ran two successful
96 campaigns (,) hhh and anybody who's seen me on the campaign trail can tell
97 how much I love (.) just being with the American people (.) and hearing what
98 they care about - you know how passionate I am about trying to help them. Um
99 - when you start governing (0.1) there is a tendency sometimes for me to start
100 thinking as long (?) as I get the policy right then that's what should matter an::d
101 you know (,) people have asked you know - what you need to do differently
102 going forward (.) and I think you do that (,) you gotta check after every election
103 [um =

104 IR: = [What] do you need to do differently?

105 IE: = And I think that one thing that I do - need to consistently remind myself and
106 my team are – is: it's not (?) enough just to build the better mousetrap. People
107 don't automatically come beating to your door. We've got a sell it, we've got to
108 reach out to the other side (,) and where possible persuade (?) and I think
109 there're times there's no doubt about it where - you know (,) I think we have not
110 (?) been successful (,) in going out there and letting people know what it is that
111 we're trying to do and why this is the right direction. So so there's a failure of
112 politics there that we've got we got to improve on.=

113 IR: = What criticisms of your administration do you think are valid? =

114 IE: = Well, hh I just mentioned one. I think that what is also true - is that (0.1) you
115 know no matter how (0.1) frustrating it can sometimes be for - any President to
116 deal with an opposition that - has yeah (,) pretty stubborn and and where there
117 are really really strong differences you just got to keep on trying.=

118 IR: = Let let's talk about the immigration. You have said that you're gonna change
119 immigration policy with an executive order by the end of the year with
120 Republicans said (,) "Don't do it". Mitch McConnell it's like waving a red flag
121 in front of a bull. John Boehner, when you play with matches you take the risk
122 of burning yourself. Why (?) not give them a chance to see what they can do on
123 that and then take the executive order? =

124 IE: =Number one (,) everybody agrees the immigration system is broken (,) and
125 we've been talking about it for years now in terms of fixing it. We need-to be
126 able to secure our border. We need to make a legal immigration system that is
127 more efficient and (?) we need to make sure that- the millions of people who
128 are here many have been here fo:r a decade or more and have American kids
129 and for all practical purposes are part of our community (,) that they pay a fine
130 (,) they pay any penalties (,) they learn English (,) they get to the back of the
131 line but they have a capacity to legalize themselves here because we're not we
132 don't have the capacity to deport eleven million people. Everybody agrees on
133 that. I presided (?) over - a process in which (,) the Senate produce a bipartisan
134 bill. I then said to John Boehner (,) "John, let's get this passed through the
135 House." For a year I stood back- and let him worked on this. He decided not (?)
136 to call the Senate bill and he couldn't produce his own bill. And I told him at the
137 time "John, if you don't do it I've got legal authority to make improvements on
138 the system." I prefer (?) and still prefer (?) to see it done through Congress but -
139 every day that I wait - we're misallocating resources. We're deporting people
140 that shouldn't be deported. So John (,) I'm gonna give you some time but if you
141 can't get it done before the end of the year (,) I'm gonna have to take the steps
142 that I can to improve the system. =

143 IR: = So are you saying here today, their time has ran out? =

144 IE: = What I'm saying to them actually their time hasn't ran out. I'm going to - do
145 what I can do through executive action. It's not going to be everything that
146 needs to get done. And it will take time to put that in place (?) - and in the
147 interim, the minute they pass a bill (,) that addresses the problems with
148 immigration reform (,) I will sign it and it supersedes whatever actions I take
149 and I'm encouraging them to do so. On parallel track we're gonna be
150 implementing an executive action but - if in fact a bill gets passed - nobody's
151 gonna be happier than me to sign it because that means it will be permanent
152 rather than temporary. So they have the ability the authority the control to -
153 supersede anything I do through my executive authority by simply carrying out
154 their functions over there and if in fact it's true that they want to pass the bill (,)
155 they've got good ideas nobody's stopping them in the minute they do it (,) and
156 the minute I sign that bill then what I've done goes away. =

157 IR: =We're gonna have to take a break here. We'll be back in one minute.

((one minute later))

158 IR: You sent a secret letter to to Iran: Supreme Commander or a Supreme Leader
159 last month about our two countries' shared interest in fighting ISIS. hhh I
160 guess I'd ask you the first question (,) has he answered?=

161 IE: =I tend not to comment on - any communications that I have with various
162 leaders. - I'm I have got a whole bunch of channels where we're
163 communicating to various leaders around the world. - Let let me speak (,) more
164 broadly about the policies vis-à-vis Iran. We have two big interests in Iran that
165 is short term and then we got a long-term interest. Our number one priority
166 with respect to Iran is making sure they don't get nuclear weapon an::d because
167 of the unprecedented sanctions that this administration put forward .hhh and
168 mobilized the world to abide by they got squeezed their economic tanked and
169 they came to the table in a serious way for the first time (,) in a very very long
170 time. We've now had - significant negotiations they have abided by freezing
171 the program and in fact reducing their stockpile of nuclear-grade material (,) or
172 weapons-grade material. And - the question now are we're gonna be able to
173 close the final gap (,) so that they can reenter the international community,
174 sanctions can be slowly reduced and we have verifiable lock-tight assurances
175 that they can't develop nuclear weapons. There's still a big gap. We may not
176 be able to get there. The second thing (?) that we have an interest in is (0.1) that
177 Iran has influenced over Shia both in Syria (,) and in Iraq (,) and we do have a
178 shared enemy in ISIL (,) but I've been very clear publicly and privately we're
179 not connecting in any way the nuclear negotiation from the issue of ISIL.
180 We're not coordinating with Iran on ISIL. There's some de-conflicting in the
181
182
183

184 sense that since they have some - troops or militias they control in and around
185 Baghdad yea we'll let them know hhh - don't mess with us we're not here to
186 with you we focus on - common our enemy (,) but there's no coordination or
187 common battle plan and there will not be because and this brings me to the third
188 issue, we still have big differences with Iran's behavior vis-à-vis our allies.
189 Then, - you know (,) poking and prodding at - and and creating unrest and
190 sponsoring terrorism in the region, around the world (,) their anti-Israeli rhetoric
191 and behavior so that's a whole another set of issues which prevents us from ever
192 being [true allies but
193
194

195 IR: [Is it still our policy that we want President Assad of Syria to go?

196 IE: It is still our policy an::d - it's an almost (?) absolute certainty that- he has lost
197 legitimacy with such a large portion of the country (,) by dropping - barrel
198 bombs (,) and killing children (,) and destroying villagers that were defenseless
199 that he can't regain the kind of legitimacy that would stitch that country back
200 together again. Now obviously (,) our priority is to go after ISIL and so what
201 we've said is that we're not engaging in a military action against the Syrian
202 regime we are going after ISIL - facilities (,) and personnel who are using
203 Syrian as a safe haven in U of our strategy in Iraq. We do wanna see a political
204 sentiment inside of Syria. That's a long-term proposition we can't solve that
205 militarily nor are we trying to. =

206 IR: =Let me ask you this. You had a tough summer. We saw the rise of ISIS, the
207 outbreak of Ebola (,) trouble in the Ukraine (,) illegal immigrants coming across
208 the border. Did you ever go back to the residence at night and say, are we ever
209 going to get a break here? =

210 IE: = We've had a busy six years. - This summer it seemed to compress even more
211 (,) (0.1) but yeah think about when I came into office it was worse because the
212 economy not just here in the United States but globally was in a free fall. I have
213 a great confidence in the American people (,) and I have a great confidence in
214 this administration be able to walk through and eventually solve problems. .Hhh
215 sometimes we don't do it at the speed that err.. keeps up with err.. you know the
216 press cycle so - we've handled Ebola well (?) but you know and then folks are
217 talking about it as much now (,) but there was a period of time when people are
218 anxious. You'll recall uh just a year in office when there was a big hole in the
219 middle of the Gulf spewing out oil and we went through a month that was real
220 tough nobody talks about it now because we actually had the a really effective
221 response against the worst environmental disaster in American history (?) but
222 when you solve the problem sometimes the cameras have gone away when the
223 problem comes up it's tough but I tell you (,) - what keeps me going every day
224 is to see how resilient the American people are (,) how hard they work (,) uh
225 they not that nothing I go through compares to a guy who's lose his job or lost

226 his home hhh lost his retirement savings or is trying to figure out how to send
227 his kid to college. What I keep on telling my team here is - don't worry about
228 hhh the fact that we're overworked or - we're you know getting picked on yeah
229 that's all irrelevant. What is relevant is we have the chance to help that person
230 every single day (.) and we do and sometimes you're gonna get fanfare for it
231 and sometimes you're not but uh um - I still consider this the best job on earth
232 I'm gonna trying to squeeze every less ounce of of - possibility (0.1) and and
233 the ability to do good outta of this job in these next two years. =

234 IR: = Six years into an administration is the time (,) that Presidents seem to make
235 changes some of them are trying to really shake things up (,) they bring in new
236 people they launch new programs. Do I get the sense that you're not planning
237 something like that? =

238 IE: = Well I think there're always gonna be changes (.) um I mean if you look at
239 after each election

240 IR: = the I don't see that you from what I've heard from you so far you didn't plan
241 to do much different than what you've done so far =

242 IE: = no no by uh you know Bob I think that- what you'll see is - a constant effort
243 to improve- the way we deliver service to customers (,) experimenting with
244 ways - that I can reach out to Republicans more effectively (,) making sure that
245 we're reaching out and using the private sector hhh more effectively. One of the
246 things we're learning is that there's a real power to being able to convene here in
247 the White House, not every problem has to be solved just through a bill (,) just
248 through legislation. We will be bringing in new folks here because people get
249 tired. You know (,) it's a-- it's a hard job. And what I've told everybody is (,)
250 you know (,) I want you- to have as much enthusiasm and energy on the last day
251 of this administration - as you do right now or as you did when you first started
252 (,) otherwise you shouldn't be here.=

253 IR: = you came here talking about hoping change. Do you still hope is change was
254 it harder than you thought it would be? =

255 IE: = Well you know I always thought change was gonna be be hard (,) um but I
256 will tell you Bob when I looked back over the last six years um I am really
257 proud of the fact that people have jobs who didn't have them before people have
258 health insurance who didn't have before (,) young people are going to college
259 who couldn't afford it before (,) hhh so we've made big changes but um - what
260 makes me hopeful is the American people and change is inevitable because we
261 got the best cards, we got the best workers (,) .hhh we got the we got the (0.1)
262 this incredible system that attracts talent from around the world. We continue to
263 be a beacon for freedom and and democracy. We've got an extraordinary
264 military. We've got an economy that is growing faster than anybody else's.
265

266 We've got - these incredible natural resources and we are the most innovative
267 than anybody on Earth. So there's no reason for us not to succeed. Change will
268 happen. But America is always at the forefront of change. That's that's our
269 trademark. - Even after (.) over two hundred years we're still a young country
270 and and we don't fear the future (,) we grab it. =
271

272 IR: = Thank you Mr. President.

University of Malaya

Appendix F

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