

**Pronouns of politics:  
the use of pronouns in the construction of ‘self’ and  
‘other’ in political interviews.**

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December 2001

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National  
University

## **DECLARATION**

Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is my own work.

Nicolette Bramley

## List of figures

Figure 1      Embedded group membership (1)

Figure 2      Embedded group membership (2)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a great pleasure to thank my supervisor Dr. Tony Liddicoat. Without his invaluable advice, his helpful comments on every draft as the thesis evolved, and his gentle, patient and expert guidance, I could not have written this thesis. Despite the various pressures of juggling work and life, Tony had the ability to inspire me every time I saw him.

I would like to thank my advisor Dr Ursula Nixon (Nik) who also spent a lot of time on successive drafts, and who guided me through the early and final stages of the thesis with careful comments, encouragement and good cheer.

I would also like to thank Dr Johanna Rendle-Short who supervised me during the process of writing the amendments to the thesis. Johanna was a fantastic support to me in more ways than just the writing of the thesis. I couldn't have done it without you Jo. Thank you.

I am indebted to Annie Bartlett at the Australian National University Studies Skills Centre, who read drafts of different parts of my thesis and whose advice and support gave me inspiration and courage.

I am very grateful to Dianne Williams and Sarah Hollis-Bennetts for so generously giving me their time and comments in proof-reading the thesis. They have been tirelessly supportive all the way through.

Finally, I would especially like to thank the "Discourse Analysis Group" (DAG) – Belinda Collins, Marian May, Johanna Rendle-Short, Maurice Nevile, Chantal Crozet and Gabi Schmidt – for their support and encouragement all the way through. You have all been great and I look forward to the day when all our PhD theses are lined up on the shelf together.

## Abstract

Pronouns play a key role in the construction of 'self' and 'other'. They are not merely a way of expressing person, number and gender as is suggested by traditional grammarians nor do they only do referential and deictic work. Rather, they must be thought of in the context of interaction and in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish. In this thesis, it is argued that pronouns are used to construct favourable images of themselves, and 'others'.

The context of this study is the Australian political media interview. In this study, the pronouns 'I' 'you' 'we' and 'they' are examined individually, then, as they occur in sequence. This investigation reveals that pronouns are used to construct politicians' multiple 'selves' and 'others' and that as they occur in sequence, the changing 'selves' of politicians and different 'others' are created. The construction of these multiple 'selves' and 'others' is a version of reality that politicians construct discursively and is not an objective representation of facts.

This analysis of pronouns in political interviews also reveals striking and hitherto unresearched uses of pronouns, which can be used to show affiliation or create distance between people where it would not traditionally be expected. Politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct the different identities of themselves and 'other' and use them to create different alignments to, and boundaries between, their multiple 'selves' and 'others'. Thus, pronouns are pivotal in the construction of reality – a reality that is created and understood in the discourse of the moment.

# Pronouns of politics: the use of pronouns in the construction of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Statement of originality</b>	ii
<b>List of figures</b>	iii
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	iv
<b>Abstract</b>	v
<b>Table of contents</b>	vi
<b>1. Introduction</b>	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2. The political interview	2
1.2.1 The political interview as institutional talk	2
1.2.2 Avoidance of questions by interviewees	6
1.2.3 Other approaches to analysing the political interview	8
1.2.4 Conclusion	10
1.3. The representation of self and other in political interviews.	11
1.4 Pronouns	13
1.5 Significance of research	16
1.6 Method	17
1.6.1 Data collection	17
1.6.2 Conversation Analysis and Goffman	19
1.6.3 Context	21
1.7 Chapter overview	23
<b>2. Who is 'I'? : an analysis</b>	27
2.1 Introduction	27
2.2 A-events	32

2.2.1 Being a good politician: describing personal qualities	34
2.2.2 Being a good politician: being responsible	38
2.2.3 Being a good politician: being in touch with the electorate	41
2.2.4 Being a good politician: talking about accomplishments	42
2.2.5 Being a good politician:	45
talking about self as a politician of power	
2.2.6 Being a good politician: being a person of principles	48
2.2.7 Claiming lack of knowledge	52
2.2.8 Talking about problematic personal issues	57
2.3 'I think' in combination with A-events and D-events	61
2.3.1 When the proposition is a D-event	62
2.3.2 When the proposition is an A-event	68
2.4 Taking control of the interview topic	72
2.5 Conclusion	73
 <b>3. Who are 'we'? : an analysis</b>	 76
3.1 Introduction	76
3.2 'We' institutional identity	77
3.3 'Us and them' dichotomy	86
3.4 Not just me/not just someone else	92
3.5 'We', co-implicating the people	98
3.6 'We' collective response	103
3.7 Modified and upgraded 'we' and 'us'	110
3.8 'We have'	120
3.9 Conclusion	125
 <b>4. Who is 'you'? : an analysis</b>	 128
4.1 Introduction	128
4.2 You-singular	131
4.2.1 'You' – singular associated with problems	131

4.2.2 'You' singular used to avoid answering the question.	140
4.2.3 'You' singular used to show co-involvement of IR	141
4.2.4 'You' singular used to make a link to a prior interaction	142
4.2.5 Personal reassurance and characterisation of listeners	145
4.2.6 Summary of 'you' singular	146
4.3 Generic 'you'	146
4.3.1 Generic 'you': everyone	148
4.3.2 Generic 'you': specific	159
4.4 'You' embedded in different footings	167
4.4.1 Animation of 'self' as part of a group	167
4.4.2 Animation of oppositional 'other'	171
4.5 Conclusion	179
 <b>5. Who are 'they'? : an analysis</b>	 182
5.1 Introduction	182
5.2 Distinguishing 'self' and 'other'	184
5.2.1 'They' in an oppositional context.	184
5.2.2 'They' in an affiliative context	190
5.2.3 'They' in a neutral context.	195
5.2.4 'I' and 'they': 'self' and 'other'	199
5.2.5 Summary of distinguishing between 'self' and 'other'	204
5.3 Generic 'they'	207
5.4 Unspecified categorical 'they'	212
5.5 Conclusion	213
 <b>6. 'I', 'we', 'you', 'they': Shifting identities</b>	 217
6.1 Introduction	217
6.2 Multiple selves: 'we' and 'I'	218
6.3 Multiple selves: 'I', 'we' and generic 'you'	225
6.4 Multiple 'selves' and 'others'	234



6.5 Shifting footings to achieve multiples selves and others	246
6.6 Conclusion	256
<b>7. Conclusion</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>267</b>
<b>Appendix 1 Table of participants and details of interview transcripts</b>	<b>267</b>
<b>Appendix 2 Transcription conventions</b>	<b>269</b>
<b>Appendix 3 Transcriptions of data</b>	<b>270</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>349</b>

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines how politicians in the political interview use pronouns to construct 'self' and 'other'. The examination is part of a relatively new field of research that investigates "the interactional creation of selves" (Malone (1997: ix). The thesis shows how politicians exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct a view of themselves and others that is favourable to their image. The particular identities that politicians construct with pronouns include the identities of 'selves' as individuals, as well as 'selves' as members of collectives, including the politician's own political party and the people of Australia. Politicians also create 'others' which range between oppositional and affiliative 'others'. These different constructions of 'selves' and 'others' invoked by pronouns are used as a means of creating a picture of a politician's 'version of reality' in moments of discourse and are used in different ways to create alignments with and establish boundaries between different identities.

This study goes beyond the traditional paradigm of pronouns with grammatical divisions of first, second and third person or singular and plural number and the system of anaphora and deixis. Analysis of pronouns in the political interview argues that the pronouns can best be understood in terms of how they are being used interactionally, rather than having fixed basic referential and deictic properties (Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2, Schegloff 1996 and Watson 1987). The use of pronouns in the political interview shows that politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct different identities of 'selves' and 'others'. This supports the claim that pronouns do not just do referring work but can also do identity work (Malone 1997, Watson 1987, Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2, Schegloff 1996). Thus, this kind of use of pronouns is not simply determined by considerations of deixis or group membership. Rather, their impact comes from the

context in which the talk is produced. The construction of identity by politicians cannot be assumed without considering the “sequential context” (Malone 1997:59) which enables the listener to identify the referent of, and identity work being done by, the pronouns themselves.

## **1.2 The political interview**

In this thesis, it is the political interview that is the context in which the pronouns are being used. In this section the political interview will be discussed from a number of perspectives including the institutional nature of the political interview, evasion of questions by interviewees, and other approaches for analyzing the political interview. However, in order to lay the groundwork for understanding the political interview, the political interview as institutional talk is discussed first in section 1.2.1.

### **1.2.1 The political interview as institutional talk**

The political interview is a medium through which the opinions of and information from politicians is elicited. Mostly, the talk elicited from the politicians is unscripted (Clayman and Heritage 2002, and personal communication with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation), with topics of political interviews being on recent political and newsworthy events. This talk occurs in a format which is particular to the political interview and has been studied as one type of “institutional talk”, that is, talk relevant to a particular institution. Political interview talk has been analysed in a series of seminal articles in which Heritage and Greatbatch lay the foundations for understanding political interviews as an institutional discourse (Greatbatch 1986, 1988, 1992, Heritage 1984, 1985, 1988, Heritage and Greatbatch 1986, 1991). These papers highlight the institutional nature of political interviews; show how talk in political interviews differs from ‘ordinary’ talk, and how talk in political interviews is achieved. These features of the political interview will be discussed in more detail below.

Talk in political interviews is constrained by its particular setting and as such is different to informal or *mundane* conversation which Sacks et al. (1974) claim is basic. In order to understand the differences between *mundane* conversation and the institutional talk of the political interview, *mundane* conversation will first be explicated. The basic rules of mundane conversation are that talk is sequentially organized; speaker change occurs and at the first possible completion point speakers can self-select, select the other person, or keep talking; and that the talk is designed for the recipients who are present. In contrast to this, the political interview has been defined in terms of a set of interactional conventions that are particular to the political interview (Greatbatch 1988, Clayman and Heritage 2002). The most fundamental feature of the political interview is the organization of the political interview as a question and answer turn-taking system in which the interviewer asks questions of the interviewee and the interviewee responds to those questions. Both the interviewer and interviewee have set roles, responsibilities and rights (Clayman 1988, 1993, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Roth 1995). These are detailed below.

The role of the interviewer is to question the interviewee, open and close the interview, and choose and present topics. Of these functions, questioning is seen as the most fundamental role of the interviewer. To understand this role, it is important to understand the nature of the question, not just for the analyst, but also because the interviewee must recognise what a question is, in the context of the interview, in order to be able to respond appropriately. Questions in interviews need to be thought of as utterances rather than textbook type grammatical questions. That is, questions do not have to be sentential, nor do they have to be restricted to one turn-construction unit (abbreviated to TCU), the most basic unit of turn-taking after whose completion another speaker may begin a turn. Heritage and Roth (1995) explain questions in terms of the pragmatic import of the utterance as a question. Thus, many grammatical functions can be used to create a question by the interviewer for the interviewee, not just grammatical interrogatives.

Questioning in political interviews differs from questions which occur in 'ordinary conversation': "because the questioner has a pre-given *right* to a questioning turn, he or she can easily build a long multi – TCU turn, until a recognizable 'question' is finally produced. The questioned, on the other hand, runs the *risk* of being interrupted as soon as a minimally adequate 'answering' component has been uttered" (Ten Have 1999:166). The interviewee, in orienting towards answering the question, is expected to wait until the 'question' has been asked, even if an opportunity for taking a turn during the production of the 'question' arises, which in 'ordinary conversation' would be more likely to be taken up (Schegloff 1988/9: 219-221).

Another feature of the political interview is that the interviewer is expected to present an unbiased, or 'neutralistic' stance, that is not to be seen to be presenting particular opinions (Clayman 1998, 1992, Clayman and Heritage 2002). Clayman (1988, 1992) uses Conversation Analysis and Goffman's (1974,1981) notion of footing to examine ways in which the interviewer achieves the presentation of this neutral or objective stance. His studies show how interviewers use shifts in footing, that is speaking on behalf of themselves or others, as a tool to achieve such neutrality. Through shifts in footing interviewers can present various standpoints without being seen to be giving a personal opinion about an issue, thereby accomplishing the important task of presenting questions in an objective way.

Another aspect of the political interview is that the talk is produced for an 'overhearing audience' (Heritage 1985). In orienting to producing talk for the 'overhearing audience', the interviewer must not use recipient tokens such as "uh-huh", "I see" (Heritage 1985) and the interviewee must withhold acknowledgements to the interviewer. Another consequence of producing talk for an overhearing audience is that the interviewer and interviewee do not use address terms to each other.

The above-mentioned rules form the basis of the political interview and are regarded as being an integral part of the standard political interview. However, not all talk can be considered standard interview talk. For example, an interview is not considered to be standard when the rules are violated. The institutionalized rule of the interviewee and interviewer taking turns one after another without interrupting each other is one rule that is often violated. When the interviewee interrupts the interviewer, this is considered a violation. Another rule that is sometimes violated is the rule of the interviewee directing his/her talk to the 'overhearing audience'. When the interviewee disagrees with the interviewer and directs his/her disagreement to the interviewer, this is considered a violation of the 'norms' and is accountable (Greatbatch 1992). In addition, the interviewee should not ask questions of the interviewer since his/her role is confined to answering questions. If the interviewee asks a question of the interviewer this is considered a violation of the rules of the political interview and as such is not considered to be standard interview talk.

There are also times when the interview deviates from the standard question and answer turn-taking system conventions and the interview becomes a confrontation (Schegloff 1988/9). This lack of adherence to the standard interview format in a confrontation consists of overlapping talk; the interviewee taking a turn before the question is given; the interviewee using continuers and even asking questions of the interviewer. These kinds of violations are common and also occur in the interviews in this thesis. Any violation of these rules on the part of the interviewee or interviewer is seen as an action that is accountable and as such has to be managed accordingly (Greatbatch 1992).

It is these abovementioned features that make the political interview different from an 'ordinary' conversation between two people and give the political interview its particular institutional character. As part of the institutional nature of political interviews which focuses on answering questions, the issue evasion of questions

by interviewees is an important area of research. This issue will be discussed in section 1.2.2.

### **1.2.2 Avoidance of questions by interviewees**

The answering and evasion of questions is another central area of concern in research on political interviews. Greatbatch (1988) and Heritage (1985) and Greatbatch and Heritage (1991) define the structure of the political interview in terms of a question and answer format. They examine how the answering of questions is accomplished. Closely linked to the issue of answering questions is the evasion of questions. Research on evasion of questions offers different ways of looking at how a question is or is not answered, or to what degree the question is answered. Broadly speaking there are two different types of analysis, either from the perspective of the analyst (Bennett 1995, Bull 1994, Bull and Mayer 1993, Bramley 1997, Harris 1991) or from the perspective of the interviewee (Clayman 1993, Clayman and Heritage 2002, Greatbatch 1986, Greatbatch 1992). While these perspectives are fundamentally different, all researchers agree that avoidance of questions is accomplished by degrees.

The first type of analysis of whether or not, or how the question is avoided takes the perspective of the analyst (Bennett 1995, Bull 1994, Bull and Mayer 1993, Bramley 1997, Harris 1991). In this type of analysis, answers are categorised and a typology is formed, although the categorization differs between each of the researchers. Harris (1991), for example, constructs a framework of questions and answers, based on syntactic and semantic features, and then categorises these responses in terms of direct, indirect answers or challenges. Harris (1991) concludes that the interviewee's responses can be placed on a scale of evasiveness. This conclusion is also echoed in Bramley (1997), Bull (1994), and Bull and Mayer (1993). In Bull (1994), and Bull and Mayer (1993), the guidelines for determining how, or whether a question is answered, are syntactic and they produce a three-fold typology of answers which includes answers, intermediate replies and non-

replies. Bramley (1997) uses Gardner's (1987) notion of topic and Grice's (1975) four maxims that form the cooperative principle and the interviewee's degree of response to the topic presented in the question to create a typology which represents points on a continuum of answers to avoidance.

The other type of analysis of evasion of questions takes the perspective of the participant as key (Clayman 1993, Clayman and Heritage 2002, and Greatbatch 1986) and examines how agenda-shifting procedures are achieved through talk. Greatbatch (1986) frames his discussion of agenda-shifting procedures by highlighting the fact that within the institutionally constrained roles of interviewer and interviewee, the interviewer sets the topic and the interviewee is expected to respond to this. If the interviewee wants to shift the agenda proposed by the interviewer in the question, one such way of achieving this is to employ agenda-shifting procedures. Greatbatch (1986) divides these into pre-answer agenda shifting procedures and post-answer agenda shifting procedures. These agenda shifting procedures may be accomplished either overtly or covertly. Clayman and Greatbatch (2002) further elaborate how the agenda shifting procedures are accomplished and discuss these procedures in terms of "dimensions of resistance to a question" (Clayman and Heritage 2002:250). They detail how each of these dimensions is accomplished, and what linguistic means are used to achieve the evasion of the question.

The above approaches deal with the political interview from an interactional perspective. Such approaches look at the detail of the interaction, or the talk itself, including how the talk is structured, and how political interview talk is achieved. Other studies of political interviews take different approaches and will be discussed below in section 1.2.3



### 1.2.3 Other approaches to analysing the political interview

Other studies of the political interview have emphasised the pragmatic perspective. In, for example Blum-Kulka's study (1983), the discourse rules of the interview are studied and it is shown that the interview is a highly structured, rule-governed speech event. Both interviewers and interviewees adhere to a set of genre-specific rules, including the asking and answering of questions by the interviewer and the interviewee respectively and there is a constant negotiation between the interviewer and the interviewee to achieve these norms. Blum-Kulka (1983) claims that interviewers view the responses of the interviewee in terms of the principle of cooperation outlined by Grice (1975) – as either 'supportive' or 'unsupportive' responses. These responses by the interviewee are determined in terms of the following criteria of discourse coherence: 1) cohesiveness 2) topical coherence 3) presuppositional coherence and 4) coherence on the level of speech acts. This kind of approach taken by Blum-Kulka (1983) does not deal with words within the text, i.e. pronouns, and what they are doing. Rather, it looks at the rules and structure and 'norms' of the interview and the way in which the interviewer and interviewee negotiate to achieve these.

Bell and van Leeuwen (1994) define and discuss the political interview from a communication and media studies perspective. They situate political interviews in the broad social context of the asking of questions and conveying of information within society and interviews in general. They describe the political interview as one in which politicians "can be seen to speak 'spontaneously' and 'intimately' to the public" (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994:1). They investigate the beliefs that underpin the interview and examine issues such as power, social truth and the motives of the participants to convey particular ideologies. Political interviews are classified as "the adversarial genre" (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994:124-177) that differ from the earlier deferential interviews of late 1950s and the early 1960s. The format of the political interview is described in terms of how the interviewer interacts with the interviewee. When the interview is analysed, a general formula

is applied and the interview follows the pattern of “Greeting [(Soliciting Opinion) (Checking) Challenging Entrapment]n Release” (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994:143). The setting of the interview is also taken into consideration and thought of as part of the image creation of the interview.

Fairclough (1998, 2001) uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework for analysing media discourse, including political interviews. CDA argues that the discourse needs to be placed in a wider social frame, and that the analysis should not be restricted to just the text. Rather, CDA begins with a concern about social issues and problems including hierarchy, and unequal power, race, gender, sexism etc (See Fairclough 2001 for a detailed list of studies that have taken up these concerns). CDA maps three different analyses on to one another: text, discourse practices of text production, distribution and consumption and analysis of social/cultural practices. It differs from interactional approaches because it does not start from the text first but rather with political and social concerns.

In another study which examines the talk produced by the interviewer, the focus is on the gendered use of language. In Winter’s (1993) study turn-taking strategies used by a male and female interviewer are compared. Her study reveals that the male and female interviewer use distinct styles with regard to the construction of information exchange and in the image creation process. In contrast to Winter’s (1993) study on the gendered use of language of the interviewer, Bramley (1995) investigates the use of the female register in male and female interviewee language. The findings of this study reveal that there is no significant difference in the use of the female register between male and female interviewees.

The first three approaches mentioned in this section – the pragmatic approach, the communication studies approach and Critical Discourse Analysis – look at political interviews from a different perspective to the interactional approach taken in this thesis. In the pragmatic approach taken by Blum-Kulka (1983), the discourse rules and structured nature of the political interview are examined. In the approach

taken by Bell and van Leeuwen (1994) the question of how political interviews fit into society and the beliefs underpinning the political interview are investigated. In Fairclough's (1998, 2001) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, political interviews are first and foremost viewed in the broader framework of social issues. The analyses in these varied approaches begin with an existing framework through which the language is examined. However, they do not deal with the detail of utterances, nor do they let the data speak for itself.

This thesis deals with the detail of how pronouns are used in the political interview. In order to examine the detail of pronouns an approach in which the details of the interaction are examined is required. The type of approach taken by Heritage, Greatbatch and Clayman is one such approach. Their approach examines how talk is being achieved interactionally by looking at the details of the data itself. It is suitable for examining what is being done with pronouns in political interviews because pronouns are part of the detail. Using this type of interactional approach, the analysis of pronouns in this thesis highlights how politicians are constructing an image of themselves and others.

#### **1.2.4 Conclusion**

This section has shown how the political interview is situated as a type of institutional talk defined by researchers such as Heritage, Greatbatch and Clayman, who examine the political interview from an interactional perspective. The focus of their work is on how the interview is achieved as talk, and as such what conventions govern the interview; in particular the question and answer format; the nature of the roles of interviewer and interviewee; and the interview as talk produced for an over-hearing audience.

Further studies of the political interview have examined the talk of the interviewee and/or the interviewer. Such studies include describing the interview from a pragmatic, communication and media studies perspective and Critical Discourse

Analysis viewpoint. Other studies focus on evasion of questions and the gendered use of language. These approaches, however, do not take an interactional perspective.

This thesis will take an interactional approach to the study of political interviews, as it is only through such an approach that it is possible to deal with the detail of the interaction. The interactional approach taken in this thesis examines the language in the interviews, notably pronouns, used by the interviewee, and looks at the way in which these words are used to create a social reality for the interviewee about themselves and others. The key difference between this interactional approach and the other approaches mentioned above is that the findings of this thesis emerge from the data, whereas, the findings from the other approaches emerge out of a pre-existing social theory or framework.

In previous studies on political interviews, the use of pronouns by interviewees and the issue of how pronouns are used to construct 'self' and 'other' has not been examined. In order to examine this construction of 'self' and 'other', Goffman's (1974, 1981) work on the construction of 'self' is used in addition to the interactional approach discussed in Section 1.2. In Section 1.3, the question of representation of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews is discussed.

### **1.3. The representation of self and other in political interviews.**

Politicians seek to represent their different 'selves' and 'others' in such a way as to construct a reality that positions themselves and the groups to which they belong in a positive light as well as positioning the 'other' in a way that reflects the type of relationship that they have with the 'other'. This construction of 'self' and 'other' is a part of the construction of their reality and is consistent with Goffman's (1974, 1981) assertion that conversation is not a reporting of an objective 'reality' but a construction by the speaker of a 'version of reality' that is socially and discursively constructed (Goffman 1974, 1981, Goodwin 1996). In political interviews the

motivation for constructing a certain 'reality' may differ depending on the purpose of the particular interview. However, what is common to all the talk of the interviewees is the construction of a favourable image of their 'selves' (Kress 1988, Mandelbaum 1993, Ochs and Capps 1996, Ward 1989, Wiesner 1991).

In order to analyse in this thesis how the politicians present themselves using pronouns, recipient design and Goffman's (1981) notions of participation frameworks, participation status and footing are used. Recipient design is about who the talk is designed for, for example, in the political interview the interviewee usually designs his/her talk for the overhearing audience, talking through the medium of the interviewer. Within the interview, the interviewee can change the recipient design. For example, there are times when the interviewee designs his/her talk for the interviewer, for example, like when the interviewee disagrees with the interviewer. Even though the interviewee may design the talk for different recipients within the interview, s/he is always designing the talk for a particular audience or person.

Another of Goffman's (1974, 1981) concepts used in this thesis is the notion of participation frameworks. Participation frameworks are roles that speakers take on in a particular setting. In the context of the setting of the political interview, the interviewer has the role of asking questions to the interviewee and the interviewee has the role of answering these questions. Closely related to participation frameworks, and important for understanding the construction of 'self' and 'other' by interviewees in political interviews, is participation status. Within the participation framework of the interviewee, the interviewee takes on a particular 'participation status', that is, who they are talking as, for example, speaking as a representative of a political party to an overhearing audience. Interviewees can change their participation status when they talk as someone else, for example, speaking as a member of another group, or as an individual.

Linked to participation frameworks and participation status is the notion of 'footing' – a term used by Goffman (1981) to mean the talk and other interactional cues that indicate shifts in participation framework and participation status. Shifts in footing are usually parenthetical in nature and occur between two parts of the conversation. These may be marked linguistically by changes in pitch, stress, tonal quality, rhythm and speed (Goffman 1981). Importantly, shifts in footing which indicate shifts in participation framework and participation status, are linked to construction of identity, that is, who the interviewee is talking to the overhearing audience as: as an individual, on behalf of a group to which they belong, and whether they are distancing or affiliating themselves from others.

In the political interviews in this thesis, pronouns are pivotal in such shifts of participation framework and participation status expressed by shifts of footing and enable interviewees to construct different 'selves' and 'others'. Through the use of different footings, interviewees are able to animate different groups to which they may or may not belong. Using different footings to show changes in participation frameworks and participation status enables the interviewee to achieve different effects including showing affiliation with a person or group, or distancing 'self' from a particular group or position. Thus, the use of pronouns to show different participation framework and participation status enables interviewees to create alignments and boundaries between themselves and others (Malone 1997, Watson 1987).

The next section (section 1.4) will focus on the pronouns themselves in order to further situate the approach that will be taken in this thesis for analysing pronouns in political interviews.

#### **1.4 Pronouns**

This section reviews some of the different ways in which pronouns have been explained. These include the traditional explanation of pronouns as linguistic

devices; pronouns as a means to express fixed social relations; and, how pronouns are used to socially construct identities rather than objectively represent them.

Traditionally, pronouns have been treated as part of a grammatical paradigm. They have been grouped together because of their morpho-syntactic similarities focusing on grammatical divisions of first, second and third person or singular and plural number. In these traditional grammars of English, pronouns are often explained in terms of their referential and anaphoric properties (see for example Bernard 1975, Chomsky 1981, Kaplan 1989, van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986). The more simplified of these traditional explanations (see for example Bernard 1975), define pronouns in the literal sense of replacing a noun. Similarly, Brown and Yule (1983) explain pronouns as text coherence devices. In more sophisticated traditional pronoun paradigms (see for example Comrie 1981, Chomsky 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Kaplan 1989, Lyons 1977, van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986) properties of first and second pronoun are not seen as replacing nouns, but are accounted for in terms of addressing and referring to speech participants. In such a view, the first person represents the speaker and the second person represents the addressee.

However, such pronoun paradigms, constructed on the basis of morpho-syntactic properties belie the complexities of pronouns. This has meant that some of the more diverse functions of pronouns have not been addressed.

One of these functions of pronouns has been defined in terms of pronouns' capacity to act as a means of expressing different social relations. The most well known of these is the account of the pronouns of power and solidarity by Brown and Gilman (1960) which shows how social hierarchy is reflected in the use of the pronouns 'tu' and 'vous' in French and their equivalents in other European languages. Also, Singer (1973) argues for viewing reference as 'social' in the sense that the location/relationship of the listener affects speaker's choice of deictic term. Hanks (1990, 1992) considers the 'evolution' in meaning of 'elite' personal pronouns

in relation to changes in societal structures. Rumsey (2000) shows how 'I' can be used in some Pacific languages not only to talk about 'self' as an individual but as a way of showing that one belongs to a collective. Wilson's work (1990) reveals that pronouns are being used in political talk as a means of showing varying degrees of distance from 'self'.

Pronouns have also studied as a flexible resource for constructing social categories. These studies include: the work of Sacks (1992: Volumes 1 and 2) which shows how pronouns are socially deployable resources being used to index identity and status; Watson (1987), whose study on pro-terms claims that the principle of mutual exclusivity of pronouns does not apply to pronouns in interaction, but meanings of pronouns must be interpreted within a particular context; Schegloff (1996), and Malone (1997), who demonstrate how pronouns are used to represent 'self'.

The above-mentioned approach to pronouns as a resource for the construction of identity has been used in combination with Goffman's (1974, 1981) approach to understanding pronouns in the following studies (Clayman 1992, Malone 1993, Nevile 2001, Schiffrin 1987). Malone's (1993) study of postgraduate students' talk highlights the expediency of Goffman's (1981) approach for analysing talk because it reflects the complexity of interactional roles. Furthermore, shifts in footing are signalled by pronouns. Clayman's (1992) analysis of news interviews shows how interviewers shift footing in order to achieve neutrality. He also includes data which show how pronouns are being used to mark footing shifts towards 'self' and 'others'. Schiffrin (1987) argues that 'you know' does footing work that indicates a shared identity. Nevile (2001) talks about the construction of identity by pilots through the use of pronouns. In these studies, Goffman's (1974, 1981) approach is used as a framework for interpreting the use of pronouns as a means of constructing identity.



In this thesis an approach using Goffman's notions of participation framework, participation status and footings and the interactional focus of talk of Conversation Analysis practitioners such as Heritage, Greatbatch, and Sacks is used. This approach views pronouns as a flexible resource for constructing identity and thus is used to unravel the question of how pronouns are being used by politicians in political interviews. In section 1.5 the significance of studying pronouns in political interviews with this approach is discussed.

### **1.5 Significance of research**

Political interviews have been studied from a number of perspectives as outlined above, but none of these studies have used the kind of interactional approach taken in this thesis to look at how pronouns are used to construct identity. The language of political interviews and the study of pronouns in the construction of identity have been researched separately, however, no previous studies have combined these areas of research to give a complete picture of what is being accomplished by the interviewee's use of pronouns in the political interview.

The use of pronouns in political interviews also challenges some existing pronoun paradigms (Bernard 1975, Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Yule 1983, Chomsky 1981, Comrie 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Hanks 1990, Kaplan 1989, Lyons 1977, van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986) which do not account for the interactional complexities of pronouns. Thus, this thesis shows that instead of pronouns being used to objectively represent facts, pronouns are used to construct the identities of 'self' and 'other'.

The study of pronouns in this thesis also provides the "identifying details" of the particular institutional setting of political interviews. That is, features that are particular to political interviews are examined and explicated. In this thesis, it is how pronouns are being used by politicians in political interviews that are the "identifying details" in question. Furthermore, this study adds to the

understanding of the diversity of institutional talk (see for example Drew and Heritage 1992 for a survey of this literature) contributing to “a comparative perspective from which it is possible to develop a range of analytical and thematic connections” (Drew and Heritage 1992:12).

## **1.6 Method**

In the analysis of political interviews in this thesis two questions were asked about the use of pronouns. First, what are the pronouns doing? and second, how are pronouns being used to construct ‘self’ and ‘other’? In order to investigate these questions, the following procedures were followed. These are outlined in 1.6.1 Data collection, 1.6.2, Conversation Analysis and Goffman, and 1.6.3. Context

### **1.6.1 Data collection**

Data for this thesis consist of 32 Australian political interviews recorded between February 1995 and March 1996 (see Appendix 3 for transcriptions of these interviews). The interviews were recorded from a variety of public radio and television news programs, including federal and local (Canberra) ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) radio, ABC television’s *The 7.30 Report* and two interviews from an SBS (Special Broadcasting Services) television news program. The interviews were chosen as examples of naturally-occurring talk within the institutional setting of the political interview. The interviews cover a wide range of topics including interviews at different times within the political cycle. The interviewees were politicians of both genders; politicians from all major political parties; politicians from local, state and federal politics; and, politicians of differing lengths of experience in politics. Furthermore, data was restricted to non-scripted radio and television news interviews. The details of these interviews are listed in Appendix 1.

The issue of how many interviews should be included was dealt with in the following way. While 32 interviews was considered sufficient to cover the range of variables mentioned above, while at the same time creating a sample that was not unmanageable, the focus of the study was qualitative rather than quantitative. Indeed, for the purpose of the study of talk-in-interaction, a single-case study is useful for identifying particular features of the interaction because it leads to general principles about the interaction (see for example Garfinkel 1967, Labov and Fanshel 1977, Schegloff 1987, Whalen, Zimmerman and Whalen 1988).

The interviews were transcribed using the transcription conventions based on those developed by Jefferson in Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson (1974) (see Appendix 2). These transcription conventions allowed the detail of the surrounding talk of the pronouns to be captured. This included intonation, stress on words, pauses and breaths in the turns in which the pronouns occurred. The interviews were initially 'roughly' transcribed and then a finer transcription was applied to the examples which were included in the thesis.

After the initial transcription, all extracts from the interviews which contained pronouns were collected. Pronouns occurred as part of turn sequences, so turns preceding and including each pronoun example were included in the examples. A short description of the interview and particular context (i.e. what the interviewee was being asked in that particular turn) was also given in order to give the reader a clearer picture of the context of the example. In addition, the examples are coded in the following format: [XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 80-97]. In this format the roman numerals correspond to the number of the interview within the set of 32 interviews, this is followed by the date of the interview, the source of the interview, and, line numbers which correspond to the line numbers from the interview in Appendix 3.

After the corpus of pronouns was collected, a process of familiarisation with the data was undertaken to develop an understanding of what particular pronouns

were doing (Labov and Fanshel 1977). After observation, patterns of use of pronouns began to emerge. Where there was only one example of a certain type of use, this was included and noted. Where there was more than one example, a number of examples that best illustrated the point were chosen.

The pronouns 'I', 'we', 'you' and 'they' were chosen for this study because of their centrality in the presentation of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews. The third person singular pronouns 'he' and 'she' were not examined because the main function of 'he' and 'she' is referential (Schegloff 1996). Occasionally, references to 'he' and 'she' are included in the analysis, when they occur as part of a sequence of pronouns showing the representation of 'self' and 'other'.

This process of data collection was then followed by the method of analysis described in section 1.6.2 and 1.6.3

### **1.6.2 Conversation Analysis and Goffman**

The approach chosen to analyse the pronouns stems from the premise that talk is an interactional achievement from which social structure and organization arise (Goffman 1974, 1981, Malone 1997, Sacks 1992, van Dijk 1984). As such, the Conversation Analytic approach was used in conjunction with Goffman's (1974, 1981) approach described in section 1.3 for analysing pronouns in political interviews. The key aspects of Conversation Analysis relevant to this discussion are outlined below.

Conversation Analysis is an approach used to analyse *talk-in-interaction* which views language primarily as type of social interaction. Conversation Analysis seeks to discover how social practices take place within language and between participants and thus, how social order is formed (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998 and Schiffrin 1994). In other words, Conversation Analysis is a way of analysing talk as

a social phenomenon. As such, it examines how participants mutually understand each other during turns (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998 and Schiffrin 1994).

Within Conversation Analysis, the most central assumption is that “ordinary talk is a highly organized, ordered phenomenon” (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998:13). This core assumption can be expressed succinctly in the following three assumptions.

1. interaction is structurally organized
2. contributions to interaction are contextually oriented
3. these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant.

(Heritage 1984:241 Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology Oxford: Basil Blackwell. quoted in Schiffrin 1994:236)

As such, Conversation Analysis studies naturally-occurring data which has been recorded rather than data that is generated in laboratories for the purpose of analysis. This recorded data is then transcribed and examined in an ‘unmotivated way’. That is, the Conversation Analyst does not approach the data with a pre-conceived idea about what s/he wants to find, or what is in the data. Rather, s/he lets the data speak for itself observing what is done by the participants through the talk.

In keeping with Conversation Analysis and Goffman’s (1974, 1981) approach, the analysis of pronouns in political interviews in this thesis is qualitative rather than quantitative, i.e. it examines what is “getting done” by the pronouns (Labov and Fanshel 1977) rather than observing the frequency of occurrence of pronouns. Occasionally it is noted that a certain pronoun is used “frequently”, but these are observations rather than empirical evidence. The frequency of a particular pronoun or sequence of pronouns usually reflects a common pattern of use, but this is not the main thrust of the thesis.

### **1.6.3 Context**

In order to analyse what the politicians in these political interviews were doing with pronouns the notion of context was taken into consideration. However, since the definition of context varies widely across the different approaches to language use and is difficult to define (Duranti and Goodwin 1992:1-42, Linnell 1998:127-158, Schiffrin 1994:362-385), it is important to discuss here the approach to context taken in this thesis.

The approach used in this thesis comes from two complementary sources. First, Conversation Analysis with its linguistic view of context “grounded in the text” (Schiffrin 1994:376-7) and second, a broader view of context such as Goffman’s (1974) in which non-linguistic parameters are taken into account. These two complementary accounts of context together cover a broad spectrum of context from microlinguistic details to socio-cultural knowledge associated with the talk.

In Conversation Analysis “the local context of consecutive utterances and the larger context of institutional frameworks” (Drew and Heritage 1992:16-19) is taken into consideration. This includes lexical and grammatical features that surround the pronoun; the turn in which the talk is located including microlinguistic features such as intonation, pitch etc; the question that precedes the interviewee’s talk; and talk which precedes the question and answer pair in which the talk is located.

In Goffman’s approach to context (1974) the notion of frame, i.e. the particular genre or setting, informs the notion of context. This notion of context looks beyond the actual talk itself and considers such phenomena in which the talk is embedded such as “cultural setting, speech situation, shared background assumptions” (Duranti and Goodwin 1992:3). This is also an approach taken by a number of others including Ochs (1979), who note that the “social” dimension of the talk cannot be ignored in the analysis of talk. Similarly Cicourel (1992) advocates that an understanding of talk relies on background knowledge and Malinowski (1923)

asserts that to understand talk, sociocultural frameworks in which talk is embedded must be taken into account. For the purposes of this thesis, this means that the broader political setting in which the talk occurs, that is, knowledge of the participants, and background knowledge of the Australian political scene was also drawn on.

Both approaches to context were used in order to provide resources for appropriate interpretation of the data. Thus, the Conversation Analytic approach to context was included in the view of context taken in this thesis, since it focuses on the detail of the surrounding talk. Since pronouns are a lexical feature, it was considered appropriate to use an approach that examines the talk surrounding these words. In addition, the approach to context of people like Goffman (1974), Ochs (1979) and Cicourel (1992) which encompasses more than the actual talk itself, and which complements Conversation Analysis which pays little attention to participants and setting (Schiffrin 1994:378), was also considered necessary for interpretation of the data because a broader approach to context was needed to interpret all the examples of pronouns in this thesis.

When each example containing pronouns in the data was examined, context relevant to the interpretation of the example was taken into consideration. This involved any number of the following features: microlinguistic context; including paralinguistic features; the immediately surrounding linguistic context; the preceding talk in that turn or the preceding turn from the other speaker; and the broader social context, such as the broader political setting, knowledge of the participants, and background knowledge of Australian politics.

Sections 1.1 – 1.6 have discussed the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. In the next section a chapter overview to the thesis is given.

## 1.7 Chapter overview

This study is divided into seven chapters, of which Chapters two to six make up the analysis of pronouns. Chapters two to five are devoted to the analysis of the individual pronouns 'I', 'we', 'you' and 'they' (and all their variant forms) respectively. These chapters are ordered in this way to reflect the use of pronouns first, in the construction of 'self' and then, in the construction of 'other'. Chapter six examines how pronouns are used to construct different 'selves' and 'others' through the use of pronouns in sequences. In each of these analysis chapters the questions: "What is the interviewee doing with pronouns?" and "How is the interviewee using pronouns to construct his/her 'self' and 'other'?" were asked.

In Chapter two, the use of 'I' in political interviews is examined. One of the key findings of this chapter was that the representation of 'self' by the politician in the interview is related to how a politician does "being a good politician". Doing "being a good politician" involves showing oneself in a positive light. This can be accomplished by using 'I' in conjunction with talking about what the interviewee is doing in order to be a good politician, for example, talking about his/her personal qualities, being a responsible politician, being a person in touch with the electorate, being a person of principles, a person of action, a person with a track record, a person of authority etc. 'Self' is also represented as an individual when the politician expresses opinions about and responses to politically-relevant situations using 'I think'. Politicians use 'I' in the political interview to accomplish the abovementioned functions and to represent themselves as individuals being good politicians.

In Chapter three, the use of 'we' is examined. Politicians typically use 'we' in the political interview to express their identity as someone who is affiliated with a particular group of people. Since there are many groups to which the politician belongs, the referent of 'we' shifts, depending on which group membership the



politician wants to make salient. In other words, the politician can alternate between different group memberships.

There are a number of different ways in which 'we' is used by politicians in political interviews. Significantly, "'We' does important group work in creating and calling attention to identity boundaries" (Malone 1997:65). One way in which 'we' is used to do group work is when 'we' is used to express an "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391) where 'we' is an index of speaking in one's "institutional capacity" (Malone 1997:48). When a politician belongs to a political party that is in opposition to another party, 'we' is used to create an 'us and them' dichotomy between the two parties. Conversely, 'we' can be used to paint a picture of the political party as a united team. Finally, 'we' can also be used to deflect individual responsibility when an individual is being pursued by the interviewer to be accountable for individual actions. In this way the talk can be reframed as a matter of collective responsibility.

The issue of ambiguity of the referent of 'we' arises but is resolved on the basis of considering what 'we' is doing, rather than trying to work out which group is being referred to, because a particular group may also be a subset of another group (Liddicoat, Bramley, Collins, Nevile, Rendle-Short 1999). Besides, "more than one membership may be salient at any point in the talk and speakers may construct their talk in such ways as to combine or differentiate such memberships" (Liddicoat et al.1999:5).

'We' is also used in modified forms – 'we all', 'all of us', 'every one of us' – and in the phrase 'we have' to achieve certain effects which draw on the collective property of 'we'. These provide ways to address different aspects of 'we' that the interviewee may want to emphasise. 'We have' is used as a marker of collective involvement in place of the more objective existential marker 'there is'. In the case of 'we all' and 'all of us', the ambiguity about who is included in the group invoked by 'we' or 'us' on its own is dissolved. In the case of 'every one of us',

there is a sense that each person who belongs to the group invoked by 'us' is included in the issue. Thus, 'we all', 'all of us' and 'every one of us' provide a way of giving more information about the group membership.

In Chapter four, the use of 'you' is examined. There are two predominant uses of 'you' used by politicians in political interviews in this thesis. 'You' singular is used mainly in the context of disagreement, or in an attempt to avoid answering a question. 'You' singular is implicated in the changing of the accepted interview roles of interviewer asking questions and the interviewee answering questions (Heritage 1985, 1988). When the interviewee is addressing the interviewer as 'you', s/he is breaking the constraint of speaking to the overhearing audience (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). By addressing the interviewee as 'you' the interviewee changes the participation framework by orienting himself/herself to the interviewer as the addressee. In this way, the interviewee engages in a mundane conversation and changes his/her identity from that of an interviewee speaking to an overhearing audience through the interviewer to the role of a speaker engaged in an everyday conversation with just one other person.

'You' is also used in the generic sense, in which 'you' includes every one and by which the interviewee presents 'self' as normal or typical (Malone 1997, Sacks 1992 and Watson 1997). Because generic 'you' implicates every one in the action, the effect is to give more weight to the argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) because something done by every one is more powerful than something that is done by just one person. This is particularly important in the context of the political interview, where the interviewee presents something as an action that everybody does as a way of giving more credibility to the action.

In Chapter five, the use of 'they' is examined. 'They' is used to identify an 'other'. This 'other' can exist in oppositional, affiliative, or neutral relationships to the interviewee. These relationships are created in the context of the talk in which

'they' is embedded. However, the three discrete terms oppositional, affiliative, and neutral are used to represent the range of different relationships with the 'other' from strongly oppositional to strongly affiliative relationships. This range of relationships reflects the reality of the politician's world in which the politician exists in different relationships with the 'other'.

In addition, there are two more ways of representing 'other': generic 'they' and unspecified categorical 'they'. Generic 'they' is deployed to obscure the gender of the referent (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990): a strategy deployed by politicians to present a person without disclosing the gender of their identity. Unspecified categorical 'they' is used to show some unspecified 'other' performing an action.

Chapter six focuses on pronouns as they occur in sequence in the interviews. This contrasts with the analysis of pronouns in Chapters two to five in which each pronoun is examined separately, without reference to the surrounding pronouns. On their own, pronouns reflect a particular identity of the politician or of an 'other' in that particular moment of discourse. On the other hand, the use of more than one pronoun in a discourse reflects the multiplicities of social identities expressed by the politicians (Malone 1997, Ochs and Capps 1996, Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1978:30, Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2). In political interviews, politicians use a variety of pronouns to construct their own and the other's identity. Also, in the same way as one pronoun reflects the politician constructing a particular identity, shifts from one pronoun to another represent the construction of his/her identity as a shifting one (see for example, Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1978:30).

In Chapter 7, the main findings of the thesis are presented and discussed.

## Chapter 2

### Who is 'I': an analysis

#### 2.1 Introduction

'I' is a term of self-reference and not a substitute for a noun or name as is the case with third person pronouns (Comrie 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Lyons 1977). As Sacks (1992:1:675) pointed out: "'I' is the way I refer to myself in talk and not a substitute for my name. So, [Harvey Sacks] would not say 'Harvey saw it,' 'Harvey did,' etc." demonstrating that 'I' does not substitute for 'Harvey'. 'I' stands alone as marker of the speaker referring to himself/herself. And, as Benveniste (1971:218) eloquently said: "'I' is 'the reality of discourse' and 'I' signifies 'the person who is uttering the present instance of the discourse containing I.'"

One key way in which politicians in these data represent themselves is accomplished by the use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' and its related forms (me, my, mine, myself). The first person singular pronoun has a number of functions. 'I' ties the talk to other parts of the talk and indexes the speaker to the here and now (Sacks 1992:1:32). Malone (1997) elaborates on Sacks' work saying that 'I' not only indexes the speaker, it anchors the talk in the moment, provides subjectivity and states the speaker's position. Wilson (1990) shows that 'I' is used as a means of establishing rapport with the audience and shows a degree of personal involvement and commitment. 'I' encodes a "personal voice" (Wilson 1990) and can be used to separate self from others (Watson 1987:269).

The analysis of pronouns in this thesis begins with 'I' because 'I' is the most unambiguous case. That is, 'I' is rarely used to indicate a different participation framework or participation status. Thus, in most cases of the use of 'I', the interviewee (hereafter IE) is speaking in his/her role as an individual to the overhearing audience. There are only a few instances in which the IE uses 'I' to talk

to the interviewer (hereafter IR) thus changing her participation status and talking directly to the IR, and not the overhearing audience.

The chapter is divided into three main sections, each of which pertain to different ways in which 'I' is used. The sections are: Section 2.2 A-events: talking about individual actions, where an A-event is when a speaker talks about something that is part of his/her biography (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62); Section 2.3 'I think' in combination with A-events and D-events, where a D-event is something that is disputable (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62); and Section 2.4 taking control of the interview. Section 2.2 is further divided into some of the different facets of being a good politician, which the IE uses 'I' to construct. These are: being a good politician: self-description and personal qualities; being responsible; being in touch with the electorate; being a person of principles; being a person of action; showing lack of knowledge; being a person of power; and problematic personal issues. These facets of being a politician are by no means categories or limitations. They are different possibilities which this particular set of data revealed. Section 2.3 is also divided into two sections: Section 2.3.1 is about using 'I think' with D-events' and section 2.3.2 is about using 'I think' with A-events.

In this chapter, it is argued that 'I' is used by politicians to express their identity as an individual politician. 'I' is central to the representation of self by the politician in these interviews and is related to how a politician does "being a good politician". Doing "being a good politician" involves showing oneself in a positive light. This is accomplished by talking about what s/he is doing in order to be a good politician. Self is also represented as an individual when the politician expresses opinions about and responds to situations, gives descriptions or narratives about oneself, recounts actions that the politician has performed in relation to his/her job as a politician, shows his/her authority, knowledge or responsibility towards certain issues. Thus, the interview is not just a channel of information to the public about the position of the politician but it is a place where the politician represents him/herself.

In order to understand the nature of 'I' and what it is doing in these interviews, it is necessary to look at how 'I' is used by the IEs in their representation of self. The approach taken in this thesis to tease out what it is that 'I' is doing is to look firstly at the detail of the talk itself (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994), to work out how the talk can inform us as to the nature of 'I' for this particular IE. But given the political nature of these interviews, it is also necessary to understand a bit of the political culture in which the IEs are representing themselves (Cicourel 1992, Goffman 1974, Malinowski 1923 and Ochs 1979). Thus, where necessary, enough information will be provided in the cases where the IEs have 'multiple selves'. For example, an IE is both a member of a party and chairperson of another organization.

Politicians use 'I' in the political interview to represent themselves as individuals being good politicians. Example 2.1 is one such example. Kim Beazley, the Deputy Leader of the Government, is talking about the possible outcome of the 1996 Australian Federal election, which is to be held the next day. In his response, the IE speaks about his personal feelings about his party's chances of winning the election using 'I' a number of times to express these.

### Example 2.1

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 77-94]

- |   |      |                                                                                          |
|---|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:FK | .h well let's get to: the election, (0.6) .h it <u>really</u> is two minutes to midnight |
| 2 |      | as- h. as th' liberals just said (0.3) .h qui- for- for the labor party that is (0.3)    |
| 3 |      | .h quiet pessimism was allegedly how one of your strategists described the               |
| 4 |      | mood in the government tonight, (.) is that how <u>you</u> : feel.                       |
| 5 |      | (0.6)                                                                                    |
|   | M:KB |                                                                                          |
| 6 | a->  | .hh ah no I: I feel a sense of <u>hope</u> . (0.5)                                       |
| 7 | b->  | .h I mean basically I think that we've been a good <u>g</u> overnment. (0.6)             |

- 8 c-> .h I think the public thinks that we've been in a- good- a good government and  
 9 I think our opponents think we've been a good government by virtue of the fact  
 10 they've tried to (0.2) batten themselves onto us by- like limpets (0.5).hh and  
 11 ah and leave ah as little as daylight as possible between us on the key issues  
 12 of the nation, (0.7)  
 13 d-> .hh so ah I guess if- if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery there we  
 14 have it, (0.7) .hh but the a:::h (0.3) and in those circumstances (0.6)  
 15 e-> .h and the fact that I think as pollsters do note these days that people are less  
 16 and less willing to be frank with them (0.3) .hh there in lies some hope for us  
 17 f-> (0.2) but ah I don't think mister keating myself or anyone else has been ah .hh  
 18 (0.3) so um ah bli:nded by the situation that we've never considered ourselves  
 19 the underdogs in this campaign=we have been, (0.3) .hh and ah this has been  
 20 a: an election campaign we've had to fight against that background.

The IE's turn contains eight uses of 'I' and one use of 'myself'. Each of the uses of 'I' is an indication that the IE is representing himself as an individual and that he is stating his own position (Malone 1997). Initially, at *arrow a*, the IE responds to the IR's question about how he feels about the prospects of the Government in the upcoming election by saying: "no I: I feel a sense of hope." The IE interprets the 'you' in the IR's question as you-singular and gives a personal answer using 'I'. By using this 'I' the IE is speaking from an individual perspective or representing himself as an individual. In conjunction with the verb 'feel', the IE is saying that he has personal feelings about the election.

At *arrow b*, the IE elaborates on his initial comment about feeling hope by saying: "I mean basically I think that we've been a good Government.". The IE uses "I mean" as a discourse marker to indicate that he is elaborating on what he has just said. Because 'I mean' contains 'I', it suggests that he is speaking from an individual perspective. At *arrows b* and *c*, the IE continues with three uses of 'I think' indicating that he is giving an individual opinion about his government being a good one, the public thinking that the government has been a good one and the opponents thinking so too. "I think the public thinks that we've been in a- good- a good government and I think our opponents think we've been a good government

by virtue of the fact they've tried to (0.2) batten themselves onto us by- like limpets". This section of talk constitutes a subjective representation (Malone 1997) of what all the key groups of people think. The cumulative effect of the three uses of 'I' in conjunction with 'think' at *arrows b* and *c* emphasises that Kim Beazley is representing himself as an individual giving his personal opinion. Wilson (1990:63) notes that this multiple use of 'I' emphasises something personal.

At *arrow d*, the IE continues with another use of 'I' in: "so ah I guess if- if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery there we have it,". Again, the IE is representing himself as an individual using "I guess" to hedge about the idea that the Opposition has copied the Government. This hedge positioned immediately before a strong criticism of the Opposition mitigates the effect of the criticism and distances the IE from the content.

At *arrow e*, the IE gives another personal opinion: "and the fact that I think as pollsters do note these days that people are less and less willing to be frank with them". This is a continuation of the IE's representation of himself as an individual with an opinion. The turn nears the end at *arrow f* with yet another expression of the IE representation of himself as an individual with a personal opinion: "but ah I don't think mister keating myself or anyone else has been ah .hh so um (0.3) ah bli:nded by the situation that we've never considered ourselves the underdogs in this campaign". The use of "myself" in the context of the surrounding talk shows the IE listing himself individually alongside the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, but also towards the top of a list of people which includes everyone. By saying "myself" he is continuing to represent himself as an individual in keeping with the rest of the turn.

The many uses of 'I' in Example 2.1 show the IE representing himself as an individual. By using 'I think' the IE is positioning himself in relation to the information given in the propositions that follow 'I think'. The IE uses 'I' in 'I think' to show that he, personally, has opinions about the various propositions.



The IE responds to the IR's question giving his subjective opinion (Malone 1997) about the Government's chances of winning the election. In keeping with the IR's question, the IE spends the whole turn answering the question subjectively, accomplishing this by using 'I' in his responses. This block use of 'I' emphasises the personal side of the IE (Wilson 1990) and is the only pronoun used in the subject position throughout the whole turn, further emphasising that the IE is primarily speaking as an individual.

By using 'I', the IE shows that he is focusing on himself as an individual with an individual position on the question. To use 'I' in this way indicates that the IE is letting the public know his personal feelings and that the public are being given an insiders' perspective on the matter. The use of 'I' to give a subjective and individual perspective (Malone 1997) also gives the impression of someone speaking intimately. This sense of intimacy results from the IE speaking as though he would in a mundane conversation. However, since the IE is also a Deputy Leader of the Government, his talk could be thought of as an indication of how the whole Government is feeling and not just his personal feelings, since he is speaking as a representative of the Government. The 'I' used in this excerpt encompasses two intertwined roles; 'I' as an individual and 'I' as the Deputy Leader of the Government. The IE speaks from this position as an individual in response to the IR's request for a personal opinion and because he has the authority as Deputy Leader to speak as an individual on behalf of the Government.

## **2.2 A-events**

When a speaker is talking about something that is part of his/her biography, this is known as an A-event (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). In a conversation in which A, the speaker is talking to B, the listener, A-events are speech acts which are "known to A and not necessarily B" (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). Section 2.2 is about politicians talking about themselves. When politicians talk about themselves in various ways in these political interviews, this entails using A-events. Politicians

give information about themselves as individuals and express their emotions and thoughts about these A-events.

### 2.2.1 Being a good politician: describing personal qualities

When politicians talk about themselves using A-events they present themselves as good politicians. Presenting themselves as good politicians entails talking about such things as their personal qualities, actions they have individually accomplished and their personal power. This talk about themselves by using A-events is accomplished with the pronoun 'I'.

This use of A-events with 'I' is particularly salient before an election when politicians talk, both implicitly and explicitly, about why the public should vote for them. During this time, politicians describe themselves in a positive way in order to paint a picture of themselves as someone who is a suitable candidate for re-election.

In Example 2.2, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, talks about her prospects of being re-elected in the 1996 Federal election. As a means of doing this, she describes different aspects of herself relevant to this.

#### Example 2.2

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 106-111]

- 1 M:KO and very briefly you've ah as I understand it not achieved a quota on primaries in
- 2        queensland the g[reens in queensland ah performed well
- 3 F:CK                                [no
- 4 M:KO at the last state election, (.) and now you've got the women's party with a capacity to
- 5        bleed primary votes from you (.) that makes your preference flow vital for your survival
- 6        does it not
- 7 F:CK

- 8 a-> it does=it's one of the ironies of this contest that because I'm vocal and visible people  
 9 b-> think that I'm automatically re-elected=I'm not,  
 10 c-> I'm a democrat, I'm a queenslander  
 11 d-> and I'm in the contest with la↑bor .h with the women's party and with the queensland  
 12 greens for the last seat in queensland.

In lines 1, 4 and 5, the IR talks about the IE as an individual candidate having problems related to being re-elected, each time addressing the IE with 'you' and 'your', the individual candidate. In these lines, 'you' and 'your' are unambiguous references to the IE as an individual candidate, because the description of the IE by the IR is specific to the IE. The IE responds to these references to herself as an individual by using 'I', highlighting that she is speaking about her own personal position (Malone 1997). In response to the IR's question about her chances of being re-elected, the IE talks about it not being automatic: "people think that I'm automatically re-elected=I'm not". In this utterance the IE first talks about what the people think of her: "people think that I'm automatically re-elected" then changes to an emphatic assertion about her position using 'I' in: "I'm not". This is a description of her personal situation with regard to being re-elected, an issue that she has to deal with as an individual, not as a party member or even leader of the Democrats. This is a representation of her individual position (Malone 1997) and her personal involvement (Wilson 1990) which she uses 'I' to accomplish.

At *arrows a* and *c*, both before and after the IE's stating of her position about re-election, the IE gives a description of what sort of person she is as reasons for her chances of being re-elected using a series of "I am" statements. At *arrow a* the IE says that she is "vocal" and "visible": "I'm vocal and visible", making use of alliteration to reinforce what she says. At *arrow c* she talks about another significant part of her identity stating where she comes from: "I'm a queenslander". She says that she is a Democrat, mentioning her membership in the party (she is the leader). This list of "I am" statements amounts to a description of her personal qualities which can be seen to be a part of the IE's construction of her identity.

At *arrow d*, the IE talks about whom she is contesting: “I’m in the contest with la↑bor .h with the women's party and with the queensland greens for the last seat in queensland.” In this part of the turn the IE describes her personal qualities, her party membership, where she comes from and whom she is contesting in the election.

These different descriptions of the IE’s self using ‘I’ combine to give a full picture of her identity as an individual. The block of ‘I’s also serves to emphasise that what the IE is talking about is personal (Wilson 1990). Furthermore, ‘I’ is used to create a rapport between the audience and the speaker (Wilson 1990). This rapport with the audience becomes even more significant around election time, and the repetition of ‘I’ in this excerpt exemplifies this. This personal response is appropriate in the context of a person standing for election in which it is the individual’s responsibility to create an image of him/herself which will contribute to his/her possibility of election.

In Example 2.3, Lucinda Spier is a Liberal Party member who is taking a stand that is different to her party. As a means of justifying this, the IE refers to her credentials.

### Example 2.3

[XXXII: 10.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 90-100]

- 1 F:EJ so kate carnell the leader of the liberal party .h did not try to discipline you in any way
- 2 .h when you came on this program about a week ago and said that she had got it wrong?
- 3 F:LS not after the event no she didn't.
- 4 F:EJ .h well some people lucinda spier would ah say that that reflects very badly
- 5 on kate carnell's leadership.
- 6 F:LS .hh I don't think so I think she's a true liberal what she's saying is that the
- 7 a-> individual has a right to say what they think and in fact they do know that I do
- 8 b-> have these two hats. I was preselected on the basis of um my work with rates and

- 9 c-> they knew that and that was why they elected me so I don't see that that's a problem  
 10 I think that it's um it's a plus that they can accept that.

At *arrow a*, the IE describes her two roles, one as a Liberal Party member and the other as the chairperson of the Australian Capital Territory Rates Association: "I do have these two hats". In saying this, the IE explicitly states her personal position (Malone 1997). However, the IE frames this as something her party – 'they' – know: "and in fact they do know that I do have these two hats" setting herself up as an individual who is separate from her party (Sacks 1992:2:291).

At *arrow b*, the IE goes on to list her credentials, talking about being preselected by the Liberal Party: "I was preselected on the basis of um my work with rates", implying that even though she is now being criticised by her own party, it was they who preselected her in the first place and on the basis of the work "with rates" which is the very work that is the source of the conflict between the IE and her party. The IE's use of 'my' in "my work with rates" emphasises that it was the IE as an individual who did the work and who is taking responsibility for it now as an individual.

At *arrow c*, the IE presents herself as someone whom her party have elected referring to herself as 'me': "they elected me". In this way she presents herself as "an object conceived from the standpoint of others" (Mead 1957 cited in Watson 1987:263) By describing her election in this way, the IE implies that others have confidence in her as an individual. Stating her own position from these two perspectives, 'I' and 'me', she is claiming that her work is valid, both from her individual standpoint and the Liberal Party's, even though she is taking a stand which is different to her party. The reason the IE focuses so much on herself as an individual is because of the nature of the unusual position of being in conflict with her own party. The way she does this is to take responsibility for this as an individual, hence the repeated use of 'I', the repetition of which highlights that her talk is personal (Wilson 1990). The use of 'I', 'me' and 'my' also shows a personal

commitment to and involvement in what she is saying (Wilson 1990) evidenced also by her individual, non-party, stand.

Example 2.4 is another example of a politician talking about himself in the election process. It is an interview with Kim Beazley, the Deputy Leader of the Labor Party. The interview takes place about a week before the 1996 Federal election when Kim Beazley is standing for the seat of Brand in Western Australia.

#### Example 2.4

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 131-135]

1 F:FK [will you hold your seat?

M:KB

2 a-> it's a tough fight as you well know fran I've ah I've never had the luxury of a safe

3 b-> seat and I'm in there battling again and I'll be battling tomorrow night.

The IE's turn is his expression of his life as a politician at election time hoping to be re-elected to Parliament. The IE describes his situation of being re-elected using the metaphor of the battle, a metaphor associated with the Australian battler or the 'underdog' who is liked by Australians because s/he makes an effort even in adverse conditions. The IE speaks about his difficulties in the election campaign using 'I' three times in quick succession. This has the cumulative effect of enforcing the idea that he is speaking as an individual. This can be seen as an emphasis of personal involvement (Wilson 1990). Indeed, the contest for one's own seat in an election campaign is, to a large extent, an individual battle. The IE reflects this representation of himself by using 'I'.

At line 1, the IR asks the IE whether he will hold his seat, eliciting a response from him as an individual politician standing for re-election. The IE's response reflects this as the IE represents himself as 'I', an individual. The IE's turn is structured in three parts – the past, present and future – giving a complete picture of what is

involved in this election over time for the IE. At *arrow a*, the IE describes his personal election history: “I’ve never had the luxury of a safe seat” using ‘I’ to represent himself as an individual. At *arrow b*, the IE describes what he is doing now in the election campaign: “I’m in there battling again”, linking what he is doing now with what he has done in the past implied by “again”. This ‘I’ shows that he is talking about his personal actions (Malone 1997) in the election campaign. Further on at *arrow b* the IE uses almost the same words to describe what he will be doing on election day: “and I’ll be battling tomorrow night”, reiterating what he is doing individually (Malone 1997).

In Example 2.2-2.4, the IEs are talking about self. This includes talking about who the IE is as an individual politician, and other information about self. Examples 2.2 and 2.4 are taken from interviews recorded around election time in which the IEs are questioned about how they, personally, will fare in the upcoming election. This talk about self constitutes A-events. The broader context of an election, in which the IE is asked questions about how s/he will fare as individuals in the election, lends itself to the IE’s use of A-events. Similarly, in Example 2.3, in which the IE is talking about her individual stand, it is natural that the IE should use A-events. Thus, it can be argued that the setting of these political interviews, in which politicians are asked questions related to self, influences the type of language that is used (Labov and Fanshel 1977:1). In this particular setting, the IE uses A-events, accomplishing this, in part, by the use of ‘I’ to indicate that self is being talked about.

### **2.2.2 Being a good politician: being responsible**

Another way that politicians in these interviews display that they are good politicians is by claiming that they are acting responsibly. In Example 2.5, the Federal Environment Minister, John Faulkner, talks about his responsibilities as the Environment Minister and how responsibly he has done his job.

## Example 2.5

[II: 29.3.95 ABC TV, lines 99-114]

- 1 M:PL [did you promise much more than you could ever realistically  
 2 deliver [at the end of this year didn't you  
 3 M:JF  
 4 a-> [what what I did uh paul was to take  
 5 b-> my responsibilities as environment minister seriously  
 6 c-> .h I ah I I identified ah areas which uh were likely to have high conservation value  
 7 .h so that all those ah areas were before government as government makes a whole of ah  
 8 government decision[s but it's not  
 9 M:PL [and that list 's been >whittled awa::y< (.)  
 10 month by month now since [isn't 't and we could end up with  
 11 eighty coups reserved [by this time tomorrow night;  
 M:JF  
 12 d-> [b't let's get it;- let'sk-(.) let's get 't  
 13 clear (0.3) the environment minister h:as a responsibility, to ah to ah identify (.)  
 14 those areas (.) that ah are are likely to: ah warrant interim protection.  
 15 e-> that's my responsibil'ty,  
 16 f-> .h I took it seriously

In this turn the IE attempts to justify his actions relating to the management of the South Eastern Australian forests, in response to an accusation by the IR that he has broken his promise at lines 1 and 2: “[did you promise much more than you could ever realistically deliver [at the end of this year didn't you”. The ‘you’ at line 1 refers to the IE and is an individual accusation of the IE. The IE interprets the ‘you’ to be referring to himself as an individual and responds by talking about himself as an individual, mirroring the IR’s participation framework. At *arrow a* the IE does this by referring to himself as ‘I’, the individual, the Environment Minister: “what I did”. In this way the IE explicitly states his individual position (Malone 1997). At *arrow b* the IE draws attention to and reinforces that it is his own individual position by using ‘my’ in: “my responsibilities as environment minister”. At line



16, he then goes on to say that he took his responsibilities “seriously”, thereby describing himself as a politician who has done his job properly.

At *arrow c* the IE goes on to describe specific instances which exemplify his previous claim at *arrows a* and *b* that he took his responsibilities as Environment Minister seriously: “.h I ah I I identified ah areas which uh were likely to have high conservation value .h so that all those ah areas were before government as government makes a whole of ah government decision[s]”. Here the IE continues to represent himself as an individual by using ‘I’, speaking about his actions.

At *arrow d*, the IE reformulates what he has said at *arrows a, b* and *c* this time with an impersonal reference to an environment minister’s responsibilities. To accomplish this he firstly uses the impersonal “the” in “the environment minister h:as a responsibility”, then describes what these responsibilities are: “to ah to ah identify (.) those areas (.) that ah are are likely to: ah warrant interim protection.” This description is a preface to his comment about his individual responsibilities at *arrow e* in which the IE claims these responsibilities as his own using the pronoun ‘my’, saying “that’s my responsibil’ty,”. At *arrow f* the IE continues by describing the way in which he took his responsibility: “.h I took it seriously” reiterating what he has said at *arrow b*. By shifting from ‘the’ Environment Minister’s responsibility to ‘my’ responsibility the IE shifts the focus of his talk from the general to personal, stating his own position (Malone 1997). He talks as an individual since he is talking about his role as the Environment Minister in the management of the South East forest coups.

The repetition of the IE’s description of himself as the Environment Minister who has taken his responsibility seriously using the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘my’, highlights the IE’s personal involvement in the matter (Wilson 1990). This contributes to the IE’s construction of himself as a good politician.

### 2.2.3 Being a good politician: being in touch with the electorate

Part of being a good politician is being in touch with the electorate. In Example 2.6 the IE, a member of the ACT Legislative Assembly Michael Moore, describes his actions in relation to his contact with the people in his electorate thus constructing himself as a good politician. The IE's talk about self includes A-events, which are in part accomplished by the use of 'I' and 'me'.

#### Example 2.6

[XIX: 14.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 43-50]

M:MM

- 1 a-> oh look ah as soon as ah people who heard that the rates debate was on I was flooded
- 2 b-> with calls and there are lots of different people who continue to raise the- last night I
- 3 was at the turner residents association meeting and a ah ah a war pension widow
- 4 c-> was ah there and ah came across to talk to me about the fact that she is still in her
- 5 house and she is having huge difficulty rates but continues ah to do so because that's
- 6 where she lives she's lived there since before the war and ah and clearly we have a
- 7 problem with our system our system of payments we have a problem with how the rates
- 8 are constructed for somebody like that

Part of the responsibilities of being a politician is to talk to the members of the public, to listen to their views and subsequently take their views to Parliament as a representative of the people. Furthermore, this contact with the people in the electorate is part of constructing an image of being a good politician. At *arrow a*, the IE states explicitly his personal involvement (Wilson 1990) as a politician: "I was flooded with calls", indicating his involvement and identification with the community.

At *arrow b*, the IE mentions that he has personally attended a local public meeting: "I was at the turner residents association meeting". He is doing "being a politician" by attending the meeting but also by constructing a picture of himself in the

interview by talking about his actions. By declaring that he is talking to the members of the public, the IE is representing himself as someone who is doing his job properly by being a representative of the people and consequently constructing an image of himself as a good politician.

At *arrow c*, the IE displays his personal involvement (Wilson 1990) with the people at the meeting invoking this with 'me': "a war pension widow was ah there and ah came across to talk to me". By using 'me' the IE presents himself as "an object conceived from the standpoint of others" (Mead 1957 in Watson 1987:263), someone with whom others have chosen to come to talk. This perspective is similar to what the IE describes happening at *arrow a*. In both cases it was the people who came to him eliciting his support, first by phone calls and then by an individual coming to talk to him at a meeting.

The talk from lines 2 to 6, from "last night" to "since before the war" incorporating the first person singular references at *arrows b* and *c*, is given in the style of a personal narrative (Ochs and Capps 1996) which highlights the subjective tone of the talk (Malone 1997).

In Example 2.6, the IE does being a good politician by recounting A-events related to being actively involved with the people of the electorate. The IE accomplishes this by using pronouns that focus on self, namely, 'I' and 'me'. By using 'I' and 'me', the IE constructs himself as an individual who is doing his job well as a politician by being in touch with his electorate. This contributes to the IE's construction of himself as a good politician.

## **2.2.4 Being a good politician: talking about accomplishments**

Another facet of being a politician is talking about what s/he has accomplished or will accomplish. Accomplishments are inherently good and contribute to constructing an image of a good politician.

A member of the Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly, Michael Moore, speaks about what he is intending to do about finding out about the facts of some sexual harassment allegations against one of his colleagues.

### Example 2.7

[XVII: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 50-52]

M:MM

- 1 a-> .hh yes as I said elizabeth it is very difficult uh to make a comment from where I am
- 2 b-> what I'm interested in doing is ensuring the highest possible standards ah
- 3 c-> when I get back to canberra I will look at it very very carefully

At *arrow a* the IE reinforces his previous individual position (Malone 1997): “yes as I said” but goes on to say that from where he is at the time of the interview, away from Canberra: “it is very difficult uh to make a comment from where I am”. In this utterance the IE appeals to his location as an individual, a part of his personal position (Malone 1997) as the reason for not being able to do his job of responding to an interview question properly.

At *arrow b*, the IE states his intentions and the basis for his future actions: “what I'm interested in doing is ensuring the highest possible standards”. This is a representation of his individual position (Malone 1997) and functions to construct an image of a politician who is carefully considering a moral approach to the problem.

At *arrow c*, the IE states his plan of action about the matter: “when I get back to Canberra I will look at it very very carefully” referring again to the importance of his personal location: “when I get back to canberra”. Here the context used to inform the use of ‘I’ is the surrounding talk. The talk about “when I get back to canberra” links back to and reinforces the IE’s reference at *arrow a* about not being

in Canberra. The IE describes how he will accomplish the task of looking at the issue, using the adverb ‘carefully’. This, in conjunction with the IE’s reference to self, invoked by ‘I’, enables the IE to construct himself as a politician who is doing his job in a morally acceptable manner.

Other actions carried out by politicians are specific to the politician’s job in Parliament. In Example 2.8, the IE is Senator Clover Moore, who is speaking about the action of “Moving an Urgency” in Parliament.

### Example 2.8

[X: 25.8.95 ABC TV, lines 61-67]

- 1 M:AO so you're going to take the fairly unpopular step are you of ca:lling for the toll  
 F:CM  
 2 a-> .hh no I'm not going to do that because I see that there are huge problems .hh u:m  
 3 b-> what I did ah an' what I I moved an urgency in the former parliament and there was a  
 4 resolution of the lower house th't .hh the government goes ahead with the eastern  
 5 c-> distributor get- to get that traffic (.) under taylor square. .hh um I'm calling for action (.)  
 6 and we rea'y want the government to get on with it and we want it to be completed as  
 7 soon as possible

This turn consists of a cluster of references to the IE’s actions. At *arrow a*, the IE begins her answer by talking about what she will not do in the future which she then justifies: “.hh no I'm not going to do that because I see that there are huge problems”. This is in response to the IR’s question to the IE as an individual, which the IR emphasises by his use of ‘you’ which he repeats in the form of a tag question: “are you”.

At *arrow b*, the IE continues talking about what she has done personally and the successful results of her individual action: “.hh u:m what I did ah an' what I I moved an urgency in the former parliament and there was a resolution of the

lower house th't .hh the government goes ahead with the eastern distributor get- to get that traffic (.) under taylor square." She continues her talk about her personal involvement (Wilson 1990), invoked by 'I', by saying what she is doing now as a person of accomplishment, making explicit reference to the action: "hh um I'm calling for action (.) and we rea'y want the government to get on with it and we want it to be completed as soon as possible ". The continuous references to her actions coupled with 'I' all emphasise the IE's active individual involvement (Wilson 1990) in the job as a politician and creates a positive image about the IE as an individual politician.

Politicians talk about their positive actions: past, present and future. Talking about their personal accomplishments as politicians enables IEs to paint a picture of themselves as active politicians. These politicians talk about these with as A-events, and use 'I' to indicate that it is a personal accomplishment.

### **2.2.5 Being a good politician: talking about self as politician of power**

Politicians in these interviews also represent themselves as a person of power by talking about something they have done that entails power. Here, 'I' invokes a sense of an individual of power.

In Example 2.9, the Prime Minister Paul Keating refers to the time when he introduced the Capital Gains Tax in 1985.

#### **Example 2.9**

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 354-355]

M:PK

1 a-> [be- before be- be- before I introduced the capital gains tax in nineteen  
2 eighdy five

The Prime Minister introduced the Capital Gains Tax when he was the Treasurer in 1985. Even though changes such as these are made by the government, not the individual it is the Prime Minister who says that he has made the change. In his role as the Prime Minister, the IE is speaking as an officer who has the authority to say that he has made the change on behalf of the government. So, 'I' also encompasses the Government and invokes a picture of a politician of power. By talking about this action of introducing the Capital Gains Tax the IE is doing a number of things. First, he is showing that he has a track record as a powerful and successful politician who has made some significant changes in the past. Second, he is taking credit for these past actions. Third, he is talking as a decision maker, someone who is responsible for making changes to the law. These three facets of the IE's utterance combine to give the impression of a powerful politician.

Announcing an election is an action carried out by the Prime Minister. In Example 2.10, the IE is the Prime Minister Paul Keating who mentions his calling of the election.

#### Example 2.10

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, 161-164]

- 1 M:PK a forecasting round a joint economic group forecasting round takes at least six or
- 2 a-> seven weeks. if I'd 've said on the day I called the election (.) press the button on a new
- 3 round to give us some rough starting point numbers we'd be flat out getting it before the
- 4 poll.

At *arrow a*, the Prime Minister refers to himself as the individual 'I' who called the election: "I called the election". The IE is the officer, invested with the power to announce the election to the public. Example 2.10 also includes a reference to the type of power the Prime Minister has when he says that by his command things could be done, from "if I'd've said..." at *arrow a*. Here the IE constructs himself as

an individual with the power of a Prime Minister to announce an election and to have things done as he directs. The IE is separating himself from others by using 'I' (Watson 1987) claiming that he alone is the one who has the power to call elections and have people carry out tasks when he commands.

Another kind of political power is the power to determine how the budget is spent. In Example 2.11, Dr Carmen Lawrence, the Federal Health Minister, responsible for the Federal Health Budget, is interviewed about her spending of the budget money.

#### Example 2.11

[XXVII: 16.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-6]

- 1 F:EJ    please tell me it's not true. are you really throwing thousands of dollars at g-p's for  
 2            nothing?  
 F:CL  
 3 a->    I'm not throwing money at anyone I can assure you especially in the current budget  
 4            climate.

As the Health Minister, the IE is accountable for the Federal Health budget. At *arrow a*, the IE replies to the question of the IR which implies that she is spending the money irresponsibly: "I'm not throwing money at anyone". The IE indicates what she is doing with the money and consequently how she is doing her job. By saying this, the IE shows that she is being accountable to the public. She is also constructing herself as the person who has the power to do this. Like the Prime Minister Paul Keating in Example 2.10, she is an officer of the Government. The 'I' in the context of the surrounding talk also represents the Government for whom she is making decisions and invokes a sense of a powerful politician.

In Examples 2.9-2.11, the IE represents him/herself as a person of power. To accomplish this representation as a person of power, 'I' is used in combination



with actions that entail power. These actions include introducing a change to the taxation laws, calling a Federal election, and making budget decisions. The use of 'I' in these examples invokes a sense of the individual as a person of power. The individual politician as a person of power is one facet of being a politician and a part of the image that the politician constructs of 'self'.

### 2.2.6 Being a good politician: being a person of principles

When a politician takes a stand that is criticised by his/her own party members, the politician must defend him/herself. One way of accomplishing this defence is by constructing a picture of him/herself as a person of principles. To accomplish this, the politician uses 'I' to indicate that s/he is speaking from an individual viewpoint and then talks about his/her integrity in the particular situation.

Example 2.12 is a section of an interview between Lucinda Spier (IE) and Elizabeth Jackson (IR) which contains a large number of closely clustered references to self accomplished by using 'I', and 'me'. The IE is an ACT Liberal Government member, and is speaking about rates in Canberra in her role as the Chairperson of the Canberra Rates Association. However, the stand she is taking in her role as the chairperson of the Canberra Rates Association is in direct conflict with the stand that the Liberal Party is taking. In this interview the IE talks about her individual stand on the issues.

#### Example 2.12

[XXXII: 10.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 81-89]

- 1 F:IE] .hhh and obviously she would have advised you or presumably she would have advised  
 2 you to go through the proper channels in the future.  
 F:LS  
 3 a-> no she didn't ah and it's quite legitimate that I speak out .h on behalf of rate payers  
 4 and this has never been .hh something that has been um agreed to with the liberal

- 5 b-> party I have always said I will continue .h to speak out as the chairman of the  
 6 c-> canberra rates association .h and I have .h and not only that the only other canberra  
 7 rates association that exists in canberra .h has come out publicly and  
 8 d-> endorsed me yesterday and said I am the only of candidate that can be trusted on the  
 9 issue of rates and land tax

The IE begins her turn at *arrow a* by justifying her views in her role as the Chairperson of the Canberra Rates Association, asserting that it is acceptable that she express her views: “and it's quite legitimate that I speak out .h on behalf of rate payers”. This is a positive personal evaluation and by using ‘I’, the IE presents her actions as ones for which she is individually responsible. It is a clear representation of her own position (Malone 1997).

At *arrow b*, the IE reinforces that she believes she is doing the right thing by referring to what she has always said (past) about speaking out in her role as the chairperson of the Canberra Rates Association; and what she will do (future): “I have always said I will continue .h to speak out as the chairman of the Canberra Rates Association”. At *arrow c*, the IE supports her statement about speaking out by giving evidence of doing so in the past: “.h and I have”. These three references at *arrows a, b* and *c* constitute a complete representation of her ‘self’ as a person taking an individual stand over time.

At *arrow d*, the IE changes her emphasis from validating her own position to talking about what other people have said about her virtues: “and not only that the only other canberra rates association that exists in canberra .h has come out publicly and endorsed me yesterday”. By moving from using ‘I’ at *arrows a, b* and *c*, to ‘me’ as [the] “object conceived from the standpoint of others” (Mead 1957 cited in Watson 1987: 263), the IE presents herself in different ways – as the active agent and as a person valued by others.

In this turn, the IE constructs a picture of herself as a person of integrity and as a good representative of the people. She accomplishes this by referring to what she

does and has done on behalf of the public, her own personal convictions and what others think of her in conjunction with 'I' and 'me'. The IE's construction of herself as a 'good person' is a counterargument to the criticism of her having conflicting views to her own party. The IE uses first person singular pronouns frequently to show she is individually responsible, emphasising her personal involvement and commitment to what she is saying (Wilson 1990:63).

Example 2.13 is a continuation of Example 2.12 in which the conflict between the role of the IE, Lucinda Spier, as the Chairperson of the Canberra Rates Association and her membership of the Liberal Party is further described.

### Example 2.13

[XXXII: 10.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 62-74]

- 1 F:EJ .hh lucinda spier doesn't your membership of the liberal party bind you to support  
 2 existing policy aren't you expected to support the policy that the party puts forward?  
 F:LS  
 3 a-> .hhh yes I am and this causes me some pain to come out and say what I am saying  
 4 b-> but I feel so strongly about these property taxes that I've taken this decision  
 5 c-> .h and I'll wear the consequences.  
 6 d-> I know that what I am saying is going to cause me personally some injury within the  
 7 e-> party but as I say it is so important that I'm prepared to put myself on the line for it and  
 8 f-> let people know out there I will be working internally to change the liberal party's  
 9 mind of these issues of property tax.  
 10 F:EJ what sort of injury are you expecting?  
 F:LS  
 11 g-> .hh oh I guess the party itself will vilify me for what I'm saying but I can except that.

At lines 1 and 2, the IR makes reference to the IE's membership of the Liberal Party: "your membership of the liberal party" and highlights her obligations to them. At *arrow a*, the IE unequivocally agrees with the IR: "yes I am" [expected to support party policy]. Membership of a political party entails 'toeing the party

line' and by saying that she is aware of these obligations to the party, the IE acknowledges her affiliation with the party, while nevertheless maintaining her individual stand.

At *arrow a*, the IE positions herself as the recipient of the problem with 'me': "and this causes me some pain to come out and say what I am saying". Even though the "pain" the IE is experiencing as a result of her party's criticism of her for her opposing stand, the IE presents this as something that has happened to her and not something for which she is responsible. The IE uses 'me' to accomplish this.

At *arrows b* and *c*, the IE continues to express her opposing stand despite the IR's reference to the IE's membership of her own party at line 1: "but I feel so strongly about these property taxes that I've taken this decision .h and I'll wear the consequences.". The IE again declares her position as she did at *arrow a* but this time it is in her role as an individual taking an opposing stand against her own party rather than voicing her understanding of her political party obligations.

At *arrow d*, the IE acknowledges her responsibility for her opposing stand: "I know that what I am saying is going to cause me personally some injury within the party". The IE represents herself both as the agent, 'I' and the recipient 'me' of the problem, acknowledging the consequences of her actions . Using 'I' indicates that it is the IE alone that is responsible, and thus separates herself from the party (Watson 1987). The IR's response as an individual is emphasised by her use of "personally".

At *arrow e*, the IE reiterates what she said at *arrows b* and *c*: "but as I say it is so important that I'm prepared to put myself on the line for it". Here the IE gives a positive evaluation of what she is doing: "it is so important".

At *arrow f*, the IE sets herself up in opposition to the Liberal Party in the most explicit way in the talk so far: "...and let people know out there I will be working

internally to change the liberal party's mind of these issues of property tax". Not only has she said that she has an individual view that differs from the party but she goes so far as to say she is going to campaign actively against the views of her party. In the political world this is unusual and something that is frowned upon by the parties themselves. As such, it is readily taken up by the media.

When a politician takes on an individual stand which is in conflict with the party stand, s/he attempts to defend him/herself. In such cases, the IE can use A-events with the pronoun 'I' to accomplish this defence. In this way, the IE can construct an image of him/herself as a person of integrity. This acts as counter-evidence to the criticism from the IR who has constructed the IE as a troublemaker.

### **2.2.7 Claiming lack of knowledge**

Making evaluations and decisions as a politician requires certain background knowledge. When a politician is asked to give an evaluation about an issue, s/he is expected to have some knowledge about the issue. In some cases it is more expedient to claim lack of knowledge. This is important when politicians do not want to be held accountable for absolute knowledge about an issue and often occurs when the IE has been asked to comment on another person's actions or words.

In Example 2.14, the IR asks the IE, the Coalition Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs, Christine Gallus, who she thinks Noel Pearson, the head of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), means by his comment in the interview which occurred immediately before this interview about "minority groups in australia" [see interview XXIII: 21.2.95 ABC Radio].

Example 2.14

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 4-20]

- 1 F:FK .hh chris gallus=to some degree noel pearson's right isn't he=I mean it is  
 2 implied in thislogan for all of us that labour is not governing for all of us,  
 3 which suggests they're not governing for the mainstream.
- 4 F:CG ah look there is no implication in that- there is an implication that labor  
 5 has ↑failed all of us I think that .h has certainly I think the ah .h forty  
 6 percent youth unemployed would had the feeling that labour hasn't been ah .h  
 7 governing for ↑them .h but I I'm really disappointed that noel would come out  
 8 and say something ↑like this .h because in its- say ten days before an election  
 9 when in fact the slogan's been around for three weeks; .hh and if noel would  
 10 care to have a look at the ads that go with the slogan, .h he will find amongst  
 11 the ads the ↓all of us they -s play the music .h and on the ad we have  
 12 >aboriginal people, vietnamese people, chinese people< .h and I think that  
 13 ad is so obvious that it is for all of us, .h for all australians slogan for all of us  
 14 that labor is not governing for all of us, which suggests they're not governing  
 15 for the mainstream.
- 16 F:CG ah look there is no implication in that- there is an implication that labor has  
 17 ↑failed all of us I think that .h has certainly I think the ah .h forty percent  
 18 youth unemployed would had the feeling that labour hasn't been ah .h  
 19 governing for ↑them .h but I I'm really disappointed that noel would come out  
 20 and say something ↑like this .h because in its- say ten days before an election  
 21 when in fact the slogan's been around for three weeks; .hh and if noel would  
 22 care to have a look at the ads that go with the slogan, .h he will find amongst  
 23 the ads the ↓all of us they -s play the music .h and on the ad we have  
 24 >aboriginal people, vietnamese people, chinese people< .h and I think that  
 25 ad is so obvious that it is for all of us, .h for all australians.
- 26 F:FK well he's saying it's operating at another level a subliminal level and .hh  
 27 john howard has said repeatedly that he won't let the government be hijacked  
 28 by minority groups as labor has .h who does he mean when he's talking about  
 29 those minority groups.
- F:CG
- 30 a-> well I don't know who noel pearson means but as I said if he has a look at the=

The issue of minority groups in Australia is a volatile one and can also be a taboo subject. At *arrow a*, the IE claims that she doesn't know about what Noel Pearson means: "well I don't know who noel pearson means". The IE shows that this is her

individual position (Malone 1997) by using 'I'. The IE has reframed the question into one that is safe to answer and then answered it. Part of the reason for this may be that Noel Pearson is Aboriginal, and thus a part of the minority groups. The IE may want to dismiss what Noel Pearson has said but in a respectful way that can't come back to haunt her. Thus, claiming not to know about the other person's views is expedient for the IE when dealing with these kinds of sensitive topics.

In Example 2.15, the IR asks the IE his opinion about sensitive matters such as the allegations of sexual harassment by Tony Dedomenico, his Government's Deputy Leader. The IE asserts that he is not able to answer the question when he does not have all the information about the allegations.

#### Example 2.15

[XVII: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 1-10]

- 1 F:EJ .hhh with me on the line now is independent m-l-a michael moore michael moore ah
- 2 rosemary follett says he should go kate carnell says he should stay, the greens say
- 3 they're not sure at this stage . what do you say?
- M:MM
- 4 a-> it seems to me that whenever there's a shadow over a minister and this isn't a comment
- 5 on innocence or guilt but whenever there is a shadow over a minister .h
- 6 b-> .h that minister should stand aside while the matter is being uh considered and I
- 7 c-> think th' that uh that appears to me to be the most appropriate action but
- 8 d-> I must hasten to uh add elizabeth
- 9 e-> that I've not seen the <full set of information> yet and uh it's very difficult .h to come
- 10 to a final conclusion when you are away from canberra.

The IE's response contains five references to self, using 'I' and 'me' which has the effect of giving an individual perspective to the talk (Malone 1997, Wilson 1990). This individual perspective is in response to the IR's request that the IE give his personal opinion: "what do you say". The 'you' is stressed indicating that it is the

IE in contrast to the list of people that the IR has given (lines 1-3), whose opinion the IR wants to elicit.

At *arrows a, b, and c*, 'I' is coupled with hedges indicating that the IE is not claiming absolute knowledge about the matter. "It seems to me": "It appears to me" and 'I think' show that the IE is asserting that it is only he as an individual giving his opinion, not talking about absolute facts. These hedges show a downgrading from an objective to a subjective reality (Malone 1997) and the IE's use of 'I' in combination with hedges represent a distancing of the IE from the situation.

At *arrow d*, the IE qualifies what he says at *arrow e*: "I've not seen the <full set of information> yet" by saying: "I must hasten to uh add elizabeth". By using 'I' the IE claims lack of personal knowledge in this sensitive situation. He uses this claim about his lack of knowledge to say that he is not prepared to talk about the topic or to make a public announcement about his opinion.

In Example 2.16, a Member of the ACT Government, Paul Osborne, is questioned about the allegations of sexual harassment by Tony Dedomenico, his Government's Deputy Leader. He claims that he does not have enough knowledge to make a judgement.

#### Example 2.16

[XVIII: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 32-43]

- 1 F:EJ     .hh well given that that is the case if the opposition moves to censure mister
- 2           dedomenico on the floor of the assembly, .hh would you back th'm?
- 3 M:PO   no I wouldn't
- 4 F:EJ     why not
- 5 M:PO
- 6 a->     well as I said before I I I believe ev'ryone is innocent until proven guilty and I as I said
- 7 b->     I'm not I'm not qualified t' to make a judgment on this matter



7 c-> all I know is what I've read in the paper and there are avenues which in this case is  
 8 d-> the human rights commission who will decide whether or not he is guilty and I'm not  
 9 prepared to take that to go out on a limb and say yes uh because if we do force mister  
 10 e-> dedomenico to stand aside is a vote of saying th't yes we think y' guilty and I'm not  
 11 prepared to do that.

This interview is one in a series of four interviews in which the IR asks four different members of the ACT Government their personal views on whether or not the Deputy Leader of the ACT Government, who has been accused of sexual harassment, should be stood down. The response from the IE in this interview mirrors the IR's framing of the questions in which the IR elicits an individual response from the IE. The IE gives his personal views, invoked by the frequent use of 'I'. In this example the context used to inform the interpretation of 'I' is in the detail of the surrounding talk, in particular the verbs that follow 'I'.

At *arrow a*, the IE makes a statement of belief, not asserting this as a claim which is absolutely true: "well as I said before I I I believe ev'ryone is innocent until proven guilty". At *arrow b*, the IE asserts his lack of qualifications to be doing such a job: "I'm not I'm not qualified t' to make a judgment on this matter" and then at *arrow c*, claims lack of knowledge: "all I know is what I've read in the paper". Here the IE claims that he is not personally able to make a decision about whether or not the Deputy Minister should stand down, because he as an individual only knows what he personally has claimed to have read. In the setting of the interview in which the IR is asking the IE for his individual response, 'I' powerfully invokes a sense that the IE is stating his own position (Malone 1997). By saying that he only has limited knowledge the IE creates an image of a politician who will not make comments on a delicate matter without knowing the full facts. So, by talking about his lack of knowledge (as the reason for not being able to make a decision about whether or not the Deputy Minister should stand down) the IE constructs an image of himself as a fair and just politician. Claiming only a limited amount of knowledge also functions as a way of avoiding talking about the issue, an expedient choice in dealing with such a sensitive matter.

This turn also contains mental-process verbs such as “I believe” at *arrow a* and “I’m not prepared to” at *arrows d* and *e*. These verbs suggest sincerity on the part of the speaker (Wilson 1990) and surround the talk about the IE’s lack of knowledge and lack of qualifications (as reasons for not being able to make a decision) at *arrows b* and *c*. Together these references to the individual, ‘I’, constructs the IE as a sincere politician who is not prepared to make decisions on such matters because of a lack of knowledge and qualifications.

Politicians claim lack of knowledge in certain situations. All of the above examples are about sensitive topics: minorities and sexual harassment allegations. As a way of being cautious, the IE answers the question by claiming that they do not have enough information to answer the question. By doing so, the IE is able to avoid answering delicate questions. The lack of knowledge is accomplished by the use of an A-event, using ‘I’ to talk about the IE’s personal lack of knowledge.

### **2.2.8 Talking about problematic personal issues**

Some political interviews concern the actions of politicians whom the media has deemed to be newsworthy because of the individual nature of the problem. This kind of talk is personal and occurs when the IE’s personal life or individual issues come into question. The issues are often related to the IE’s political work and only involve him/herself, not his/her party.

In Example 2.17, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is being interviewed about Penny Easton. Penny Easton was a Western Australian lawyer who killed herself four days after a petition about her was tabled in the Western Australian Parliament in November 1992. Dr Lawrence was Premier of Western Australia at the time and this interview concerns her alleged prior knowledge of the petition.

## Example 2.17

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 334-339]

- 1 M:PL .h well in the end then (0.2) why should (0.3) the australian public say (0.3) carmen  
 2 lawrence (.) is >telling the truth< about this matter (0.2) and keith wilson and pam  
 3 beggs (.) are not  
 F:CL  
 4 a-> .h because I am telling the truth  
 5 b-> (.) it 's what I said at the time  
 6 c-> (.) it's what I say now,  
 7 it's consistent with the views of others at the time  
 8 (.) .h when they were asked (.) under parliament  
 9 (.) to give an account of the events.

The IE is being questioned about whether or not she is telling the truth about being aware of the petition. In her response she says three times in three similar ways that she is telling the truth. At *arrow a*, the IE mirrors what the IR has asked in the question: "I am telling the truth". At *arrow b* the IE modifies her previous utterance saying: "it's what I said at the time" implying that what she is saying now is consistent with what she said before, also implying that she is telling the truth. At *arrow c*, the IE reinforces her consistency and modifies what she has at *arrow b* by putting it into the present tense: "that's what I say now". These comments are very similar in their content but differ because of their tense and aspect: they are said in the present progressive, past and present respectively. This reinforces what the IE says and conveys the idea that she is a consistent individual. She is also reinforcing her authority as the one to answer the question by using 'I'. The cumulative effect of the IE saying 'I' three times reinforces that she is speaking as an individual who has a personal involvement in what is being talked about (Wilson 1990:63). It is the IE alone who is questioned about this and she responds by representing herself as an individual using 'I'.

In Example 2.18, Senator Reba Meagher, is interviewed about an Apprehended Violence Order (AVO) that she had taken out against another politician.

### Example 2.18

[XII: 10.2.95 ABC TV, lines 1-9]

1 M:AO w'll reba meagher what do you say to all those critics who say th't <and some of them  
2 are women's activists I might add> that you h've devalued (.) the serious purpose the  
3 serious intent (.) of <apprehended violence orders.>

F:RM

4 a-> .h w'll I've said at the outset (.) that as a woman (.) I have the right to seek police  
5 b-> advice <'n act on that advice when a threat is made against my personal safety,> .h  
6 this is primarily a personal safety issue .h and 's ev'ry woman irrespective of her  
7 c-> position in the community or her profession (.) t' I have the- the right to access the  
8 d-> p'lice and the la:w .hh and I acted on police advice .h and ahh ~~~creak-glottal stop)  
9 e-> (0.3) I feel completely justified in the actions th't I've taken

The IE's answer reflects the sequence of thought processes and events that are involved in her actions of taking out an Apprehended Violence Order. First, the IE describes herself in this situation "as a woman" with certain individual rights, "(.) I have the right to seek police advice <'n act on that advice when a threat is made against my personal safety,>". She describes the situation as a personal one, invoked by 'my' in "my personal safety,>". After this personal description of what is occurring, the IE describes the issue of personal safety from the perspective of "ev'ry woman irrespective of her position in the community or her profession". In this utterance, 'her' also refers to the IE because the IE is included in 'every woman'. This use of 'her' does not refer to an 'other' but a group to which the IE belongs.

At arrows *c*, *d* and *e*, the IE returns to talking about herself using the pronoun 'I': "t' I have the- the right to access the p'lice and the la:w .hh and I acted on police advice .h and ahh ~~~ (0.3) I feel completely justified in the actions th't I've taken".

This utterance sums up the IE's thought processes and events in relation to taking out an Apprehended Violence Order. This utterance contains four uses of the pronoun 'I' in quick succession and is a personal narrative of the events that have taken place. This creates a representation of her personal position and emphasises her personal involvement in the events (Malone 1997, Wilson 1990:63).

Politicians in these interviews use A-events to talk about themselves, accomplishing this by the use of 'I'. They talk about the different facets of being a politician, including who they are as a politician, what they do as a politician, how they do their job as a politician and what they do that entails power. In addition, politicians defend themselves by referring to themselves, talking about their lack of knowledge and responding to the IR's questions about their problematic individual issues. These diverse types of talk about self, all have in common the use of the personal pronoun 'I', which, in the context of talk by the politician, signals to the recipient that the politician is speaking about him/herself as an individual politician. 'I', after all, is used when the speaker wants to make claims about him/herself.

Because A-events entail that the speaker is usually the only person to know about the information given about self, the person uttering the A-event is less likely to be contradicted (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). When the IE talks about A-events, s/he is in a position of knowing more about the topic than the IR. This puts the IE in a position of greater knowledge; a position which could be thought of as more advantageous than the IR. The IE's position is more advantageous because the s/he is talking about events which are a priori indisputable by other people. Furthermore, since part of the role of the IE in an interview is to persuade the audience that what s/he is saying is the only way to view any situation (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994) using A-events enables the IE to accomplish this.

### 2.3 'I think' in combination with A-events and D-events

In political interviews, 'I think', 'I believe', 'I feel' etc are used in combination with D-events (events that are disputable) and A-events (talking about something that is part of the speaker's biography (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62)). Typically, these expressions are used with D-events, to indicate that the IE is giving his/her position on an issue that is disputable. However, 'I think' is also used in combination with A-events – something that the speaker knows about but which the listener does not necessarily know about (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). When 'I think' is used with an A-event, the speaker is distancing him/herself from the proposition expressed after 'I think' rather than indicating that the proposition is disputable. The effect of this is to distance 'self' from the actions of 'self'.

Phrases like 'I think' have been treated as hedges by Lakoff (1975) who claimed that hedges sounded uncertain or showed a lack of authority. Later research by Holmes (1986) claims that 'I think' does not only function as a 'tentative' hedge but also functions as a 'deliberative' hedge, a powerful way to express assertiveness. Another way of viewing 'I think' is as a means to display a downgrading of commitment to or lack of certainty about a proposition (Lyons 1977:805). So, 'I think' can be used to establish the appropriate level of commitment to a proposition.

In this section it is argued that 'I think' is used as a tool for positioning self in agreement or disagreement with a proposition and establishing an appropriate level of commitment to a proposition when 'I think' is used with a D-event. When 'I think' is used with an A-event, the speaker is distancing him/herself from his/her own actions and the effect is to distance self from 'self'. These two uses of 'I think' enable the politician to accomplish two different functions. 'I think' used to position self in agreement or disagreement with a D-event enables the IE to assert an opinion and/or to downgrade commitment to a proposition (Lyons

1977:805). On the other hand, 'I think' used with an A-event enables the IE to distance him/herself from 'self'.

In section 2.3.1, 'I think' in combination with D-events will be examined. In section 2.3.2, 'I think' in combination with A-events will be discussed.

### 2.3.1 When the proposition is a D-event

In the course of these interviews most IEs show that they are discussing issues that are disputable. These kind of issues are called D-events, in which "both speaker and listener realise that the truth of the proposition cannot be assumed" (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). In the following examples, the IE shows that s/he is positioning him/herself in agreement or disagreement with a proposition.

In Example 2.19, Noel Pearson, the Head of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC), is interviewed about his criticism of the Liberal Party for its slogan *For All of Us*. He says that only middle class white Australia is included in *Us*.

#### Example 2.19

[XXIII: 21.2.95 ABC TV, lines 1-16]

- 1 F:FK noel pearson=i's an extraordinary virulent attack on the liberal party, what 've they
- 2 done to deserve it=I mean (.) for all of us <the slogan for all of us> doesn't suggest racism
- 3 to me particularly or or to most people I'd suggest.
- 4 M:NP .h well it's a noto:rious scatological sandwich .h in the sense that it looks all glorious
- 5 and wholesome on the outside .h b't in°side° .h there is a- a fairly putrid smell. .hh
- 6 a-> I think that it's very clear .h that (.) the philosophy of the lib- liberal party in this
- 7 campaign has been .h to paint or construct .h some sort of moral majority .h that is
- 8 middle australia; .h and that the new howard government will govern .h for middle
- 9 b-> australia; .h and for me:: <on the fringes of australian society=
- 10 c-> =I feel that there are groups .hh ah who are impli:edly .h ah somehow receiving too

11 much largesse from the present federal government, .h and therefore we're gonna have a  
 12 government in the future (.) that's gonna kinda even things up for middle australia.  
 13 F:FK well you say it very clear but I I mean I haven't heard anyone else talk about this and  
 14 certainly .h when the liberal party did have a candidate who was trying to suggest  
 15 that there was too much largesse for aboriginal australia she was disendorsed  
 16 immediately.

At lines 1-3, the IR sets up the question about what the slogan *For All of Us* means as one that is debatable. At lines 2-3, the IR says that the slogan *For All of Us* does not suggest racism to her or to “most people”: “doesn't suggest racism to me particularly or or to most people I'd suggest”. At line 3, the IR modifies her comments in lines 2 and 3 with: “I'd suggest”. This downgrades the immediately preceding talk to a ‘suggestion’ of hers which indicates that the issue is disputable. In the IE’s response there is also evidence that this is disputable. At *arrows a, b* and *c*, the IE makes his position known by the use of: “for me”, “I feel” and “I think”, giving his own subjective opinion (Malone 1997) about the event rather than making an absolute knowledge claim.

At *arrow b*, the IE continues to speak personally, but this time he moves to a personal description of his identity as an Aborigine: “.h and for me: <on the fringes of australian society=”. “for me:” indicates that the IE is not speaking for everyone but from his point of view (Malone 1997, Wilson 1990) and separating himself from others (Watson 1987). “for me:” also indicates that he is relating the issues at hand to his personal experience and identity as “someone on the fringes”. He further emphasises this personal perspective by stressing “me:” making it clear that the focus of his utterances is on him as an individual.

At *arrow c*, after constructing himself as someone “on the the fringes of society” the IE talks about groups of people who think that minority groups are receiving too much consideration from the government. The latch between the IE’s description of his identity as someone on the fringes of society at *arrow b* and his comments at *arrow c*, joins the two utterances about the IE’s position as an individual. This



individual perspective is important here. The IE uses 'I' because he is speaking for himself as an Aborigine. He is not representing a group. So, I as an individual is the only appropriate term.

The IE's response to the IR's question contains three representations of self. First, 'I think', to express the IE's opinion; second 'for me' to indicate the IE's identity as a rural Aborigine; and finally, 'I feel' to give a personal view. Each of these representations of 'self' have a separate impact but together give the impression of someone speaking personally about the issues.

There are times when it is pertinent that the IE does not claim that a proposition is absolutely true. Sensitive issues raised in the IR's questions, are often responded to with 'I think', as a means of downgrading commitment to a proposition (Lyons 1977:805). In Example 2.20, the IR links Dr Carmen Lawrence, the Federal Health Minister, to the suicide of Mrs Penny Easton.

#### Example 2.20

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 257-261]

1 M:PL penny easton might have been alive today had you done so some would say  
F:CL

2 a-> well I think that is a fairly unreasonable connection and I've always felt so and there's  
3 a great deal of regret on everyone's part but as one of her friends said in an interview  
4 b-> yesterday, that's a pretty extraordinary connection to seek to make and it's one of the  
5 reasons that people have obviously felt reticence in talking about this.

In response to the IR's claim at line 1: "penny easton might have been alive today had you done so some would say", the IE voices her disagreement, hedging her answer with: 'I think', disputing the connection that the IR has made between herself and Penny Easton's suicide. This is an accusation of the IE so it is understandable that she disputes it. At *arrow a*, the IE reiterates her position

saying: “I’ve always felt so”. The use of ‘I’ to invoke an individual perspective combined with the verb ‘to feel’ lends a subjective tone to the answer and indicates that the IE is giving her opinion about a matter that is debatable.

At *arrow b*, the IE comments on the IR’s link between herself and the suicide of Penny Easton: “that’s a pretty extraordinary connection to seek to make”. This contrasts with the previous talk at *arrow a* which is presented as an opinion with ‘I think’. Thus, the IE presents her answer first as one that is disputable using ‘I think’ and then as one that is not disputable by not using ‘I think’. It is possible that the IE starts with ‘I think’ to distance herself from the connections that the IR is making between the IE’s actions and Penny Easton’s suicide because it is the beginning of her turn and she wants to appear removed from the situation. However, as the IE continues her answer and formulates her thoughts she changes to more direct language as is evidenced by the IE’s unhedged: “that’s a pretty extraordinary connection to seek to make”.

‘I think’ is also used by IEs in these interviews as a way of making a claim for which they do not want to be held accountable. Using ‘I think’ in this way also allows politicians to make a strong claim within a proposition that s/he may not otherwise be able to make.

In Example 2.21, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about the Government’s tax cuts.

### Example 2.21

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 23-33]

- 1 F:CK [that's right] h. =that's right but here's the ultimate way to deliver it .hh
  - 2 <here's the tax cut which y' can't have because we're compelling you to save it for the
  - 3 future but you got it anyway=just remember that when you don't see it. >
- ((monotonous tone of voice, not as much pitch variation, more rhythmical))

4 (0.2) .hh if it's linked to those tax cuts (0.2).hh then a:h there's no telling if that will  
 5 flow on to further wage demands (0.2).h if it does then they could lose up to a quarter of  
 6 a-> what they're proposing that they will- that they will make out of this so .hh I think  
 7 THE FIGURES ARE a little bit dubious.

At *arrow a*, the IE says: "I think THE FIGURES ARE a little bit dubious". Here the IE distances herself from the strong claim about the figures being dubious by couching the proposition with 'I think' while at the same time making a strong statement within the proposition. Here, the IE presents herself as a person who is not willing to claim full responsibility for such strong negative evaluations of the Government. She uses 'I think' to soften something potentially very damning while at the same time making a strong claim within the proposition. This is an example in which using 'I think' makes the proposition sayable. If the IE had said: "The figures are a bit dubious", she would have had to justify her claim and been held accountable for defamation of the Government. By prefacing this claim with 'I think', the IE softens the impact but nevertheless still conveys the idea that there may be problems with the figures. By using 'I think' the IE does not have to be accountable for the claim.

Other verbs that are used in conjunction with 'I' that indicate the IE's position on certain issues are verbs such as 'support'. In Example 2.22, Senator Cheryl Kernot, Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about supporting the Government's proposal for Australians to save money by contributing more to superannuation funds.

#### Example 2.22

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 3-9]

1 M:PL .h now the experts all say australians have got t' sa:ve more=<d'z zis mean that you  
 2 would support the idea of employees giving up three percent of their pay packets for  
 3 super?>  
 4 (0.9)

F:CK

5 a-> well I certainly support the notion that we have to save more,=

6 b-> =I'm just not convinced that this particular proposal <SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT>

7 .hh is the: most efficient way to save.

At *arrow a*, the IE begins her turn by saying: "I certainly support the notion that we have to save more," giving her opinion as an individual, using 'I... support' in response to the IR's 'you' at line 2. At *arrow b*, the IE modifies what she has said at *arrow a*, saying: "I'm just not convinced that this particular proposal" continuing with her individual evaluation of the situation. In this way, the IE shows that she has thought about the issue by revealing the logical process behind her thoughts. This in turn is a representation of self, as a person who thinks about and presents her ideas logically.

In Example 2.23, Paul Osborne, a Member of the ACT Government is interviewed about the Chief Minister's views about the sexual harassment allegations of the Deputy Leader of the Government. The IE expresses his position on the matter of whether or not the Chief Minister is right by using the verb 'agree'.

### Example 2.23

[XVIII: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 1-3]

1 F:EJ .hhh mister osborne you've heard what the chief minister has to say. is is she right or

2 wrong?

M:PO

3 a-> well uh thanks elizabeth I I I tend to agree with mrs carnell

At *arrow a*, the IE states his personal position (Malone 1997) by saying that he "tends to agree" with the Chief Minister's views on the issue of sexual harassment, aligning his views with the Chief Minister's views. By saying: 'tends to agree' with the Chief Minister, the IE is setting himself up as an individual who has the same

view as the most powerful person in the Government. Consequently, this implies that the IE's view carries weight.

### 2.3.2 When the proposition is an A-event

In section 2.3.2 the IE uses 'I think' with A-events – events which are something that the speaker knows about but which the listener does not necessarily know about (Labov and Fanshel 1977:62). When the IE uses 'I think' with an A-event, this suggests that s/he is downgrading his/her commitment to the proposition about him/herself. The effect is a distancing of him/herself from an action that involves 'self'.

In Example 2.24, the Treasurer, Ralph Willis is interviewed about inflation. He is the only person who knows about how high inflation is at the time of the interview, as the person responsible for releasing the figures to the public, so his talk about this is an A-event. Here the IE uses 'I think' in combination with this A-event. In this example, it is the context of the surrounding talk that is used to inform the interpretation of data (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994).

#### Example 2.24

[V: 27.10.95 ABC TV, lines 3-8]

- |   |      |                                                                                              |
|---|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | I-if I could just get the big picture right. <u>infla</u> tion's now at its- at its          |
| 2 |      | highest since the december quarter of ninedeen ni:nety <sub>2</sub> .h you <u>expe</u> ct it |
| 3 |      | to go higher still but then it's go:nna come down again=is that right?                       |
|   | M:RW |                                                                                              |
| 4 | a->  | (.) we:ll I think the <u>offi</u> cial rate the- the headline rate (.) is ah                 |
| 5 |      | almost ad its peak if not at its peak (.) and that ah <u>cert</u> ainly from the             |
| 6 |      | march quarter of next year we'll see it come down.                                           |

At *arrow a*, the IE displays a lack of commitment about whether the inflation rate is at its peak by modifying what he has to say about it with 'I think': "well I think the official rate the- the headline rate is ah almost at its peak if not at its peak". The use of "well" to begin the reply as a marker of a dispreferred answer, (Pomerantz 1984), the hesitancy of his reply indicated by the pause at the beginning of the IE's turn at line 4, and the lengthening of the vowel in "we:ll" suggest that the IE does not want to make a commitment to the proposition that the headline rate is at its peak. The effect of using 'I think' with an A-event is to distance himself from the proposition the inflation rate is at its peak.

In Example 2.25, the Coalition Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs, Christine Gallus is interviewed about who the Leader of the Coalition, John Howard, means by minority groups. 'I think' is used in combination with an A-event about the IE's party's interpretation of John Howard's use of the words minority groups during the *For All of Us* campaign.

#### Example 2.25

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 29-36]

- 1 F:FK and do you think that's who john howard is referring to when he says minority groups  
 2 he's only talking about unions or is he talking about .h greenies, the ethnic lobby, the  
 3 aboriginal mabo negotiating team people like that that that mainstream australia's  
 4 seen on the t-v news at night?  
 F:CG  
 5 a-> I think ah what we are saying is that we will be not subject o bullying by any particular  
 6 b-> minority group and I think the whole of australia would applaud at that because  
 7 nobody wants to see a government bullied and certainly not the way that THIS  
 8 government has managed to be bullied by ah the union movement

At *arrow a*, the IE uses 'I think' in combination with what the Liberal Party's view point is – an A-event. The IE uses 'I think' to downgrade her commitment to her representation of the opinion of the Liberal Party, invoked by 'we'. The effect of 'I

think' in this position enables the IE to distance herself from her strong claim that the Liberal Party will not be subject to bullying by minority groups. Because the issue of minority groups is a sensitive one the IE uses 'I think' to step back from the impact of this view and making a statement on behalf of the Liberal Party that might not be truly representative. The IE is not using 'I think' to express her opinion about her Party's views which she knows about.

The second use of 'I think' in the IE's turn at *arrow b*, is linked to a D-event. 'I think' softens the impact of such a broad generalisation about how Australia might respond to the issues discussed in the interview, a claim for which the IE may not have evidence. Like 'I think' at *arrow a*, 'I think' at *arrow b* represents a downgrading to a subjective comment. The IE does not claim that she knows exactly how the whole of Australia might respond so she distances herself from this proposition with 'I think'.

In Example 2.26, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence is interviewed about the relationship between her "recent problems" of being accused of lying about her knowledge in the Easton Affair and her being a woman. She uses 'I think' in combination with an A-event about her own actions. This use is particularly unusual and the effect is to distance herself from her own actions.

#### Example 2.26

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 25-29]

- |   |      |                                                                                                      |
|---|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | .h and t' what extent do you <u>genuinely</u> belie:ve that your recent                              |
| 2 |      | problems are in any way due to the fact th't you're a woman.                                         |
|   | F:CL |                                                                                                      |
| 3 | a->  | w'll ↑I think I've indicated <u>before</u> that the the <u>only</u> (.) <u>way</u> in which they are |
| 4 |      | is th't ah as the only woman in cabinet .h and one of the <u>few</u> women in ah                     |
| 5 |      | public life, you tend to stand out like a sore thumb                                                 |

The IE begins her response with: “I think I’ve indicated before”. “I’ve indicated before” is an A-event because it is information about the speaker. By modifying this proposition with ‘I think’, the IE distances herself from making an absolute claim of knowledge about what she has said before. By using ‘I think’ to modify the proposition: “I’ve indicated before”, the IE is not expressing an opinion about something she has done. In fact: ‘I think’ cannot be used to express an opinion about something someone has done because one does not usually express opinions about one’s own actions, that is, an A-event (Labov and Fanshel 1977). This is because A-events are undisputable, and particularly so by the speaker him/herself.

‘I think’ is typically used with D-events to express opinions, however, it is not used with A-events to express opinions. When ‘I think’ is used with an A-event, the function of ‘I think’ differs. In Example 2.26 ‘I think’ functions as a way of distancing the speaker from the proposition about self and the effect of saying ‘I think’ about one’s own actions is to distance oneself from self’s actions. The IE has been accused of knowing about a petition and lying about it and is giving evidence about her actions in relation to this. What she says in the interview may be used against her later as evidence to determine her guilt in the matter. By distancing herself from her own actions she is not claiming to have absolute knowledge about what she has done and thus constructs herself as a cautious individual aware of the dangers of making any claims for which she may be held accountable.

‘I think’ is used in combination with both D-events and A-events in the interview. The effect of using ‘I think’ with a D-event is to construct a picture of ‘self’ as a politician who has an individual opinion. This use is to be expected in the interview, in which the opinion of the IE is sought about various issues (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994). On the other hand, the use of ‘I think’ with A-events is noteworthy because ‘I think’ is typically associated with D-events (Labov and Fanshel 1977). However, in political interviews, using ‘I think’ with an A-event is understandable. There are times when politicians need to distance themselves from knowledge about themselves, for instance when the IE is being questioned



about particularly sensitive issues in which knowledge about the IE is being sought. 'I think' conveniently functions as a distancing mechanism, enabling the IE to distance him/herself from the knowledge of their own actions and thus protect him/herself from criticism.

## 2.4 Taking control of the interview topic

In political interviews politicians make attempts to control the topic (Greatbatch 1988). During an attempt to do this, the IE may or may not make explicit reference to what s/he wants to talk about. When the IE expresses his/her intention to change the topic, s/he uses 'I', reflecting this individual desire.

In Example 2.27, Senator Reba Meagher is interviewed about an Apprehended Violence Order she has taken out against another politician.

### Example 2.27

[XII: 10.2.95 ABC TV, lines 86-92]

- |   |      |                                                                                          |
|---|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:AO | one thing I would like to ask you though finally though is whether you                   |
| 2 |      | consider your colleague diedre grooseven (.) a suitable cand'd't in this election        |
| 3 |      | <u>given</u> (.) the ah .h <u>strong</u> attack she made on the character (.) of ah john |
| 4 |      | <u>marsden</u> under parliamentary privilege which was subsequently proved               |
| 5 |      | <u>wrong</u> .                                                                           |
| 6 |      | (.) ah <and he wasn't even a political candidate of course. is she a suitable            |
| 7 |      | candidate?>                                                                              |
|   | F:RM |                                                                                          |
| 8 | a->  | .hh (0.8) I'm here to talk about violence against women (.) andrew and ah                |
| 9 |      | that's been the focus of (.) of ah <u>my</u> public comments                             |

When the IR asks the IE to comment on a colleague of hers who is in a similar situation (lines 1-5) the IE states explicitly at *arrow a* what she wants to talk about: "I'm here to talk about violence against women". The IE says this as a means to

take control of the topic (Greatbatch 1986) and to avoid having to make a judgement about her colleague. The effect of using 'I' also refocusses the talk on the IE, shifting the talk from the topic of the IE's colleague Diedre Groosevon.

Taking control of the topic in an interview (Greatbatch 1986) is another way in which the IE represents him/herself as an individual. Indeed, it is the individual who must express the intention or desire to change topics and using 'I' to express this individual intention is one way of doing this.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In many of these interviews, the IE is asked to respond as an individual to certain issues. The elicitation of this individual response stems from the types of issues that are debated in interviews. These types of issues include things that the IE is doing him/herself and which are not collective or party issues; issues for which the IE is solely responsible. In these cases, 'I' is the obvious pronoun to use if the IE wants to make claims about him/herself. Thus, the use of 'I' is linked to construction of an individual image, the construction of which is important to politicians. Some qualities can't and shouldn't be attributed to the group, in the same way as to the individual.

The use of 'I' is central to the representation of self by the politician in the data from these interviews and is related to how a politician does "being a good politician". Doing "being a good politician" involves showing oneself in a positive light. This can be accomplished by talking about what s/he is doing in order to be a good politician, for example, his/her personal qualities, being a responsible politician, being a person in touch with the electorate, being a person of principles, a person of action, a person with a track record etc. Self is also represented as an individual when the politician gives individual opinions and evaluations of and responses to situations; gives descriptions or narratives about oneself; recounts actions that the politician has performed in relation to his/her job as a politician,

shows his/her authority. Thus, the interview is not just a channel of information to the public about the position of the politician but it is a place where the politician constructs a positive image of him/herself.

When the IE is creating a picture of self as a good politician, s/he uses 'I' to construct the different facets of being a good politician. 'I' is used with different types of verbs reflecting these different faces of the individual politician. Of these verbs, there are a large number of uses of 'I' associated with verbs which express the actions of a politician. These actions are typically associated with things that politicians do in the course of their job and they range from actions which are specific to a particular role to more general actions associated with being a politician. However, what is significant about all these uses of 'I' is that the IE is constructing a picture of self as a good politician.

Another use of 'I' is as part of 'I think' which is used in combination with D-events in which the IE positions him/herself in agreement or disagreement with certain information. 'I' is used in this way frequently to express this positioning and can be attributed to the role of the interviewee to make known his/her view on certain issues (Clayman 1988:476).

'I' is also found in a distinct use of 'I think' with A-events. In this combination 'I think' functions to distance the IE from a proposition about 'self'. A speaker may want to distance himself/herself from a proposition in which s/he is implicated for a number of reasons. These include not being certain of the truth of the proposition, not wanting to claim absolute knowledge of the proposition or not wanting to make a commitment to the proposition.

What determines the use of 'I' is the desire of the politician to construct a picture of self as a good politician. This is the case both when the interview or question is focused on the IE as an individual but also when there is no such individual focus. This occurs because the representations of self are directed to the overhearing

audience (Heritage 1985) who will listen to the interview and with whom the IE is trying to establish a rapport. This relationship with the audience must be cultivated because ultimately, it is this overhearing audience who must decide whether or not to vote for the IE and the decision of the overhearing audience is largely based upon what the politicians say in the interview.

So far, the use of 'I' to express the individual 'self' of politicians in these political interviews has been examined. In the next chapter, the use of 'we' as a means of expressing collective 'selves' of politicians and other uses of 'we' will be the focus of investigation.

## Chapter 3

### Who is 'we'?: an analysis.

#### 3.1 Introduction

Research on 'we' using Conversation Analysis focuses on how 'we' is used in talk in suicide prevention centres (Watson 1987); psychiatric discourse (Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2); talk amongst sociology students (Malone 1997); and doctor – patient interaction (Silverman 1987, Maynard 1984, and Schegloff 1996); but no research has been done using Conversation Analysis nor a combination of Conversation Analysis and Goffman (1974, 1981) in the context of political interviews. Previous research on the use of 'we' in political interviews is limited to the use of pronouns (Wilson 1990) in which 'we' is considered to have a varied distribution of referents ranging from we (self + one other) to we (self + humanity). Wilson (1990) focuses on the range of different group memberships in the political context. On the other hand, Sacks' (1992:1:333-40) work on 'we' shows how 'we' is a marker of category membership and is used to indicate "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5). Goffman's (1974, 1981) notion of participation status is also used to interpret the different uses of 'we'. "Institutional identity" through the use of 'we' is prominent used in these political interviews, however, it does not account for the full extent of how 'we' is used in political interviews. In this chapter, the interactional use of 'we' by interviewees, in these Australian political interviews, will be examined.

Investigation of 'we' (and its related forms us, our, ourselves) in the political interviews in this study shows a diversity of ways in which the politician uses 'we'. While the core meaning of 'we' is collective identity or group membership, the variety of contexts of these political interviews enables the politician to use 'we' to achieve different effects. These effects include making the interviewee's (IE) "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5) salient; creating a powerful representation of the IE's political party in an 'us and them' dichotomy; co-

implicating the people; deflecting individual attention on the IE; and, invoking a general collective response to an issue.

The chapter is divided into seven sections, according to each of the different contexts in which 'we' is used. The first five sections (3.2-3.6) examine: "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5), 'us and them' dichotomy; 'we' as a means of co-implicating the people; 'we' to indicate that is not just the IE who is involved in the issue; and, 'we' to invoke a general collective response. Section 3.7 deals with three modified and upgraded uses of 'we': 'we all', 'all of us', and 'every one of us' as means to emphasise the inclusivity of every one; and in the case of 'every one of us', to emphasise that there are individuals who can be counted who make up a collective. Section 3.8 examines the use of 'we have' as a personalised substitute for the existential marker 'there is'.

In order to understand the nature of what 'we' is doing in these interviews, firstly, the local context of the detail of the surrounding talk (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994) is used to inform us as to the nature of 'we' for the particular IE. However, where necessary, the broader context of the political culture in which these interviews are located (Cicourel 1992, Goffman 1974, Malinowski 1923 and Ochs 1979) is also provided in order to inform the interpretation of the data. For example, where the IE is invoking a group membership that is not referred to explicitly in the data, this information is provided.

### **3.2 'We' institutional identity**

The examples in this section are all instances of 'we' being used to express an "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5). An "institutional identity" is achieved when a person speaks on behalf of, or as a representative of, an institution. In other words, the speaker takes on the participation status of a representative of a particular institution (Goffman 1974, 1981). In the context of political interviews, taking on an "institutional identity" typically means the IE speaks as a

representative of his/her political party. However, taking on an “institutional identity” is not limited to speaking on behalf of a political party; an IE can set his/herself up as the representative of any group.

In Example 3.1, the Shadow Treasurer and Deputy Leader of the Liberal and National Party Coalition, Peter Costello, is interviewed the day before the 1996 Federal election about a possible Budget deficit.

### Example 3.1

[VIII: 15.2.96 ABC TV, lines 63-80]

- 1 M:KO =o:kay that's the three years hence, (.) this is no:w=I'm not asking you what you  
 2 think treasury believes. I'm a:sking you what you and john howard (.) are  
 3 pri:vately saying (.) about the li:kelihood >not possibility< li:kelihood of a  
 4 deficit and what I'll ask you again which was put at the press conference. .h  
 5 you've- you've said that you are clearly committed to- to maintaining to keeping  
 6 all of your promises  
 7 (0.4)  
 8 M:PC ye:s [we will].  
 9 M:KO s[o [so you're putting your promises ahead of the possibility of a  
 10 deficit.=so would you accept in the end, (.) a budget deficit an underlying budget  
 11 deficit in nineteen ninety six >ni:nety seven< (.) if that's what you have to do >to  
 12 meet your promises.<  
 13 M:PC  
 14 a-> ah we will meet all of our promises.=  
 15 b-> =if a:h if a:h a large deficit ari:ses ah we'll have to take that into a<sup>↑</sup>ccount after  
 16 c-> the election,=>and we'll have to take that into account in relation to the bottom  
 17 d-> line.< .h but you see what we've done today kerry≈  
 18 e-> < (.) is we have sho:wn how we can pay for <sup>↑</sup>all of our promises and more (.) and  
 19 f-> more and add to the <bottom line> .h we know what the outcome will be under  
 20 g-> us, it will be savings on the <bottom line> (.) what ever the starting point is, (.)  
 21 h-> under us (.) there will be additional savings (.) on the <bottom line> a:fter we  
 22 i-> have paid for each and every >one of our election co°mmitments°.<

Example 3.1 has 14 first person plural pronouns – nine ‘we’, three ‘our’ and two ‘us’. Nearly every phrase begins with ‘we’. The effect of this is to emphasise that Peter Costello is speaking on behalf of the Coalition party, that he is taking on an “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992:1:391-5). In other words, his participation status is not just as speaker of his own thoughts and ideas, but as representative of the Coalition party (Goffman 1974, 1981). He is speaking on behalf of the team that will carry out the promises should they win the Federal election and creating an image of a united team which will accomplish these promises.

In most of the instances of ‘we’ as institutional identity, there is an association with the actions of the Coalition party: “we will *meet our promises*” (arrow *a*), “we’ll have to take that into a *↑ccount*” (arrows *b* and *c*), “*what we’ve done today*” (arrow *d*), “*we have shown how we can pay for...*” (arrow *e*), and “*a:fter we have paid for*” (arrow *h*). These actions are in the past, present and future, creating an impression of a political party who have a track record of doing things but who are also active now. This association of the actions of the party with ‘we’ constructs a picture of an active political party (Silverman 1987:57).

At arrows *a*, *e*, and *i*, the IE speaks about “our promises”, “all of our promises” and “our election commitments” respectively. What these uses of ‘our’ have in common is their association with the positive actions and attributes of the Coalition. By linking the party by means of ‘our’ to these positive actions, a picture of a political party of integrity is constructed because ‘our’ in the context of the words ‘promises’ and ‘election commitments’ suggests an affiliation between the party, invoked by ‘our’, and the positive notions of ‘promises’ and ‘election commitments’ (Sacks 1992:1:382). At arrows *f* and *g*, the IE uses ‘us’ in ‘under us’, reiterating and emphasising that he is speaking on behalf of the Coalition party and highlighting what they will do.



In Example 3.2, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about the management of Aboriginal health issues.

### Example 3.2

[XXVII: 16.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 112-120]

- 1 F:CL .hh ah I happened to think and have argued that the
- 2 delivery on the ground is better managed with um a strongly aboriginal
- 3 community controlled input and also the professional backup of a health
- 4 department
- 5 F:EJ but will it happen do you think?
- 6 F:CL well we've still got a few weeks to go on this question the budget is being framed
- 7 that's why I'm here in canberra this week but ah I've been here talking to
- 8 treasury and finance officials about my budget
- 9 a-> .hh all ministers will be doing that then we will put it together in a
- 10 comprehensive form.

In the IE's last turn in Example 3.2 at lines 6-10, the IE talks about the Federal Health Budget, avoiding answering the question that the IR has posed about the sensitive and controversial issue of whether or not the Government will hand over responsibility for Aboriginal Health issues to Aboriginal people. At *arrow a*, the IE focuses on the collective involvement of all the ministers in putting together the final version of the Federal Health budget: "all ministers will be doing that...". The IE then signals this collective work of the ministers with 'we'. The shift from "all ministers" to 'we' is not just a simple anaphoric substitution. By using 'we' the IE makes the inclusion of herself explicit. "all ministers" does not make the inclusion of the IE explicit. This use of 'we' shows that she is involved in a collective decision making process. Here, the IE takes on the participation status of representative of the Government Ministers (Goffman 1974, 1981). In this context, in which the sensitive issue of Aboriginal Health is being discussed, formulating the answer to

the IR's question in terms of a collective response enables the IE to balance out her individual responsibility.

In Example 3.3, the Leader of the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) Greens and member of the Legislative Assembly, Kerry Tucker, is interviewed about how the Greens will respond to the sexual harassment allegations made against the Deputy Chief Minister of the ACT Government.

### Example 3.3

[XXVI: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 36-42]

- 1 F:EJ.hh will you and lucy harodney vote the same way on this, because it appears to
- 2 me as though really you're going to be the one to make this decision, .h paul
- 3 osborne uh seems to be siding with uh kate carnell and the liberals, .hh michael
- 4 moore I haven't spoken to him yet b't uh I have received an indication that uh
- 5 he seems to favour labor's point of view on this, .hh.hh it looks like you're the
- 6 decision maker.
- 7 F:KT
- 8 a-> the decision makers, yes. lucy and I are as the green m-l-a's and
- 9 b-> we vote the same way
- 10 c-> we're a party
- 11 d-> .h so we'll make a party decision on this.

At *arrow a*, the IE clarifies who it is that will make the decision in relation to whether or not to stand down the deputy Chief Minister. First, at *arrow a*, the IE emphasises that she and Lucy Harodney are a team of decision makers. The IE stresses that there is more than one person involved in the decision making process by stressing the final syllable in “makers” which contains the plural suffix “-s”: “the decision makers,”. The IE then states who the “decision makers,” are by naming herself and the other party member Lucy Harodney. The IE continues by saying in what capacity they will be voting: “as the green m-l-a's”. Now that the IE has made it explicit who will be making the decision and in what capacity, she uses ‘we’ instead of renaming the group. The ‘we’ here not only performs the function

of substitution for “lucy and I”, but continues to make salient that the IE is speaking on behalf of a group in her “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992:1:391-5), that is, she is taking on the participation status of representative of the Greens party (Goffman 1974, 1981), and not speaking as an individual.

At *arrow b*, the IE reiterates that she belongs to this group, using ‘we’ again to invoke her group membership, saying that when it comes to voting they are a united team: “we vote the same way”. At *arrow c*, the IE makes another statement about her identity as part of a political party: “we're a party”, thus reinforcing her group membership and “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992:1:391-5), and her participation status as representative of the Greens party (Goffman 1974, 1981). At *arrow d*, the IE sums up all she has said in the turn: “.h so we'll make a party decision on this.” The repetition in quick succession of ‘we’ as a marker of the IE’s institutional identity, serves to emphasise that the IE is speaking on behalf of the Greens party. This reinforces the idea that her party is united and leaves no doubt in the mind of the listener as to how the IE and Lucy Harodney will vote. This is particularly important in this context because the Greens’ votes will determine what decision is made about the standing down of the Deputy Chief Minister.

In Example 3.4, one of the independent members of the Legislative Assembly of the ACT Government, Michael Moore, is talking about the format of a debate about rates in the ACT. In this question, the IR asks the IE to explain the debate process.

#### Example 3.4

[XIX: 14.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-12]

- 1 F:EJ can we start with the nuts and bolts of this debate? what's the format and is it
- 2 open to all ah all people including lucinda spier?
- 3 M:MM oh indeed anybody who wishes to come and ah participate in the audience would
- 4 be welcome to come and participate in the audience but the format .h is that the

5           three ah prime members of the (.) assembly second of the assembly the chief  
 6           minister the leader of the opposition and myself will debate the rates and what  
 7   a->       and in over the last three years with rates and where we think that the changes  
 8   b->       need to be made we'll have about eight minutes each to put  
 9   c->       our case and then a further five minutes to rebut statements that the other people  
 10           have said then it will be open to questions ah from ah the audience including  
 11           people like lucinda spiers

At lines 5-6, the IE explains who will be speaking in the debate; three members of the Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition and the IE. The IE is speaking on behalf of these people who will be panellists in the rates debate. That is, the IE is assuming the participation status of being the representative of the panellists (Goffman 1974, 1981). There are actually a number of people speaking in the rates debate but the IR chooses this particular IE to explain the process to the overhearing audience. In this way, the IE becomes the representative of the panellists in the debate. The IE takes on this newly constructed “institutional identity” by explaining the format in terms of what ‘we’ will do at *arrows a, b* and *c*. This identity is not something that already exists but something which is constructed discursively (Goodwin 1996, Malone 1997, Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2, Watson 1987).

In the context of a debate it is clear that the different speakers will not all necessarily think the same way and at *arrow a*, the IE says: ‘where we think that the changes need to be made’ talking about what ‘we think’. This is an example in which ‘we’ doesn’t mean that every one is doing the same thing together. “We think” in other instances can mean that all the people invoked by ‘we’ are thinking the same way. What the IE makes salient by referring to people who will be debating about the rates, is that there is a group of them and the same debate rules apply to all of them.

At *arrow b*, the IE says: “we'll have about eight minutes each to put our case” where ‘we’ refers to the panellists in the debate, that is, the same group of people

referred to by the previous 'we'. At *arrow c*, "our case" is used to suggest that each member of the group will have to put forward an individual case. The context of the preceding talk disambiguates the meaning of 'our' from meaning that each person will present a case that the whole group holds in common. An understanding about what happens in a debate also helps the listener to understand that each of the people will present different views but in the same format.

In Example 3.5, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence is interviewed about the outcomes of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

### Example 3.5

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 3-11]

- |   |      |                                                                                        |
|---|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | [.hh now your attendance at the u:-n fourth <u>world</u> conference on <u>women</u> in |
| 2 |      | beijing will presumably be a pleasant interlude from your recent political battles     |
| 3 |      | b't .h ↑what do these huge talkfests <u>actually</u> achieve f' women                  |
| 4 | F:CL | .hh w'll I think they always run the risk of being <u>irrelevant</u> and that's        |
| 5 | a->  | why australia has pushed very hard to make this a conference of <u>committments</u> .h |
| 6 |      | so that every nation who goes there will actually have a series of commitments         |
| 7 |      | they're making to improve the status of women                                          |
| 8 | b->  | .h and we <u>mean</u> commitments we don't just mean nice words .h                     |
| 9 | c->  | .h and so we've taken the <u>lead</u> in that                                          |

The IE has attended the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and her reference to 'we' is the IE speaking in her "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5) and taking on a participation status as a representative for Australia at the conference (Goffman 1974, 1981). It is not clear how many representatives from Australia attended the conference, but the IE takes on the role of representative for the Australian delegation in this context of the IR asking a question about the conference. By using 'we', the IE takes on an "institutional

identity” as the person asked by the IR to speak about the conference, on behalf of the women who attended the conference.

At *arrow b*, IE talks about Australia’s intentions for actions: “*we mean* commitments *we* don't just mean nice words”. The two ‘we’ in this utterance refer to the Australian delegation of which the IE was a part, who made the commitments on behalf of Australia at the conference. These ‘we’ refer back to “australia” at *arrow a*, which in turn refer to the Australian delegation (Sacks 1992:1:571). The anaphoric referent of ‘we’ is ‘australia’ but means “the Australian delegation not actually every one in Australia. The listener must work out what ‘Australia’ refers to work out to whom ‘we’ refers (Malone 1997:64).

At *arrow c*, the IE upgrades what she has said from intentions to actions: “so *we’ve* taken the lead in that”. This actions carried out by ‘we’ creates the picture of a team of action (Silverman 1987:57).

From the words that are used in conjunction with the three ‘we’ at both *arrows b* and *c*: “*we mean commitments*”: “*we* don't just mean nice words” and “*we’ve* taken the lead in that”, it is clear that not the whole of Australia is performing these actions but the delegation who was responsible for acting on behalf of Australians.

In all of the interviews discussed in this chapter except Example 3.4 and 3.5, the IEs take on the participation status of representatives of their political parties (Goffman 1974, 1981). Given that one of the tasks of the IE in an interview is to represent his/her party, it is appropriate that they use ‘we’ to accomplish this in their “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992:1:391-5). IEs invoke this “institutional identity” because one of their primary identities in the interview is as a representative of their political party. In Example 3.4, the IE speaks as a representative of people involved in a debate on rates. In Example 3.5, the IE takes up the “institutional identity” of a representative of the Women’s conference that the IR has created and which the IE has taken on. In all the examples, the “institutional identity” of the IE is created in the context of the interview and either

individually created by the IE or collaboratively created by both the IE and the IR. Thus, it is not always the IE alone who creates her identity but the IR who also collaborates in the creation of the IE's identity.

### 3.3 'Us and them' dichotomy

'Us and them' dichotomies are established in political interviews when the IE criticises another party to create a negative picture of that party in order to create favourable pictures of themselves. In establishing an 'us and them' dichotomy, the IE paints a picture of the group to which s/he belongs as a group with positive attributes and the 'other' as a group with negative attributes. The purpose of setting up the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy can be to separate the IE and his/her group - 'us' - from the other group - 'them' - and their actions. The dichotomy separates the group to which the IE belongs from another group and enables the IE to defend himself/herself and his/her group. 'Us and them' dichotomies are established for different purposes which include defending the party and justification of the party's causes or disagreement.

In Example 3.6, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about her response to the Government's 1996 Federal Budget.

#### Example 3.6

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 50-62]

- |   |      |                                                                                               |
|---|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:KO | ah john howard ah says he'll be spelling out spending cuts after his policy                   |
| 2 |      | launch= is there much left to cut as far as you're concerned (.) and what approach            |
| 3 |      | would you apply again in the senate?                                                          |
| 4 | F:CK | .h well I don't think there's much left to cut kerry=I mean look what we've seen so           |
| 5 |      | far is a twenty fi:ve percent decrease in the amount of money spent on public                 |
| 6 |      | education for a start (.) .h and in the <u>last</u> budget .h ah (.) putting up the ah safety |
| 7 |      | net threshold for pharmaceuticals so that families with chronically ill children              |

- 8                   (.) .h can't have their medication. ↑that's that's the de- degree to which
- 9   a->           things have been cud in this country, (.) .h what we always apply, to
- 10 b->           our assessment of cuts is impact and ac- and equity and access.
- 11 c->           we have said to the labor party all along;
- 12 d->           we will judge each thing on its merit, (.)
- 13 e->           we are not happy about the way .h ah cuts have been used by the labor party
- 14               either and I think there'd be a lot of australians who would expect us to stand up
- 15               for fairness.

At *arrow a*, the IE begins to talk about the process the Democrats apply when they are asked to evaluate a budget. The IE uses 'we' to present the Democrats as a united team in opposition to the 'them' of the Government. By using 'we' the IE represents the Democrats as a team, evaluating the Government's budget cuts fairly. By associating the Democrats with these positive attributes, the IE constructs a picture of the Democrats as a good party. At *arrow b*, the IE frames the assessments of cuts as: "our assessment of cuts", thus displaying her party's perspective, invoked by 'our'. The IE elaborates what this assessment with words that suggest that Democrats are a party concerned about justice in the political process: "impact and ac- and equity and access".

At *arrow c*, the IE again refers to something that the Democrats have said: "we have said to the labor party all along;". Here 'we' creates an 'us and them' dichotomy between the Democrats and the Labor Party, mentioned in the same phrase. At *arrow d*, the IE says what it is that the Democrats "have said to the Labor Party all along" as part of their evaluation process: "we will judge each thing on its merit,". In this phrase the IE is representing the Democrats as a group which advocates fairness. At *arrow e* the IE represents the feelings of the Democrats saying: "we are not happy about the way .h ah cuts have been used by the labor party either". By connecting feelings with 'we' the Democrats are presented as a group that feels the same way about the "cuts". The 'we' in this phrase also creates another explicit 'us and them' oppositional dichotomy between the Labor and the Democrats thus



highlighting the unfairness of the budget cuts by the Labor Party and justifying the Democrats' position.

At *arrows a, c and d*, the IE creates a picture of the Democrats as a team of action: "we always apply", "we have said... all along" and "we will judge..." (Silverman 1987:57). These actions are associated with what the Democrats have done in the past, present and future and as such, create a picture of a political party who have been, are and will be active. The use of 'we' in these contexts emphasises the thoroughness of the Democrats in scrutinising the Government's policies.

In Example 3.7, the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley, is interviewed the day before the 1996 Federal election, about a scandal involving forged letters, for which the Government has been blamed.

### Example 3.7

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 47-68]

- |    |      |                                                                                            |
|----|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | [though the federal] police have said th't they have taken a number of                     |
| 2  |      | statements <u>as</u> part of this investigation=I mean are you <u>perfectly</u> happy with |
| 3  |      | your campaign .h putting this information out.                                             |
| 4  |      | (0.4).                                                                                     |
| 5  | M:KB | .h well listen it's a matter <u>entirely</u> for the campaign (.)                          |
| 6  |      | and ≈and their judgement. ≈ I c'n understand their concern and the concern of the          |
| 7  |      | campaign, .hh ah given th't there was that attack on                                       |
| 8  | a->  | our <u>integrity</u> that is <u>obviously</u> a product of a <u>jake</u> done by somebody  |
| 9  | b->  | ↑else .hh not <u>ourselves</u> , .h if y' actually sit down and think through              |
| 10 | c->  | the issue logically there the notion that we'd write ourselves                             |
| 11 |      | .h fraudulent letters is an absolute <u>absurdity</u> .h                                   |
| 12 |      | [so easy to demonstrate                                                                    |
| 13 | F:FK | [wasn't it a attack on (0.3)                                                               |
| 14 | M:KB | [that they're false]                                                                       |
| 15 | F:FK | [wasn't it a attack] on john howard's                                                      |
| 16 |      | (0.7)                                                                                      |

- 17 [integrity?  
 18 M:KB [yeh well] (0.4) but (0.3)
- 19 as far as ah we're concerned those fraudulent letters arrived in our  
 20 d-> hands from some third party not devised internally by ourselves, (0.6)  
 21 .hh I mean a an act of devising them internally by ourselves would be a an act of  
 22 both gross stupidity and dishonesty (0.3) .hh which somebody like ralph k-  
 23 willis simply is not capable of,

In the first turn, the IR invokes the IE's association with the campaign by calling it: "*your* campaign". The effect of 'your' is to construct an affiliation between the IE and the campaign (Sacks 1992:1:382). However, in response to this, the IE speaks about the campaign as: "the campaign" at lines 5 and 6, and "their judgement" and "their concern" at line 6. By using 'the' and 'their' in this context, the IE disassociates himself from the campaign, constructing it as an 'other' that he is not a part of (Sacks 1992:2:291). The use of 'your' by the IR in contrast to 'their' by the IE establishes a dichotomy between the way the IR and the IE constructs the campaign.

At *arrow a*, the IE begins to talk about the effect of the forged letters on the Government as an "attack on *our* integrity". The use of "our" points to the IE's group membership of the Government and frames the problem of being accused of forging letters as something that has affected the whole Government. The IE shows his affiliation with the Government using 'our' which stands in contrast his construction of the Labor Party campaign as '*the* campaign' which he has distanced from himself by the use of 'the' and 'their' earlier in the turn. At *arrow b*, the IE says that the "jake" is done by "somebody else" not by "ourselves", reiterating his membership of the Government, but now creating an 'us and them' dichotomy made explicit by "ourselves" and "somebody else". At *arrow c*, the IE again refers to the Government as 'we' and 'ourselves', denying that the Government wrote the letters. The IE presents the Government as a united group by using these first person plural pronouns which represent a single unit of people who are like the

speaker (Sacks 1992:1:391-5). The pronouns 'our', 'ourselves' and 'we' enable the IE to separate himself and his party from the 'other' who have forged the letters. At *arrow d*, the IE begins to discuss the allegations that the Government itself is responsible for the forgery and does this through an us-them dichotomy. In this case, the 'us' is the government and this part of the answer deals with the effect of the forged letters on the Government itself. The damage was done to 'us' and therefore it had to be done by some 'them'. In this case, the dichotomy is established to defend the government party, and to refer blame to an external element.

The shift in pronouns in this example shows shifts in the construction of group membership. First, the IR sets up a group membership which includes the IE and the campaign. This is reconstructed by the IE as a group to which he does not belong (Sacks 1992:2:291). The IE then indicates that he belongs to the Government and that there is another group of people, to which he does not belong, this time an oppositional 'other' who have forged the letters. These constructions of the four different groups in quick succession are central to the understanding of the talk. By virtue of the IR setting up the IE as a member of the campaign, using 'your', the IR is associating the IE with responsibility for putting out the information about the forged letters. In the IE's response to this, in which he disassociates himself from this IR's construction of the campaign by using "their", the IE implies that he is not responsible for this information being given. Instead, the IE constructs himself as a member of the Government - 'ourselves' - who are in opposition to - 'somebody else' - who have forged the letters, indicating that the Government is not responsible for forging the letters.

Both the IE and IR use pronouns to construct different group memberships. The IR constructs one identity of the IE as a person/party affiliated with the Labor Party campaign. However, the IE constructs a different group membership, as a person/party separated from the campaign. Thus, pronouns are pivotal in the

creation of identities which are created discursively rather than representing already existing group memberships.

In Example 3.8, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about her response to the 1996 Federal Budget.

### Example 3.8

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 3-9]

- 1 M:PL .h now the experts all say experts australians have got t' sa:ve more=<d'z zis  
 2 mean that you would support the idea of employees giving up three percent of  
 3 their pay packets for super?  
 4 F:CK (0.9)  
 5 well I certainly support the notion that we have to save more,=I'm  
 6 a-> just not convinced that this particular proposal <SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT> .hh  
 7 is the: most efficient way to save.

At *arrow a*, 'we' is used in a parenthetical utterance: "<SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT>". 'We' refers to those who have heard about the proposal, that is everyone except the Government, which includes the Democrats. By using 'we' in the parenthetic phrase <SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT>, the information about the proposal sounds as though it has not been made publicly available by the Government. By using 'we' and embedding this parenthetic utterance, the effect is to deflect the responsibility from the IE being the only one who knows about the proposal. The focus is on the Government who haven't let people know much about the proposal. If the IE had said: "<SUCH AS I KNOW OF IT>", the implication would have been that she was the only one who was uninformed about the proposal. If that were the case, the responsibility for not being informed would have been on the IE. 'I' is linked to personal knowledge whereas 'we' is linked to an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy in which 'them' are being implicated in not letting everyone except the Government (including the IE) who know about the

proposal. This use of 'we' creates a distinction between "us" (we) who haven't heard about the proposal in detail and "them" (the Government). It also enables the IE to identify herself with those who are not part of the Government.

The shift of animation in this parenthetical utterance "such as we know of it" from IE 'self' to 'we', represents the IE shifting her participation status as individual to one who is speaking as a representative of those people who have been informed of the proposal by the Government, that is, those who are not part of the Government (Goffman 1974, 1981). As such, it indicates a collective identity.

In this clause, "<such as we know of it>," there are linguistic markers to mark this change in footing. During the change the IE speeds up, uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to those people who only know a little about the proposal and she stresses the first word "such". The embedding of the animation of 'we' of which the IE is a part distances the IE from this critical comment.

### **3.4 Not just me/not just someone else**

'We' can be used by an individual to say that it is not just s/he (or another person) that is involved in a particular issue but someone else as well. 'We' in this context is strongly associated with the IE being implicated in a problem. In this type of context, making the issue a collective one, invoked by 'we', deflects the negative attention away from the IE as an individual. The IE uses 'we' to draw in specific others, thus creating a group, with a clear identity, who become responsible for the problem. In this way, 'self' is minimised as it becomes part of a collective.

In Example 3.9, the Environment Minister, John Faulkner, is interviewed about the Government's policy in relation to the Carbon Tax.

#### **Example 3.9**

[II: 29.3.95 ABC TV, lines 23-37]

- 1 M:PL .hh but the fact remains: minister that <you were rolled by industry and the  
 2 economic ministers who wouldn't let you .h impose even the modest carbon tax  
 3 that you wanted.>  
 4 M:JF look paul, what happened in relation to the carbon tax w's this. .h <government  
 5 consulted with the stakeholders.> it consulted with the interest group[s,=  
 6 M:PL [and they  
 7 wo[uldn]'t have a bar of it.=  
 M:JF  
 8 a-> [xxxx] =w'll we sat down  
 9 b-> we talked to industry,  
 10 c-> we talked to the trade unions,  
 11 d-> we talked to the community groups,  
 12 e-> .h we talked to the conservation groups.  
 13 .h industry made very clear .h their position that they wanted to see a reduction  
 14 .h in the level of greenhouse gas emissions, .h they were willing to work  
 15 cooperatively .h with government to see that achieved, .h and <government  
 16 intends to hold them to that commitment.> .h but someti[mes:  
 17 M:PL [how can you do that  
 18 though without firm bench marks and ongoing targets

In the IR's turn at lines 1-3, the IR alludes to the IE's inability to have his proposed carbon tax accepted: "you were rolled by industry and the economic ministers who wouldn't let you .h impose even the modest carbon tax that you wanted". This implies a problem with the IE and implies a split between the IE and the economic ministers. By saying this, the IR constructs a picture of the IE as weaker than the other ministers and people in industry. In order to counter the IR's construction of the IE, the IE retells the sequence of events that led to a final decision on reduction in the level of greenhouse gas emissions and in the process constructs himself as not the only one who was involved in the process.

At lines 4 and 5, the IE refers to the Government impersonally: "*government* consulted with the stakeholders *it* consulted with the interest group[s=". At *arrow a*, the IE begins to retell the story, reformulating it in terms of what 'we', the

Government, did. 'We' emphasises unity and belonging to a collective serves to deflect the criticism and individual attention that the IR has given to the IE at lines 1-3. It also makes a link between Government (at lines 4 and 5) and gives a specific identity to the group invoked by 'we'.

From *arrows b* to *e*, the IE continues retelling the sequence of events in a simplified style, using the simple past in short utterances, repeating 'we' and 'talked' after saying that "we sat down". The IE reconstructs his image as someone who belongs to a united and cooperative group with words that imply a cooperative communicative effort, such as 'sit down' and 'talk', and 'we', which invokes a sense of a collective. Importantly, this use of 'we' also enables the IE to construct himself as not the only person involved in the process, and not the only one responsible for the failure to establish a Carbon Tax. Presenting the actions as something a group of people did shifts the focus to a group, and minimises the focus on the IE as an individual. 'We' invokes the IE's "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5) and enables him to establish his participation status as someone who is speaking on behalf of the Government (Goffman 1974, 1981). This focus on 'we' the Government also provides a defence for the IR's attack on the IE as an individual responsible for the problems.

In Example 3.10, Senator Clover Moore, an independent member of the New South Wales Government, is interviewed about the traffic problems in her electorate.

#### Example 3.10

[X: 25.8.95 ABC TV, lines 31-50]

- |   |      |                                                                                           |
|---|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:AO | [mightn't get rid of the problem <u>anyway</u> ] <mightn't get rid of the problem         |
| 2 |      | anyway>I mean do you find yourself a bit <u>torn</u> on the issue of tolls? on the one    |
| 3 | a->  | hand of course you are very unpopular with your const <u>it</u> uents b't on the other    |
| 4 |      | hand .h I mean I guess they <u>are</u> targeting to some extent although they're probably |





The IE invokes her “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992:1:391-5) with ‘we’, talking on the participation status of speaking on behalf of the electorate (Goffman 1974, 1981), however, what is more salient and urgent in this context is the need for the IE to repair the damage done by the IR’s criticism of her at line 3: “you are very unpopular with your constituents”, which has created a separation between the IE and her constituents. The IE’s constant use of ‘we’, in combination with the reference to collective past actions and present needs constructs a more positive picture of herself and helps repairs the damage that has been done by the IR’s criticism.

In Examples 3.19–3.10, ‘we’ was used to indicate that it was not just ‘me’ who is involved. Example 3.11 differs from these examples because ‘we’ is used to indicate that it is not just ‘someone else’ but that person and ‘me’.

In Example 3.11, the Minister for Primary Industry, Bob Collins, is interviewed about the IE’s Junior Minister, David Bedall’s involvement in the process of determining the logging coups in South-Eastern Australia. This example is quite different from the other examples because ‘we’ is used by the IE to refer to himself and one other, his Junior Minister, David Bedall.

### Example 3.11

[I: 3.2.95 ABC TV, lines 38-42, 70-73, 56-58]

(lines 38-42)

- |   |      |                                                                               |
|---|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | .hh talking of blame are                                                      |
| 2 |      | you are uh totally enchanted with the way your junior minister david bedall's |
| 3 |      | handled this from the outset?                                                 |
| 4 |      | (0.5)                                                                         |
| 5 | M:BC | paul david and I worked together (.) uh up and <u>during</u> the              |
| 6 | a->  | cabinet meeting that resolved this process and we're going to                 |

7                    continue to work on this .h until it's resolved

.

.

(lines 70-73)

8    b->            we've mounted a major exercise to deal with this as

9    c->            we've done uh when these things happened

10                before and uh in three or four -eeks time I'm sure that the attorney general .h will

11                bring the options to cabinet with how to deal with that.

In the IR's question, the IR singles out the IE's Junior Minister, David Bedall about whom he has said earlier in the interview:

(lines 56-58)

M:PL            but then we also have the not insignificant question of your .h junior minister according to the federal court not following proper proCE:dures by giving due weight to environmental considerations.

The IE formulates his response in terms of what he and David Bedall, with whom the IE has worked closely on the logging issues, have done together. The IE does this to protect the IE's Junior Minister from further individual criticism. At line 5, the IE establishes "David and I" as a group and at *arrows a, b* and *c* refers to themselves as "we". 'We' reinforces that is not just David Bedall who is responsible for the problems but that the IE is implicated as well: the IE is responding on behalf of a collective. In this context, 'we' functions to counter the individual focus on David Bedall established in the IR's question. By using 'we' the IE protects his Junior Minister from blame, by sharing the blame that the IR has attributed to David Bedall alone.

The purpose of using 'we' to suggest it is not just me (or someone closely associated with 'me' as in Example 3.11) but someone else, is to defend self (or someone closely related to 'self'). In Examples 3.9 and 3.10, the IE has been criticised by the IR for an action that s/he is responsible for as an individual. In Example 3.9, the IE has "been rolled by the other economic ministers" for his

Greenhouse Gas Policy and is being criticised as a result of this. In Example 3.10, the IR has labelled the IE as “very unpopular” with her constituents. In Example 3.11, the IE’s Junior Minister has been criticised for his part in the logging issue. In response to the negative focus on the IE, (and the IE’s close colleague in Example 3.11), the IE tries to minimise the impact by making the issue into a collective one by using ‘we’, thus taking on the participation status of the collective who are speaking on behalf of the IE and David Bedall (Goffman 1974, 1981). As the focus from the individual is shifted to the collective, invoked by ‘we’, the negative impact on the IE as an individual is minimised. This is in keeping with the IE’s desire to always construct a positive image of him/herself.

### 3.5 ‘We’, co-implicating the people

In Examples 3.12-3.15, ‘we’ is used to construct a group which refers to ‘the people’ including the IE. Thus, the IE takes on the participation status of someone speaking on behalf of ‘the people’ (Goffman 1974, 1981). In the Australian political context, ‘we’ can be used to refer to the Australian people and co-implicate them in what the IE is saying. This means that the people are drawn in to an issue, either by sharing responsibility for or benefiting from something. In this use of ‘we’, the IE and IR become part of this group, creating a sense of every one being involved.

In Example 3.12, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot is interviewed about her response to the Federal Budget.

#### Example 3.12

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 3-9]

- |   |      |                                                                                       |
|---|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | .h now the experts all say experts australians have got t' <u>sa:ve</u> more=<d'z zis |
| 2 |      | mean that you would support the idea of employees giving up three percent of          |
| 3 |      | their pay packets for super?                                                          |
| 4 |      | (0.9)                                                                                 |

F:CK

- 5 a-> well I certainly support the notion that we have to save more,=I'm  
 6 just not convinced that this particular proposal <such as we know of it>.hh is the:  
 7 most efficient way to save.

At *arrow a*, the IE offers her personal opinion about the proposal of the Government for employees to put away another three percent of their pay into superannuation. Embedded in this utterance at *arrow a* is 'we' in "we have to save more". 'We' corresponds to the Australians that the IR mentioned in the question at line 1. The IE uses the pronoun 'we' which does the work of connecting interactants in the talk (Malone 1997:71). Here the IE is creating a group of people that includes all Australians including herself and the IR and constructs herself as a person who can identify with the Australian people and communicate to the Australian people that she understands the issues and the impact that it has on Australians. By using 'we', the IE makes her argument more difficult to challenge because of the categorial property of 'we' which entails that the proposition associated with 'we' still holds even if someone in the group invoked by 'we' says, "I don't do that" or "I am not that" (Sacks 1992:1:382).

In Example 3.13, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is asked why the Government is planning to inject money into more medical schools.

### Example 3.13

[XVI: 6.2.96 ABC TV, lines 91-103]

- 1 M:KO okay you've promised the medical school for james cook university in townsville  
 2 which just happens to be a marginal ah .h ah seat held by labor where ah where  
 3 your support is seen to be deserting in droves if mundingburra is any illustration  
 4 (0.4) as a as a boost to ah rural doctor shortages what is that if it's not a blatant  
 5 piece of pork barrelling why townsville?  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 F:CL well because that's a very important part of the top end and there's already a  
 8 post graduate medical school there perhaps it's not well understood the- there's

9 clinical work goes on there already .hh and remote and rural medicine has been  
 10 a-> neglected in australia our medical schools haven't concentrated enough on the  
 11 problems of rural australia .h and it seemed to us that a top end university was  
 12 long over due .h and I must say I think it will be welcome through out the medical  
 13 community not just in queensland.

The IE's turn is a justification of the Government's decision to spend money on medical schools in North Queensland. At *arrow a*, the IE refers to the medical schools as "*our* medical schools". By using 'our', the IE suggests that the Australian people are co-implicated in the ownership and benefits of the medical schools and that this issue concerns and benefits all Australians and that it is not just a government or Queensland issue. Using 'our' shifts the focus to one with more general import. Also, by affiliating herself with the people, the IE constructs a group of people that includes every one, and one in which the IE is seen to be one of the people – a politician who is sympathetic to issues that affect Australians. 'Our' also deflects the attention from 'you', the IE as an individual with which the IR addresses the IE (Sacks 1992:1:605). In the traditional categorisation of pronouns, "our" implies possession or ownership by every member of the group being referred to by "our", however, in this example, 'our' indicates affiliation between the IE and the Australian people (Sacks 1992:1:382-8, 605-9). The IE does not use "our" in this literal sense of ownership. Rather by using the inclusive "our" she draws the people into the discussion as if they all had some involvement. What is at stake here is not the objective fact of who owns the medical schools but a construction of reality of the involvement of every one in the medical schools by the IE.

In Example 3.14, the Federal Environment Minister, John Faulkner, is questioned about Australia's Greenhouse Gas response that has been announced.

#### Example 3.14

[II: 29.3.95 ABC TV, lines 3-7]

- 1 M:PL =now I imagine you feel (muffled laugh) pretty embarrassed about the policy  
 2 you've had to unveil today.  
 3 M:JF no I don't I'm uh I think it's a-a very significant enhancement of australia's  
 4 greenhouse gas response= I don't feel embarrassed about it  
 5 a-> at all. .h this new package is going to take us to within about three percent. .h  
 6 ↑that's a -a pretty good record I think.

At lines 3-4, the IE makes a positive assessment of Australia's Greenhouse Response and denies the IR's suggestion that the IE is "embarrassed" by it. At arrow a, the IE continues his assessment of the policy and talks about the effect that it will have on people: "this new package is going to take *us* to within about three percent." The IE personalises the effects of the policy by using 'us' and thus implicates the people in the benefits for every one. Co-implicating the people in the policy enables the IE to shift the focus from himself, in a position of being criticised by the IR, to one in which the people are benefiting from the policy.

In Example 3.15, the Chief Minister of the ACT Government, Kate Carnell, talks about how the ACT Government Budget will be spent. What proceeds in this example is a lengthy breakdown by the IE of the financial state of the ACT Government, as a result of the previous ACT Government creation of a deficit.

### Example 3.15

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 76-83, 98-104]

(lines 78-85)

- 1 F:EJ.hh I must say I feel li:ke I'm being prepared here for a horror budget next month,  
 2 .h is that what I'm going to get?  
 3 F:KC ah you're going to get a tough budget (.) elizabeth but I think  
 4 w'- look it- this is not about about preparing (.) people for anything it's  
 5 ((laughter)) about open government .hh we've been=  
 6 F:EJ=wayne berry seems to think it is, he says it's just a big wind up

7 F:KC well I- I know what wayne berry says

8 F:EJ=tell 'em the worst and then they'll be happy

.

.

.

(lines 98-104)

20 F:KC .hh but on top of that we've got things like the clinical school, um wasn't funded

21 now that's h. one point five to two millions dollars a year, the bone marrow

22 transplant unit at the hospital .h wasn't funded, (.) the intensive (.) training

23 a-> clinics um which ah clinics sporting clinics to .h get our young people ready for-

24 well hopefully ready for the olympics, .h the l- previous government funded four

25 but actually established twelve they've got they've got staff they've got tr-

26 they've got coaches .h and so on that's another million dollars,

At *arrow a*, the IE co-implicates the people in her discussion by talking about the young people who will be training in the facilities as: “*our* young people”. By referring to the young people as “*our* young people”, the IE mitigates the effects of the “us”, the government, and “them”, the people, distinction that has been created by the ACT government making financial decisions without consultation with the people. The IE speaks to the audience as though they have some involvement in the decisions by talking about “*our* young people”. Using “*our*” in this way implies that the IE and the people have a shared interest and the group, “young people”.

In Examples 3.12-3.15, ‘we’ is used to co-implicate ‘the people’ by the IEs. The people being referred to by ‘we’ are Australians – those affected by the decisions made by Government. Although ‘we’ refers to the people of Australia, it is used to do more than just that. ‘We’ also includes the IE in the group, Australians, and enables the IE to identify himself/herself with the people of Australia. In Examples 3.12-3.15, the IE involves the people in and identifies with the people in financial matters; the construction of medical schools; Greenhouse policy; and construction of facilities for young Australian Olympians. The use of ‘we’ in these examples, also can dissolve any ‘us and them’ distinction between the IE and the people. ‘We’

has the property of being categorial and it enables the IE to make a strong claim about the proposition even if not every one agrees with it (Sacks 1992:1:382).

Co-implicating the people can also make an issue into a collective one as a means of deflecting individual attention on the IR. In Examples 3.13 and 3.14 this is the case. In Example 3.13, the IE is being criticised for the Government's proposal to establish a new medical school in a marginal seat. The IE responds to this criticism by talking about the problems of "our medical schools", thus making the issue into a collective one, rather than one for which she is solely responsible as the Federal Health Minister. In Example 3.14, the IE has been put into a difficult situation by the IR's suggestion that the IE's unveiling of the greenhouse policy has left the IE feeling embarrassed. In these examples, the IE shifts the focus from individual criticism to positive benefits for the people.

### **3.6 'We' collective response**

'We' also indicates a general collective response to an issue. In Examples 3.16-3.20, it is not clear to whom 'we' refers, as 'we' can be part of a group of people who are a part of another group – an embedded membership (Liddicoat et al. 1999). What is salient is the IE's creation of a collective response to an issue rather than the specification of a particular referent.

In Example 3.16, the Federal Environment Minister, Bob Collins, talks about the establishment of a list of logging coups. At the time of this interview, the loggers are parked in protest in front of Parliament House. In the talk preceding the following turns, there is a lot of discussion about the differing numbers of coups suggested by different members of the Government and the apparently flawed list of coups. In this question, the IR repeats his appeal to the IE to come up with the correct number of coups.



### Example 3.16

[I: 3.2.95 ABC TV, lines 102-108]

- |   |      |                                                                                      |
|---|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | he only nominated five hundred and nine he didn't seem to think                      |
| 2 |      | it was too impossible to say                                                         |
| 3 | M:BC | paul- as paul as I've said before it underlies this process which every one knows is |
| 4 |      | <u>flawed</u> of going through this coup by coup                                     |
| 5 | a->  | nonsense every twelve months. every one knows we've got to get away from it and      |
| 6 | b->  | we now will.                                                                         |

At lines 3-5, the IE talks about the process of counting coups as something that “every one knows”. At *arrow a*, the IE continues saying: “we’ve got to get away from it” implicating the Government and/or the people in the process by using the pronoun ‘we’. By using ‘we’, the IE implies that the issue is something to be dealt with by a collective, not by an individual. The potential ambiguous group membership as part of an embedded membership, invoked by ‘we’, is not relevant (Liddicoat et al 1999). Rather, it is the fact that a collective of people will deal with the urgent matter.

At *arrow b*, the IE makes a commitment to resolving the problem of the coups: “we now will”. By using ‘we’ the IE suggests that he belongs to a group of people who will deal with the problem. In this instance, the group invoked by ‘we’ responsible for resolving the problem are the Government. The implication is that there is a team of people involved. The effect of this is to give what will be done more validity because it will be accomplished by a team, not just the IE.

In Example 3.17, the Premier of New South Wales, Bob Carr, is interviewed about his position on the legalisation of drugs.

### Example 3.17

[IV: 5.10.95 ABC TV, lines 11-15]

- 1 M:AO I thought you had been implacably opposed to to those (xxx) to  
 2 decriminalisation or legalisation
- 3 M:CA a-> .hh my position is really that we've got to define heroin (.) addiction,  
 4 b-> heroin dependence as a health problem, we've got to treat it as a health problem.

At arrow a, the IE states his position on heroin addiction as: “*my position*” and then formulates it in terms of how the Government and/or the public, invoked by ‘we’ should be involved: “*we've got to define heroin (.) addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem, we've got to treat it as a health problem.*” The IE uses ‘we’ to implicate a larger group of people, of which he is a part, either the New South Wales Government and/or the public in making decisions about heroin addiction. By implicating either or both of these groups by ‘we’, the IE communicates that he thinks that the issue of heroin addiction is a matter for a group of people to deal with and not just himself. ‘We’ involves the New South Wales Government and/or the public and deflects any individual responsibility for the issue. He implies that it is an issue that calls for a much broader response than any one person could deal with: that is, a collective response is needed.

‘We’ in the IE’s response is potentially ambiguous because it could refer to the New South Wales Government of which he is the leader or it could refer to the people or both. It is not clear which group the IE wants to make salient. In either case, the Government can be seen as a subset of the larger group “the people” (Liddicoat et al. 1999). Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the two groups.

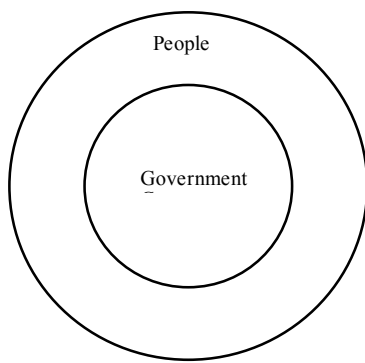


Figure 1 Embedded group membership (1)

In Example 3.18, one of the independent members of the Legislative Assembly of the ACT Government, Michael Moore, talks about Land Tax.

#### Example 3.18

[XIX: 14.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 71-76]

- 1 F:EJnow what about this recent suggestion of the rates association of a threshold for  
 2 investment properties?  
 M:MM  
 3 a-> well that we're now talking about ah land tax and that relies on ah  
 4 b-> the new south wales system. where we're talking about commercial properties  
 5 properties where people actually make a profit from the  
 6 c-> from the ah from the land and we refer to it as land tax

This question and answer adjacency pair marks the first time in the interview in which the IR makes explicit reference to an issue related to land: “investment properties”. At *arrow a*, the IE notes that the topic has changed to Land Tax: “well that we're now talking about ah land tax...”. Here ‘we’ refers to the IR and the IE who have been talking in the interview. By using ‘we’ the IE co-implicates the IR in the choice of topics in the interview and thus legitimises talk about Land Tax. Normally, the IR introduces a topic but an IE can take control of the topic too (Greatbatch 1986). By using ‘we’ here, the IE is legitimising the choice of topic by implying that it is a collaborative one.

At *arrow b*, 'we' personalises what the IE is saying and co-implicates other people in the discussion, as a means of emphasising that the issue is one that affects every one. At *arrow c*, the IE uses 'we' to explain what Land Tax means: "we refer to it as land tax". However, it is unclear exactly to whom 'we' refers; whether it refers to a group of people who are experts in Land Tax, of which the IE is a member, or whether 'we' is a more general group of people. This use of 'we' in "we refer to it as land tax" is a personalised way of saying: "it is referred to as land tax" and makes the issue into one that co-implicates people. The IE uses 'we' in this way to construct his talk as relevant to people.

This ambiguity of 'we' has some similarities with 'you' which has a 'this-and-that' ambiguity (Sacks 1992:1:165). In the same way as the speaker can exploit the ambiguity of 'you', 'we' can be exploited to refer to either or both of the groups.

In Example 3.19, a member of the Legislative Assembly of the ACT Government, Michael Moore, is talking about how the case of sexual harassment allegations against the Deputy Chief Minister of the ACT Government should be treated. This interview is the second in a series of four interviews conducted one after the other about sexual harassment allegations against the Deputy Chief Minister of the ACT Government. All four people interviewed are members of the ACT Government.

### Example 3.19

[XVII: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 32-39]

- 1 F: EJ now the assembly's is currently conducting a debate into the code of conduct that
- 2                   mrs carnell >has suggested<. should something like this do you think be codified?
- 3 M: MM       well I certainly commented during the debate (.) on this issue in the assembly
- 4                   that I thought that it ought to include issues like these I
- 5 a->       think it's important for us to remember that uh there was a case in new south
- 6                   ?wales, where one of the ministers who was guilty of uh sexual harassment ah
- 7                   resigned and in fact as I recall wasn't reelected.

At *arrow a*, the IE draws in other people into the discussion with 'us': "it's important for *us* to remember". The referent of 'us' is ambiguous and could refer to a number of different groups to which the IE belongs. 'Us' could refer to those who are being interviewed or to the members of the Government who will be asked to make a decision about whether they think the Deputy Chief Minister should stand down. Alternatively 'us' could refer to those involved in making a decision about whether the Deputy Chief Minister should stand down, whether in an official capacity in the Government or as a member of the public who is aware of the situation and is making their own internal decision.

These three abovementioned groups are in fact embedded memberships (Liddicoat et al. 1999) and their relationship to one another can be illustrated in the following way at Figure 2.

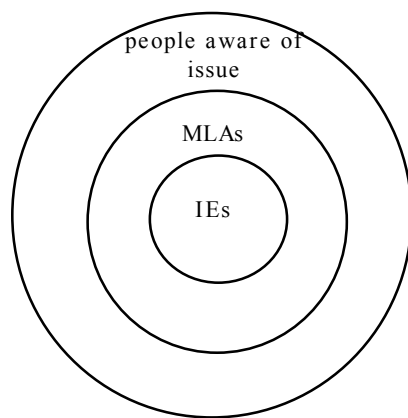


Figure 2 Embedded group membership (2)

The potential ambiguity about the referent of 'us' and hence the identity of 'us' is unproblematic since it is not a particular group that the IE wants to make salient. Rather, it is the fact that the IE wants to represent the issue as a collective one that is at stake here. By exploiting the ambiguity of 'us' the IE shifts makes the issue a collective rather than an individual one.

In Example 3.20, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about the questions about her in the National Press Club in relation to her knowledge of a petition circulated in the Western Australian Parliament in 1992, which allegedly contained false allegations about Penny Easton. The IE and possibly other members of the Labor Party were present at a speech given by the Prime Minister at the National Press Club.

### Example 3.20

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 169-175]

- 1 M:PL well you saw the prime minister at the press club last trying to talk about the  
 2 economy and then the vast majority of questions that followed were about carmen  
 3 lawrence.  
 F:CL  
 4 a-> we actually took a count the majority were about other things ah there were far too many  
 5 abo[ut the \*easton royal commission\*

At *arrow a*, 'we' refers to those people who counted the number of questions that were asked to the Prime Minister at the Press Club. Although it is unclear exactly who was a part of this group invoked by 'we', it is likely that it was a group of Labor politicians. However, the exact constitution of the group of people referred to by 'we' is not relevant. What the IE makes salient by using 'we' at this point in the conversation is the implication that it was a group of people, and not her as an individual, who counted the questions.

In Examples 3.16-3.20 in which 'we' is used to present an issue as a collective one, the referent of 'we' is potentially ambiguous because of the possibility of

embedded group memberships (Liddicoat et al. 1999). However, what is important is what the IE is doing by using 'we' or 'us' in this context, rather than the exact referent being known. What is salient in this use of 'we' or 'us' is the fact that 'we' is a categorial (Sacks 1992:1:382) meaning that even if someone in the group invoked by 'we' disagrees with what is attributed to 'we', the truth of the statement still holds true. In Examples 3.16-3.20, the IE wants to include him/herself in a larger group than just him/herself and make the issue a collective one, thereby taking advantage of the categorial nature of 'we'.

In Examples 3.16, 3.17, 3.19 and 3.20, the IE is talking about a problem, and co-implicates 'others' as well as him/herself in the issue to make the point that the issue is collective rather than individual. The problems in the abovementioned examples include drugs, the logging issue, the Ministerial Code of Conduct and questions about the IE's involvement in her knowledge of a petition. In Example 3.18, the IE is not talking about a problem but is presenting his argument as part of a debate and makes the issue a collective one to persuade people that the issue affects every one.

### **3.7 Modified and upgraded 'we' and 'us'**

Section 3.7 is comprised of examples of 'we' and 'us' that have been modified and includes 'we all', 'all of us' and 'every one of us'. On their own, the group membership of 'we' and 'us' can be ambiguous. However, the addition of 'all' to 'we' and 'us' in 'we all' and 'all of us'; and 'every one' to us in 'every one of us', provides a way to address different aspects of 'we' that the IE may want to emphasise. In the case of 'we all' and 'all of us', the ambiguity about who is included in the group is dissolved because a marker of inclusivity – the mass personal pronoun 'all' – is added. In the case of 'every one of us', the universal pronoun 'every one' is a count pronoun (Greenbaum et al 1972:218) that enables the IE to communicate that each person who belongs to the group invoked by 'us'

is enumerated and thus included in the issue. Thus, ‘we all’, ‘all of us’ and ‘every one of us’ provide a way giving more information about group membership.

In Example 3.21, an independent member of the ACT Legislative Assembly involved in the ACT Rates Debate, Michael Moore, is talking about paying rates.

### Example 3.21

[XIX: 14.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 51-57]

- 1 F:EJ in fact you go so far as to say that ah you believe both the government and the
- 2                      opposition have got it wrong as far as ah rates policies are concerned
- 3 M:MM            yes yes I do
- 4 F:EJ what's the right answer then how would you fix it?
- 5 M:MM            well the most important this is to recognise that what has been
- 6 a->               inequitable about the rates system and we all have to pay rates

At *arrow a* the IE constructs the rates issue as one that includes every one and says: “*we all* have to pay rates” emphasising that rates affects every one. ‘We all’ is a way of making an unambiguous inclusion of every one. The IE involves every one in the discussion including himself, the people and other political parties, whom he has just criticised, in the same group. ‘We all’ also repairs the separation between the IE and the other political parties that the IE and the IR collaboratively created at lines 1-3. Thus, the IE reconstructs rates as one that, despite his disagreement with the other parties, unites every one.

In Example 3.22, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot, is interviewed about how the “major parties” in Australia are performing in the 1996 Federal election campaign.

### Example 3.22



## [XIV: 8.2.96 ABC Radio, lines 1-13]

- 1 M:KO cheryl kerno:t two weeks into the campaign (0.3) both sides both major parties are  
 2 (0.5) big on the promises, (0.3) how do you compare credibility and leadership  
 3 this time with past elections  
 4 (1.5)  
 5 F:CK .hh ↓a:h I think it's pretty similar (0.3) oh I just think that ah the pardy that  
 6 makes the: fewer election promises will probly get more sup↑port (0.3) .hh I think  
 7 that ah leadership has a long way to go yet in this campaign= the issue of  
 8 leader↑ship .hh and I think that people are still asking questions about how are  
 9 the promises goin' to be paid for and all this discussion about whether (0.2) .h the  
 10 treasurer should release forward estimates I think what's more important  
 11 a-> .h is that we should all be asking (.) where's the funding for the promises  
 12 coming from because the labor party so far promised about two point eight billion  
 13 and the liberal pardy about two point seven three

At *arrow a*, the IE formulates her talk in terms of how every one should be evaluating the same question. At line 10-11, the IE accomplishes this by saying: “I think what's more important .h is that we should all be asking...”, thus giving this advice to every one by using ‘we all’. ‘We’ co-implicates the people and ‘all’ emphasises every one should be involved in questioning the major parties. ‘We all’ also enables the IE to affiliate with every one, that is, the people, thus strengthening her position.

In the IE’s position as the leader of the Democrats – the party viewed as the “watch dog” – it is appropriate that she gives advice to every one. ‘We all’ makes the inclusivity of every one unambiguous. It is the only language powerful enough to counter the strength created by the IR’s mention of “two major political parties”. In this context, ‘we all’ also sets up an ‘us and them’ distinction between the two major political parties and all the people who: “should all be asking (.) where's the funding for the promises coming”. The IE appeals to the people’s sense of moral

obligation to question the funding for the promises by using 'should'. 'Should' combined with 'we all' creates a strong sense of a collective moral obligation.

In Example 3.23, the Prime Minister and Leader of the Labor Government, Paul Keating, reflects on the Queensland Premier Wayne Goss' recent replacement by a Liberal Premier, and the change of Government from Labor to Liberal in Queensland, as a result of the loss of a Labor seat in the Mundingburra bi-election.

### Example 3.23

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 23-36]

- 1 M:PK I think the answer the answer t' that's in the margin (0.8) that the liberal party  
 2 won it with in the end (0.5) such (.) such a margin (0.5) as to believe there wasn't  
 3 a vote or or so in it (0.5) um and (0.3) I don't think there's any doubt that electors  
 4 in mundingburra kne:w that were they to vote (1.5) against the government (0.8)  
 5 that the matter would be thrown in the hands of (0.5) liz cunningham, (0.8)  
 6 who they believed would vote for the coalition.  
 7 M:KO so: now you've only got one labour premier left, [and bob=  
 8 M:PK [can I say  
 9 M:KO bob carr doesn't seem to be doing [much to help you in new south  
 10 M:PK [can I say  
 11 M:KO wales eith[er does e?:  
 12 M:PK [can I- can I say I think wayne goss deserves much bede' (0.3) I think  
 13 he was a- an exceptionally good premier, (0.6) ah ei a very straight (.) and  
 14 honest government (0.8)  
 15 a-> um I mean he's accepted a judgement (.) as we all have

At *arrow a*, the IE talks about Wayne Goss' response to the consequences of the Mundingburra Bi-election formulating it in relation to the Labor Party's response invoked by 'we all': "I mean he's accepted a judgement (.) as we all have". "All" is stressed in "we all have" emphasising the inclusivity of 'we all', meaning that every one belonging to the Labor Party feels the same way about the judgement.

'We all' also enables the IE to draw on the collective so that Wayne Goss is not singled out.

One of the effects of using 'we all' is that the IE legitimises what he thinks because he is presenting the opinion as one held by every one and so he minimises any criticism of Wayne Goss. The IE may not know the opinion of every one that he implies in 'we all' but he nevertheless presents the case as one about which every one agrees. 'We all' includes everyone in the Labor Party and thus a picture of undivided support of Wayne Goss is created.

'We all' is a phrase which gives more information about the group membership invoked by 'we': all members of a particular category or group are unambiguously included. As such, it upgrades the meaning of 'we'. This means that the inherent ambiguity in 'we' about who is included is dissolved, because 'all' adds the dimension of inclusivity to 'we'. Because every one is included in 'we all' the IE can speak for every one, strengthening his/her position.

In Examples, 3.21-3.23, IE is in a vulnerable or weak position. In these contexts, 'we all' is used to minimise any damage to the IE because of its categorial properties (Sacks 1992:1:382). In Example 3.21, the IE is an independent member of the Legislative Assembly who is being criticised by the IR for openly criticising the two major political parties' positions on rates in Canberra. Not only is the IE a politician who does not belong to a political party, he is taking a stand which criticises both the major political parties. In Example 3.22, the IE is the leader of an implied "minor" political party being asked to comment on the "major" political parties' policies. In Example 3.23, the IE is the Prime Minister being interviewed just after the Queensland Labor Government has lost to the Liberal Government, putting the Labor Party of Australia, of which the IE is the leader, in a vulnerable position. This is particularly so in light of the looming Federal election. In these contexts, having a tool such as 'we all' to strengthen the IE's position is vital. 'We all' strengthens the IE's position by creating a sense of unity with all members of a

particular category, and as such, is a way for the IE's to reconstruct his/her weak position into a strong one.

Another upgraded form of 'us' is 'all of us'. 'All of us' functions as a noun phrase which can be used in both subject and object positions, unlike 'we all' which can only be used in a subject position. Like 'we all', it is another way of avoiding the ambiguity of 'we' because 'all of us' invokes an inclusivity of every one. 'All' is a mass universal pronoun (Greenbaum et al 1972:218) enabling the ambiguity of who is included in 'us' to be dissolved.

In Example 3.24, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is questioned about her recollections of the tabling of a petition which contained false allegations about Penny Easton.

#### Example 3.24

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 36-44]

- |   |      |                                                                                     |
|---|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | if we can just move on to your present problems and and I'd like to start by        |
| 2 |      | going back to <u>basics</u> you told the w-a parliament on tuesday november ten     |
| 3 |      | nineteen ninety two the day after penny easton's suicide (.) I: <u>LEARNED</u> THE  |
| 4 |      | <u>DETAIL</u> of the petition and its general thrust upon its tabling .h now you've |
| 5 |      | conceded a few days back that your recollection is not necessarily <u>per</u> fect  |
| 6 |      | whado you say tonight?                                                              |
| 7 | F:CL | .h w'll I've indicated a very <u>general</u> point about recollections              |
| 8 |      | and I hope every one*s humble enough to make this point* and that is                |
| 9 | a->  | all of us have difficulty recollecting events over time,                            |

In the IR's turn, the IR asks the IE to comment on her recollections about her knowledge of the petition. However, in the IR's talk preceding the question, the IR mentions that the IE has been asked the same question and responded to it on two previous occasions. On both occasions the IE allegedly gave different answers. The

IR quotes what the IE said on the first occasion (lines 3-4) and summarises what she said a few days before this interview (lines 4-5). Thus, the IR constructs the IE as someone whose words are being scrutinised, and whom the IR implies is inconsistent: “whado you say tonight?” It is from this position of being scrutinised as an individual, that the IE replies.

At line 7, the IE disputes the IR’s implicit suggestion that the IE has not been consistent in what she has said, by referring to something she said before about recollections. The IE also directs the conversation away from the focus on her individual inconsistencies by saying she has made: “a very general point about recollections” at line 7. At line 8, the IE continues to formulate the issue as a general and public one by drawing every one in: “I hope every one\*s humble enough to make this point\*”. The laughter (marked by \*\*) also is a resource that the IE uses to lighten the tone of the conversation, steering it away from the serious focus created by the IR on the IE’s alleged past instances of inconsistency with regard to her voicing her recollections about the petition.

After the IE’s construction of the issue of recollections as a general one, the IE answers the IR’s question at *arrow a*: “*all of us* have difficulty recollecting events over time”. By saying that ‘all of us’ have difficulty recollecting events, the IE implies that this is a characteristic common to all people which includes her. Thus, the IE constructs herself as someone who is typical. This deflects the individual attention on the IE who has been asked to be accountable for what she has said about her recollections in relation to her knowledge about the petition.

In Example 3.25, the Coalition Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs, Christine Gallus discusses what she thinks the slogan *For All of Us* means, in response to the Head of ATSIC, Noel Pearson’s, comments about the slogan marginalising certain groups.

Example 3.25

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 4-15]

- 1 F:FK .hh chris gallus=to some degree noel pearson's right isn't he=I mean it is implied  
 2 in the slogan for all of us that labor is not governing for all of us, which suggests  
 3 they're not governing for the mainstream.  
 4 F:CG ah look there is no implication in that- there is an implication that labor has  
 5 a-> ↑failed all of us I think that .h has certainly I think the ah .h 40% youth  
 6 unemployed would had the feeling that labor hasn't been ah .h governing for  
 7 ↑them .h but I I'm really disappointed that noel would come out and say  
 8 something ↑like this .h because in its- say ten days before an election when in fact  
 9 the slogan's been around for three weeks .hh and if noel would care to have a  
 10 look at the ads that go with the slogan, .h he will find amongst the ads the ↓all  
 11 of us they -s play the music .h and on the ad we have >aboriginal people,  
 12 vietnamese people, chinese people< .h and I think that ad is so  
 13 b-> obvious that it is for all of us, .h for all australians.

At arrow *a*, the IE takes the words of the slogan *For All of Us*, and uses them to criticise the Labor Party, to whom her party is in opposition, making the point that: “labor has failed all of us”. The IE uses ‘all of us’ to include all the Australian people and then lists an example of “youth unemployed” feeling that Labor had failed them at lines 5-7. At lines 11-12, the IE lists the people who feature in the advertisement for *For All of Us* on television and mentions Aboriginal people, Vietnamese and Chinese as part of the group “Australians”.

At arrow *b*, the IE continues to make her point that this group invoked by ‘all of ‘us’ includes every one and doesn’t marginalise anyone: “it is for *all of us*”. The IE then restates what she means by “all of us” and says “for all Australians.” This restatement clarifies what the IE means by ‘all of us’ in two ways. First, “all australians” makes it clear that the group includes all Australians. Second, the IE stresses “all” leaving the listener with no doubt as to who she means by “all of us”.

‘All of us’ is an inclusive term, which by virtue of ‘all’ (a mass pronoun) being combined with ‘us’, enables the IE to unambiguously include all people. ‘All of us’

contrasts with 'us' whose group membership can be ambiguous. Like 'we all', 'all of us' is used in these examples when sensitive issues are being discussed. In Example 3.28, the IE has been singled out in relation to her recollections of her involvement of events, a scandal in which she has already been implicated. In Example 3.30, the topic is minority groups and their inclusion or exclusion in the slogan *For All of Us*. By using 'all of us', the IE is able to make the issue a collective one, thus steering the issue into the public domain and away from the IE having to be responsible for it as an individual or as a representative of a party.

The meaning of the phrases 'all of us' and 'we all' is basically the same: every member of some category is included so a unanimity of view is asserted. The IE's use of 'all of us' is similar to what Sacks (1992:1:382) says about 'we' as a category. If the IE asserts "all of us (do something)", this assertion has no counter. If someone answers "I don't", it doesn't negate the proposition. So, all of us' and 'we all' are ways of asserting views in strong ways.

In Example 3.26, 'every one of us' is used by the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, who is being interviewed in relation to the "Easton Affair". 'Every one of us' is used to emphasise that each individual member of a collective is involved.

#### Example 3.26

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 87-100]

- |   |      |                                                                                              |
|---|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | =are you prepared to ↑ <u>sacrifice</u> yourself for cabinet confidentiality                 |
| 2 |      | <which many> would regard as a sophisticated sort of smoke screen?                           |
| 3 | F:CL | well it isn't I- my- know in ah canberra often it may seem that                              |
| 4 |      | way 'cause there a lot of leaks out of cabinet .h but in wester-                             |
| 5 |      | australia it <u>is</u> taken very seriously, .h but it's interesting that o- of- of those    |
| 6 |      | people who seen fit to <u>speak</u> .h <u>apart</u> from pam beggs and ah mister wilson they |
| 7 |      | basically say (.) that .h there's no evidence of such a discussion having <u>occurred</u> ,  |

- 8 and in the case of jo berenson he says either before or after .h now I thought th-  
 9 there was some discussion in cabinet afterward but it may well have been in  
 10 caucus. it was certainly a matter that was discussed widely (.) .h  
 11 a-> and there were strong feelings and after the event every one of us c'n say (0.2)  
 12 we wish it hadn't happened,  
 13 [(0.2) as I said today I wish it  
 14 M:PL [hh  
 15 F:CL hadn't happened and I wish I'd been more careful about the matter at the time  
 16 (0.2)  
 17 but that's with hindsight.

At lines 3-13, the IE discusses different people's recollections of discussions about Penny and Brian Easton. The list is detailed and includes some of the particular details of each of the recollections. At *arrow a*, the IE summarises what she has been saying up until that point: "*every one of us c'n say (0.2) we wish it hadn't happened*". 'Every one of us' emphasises that there are individual members of a collective who singly make up the collective, as though each of the members were being counted. In this context, 'every one of us' refers to those people that are mentioned by the IE in the preceding passage at lines 5-10, but also to every one who knows about the situation which could include every one, i.e. people. 'Every one of us' conveys that every one thinks the same way about the event and that no-one is excluded from this.

By using 'every one of us' the IE creates the impression that she is not the only one who thinks in a certain way about the events but that there are other people, who think in the same way as her. In this way, the IE presents herself as typical. In the context of the example, in which the IE is being accused of lying, to be seen as typical is a stronger position. This also deflects the individual attention on the IE while she is questioned about her role in the "Easton Affair".

'We all' and 'all of us' include the mass pronoun 'all' and thus indicate a group of people as one mass of people, who are not singled out individually. On the other hand, 'every one of us' includes the universal count pronoun 'every one', which



emphasises that the people who make up the group invoked by 'every one of us', can be counted, or that each person in this group counts. All three expressions – 'we all', 'every one of us' and 'all of us' – make the inclusion of all the members of a group unambiguous. In comparison to 'we' and 'us', in which the listener has to work out to whom the speaker is referring (Malone 1997:64) there is little work to be done. 'We all', 'every one of us' and 'all of us' are similar to categorial 'we' (Sacks 1992:1:382). If the IE asserts 'all of us', 'every one of us', 'we all' do something, then one person saying 'I don't' doesn't negate the proposition. These expressions thus have the capacity to invoke a sense of what is typical and enable the IE to assert his/her view in a strong way.

### 3.8 We have

'We have' is used as a marker of collective involvement in place of the more objective existential marker 'there is' but is not exactly the same as 'there is'. 'There is' can be thought of as more objective because it is comprised of an impersonal subject – 'there' – combined with the verb of existence – 'is'. On the other hand, 'we have' is comprised of the personal pronoun 'we' which entails group membership and collective involvement (Sacks 1992:1:333-40 and Sacks 1992:2:391-5) and 'have' which implies possession. Thus, 'we have' has the sense of something that a collective owns. By using 'we have' in place of 'there is', existence is expressed as possession. Something which exists is expressed as something that is 'owned' – 'have' – by the 'people' – 'we'.

'We have' is similar to 'our' and is thus linked to the affiliative sense of 'our' (Sacks 1992:1:382-8, 605-9). In Examples 3.27-3.28, 'we have' is used as a resource to construct a situation as one in which people are involved. The sense of ownership or affiliation created by 'we have' is further strengthened in 'we have got' by the addition of 'got' that also has means to possess something. The result of adding 'got' strengthens the meaning of possession and the effect on the listener.

In Example 3.27, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence is asked about how the Health Budget, for which she is responsible, is being spent.

### Example 3.27

[XXVII: 16.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-9]

- 1 F:EJ please tell me it's not true. are you really throwing thousands of dollars at gp's
- 2                               for nothing?
- 3 F:CL I'm not throwing money at anyone I can assure you especially in the current
- 4                               budget
- 5                               climate. hh. I'm sure your listeners would be aware
- 6 a-> that in australia the fee for service system that we have under medicare the
- 7                               medicare benefits schedule payments .hh can lead if you're not very careful to
- 8                               what are called perverse incentives the doctor as for any one else

At lines 3-7, the IE responds to the IR's call to justify her use of 'the tax payers money'. As part of her justification, the IE personalises her comments about the Medicare system by saying that it is a system that 'we have'. In this context, 'we have' is used in place of 'there is' as a resource to construct the Medicare System as one that affects and benefits the people. By using 'we have' in this way, the IE involves the people in the discussion. The use of 'we' in 'we have' functions as an interactional tool implying that: "you" (the listener) and "I" (the speaker) and other people, are all affected by this. It is a means of including every one by drawing the people and the IE into the same group.

In Example 3.28, the Chief Minister of the ACT Government, Kate Carnell, is asked about the sexual harassment allegations levelled against the Deputy Chief Minister of the ACT Government. This interview is one in a series of four interviews recorded in the same program on the same topic.

## Example 3.28

[XXV: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 24-30]

- 1 F:Eb't chief minister isn't this what is expected (.) of our 'lected representatives .h  
 2 what- th't while ever there's a cloud of suspicion hanging over th'm that they  
 3 should step step down .hh just until that inquiry has taken place th't it's not an  
 4 indication (.) of guilt or innocence, that people are intelligent enough to  
 5 understand that this is just an allegation  
 6 F:KC .h well eliz'beth it is (.) just (.) an allegation and there is a proper process t' run,  
 7 a-> what we've got is some allegations .h by one previous employee

At *arrow a*, the IE describes her understanding of the situation in terms of “what we've got...”. By using ‘we’, the IE personalises the situation, and thus implies that a group of people (an unspecified group invoked by ‘we’) are affected by it. ‘Have’ implies ownership which ‘got’ strengthens. “what we've got is some allegations” is a more personal way of saying: “there are some allegations...” The use of ‘we have’ is significant in this context because it is a response to the IE’s being asked for a personal response to the situation. ‘We have’ enables the IE to deflect the individual attention and invoke a collective response through ‘we have’. The person accused of the sexual harassment is the IE’s Deputy Leader, a man in a position very close to hers and in the same political party and Government as herself. As such, she cannot afford to appear to be making individual assessments about his situation, so she uses ‘we have got’ to make a general but personalised comment.

In Example 3.29, an independent member of the ACT Legislative Assembly, Michael Moore, is speaking about the issue of rates for pensioners.

## Example 3.29

[XIX: 14.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 40-50]

- 1 F:EJ.hh now michael moore it seems from the datacol poll and from what party  
 2 officials have been telling me that the issue of rates hasn't so far been a big  
 3 campaign issue. .hh what have the electors been telling you?  
 4 M:MM oh look ah as soon as ah people who heard that the rates debate was on I was  
 5 flooded with calls and there are lots of different people who continue to raise  
 6 the last night I was at the turner residents association meeting and a ah ah a war  
 7 pension widow was ah there and ah came across to talk to me about the fact that  
 8 she is still in her house and she is having huge difficulty rates but continues ah to  
 9 do so because that's where she lives she's  
 10 a-> lived there since before the war and ah and clearly we have a problem  
 11 b-> with our system our system of payments we have a problem with how the rates  
 12 are constructed for somebody like that

At *arrow a*, the IE formulates the problem of a war pension widow as a problem a collective problem by using 'we have'. The particular situation of the war pension widow is an individual one but the IE constructs it as something that concerns us all, not just this one person. By using 'we have', the IE appeals to the audience by talking about and thus constructing the issue (that he may in fact only have evidence affects one person) as an issue that affects every one. At the time of this interview the IE was involved in the "ACT Rates Debate" in which the IE and other politicians presented their cases to the public. As a part of the rhetoric the IE uses 'we have' to create an impression that he and the public belong to the one group and face the same issues.

At *arrow b*, the IE generalises the issue as a collective one by saying that it is a problem with "*our* system". The IE further elaborates and reiterates the collective ownership by repeating that at lines 11-12: "we have a problem with how the rates are constructed for somebody like that", this time framing the problem as one that is collective responsibility even though the matter may only effect a small group of people. By constructing the matter as a collective one, the IE also constructs himself as someone who identifies with the public because both he and the public are part of 'we'.

In Example 3.30, the Minister for Immigration, Duncan Kerr, talks about an inquiry into visa requirements for people coming to Australia.

### Example 3.30

[XXI: 29.9.95 SBS TV, lines 57-66]

- 1 F:VS <visa re<sup>↑</sup>quirements=is the government considering loosening up those?>  
 2 M:DK the- there is an inquiry currently ah proceeding about visa inquiries ah the  
 3 evidence that 's been given to that inquiry ah (.) by the australian federal police  
 4 a≈h who are my area of administerial responsibility, .h ah was to the effect  
 5 th't ah they would be reluctant to see the ah the visa requirements ah (.) a≈h  
 6 a≈h removed ah they understand however th't ah a≈h that there are pressures  
 7 ah to to a≈h make sure that
- 8 a-> we have least inconvenience ah to tourists ah coming to this  
 9 F:VS mmhm  
 10 M:DK country=

At line 2, the IE begins his response to the IR's question about visa requirements, presenting his reply as an objective matter, marked by the impersonal 'there is': "there is an inquiry currently ah proceeding about visa inquiries...". At *arrow a*, the IE uses 'we have' to personalise his talk about the impact of the visa requirements on tourists: "*we* have least inconvenience to tourists". 'We have' has the affect of involving the people invoked by 'we', and constructing the issue as something that these people own by the use of 'have'. 'We have' constructs the existence of the problem as possession. Thus, the IE constructs the issue as a subjective and personal one, not just the existence of objective facts.

'We have' is used by politicians to represent an issue as a personal and collective one. It is instrumental in including people in an issue and constructing a reality that suggests that the people are somehow involved in and affected by the matter.

'We have' is used as a personal substitute for the impersonal 'there is' so existence is represented as possession. In contrast to 'there is' which implies the existence of something, 'we have' suggests that something is 'owned' collectively; 'we' implying collectivity and 'have' implying some kind of 'ownership' of an issue.

Politicians present issues as collective ones using 'we have' in a variety of contexts. In a number of contexts the IEs talk about sensitive issues which they present as matters of concern for every one. For example, the implementation of the Aboriginal Health Service, and sexual harassment allegations levelled against a Minister. However, the issue does not necessarily have to be sensitive to be spoken about using 'we have'. Rates for pensioners (Example 3.29) and the effect of visa requirements on tourists (Example 3.30) are two such examples. What is at stake is not the objective nature of the matter but how the politician chooses to represent the matter.

'We have' also enables IEs to affiliate with the people – to create the impression that they and the people belong to the one group that are affected by the particular issue. Since 'we' in 'we have' is generic and doesn't specify a particular group then it can be interpreted as people in general; at any rate, a group that includes the IE and the listener. This affiliation invoked by 'we' in 'we have', is particularly important in the political context as a means of the politician creating a reality where every one, including the politician is affected by the same issues. This affiliation dissolves the 'us and them' dichotomy that exists between politicians and people and has the effect of creating the impression that politicians and people are all on the one side.

Presenting matters as the concern of the people/collective and personalising them has the potential to make the matter seem more significant because it is one that may impact the people. People are more likely to respond to something that is presents as affecting them rather than to an objective fact, such as one formulated

using 'there is'. Persuading people in this way is one of the tasks of the politician in the public arena of political interviews (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994).

### 3.9 Conclusion

'We' is used in political interviews to construct the identity of the IE as one of a group – one of the primary identities of a politician. 'We' always invokes a collective identity or group membership, but the different contexts in which 'we' occurs enable politicians to achieve different effects. The most prominent uses of 'we' are to make politicians' "institutional identity" (Sacks 1992:1:391-5) or participation status as a representative of a particular institution or group (Goffman 1974, 1981) salient; creating an 'us and them' dichotomy; co-implicating the people; deflecting individual attention on the IE; and, invoking a general collective response to an issue. In addition to these uses, 'we' is used in phrases such as 'we all', 'all of us', 'every one of us' and 'we have' which draw on the collective membership invoked by 'we' but also add another dimension.

When 'we' is used on its own, it can be used to represent different facets of the politicians' collective 'selves' and relationships to different 'others'. These 'selves' include: 'self' who has taken on an "institutional identity" and is a representative of an active (Silverman 1987:57) united political party; 'self' as part of a political party in opposition to another party; 'self' as affiliated with people; 'self' as a person who needs to deflect individual responsibility by leaning on a collective identity; and, 'self' who presents issues to the people as collective issues, and not as an individual 'self'.

'We' can also be used in phrases such as: 'we all', 'all of us', 'every one of us', as modified uses of 'we'; and 'we have', as a personalised substitute for the more impersonal 'there is'. In the examples of the modified uses of 'we', the potential ambiguity of who is included in the group invoked by 'we' is dissolved and inclusivity of every one in the group membership is emphasised. In the case of 'every one of us', inclusivity of individuals who could be counted is also

emphasised ('we' on its own refers to a single unit of people like me (Sacks 1992:1:382) and as such, does not have the nuance of being able to focus on the individuals in the group). 'We have' is used when talking about situations which "normally" are thought of as impersonal, that is, not presented as having direct involvement of people, to make the impersonal situation into a personal one that affects people, including the IE.

In the political interviews in this study, politicians have many different collective identities which they can construct in the process of creating a picture of 'self' as someone who is part of a positive collective identity, and thus, who is a good politician. The data shows that it is not the referent of 'we' that is important so much as the effect that is achieved by presenting 'self' as a part of a collective identity. 'We' is a pronoun which the IE uses to artfully navigate through these different identities to achieve a wide range of effects.

So far, the analysis has focused on the individual pronouns 'I' and 'we' by politicians in political interviews. In the next chapter, the use of the pronoun 'you' will be examined.



## Chapter 4

### Who is 'you?': an analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction

The conventional categorisation classifies pronouns according to their morpho-syntactic properties and includes second person singular – 'you' singular; and second person plural – 'you' (see for example Bernard 1975, Kaplan 1989). This categorisation however, does not account for 'you' generic, nor the ways in which 'you' is used as a social resource.

Other analyses view pronouns as fixed functional categories (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:12) in which 'you' is used without regard to social status, unlike other Western European languages such as French, Italian and German which encode social relations of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Some linguists describe 'you' to specify the participant role as hearer or addressee/recipient, which are distinct from the referential third person pronouns (Comrie 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Lyons 1977). In Goodwin's (1996) discussion on participation frameworks, 'you' is referred to as the pronoun which encodes the role of 'recipient' while Levinson (1988) refers to 'you' as the 'addressed recipient'. Similarly, Lerner (1996:281) notes that "'you' singular provides a way to refer to the addressee of the speaker" and is used for addressing a singular recipient while 'you' plural is used for addressing multiple recipients. In multi-party conversations the use of 'you' is problematic because it is not automatically clear who is referred to by 'you' (Lerner 1996:281).

Benveniste (1971) claims that 'you' (and 'I') are fundamentally different from the third person pronouns because their referent is uniquely established only in the moment of discourse, by the speaker who utters them. Benveniste (1971:218) describes 'you' (and 'I') as 'indicators' to distinguish them from words that are not bound to the moment of utterance. 'You' in this sense is "the

individual spoken to in the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance of 'you'" (Benveniste 1971:218).

The difference between the traditional categorisation of 'you' (Bernard 1975, Kaplan 1989) and the treatment of 'you' as a social resource (Hanks 1990, Lerner 1996, Malone 1997, Sacks 1992) is that the former treats 'you' as a fixed grammatical category of person-reference or as a fixed functional category (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990) and the latter refers to 'you' as a pronoun that can be used as an interactive resource (Lerner 1996, Malone 1997, Sacks 1992, Watson 1987).

According to Sacks (1992:1:163-8 and 568-77) one of the characteristics of 'you' is that the listener is always included regardless of whether the 'you' is 'you' singular, 'you' (plural) or generic 'you'. Sacks (1992:1:165) claims that an inherent property of 'you' is its 'this and that ambiguity' where 'you' can mean both 'you' singular and 'you'-plural or 'you' generic. When the listener tries to work out what the 'you' refers to, first s/he considers whether it is herself/himself that is being referred to. If the listener does not think that 'you' is referring to himself/herself alone then s/he will try to see if the 'you' is the listener and some others. Even if the listener concludes that 'you' refers to him/herself and others, the listener is still included (Sacks 1992:1:163-8 and 568-77). Sacks (1992:1:163-8 and 568-77) claims that 'you' is useful as an inclusive term because it does not exclude the hearer, unlike 'we' which has the potential to exclude the hearer depending on the intended membership of 'we'. It is these properties that speakers use in their construction and design of talk for the listeners (Goodwin 1996, Sacks 1992)

While conventional treatments of 'you' did not include generic 'you', studies on 'talk-in-interaction' show that generic 'you' gives a way for speakers to talk about everyone (Sacks 1992:1:163-168, 349, Laberge and Sankoff 1980, Malone 1997). Malone describe the referent of generic 'you' as "people such as ourselves" and Laberge and Sankoff (1980) note that generic 'you' provides a way of talking impersonally about something. 'You' is integrally implicated in

speaker involvement and has a “built-in defence” (Sacks 1992:1:350) because the speaker is talking about people in general and is thus a useful resource for the speaker to construct an action or situation as typical.

In Example 4.1, the speaker uses generic ‘you’ to construct his experience of wanting to commit suicide as something that is an experience that is shared by everyone (Sacks 1992:1:349).

#### Example 4.1

- A: Why do you want to kill yourself?  
 B: For the same reason everybody does.  
 A: What is that?  
 B:-> Well, you just want to know if someone cares.

In this example, speaker B answers using generic ‘you’ to include everyone and invoke a sense of what is typical. By doing this, the speaker is “incidentally” a part of the group of people invoked by generic ‘you’ (Sacks 1992:1:166). This enables him to construct his feelings as something that are not his alone.

In this chapter two predominant uses of ‘you’ by interviewees (IE) in political interviews are examined. In Section 4.2, ‘you’ singular which the IE uses to address the interviewer (IR) is analysed. In Section 4.3 generic ‘you’, which includes everyone and by which the IE invokes a sense of what is normal or typical (Sacks 1992:1:163-168, 349, Watson 1987) is investigated. It is argued that both uses of ‘you’ are part of the modification of the participation framework. ‘You’ singular is used when the speaker has moved out of the question and answer framework in contexts such as disagreement, avoidance of a question but also when the IE is co-involving the IR and making a link to previous talk.

When the interviewee uses ‘you’ generic, s/he presents his/her talk as something everybody does, and thus constructs him/herself as a typical member of a category. Because generic ‘you’ implicates everyone in the action it

functions to give more validity to what is said. This is particularly important in the context of the political interview, where the IE presents something as an action that everybody does as a way of giving more credibility to the action.

## **4.2 'You' singular**

'You-singular' is used in political interviews when the IE addresses the IR. This involves diverging from the institutionalised rule which constrains the interviewer (IR) to ask questions on behalf of the audience and the IE to answer these questions, addressing his/her talk to the 'overhearing audience' (Clayman 1988, Greatbatch 1985, Heritage 1985, 1988, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). When the IE moves out of the question and answer format, the alignment between the speaker (IE) and listener (IR) changes (Goodwin 1990, Goodwin 1996:374-5). The use of 'you' singular to address the IR is thus part of a dispreferred participation framework. This type of talk occurs between preferred talk in which the IE addresses the overhearing audience.

### **4.2.1 'You' singular associated with problems**

'You' singular is often used when the IE is talking about a problem or disagreeing with the IR (Greatbatch 1992). In the interviews in this study, there are two types of problems which are associated with 'you' singular. One type of problem occurs when the IE disagrees with something that the IR has said. The other is when the IE objects to the IR's interruption. What these two types of problem have in common is that the IE has a problem with something that the IR is doing.

In Example 4.2, the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, is interviewed about the 1996 Federal Budget. This example contains two kinds of problem: disagreement by the IE with what the IR has said and an objection by the IE to the IR's overlapping talk.

#### **Example 4.2**

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 97-102]

- 1 M:KO h[ere's the argument here's the argument ]  
 2 M:PK  
 3 a -> [now hold on you asked the question let me]  
 4 b -> answer you.  
 5 they've got this herring- red herring out there the  
 6 real issue is the fiscal spending and whether it's covered whether  
 7 c -> they (.) are (.) lucky enough or or you are gullible enough  
 8 to jump on their piece of bait [and not on the real issues=

At *arrows a* and *b*, the IE repeats his directive to the IR to stop him talking, since the initial appeal to the IR to stop talking at *arrow a* was unsuccessful. This time the IE explicitly appeals to the IR's understanding of the roles of the IE and IR, in which the IR is constrained to listen to the IE (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) while the IE answers the IR's question: "now hold on you asked the question let me answer you." The IE places stress on 'you': "you who asked the question," and emphasises that since the IR has already asked the question, it is the IE's turn to talk.

At line 8, the IE criticises the IR for not dealing with the "real issues" in the interview, directing his (IE) criticism to the IR and addressing him by 'you' singular. At *arrow c*, the IE criticises the IR: "you are gullible enough (0.5) to jump on their piece of bait [and not on the real issues". Within the context of the IE expressing his problem with what the IR has said, the IE addresses the IR as 'you'.

Example 4.3 is from the same interview as Example 4.2 in which the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, is interviewed about Budget planning.

Example 4.3

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 181-203]

- 1 M:KO with your officials no:w (.) planning for a may budget (.) in which these

- 2 figures surely would be available=oth'wise how could you plan y' budget?
- 3 M:PK bu' we're not (.) having a may budget. (.) and we've asked the treasury an' the
- 4 finance department we've told 'em last october or november (.) we would not
- 5 be having a may budget. (.) we're having an august budget. an' in august <we
- 6 set the budget parameters after we get (.) the: december, march and june
- 7 quarter national a↑ccounts> (.) in other words when we've got the base of
- 8 growth and activity (.) of the- of the previous ↑year. (.) we won't have that
- 9 for six ↑months.
- 10 M:KO the thing that I find puzzling is th't th't this issue is hurting you.
- 11 M:KO [it is
- 12 M:PK ((clears
- 13 M:KO diver[ting you as we saw at kim beazley's xxxxxxxxxxxxxx we'll
- 14 M:PK throat))[xxxx look Kerry loo- xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 15 M:KO [come to that in a minute
- 16 M:PK [no: hang on=
- 17 M:KO [just let me finish this question.]
- 18 M:PK
- 19 a-> [xxxxxxxxxxxxx well ] why don't you have the interview
- 20 b-> by yourself =you could talk for the whole program.
- 21 M:KO but I'm not I'll just finish this question.=
- 22 M:PK
- 23 c -> =maybe I could just sit here and you could
- 24 M:KO [well could you] solve [this ] puzzle for me.
- 25 M:PK [just carry on xx] [monologue ]
- 26 (1.0)
- 27 M:KO this issue does appear to be hurting you=it appears to be di:verting you

This piece of talk includes three instances in which the IE addresses the IR with 'you' singular and one instance of 'yourself'. After the question and answer sequence at lines 1-9, in which the IR and IE take it in turns to ask and answer the question, there is a section of overlapped talk at lines 13-25. The overlapped talk occurs after the IR's assessment that the issue is "hurting" and "diverting the attention" of the IE at lines 10 and 13. This assessment is formulated as a sarcastic assessment: "the thing that I find puzzling is...", and represents a bias of the IR who breaks the institutionalised rule of the IR taking a neutral stance (Clayman 1988). The IE reacts to this at lines 19-26, trying to defend himself, making explicit reference to both the IE and IR wanting to keep the turn

between lines 16 and 25. In this section of talk, both the IE and IR vie for turns, continually overlapping each other.

At lines 13 and 15, the IR tries to regain his turn: “we’ll come to that in a minute”. The IE does not concede to the IR’s demand to talk about the IR’s preferred topic and expresses this disagreement: “no” followed by a directive to the IR to let him talk: “hang on”. The IR’s response to this directive is to assert his intention to ask a question as part of his institutionalised role as the IR (Greatbatch 1988): “[just let me finish this question.]” at line 17. However, the IE does not let the IR finish his question as evidenced by the IE’s continuing talk at lines 19 and 20 immediately after the IR’s directive.

At *arrow a*, the IE finally gains an uninterrupted turn, after two unsuccessful attempts to regain the floor at lines 14 and 16. At *arrows a* and *b*, the IE indicates that he has a problem with the IR’s overlapping talk and expresses this by addressing the IR with ‘you’ singular: “why don’t you have the interview by yourself=you could talk for the whole program.” Here, the IE challenges what the IR is doing: talking and overlapping, implying that the IR is not fulfilling his role as the interviewer to ask questions. At line 21, the IR disagrees with the IE’s assessment of the situation: “but I’m not. I’ll just finish this question.”. By doing this, the IR mirrors the participation framework of the IE who is engaged in a disagreement. The IR disagrees with the IE signalling this with ‘I’ and the disagreement: “but I’m not”.

The IE’s engagement with the IR is part of a shift out of the IE’s institutionalised footing of answering the question (Greatbatch 1992). Implicit in the IE’s utterance at *arrows a* and *b* is that the IE has a problem with the IR not adhering to his role of asking questions, instead talking: Furthermore, the suggestion of the IE at *arrow b* that the IR “could talk for the whole program.” is an exaggeration and highlights the IE’s problem with the IR’s diversion from his normally institutionally constrained role as IR. At *arrow c*, the IE upgrades his previous comments about the IR continuing to speak with words with negative connotations: “carry on” and “monologue” and “maybe I could just sit here and

you could just carry on monologue”. Not only does the IE suggest that the IR should take on the role of the IE, the IE says that the IR could do a “monologue”, exaggerating what the IR is doing when he is overlapping the IE’s talk.

In Example 4.4, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about how she will distribute her election preferences at the 1996 Federal election.

#### Example 4.4

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 176-188]

- 1 M:KO the situation you're faced with that on the one hand (.) you're you're  
 2 threatening an advance potentially to knock-over liberal policy (.) on the  
 3 other hand in some states (0.5) you will need liberal preferences will you not,  
 4 to build your numbers to even maintain y' numbers perhaps in the senate let  
 5 alone build them.  
 6 F:CK in some states we will need liberal preferen<sup>↑</sup>ces because we'll be in  
 7 competition with labor for the last seat (.)h but in tasma:nia western  
 8 australia and queensland we'll need labor party preferences =but that doesn't  
 9 alter the fact (.)h this I no big ah a:h  
 10 a-> blackmailing block kerry that you're trying to have me say I'm  
 11 [simply  
 12 M:KO [no no but but by  
 13 F:CK [I'ms- n]o no no that's not s- we are not at the stage of saying we're  
 14 M:KO [but by]  
 15 F:CK going to blo:ck the next liberal government's budget we are just saying .h  
 16 there's room for talk in some areas, and let's see what they propose,

At arrow *a*, the IE accuses the IR of suggesting that her party will blackmail the Liberal Party and express her disagreement with this. The IE prefaces her disagreement with the IR’s name: “Kerry”, then addresses him as ‘you’



singular: "you're trying to have me say...". After the IE has expressed this disagreement to the IR, the IE begins to talk about what 'we' (the Democrats) are saying, referring to the Democrats and no longer addressing the IR at line 13.

In Example 4.5, the Coalition Shadow Treasurer, Peter Costello, is interviewed about the Victorian Premier, Jeff Kennett's, confusion about a deficit and surplus in the 1996 Budget. In this example, the IE disagrees with the IR's suggestion (lines 3 and 4) that the Premier is confused between the deficit and the surplus.

#### Example 4.5

[VIII: 15.2.96 ABC TV, lines 38-60]

- 1 M:PC w'll I: discussed that with mister kennett who put out a statement saying that
- 2 he'd been confused about that, [the point being]
- 3 M:KO h[e was con-, ] he was confused
- 4 be[tween] a
- 5 deficit (0.3) and a su:rplus, so [xxx] you- do
- 6 M:PC [the p-] [xxx]
- 7 M:KO do you do you think that's credible. [that a- that a person as]
- 8 M:PC well [that's what he said kerry.]
- 9 M:KO that a person as senior as a premier, would confuse a deficit with a surplus.
- 10 M:PC
- 11 a-> .h >↑kerry¿ what's your point here?
- 12 b-> < your point here is you don't believe mister keating. (0.2)
- 13 c-> all↑right that's your point.
- 14 M:KO I'm [not]
- 15 M:PC
- 16 d-> [now] you you saying to me you're saying to me well why don't
- 17 e-> you tell us what the treasury knows=°how° would I [know kerry?]
- 18 M:KO [no no ]
- 19 that's not what I'm [asking.]
- 20 M:PC [>but ] I'm- what I'm- what I'm going to tell
- 21 f-> you is this (0.2) we have announced today how this will be solved forever.<.
- 22 .h we are going to introduce a charter of budget honesty. it's going to be put in

23                   legislation. the charter of budget honesty will require a<sup>↑</sup>ny government,  
 24                   including our own, when it announces an election, (.) to update the forecasts in  
 25                   relation to the <forthcoming budget year> to state at the beginning of every  
 26                   election campaign what the most up to date revised forecasts are. .h that will  
 27                   ensure that this kind of argument never occurs again [we ] have

At *arrow a*, the IE gets a turn after two unsuccessful attempts at line 5. Having regained his turn, the IE addresses the IR, asking a rhetorical question in response to the IR's comments about the Premier being confused between a surplus and a deficit: ".h ><sup>↑</sup>kerry¿ what's your point here?<". The IE addresses the IE by using the IR's name, marked with high rising pitch, then addresses the IR using "your": ".h ><sup>↑</sup>kerry¿ what's your point here?<". Addressing the IR with 'your' coincides with the change in the participation framework from talking to the overhearing audience in lines 3-7, to directly addressing the IR: a change which is marked with high pitch and an increase in speed (Greatbatch 1992).

At *arrow b*, the IE addresses the IR with 'you', answering his own rhetorical question: "your point here is you don't believe mister keating." The IE stresses 'you', emphasising that he is addressing the IR is the one with the problem. The IE's speech is slow and deliberate, evidenced by the reduction in speed and the stress on "you" and "keating".

The IE's repeated use of 'you' and 'your' (four times within two lines) is an attempt to avoid talking to the IR about the Premier confusing the deficit with the surplus. The IE's objection elicits a response from the IR that is not in keeping with the institutional constraint of the IR as the person who asks questions. Instead, the IR replies to the IE's comment as though he were engaged in mundane conversation, by disagreeing with the IE: "I'm not" (line 13). This comment by the IR mirrors the alignment of the IE who is disagreeing with the IR.

At *arrow c*, the IE reiterates what he has said in the previous line after a 0.2 second pause: "all<sup>↑</sup>right that's your point." This serves to emphasise the

strength of the IE's problem with the IR's interpretation of the situation and escalates the disagreement (Greatbatch 1992). The disagreement culminates with the IR responding to the IE at line 13: "I'm not".

At *arrow d*, the IE continues to express his disagreement with the IR: "[now] you you saying to me you're saying to me well why don't you tell us what the treasury knows". The stress on 'you' in the phrase: "why don't you tell us..." emphasises that it is the IR, and not anyone else, with whom the IE has a problem. At *arrow e*, the IE responds to his comment, expressing incredulity: "°how° would I [know kerry?]".

At line 17, the disagreement of the IR escalates with the IR repeating 'no': "no no" and overlaps with the IE's previous utterance: "°how° would I [know kerry?]" . This follows a possible completion with a 'rush through' or at least a reduced transition space and is a timing problem. This alignment of the IR reflects the participation framework that the IE has set up by addressing the IR as an individual.

At *arrow f*, the IE disagrees with the IR again, formulating his talk as an announcement to the IR as 'you': "what I am going to tell you is this". At line 20, the IE announces that he has something to say, implying that what he is about to say is worthy of being an announcement: "we have announced today how this will be solved forever." The Liberal Party have made an announcement and here the IE emphasises 'we'. At line 21, the IE makes the announcement, and marks this shift in his talk by a decrease in the speed of the talk and emphasis on many of the words notably in lines 21-26. This includes "it's going to be put in legislation...."; "the charter of budget honesty will require a↑ny government, including our own,..."; and "to update the forecasts in relation to the <forthcoming budget year> to state at the beginning of every election campaign what the most up to date revised forecasts are. .h that..."

As evidenced in Examples 4.2-4.5, 'you' singular is used as a resource by the IE when there is a problem or disagreement with the IR's talk. In these examples,

there are two types of 'problem'. In the first kind of problem, the IE disagrees with a view that the IR has expressed. In Example 4.2, the IE disagrees with the IE's ability to interpret the political situation in a way that he finds acceptable. In Example 4.4, the IE disagrees with the IR's criticism of the IE's party. Addressing the IR with 'you' allows the IE to shift the focus of the 'problem' from one that s/he (IE) disagrees with as an individual to a 'problem' for which the IR is accountable.

In Examples 4.2 and 4.3, the IE disapproves of the IR's overlapping talk which has occurred as result of a disagreement. The overlapping talk of the IR occurs after criticism by the IR of the IE. It is in this context that the IE addresses the IR with 'you' singular.

The two types of 'problem' used in Examples 4.2-4.5 are closely related. First, they both arise from a disagreement of the IR with a view expressed by the IR. Second, the effect of the IE focusing on the IR is the same. The focus on the IR shifts the accountability for the problem from the IE to the IR. More importantly, the shift of focus onto the IR, means that the IE is no longer held accountable for expressing disagreement. This also means that the IE is enabled to present him/herself as a good politician.

The change of footing to one in which the IE and IR are engaged in a disagreement, suggests a dispreferred participation framework (Greatbatch 1992). As such, it makes the IR, the recipient, accountable. This contrasts with talk in interviews that is directed to the overhearing audience and during which the role of the IR is as a medium through which the talk is directed. In this institutionalised role of the IR, the IR is only required to ask questions and listen to the answer that the IE gives (Greatbatch 1988).

Context is an important resource for disambiguating the meaning of 'you' (Goffman 1981, Malone 1997, Sacks 1992). Since the use of 'you' singular to address the IR in political interviews is part of a change of participation framework, and 'you' is inherently ambiguous (Sacks 1992:1:163-8, 349), the IE uses other markers to make it

clear to the IR that s/he is addressing the IR. First, the name of the IR is often given before ‘you’ singular is used, either immediately before the disagreement (as in examples 4.3 and 4.4, or a number of lines before in Example 4.2. In all of the examples, the use of the IR’s first name occurs within the disagreement talk. Second, the disagreement with the IR is different from the other talk because it occurs with overlap. Third, there are prosodic markers that signal the change, such as high pitch, increase in speed marking the change in participation framework (Greatbatch 1992).

#### 4.2.2 ‘You’ singular used to avoid answering a question.

In Example 4.6, the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley is interviewed immediately prior to the 1996 Federal election, about a scandal involving forged letters, for which the Government has been blamed.

##### Example 4.6

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 1-12]

- |    |      |                                                                                               |
|----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | .h kim beazle:y <u>your</u> biggest blow in this campaign so fa:r was the letters             |
| 2  |      | affair of two days ago;.hh there's now a statement from a-l-p campaign                        |
| 3  |      | headquarters .h saying that someone's given a statement to the police (0.1)                   |
| 4  |      | alleging a person associated with peter costello and jeff kennett was involved                |
| 5  |      | (0.3) .h d'you know anything about this. (0.5).                                               |
|    | M:KB |                                                                                               |
| 6  | a->  | .h well I think you'd actually better ring garry grey on that o:ne,=I                         |
| 7  | b->  | don't know a great deal any more than has actually come out in your news                      |
| 8  |      | services= <u>ex</u> cept to say this [.hh] I think within a <u>day</u> or so                  |
| 9  | F:FK | [mm].                                                                                         |
| 10 | M:KB | of that event it became pretty obvious .hh <u>ay</u> : that ralph willis <u>was</u> the       |
| 11 |      | victim of the <u>sca:m</u> and <u>be</u> : that his office and he himself wasn't involved (.) |

The topic of the question about “a person associated with peter costello and jeff kennett” is a sensitive matter in which the Labor Party has been implicated and the IR asks the IE directly: “d’you know anything about this.” That this is a

dispreferred answer is signalled by the IE's 0.5 second pause after the question, the 'well'- prefaced answer (Schiffrin 1995) and evasive response of the IE at *arrow a*: ".h well I think you'd actually better ring garry grey on that o:ne". By suggesting that the IR ring Garry Grey, the IE moves out of the question and answer framework. This distances the IE from the situation.

At *arrow b*, the IE says that he only knows what "your news services" have put out. Thus, the IR and those in the IR's news service also become implicated in the what is known about the "letters affair". By using 'your' in "your news services" the IE also creates an affiliation with the IR and her group (Sacks 1992:1:382-8, 605-9).

### 4.2.3 'You' singular used to show co-involvement

'You' singular is also used to co-involve the IR. In Example 4.7 the IE co-involves the IR as a means to add weight to his/her argument. This is accomplished by indicating a shared knowledge of a situation with 'you know' (Schiffrin 1987).

In Example 4.7, the Chief Minister of the ACT Government, Kate Carnell, is interviewed about her consultation with the other Parties in the Government in relation to the Budget.

#### Example 4.7

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 146-154]

- 1 F:EJ.hh now, >let me ask you this<=being in <minority government:> are you
- 2 involving the independents and the greens¿ in this budget preparation, o:r are
- 3 you running I guess the rather risky line of bringing down a budget that co:uld
- 4 .hh have bits and pieces blocked in the assembly.
- F:KC
- 5 . h well obviously in a minority government you always take that risk,. h
- 6 we're attempting to keep people as well informed as is possible in a budget
- 7 a-> process. hh (clears throat) but as you know elizabeth with ah with budgets

8 .h they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um very much at the last  
 9 minute and it's really this week that ah .h that the various elements of the  
 10 budget are coming together,

At *arrow a*, the IE co-involves the IR, by claiming a shared understanding about Government budgets: “but as you know elizabeth with ah with budgets”. The IE accomplishes this co-involvement by addressing the IR with ‘you’ singular. “As you know suggests a shared understanding between the speaker and hearer and to involves everyone in this understanding” (Schiffrin 1987:268). This adds weight to the IE’s claim about Government Budgets: “they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um very much at the last minute”. The IE’s co-involvement of the IR in knowledge about budgets enables the IR to present her case as one which is not merely her opinion, but one held by her and the IR, thus lending the IE’s argument more weight (Laberge and Sankoff 1980, Sacks 1992:1:165-6).

After the IE has addressed the IR with ‘you’: “as you know”, she addresses the IR by her name: “elizabeth”. The use of the IR’s name disambiguates who the IE means by ‘you’, the ambiguity of which, is caused by the inherent ‘this-and-that’ ambiguity of ‘you’ (Sacks 1992: 1:165, 349).

The IE presents herself to the audience as someone who has a shared opinion about Government Budget which gives more weight to her argument. ‘You’ singular is a means to accomplish this because it involves the IR in the knowledge of the situation.

#### **4.2.4 ‘You’ singular used to make a link to a prior interaction with IR**

In Example 4.8, Lucinda Spier, a member of the Australian Capital Territory Liberal Government, is interviewed about her “profile” prior to the 1996 Australian Capital Territory Election.

## Example 4.8

[XXXII: 10.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 118-124]

- 1 F:E]now of course lucinda spier under robson rotation it requires people to build a  
 2 high profile in that ah you're certainly today building up your profile.  
 F:LS  
 3 .hh oh that could be said liz and I'm sure you're not a cynic but after  
 4 a-> um what I did on the last program with you my profile's already high  
 5 b-> and that was your intro too that I'm already a high profile candidate  
 6 .hh so it's nothing to do with that it's to do with it's to do with speaking up  
 7 about an issue I believe very strongly about.

At *arrow a*, the IE makes an intertextual link between the current talk about her high profile and a previous interview with the same IR: “what I did on the last program with you”. At *arrow b*, the IE makes a link to the IR’s comment at the beginning of the interview: “and that was your intro too”, making another link to an interaction with the IR. These links strengthen the IE’s claims about having a high profile because they provide evidence known to the IR. They also answer the IR’s question in a way that is more difficult to dispute.

In Example 4.9, the Liberal Party’s Spokesperson on Aboriginal Affairs, Christine Gallus, is interviewed about her interpretation of the Liberal Party Leader, John Howard’s, comments about not wanting to be “hijacked by minority groups”.

## Example 4.9

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 21-28]

- 1 F:FK =no who does john howard means when he says that he won't  
 2 let the [xx] the coalition government be hijacked by >minority groups.<  
 3 F:CG  
 4 a-> >well I think you answered your own question ↑earlier=didn't you fran= that  
 5 ah <there has been a capture of this ah labor government by the union



- 6                    movement, .h and that's certainly not the sort of things that we want to see  
 7                    we want to govern for all australians, .h and not have any particular interest  
 8                    group >↑such as< the union group (.) putting undue pressure to make  
 9                    government go in a direction that is not the correct ah ah  
 10                    way the government should go (.) for all au↑stralians

At *arrow a*, the IE respond to the IR's question by saying that the IR has answered the question. The answer to which the IE is referring can be found in the immediately preceding interview with Noel Pearson to which Christine Gallus had been asked to respond.

[XXIII 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 43-47]

- 1    F:FK            but noel pearson with due respect I mean aren't you being a little paranoid  
 2                    there's also been other things happening in the last three years .h when  
 3                    asked about who he means when john .h howard says that he will govern for  
 4                    all australians .hh he says there's been an emphasis too much emphasis on  
 5                    the union movement here=I mean he doesn't mention black australians .h

The reference to this part of the interview creates an intertextual link between the current talk and the previous talk. This directly implicates the IR in the answer. In this context, 'you' singular is similar to generic 'you' in implicating the IR in the answer, however it differs from generic 'you' in that it does not implicate everyone. So, it addresses the IR and implicates the IR at the same time. It also enables the IE to avoid answering the question herself.

In Example 4.9 at *arrow a*, the IE refers to what the IR has said previously to answer this question: ">well I think you answered your own question ↑earlier=didn't you fran=". To accomplish this the IE addresses the IR by "you". The IE then does a 'quasi' tag question, using the grammatical format of the tag but not giving the IR an opportunity to respond by latching this quasi tag to the next piece of talk with continuing intonation: ">=didn't you fran=that ah <there has been a capture of this ah labor government by the union movement". The IE also speeds up during this talk, making it more difficult for the IR to respond.

At line 6, the IE changes footing, no longer addressing the IR: “there has been a capture of this ah labor government by the union movement,” in which the no longer addresses the IR but answers the question, referring to the “government,”. ‘That’ which immediately follows “didn’t you fran=” at line 6 suggests that the preceding talk is not a real tag question but an antecedent to the answer that follows in the acceptable answer format. The IE also marks this change in footing by slowing down to the speed at which she talks during the rest of the interview.

#### 4.2.5 Personal reassurance and characterisation of listeners

In Example 4.10, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about the Government’s proposal to give doctors financial incentives.

##### Example 4.10

[XXVII: 16.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-9]

- 1 F:E]please tell me it's not true. are you really throwing thousands of dollars at g-
- 2 p's for nothing?
- 3 F:CL
- 4 a-> I'm not throwing money at anyone I can assure you especially in the
- 5 b-> current budget climate. hh. I'm sure your listeners would be aware that in
- 6 australia the fee for service system that we have under medicare the
- 7 medicare benefits schedule payments .hh can lead if you're not very careful to
- 8 what are called perverse incentives the doctor as for any one else

At *arrow a*, the IE refutes the IR’s claim that the IE and the Government are wasting money. To emphasise this she says: “I can assure you”, personally addressing the IR with ‘you’ singular. The IE however does not break after “I can assure you”. She sets up this change of footing as a brief interlude between two pieces of talk which immediately precede and follow “I can assure you” and which are linked grammatically and intonationally.

At *arrow b*, refers to: “your listeners”. By modifying listeners with ‘your’, the IE characterises the listeners as being affiliated with the IR. “Your listeners” is the group of listeners who have an involvement with the IR and the IR’s radio station and who the IR describes as understanding the situation. By creating this link between the IE and the listeners who understand the situation, the IE strengthens her argument. Implicating the IR and the listeners’ of the IR’s radio program, also dissolves any IR/IE dichotomy because the IE is bringing the IR’s side together in agreement with what she is saying.

#### **4.2.6 Summary of ‘you’ singular**

‘You’ singular occurs within the broad context of moving out of the question and answer framework and is associated with problems such as disagreement and avoidance of the question. ‘You’ singular is also used to make links to prior interactions and co-involve the IR in the talk. Co-involvement and disagreement are ways of moving out of the frame in order to do something like avoiding a question or referring the question to someone else, such as the IR or an absent person.

In Example 4.10, ‘your’ is used to characterise the IR’s listeners. First, it addresses the IR. Second, it creates an affiliation between the IR and a group of people and thus constructs the identity of the IR as someone who has a particular group membership. It also characterises the listeners as being associated with the IR.

### **4.3 Generic ‘you’**

This section on generic ‘you’ is divided into two main parts. Section 4.3.1 considers examples of generic ‘you’ used in the most general way to include everyone (Sacks 1992:1:163-8, 349) and Section 4.3.2 considers examples of generic ‘you’ which represent a particular person or group (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:272).

In the political interviews in this study, generic 'you' is used as a resource to generalise about a situation, invoking a sense of what is normal or typical and constructing self as a typical member of a category (Sacks 1992:1:163-168, 349). Generic 'you' is used in two contexts. In the first, generic 'you' refers to everyone and occurs when the IE is trying to justify what s/he is saying by appealing to what everyone knows or experiences. In the second context, generic 'you' is used with specific events, in which generic 'you' stands for someone or a group in particular (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:272). In both contexts, generic 'you' is a way to present something or someone as typical. 'You' has the effect of making what the politician says into a generalisation (Sacks 1992:1: 163-168, 349) and consequently strengthens the speaker's argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1). However, when generic 'you' is used to represent a particular person or group, it goes further than making a generalisation and invoking what is normal or typical. In these cases, generic 'you' can deflect the attention from a particular person or group.

In these political interviews, generic 'you' includes the IE, the IR and the overhearing audience and also all the political parties, as part of 'everyone' and is used frequently. By using generic 'you' the IE can construct the talk as normal – a useful resource in political interviews in which one of a politician's tasks is to persuade the public that his/her view is correct.

When generic 'you' stands for a particular person or group (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:272), the 'self' or 'group' is presented as a 'self' or 'group' that is typical, thus minimising the potential damage to the person/people invoked by generic 'you'. This type of use occurs when there is a potentially damaging situation, in which the IE has been asked about something for which s/he or his/her group is responsible. By using generic 'you', 'self' is distanced from taking responsibility. When generic 'you' is used to represent an oppositional political party, the IE is able to present that party as a typical party and thus not be seen to be overtly criticising the party. By setting up 'other' as a generic 'you', the 'us and them' dichotomy (see Chapter three on 'us and them' dichotomies) is also avoided.

### 4.3.1 Generic 'you': everyone

In Example 4.11 the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley, is interviewed immediately prior to the 1996 Federal election, about a scandal involving forged letters, for which the Government has been blamed.

#### Example 4.11

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 48-62]

- |    |      |                                                                                            |
|----|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | [though the federal] police have said th't they have taken a number of                     |
| 2  |      | statements <u>as</u> part of this investigation=I mean are you <u>perfectly</u> happy with |
|    |      | your campaign .h putting this information out.                                             |
| 3  |      | (0.4).                                                                                     |
| 4  | M:KB | .h well listen it's a matter <u>entirely</u> for the campaign (.) and ≈and their           |
| 5  |      | judgement. ≈ I c'n understand their concern and the concern of the campaign,               |
|    |      | .hh ah given th't there was that attack on our <u>integrity</u> that is <u>obviously</u> a |
|    |      | product of a <u>jake</u> done by somebody ↑else .hh not <u>ourselves</u> ,                 |
| 6  | a->  | .h if y' actually sit down and think through the                                           |
| 7  |      | issue logically there the notion that we'd write ourselves .h fraudulent letters           |
|    |      | is an absolute <u>absurdity</u> .h [so easy to demonstrate                                 |
| 8  | F:FK | [wasn't it a attack on                                                                     |
| 9  |      | (0.3)                                                                                      |
| 10 | M:KB | [that they're ↑false.]                                                                     |

Example 4.11 deals with the "letters affair" in which the Labor Party has been implicated. The IR asks a question about whether the Labor Party is "perfectly happy" with the material that the Labor Party campaign office has put out about this. At *arrow a*, the IE defends the Labor Party: "if you actually sit down and think through the issue logically the the notion that we'd write ourselves fraudulent letters is absolutely absurdity". One of the properties of 'you' is its built-in defence (Sacks 1992:1:350). By using generic 'you', the IE makes a generalisation (Sacks 1992:1:163-168, 349), implying that anyone who thought through the issue would come up with the same conclusion that the Labor

Party did not write the letter. This gives more weight to the IE's argument than if the IE gave his individual opinion or a party opinion. It is also a means of defending the IE's views about this situation in which the Labor Party need all the support they can garner, the day before the Federal election. The Labor Party are already in a vulnerable position which has also been made more precarious by the recent editorials which the IR mentions at the beginning of the interview suggesting that the Labor Party's chances of winning the Federal election are slim. Using generic 'you' gives more weight to the IE's argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) and helps the IE to defend his views on this matter.

In Example 4.12, the Premier of the New South Wales Government, Bob Carr is interviewed about his Government's response to the issue of the legalisation of drugs.

#### Example 4.12

[IV: 5.10.95 ABC TV, lines 11-17]

- 1 M:AO I thought you had been implacably opposed to to those (xxx) to
- 2 decriminalisation or legalisation
- 3 M:CA .hh my position is really that we've got to define heroin (0.4)
- 4 <addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem,> we've got to
- 5 a-> treat it as a health problem. .hhh um I: I think once you make that (0.5)
- 6 b-> you make that concession >°if it is a concession,°< (0.4) you're on the
- 7 way to to viewing the (0.5) disparate natures: the disparate nature of this
- 8 problem.

The IE begins his answer with a personal statement about "my position" then immediately moves on to say that it is something that must be dealt with by a group of people expressed by 'we': "we've got to define heroin (0.4) <addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem,> we've got to treat it as a health problem." At *arrow a*, the IE continues to talk about what he thinks should be done about the problem of drugs, this time making it more general than his

reference to 'we' by using generic 'you': ".hhh um I: I think once you make that (0.5) you make that concession >°if it is a concession,°< (0.4) you're on the way to to viewing the (0.5) disparate natures: the disparate nature of this problem." The effect of generic 'you' is to include everyone in the issue in order to present his view as one held by everyone, thereby giving more weight to his argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1).

At *arrow b*, the IE uses generic 'you' to mean that if everyone views the drug problem as a health problem then "you're on the way to to viewing the (0.5) disparate natures: the disparate nature of this problem." This use of 'you' which includes everyone, is a way of the IE meaning that everyone will view the situation in the same way. The IE has been asked for his position on the issue but ends up saying that his position is one that everyone, including himself, will think the same about. This is referred to as communal backup (Liddicoat et al 1994) and is used as a means of presenting a point of view as one that is widely held – an O-event (Labov and Fanshel 1977). It is used as a tool to "enlist support from the general community by referring to the common body of knowledge held in the culture" (Liddicoat et al 1994:145). This is in keeping with the task of politicians in political interviews to persuade the community that their position is correct.

In Example 4.13, the Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs for the Coalition, Christine Gallus, is interviewed about the Coalition Leader John Howard's comments about being bullied by minority groups.

#### Example 4.13

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 29-38]

- |   |      |                                                                                             |
|---|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:FK | =and do you think that's who john howard is referring to when he says                       |
| 2 |      | minority groups=he's only talking about unions, or is he talking about .h                   |
| 3 |      | greenies, the ethnic lobby, the aboriginal mabo negotiating team. <u>people</u> such        |
| 4 |      | as that th't .h th't mainstream australia's seen on the t-v news at night.                  |
| 5 | F:CG | I think ah what we are <u>saying</u> <is: that we will be not subject to <u>bullying</u> by |

6 any> particular minority group. .h and I think the whole of australia (.)  
 7 would applaud 's that .h because nobody wants to see a government bullied  
 8 and ↑certainly not the way that this government has managed to be bullied  
 9 a-> by ah the union movement=and you've only got to have a look .h in what  
 10 happened um with the sale of the a-n-l. .h to see what happened there. .h

At arrow *a*, the IE provides an example of the Government being bullied, using generic 'you' as a way of saying that if anyone looked at the previous example of the sale of the Australian National Lines then they would understand what she meant by bullying: “=and you've only got to have a look .h in what happened um with the sale of the a-n-l. .h to see what happened there.” In this utterance, the IE refers to the Union movement supposedly bullying the Labor government into selling the Australian National Lines. Here, the IE tries to get the support of the audience by implying by generic 'you' that everyone would agree that the Labor government is bullied around by minority groups. In this example, the 'this-and-that' ambiguity of 'you' (Sacks 1992:1:165) is exploited, in which generic 'you' includes both the IR and 'everyone' (all those in the overhearing audience). Generic 'you' has a built-in defence (Sacks 1992:1:350). The implication of using generic 'you' is that everyone would come to the same conclusion, and this gives weight to the IE's argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) that her example is a valid example of the Labor government being bullied. By giving more weight to the IE's argument in this way, the IE also defends her position.

At arrow *a*, the IE uses generic 'you' to present her view as widely held. It is the climax of inclusive terms, which starting at line 6, where the IE includes herself in the group the Government, then talks about “the whole of Australia” and then “nobody”. The effect of using 'you' is to shift the attention away from the Liberal Party to everyone. This takes the pressure off being answerable for what Mr Howard is saying about not being bullied by minorities.



In Example 4.14, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot, is interviewed about the Government's proposal for employees to give up three percent of their pay for superannuation.

#### Example 4.14

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 3-14]

- 1 M:PL .h now the experts all say australians have got t' sa:ve more=<d'z zis mean  
2 that you would support the idea of employees giving up three percent of their  
3 pay packets for super?>  
4 (0.9)  
5 F:CK well I certainly support the notion that we have to save more,=I'm just not  
6 convinced that this particular proposal <SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT> .hh  
7 is the: most efficient way to save.  
8 M:PL =what's wrong with it  
9 F:CK  
10 a-> .h we:ll (0.3) I think you'll find that it's- a:h it's impact is fair and squarely  
11 on a:h on low income earners, and >tho:se who already earn< over six hundred  
12 dollars a wee:k will be able to just switch savings,=so .hh I don't think what  
13 the government's claiming about how much it's going to rai:se is iz ah ah  
14 essentially accurate=

In Example 4.14, the IR asks the IE to be more specific: “what's wrong with it” in response to the IE's answer to the previous question in which she indicates that the proposal of the Government for all Australians to put three percent of their pay into superannuation is flawed. At *arrow a*, the IE uses generic ‘you’ to imply that everyone including the IE, the IR and the audience, that is anyone who looks at the proposal, would find problems with it. Generic ‘you’ includes the IR, IE and every other Australian. This use of generic ‘you’ gives more weight to the IE's claim (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1). This claim is stronger than if generic ‘you’ were to be taken out, thus making her utterance into more of a personal opinion: “you'll find that” were taken out of “I think it's- a:h it's impact is fair and squarely on a:h on low income earners,”. The claim is strengthened because ‘you’ implicates everyone in this, (not just herself) so she presenting her view as though it was a generally held view. Generic ‘you’ has

the effect of upgrading from a personal opinion to presenting a more general view.

In Example 4.15, Kim Beazley, the Deputy Leader of the Government, is asked about the 1996 Federal election that will occur the next day.

#### Example 4.15

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 121-130]

- |    |      |                                                                                         |
|----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | .h well the editorials of the major papers generally tell people today that it's        |
| 2  |      | time for a change. h how much of a <u>blo:w</u> was that to labor.                      |
| 3  |      | (0.5)                                                                                   |
| 4  | M:KB | .h the editorials usually say that. (0.3)                                               |
| 5  | a->  | I think if you make your (laughter) way- go through- back through the                   |
| 6  |      | editorials of the last ah four or five election campaigns, .hh with the                 |
| 7  | b->  | possible exception of the first in 1983, .hh you won't find a whole lot of a::h         |
| 8  |      | favourable editorial comment about us=that's just- the (stumbling) that's the           |
| 9  |      | nature of the beast ah .h we've put up with that for some <u>time</u> . (0.8) .h so a:h |
| 10 |      | (0.3) the public <u>before</u> have ah managed to find a good reason for divorcing      |
| 11 |      | themselves from the opinions of editors and I hope they will again tomorrow.            |

This interview was conducted on the eve of the 1996 Federal election and, as the IR mentions at line 1, the newspaper editorials are suggesting that Labor will not win. At the beginning of the IE's answer, the IE makes a general statement about editorials: "the editorials usually say that." He then continues, backing up his claim referring to the last four or five election campaigns: "I think if you make your way- go through- back through the editorials of the last ah four or five election campaigns,". Generic 'you' is in keeping with the previous general claims (line 4). This gives more weight to what he says (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) because he presents his argument as one that is true for everyone. Generic 'you' includes everyone and helps make the IE's view persuasive because his talk reaches everyone through 'you', a particularly effective strategy in the context of the position of Labor described by the IR in the opening turn.

At *arrow b*, the IE concludes the “if-then” hypothetical comment with “.hh you won't find a whole lot of a::h favourable editorial comment about us”. Again, generic 'you' implies that everyone would find the same thing if they looked through the editorials, including the IR as a journalist involved in the scrutinising of newspapers. In the context of the IR presenting a negative outlook for Labor at the election on the next day, the use of 'you', invokes a sense of what is typical and provides a strong and positive counter argument.

In Example 4.16, the Chief Minister of the ACT Government, Kate Carnell, is interviewed about her apparent lack of consultation with the unions in the Public Service Freeze that she has just announced.

#### Example 4.16

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-11]

- 1 F:E]now on something of this magnitu:de a c'mplete w'll (.) virtually a c'mplete
- 2 free:ze <on a-c-t public servants.> (.) .hh why didn't you c'nsult the union:
- 3 (.) over this. I thought that consultation was very much a part of your election
- 4 catch crai:e. (.)
- 5 F:KC that's certainly the case eliz'beth,=b't with a free:ze is as as I'm sure
- 6 a-> everybody would know who's ever been part of one you've actually just got to
- 7 do it .h and then ((clears throat)) um and then talk about
- 8 b-> how we can make 't h. work best. (.) simply if you- if you give too much ah
- 9 lead time running into a freeze, .hh it means th't people .h c'n obviously
- 10 employ y' know c'n (.) .h c'n c'n fill up all those extra positions and so: on,

At *arrow a*, the IE starts to formulate her response about the Public Service Freeze, as something that everyone would know: “as as I'm sure everybody would know who's ever been part of one...”. She then continues her generalisation about the Public Service Freeze by saying that “you've actually just got to do it”. Generic 'you' is in keeping with her generalisation about the normal procedures for implementing a Freeze. By using generic 'you', the IE implies that what the Government has is typical of Governments. Between

*arrow a* and *arrow b* there is no final falling intonation until “work best.”: “you've actually just got to do it .h and then ((clears throat)) um and then talk about how we can make ‘t h. work best.” This indicates that the IE does not want the IR to interrupt her and challenge her claims.

In this stretch of talk, the IE changes the subject from generic ‘you’ at *arrow a* to ‘we’ at *arrow b*, first speaking generally about all governments and then personalising and affiliating with the Government who have implemented the Freeze. The IE makes this change in the one stretch of talk, suggesting that ‘we’ and ‘you’ are closely tied. ‘We’ makes the identity of the group being referred to explicit (Malone 1997:62). These pronouns in such close proximity and in the same stretch of unbroken talk, reflect a shift from how the IE constructs the identity of the Government, first as one of the group all Governments to the specific Government who are responsible for this particular Freeze. The construction of her Government as part of ‘you’ referring to all Governments who typically have to implement Freezes, makes her Government appear normal. It is in this context that the IE then speaks specifically about her own government as ‘we’.

It is noteworthy that the actions associated with generic ‘you’ are in some sense negative: “ you've actually just got to do it” but those associated with ‘we’ are positive: “and then talk about how we can make ‘t h. work best”. This is in keeping with the tendency of politicians in political interviews to link one’s own group invoked by ‘we’ to positive actions (Liddicoat et al 1999). When generic ‘you’ is linked with the negative aspects, it creates an impression that this is unavoidable, since it is presented that is something done by everyone.

At *arrow b*, the IE justifies her actions by claiming that giving too much lead time leads to unacceptable consequences, and by formulating it in terms of a generalisation using generic ‘you’ to accomplish this: “if you- if you give too much ah lead time running into a freeze, .hh it means th’t people .h c’n obviously employ y’ know c’n (.) .h c’n c’n fill up all those extra positions and

so: on,”. She frames this as a hypothetical event that anyone do and again links the negative aspects of the Freeze with ‘you’.

In Example 4.17, Kim Beazley, the Deputy Leader of the Government, is interviewed on the day before the 1996 federal election about Labor’s chances of winning the election. Four examples of ‘you’ occur in this section of the interview. ‘You’ at *arrows a, b and c* are examples of generic ‘you’ referring to everyone in the group. ‘You’ at *arrow d*, is an instance generic ‘you’ referring to the Prime Minister as an example of someone who is typical of the type of Prime Minister who does an “old-fashioned style campaign”. While section 4.2.1 is about generic ‘you’ to refer to everyone, ‘you’ at *arrow d* is also included because it occurs as a continuation of the talk in which generic ‘you’ occurs three times in the same turn. This example is from the same interview as Example 4.15.

#### Example 4.17

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 103-119]

- |    |      |                                                                                          |
|----|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | we just heard a report that the prime minister had a <u>spa</u> :rkle in his eye at 'is  |
| 2  |      | press conference today, (0.3) .h he described the- labor’s chances as <u>goo</u> :d .h I |
| 3  |      | that overstating it?                                                                     |
| 4  |      | (0.5)                                                                                    |
| 5  | M:KB | I- I think that he's had a sparkle in his eye all campaign,= I th- this has              |
| 6  | a->  | been in some ways a 1970's <u>campaign</u> , (0.5) .hh on the one hand you've had        |
| 7  |      | john howard come out with 1977 style fist full of dollars <u>promises</u> <with          |
| 8  |      | about as much validity as they have> .h on the other hand instead of the                 |
| 9  |      | prime minister being hermetically sealed in a capsule .hh ah as is nowadays              |
| 10 |      | is often the case with prime ministers and leaders of the opposition and                 |
| 11 | b->  | you .hh you pop the top of the hat capsule the head pops out and                         |
| 12 | c->  | you the journalists get a chance t' have a go at him for .hh for about ah thirdy         |
| 13 |      | minutes and then the head goes down again (0.3) .hh the prime minister has               |
| 14 |      | actually done an old style <u>campaign</u> = he's out there of an evening, (0.6) .h ah   |
| 15 |      | as well as during the da:y=he's a- it's been a- a- a- an old fashioned barn              |
| 16 |      | storming and I think one of the (.) effects of that is people actually warm to           |
| 17 | d->  | seeing you and he's being buoyed by the fact 's he's gone around (.) .hh that            |

At line 7, the IE makes a claim that the 1996 Federal election campaign is like “a 1970's campaign”. At arrow a, the IE generalises about a 1970's campaign by using generic ‘you’ to substantiate this claim: “this has been in some ways a 1970's campaign, (0.5) .hh on the one hand you've had john howard come out...” Here ‘you’ occurs in the phrase ‘you have’. ‘You have’ is associated with the negative traits of John Howard’s campaign – “1977 style fist full of dollars promises”. Generic ‘you’ refers to everyone affected by these promises and is linked to ‘have’ which indicates ownership or affiliation. So, ‘you’ in combination with ‘have’ means that everyone has been affected by the promises.

‘You’ occurs in the phrase ‘you have’ and is used when a negative generalisation is made. Unlike ‘we have’ which is a personalised substitute for ‘there is’, ‘you have’ is not a substitute but can be added to an utterance to make it sound typical. ‘You have’ is associated with the negative aspects of something, in this case the “1977 style fist full of dollars promises”. The presence of ‘we’ in ‘we have’ includes the speaker and is associated with positive traits associated with the speaker and the group to which s/he belongs. In contrast, ‘you’ includes everyone and in the phrase ‘you have’ is associated with negative traits that affect everyone including both the speaker, listener and everyone else in the particular category affected.

At lines 10-16, the IE emphasises how leaders of political parties relate to the media during election campaigns. The IE makes a generalisation in the following ways: at lines 11-12, saying that this happens ‘often’: “as is nowadays *often* the case”. At line 12, the IE refers to numbers of leaders, marked with the plural -s, and referring to two types of leaders: “with prime ministers and leaders of the opposition”.

At *arrow b*, in keeping with the IE’s general description of election campaigns, the IE draws a generalisation about the current situation, using generic ‘you’ to

accomplish this: “and you .hh you pop the top of the hat capsule the head pops out”. This generalisation is accomplished by generic ‘you’ including everyone (Sacks 1992: 163-168, 349). ‘You’ includes the IR, IE and others and creates the impact of this action affecting everyone. The inclusion of the IR as a journalist is clear here because speaking to politicians during an election time is accomplished by journalists. ‘You’ is used to create a picture of something that everyone does, and is typical. By making the talk about the campaign sound typical, the IE gives his interpretation of events more defensible. In addition, the extension of the sense of typicality that generic ‘you’ invokes, is a sense that something is more objective than subjective.

At line 13, the IE refers to the leaders in election campaigns in a non-specific, impersonal, metaphorical way: “the head”. This continues the generalisation, and deflects attention away from making any specific references to political leaders who are involved in Election campaigns.

At *arrow c*, in the same section of talk on leaders’ presence in campaigns, the IE refers to the journalists as “you the journalists”. By using ‘you’ to refer to the journalists, the IE involves the IR in present day election campaigns. Here, the IE uses ‘you’ to try to show that what the journalists are doing is typical (Sacks 1992:1:32, 163-8).

At *arrow d*, the IE talks about what the Prime Minister has done and the effect of meeting people in “an old style campaign”: “I think that one of the effects of that is that people warm to seeing you”. This example of ‘you’ is generic ‘you’ but refers to the Prime Minister, Paul Keating. This reference is made clear by the immediately preceding reference to “that” at line 16, which refers to the “old-fashioned barn-storming” that the IE describes the Prime Minister as doing, and the link to generic ‘you’. The implication of generic ‘you’ is that any Prime Minister in this position would have the same experience. Rather than the IE continuing his talk about the Prime Minister by making specific reference to him as he has at lines 13-15, the IE speaks about the Prime Minister in general terms. This makes what the IE has said general and, therefore, more objective.

The effect of using generic 'you' to describe what the Prime Minister is doing, is to upgrade the IE's talk from his specific (and necessarily biased) opinion to one which is framed as something that is typical.

In these political interviews, politicians use generic 'you' to include everyone in the justification of their arguments. Generic 'you' includes the IE, the IR, the audience and everyone else. By doing this, the IE makes his point of view more persuasive than if the argument was only restricted to a more limited group of people because s/he is appealing to everyone. Everyone equates to all voters – the group of people the IE is trying to persuade to his/her point of view.

#### **4.3.2 Generic 'you'- specific**

In Section 4.4.2, generic 'you' represents a particular person or group (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:272). Sacks (1992:1:165 and 349-50) shows that using generic 'you' has a built-in defence because of its this-and-that ambiguity which means that everyone is included. The range of referents of generic 'you' includes the IE, the political party of the IE and the Opposition, thus representing 'self', the political party of 'self' and the political party of 'other' respectively. The purpose of using generic 'you' in these contexts is to enable the IE to say that this particular group or person is like everyone, and so is normal or typical in their behaviour. It is a way of avoiding directly referring to themselves or themselves and occurs in contexts in which the IE or the IE and his/her group is being singled out.

In Example 4.18, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her knowledge of and involvement in a petition tabled in Parliament containing false allegations about Penny Easton. Penny Easton was a Western Australian lawyer who killed herself four days after this petition about her was tabled in the West Australian parliament in November 1992 when Dr Lawrence was Premier of West Australia.

#### **Example 4.18**



[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 25-30]

- 1 M:PL .h and t' what extent do you genuinely belie:ve that your recent problems  
 2 are in any way due to the fact th't you're a woman.  
 3 F:CL w'll ↑I think I've indicated before that the the only (.) way in which they  
 4 are is th't ah as the only woman in cabinet .h and one of the few women in ah  
 5 a-> public life, you tend to stand out such as a sore thumb and indeed \*it's felt  
 6 more such as a sore thumb than any other more attractive sort of novelty\*

At line 4, the IE describes herself as "the only woman in cabinet and one of the few women in public life", then immediately says "you tend to stand out such as a sore thumb", linking herself and generic 'you'. This is followed by generic 'you' at *arrow a* at which 'you' only incidentally refers to the IE (Sacks 1992:1:166). The effect of generic 'you' is to highlight that any woman in her position as the only woman in this situation would "stand out such as a sore thumb". In this context generic 'you' also acts as a distancing mechanism to deflect individual attention from the IE, necessary in this potentially damaging situation. Generic 'you' makes the comment about her situation into an impersonal (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1 and Sacks 1992:1:206) general one and so avoids the directness and individual responsibility entailed in saying 'I'.

In Example 4.19, the Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory Government, Kate Carnell, is interviewed about the implementation of a Public Service Freeze without consultation with the unions.

#### Example 4.19

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 26-37]

- 1 F:EJb't chief minister you ha:f to admit don't you that it <does make your election  
 2 (.) promis: (.) sound a bit hollow> .hh I mean <you spoke about consultation:  
 3 time 'n time again .hh now you're in government an' you're saying to me >the<  
 4 o:h b- yeah but with something such as this is doesn't matter= y' don't need to  
 5 consult on this.

- 6 F:KC <no eliz'beth I'm not saying it doesn't matter I'm saying it wouldn't work>  
 7 u:m .h with- with- situati-=  
 8 F:EJ =the unions seem to think it would  
 9 work, they would ev- very much appreciated ah a comment or a letter or  
 10 something f[rom you.  
 11 F:KC [xxxxx .h um look I understand that elizabeth but I think that one  
 12 a-> of the things about government is th't you have to be willing to make decisions  
 13 at times .hh on issues such as this, now we've certainly made a decision and  
 14 we're very willing to talk to the union how we can make it work best

At lines 11-12, the IE makes a general comment about governments: “but I think that one of the things about government is...” This is a way of avoiding the accusation of the IR that the IE did not consult with the unions. At *arrow a*, the IE continues her general comments about governments, making her talk into a generalisation with ‘you’ generic: “th’t you have to be willing to make decisions at times .hh on issues such as this,”. Generic ‘you’ is linked to the non-specific, general “governments”, and it is the IE’s way of saying that any government has to act in this way and only incidentally does it include the IE’s government (Sacks 1992:1:166). The effect of ‘you’ is to make the Government’s actions appear normal. Only after the IE has attempted to make her government’s actions appear normal by using generic ‘you’ does she talk about her government, using ‘we’ at lines 14-15: “now we’ve certainly made a decision and we’re very willing to talk to the union how we can make it work best”. By using ‘you’ first and then ‘we’, the IE is implying that the issue is first and foremost one that is common to all governments, and only incidentally ‘us’. (Sacks 1992:1:166).

At lines 13-14, the IE modifies her participation framework, referring to what the Government has done using ‘we’. This shift to ‘we’ from generic ‘you’ at *arrow a* makes the referent of the ‘you’ at a specific identity (Malone 1997:62). The actions associated with ‘we’ are positive: “we’ve certainly made a decision”, compared with the more negative ones associated with ‘you’: “you have to be willing to make decisions at times”.

In Example 4.20, the Chief Minister of the ACT Government, Kate Carnell, is interviewed about her consultation with the other parties in the Government in relation to the budget.

#### Example 4.20

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 146-154]

- 1 F:EJ.hh now, >let me ask you this<=being in <minority government:> are you  
 2 involving the independents and the greens¿ in this budget preparation, o:r are  
 3 you running I guess the rather risky line of bringing down a budget that co:uld  
 4 .hh have bits and pieces blocked in the assembly.
- F:KC
- 5 a-> .h well obviously in a minority government you always take that risk,. h  
 6 we're attempting to keep people as well informed as is possible in a budget  
 7 process. hh (clears throat) but as you know elizabeth with ah with budgets  
 8 .h they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um very much at the last  
 9 minute and it's really this week that ah .h that the various elements of the  
 10 budget are coming together,

At *arrow a*, the IE begins to respond to the IR's question about the IE's minority government's consultation with other party members of the Government. The IE mirrors the IR's mention of the IE's identity as the "minority government" in her answer: "well obviously in a minority government" but immediately continues at *arrow a* by saying what minority governments do in invoked by generic 'you': "you always take that risk,". By using generic 'you' the IE generalises about what minority governments do, rather than specifically commenting on what her minority government has done. By constructing her identity first as a minority government, then reconstructing it as any minority government, the IE makes a subtle change from the way the IR has framed the issue. The IE in fact does not frame the question in the same way as the IR who directs the question to 'you' the Government: "are you involving the independents and the greens¿ in this budget preparation, o:r are you running I guess the rather risky line of bringing down a budget that co:uld .hh have bits and pieces blocked in the assembly." The IE modifies the participation

framework to 'you' - any minority government (IE). The IE's use of 'you' generic, to refer to any minority government, takes advantage of the 'this and 'that' ambiguity inherent in 'you', in which 'you' can include the listener or the listener and an ever-expanding group of others which eventually include the IR in this context (Sacks 1992:1:165).

After the IE's initial construction of her identity as part of the group of all minority governments, the IE then invokes her own government's identity at line 8 by using 'we': "we're attempting to keep people as well informed as is possible in a budget process." Again, the IE links the good aspects of a Freeze with "we" (Liddicoat et al. 1999), saying that they are apparently positive things such as keeping the people well informed. The IE also links the negative aspects of the Budget process with 'you': "you always take that risk,." in response to the IR's comments at lines 3-5: "the risky line of bringing down a budget that co:uld .hh have bits and pieces blocked in the assembly." mentioned by the IR.

Lines 10-11 consist of more generalisations about the budget process in keeping with the use of generic 'you' at *arrow a*: "with budgets .h they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um very much at the last minute". The IE talks about budgets in general: "budgets" and what 'they' are such as: "they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um very much at the last minute". These two unspecific terms - 'budgets' and 'they' - are in keeping with the generalisation created by generic 'you'.

At lines 12-15, the IE owns the "positive elements" of her budget process saying by using 'we': ".hh ah which was the reason we made the decision right now to: freeze employment in the public service but ↑not just freeze jobs .hh we're also freezing contractors .h and consultants (.) so we're not um we're not just doing it-i-" This decision is not inherently positive but just prior to this stretch of talk she has made a generalisation about budgets coming together at the last minute which is her justification for what the government does which she presents as something 'we' have done. By using 'we' she presents these actions as positive.

In Example 4.21, John Howard, the Federal Opposition Leader, and Member for Bennelong talks about why the East-West runway in Sydney should be reopened.

#### Example 4.21

[III: 26.9.95 ABC TV, lines 218-236]

- 1 M:AO w'll you certainly made the point very thoroughly tonight mister  
 2 howard,=but I mean isn't the inevitable result though if the east west w-  
 3 runway was to reopen .h that there would be an increase in traffic overall .h  
 4 and there that there would therefore consequently be an incre- an increase in  
 5 noise as well ǃ  
 6 M:JH well that's not the argument that's been put to the senate inquiry. (0.5)  
 7 ah the senate inquiry actually argues ah some people argue that if  
 8 a-> you have- you reopen the east west runway the number of movements will .h  
 9 a≈h could be affected=the evidence th't we have  
 10 b-> is th't um .h ah it's been put to the senate inquiry is that if you ah .h  
 11 c-> if you re-open the east-west runway you w' you can end up (.) according to  
most  
 12 d-> of the evidence having about the same number of movements th't you have  
 13 >at the present ti' <.h and it's within the capacity of any government (0.3) to  
 14 put a limit on the number of air movements=mister brereton indicated  
 15 yesterday (.) to one of the newspapers that his government intended to put a  
 16 e-> cap on air movem'nts=and you can regulate that (.) and you can decide for  
 17 f-> example that .h you will have the same number of air movements  
 18 g-> but you will do it .h using all of the runways and not just two of them  
 19 h-> including using the east west runway an' you distribute the same number of  
 air  
 20 movements .h over a wider range and therefore .h nobody (.) is carrying (.) 'n  
 21 unfair share of the ↑burden [an' what

At *arrow a*, the IE begins to talk about what would happen if the East-West runway were to be reopened. To accomplish this the IE uses generic 'you' in an 'if you... then...' grammatical structure. If the East-West runway were to be reopened it would, in fact, be the Government who would do it, but the IE does

not construct the situation as one that a particular Government is dealing with. Rather, the general nature of generic 'you', does not point to anyone who is responsible. This deflects any attention on the Government.

At *arrow b*, the IE starts to talk about: "the evidence that we have is th't" formulating the talk in terms of what 'we' know, thereby making the talk personal and implicating himself in the knowledge of the evidence. However, at *arrow c*, the IE reformulates this using the passive voice with an impersonal subject: "it's been put to the senate inquiry is that if you ah .h if you re-open the east-west runway". By reformulating, or self-repair, the IE puts the talk back into the hypothetical, constructing it as something in which he now has no personal involvement. Generic 'you' in combination with 'if' is an indicator that the talk is hypothetical.

At lines 13 and 14, the IE continues his talk about the issue being a general one: ".h and it's within the capacity of any government (0.3) to put a limit on the number of air movements" by stressing that "any government" can do it. Even when the IE mentions the particular Minister responsible for the airport at line 14: "mister brereton" he then refers to the Government as "his Government" using third person referring language to construct an 'other' that the IE is associated with. This avoids an "us and them" dichotomy that could be set up if the IE were to refer to the Government as 'them' or 'they'.

At *arrow e*, the comment about what the Government would do that ends at "movem'nts" and is latched onto "=and you can regulate that", reformulating the talk in the original hypothetical terms. At *arrows e, f, g* and *h*, the IE continues the hypothetical talk, indicating in more detail what would happen if "for example" "you" opened all of the runways. This is an effective way of presenting the IE's agenda in a hypothetical and general way because it deflects any attention that the IE might draw to his own agenda. The IE is nevertheless able to be specific about what he wants.

The IE attempts to present his argument in order to achieve a reduction in air-traffic noise for his constituents. By wording the argument as something that any government could do, the IE does not directly criticise the government but at the same time presents it as a general possibility. He achieves two things by doing this. First, he presents a non-critical view to those voters in his electorate that support the Government by not directly criticising the Government thus presenting himself as a fair politician. Second, the IE does not tell the Government what to do directly because he presents the scenario as a general possibility, rather than a specific one to be accomplished by a specific government. Not talking about the Government directly means that he is not establishing an 'us and them' opposition to them.

A common pattern in the use of generic 'you' is for it to be preceded by the IE stating his/her position on a matter in terms of a personal opinion invoked by 'I'. When generic 'you' is used in this context, it is usually associated with an elaboration or reiteration of what has been said. Generic 'you' upgrades what the IE has said as a personal opinion and enables the IE to present his/her view as a generally held view. The personal opinion preceding the utterance which contains generic 'you' is usually in the same turn, but sometimes the shift from personal, invoked by 'I', to general, invoked by generic 'you', occurs over a couple of turns. Generic 'you' is used to 'validate' a personal opinion (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) which might have less validity because of its subjectivity.

Generic 'you' is used to present 'self' in two ways. It is used to present 'self' as incidental, but at the same time as a part of everyone. It also presents 'self' as having views that are typical, creating the impression of the IE as someone who talks as though they know what is thought by everyone or what applies to everyone. It is a strategy which may be used to convince the overhearing audience that what the IE is saying is correct.

#### 4.4 'You' embedded in different footings

'You' singular, 'you' plural and generic 'you' occur in footings in which the IE animates another voice (Goffman 1981). 'You' takes on a range of referents determined by the author of the voice that the IE is animating. The voices that the IE take on in these different footings include the IE's political party, a representation by generic 'you' of all political parties, the IR, the Government and a distant narrator. The shift in footing takes the form of a quote or an animation of the voice of someone apart from the IE which is signalled by 'say' or different prosodic markers, respectively.

##### 4.4.1 Animation of 'self' as part of a group

In examples 4.22 and 4.23, the IE is part of the voice that she animates. In Example 4.22, the IE animates the voice of her political party and in Example 4.23, the IE animates the voice of all political parties, invoked by generic 'you'. This enables the IE to distance herself from her own perspective (Clayman 1992:166) and project herself as someone who is part of another group (Goffman 1981:128).

In Example 4.22, the Shadow Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about the Labor Party's proposal to offer concessions to Australian families who take up private health insurance. At *arrow a*, the IE animates the voice of the Government.

##### Example 4.22

[XVI: 6.2.96 ABC TV, lines 15-26]

- 1 M:KO but the principle is exactly the sa[me that you are offer]ing you
- 2 F:CL [no xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]
- 3 M:KO are offering concessions, to australian families (.) to attract more, <either



4            into for the first ti:me, or back into pri↑vate ↑health insurance which is  
 5            exactly what john howard's doing.>  
 6    F:CL    that's not what it's designed to do. it's designed to assist family with their  
 7            health care costs; .h and for ↑most of them they'll stay with the public  
 8            system and they'll purchase those services directly. .h but we couldn't  
 9            pe:nalise those people who had private health insurance; .h  
 10    a->    so we're saying if you've taken the move to insure privately, .h to  
 11    b->    purchase things such as dental and allied health services; .h then you're  
 12            entitled to the same (.) cash rebate=it's not a tax rebate,=it's a direct cash  
 13            payment.

At lines 6-8, the Australian people are referred to variously as “australian families”, “families”, “they” and “those people”. This is typical of how the IE speaks to the overhearing audience in political interviews in an indirect way, not addressing but referring to the audience (Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991).

At *arrow a*, the IE shifts to a quotative style, animating the Government, of which she is a member, about private health insurance. At *arrow a*, ‘you’ refers to the Australian people being spoken to by the Government, including the IR, about the benefits of private health insurance. At *arrow b*, the IE talks to the public of Australia with the same footing, again addressing the Australian people in the quote, with ‘you’.

The IE is included in the voice of the Government that she is animating, in her role as the representative of the Government. Changing to this footing enables the IE to address the Australian people as if she was the Government addressing the Australian people. This creates an image of the Government addressing the Australian people. It is more powerful than the IE as an individual addressing the people or if she reported what the Government has promised because she is drawing on her institutional identity invoked by ‘we’ and she is addressing the people.

The shift from referring to these people as 'they' in lines 6-8 to their being addressed as 'you' plural in the quote represents a shift in the IE's construction of the people as a group to talk about by herself, to a group whom the Government addresses. This is a shift from the IE referring to the people in the third person, to the Government addressing them in the second person. By modifying the participation framework in this way, the IE changes the alignment from the people who are talked about to those who are addressed. Thus, the IE's relationship with them consequently changes. First, she presents herself as a person who makes decisions and reports these decisions to the people. Second, she is a person who presents herself as a person who belongs to the Government who talks to the people concerned about the decisions. This shift enables her to present herself as a politician who belongs to a benevolent Government that communicates directly to the Australian people.

The effect of this animation is dramatic (Clayman 1992, Goffman 1981, Malone 1997:64) and enables the IE to distance herself (Clayman 1992:165) from her own words uttered as an individual, to identify herself as part of the Government and its inherent collective power.

In Example 4.23, the IE is Senator Cheryl Kernot who is the Leader the Democrats. She is interviewed during the 1996 Australian election campaign about her views on the proposed sale by the Liberal Party of the Government-run telecommunications company, Telstra.

#### Example 4.23

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 28-38]

- |   |      |                                                                                                  |
|---|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:KO | okay you've had ti:me now to reflect on ah on the liberals (0.3) ah <u>tying</u> of the          |
| 2 |      | telstra sale to their environmental policy (0.3). you have been quite emphatic                   |
| 3 |      | up to this point about that although there was that slight <u>chink</u> (0.2) that if            |
| 4 |      | they could demonstrate public benefit by the sale of telstra.                                    |
| 5 | F:CK | before you tied it to the en <sup>↑</sup> <u>vi</u> ronment we said we'd never had the debate in |
| 6 |      | this country =we've never had anybody pro:ve public benefit from any                             |

- 7                    privatisations (.) .h the labor party's just led us down the track without  
 8                    a:sking us .h but I think the environment nexus is unacceptable  
 9    a->            (.) democrats don't cross trade (.) you don't say ever in parliament  
 10 b->            we'll vote for this if you give us that= if you could be bought on one issue kerry  
 11 c->            (.) what's to say the next one you can be bought on = it's a very important  
 12                   principle to us,

At *arrow a*, the IE speaks about Democrats' values in relation to taking sides with another party: "Democrats don't cross trade", then elaborates with a generalisation invoked by generic 'you' at *arrow a*: "you don't say ever in parliament...". Using 'you' in quotes in which the IE animates another voice enables the IE to present a different perspective. Generic 'you' implies that no one ever does this and it would be unthinkable to do so, and so the Democrats, as incidental members of the group of people invoked by generic 'you', also follow these principles. Speaking about themselves 'incidentally' (Sacks 1992:1:166) in this way strengthens the claim of the IE (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) because she is speaking about her party's actions as though they were normal.

At *arrow b*, the IE formulates her talk in a quote, animating the voice of a party involved in cross trading: "we'll vote for this if you give us that". The tone of the quote in which the IE talks about doing something for another person if they do something for you, makes the political parties sound like children playing games. Generic 'you' in this quote refers to the 'other', the group who will hypothetically do the favour for the party who has said: "we'll vote for this". In this context, generic 'you' represents the Government and so becomes the one who is being addressed by the Democrats in the quote. In the quote, 'you' is set up in relation to 'we', and a 'you' and 'us' dichotomy is created. By creating this dichotomy, the IE distinguishes the Democrats from other parties.

At *arrow c*, the IE shifts her alignment to a quasi addressing of the IR: "if you could be bought on one issue Kerry what's to say the next one you can be bought on". It is a quasi addressing of the IR because the use of the IE's addressing of the IR as "kerry" suggests that she is addressing him but at the

same time the context of the talk in which the IE is talking about what is and is not done in parliament, suggests that the 'you' is invoking everyone. Thus, the 'this-and-that' ambiguity of 'you' is invoked (Sacks 1992:1:165).

The IE animates the voice of a political party invoked by generic 'you', which stands for the Democrat party. In the quote at arrow b the Democrats become part of 'we' parties who do not say they will negotiate with the 'other' party, invoked by 'you'. In this way, the IE reiterates that her party will not: "cross trades" but this time dramatised (Clayman 1992, Goffman 1981, Malone 1997:64) by being animated in the voice of generic 'you'.

#### 4.4.2 Animation of oppositional 'other'

In Examples 4.24-4.26, the IE animates the voice of an oppositional figure or group. In Example 4.24, the IE animates the voice of the IR, with whom the IE is having a disagreement and mimics the IR. In Examples 4.26 and 4.27, the IR animates the voice of the Government. This animation enables the IE to project an image of an oppositional person and oppositional party in a critical way while being distanced from this perspective (Clayman 1992:166) and its attendant responsibility.

In Example 4.24, the Coalition Treasurer Peter Costello, is interviewed about the Victorian Premier Jeff Kennett's confusion about a deficit and surplus in the Victorian Budget. At *arrow a*, the IE animates the voice of the IR, mimicking what the IR has said to the IE in the previous few lines.

#### Example 4.24

[VIII: 15.2.96 ABC TV, lines 46-52]

- 1 M:PC .h >↑kerry¿ what's your point here?< your point here is you don't
- 2 believe mister keating. (0.2) all↑right that's your point.
- 3 M:KO I'm [not]

- 4 M:PC [now] you you saying to me you're saying to me well why don't  
 5 a-> you tell us what the treasury knows °how° would I [know kerry?]  
 6 M:KO [no no ]  
 7 that's not what I'm [asking.]

At lines 1-7, (and in the lines preceding this talk), the IE and IR are in disagreement which culminates in the IE reformulating what the IR has said to the IE in lines 4-5, “well why don't you tell us what the treasury knows”. The IE breaks the conventional institutionalised rules of the interview, in which the IE is constrained to speak to the IR as a person through whom he communicates to an overhearing audience (Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991), and speaks directly to the IR as someone with whom he is directly engaged in mundane conversation. In lines 1-4, the IE addresses the IR using ‘you’ singular. Immediately preceding ‘you’ singular, IE signals to the IR (and listeners) that he is going to address the IR by using the IR’s name: “Kerry”, then continues to address the IR with ‘your’ singular and ‘you’ singular a number of times. This represents a change in footing/participation framework.

At *arrow a*, the IE animates the voice of the IR in a quote. In the quote, ‘you’ singular refers to the IE as the one being addressed by the IR. The stress on the ‘you’ signals that the IE is emphasising that the IR has been badgering the IE and his party only for information about which the IE claims to have no knowledge. In this animated voice of the IR, ‘you’ no longer is the recipient of the IE, but the IE, the speaker.

The quotative style and animation of the voice of the IR enables the IE to reflect what the IR has said previously to the IE, albeit in a sarcastic tone. This is a dramatic way (Goffman 1981:150) of representing the IR as the one attacking the IE and his party. It also enables the IE to present himself as one who is being attacked, placing the IR in the wrong and consequently, the IE as the one who is correct. By presenting himself (IE) as the one who is right, the IE attempts to construct himself as someone whose views are acceptable: a good politician, even in a situation where a member of his political party has been criticised by the IR.

In Example 4.25, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about their response to the 1995 Labor Government Budget.

#### Example 4.25

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 72-78]

- |   |      |                                                                                    |
|---|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | well on the basis of what you've heard <u>so</u> fa:r, ah how do you think the     |
| 2 |      | democrats will respond to the budget.(0.4)                                         |
| 3 | F:CK | .h well we'll respond the way we always have constructively and swiftly and        |
| 4 |      | decisively=we've done our homework .h we know what sort of tests we wanto          |
| 5 |      | apply but the government can't have it both ways=they can't <u>pretend</u> there's |
| 6 |      | a process of consultation going and then say afterwards                            |
| 7 | a->  | .h you haven't played fair.                                                        |

At lines 4-5, the IE talks about what 'we' the Democrats will do in response to the budget. At *arrow a*, the IE changes footing and becomes the voice of the Government in a quote. In this shift of footing, 'we' (lines 4-5) becomes 'you' plural in the embedded quote. 'You' animated in the voice of the Government becomes the Democrats being addressed and chastised by the Government. This shift represents a change from the IE talking about and affiliating with her political party, the Democrats, invoked by 'we', to a representation of the Democrats as an opposition group who are now the recipient, invoked by 'you', being criticised by the Government. In the animation, the IE also constructs a picture of the Government who are pretending that a consultation process with the Democrats is happening at the same time as saying to the Democrats that they are not being fair.

The quote makes the utterance at *arrow a* more dramatic (Malone 1997:64) but also enables the IE to modify the participation framework and thus present her 'self' (and the identity of the Democrats), in contrasting ways: first, as part of a conscientious and virtuous party (lines 4-5) and second, as a party who are treated contemptuously by the Government (line 7). In addition, the IE presents the Government as unfair. By animating the voice of the Government talking to

the IE's political party, the IE distances herself from her individual perspective (Clayman 1992:165).

In Example 4.26, the Leader of the Democrats Senator Cheryl Kernot, is interviewed about the Government's proposal for employees to give up three percent of their pay for superannuation.

#### Example 4.26

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 19-28]

- |   |      |                                                                                    |                      |
|---|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | M:PL |                                                                                    | [wha]t tax           |
| 2 |      | cuts, you mean the ones that we were promised at the last                          |                      |
| 3 | F:CK |                                                                                    | hh.                  |
| 4 | M:PL | election=the se[cond half of] them that's disappeared=                             |                      |
| 5 | F:CK | [that's right ]                                                                    | h. =that's right but |
| 6 | a->  | he:re's the <u>u</u> ltimate way to deliver it .hh <here's the tax cut which y'    |                      |
| 7 | b->  | really can't have because we're compelling you to save it for the                  |                      |
| 8 | c->  | future but you got it anyway=just remember that when you don't <u>see</u> it. >    |                      |
| 9 |      | ((monotonous, not as much pitch variation, more rhythmical speech from<br>< to >)) |                      |

At *arrow a*, the IE becomes the voice of the Government encoded as 'we' speaking to the people encoded as 'you'. She continues this animation at *arrows b* and *c*, creating a 'we' the Government and 'you' the people dichotomy. This shift of footing is marked by the IE's monotonous tone, reduced pitch variation, decreased speed and more rhythmical speech. The IE presents the Government as mean and uncaring by her description of the negative effect on people of the superannuation savings and also by addressing the public as 'you' creating an 'us and them' dichotomy between the Government and the public. In this animation the public referred to as 'you' includes the IE who is also affected by the Government's decision. In this way, the IE affiliates herself with the public and is implicated in the 'us and them' distinction created in the IE's animation of the Government's voice. The effect of 'you' in this context is an affiliation

between herself and the public who will be affected by the Government's enforced savings. This use of 'you' stands in sharp contrast to 'you' singular which addresses the IR as an 'other' and generic 'you' which includes everyone. In Example 4.27, Senator Cheryl Kernot, Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about the Government's proposal for people to pay three percent of their salary into superannuation and a means tested lump sum payment to women with children. The IE creates and animates the voice of a distant narrator who criticises the Government. This provides a means for the IE to distance herself from her criticism of the Government.

#### Example 4.27

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 35-52]

- 1 M:PL .h do you accept though the- the ai- a-c-t-u's position that people earning less
- 2 than say thirty thousand a ye:ar (0.5) .hh do need to be helped to pay tha
- 3 three percent?
- 4 (1.5)
- 5 F:CK .hh ye:s h. I do: h. but I don't know how the government proposes to do that,
- 6 (0.5).h and we would look very ca:refully at the way this proposal fits
- 7 together but y' know the government hasn't spoken to us about (0.3) any
- 8 options any variations of this proposal so I wouldn't wanta commit myself
- 9 much further than that.
- 10 (0.5)
- 11 M:PL .hh then what of the idea of a means tested lump sum payment to women who
- 12 have babies.
- 13 (0.3)
- 14 F:CK
- 15 °ye:h well° (0.3) .h another cute idea isn't it (0.1)
- 16 a-> you know .hh. (0.4) one year ago: (0.2) announced we're going to do
- marvellous
- 17 b-> things for maternity allowance for women,=this is something y' know
- 18 constructive that we can do: to help women juggle .h work and family,
- 19 c-> .hh>and then you find 'll maybe you can't afford it afterwards so you<
- 20 d-> cla:w it back (0.3) .h and you go on a- a public relations exercise of a <lump



21                   sum> now .h I think that is a <really cheap trick>and it does very little to  
 22                   extend the notion of <legitimate allowable> maternity leave in the private  
 23                   sector.

At line 5, IE responds to the sarcastic tone of the IR's question, in which he trivialises women who are taking maternity leave by referring to them as "women who have babies". She does this by mirroring this trivialisation, calling the proposal of the Government a "cute idea". At *arrow a*, the IE adds "you know" to this comment, eliciting the attention of the addressee and indicating shared knowledge (Schiffrin 1987:268). By using "you know" after the sarcastic comment: "another cute idea" and sarcastic, pseudo tag-question: "isn't it" which has the same grammatical form as a tag-question but has the same intonation as a statement, suggesting that she is asserting her knowledge rather than eliciting a response from the IR, the IE frames the talk as a conversation with the IR.

At line 13, the IE frames the rationale proposed by the government for instituting the maternity allowance. Here the IE animates the government through a process of quoting, speaking of the government as 'we'. At *arrow b*, in the middle of this animation of the government, the IE uses 'you know' again. The effect of this is twofold. First, it makes the talk sound as though the IE is trying to elicit the response of the hearer (the public) as in a mundane conversation. Second, it continues to demonstrate that what the IE is saying is shared knowledge (Schiffrin 1987:268) and not just her assessment of the situation.

At *arrow c*, the IE animates the voice of a critical narrator speaking about the Government as generic 'you', making the actions of the Government sound typical. This sense is further underlined by the habitual aspect of the present tense verb forms found here: *you claw it back, you go on a public relations exercise*. The effect of the pronoun *you* in this context, therefore, gains a dimension of objectivity at the same time as portraying an iterative pattern of behaviour. The

result is a potentially stronger criticism than would have been the case if the government was referred to as *they*.

The IE's animation of the Government speaking of what they promised in a sarcastic tone of voice (Goffman 1981:150, Clayman 1992:164), provides a contrast with the IE's animation of the voice of a narrator talking about the Government's broken promises. These contrasting voices enable the IE to strengthen her criticism of the Government by mocking the Government (Goffman 1981:150, Clayman 1992:166) and addressing the Government as 'you'. The IE uses the animation to present the Government as mean, and the people as deprived by them. Animating the voice of a distance narrator criticising the Government as generic 'you' is a way of distancing herself (IE) (Goffman 1981:150) from taking responsibility for the criticism of the Government. Only after the animations, does the IE criticise the Government in her own voice, reiterating the message she has given in the animation that the Government are not acting fairly.

The combination of animating a variety of voices and the diversity of ways in which 'you' can be used, give the IE a rich resource for presenting different perspectives (which entails projected selves and projected others) on the issues being discussed in political interviews. Animating another voice represents a different footing from the normal footing in which the IE is the animator and author of what s/he says. When the IE animates another's voice or quotes, s/he is no longer the author of what s/he says. Animating another voice is a resource for the IE to take on a different stance, or present his/her view from a different perspective.

Within this animation, the flexibility of 'you' can be exploited so that 'you' does not necessarily refer to the recipient of the IE. There are a variety of referents of 'you' in the quotative style and animation because the referent of 'you' differs depending on the author of the quote/animation and the context also plays a role in determining to whom 'you' refers. The IE can quote themselves, or their political party or animate the voice of someone else. If the voice is themselves,

then 'you' can either be generic 'you', 'you' plural or 'you' singular, depending on the content of the talk. The quotative and animation style, in which 'you' is embedded, is a means of changing the participation framework and constructing a different perspective or version of reality (Goffman 1981, Malone 1997).

This different standpoint achieved by animating an 'other' entails the presentation of 'self' and 'other'. By adopting the voice of someone else or the 'self', the IE presents 'self' and 'other' from the perspective of the one who is the author of the quote or animation. By adopting a different voice, the IE can also present a relationship of the author and 'self' and 'other' in a creative way. It is a versatile way of portraying a relationship about 'self' and 'other' or the people and other.

The presentation of 'self' animated in different voices depends on who the author of the voice is and how the IE is portrayed in relation to this voice. These projected 'selves' include: someone who is victimised and a fair party. The presentation of 'other' includes: a Government that is pretending to consult with other parties, the Australian people as recipients of the Government's benevolence, and a political party being asked to horse trade, a Government who has broken its promises, and a distant narrator talking about Government breaking promises.

In addition to the different presentations of 'self' and 'other', relationships between 'self' and 'other' (the participants in the talk) are created by the animation. Often 'you' in quotes is set up in a 'you' and 'we' dichotomy, where 'you' can refer to the IE or an 'other' depending on the author of the quote. In Example 4.27, the IE constructs a relationship of a benevolent, communicative Government to the Australian people and portrays herself as part of the political party being criticised by the Government. In the same example, the IE creates a distant narrator who is also criticising the Government.

The different 'selves' and 'other' created in another voice give the IE limitless opportunities to construct pictures of different people, political parties and

ultimately an image of themselves and others. A theme in the different animations is a picture of self as the one that is criticised by the other, and other who is the criticised. Often, it is the IE or the IE's political party who are being criticised. However, the IE evaluates the animator's criticism and thus engages in a dialogue between the IE and the animator. The effect is another level of presentation to the audience and creation of more relationships between different 'self' and 'other'

When 'you' is part of an animation, there is scope for 'you' to be anyone. 'You' is no longer necessarily the recipient. Thus 'you' is exploited to encode different roles. 'You' embedded in an animation can be a recipient that is not the IE, for example, the people, or another political party, or Government or the IE or the IE's political party. When the IE becomes the recipient, the typical roles in the IE's speech are reversed. The IE becomes the one who is the recipient of someone else's talk.

By having the resource of animation in combination with different pronouns the IE is able to construct different versions of their 'reality'. It is also a way for the IE to construct themselves as good politicians and others with negative attributes.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

It is suggested in the introduction to this chapter that there are two predominant uses of 'you'. The first is 'you' singular which the IE uses to address the IR and the second is generic 'you' which the IE uses to invoke a sense of what is normal or typical (Sacks 1992:1:163-168, 349). These two uses are distinct. 'You' singular is used both in the context of disagreement and avoidance of the question, with the IR and creates an 'other' as a part of the 'I' and 'you' distinction and when the IE co-involves the IR or makes an intertextual link. On the other hand, generic 'you, is inclusive of everyone.'

'You' is also used when the IE animates the voice of someone else, either in quotative talk or in an animation of another person or people's talk. The referent of 'you' in these kinds of talk differs depending on the author of the talk. In this context 'you' can be anyone, and can even include self, without being all inclusive such as 'you' generic. What is important is that by animating 'you', the IE is able to present his/her point of view from a different perspective.

'You' singular is used to express a disagreement with something the IR has said to the IR. 'You' singular is implicated in the IE speaking directly to the IR and breaking the normal institutionalised conventions in the interview, of the IE speaking to the overhearing audience (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). 'You' singular is exploited in the context of shifting the identity of the IE and IR from the conventional institutionalised identities (Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) to a speaker engaged in a conversation with the IR.

When the IE addresses the IR with 'you' singular in political interviews, the content of the talk differs from the reporting style. This kind of talk is usually used to make a point about something, whether it is to express annoyance with the IR or to implicate the IR. The change of the role of the IE often provokes a response in the IR to respond as the one being addressed, and is evidenced by the IR disagreeing with the IE and speaking about his/her individual actions.

In these political interviews, there are two contexts in which generic 'you' is used. One in which there is no particular link to a person and the other where the link is obvious. When generic 'you' is not linked to a particular person but rather to everyone, it is used when the IE is trying to justify what s/he is saying by appealing to what everyone knows or experiences. In this way what the IE says is being presented as typical. While generic 'you' elicits the sense of the typical evoked by what is done by everyone, 'you' is sometimes clearly linked to specific people. When generic 'you' is linked to the IE, the IE can avoid presenting the reality as something that s/he did. There are also examples

where generic 'you' is related to 'we' the party who are responsible for some action. This usage is common in these political interviews, in which it is important for the IE to present what they are saying as typical (Sacks 1992:1:163-8, 349) and therefore credible (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1).

The prevalence of generic 'you' in these interviews is partly related to the "built in defence" inherent in 'you' (Sacks 1992:1:350). This "built in defence" enables the IE to frame actions as normal which in the context of politics is a strategy used to make the IEs' actions seem credible (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1). The variety of situations in which generic 'you' is used include IEs talking about their own actions in terms of what is typically done by 'you' (everyone). In this way, generic 'you' functions as a means of protecting the IE against being thought of as having abnormal and thus not acceptable views. Politicians paint pictures of their actions as normal and therefore having more credibility.

The examples of 'you' in the context of political interviews show that determining who 'you' refers to and what 'you' does is far more complicated than was previously thought (references). 'You' is not simply the addressee, the addressee and others or a pronoun that includes everyone. 'You' refers to a range of different identities depending on the footing and is implicated in creating the identity coordinates of interaction (Malone 1997:76).

So far the use of the individual pronouns 'I', 'we' and 'you' in political interviews has been examined. In the next chapter, 'they' is the focus of the investigation.

## Chapter 5

### Who is 'they'?: an analysis

#### 5.1 Introduction

There has been little research about how the personal pronoun 'they' (and its other related third person plural forms) is socially deployed by politicians in the political interview. Previous research on the use of 'they' in the political interview has been restricted to the study of Wilson (1990) which postulates that 'they' is part of a pronominal scale which is the most distant of all the pronouns from 'I' which represents the individual 'self'. While Wilson's (1990) study goes further than the conventional grammatical approach it does not account for how politicians use 'they' to construct the 'other'. It is only in the last three decades that the study of 'they' has developed from the conventional grammatical model (see for example Bernard 1975, Kaplan 1989, Thavenius 1983) to an interactive approach, which has tried to account for how 'they' is used in talk-in-interaction (Malone 1997, Sacks 1992, Schegloff 1996, Watson 1987). In this chapter, the interactional use of 'they' by interviewees (IE) in a set of Australian political interviews is examined.

This chapter is in three parts: distinguishing 'self' from 'other' invoked by 'they', generic 'they' and unspecified categorical 'they'. The main focus of the chapter examines how 'self' is distinguished from 'other'. A further distinction is made between 'they' and 'other' as a group, and 'they' and 'other' as an individual. 'They' occurs in surrounding talk which constructs the 'other' in an oppositional, affiliative, or neutral relationship to the IE. That is, by using talk which evaluates the group referred to by 'they' the IE takes up a position in relation to 'they' (Sacks 1992:1:101, 193-4, 426, 428).

The three contexts of oppositional, affiliative and neutral refer to the talk that surrounds 'they' in which the IE takes up a position in relation to the group being referred to by 'they' (Sacks 1992:1:101, 193-4, 426, 428). Thus, in an affiliative

context the IE makes a positive evaluation of 'they' and the effect is to create an affiliation between the IE and the group referred to by 'they'. Conversely, in a disaffiliative context the IE makes a negative evaluation of 'they' and the effect is to create a disaffiliation between the IE and the group referred to by 'they'. In the case of a neutral context, the IE neither evaluates 'they' positively nor negatively, that is, the IE takes up a neutral position in relation to the group being referred to as 'they'. The effect of this is to create a neutral relationship with 'they'.

The three types of linguistic contexts: oppositional, affiliative, and neutral are part of a continuum of context, rather than three discrete categories, that range from strongly oppositional to strongly affiliative. The continuum reflects the politician's world in which s/he is more or less affiliated with an 'other'. This affiliation depends on factors, such as the relationship that the IE creates with the 'other' at a particular time, and the issue being discussed.

In this chapter it is primarily the surrounding linguistic context that is used to inform the interpretation of the data (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994). Occasionally, the broader context of knowledge of Australian politics (Cicourel 1992, Goffman 1974, Malinowski 1923 and Ochs 1979) informs the interpretation of the data. For the most part, this knowledge of Australian politics extends to an understanding of the Australian political parties and who belongs to what political party. However, in example 5.20, the background knowledge that the IE is the only female Cabinet Minister in the Government is also used to inform the interpretation of the data.

Generic 'they' and unspecified categorical 'they' are also considered in this chapter. Generic 'they' is used to obscure the gender (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990) of the referent: a strategy to talk about a person without disclosing his/her identity. Unspecified categorical 'they' is used to show some unspecified 'other' performing an action, where the specific identity is not as salient as the fact that 'they' represents an 'other'.



## 5.2 Distinguishing 'self' and 'other'

Politicians use 'they' to distinguish 'self' from 'other'. In political interviews, 'self' can be an individual invoked by 'I' or 'self' as a member of a group invoked by 'we'. Thus, politicians can either distinguish themselves as individuals or as members of a group from the 'other'. This distinction between 'self' and 'other' is reflected in Sacks' (1992:2:291) claim that 'they' usually excludes 'I': for example: "We went in... and *they* had a drink" implies that 'I' did not have a drink, so 'I' am excluded from 'they'. In this way a distinction between 'self' and 'other' is established. Similarly, Malone (1997:73-4) speaks about third person references including 'they' as pronouns which "point to who we are not".

Politicians may use 'they' to create an 'us and them' distinction between a group to which they belong and an 'other' group. Here, 'us and them' does not only mean the oppositional distinction implied by the everyday use of 'us and them', but refers to any instance where 'self' and 'other' are *distinguished* from each other. In the political interviews examined in this chapter, this distinction can be between 'us', the people to whom the IE ascribes positive attributes, and 'they', people to whom the IE ascribes negative attributes. However, an 'us and them' distinction can also be used to establish a 'self' and 'other' distinction in which the IE takes a neutral position towards the 'other' invoked by 'they'. The type of 'self' and 'other' distinction created depends on the relationship that the politician creates with the 'other'.

### 5.2.1 'They' in an oppositional context.

The 'self' and 'other' distinction may be used when a politician wants to establish an oppositional relationship between him/herself and 'other' by taking up a negative position towards the 'other'. 'They' is used to create an 'us and them' oppositional dichotomy, and may be embedded in an oppositional context in

which 'they' is either an opposition party or a group of people with whom the IE is in some kind of opposition.

The following are examples of talk in which the IE uses 'they' in an oppositional context. This oppositional context in which 'they' is embedded is attributed to the fact that the IE is talking critically about an opposition group. The effect is to create an opposition between the IE and another group, that is, an oppositional relationship between 'self' and 'other'.

In Examples 5.1-5.4, the talk about 'they' is a negative evaluation of the 'other' invoked by 'they'.

In Example 5.1, the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley, is interviewed the day before the 1996 Federal election

#### Example 5.1

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 77-87]

- |    |      |                                                                                                     |
|----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | .h well let's get to: the election, (0.6) .h it <u>really</u> is two minutes to midnight as- h.     |
| 2  |      | as th' liberals just said (0.3) .h qui- for- for the labor party that is (0.3) .h quiet             |
| 3  |      | pessimism was allegedly how one of your strategists described the mood in the                       |
| 4  |      | government tonight, (.) is that how <u>you</u> : feel.                                              |
| 5  |      | (0.6)                                                                                               |
| 6  | M:KB | .hh ah no I: I feel a sense of <u>hope</u> . (0.5).h I mean basically I think that we've been       |
| 7  |      | a good <u>g</u> overnment. (0.6) .h I think the <u>p</u> ublic thinks that we've been in a- good- a |
| 8  |      | good government and I think our <u>o</u> pponents think we've been a good government                |
| 9  | a->  | by virtue of the fact they've tried to (0.2) batten themselves onto us by- like limpets             |
| 10 |      | (0.5) .hh and ah and leave ah as little as daylight as possible between us on the                   |
| 11 |      | <u>key</u> issues of the <u>n</u> ation,                                                            |

At arrow *a*, the IE uses 'they' to talk about the Liberal Party, referred to by the IE in the previous line as 'our opponents'. Because of the oppositional context invoked

by 'our opponents' who have been linked to 'they', an 'us and them' distinction between the Government and the Liberal Party is established (Wilson 1990:67-70). This 'us and them' distinction is further highlighted by the repetition of 'we', 'our' and 'us' before and after 'they'. This 'us and them' distinction also makes the 'other' (Malone 1997:73-4, Sacks 1992:2:291, Wilson 1990:67-70), invoked by 'they', more distant (Wilson 1990:70-76). 'They' clearly excludes 'I' (Sacks 1992:2:291) an exclusion arising from the opposition between the Liberal Party, 'they' and Labor Party, 'we'.

At *arrow a*, after 'they', the Opposition is referred to as 'themselves'. This is closely followed by 'us', making the contrast between 'us and them' salient. This oppositional context in which 'they' and 'themselves' (Wilson 1990:67-70) is embedded is further highlighted by the IE's criticism of the Liberal Party: "they've tried to (0.2) batten themselves onto us by- like limpets".

In Example 5.2, Senator Cheryl Kernot, the Leader of the Democrats, is interviewed about the forthcoming 1996 Federal election and the IE's list of projected policy problems.

#### Example 5.2

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 16-25]

- 1 M:KO right at this moment (0.3) the liberals are front runners to form a government= after two
- 2 weeks (0.3) how big is your list of policy problems as far as the democratic block (0.3) in
- 3 the next senate is concerned
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 F: CK .h well it's not huge (.) kerry and there are some areas of common ground too like
- 6 provisional tax supply factored for small business (0.7) .hh ah but we would single out (.)
- 7 telstra, (0.5) we would single out (0.5) the future role of the industrial relations
- 8 commission, (0.5) .h= we would single out for both labor and liberal though;
- 9 a-> .h how they're going to fund their health rebates, ah what effect that would have on
- public

10 hospitals and public health systems generally,  
 The Democrats party of whom the IE is the leader is in the powerful position of being able to block Bills put through the Senate by the other parties. At *arrow a*, the IE groups the Labor Party and Liberal Party together using the pronoun 'they'. 'They' helps to establish an oppositional 'us and them' distinction (Wilson 1990:67-70) between the Democrats party and the Liberal and Labor Parties referred to by 'they'. The IE's criticism of the Liberal and Labor Parties, invoked by 'they', emphasises the separateness of 'self' from the 'other'.

In Example 5.3, the Premier of Western Australia, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her knowledge of, and involvement in, a petition that was tabled in the Western Australian Parliament containing false allegations about Mrs Easton. Mrs Easton was a Western Australian lawyer who killed herself four days after the petition was tabled in the Parliament in November 1992.

### Example 5.3

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 50-64]

- 1 M:PL =has anything of this got to do with you calling a royal co↑mmissionꞤ that
- 2 eventually destroyed brian bourke? are there old sco:res in this?
- 3 F:CL .hh well I'm reluctant to conclude that and I certainly haven't done
- 4 [so=
- 5 M:PL hav[e you thought that might be a: ɿ=
- 6 F:CL =SOME people have put it to me as a proposition so I'm bound to have thought 't.
- 7 (0.2) and certainly there's a lot- there are a lot of bruised feelings °in the west
- 8 australian labor party°. .hh but this is first and foremost about the liberal party,
- 9 a-> (.) they've been dragging this around for two and a half years,
- 10 b-> .h (.) they've been pushing journalists to ask questions, (.) they've been ma[king
- 11 allegations of the most extraordinary kind=

At *arrow a*, the IE begins a series of comments about the Liberal Party that each start with ‘they’. The IE is criticising the Liberal Party for bringing the Easton Affair to the attention of the media. At *arrows a* and *b* each of the three ‘they’ is stressed, emphasising that it is the Liberal Party and not anyone else, including ‘us’, that have caused the problem. The emphasis on ‘they’ makes it clear that ‘they’ is not ‘us’ and therefore a definite ‘other’ which excludes ‘I’ (Sacks 1992:2:291).

In Example 5.3, an ‘us and them’ distinction is created; first, through talking about the opposition; second, the ‘us and them’ distinction is strengthened by the critical words and sentiments attributed to ‘they’, making the ‘us and them’ distinction strongly oppositional (Wilson 1990:67-70). Third, the IE repeats ‘they’ three times, each time stressing ‘they’ and frames it each time in a repetitive grammatical framework, using the present progressive at *arrows a* and *b* to describe the actions of the Liberal Party.

In Example 5.4, the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley, is interviewed the day before the 1996 Federal election, about a scandal involving forged letters, for which the Government has been blamed. In Example 5.4, the linguistic context in which this talk is located is broader than just the surrounding utterances: it begins earlier in the interview, indeed a few turns before. This context creates a picture of disagreement between the IE and the ‘other’.

#### Example 5.4

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 18-30]

- |   |      |                                                                                       |
|---|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:FK | .h well the: liberal party has denie:d the the sm- what they describe as a smear-     |
| 2 |      | smear and the federal liberal campaign director andrew robb today condemned           |
| 3 |      | what he described as another fraudulent and desperate attempt by the labor            |
| 4 |      | party .h to shift the blame for the willis letter scam .h don't you run the risk here |

- 5 of this looking like a deperate attempt by labor in the bi- dying stages of this  
 6 campaign.=
- 7 M:KB =well (0.3) I don't think a great deal is claimed for it (0.3) except to say for- from  
 8 what I can hear .hh except to say that this statement has been made as a  
 9 statutory declaration to poli:ce, .hh a person who makes a: statutory declaration  
 10 places themselves in great legal danger if they don't tell the truth (0.3) .hh and  
 11 ah (0.3) that- ah an- and- and <apparently the person has been assisting the  
 12 federal police with their inquiries, (0.5) .h if mister robb and mister costello  
 13 a-> and other- have other matters that they feel that  
 14 b-> they can usefully raise with the federal police they ought to spend tomorrow>  
 15 doing (0.7) .h exactly that.

At *arrow a*, Mr Robb and Mr Costello, as members of the Liberal Party accusing the Labor Party of instigating the “letter scam”, are collectively referred to as ‘they’. Here ‘they’ is literally third person plural (Schegloff 1996). In this example in which the members of the group invoked by ‘they’ are listed – Mr Robb and Mr Costello, ‘they’ refers to a specific entity. The use of ‘they’ here functions to make Mr Robb and Mr Costello into a group of people. ‘They’ also separates the IE from Mr Robb and Mr Costello who are blaming the Labor Party. ‘They’ refers to the ‘other’ (Malone 1997:73-4, Sacks 1992:2:291, Wilson 1990: 67-70) which are established in opposition to the IE. Furthermore, ‘they’ is repeated three times in quick succession emphasising that the IE is separate from Mr Robb and Mr Costello.

While the language used in lines 12-15 does not include words of criticism, the tone of the speech is patronising. This tone is indicated by the IE suggesting to Mr Robb and Mr Costello what they “ought” to do, in addition to the fact that Mr Robb and Mr Costello are part of the Opposition, creates a powerful ‘us and them’ distinction (Wilson 1990:67-70). The context of the incident referred to in the interview and the previous criticism of the parties, also creates a strongly oppositional context in which ‘they’ is embedded (Wilson 1990:67-70).

Example 5.4 shows how 'they' is used to refer to more than one 'other'. It is different from Examples 5.1-5.3 in which 'they' refers to an institutional identity (Sacks 1992:1:713-15, Sacks 1992:2:182, 391-395, Schegloff 1996). In Example 5.4, those invoked by 'they' – Mr Robb and Mr Costello – are listed, as a specific oppositional group and not an institution. In this example, the purpose of 'they' is only anaphoric and does no institutional identity work.

In the political interviews examined in section 5.2.1, 'they' occurs when the IE is making a negative evaluation of an opposition party or group. The effect of this is to disaffiliate 'self' from the 'other' invoked by 'they' and to create an 'us and them' dichotomy. This 'us and them' dichotomy in which 'they' does not include 'I' (Sacks 1992:2:291) is particularly salient in political interviews because the 'other' invoked by 'they' is often separated from 'self' by different viewpoints and actions.

### **5.2.2 'They' in an affiliative context**

'They' is also used in contexts which include 'us' when the IE constructs a group of people with whom s/he is affiliated but that is still 'other'. Here, the IE takes up a positive position towards the 'other' invoked by 'they' by making a positive evaluation of the group referred to by 'they'. The groups that are invoked by 'they' in an affiliative context include examples of colleagues and doctors with whom the IE wants to create an image of a good relationship.

In Example 5.5, the former Premier of Western Australia, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her colleagues' support of her after she has been accused of lying about her knowledge of the tabling of a petition in the Western Australian Parliament which was alleged to have contained defamatory information about Mrs Penny Easton.

Example 5.5

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 328-333]

- 1 M:PL [some of your federal political  
 2 colleagues stroke rivals aren't all that distressed at your distress,  
 F:CL  
 3 a-> well I don't think that's fair to say they've been very supportive  
 4 b-> indeed=all of them and in fact I've been very pleased by their support  
 5 c-> because they might well of been sceptical, .h and what they've said  
 6 d-> basically is that they trust me and I thank th'm for that.

At lines 1-2, the interviewer (IR) makes the claim that the IE's "colleagues stroke rivals aren't all that distressed at your distress,". The IR frames the IE's colleagues and "colleagues stroke rivals" implying that those people who are meant to be on the IE's side are acting as though they are not her colleagues but her "rivals". This frames the IE's relationship with her colleagues as an ambiguous one, having affiliating and distancing qualities. The IR associates the IE with her (the IE's) colleagues by calling them: "federal political colleagues" but then disaffiliates the IE from them by referring to them as "rivals".

At *arrow a*, the IE reframes what the IR has said, claiming that: "they've been very supportive indeed", and suggesting that her colleagues are people who share her viewpoint. 'They', linked to this positive statement about the IE's colleagues, establishes a relationship between 'they' and 'I', as an affiliative one (Wilson 1990:67-70). This contrasts with the previous oppositional dichotomy that the IR has created between the IE and her colleagues in line 2.

At *arrow b*, the IE upgrades her comment about her colleagues' support invoked by 'they' at *arrow a* to "all of them". 'All of them' emphasises that *all* of her colleagues are included. At *arrow b* and *c* the IE reiterates her feelings about her colleagues' support, upgrading her comments and suggesting that despite her being accused



of lying, they still were supportive at lines 4 and 5: “in fact I've been very pleased by their support because they might well of been sceptical,”.

At *arrows c* and *d*, the IE provides evidence of how her colleagues have been supportive: “and what they've said basically is that they trust me”. By saying this, the IE continues to present her colleagues as a group of people affiliated with her through their trust in her. At *arrow d*, the IE responds to her colleagues support: “and I thank th'm for that”.

Throughout the IE's answer she speaks of her colleagues as 'they' and 'them', categorising them as a group who are acting in the same way. By calling her colleagues 'they' and 'them', the IE presents them as 'other' which does not include herself 'I' (Sacks 1992:2:291) by virtue of the fact that they are doing something for her that she is not doing: “supporting” her. However, in this example, the IE affiliates herself with the 'other' and in doing so strengthens her argument because she has an 'other' on her side.

In Example 5.6 the Coalition Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs, Christine Gallus, is interviewed about the Coalition Leader's comments on minority groups.

#### Example 5.6

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 29-42]

- |   |      |                                                                                      |
|---|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:FK | and do you think that's who john howard is referring to when he says minority        |
| 2 |      | groups he's only talking about unions or is he talking about .h greenies, the ethnic |
| 3 |      | lobby, the aboriginal mabo negotiating team people like that that that               |
| 4 |      | mainstream australia's seen on the tv news at night?                                 |
| 5 | F:CG | I think ah what we are saying is that we will be not subject to bullying by any      |
| 6 |      | particular minority group and I think the whole of australia would applaud at        |
| 7 |      | that because nobody wants to see a government bullied and certainly not the way      |
| 8 |      | that THIS government has managed to be bullied by ah the union movement and          |

- 9                   you've only got to have a look .h in what happened um with the sale of the a-n-l  
 10                   to see what happened there .h can I also point out fran in answer to this- what I  
 11                   find is an absolutely scurrilous, accusation by noel pearson .h that if he looks that  
 12                   he would find amongst the liberal parliamentarians around australia .h that the  
 13                   only overseas born um chinese are of the coalition parties and we have three of  
 14 a->            them around australia not the lab

At *arrow a*, the IE refers to the previously mentioned Coalition parliamentarians who are “overseas born chinese” (line 13) as ‘them’. The IE is a Coalition parliamentarian so she is not setting up an ‘us and them’ dichotomy with ‘them’ but rather, a distinction based on the fact that ‘they’ are “overseas born chinese”. Here the IE uses ‘them’ to establish an ‘other’ category that does not include herself (Sacks 1992:2:291). However, the IE sets up this group who are “coalition parliamentarians” and in this way affiliates with the overseas-born Chinese Coalition parliamentarians invoked by ‘them’ (Wilson 1990:70-76). This affiliation is strengthened by the suggestion of belonging invoked by the possessive verb ‘have’ in “we have” at *arrow a*. The inclusion of ‘they’ – “overseas-born chinese” – in ‘we’ – Coalition parliamentarians – links ‘they’ in a positive relationship to the IE (Wilson 1990:67-70).

In Example 5.7, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence is interviewed about the Government’s proposal to give doctors financial incentives.

#### Example 5.7

[XXVII: 16.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 3-17]

- 1 F:EJ please tell me it's not true. are you really throwing thousands of dollars at g-p's  
 2                   for nothing?  
 3 F:CL I'm not throwing money at anyone I can assure you especially in the current  
       budget  
 4                   climate. hh. I'm sure your listeners would be aware that in australia the fee for  
 5                   service system that we have under medicare the medicare benefits schedule

6 payments .hh can lead if you're not very careful to what are called perverse  
 7 incentives the doctor as for any one else .h and that means that instead of um  
 8 spending their time with patients .h doing the sort of things that doctor nelson  
 9 talked about .h talking about prevention and so on .hh they tend to move them  
 10 through at a fair rate .h ah to increase the the income to the practice. .hh now  
 11 that's not to say that doctors are unusual, that's ah I guess  
 12 a-> fairly common economic behaviour .hh and we're simply saying there's another  
 13 b-> way to reward them financially to pay for the services that they have and that's  
 14 to recognise doctors who spend longer time with more with patients  
 15 c-> that they keep on their books for longer .h so they do have an opportunity to do  
 16 that preventive work.

In this turn the IE puts forward the Government's proposal to give financial incentives to doctors. At lines 3-11, the IE explains inherent problems with the current system of payments. At *arrow a*, the IE begins to outline her proposed system. Doctors are referred to as 'they' and 'them' at *arrow b*, and as a group of people who will be rewarded financially for their services. By associating doctors with "good things" that the IE and her Government are planning to give them, such as rewarding them for their services, the IE establishes doctors, categorised as 'they' and 'them', as a group that she and her Government are affiliated with – a group that the Government considers to be on "their side" (Wilson 1990:67-70). At lines 14-16, the IE continues to describe the doctors' activities, such as "patients they keep on their books for longer" and "they do have an opportunity to do that preventive work.", referring to the doctors by 'they'. Here, the IE talks about the positive attributes of doctors thus affiliating herself and her Government with them (Wilson 1990:67-70), creating a relationship of benefactor and recipient. 'They' is a group doing what the Government wants them to do and that the IE constructs as having a positive relationship with the Government.

'They' is used in an affiliative context when an IE constructs a picture of a group of people with whom s/he wants to appear to have a positive relationship. In Examples 5.5-5.7, these groups include the IE's political party and doctors to whom the Government is giving financial incentives. In Examples 5.5-5.7, the IE paints a

picture of a positive relationship between herself and the rest of her group, drawing the 'us' and 'them' closer. In two of the three examples, the IE states explicitly that the group 'them' is a part of the larger group of which she is a member. In the case of the Government supporting doctors, the IE is not a member of the same group as the doctors, but is talking about a medical system which will benefit them. This creates a relationship of benefactor and recipient which is a positive relationship, affiliating the IE and the doctors. The effect of this is to draw the 'us and them' closer. In this way the politician is able to portray to the audience the closeness she and her group has to the 'other', painting a picture of the positive relationship that s/he has with the 'other'.

### **5.2.3 'They' in a neutral context.**

The following are examples of talk in which 'they' occurs in a neutral context. The neutral context is one in which the IE neither closely affiliates with nor disaffiliates himself/herself from the 'other', that is, in which the IE does not negatively or favourably evaluate them. Mostly, the talk surrounding 'they' is not evaluative, neither creating an affiliation with 'they' nor creating an opposition to 'they'. In other words, the IE takes up a neutral position towards the group that the IE refers to by 'they'. The types of groups that are referred to by 'they' are not members of the same group as the IE, nor associated with other political parties but different groups from the public.

In Example 5.8, the IE is the Premier of New South Wales, and the Leader of the incumbent Labor Government, being interviewed about drug laws in New South Wales.

#### **Example 5.8**

[IV: 5.10.95 ABC TV, lines 24-36]

- 1 M:AO but there are a lot of people now aren't there in responsible positions calling for  
 2 ah liberalisation of drug laws and decriminali- =people like senior police I think  
 3 the tasmanian police commissioner there are lawyers, academics, quite a number  
 4 of responsible people the health authorities.
- 5 M:CA
- 6 a-> yeh b't they are calling for different things. some call for ah a small experiment a  
 7 modest experiment (.) in a supply of (.) of ah of heroin to registered addicts. I'm  
 8 saying that that won't alter the problem of drug based crime (.) there'll still be a  
 9 black market because there- the majority of ah drug users at this time are using  
 10 .hh amphetamines or cocaine other drugs (.) it's not a heroin problem only (.) .hh  
 11 I'm saying that the bigger step the bigger step of decriminalising heroin (.) for  
 12 anyone who wants it or legalising the drug (.) an' the other drugs is a step that no  
 13 society's taken now I've got to concede that the present position is pretty close to  
 14 ah discouraging=

At *arrow a* the IE uses 'they' to group together the people who are taking a different position on the heroin debate to the IE referred to in the IR's question. 'They' categorises these people into one group who have a different opinion: "they are calling for different things". After this initial grouping of these people into one group by the IE, the IE singles some out by saying: "*some* call for ah a small experiment a modest experiment". This category of people with whom the IE disagrees is also a type of 'other' (Malone 1997:73-4, Sacks 1992:2:291, Wilson 1990: 67-70), a group of people who are distinct from the IE. This group of people are distinct by virtue of the fact that they hold different opinions on the heroin debate. By using 'they' the IE clearly disaffiliates himself from this group of people and their views (Wilson 1990:70-76). 'They' also creates more distance from the IE than "some people" because 'they' unambiguously excludes the speaker (Sacks 1992:2:291) while "some people" doesn't.

This contrast between the IE and the group of people referred to as 'they' is emphasised by the use of "but" at the beginning of the turn which alerts the listener that the IE's views will be different to the group of people mentioned by the IR. 'They' creates an 'us and them' distinction between the IE as a

representative of the Government and those who hold different views on the heroin debate. 'They' in this 'us and them' distinction occurs in a neutral context in which the IE talks about the different viewpoints held (Wilson 1990:67-70). This neutrality is achieved by the words the IE chooses to express the difference between 'they' and the IE at lines 6 and 7: "some call for ah a small experiment a modest experiment (.) in a supply of (.) of ah of heroin to registered addicts." These words describing the 'other' point of view are, non-emotive words, and the use of the word "modest" which could be viewed as positive, confirms that this description of the 'other' is not oppositional.

In Example 5.9 Senator Margaret Reid is interviewed about politicians' response to demonstrators outside Parliament House.

#### Example 5.9

[XXXI: 24.4.95 ABC Radio, lines 37-45]

- 1 F:EJI guess some of the demonstrators would argue that ah the politicians aren't
- 2 listening so they feel it's necessary to stay there.
- 3 F:MR .hhh well the politicians listen but politicians have a lot of people to to take
- 4 into account, not just a few who may be camped outside parliament house. you've
- 5 got to get the balance between the majority of the electorate and the people
- 6 a-> outside parliament house and you know they're there you know what they're
- 7 saying .hh and you have to evaluate that message
- 8 .h ah with everything else that you have to consider.

At lines 3-8, the IE presents her view about politicians' responses to demonstrators in a way that doesn't attribute negative traits to them. At *arrow a* the IE changes the participation framework and draws the IR in with: "you know" as a way of indicating that what she is saying is a shared knowledge, and not just her own viewpoint. Within this framework the IE talks about the demonstrators as 'they',

repeating 'they' three times, thus establishing the demonstrators as a separate group from herself.

At lines 4-8, the IE makes an evaluation about what to do about the demonstrators, using generic 'you' to achieve this. Generic 'you' makes the IE a typical member of the category of politicians who have to respond to demonstrators in some way so the IE thus presents her view as one that is typical of politicians. Making her view typical enables the IE to avoid giving an individual response that could be seen as personal and something for which the IE could be held accountable. The use of generic 'you' also establishes the IE in a relationship with 'they' that is not hostile.

In Example 5.10 the Deputy Leader of the Government, Kim Beazley, is interviewed the day before the 1996 Federal election.

#### Example 5.10

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 126-130]

- |   |      |                                                                                   |
|---|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:FK | (.) well the west australian- the paper in your home state .h said the same thing |
| 2 |      | generally but they all- also added but vote for kim beazley in brand will that    |
| 3 |      | help?                                                                             |
|   | M:KB |                                                                                   |
| 4 | a->  | well I I did ring them up and suggest I agreed with one paragraph in their        |
| 5 |      | editorial and the rest of it I thought was ah was a bit untoward, (.) .hh so:     |
| 6 |      | (laugh) ah for that [one paragraph I am grateful.                                 |

At *arrow a*, the IE refers to the journalists of the West Australian newspaper as 'them' and establishes an 'us and them' distinction (Sacks 1992:2:291). 'Them' is in contrast to the 'I' who rang 'them' up. By using 'them' the IE is speaking about the journalists of the West Australian newspaper as 'other' (Malone 1997:73-4, Sacks 1992:2:291, Wilson 1990: 67-70). The words the IE uses to describe these journalists suggest that the IE has an opinion about them which on balance is neutral. On the

one hand, the IE has “agreed with one paragraph in their editorial” (lines 4 - 5) giving the impression that he is pleased with them. However, the IE shows disapproval about something else in the editorial: “and the rest of it I thought was ah was a bit untoward,” (line 5). The IE’s evaluation of the editorial suggests that the IE disagrees with the paper and thus establishes an ‘us and them’ oppositional distinction with the journalists. However, this ‘us and them’ distinction between the paper and the IE is nullified when the IE returns to talking about the positive aspects of the editorial: “.hh so: (laugh) ah for that [one paragraph I am grateful.” With ‘them’ close to the IE’s positive assessment of the paper’s editorial, it may be that this ‘them’ can be analysed as a neutral one (Wilson 1990:67-70) because the relationship with the paper is a mixture of oppositional and affiliative.

In contexts in which the IE takes up a neutral stance towards the group referred to by ‘they’, ‘they’ are people who are part of the public – people who do not belong to either the IE’s political party or any other political party. The groups that are represented by ‘they’ include demonstrators, different sectors of the public, and newspaper journalists. They are groups of people whom the IE does not usually criticise but whom the IE presents as ‘other’. ‘They’ in these contexts is primarily used to categorise these people into ‘other’ rather than to achieve a purpose like distancing from or affiliating with a group of people.

#### **5.2.4 ‘I’ and ‘they’: ‘self’ and ‘other’**

Politicians use ‘I’ in contrast to ‘they’ to show a ‘self’ and ‘other’ distinction. The following examples differ from the ‘us and them’ examples because it is ‘self’ as an individual, invoked by ‘I’, that is contrasted with the ‘other’ rather than the group to which ‘self’ belongs being contrasted with the ‘other’.

In Example 5.11, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about procedures regarding standing aside in relation to her alleged involvement in what came to be known in the media as the “Easton Affair”.



## Example 5.11

[XV: 28.895 ABC TV, lines 145-151]

- 1 M:PL but surely the tradition is to put the government and the party first=  
 2 =and stand aside under circumstances like this=  
 3 F:CL =abs'lutely=  
 4 well you have to make that judgement and it's a difficult one to make I mean I'm  
 5 unimpressed by the opposition's calls because they're not  
 6 a-> consistent .h they say on the one hand that they want to be fair and let  
 7 b-> me have my say and on the other hand they want me to stand aside.

At lines 4 and 5, the IE declares her feelings about the Opposition's actions: "I mean I'm unimpressed by the opposition's calls". This sets up an distinction between the IE and the Opposition, as a 'self' and 'other' dichotomy. At *arrow a*, the IE elaborates about what the Opposition is doing and refers to them by 'they'. She criticises what they have said at *arrows a* and *b*, emphasising the distinction between herself and them. This distinction sets the IE apart from the Opposition.

At *arrows a* and *b*, the IE brings into contrast her 'self', invoked by 'me' and 'my', and the 'other', invoked by 'they'. 'Me' is repeated twice and 'they' is repeated three times in close succession, emphasising the 'self' and 'other' distinction. Furthermore, 'they' is presented as the agent is in a position of control, who "let" (line 6) the IE have her say and "want" (line 7) the IE to stand aside. The IE, on the other hand, is the recipient of the Opposition's actions. In addition to the criticism by the IE against the Opposition party, the IE sets up an oppositional linguistic context in which 'they' is embedded and creates an oppositional 'I' and 'them' distinction (Wilson 1990:67-70). The effect of this is to disaffiliate the IE's self from the 'other' represented as 'they' (Sacks 1992:2:291).

In Example 5.12, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her knowledge of a submission written by Brian Easton, the husband of Mrs Penny Easton.

### Example 5.12

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 191-197]

- 1 M:PL =you read a  
 2 submission he wrote ah about aboriginal 'n cooperative housing,=  
 3 F:CL =well my staff t' read it in detail and we replied th't 't looked int'r'sting, and the  
 4 aboriginal affairs planning authority obviously  
 5 a-> thought they could use his services, they were always under resourced \*like h.  
 6 unfortunately a lot of\* .h aboriginal affairs departments  
 7 b-> around the country .h and so they were keen to take on someone who appeared to  
 8 have the expertise.

At lines 1-2, the IR asks for confirmation that the IE has read the submission written by Brian Easton. The IE's response is a combination of the IE's inclusion and exclusion of herself in the process of reading and responding to the submission. At line 3, the IE excludes herself from the reading of the submission saying it was "my staff" who read it. Even though the IE affiliates herself with the staff - "my staff" - she still is excluded from the reading of the submission. At *arrow a*, the IE includes herself by using 'we': "we replied th't 't looked int'r'sting". At line 4, the IE shifts the focus of the talk to the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority whom she subsequently refers to as 'they' at *arrows a* and *b*. By using 'they' the IE sets up a 'self' and 'other' distinction, excluding herself from the actions of the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority. In these comments the IE speaks about the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority in a neutral way by not making any positive or negative evaluations, thus creating a 'self' and 'other' distinction. In this talk, the exclusion of 'I' from 'they' (Sacks 1992:2:291) is made

salient because the IE makes it clear what she is and is not involved in by her use of pronouns.

In Example 5.13, the IE is a Member of Parliament who took out an Apprehended Violence Order against an opposition member of Parliament but who then withdrew it later on advice from the Australian Federal Police.

#### Example 5.13

[XII: 10.2.95 ABC TV, lines 19-23]

- 1 M:AO        yes you realise though that a lot of people feel that you were never (.) never felt  
 2                genuinely threatened  
 3 F:RM  
 4 a->        .hh I believe they made that judgement on the basis of my position rather than  
 5                the circumstances. h. the issue was a personal safety  
 6                matter between the police and myself .h and ah they offered their advice, 'n I  
 7                took that advice and acted in good faith.

At *arrow a*, the IE makes a judgement about the people whom the IR has suggested felt she was not “genuinely threatened”, referring to these people by ‘they’ and suggesting that they have misjudged her decision. The people invoked by ‘they’ have been established by the IR in his comments, as a group who question the IE’s decision. By setting up a group of people who disbelieve the IE, the IR creates an oppositional context which precedes the IE’s reference to ‘they’. Furthermore, the IE criticises these people, embedding ‘they’ in an oppositional context.

In Example 5.14, the IR, Paul Lyneham, asks the IE, the Federal Health Minister Dr Carmen Lawrence, why the Australian public should believe what she has said about her knowledge of the petition tabled against Mrs Penny Easton.

#### Example 5.14

[XI: 19.4.95 ABC TV, lines 334-339]

- 1 M:PL .h well in the end then (0.2) why should (0.3) the australian public say  
 2 (0.3) carmen lawrence (.) is >telling the truth< about this matter (0.2)  
 3 and keith wilson and pam beggs (.) are not  
 4 F:CL .h because I am telling the truth (.) it 's what I said at the time (.) it's what I say  
 5 now, it's consistent with the views of others at the time (.)  
 6 a-> .h when they were asked (.) under parliament (.) to give an account of the events.

Example 5.14 occurs at the end of the interview. The question that the IR asks is direct and follows a lengthy interrogation style interview about the IE's involvement in the Easton Affair. At lines 4 - 5 the IE baldly states that she is telling the truth now which is consistent with what she said before, repeating in line 6 that she is telling the truth now. The IE continues in line 5 by garnering support by affiliating herself and her views with other people saying: "it's consistent with the views of others at the time". At *arrow a* the IE then makes a categorisation of "others at the time" with 'they' whom she describes as those who "were asked (.) under parliament (.) to give an account of the events.". The affiliation that the IE creates with herself and 'they' described as "others at the time" is strengthened by the suggestion of the IE that these people's views are consistent with hers. The IE paints a picture of herself in a positive relationship with 'they', thus creating an affiliation with 'self' and 'other'. This example differs from Examples 5.11-13 because of the close relationship between 'I' and 'they'.

'They' can be used in a 'self' and 'other' distinction, where the focus is on the IE as an individual and a group invoked by 'they'. In Examples 5.11-5.14, the IEs speak about matters that concern themselves as individuals. In Examples 5.11 and 5.13, the IEs defend themselves against criticism from an 'other' whom the IE categorises as 'they' and thus create a disaffiliative relationship with the 'other' invoked by 'they'. In Example 5.12, the IE establishes a Government department as 'they' in a non-evaluative way, thus taking up a neutral position towards them. In

Example 5.14, the IE groups together her colleagues as 'they' to represent the group of people who are supporting her, thus creating an affiliative relationship with her colleagues. Thus, politicians use 'I' in contrast to 'they' to show different types of 'self' and 'other' distinction in which the 'self' takes differing positions towards the 'other' invoked by 'they'.

### 5.2.5 Summary of distinguishing between 'self' and 'other'

In these political interviews, politicians can use 'they' to distinguish between their 'individual self' and their 'group self', and an 'other' group. These different selves are two different identities of the IE and contrast with 'they'. All the range of attributes ascribed to 'self' and 'other' that are associated with the 'us' and 'them' distinction occur in the 'I' and 'they' distinction. Similarly, the effect of distancing from the 'individual self' in different degrees from the 'other' occurs in the same way as distinguishing the 'group self' from the 'other'. The difference between the 'I' and 'they' distinction and the 'us' and 'them' distinction is the different identities of the IE as an individual and the IE as a member of a group.

The contexts in which 'they' occur in political interviews can be divided into oppositional, neutral and affiliative contexts. The oppositional context is one in which the IE makes a negative evaluation of the 'other'. This usually involves criticising or being criticised by an oppositional political party or member of that party. The affiliative context is one in which the IE makes a positive evaluation of the 'other'. This is when the IE talks about people who support him/her such as his/her political party or people whom s/he supports. The neutral context is one in which the IE takes a neutral stance towards the 'other'. In such cases the 'other' usually means different sectors of the public.

The oppositional, neutral and affiliative contexts can be regarded as a continuum, rather than three discrete categories. This continuum reflects the reality of the IE's world, in which the IE affiliates and disaffiliates to varying degrees with the

'other'. These degrees of affiliation/disaffiliation vary depending on the position that the IE takes to the 'other' in the talk. For example, when the IE is talking about being personally criticised, s/he might take a strong negative position towards the 'other' invoked by 'they', thus creating a strongly oppositional context in which 'they' is embedded. However, if the IE is talking as a representative of the party about an Opposition party then the stance that the IE takes towards an Opposition party might not be as strongly oppositional.

'They' is frequently used in oppositional contexts and so an 'us and them' or 'I and they' distinction is created. The frequency of the oppositional context is understandable in political interviews in which politicians criticise opposition parties. Furthermore, IE is not only asked his/her opinions about the actions of the opposition parties, but volunteers this information, explicitly disagreeing with and criticising these parties, whom the IE often refers to as 'they'. Indeed, all the examples in which 'they' is used in an 'us and them' distinction (Examples 5.1-5.4) are instances of the IE criticising an opposition party in some way. This oppositional context is not only created by the IE criticising the opposition, but is further highlighted by the IE attributing his/her party with positive attributes. Example 5.15 below, illustrates these points.

In Example 5.15, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot is interviewed about the 1995 Federal Budget.

#### Example 5.15

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 71-77]

- |   |      |                                                                                  |
|---|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL | well on the basis of what you've heard <u>so</u> : fa:r, ah how do you think the |
| 2 |      | democrats will respond to the budget.                                            |
| 3 |      | (0.4)                                                                            |
| 4 | F:CK | .h well we'll respond the way we always have constructively and swiftly and      |

- 5                   decisively=we've done our homework .h we know what sort of tests we wanto  
 6                   apply but the government can't have it both  
 7    a->           ways=they can't pretend there's a process of consultation going and then say  
 8                   afterwards .h you haven't played fair.

In Example 5.15, the IE talks about her party describing their positive attributes: “we'll respond the way we always have *constructively* and *swiftly* and *decisively*=we've *done our homework* .h we know *what sort of tests we wanto apply*”. In contrast to this positive description of the IE's party, the IE paints a negative picture of the Government, using words with negative connotations such as “pretending” and by criticising their actions: “but the government can't have it both ways=they can't pretend there's a process of consultation going and then say afterwards .h you haven't played fair.”

‘They’ is also used in affiliative contexts in which the IE evaluates the ‘other’ thus creating a positive relationship. In these cases, the people invoked by ‘they’ are often members of the same political party, but also groups of people from the public towards whom the IE's political party is acting favourably. ‘They’ in this context is used as an affiliating strategy, drawing the ‘other’ closer to ‘self’; unlike ‘they’ used in an oppositional context where ‘they’ is used as a distancing strategy. ‘They’ used in this affiliative context still maintains separateness from ‘self’ (Sacks 1992:2:291), while at the same time drawing closer to the ‘other’.

‘They’ in a neutral context, in which the IE takes a neutral stance towards the ‘other’ invoked by ‘they’, is also present in political interviews. Interestingly, in most of these examples the IE talks about an ‘other’ invoked by ‘they’ which is not one of the political parties but other groups of people such as people in the electorate, public authorities debating the same issues, Government departments and the newspaper journalists. These groups of people can roughly be divided into two types. First, there are those who could be considered influential such as different authorities. Second, there are electors whose vote is significant to the IE,

so it is expedient that the IE does not speak about them in a negative way such as the demonstrators taking the politician's time.

'They' can refer to a group that already has a name, for example, the Liberal Party, or the Government or the public. At other times the IE uses 'they' to group together a number of different groups or people, for example, IR mentions a number of different groups of people such as in Example 5.8 – "people like senior police I think the tasmanian police commissioner there are lawyers, academics, quite a number of responsible people the health authorities." and Example 5.4 – "Mr Robb and Mr Costello". In these examples is not important whether the group previously exists. What is important is that the IE is representing these people as a group to the listener because of the relevance for the IE in grouping them together in the moment of discourse. The effect of this is the construction of the IE's world in which the IE presents the different 'others' which are salient in relation to 'self'. The degrees of affiliation with or disaffiliation with 'self' reflect and help define the 'other' that exists in relationship to the IE.

### 5.3 Generic 'they'

In political interviews 'they' and its related forms can be used to obscure the identity of a person by exploiting the gender-neutral property of 'they' (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 230-231). 'They' can also be used to talk about a single person categorically (Sacks 1992:1:712-714). When the IE uses 'they' to obscure the identity of a person, it is often clear from the context that a single person is being talked about, but the identity of the person is not revealed because of the indefinite reference of 'they'. In other cases the speaker uses 'they' to refer to one person in a particular category of people. 'They' is also used for making generalisations about categories of people.



In Example 5.16, the IE is the Deputy Leader of the Government, being interviewed immediately prior to the 1996 Australian Federal Election, about a scandal involving forged letters, for which the Government has been blamed.

#### Example 5.16

[XXII: 1.3.96 ABC Radio, lines 18-26]

- |    |      |                                                                                                |
|----|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | F:FK | .h well the: liberal party has denie:d the the sm- what they describe as a snear-              |
| 2  |      | smear and the federal liberal campaign director andrew robb today condemned                    |
| 3  |      | what he described as another fraudulent and desperate attempt by the labor                     |
| 4  |      | party .h to shift the blame for the willis letter scam .h don't you run the risk here          |
| 5  |      | of this looking like a <u>de</u> sperate attempt by labor in the bi- dying stages of this      |
| 6  |      | campaign.                                                                                      |
| 7  | M:KB | =well (0.3) I don't think a great deal is claimed <u>for</u> it (0.3) except to sa:y for- from |
| 8  |      | what I can hear .hh except to say that this statement has been made as a                       |
| 9  |      | statutory declaration to poli:ce, .hh a                                                        |
| 10 | a->  | person who makes a: statutory declaration places themselves in great                           |
| 11 | b->  | legal danger if they don't tell the truth                                                      |

At lines 8-9, the IE uses the passive voice to hide any knowledge that the IE may have of the identity of the person who has made the statutory declaration: “this statement has been made as a statutory declaration to poli:ce”. At *arrow a*, the IE then makes a generalisation about this person describing them as someone who “places themselves in great legal danger”. The reference to the person making the statutory declaration is singular – “a person...” – but the use of “themselves” is plural. Here “themselves” is used to refer to a single person but has the effect of obscuring the gender of the person. The use of “themselves” at *arrow a* contributes to the generalisation about a person who makes a statutory declaration. It contributes to this generalisation because it does not make specific either the gender or the grammatical number although the grammatical number is clear from the reference to “a person”. At *arrow b* the IE completes the generalisation using

‘they’ – “if they don't tell the truth” – continuing to speak impersonally. By speaking about the matter in terms of a generalisation that utilises ‘themselves’ and ‘they’ to partly accomplish this, the IE avoids having to speak specifically about the person.

In Example 5.17, the IE is the Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory Government, being interviewed about Ministers in her Cabinet breaching the Ministerial Code of Conduct.

#### Example 5.17

[XXVIII: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 48-55]

- 1 F:EJ]but what happens if someone is accused of breaching the code is it then up to the
- 2 assembly to test that accusation?
- 3 F:KC ah in the first instance elizabeth it's obviously up to cabinet to test that that
- 4 accusation. .hh we're not going to by the way um every time somebody is accused
- 5 of something suggest that they therefore are guilty and and should step down. .h
- 6 but I would expect any minister
- 7 a-> that was found to have ah not to have fulfilled their obligations under this code
- 8 .hh um would um well more than likely would have
- 9 b-> to step down from their job depending on just how bad the discr- the
- 10 indiscretion was.

Prior to this interview, sexual harassment allegations have been levelled against the Deputy Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory Government. In this example the IR asks the IE about what happens in general when “someone is accused of breaching the code”. At line 1, the IR speaks about the problem generally, not specifying any person in particular, by using “someone”. At line 4, the IE mirrors this by talking about “somebody”. At line 6 the IE spells out whom the “somebody” refers to by saying: “any minister”. This is more explicit than “somebody” but is still vague because it does not specify any person: rather, it makes a generalisation about ministers who have breached the Ministerial Code of

Conduct. At *arrow a*, the IE talks about the obligations of all ministers as “their obligations” and at *arrow b* as “their job” using the capacity of “their” to refer to either singular or plural (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:230-231). Using ‘they’ to refer to one Minister is a way of talking about Ministers as a general category and enables the IE to be ambiguous about both gender and grammatical number. This constructs the talk as a generalisation about Ministers, in keeping with the previous talk by the IE and the IR in this example about Ministers who break the Ministerial Code of Conduct.

In Example 5.18, the Federal Minister for Immigration, Duncan Kerr is interviewed about the legislation governing possession of Property (land) if a person has been convicted of a criminal offence.

#### Example 5.18

[XXI: 29.9.95 SBS TV, lines 1-9]

- |   |      |                                                                                               |
|---|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:VS | will the government move to make mother roo takumi <u>divest</u> himself of his               |
| 2 |      | property holdings, an’ <u>if</u> not <u>why</u> not                                           |
| 3 | M:DK | .h w’ll ah if anybody in australia (.) is convicted of a h. a a serious a≈-                   |
| 4 | a->  | offence ah under federal law¿ .h ah they can have their property (.) ah                       |
| 5 |      | confiscated under the (.) ah criminal (.) ah forfeiture legislation th’t <u>exists</u> but .h |
| 6 |      | simply the passive owning of a investment <u>unit</u> , ah if if there are no convictions     |
| 7 |      | for criminal actions would not lead to loss of prop’ty.                                       |

In the IR’s question, the IR asks about whether or not the Government will confiscate the “property holdings” of “mother roo takumi”. In response, the IE makes a generalisation about people having their property confiscated: “anybody in australia (.) is convicted of a h. a a serious a≈-offence ah under federal law”. This is accomplished by the use of “anybody” which is replaced by ‘they’ at *arrow a*. The IE uses ‘they’ as a way of categorising people who are convicted of a serious offence. ‘They’ also replaces “anybody”, suggesting that they does not have to

replace a singular noun (Sacks 1992:2:182). The effect of ‘they’ in this context is to make a generalisation about anyone without reference to either gender or grammatical number, making a category rather than referring to a plural number of people” (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 230-231, Sacks 1992:2:182).

In Example 5.19, the Federal Health Minister, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her apparent lack of knowledge about a petition that was tabled in the Western Australian Parliament containing false allegations about Mrs Penny Easton.

#### Example 5.19

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 120-132]

- |    |      |                                                                                                    |                        |
|----|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1  | M:PL | [he wasn't there                                                                                   | he wasn't there but he |
| 2  |      | claimed to have heard all about it in advance at a dinner party                                    | anyway. so he          |
| 3  |      | can pick it up at a dinner table somewhere round perth .h                                          | and the premier right  |
| 4  |      | up to the end knows ↑ <u>nothing</u> about it ‘t all.                                              |                        |
| 5  | F:CL | well it's clearly swirling around the <u>parliament</u> in the days before its <u>tabled</u> , not |                        |
| 6  |      | necessarily the petition but some of the <u>issues</u> I think you have to conclude that           |                        |
| 7  |      | from the evidence that a few people have given .hh including a member of the                       |                        |
| 8  |      | national party who didn't tell the leader (laughter) of his own coa <u>LI</u> tion ah that         |                        |
| 9  |      | this matter was about SO some people appeared to know. mister edwards said                         |                        |
| 10 |      | that he heard at a at a lunch I think or a dinner and he thinks probably in                        |                        |
| 11 |      | parliament house but the interesting thing about mister edwards' evidence was                      |                        |
| 12 |      | that he said he wasn't at t the cabinet meeting although                                           |                        |
| 13 | a->  | one of the other ministers were as sure of his attendance as they were                             |                        |
| 14 | b->  | about the rest of their recollections.                                                             |                        |

At arrow *a*, the IE provides evidence about the attendance of a Mr Edwards at a dinner party at which the petition was spoken about referring to Mr Edwards: “one of the other ministers were as sure of *his* attendance”. There are other people whom the IE mentions but whose identities she obscures by using ‘they’ at arrows *a* and *b*. In this way the IE hides the identity of the Cabinet Minister involved. At

arrow *a*, the IE refers to this person as “one of the other ministers”, thus letting the recipient know that the person to whom she is referring is only one person. However, she uses ‘they’ to treat the individual as generic. It is also known that the Cabinet Minister is a male since the IE is the only female Cabinet Minister. This is mentioned explicitly towards the beginning of the interview: “as the only woman in cabinet” (line 28 of transcript, see Appendix 3). Using ‘he’ in this context, when the IE is trying to hide the identity of the person, would suggest a man, whereas generic ‘they’ obscures the gender. ‘He’ suggests a known person. In contrast, ‘they’ refers to a generic person. The IE chooses to exploit the properties of ‘they’ which are ambiguous as to gender (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 230-231) to create a picture of a faceless person without a specific identity.

Generic ‘they’ has three distinct uses in these political interviews. In Examples 5.16-5.18, the IE uses ‘they’ to make a categorisation about one person (Sacks 1992:1:712-714) in the form of a generalisation. In these examples, the person was not specified but referred to by ‘a person’, ‘any minister’ and ‘anybody’. In Example 5.19, ‘they’ is used to hide the identity of a person by using the ambiguity about number and gender inherent in ‘they’ (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990:230-231). Thus, the surrounding context plays an important role in determining the use of ‘they’ (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994). When ‘they’ is used to invoke a category, ‘they’ follows words such as ‘anybody’, ‘anyone’ or ‘a person who...’. In Example 5.19 where ‘they’ is used to hide the identity of someone, the person is referred to before as “one of the other ministers” suggesting that the IE is speaking about a specific person.

#### **5.4 Unspecified categorical ‘they’**

‘They’ can be used to categorically refer to some unspecified group of people or a person. This use is like the use of ‘they’ in “They don’t make ‘em” (Sacks 1992:1:714) in which there is no specific referent of ‘they’. This use of ‘they’ in Example 5.20 differs from Sacks’ example above because unspecified categorical

‘they’ in Example 5.20 is not combined with ‘not’ in a negative grammatical construction. Example 5.20 is the only example of unspecified categorical ‘they’ in the political interviews in this study.

In Example 5.20, Christine Gallus, the Coalition Spokesperson for Aboriginal Affairs is interviewed about the Coalition’s slogan *For All of Us*.

#### Example 5.20

[XXIX: 21.2.95 ABC Radio, lines 12-15]

- |   |      |                                                                                           |
|---|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | F:CG | .hh and if noel would care to have a look at the ads that go with the                     |
| 2 | a->  | slogan .h he will find amongst the ads- the all of us- they play the music                |
| 3 |      | .h and on the ad we have aboriginal people, vietnamese people, chinese people             |
| 4 |      | .h and I think that ad is so obvious that it is for all of us for <u>all</u> australians. |

At *arrow a*, the IE talks about the music that accompanies the advertisements that are part of the For All of Us campaign, formulating it as something that is done by a group of people: “they play the music”. It is not clear who the referent of ‘they’ is but it could refer to an unspecified category or organisation (Sacks 1992:1:714). However, the effect of using ‘they’ to talk about the playing of the music personalises this talk. It is more personal than, for example, the passive – “the music is played” – because the agent is not specified. Using ‘they’ creates a picture that there are people playing the music. This use of ‘they’ suggests that it is not necessarily the particular identity of the group that is important, but that there is a group doing it, that is.

### 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated how politicians use ‘they’ in a set of Australian political interviews. Politicians use ‘they’ as a resource to identify a group of people or a person, as ‘other’. These types of ‘other’ can be broadly divided into

three groups: 'they' which refers to a specific 'other', a generic 'they' and an unspecified categorical 'they'. The first and most common type of 'other' is a specific group of people. The second type of 'other', invoked by 'they', is used for making generalisations about people or for treating people as a generic group. The people referred to by generic 'they' may be those about whom the politician wants to make a generalisation and are not restricted to particular groups of people. Generic 'they' is also used to refer to one person as generic, thereby hiding his/her gender, and so obscuring his/her identity. The third 'other' invoked by 'they', is an 'indefinite other', similar in meaning to 'someone' and is a way of referring to a vague category of people. These three types of 'they' represent different 'other', ranging from specific to unspecified 'other'.

The first 'they', representing a specific 'other', is used by politicians to construct a 'self' and 'other' distinction. The type of 'self' and 'other' distinction depends on the type of relationship that the politician creates with the 'other'. This relationship with the 'other' is reflected in the linguistic context surrounding 'they' and can roughly be divided into affiliative, oppositional and neutral contexts. When 'they' is used in an oppositional context (that is, when the IE takes up an oppositional position towards 'they'), the politician constructs an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. Similarly, when 'they' is used in an affiliative context (that is, when the IE takes up an affiliative position towards 'they'), the politician constructs a positive relationship with the 'other', and when 'they' is used in a neutral context (that is, when the IE takes up a neutral position towards 'they'), the politician constructs a relationship with the 'other', that is neither oppositional nor affiliative. These 'self' and 'other' distinctions reflect the nature of the talk in these political interviews, in which politicians take up oppositional, affiliative, or neutral positions towards other groups.

The contexts in which 'they' is used, have been categorised as 'oppositional', 'neutral' and 'affiliative' in this chapter, reflecting the types of relationship the IE creates with the different kinds of 'other'. In reality these contexts and

relationships form a continuum of affiliation with 'self' rather than three discreet points. This degree of affiliation with 'self' is expressed in the surrounding linguistic context. 'They' in an oppositional context is less affiliated with 'self' than 'they' in a neutral context, which in turn is less affiliated with 'self' in an affiliative context.

In oppositional contexts the language used to talk about a group referred to by 'they' contains language that negatively evaluates 'they' or language that expresses criticism of 'they'. On the other hand, in affiliative contexts, the language used about 'they' makes a 'positive' evaluation of 'they'. In neutral contexts the language used is neither positive nor negative.

The second use of 'they' is as a representation of a generic 'other'. Using 'they' in this way is also another resource for politicians not wanting to be specific about particular people involved in contentious issues. It is used as an avoidance strategy, enabling the politician to talk about categories of people rather than a particular person. This generic use of 'they' is also used to obscure the identity of the person. Here, 'they' enables the IE to talk about someone without having to give their identity (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 230-231).

The third use of 'they' is a resource for constructing unspecified 'other'. This use of 'they' does not have a specific referent nor is it important who the referent is in this context. What is important is that the action referred to is done by some 'other'.

To sum up, 'they' can be used as a resource (Malone 1997, Sacks 1992, Schegloff 1996, Watson 1987) to construct a version of reality of the politician's relationship with the 'other'. The 'other' is a significant part of the politician's world, and the types of 'other', invoked by 'they', reflect the nature of the variety of relationships that a politician constructs. Specific 'they' is used to reflect the oppositional, affiliative and neutral relationships that the politician creates with the 'other' in the talk in these political interviews. Generic 'they' is used when the IE is talking about



sensitive matters and wants to obscure the identity of the 'other'. Unspecified categorical 'they' is used to point to a group whose identity is not salient, but whose existence as 'some' group is salient. The three different uses mirror the diversity of 'other' in the life of politicians and how politicians represent the 'other'.

So far the analysis has focused on the individual pronouns, 'I', 'we', 'you' and 'they'. In the next chapter, the use of all the pronouns investigated separately in the thesis thus far will be examined as they occur in sequences.

## Chapter 6

### 'I', 'we', 'you' and 'they': Shifting identities

#### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, pronouns are examined as they occur in sequence in these political interviews. This contrasts with the analysis of pronouns in Chapters two to five in which each pronoun was examined separately, in moments of discourse, without reference to the surrounding pronouns. On their own, pronouns reflect a particular identity of a politician or an 'other'. On the other hand, the use of more than one pronoun reflects the multiplicities of social identities expressed by politicians (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1978:30, Ochs and Capps 1996). In these political interviews, politicians use a variety of pronouns to construct their own and other's identities. In the same way as one pronoun reflects the politician constructing a particular identity, so shifts from one pronoun to another represent the construction of his/her identity as a shifting one (see for example, Malone 1997, Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1978:30). This use of pronouns reflects the reality of our multiple 'selves' (Ochs and Capps 1996); we are not static 'selves' but embody many changing selves.

Within these political interviews, different patterns are evident in the shifting of pronouns. These shifts can be broadly divided into four groups, based on the centrality of 'self' and 'other' in the analysis of pronouns. The first, section 6.2, includes examples of shifts from an individual 'self', invoked by 'I' to a collective 'self', invoked by 'we'. The second, section 6.3, includes examples where three different identities of 'self' are represented: the individual 'self', invoked by 'I'; the collective 'self', invoked by 'we'; and a 'self' invoked by generic 'you'. In the third group, section 6.4, politicians may shift from one or more 'self' to one or more 'other'. This group includes different pronouns. In addition to the abovementioned three groups, section 6.5 includes another set of examples in which the interviewee

(IE) uses different footings (Goffman 1974, 1981), in particular animation of another voice and quotation.

In this chapter it is argued that “sequential context” (Malone 1997:59) is crucial in understanding the referent of and the interactional work that is being done by the pronouns. This is because the pronouns are not studied in isolation but in sequence.

Thus, the surrounding linguistic context (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994) is also important. Furthermore, the broader context of knowledge of Australian politics is used to inform the interpretation of the data (Cicourel 1992, Goffman 1974, Malinowski 1923 and Ochs 1979). The broader context that is used here is the knowledge of Australian politics as it relates to an understanding of the Australian political parties and who belongs to what political party and the workings of the Australian political system. This knowledge is not stated explicitly in the talk but assumed as understood by the listeners, and thus has to be drawn on in order to understand the referents of and interactional work being done by the pronouns in the talk.

## **6.2 Multiple selves: ‘we’ and ‘I’**

One pronoun shift that is common in these political interviews is the alternation between ‘I’ and ‘we’. This reflects the politician’s moving between his/her identity as an individual and his/her identity as a member of a group.

In Example 6.1, Kerry Tucker, the Leader of the ACT Greens, is asked her opinion about the sexual harassment allegations against Tony Dedomenico, the Deputy Leader of the ACT Government. The IE is asked to reply on behalf of her political party, the Greens, and she uses ‘we’ to accomplish this. She also speaks from her individual viewpoint, using ‘I’.

### **Example 6.1**

[XXVI: 23.5.95 ABC Radio, lines 1-24]

- 1 F:EJ.hh I have on the line now ah kerry tucker from the greens, she's speaking now  
 2 on behalf of lucy harodney as well kerry tucker good morning.  
 3 F:KT hello elizabeth  
 4 F:EJ.hhh w'll what d' you think?  
 F:KT  
 5 • .hh ah well obviously sexual harassment is a serious issue h. and um .hh we  
 6 • don't take it lightly at all but we also see in this um (.) situation that there is a  
 7 question of natural justice as well .hh there are appropriate processes in place  
 8 • with human rights office, .hh and I guess the question that I have is ah if  
 9 • people are demanding that mister dedomenico stand down .hh I can't  
 10 understand why at the same time they are not also demanding as loudly .h th't  
 11 the processes be appropriate and he has prompt access to resolution of this  
 12 problem I heard mrs carnell say before that it could go on for months .hh it's my  
 13 understanding it's been going on for months .hh so the complications are th't if  
 14 one person (0.4) c'n make an allegation and a minister's taken out of his area of  
 15 responsibility f' six months or so .hh while that allegation's being looked at .h  
 16 the a-c-t's going to suffer the people are going to suffer both the complainant  
 17 and the person who's been accused .hh and it just seems totally inappropriate .h  
 18 so we're very concerned about that what the time frame is .h as mister osborne  
 19 said we we don't know the whole story we certainly aren't interested in making  
 20 any judgements at all .hh and so we want to try and understand where the  
 21 process is going in terms of time<sup>↑</sup> .hh and we are still considering our position in  
 22 terms of the questions you've asked mister osborne about .hh whether we would  
 23 actually ask that he does stand as- aside or support a censure motion we we  
 24 have no position on that at this point .hh we're taking the position um we're  
 25 taking the situation very seriously and we want to take our time in making a  
 26 decision

The pronominal structure of the interviewee's answer can be divided into sections which are characterised by both the use of third person Noun Phrase (hereafter NP) reference and pronouns: 3rd person NP reference → 'we' → 3rd person NP reference → 'I' → 3rd person NP reference → 'we'. 'We' is used when the IE is

speaking on behalf of her party, in response to the institutional identity invoked by the interviewer (IR) in the initial question. The IE uses 'I' when she gives her personal opinion. The pronouns 'we' and 'I' are interspersed with sections of talk which contain 3rd person NP reference, suggesting an alternation of presentation of different 'selves' and 'others'. The sections which contain 3rd person NP reference contrast with the IE's use of her collective and individual voice, invoked by 'we' and 'I' respectively.

At lines 1-2, the IR states that the IE is acting as a representative of the Greens party: "she's speaking now on behalf of Lucy Harodney as well". Here the IR invokes the IE's institutional identity as a member of the Greens, by saying that she is speaking "on behalf of..." the other member of the Greens. At line 5, the IE begins her turn by making a generalisation about sexual harassment: ".hh ah well obviously sexual harassment is a serious issue". After this comment the IE responds to the IR's addressing of the IE as a representative of the Greens. The IE accomplishes this by replying in her institutional identity, taking on the participation status of leader of the Greens using 'we' at lines 5 and 6: "we don't take it lightly at all but we also see in this um (.) situation that...". This is followed by another generalisation at lines 6-7: "there is... there are..." which, with the initial generalisation about sexual harassment at line 5, surrounds the utterances that include 'we' at line 6. The generalisations represent a different participation status (Goffman 1974, 1981) to the IE's talk in her institutional identity. This new participation status is a more neutral voice. The effect of this use of a different participation status is to draw the listener back to generalisations about the situation, and away from the personal comments of the IE. It is a way of hedging, in the discussion of a delicate matter.

At lines 8-12, the IE invokes a newly introduced identity by using 'I'. This talk is marked by the frequent use of 'I' and 'my', beginning at line 8 with the hedge "I guess" and followed by "the question that I have". At lines 8-12, the IE responds by saying what her understanding of other people's reactions is: "ah if people are

demanding that mister dedomenico stand down .hh I c'n understand why at the same time they are not also demanding as loudly .h th't the processes be appropriate and he has prompt access to resolution of this problem".

At lines 12-13, the IE reports what she has heard: "I heard mrs carnell say before that it could go on for months". The IE's use of hearsay in combination with 'I', gives the impression of the IE responding personally, while at the same time not giving any new information in answer to the IR's question for the IE's opinion. At lines 12-13, the IE rewords what she has said: ".hh it's my understanding it's been going on for months". Again, this comment does not offer any new information but gives the impression of the IE speaking personally by virtue of the IE's use of 'my'. The five utterances using 'I' and 'my' between lines 8-12, give the appearance of the IE talking personally, but in fact give no new information in relation to the question. Speaking personally superficially satisfies the IR's request for the IE's opinion, and can be seen as complying with the IR's request. However, the IE is not in fact giving her personal opinion but reporting hearsay.

At lines 13, the IE begins with a 3rd person reference: ".hh so the complications are th't if one person (0.4) c'n make an allegation and a minister's taken out of his area of responsibility f' six months or so .hh while that allegation's being looked at". Here the IE talks in general terms about the possibility of removing a minister because of an allegation. This generalisation is made by use of the indefinite, 3rd person references: "one person..." and "a minister...". In this hypothetical situation, which begins with "if..." at line 14, the IE links the suffering of all people involved: ".h the a-c-t's going to suffer the people are going to suffer both the complainant and the person who's been accused". In response to the IE's comments about the possible consequences of a minister having to stand down, the IE hedges an opinion: ".hh and *it just seems* totally inappropriate" without using 'I' to explicitly invoke her individual identity. This distances herself from explicit individual involvement.

From lines 18-25, the IE uses talk which is characterised by the frequent use, of 'we' and 'our' (14 times including two sequences of we-we) invoking her institutional identity. At lines 18-21, the words associated with 'we' are related to feelings and mental processes such as: "we're very concerned about...", "we don't know...", "we certainly aren't interested in...", "we want to try and understand...", "we are still considering our position...". These utterances provide little information about what the IE thinks (Bramley 1997) but superficially satisfy the IR's request for an answer from the IE as a representative of the Greens party. By using 'we', the IE expresses the position of her party. The IE has been asked to give a position that represents the Greens party, and 'we' accomplishes this. Expressing collective positions strengthens the IE's position because 'we' linked to positive actions makes the IE's position a shared, and therefore stronger one.

At lines 23-24, the IE explains that the Greens "we have no position". Finally, the IE concludes that the Greens care about the matter at lines 24-26: "we're taking the situation very seriously and we want to take our time in making a decision". While the IE is responding in her institutional identity, giving the impression that the IE's party is concerned, she gives no new information in relation to the question posed by the IR (Bramley 1997).

The pronominal structure: 3rd person NP reference → 'we' → 3rd person NP reference → 'I' → 3rd person NP reference → 'we' has a concertina-like effect of a personalised and impersonalised response. This is understandable in the context of a very delicate issue, in which it would not be prudent for the IE to make any judgement about allegations. Shifting to an impersonalised generalisation is a safe way to stay away from being seen to make a personal and direct answer. The use of 'we' (and 'I') can be thought of as a nominal response to the IR's request for the IE to answer the question personally, and "on behalf of the Greens". The use of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'I' is significant because they enable the IE to communicate her different identities, fulfilling one of the most salient roles of a

politician – to construct a picture of the politician both as a party representative and also an individual politician.

In Example 6.2, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot is interviewed about her response to the 1996 Federal Budget, in which the Government is proposing that employees be required to put aside an extra three percent of their salary into superannuation.

### Example 6.2

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 3-9]

- |   |       |                                                                                         |
|---|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL  | .h now the experts all say experts australians have got t' <u>sa:ve</u> more=<d'z zis   |
| 2 |       | mean that you would support the idea of employees giving up three percent of            |
| 3 |       | their pay packets for super?                                                            |
| 4 |       | (0.9)                                                                                   |
| 5 | F:CK• | well I <u>certainly</u> support the notion that we have to save more,=I'm               |
| 6 | •     | just not convinced that this particular proposal > <u>such</u> as we know of it< .hh is |
| 7 |       | the: most efficient way to save.                                                        |

The basic pronominal structure of the IE's turn is 'I'→'we'→'I'→we. This reflects an alternation between presentation of 'self' as an individual and 'self' as a member of a collective. 'I' is used to give a personal opinion and 'we' to indicate group membership and affiliation with two groups respectively: the Australian people and the group of politicians who have not yet been informed about the proposal. The answer of the IE is a conflict between doing something because experts say so, and rejecting the action on the basis of the information available. As such it is like a hedge.

The IE's turn begins with a response to the IR's question in which he seeks the IE's opinion about whether she would support the Government's plan for employees to put three percent of their pay into superannuation (lines 1-2) by asking the IE



whether she is in agreement with other “experts”: “.h now the experts all say australians have got t' sa:ve more=<d'z zis mean that you...”. At line 5, the IE responds to the IR's question to 'you', reinvoking her individual identity, and taking on the identity of an expert, giving her personal opinion using 'I'. The IE also mirrors the IR's question, by repeating the word “support”. In the same line, the IE shifts to using 'we': “we have to save more”. The IE refers to the Australian people as 'we', to dissolve any apparent distinction between the politician as one separate from the people.

At lines 5-6, the IE continues to give her opinion in response to the IR's question, and shifts back to 'I': “I'm just not convinced...” At line 6, the IE makes a parenthetical reference the Democrats and other non-government politicians: “<such as we know of it>,”. By using 'we' in the parenthetical phrase <such as we know of it>, the IE indicates the information about the proposal has not been made publicly available by the Government and is a way of criticising the Government for having kept it a secret. This enables the IE to shift the blame on the Government. If the IE had said: “<such as *I* know of it>,”, the implication would have been that she was the only one who was uninformed about the proposal and hence, that the blame potentially lay with her for not finding out. If that were the case, the focus would have been on the IE not being informed.

In the clause: “such as we know of it”, 'such' is stressed but 'we' is not. This creates a distinction between 'we' who have not heard about the proposal in detail, and 'them' – the Government. The stress on “such”, rather than “we”, suggests that the IE is criticising the Government. The shift in the parenthetical utterance “such as we know of it” to 'we', reflects the move from the IE as an individual to a politician who is speaking as on behalf of the people who have been informed of the proposal by the Government. This shift from 'self' as an individual, to 'self' as a representative of a group, is marked with linguistic markers indicating the change in footing. During this change the IE speeds up, uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to

those people who only know a little about the proposal and stresses the first word “such”.

The IE's shift between 'I' and 'we' encompasses three different identities: first as an individual giving her opinion; second, as one of the Australian people; and third, as a representative of those who are in opposition to the Government. These different 'selves' enable the IE to approach the issue from multiple perspectives. Here, the representation of three different identities makes up the complex reality of the politician and reflects the IE invoking these identities to give weight to her argument. By using 'I', 'we' the people and 'we' as part of the opposition to the Government, the IE presents her position from three complementary perspectives.

In Examples 6.1 and 6.2, the IEs are talking about others' actions and in their responses take up individual and collective identities, invoked by 'I' and 'we' respectively. The talk focuses on the IE's opinion about another person, as in Example 6.1, and another party's actions, as in Example 6.2. In Example 6.1, the IE alternates between her institutional identity as the Leader of the Greens, and her individual identity as a politician. In Example 6.2, the IE takes on her individual identity as a decision maker/legislator, expressed by 'I' and then constructs herself as a member of two different groups – the Australian people, and those who have limited knowledge of the Government's savings plan. The groups in which the IEs include themselves differ, but in both cases the IEs choose to identify with a particular group, by using 'we', to present themselves as more than an individual. The alternation between 'I' and 'we' reflects a shift between two of the IE's most salient identities as a politician, both individual and collective identities.

### **6.3 Multiple selves: 'I', 'we' and generic 'you'**

Besides the individual and collective identities expressed by 'I' and 'we' respectively, politicians also use generic 'you' to invoke another identity. This section of this chapter illustrates how politicians shift between 'I' and/or 'we' and

generic 'you' and sometimes invoke up to three different identities. The examples used are characterised by talk about the IE in which the IE's actions or position on an issue are being questioned and/or criticised by the IR, and the subsequent justification by the IE of his/her position.

In Example 6.3, the Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory Government, Kate Carnell, is being interviewed about her Government's implementation of a Public Service Freeze. Example 6.3 is made up of four alternating turns between the IR and the IE. The talk begins with a claim by the IR that the IE has broken her election promise of consulting with other organisations. The IE refutes this claim in the next turn, asserting that consultation would not work in this particular instance. In response to this, the IR takes on the position of the unions who are arguing that they were not consulted. In the fourth turn, the IE justifies her stance, presenting a variety of identities through the use of different pronouns.

### Example 6.3

[XXX: 9.8.95 ABC Radio, lines 25-36]

- 1 F:EJ• b't chief minister you ha:f to admit don't you that it <does make your election
- 2 • (.) promis: (.) sound a bit hollow> .hh I mean <you spoke about consultation:
- 3 time 'n time again .hh now you're in government an' you're saying to me >the<
- 4 o:h b- yeah but with something such as this it doesn't matter= y' don't need to
- 5 consult on this.
- 6 F:KC• <no eliz'beth I'm not saying it doesn't matter I'm saying it wouldn't work> u:m
- 7 .h with- with- situati-=
- 8 F:EJ=the unions seem to think it would work, they would ev- very much
- 9 appreciated ah a comment or a letter or something f[rom you.
- 10 F:KC• [xxxxx .h um look I understand
- 11 • that elizabeth but I think that one of the things about government is th't you
- 12 have to be willing to make decisions at times .hh on issues such as this, now
- 13 • we've certainly made a decision and we're very willing to talk to the union how
- 14 • we can make it work best

At lines 1-2, the IR presses the IE to take responsibility for her lack of consultation: “you ha:f to admit don't you that it <does make your election (.) promis: (.) sound a bit hollow”. The IR formulates the talk in terms of what the IE has to “admit”, suggesting that the IE has done something wrong: “you ha:f to admit”. Immediately following this is a tag-question but which does not elicit a response from the IE, since it is immediately followed by talk. Instead, the tag “don't you” presents the IR's argument as something with which the IE should agree. The IR does not give the IE an opportunity to comment after the tag. At lines 1-2, the IR refers to the IE's supposed broken election promises: “it <does make your election (.) promis: (.) sound a bit hollow>” and constructs the election promise as one that the IE has ownership of and responsibility for, by referring to it as ‘your’ election promise (Sacks 1992:1: 382-8, 605-9, 610-615).

At lines 2-3, the IR speaks further about the IE's election promise: “hh I mean <you spoke about consultation: time ‘n time again.”. The use of ‘you’ singular combined with the reference to the IE's promises emphasises as the one responsible for her election promise. At line 3, the IR prefaces her next utterance with a reference to the IE's position having won the election: “.hh now you're in government”. Through ‘you’ singular the IE is situated in the present. At lines 3-5, the IR draws a contrast between the IE's election promises and what the IE is saying now. The IR continues by paraphrasing what the IE has said to the IR: “an' you're saying to me >the< o:h b- yeah but with something such as this is doesn't matter= y' don't need to consult on this.” The IR makes what she says more immediate by using the present progressive: “you *are saying* to me”.

At lines 4-5, the IR finishes quoting the IE: “y' don't need to consult on this”. This use of generic ‘you’ makes the IE sound as though lack of consultation on this particular issue is something that is generally dealt with in this way, because generic ‘you’ invokes a sense of what is ‘normal’ or ‘typical’ (Sacks 1992:163-8, 349-50). Furthermore, by formulating the IE's position in this way, the IR emphasises the IE's lack of consultation.

At line 6, the IE disagrees with the IR's presentation of the situation mirroring the IR's use of words: "<no eliz'beth I'm not *saying* it doesn't matter I'm *saying* it wouldn't work> u:m .h with- with- situati-=". By using 'I', the IE speaks as an individual, refuting the claims made by the IR about the IE. At lines 8-9, the IR rejects what the IE said in lines 6-7, focusing on the IE by specifying that the issue needs to be dealt with by the IE: "=the unions seem to think it would work, they would ev- very much appreciated ah a comment or a letter or something f[rom you." 'You' singular moves the focus of the utterance to the IE, maintaining and emphasising the IR's consistent focus on the IE as the person who is responsible for the lack of consultation.

At line 11, the IE starts justifying her position, formulating it as her opinion using "I think" to distance herself from making an absolute statement about "government". At lines 11-12, the IE makes a general comment about governments: "but I think that one of the things about government is...". At lines 11-12, the IE continues her generalisation about governments, accomplishing this with generic 'you': "...th't you have to be willing to make decisions at times .hh on issues such as this". The IE links generic 'you' to the non-specific "government" (line 11), which enables the IE to align herself with governments in general. Using generic 'you' in this sequential context enables the IE to make a typical instantiation of government's actions and enable the IE to shift the blame away from her as an individual or as part of her Government. This is in contrast to the IR's attempts to blame the IE for the lack of consultation, something which the IR had previously tried to do by invoking the IE's individual identity with 'you' singular.

At lines 12-14, the IE shifts the focus of her talk to what her Government has done, using the pronoun 'we' to indicate membership of the Government: "now we've certainly made a decision and we're very willing to talk to the union about how we can make it work best". The shift from generic 'you' to 'we' emphasises action and responsibility. This also represents a shift from membership of two different types

of collective: one that is a 'generalised' collective and one that is a 'specific' collective. The content of the talk associated with the pronouns generic 'you' and 'we' also changes. When the IE uses generic 'you', she implies that her Government's actions are a necessary but unpleasant task, thus presenting an undesirable action as something that is a normal part of Government. In contrast, 'we' is associated with actions that could be thought of as more 'positive': "we've certainly *made* a decision and we're *very willing to talk* to the union how we can *make it work best*". The actions that the IE attributes to her party present the IE and her party favourably. When the IE distances herself from the undesirable actions by using generic 'you', she then draws closer to and identifies with the positive actions by using 'we'.

At line 12, the IE describes what all governments do: "be willing to make decisions" mirroring these words closely in line 13. These words are almost like a syllogism: All governments do X, we are a government, therefore we do X. This contributes to constructing the Government as typical, giving weight to the IE's argument. At lines 12-13, the IE talks about having 'made a decision': "now we've certainly *made* a decision" and at line 13, being 'willing': "we're *very* willing to talk to the union". These words and the use of 'we' make an explicit link between generic 'you' (line 12) and the IE's government. By shifting from generic 'you' to 'we', the IE makes a specific reference to her Government and its actions. By using generic 'you' first, then 'we', the IE suggests that the issue is first and foremost one that is common to all governments, and then incidentally 'us' (Sacks 1992:1:166).

In Example 6.3, the pronominal structure changes from the 'I' and 'you' singular interchange between the IE and IR, to generic 'you' and 'we' by which the IE invokes her collective identity. These different pronouns represent the IE's shifting identity and change of alignments between different people. The shift from 'I' to someone speaking in an institutional identity invoked by 'we' and then generic 'you' changes the focus of the talk from the IE as an individual in a defensive position, to the IE speaking in her institutional identity as leader of her

Government. Through the use of pronouns, the IE is able to move herself from a position of vulnerability, to strength. The shift in pronouns thus enables the IE to avert a damaging situation, one in which she is portrayed as someone who has broken an election promise, to a more positive situation of the IE as a part of a government which is performing well.

In Example 6.4, the former Premier of Western Australia, Dr Carmen Lawrence, is interviewed about her involvement in the “Easton Affair” and in relation to her status as a woman. In this example, the IE uses ‘I’ and generic ‘you’ to shift her identity from ‘self’ as an individual to ‘self’ as a typical member of a category.

#### Example 6.4

[XV: 28.8.95 ABC TV, lines 25-35]

- |    |       |                                                                                      |
|----|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | M:PL  | .h and to what extent do you <u>genuinely</u> believe that your recent problems      |
| 2  |       | are in any way due to the fact that you're a woman?                                  |
| 3  | F:CL• | well I think I've indicated before that the the only way in which they are           |
| 4  |       | is th't as the only woman in cabinet and one of the few women in ah public           |
| 5  | •     | life you tend to stand out like a sore thumb and indeed *it's felt more like a       |
| 6  |       | sore thumb* than any other more attractive sort of novelty .h over the last          |
| 7  |       | few weeks and one of things that women told us very clearly was that they            |
| 8  |       | wanted to see more women in positions of <u>authority</u> in political life in board |
| 9  |       | rooms .h so we're actually ah encouraging and helping to finance a business          |
| 10 |       | women's group which will give women greater profile in <u>that</u> area where        |
| 11 |       | they've been sadly lacking and indeed in some areas we've been going                 |
| 12 |       | backwards.                                                                           |

The IR's question in this excerpt is the first in the interview about the IE as an individual and her “problems” (line 1). It follows questions on the IE's involvement in an international women's conference, at which the IE was an Australian representative. However, the main content of the interview relates to the IE's involvement in the “Easton Affair”. The notion of being a woman at the

conference is used as a link by the IR to talk about the IE's "problems" relating to the tabling of a petition about which the IE is being questioned.

At lines 1 and 2, the IR addresses the IE using 'you' singular three times. The IR also makes an explicit link between the IE and her 'problems' by using 'your' to suggest the IE's ownership of her difficulties in relation to her involvement in the tabling of the petition (Sacks 1992:1: 382-8, 605-9, 610-15). At line 3, the IE responds to the IR's question with 'I' embedded in the hedge, "I think". Since 'I think' qualifies an A-event, that is, something that the IE has done herself: "I've indicated before", it is clear that the IE is not expressing an opinion about what she has done. In this position, the IE uses 'I think' to distance herself from speaking in absolute terms about what she has done. At line 3, the IE refers to previous talk: "I've indicated before", using 'I' to refer to her individual actions. This focus on the IE's individual actions is weakened in two ways. First, by the presence of the hedge 'I think' immediately preceding, which serves to downgrade the IE's commitment to the proposition (Lyons 1977:793-809) and second, by the shift to generic 'you' at line 5, which has the effect of distancing the IE from her actions.

At lines 4-5, the IE talks about being a woman and describes herself: "as the only woman in cabinet and one of the few women in ah public life". This utterance is linked to generic 'you' which immediately follows and is clearly a reference to the IE. Here, generic 'you' is used to emphasise that this is something which could happen to anyone in the same position, not just the IE. By using generic 'you', the IE is constructing herself as a typical member of a category. She is saying, "it's not just me, anyone would be the same". Generic 'you' is less personal than 'I' which would be too personal, and too close to having to take responsibility for the matter, as in: "as the only woman in cabinet and one of the few women in ah public life *I* tend to stand out like a sore thumb". This use of generic 'you' to refer to the IE, immediately after a description of herself, is unusual within the political interviews, in which generic 'you' usually refers to 'us'.



Another indication of the IE's distancing herself from the content of the question can be seen at lines 6-12, in which the IE changes the topic and refers back to the Conference for Women. This topic change occurs after "last few weeks", and not at a transition relevance place, suggesting that the IE does not want to be interrupted after she has answered the question related to her involvement in the tabling of the petition: "\*it's felt more like a sore thumb\* than any other more attractive sort of novelty .h over the last few weeks and one of things that women told us very clearly was..." .

In Example 6.4, there is a contrast between the IR's presentation of the IE and the IE's presentation of herself. In the question, the IR presents the IE as an individual responsible for "your recent problems", using 'you' singular three times. However, in the answer, the IE distances herself from the IR's construction of herself as an individual by using generic 'you' as a resource to distance herself from constructing herself as one of the collective of everyone that generic 'you' invokes. Generic 'you' creates an impression of the IE as someone whose actions are normal, and therefore not remarkable. These represent contrasting constructions between how the IR portrays the IE, and how the IE portrays herself. The contrast is between the IE, as an individual responsible for some allegedly immoral behaviour and the IE, as someone whose situation is normal. This contrast, and the different pictures that the IR and the IE paint, exemplify typical roles that the IR and IE take on in an interview: the IR's role is adversarial (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994) and the role of politicians to create a good picture of themselves.

In Example 6.5, the Premier of the New South Wales Government, Bob Carr, is interviewed about his Government's response to the proposed decriminalisation or legalisation of drugs.

#### Example 6.5

[IV: 5.10.95 ABC TV, lines 11-17]

- 1 M:AO I thought you had been implacably opposed to to those (xxx) to  
 2 decriminalisation or legalisation  
 3 M:CA• .hh my position is really that we've got to define heroin  
 4 • (0.4) <addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem,> we've got  
 5 • to treat it as a health problem. .hhh um I: I think once you make that  
 6 • (0.5) you make that concession >°if it is a concession,°< (0.4) you're on the way  
 7 to to viewing the (0.5) disparate natures: the disparate nature of this problem.

The pronominal structure of the IE's turn in Example 6.5 shifts from 'my' to 'we' to generic 'you'. At lines 1-2, the IR expresses what he thinks is the IE's position in relation to drug decriminalisation, drawing attention to the IE's individual position by his use of 'you' singular at line 1. At line 3, the IE responds to the IR's construction of the IE as an individual, by mirroring this with "*my* position". However, the IE immediately shifts to 'we': "we've got to define heroin (0.4) <addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem,> we've got to treat it as a health problem." By using 'we' the IE makes it clear that he is invoking a collective that includes him and that the issue is not one to be dealt with individually but collectively. 'We' shifts the focus away from the IE as an individual and his personal opinion about drug decriminalisation. The IE is talking about a group doing something and taking responsibility by using 'got to' with 'we'.

The IE further distances himself from the IR's request for the IE's personal opinion, using generic 'you' to make a generalisation about the issue. Using generic 'you' has the effect of including everyone. Generic 'you' leaves no ambiguity about who is included in the group membership ('we') which does not necessarily include the IR or the over-hearing audience (Sacks 1992:1:165). The effect of generic 'you' also minimalises the IE's personal involvement in the issue, because 'I' is only incidentally included in generic 'you' (Sacks 1992:1:166). By shifting through the pronouns 'I', 'we' and generic 'you', the focus on the IE as an individual decreases and the inclusion of others and eventually everyone increases. In the context of making decisions or expressing opinions about contentious issues such as drug

decriminalisation, minimising the involvement of 'self' on the one hand, and maximising the involvement of everyone, on the other hand, is arguably prudent.

In Examples 6.3-6.5, the IE moves from 'I' to 'we' to generic 'you' within the turn. This reflects a shift of identity from the IE as an individual to the IE as a member of a particular collective and then as a part of 'everyone'. This shift in pronouns from 'self' to 'everyone' distances the IE from the content of the talk. What characterises the talk of the politicians in these examples is the IE's justification of his/her position in response to a questioning of the IE's position by the IR. This questioning is combined with criticism of something the IE has done (Examples 6.3 and 6.4) and a suggestion that the IE holds an extreme position (Example 6.5). In this context, moving from an individual perspective, invoked by 'I' to presenting a position that is a collective one by using 'we' and then generic 'you' to invoke a sense of what is typical, is concomitant with the IE's desire to present 'self' in the most positive light possible. In Examples 6.3-6.5, in which the IE's undesirable actions and position is being scrutinised, the shift in pronouns enables the IE to justify his/her position. First, by making it the responsibility of a collective by using 'we', and thus, lessening the individual blame or responsibility and second, by using generic 'you' to present his/her position as normal and acceptable.

#### **6.4 Multiple 'selves' and 'others'**

Politicians make use of a range of pronouns to construct multiple 'selves' and others (Bramley 1999a, b, 2000, Liddicoat et al. 1999 and Dyer and Keller-Cohen 2000). The pronouns that the IE chooses to use vary and so, no example has the same combination of pronouns. In the following examples, the IE constructs a multiplicity of 'selves' (Ochs and Capps 1996) and others, ultimately constructing a positive picture of him/herself. The use of pronouns is integral to this process.

In Example 6.6, the Liberal Party Leader, John Howard, is interviewed about the opening of the East-West runway in Sydney. The issue is relevant to the IE, since the constituents in his electorate are currently underneath the existing flight paths.

If the East-West runway were to be opened, the air traffic noise would be reduced in his electorate.

### Example 6.6

[III: 26.9.95 ABC TV, lines 88-106]

- 1 M:AO w'll you certainly made the point
- 2 very thoroughly tonight mister howard but isn't there the inevitable result
- 3 though if the east west w- runway was to reopen .h that there would be an
- 4 increase in traffic overall .h and that there would therefore consequently be an
- 5 incre- increase in noise as well ;
- 6 M:JH well that's not the argument that's been put to the senate inquiry (0.5) ah the
- 7 senate inquiry actually argues ah some people argue that
- 8 • if you have- you reopen the east west runway the number of movements will .h
- 9 • a≈h could be affected=the evidence th't we have is th't um .h ah it's been put
- 10 • to the senate inquiry is that if you ah .h if you re-open the east-west runway
- 11 • you w' you can end up according to most of the evidence having about the same
- 12 • number of movements th't you have at the present ti' .h and it's within the
- 13 capacity of any government (0.3) to put a limit on the number of air movements
- 14 mister brereton indicated yesterday (.) to one of the newspapers that his
- 15 • government intended to put a cap on air movem'nts and you can regulate that (.)
- 16 • and you can decide for example that .h you will have the same number of air
- 17 • movements but you will do it .h using all of the runways and not just two of them
- 18 • including using the east west runway an' you distribute the number of air
- 19 movements .h over a wider range and therefore .h nobody is carrying (.) 'n
- 20 unfair share of the ↑burden

At lines 1-5, the IR argues with the IE that opening the East-West runway would result in more air traffic and more noise. What follows in the IE's response is a carefully constructed counterargument. The construction of the counterargument has a basic pronominal structure which consists of a shift from generic 'you' to 'we' to generic 'you' in which generic 'you' refers to the Government and 'we' refers to the Liberal Party to which the IE belongs.

At lines 6-9, the IE supports his argument by claiming the authority of the Senate inquiry: “well that's not the argument that's been put to the senate inquiry (0.5) ah the senate inquiry” and what “the senate inquiry” and “some people” argue. By referring to an outside body of people, that is, the Senate inquiry, the IE appeals to an established authority. This gives weight to his argument because it represents a point of view that is not personal and is important because the IE's position depends on appearing to be arguing not just for his constituents, but making a case which is fair for all people.

At line 7, the IE clarifies his claim that: “the senate inquiry actually argues” by downgrading the “senate inquiry” to “some people argue” indicating a lack of consensus. At line 8, the IE strengthens his claim by employing generic 'you' (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1) to construct an argument which gives a sense of what is normal or typical (Sacks 1992:1:163-8): “if you have- you reopen the east west runway the number of movements will .h a≈h could be affected”

At lines 9-12, the IE rephrases what he has said in lines 6-9, this time beginning with a personal affiliation to the evidence by using 'we': “the evidence th't we have is...”. The use of 'we' in this position suggests a personal involvement and concern with the issue. 'Have' also suggests affiliation since it implies ownership. Lines 9-12 provide another perspective of to the IE's argument – not only has the IE given evidence that comes from a respected outside source, that is, the Senate inquiry, and presented his argument as normal by deploying generic 'you', he has shown his personal involvement in and ownership of the issue.

At lines 9-10, the IE rephrases what he said at line 9 (“the evidence th't we have is”), and presents the evidence in a non-personal way, using the passive voice and the dummy subject 'it' (thus being silent about the authority of the person who made the case): “.h ah it's been put to the senate inquiry...”. At line 10, the IE repeats what he has said in lines 8-9 by using generic 'you': “if you ah .h if you reopen the east-west runway...”. This emphasises the sense of what he is saying as

being normal and typical (Sacks 1992:1:163-8). At line 11, the IE makes a qualification: “according to most of the evidence”, supporting what he is saying with impersonal and objective evidence (Laberge and Sankoff 1980: 280-1). From lines 8-12, the IE uses generic 'you' seven times, in an attempt to show that his point of view about these issues is widely held (Sacks 1992:1:163-8).

At line 13, the IE shifts the focus of his talk to: “any government” can do, continuing to make general statements, in keeping with the IE’s frequent use of generic 'you' in lines 8-12. The use of “any government” is directly linked to the preceding uses of generic 'you'. Generic 'you' refers to the Government, but also includes everyone. By using generic 'you' in this way, the IE is able to talk about the Government without being direct.

At line 14, the IE mentions one of the Government’s Ministers: “mister brereton indicated yesterday...” and at lines 14-15, “his government”. The use of ‘his’ to refer to the Government constructs Mr Brereton as affiliated with, but separates the IE from, the Government. By separating himself from the Government, the IE establishes sides in a debate. At line 15-18, the IE moves back to making generalisations about how the number of aircraft movements can be controlled, using generic 'you'. Generic 'you' is used five times. At lines 19-20, the IE concludes with another general comment, which includes ‘nobody’, invoking a sense that everyone is involved: “and therefore .h nobody is carrying (.) ‘n unfair share of the ↑burden”.

Generic 'you' enables the IE to construct his proposal about the Government as normal, while at the same time distancing himself from being specific about the Government. Generic 'you' also includes the IE, which means that the IE can imply that what he says is also his preferred course of action.

In Example 6.7, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot is interviewed during the 1996 Federal election campaign, about the Liberal Party’s proposal to

link the sale of Telstra to its environmental policy. The IE's response is presented in a combination of different voices in which the IE criticises the major parties and also represents the Democrats' position. The IE constructs multiple 'selves' invoked by 'I', 'we' and generic 'you'.

#### Example 6.7

[XIV: 8.2.96 ABC TV, lines 28-38]

- |    |       |                                                                                                  |
|----|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | M:KO  | okay you've had time now to reflect on ah on the liberals (0.3) ah <u>tying</u> of the           |
| 2  |       | telstra sale to their environmental policy. (0.3) you have been quite emphatic                   |
| 3  |       | up to this point about that although there was that slight <u>chink</u> (0.2) that if            |
| 4  |       | they could demonstrate public benefit by the sale of telstra.                                    |
| 5  | F:CK• | before you tied it to the en <sup>↑</sup> <u>viron</u> ment we said we'd never had the debate in |
| 6  | •     | this country=we've never had anybody pro:ve public benefit from any                              |
| 7  | •     | privatisations (.) .h the labor party's just led us down the track without <u>a:sking</u>        |
| 8  | •     | us .h but I think the environment nexus is unacceptable (.) democrats don't cross                |
| 9  | •     | trade (.) you don't say <u>ever</u> in parliament we'll vote for this if you give us             |
| 10 | •     | that=if you could be bought on one issue kerry (.) what's to say the next one you                |
| 11 | •     | can be bought on = it's a very important principle to us,                                        |

The basic pronominal structure of the IE's response can be divided in to six parts: first, 'we', invoking the IE's institutional identity as leader of the Democrats speaking about the Liberal Party as generic 'you'; second, the IE speaking as an individual expressing her opinion, invoked by 'I'; third, generic 'you' to make a generalisation about the Democrats' actions; fourth, 'we', the Democrats in a quotation addressing an oppositional party as 'you'; fifth, generic 'you' to make a generalisation; sixth, and finally, 'us' the Democrats.

At line 5, the IE refers to the time before the Liberal Party's proposal to tie the Telstra sale to the environmental policy: "before you tied it to the en<sup>↑</sup>vironment...". In this utterance, the IE refers to the Liberal Party with generic 'you'. This is an explicit link to the IR's comment at the beginning of the turn in

lines 1-2: “the liberals (0.3) ah tying of the telstra sale to their environmental policy”. Generic 'you' creates a ‘self’ and ‘other’ oppositional dichotomy between the Liberal Party and the Democrats. Generic 'you' enables the IE to make the point that what the Liberal Party is doing, is one of a number of similar attempts at privatisation by a political party. As such, the IE constructs the proposal of the Liberal Party as one that is unremarkable.

After a remark about the Liberal Party at line 5, the IE begins to talk about what ‘we’, the Democrats’ views on the privatisation of public assets are: “we said we'd never had the debate in this country—we've never had anybody prove public benefit from any privatisations”. Using ‘we’ enables the IE to make a collective response to the Liberal Party’s proposal. It also sets up an oppositional dichotomy between the Liberal Party, as generic 'you' and the Democrats as ‘we’.

At lines 7-8, the IE criticises the Labor Party: “.h the labor party's just led us down the track without asking us”. Again, the IE sets up an oppositional dichotomy, this time between the Labor Party and ‘us’, the community, who have not been consulted by the Labor Party.

At line 8, the IE criticises of the Liberal Party for tying the sale of Telstra to its environment policy: “but I think the environment nexus is unacceptable”. Here, ‘I’ indicates that it is now the IE, herself, who is personally criticising the Liberal Party. However, the criticisms that the IE has levelled at the Liberal Party between lines 6-8, are presented as both collective and individual criticisms. The IE takes on a collective and individual identity, to emphasise that the Liberal Party’s proposal is disliked not only by the Democrats, but by her personally, too.

At line 8-9, the IE speaks on behalf of the Democrats: “democrats don't cross trade” making it clear about to whom she is referring. This contrasts with the possible ambiguity of ‘we’ at lines 6-9. Following the comment about the Democrats’ stance on cross-trading in Parliament, the IE refers to Democrats in a quotation as generic



'you' at line 9: "you don't say ever in parliament". Generic 'you' enables the IE to construct the Democrats' stance as one that is common practice (Sacks 1992:1:163-8) thus giving more weight to the IE's argument (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1). At the end of line 9, the IE quotes what the Democrats "don't say ever in parliament": "we'll vote for this if you give us that". In the quote, the IE represents the Democrats as 'we'. This 'we' makes specific the identity of generic 'you' and 'you' plural refers to the Government.

At line 10-11, the IE makes another general statement about cross trading: "=if you could be bought on one issue kerry (.) what's to say the next one you can be bought on=". In this utterance, the IE uses generic 'you' to talk about the Democrats, creating the impression that what she is saying is of greater relevance than just to the Democrats because generic 'you' points to what is typical. At line 12, the IE ends the turn by referring to the Democrats as 'us': "it's a very important principle to us," shifting footing to speaking in her institutional identity as a representative of the Democrats.

The IE's turn can be thought of as an attempt to construct a picture of a good moral Democrats party in opposition to the other major parties who "haven't played fair". The opposition is created as the IE begins her turn by setting up a generic 'you', the Liberal Party, and 'we', the Democrats, opposition and then a Labor Party and 'us', the Democrats in opposition. Finally, the IE constructs the Democrats as a typically fair party, by using generic 'you' and 'we' and 'you', another party, distinction.

In Example 6.8, the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, is interviewed about the loss of the Labor seat in the Mundingburra Bi-election, which led to a change of Government from Labor to Liberal in Queensland.

#### Example 6.8

[VII: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 3-15]

- 1 M:KO      paul keading you: and wayne goss if we start with queensland have ah hardly  
 2              forged a close relationship over the years, (0.5) between federal and ah  
 3              queensland labor,=d' you accept any of the blame for what's gone wrong in  
 4              queensland.
- 5 M:PK•      (0.3) I think queensla:nd queensland's had ah (0.3) ah an opportunity to think  
 6 •              about this, (.) they knew wh't the bi-election meant, (0.2). they made a- a  
 7 •              fairly firm decision an' I think (0.5) wa:yne has ref- has reflected (0.3) well on  
 8              himself (0.5) ah accepting that judgement, (0.5) acting expeditiously, (0.2)  
 9 •              with integrity, (0.5) and I think a:h from the- from c'n I say from my part (0.5)  
 10 •              ah with admiration (0.3) I think there's something we can admire (0.5) the fact  
 11 •              that somebody has (0.3) accepted (0.3) the electorate's notion, (0.5) and ah  
 12 •              <made a decision>=whether he wanted to resign the leadership of course is his  
 13 •              own matter. (0.6) but I- I don't see it replete (0.5) I've never- I didn't see the  
 14 •              state election (0.3) replete with federal issues (.) ah and frankly I don't think  
 15              the queensland labor party did either.

The basic pronominal structure of the IE's turn alternates between 'I' and other pronouns: 'I' and 'they'; 'I' and 'himself'; 'I'; 'I' and 'we'; 'somebody' and 'he' and 'I'. Furthermore, the IE uses 'I' to express opinions five times in the form 'I think'. This reflects a presentation of the IE's answer as one that is a blend of both personal and others' perspectives.

At line 5, the IE begins his turn with 'I think', expressing his opinion about the Queensland Labor Government's response to the Bi-election loss. Expressing an opinion in this way, the IE avoids having to respond to the IR's direct question: "=d' you accept any of the blame for what's gone wrong in queensland." 'I think' represents a downgrading of commitment from the IE, enabling the IE to distance himself from the topic. Furthermore, the IE continues to try to shift away from the blame levelled at him, by talking about the Queensland's Labor Party's response: "queensla:nd queensland's had ah (0.3) ah an opportunity to think about this".

At line 6, the IE starts talking about the Queensland Labor Party as 'they' to make it clear that he is separated from 'them' (Sacks 1992:2:291), however, 'they' occurs

in the context of the IE praising the Queensland Labor Party, thus creating 'they' who is affiliated with the IE.

At line 7, the IE expresses an opinion with 'I think', this time talking about Wayne Goss' response. The use of 'I think' with "wayne" reiterates the IE's response as one in which his commitment to the propositions are downgraded. At line 9, the IE uses 'I think', this time emphasising that he is offering a personal opinion, using the first person pronoun three times: "I think a:h from the- from c'n I say from my part". 'My' is stressed to emphasise the personal nature of the response. The phrase 'can I say' is used to qualify what he is going to say and leads the listener to the IE's personal affiliation with his opinion using the possessive 'my' in "my part" (Sacks 1992:1:382-8, 605-9, 610-5).

At line 10, the IE offers another opinion formulated with 'I think': "I think there's something we can admire". This time the IE talks about what 'we' can admire, including himself in those who can admire him, but extending the admiration to a group larger than himself, that is, a collective. Using 'we' upgrades his opinion from an individual to a collective one, thus giving more weight to what he is saying (Sacks 1992:1:169-174, 333-340, 568-577). This 'we' is clearly doing more than just referring to a particular group of people: the IE uses it as a resource to upgrade his answer from an individual to a collective one, thus presenting his argument as unviolable (Sacks 1992:1:169-174, 333-340, 568-577)

At lines 10-11, the IE makes a generalisation about Wayne Goss' response, talking about him as 'somebody': "the fact that somebody has (0.3) accepted (0.3) the electorate's notion, (0.5) and ah <made a decision>". Using 'somebody' to refer to an already specified person makes it into a more general principle rather than a specific instance. This accomplishes two things: first, it depersonalises the reference to Wayne Goss, making him one of a category; and second, it reinforces the pattern of moving from personal to impersonal.

At lines 12-13, the IE talks about Wayne as 'he' to personalise the talk. 'He' is more personal than 'somebody' but less personal and more distant than using 'Wayne'. When the IE talks about the issue being: "his own matter", the IE is suggesting that the problem belongs to Wayne Goss. The effect of this is to distance the IE from responsibility.

At line 13, the IE summarises what he has been saying using "I don't see..." and "I didn't see...". First, he gives his opinion at lines 13-14, "but I- I don't see it replete (0.5) I've never- I didn't see the state election (0.3) replete with federal issues" and then proffers an opinion about what the Queensland Labor Party thought, mirroring his own opinion. The shift from expressing his own opinion to offering an opinion about the Queensland Labor Party, is another distancing from self.

In Example 6.9, Senator Pam Allen is interviewed about a report on environmental reform written by Mr Geoff Angel (referred to as 'he' in line 1). At lines 1-3, 5 and 7, the IR raises the issue of the involvement of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and industry to the exclusion of the public.

#### Example 6.9

[XIII: 3.10.95 ABC TV, lines 62-75]

- |   |       |                                                                                             |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:AO  | another thing he points out though is that when there are these considerations              |
| 2 |       | about a a licence to pollute as he puts it the- .hh there's just the <u>e</u> -p-a: (.) and |
| 3 |       | industry sitting dow[n and no one else                                                      |
| 4 | F:PA  | [mm                                                                                         |
| 5 | M:AO  | [there's-the public's excluded [we've got an interest in that                               |
| 6 | F:PA  | m[m .hh[hh                                                                                  |
| 7 | M:AO  | [haven't we?                                                                                |
| 8 | F:PA• | [hha. we certainly <u>have</u> and ah and that I think reflects on the former               |
| 9 |       | conservative <u>g</u> overnment .hh one of the policy commitments of the labor party's      |

- 10 •           been to make that a far more public process and we're- we are going to involve  
 11           the community at the time of those licence approvals and renewals. .hh and ah  
 12           getting the licences in the first place .h that's something that the e-p-a knows,  
 13 •           is one their agenda, .h and they're working to include that in their reform of  
 14           the environment protection laws that's currently going on.

The pronominal structure of the IE's response to the IR's question at lines 8-14, incorporates a shift from 'we' (the public), to 'I' (the individual), to 'we' (the Labor Party) to 'they' (the Environmental Protection Agency).

At lines 5 and 7, the IR uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to a group (the public) who have been excluded in discussions about the environment. By using 'we' the IR makes an explicit link to the IR's 'we' at line 8, invoking a group whose membership includes both himself as the IR, and the IE, amongst the public. In this way, the IE affiliates herself with the public and the IR, thus aligning herself with the IR. By using 'we', the IE constructs an image of herself as one of the public and as someone concerned about public involvement in environmental issues.

At line 8, the IE gives her opinion formulated with 'I think', attributing the public's exclusion to: "the former conservative government". The IE's opinion about the former government, which she describes as "conservative" contrasts with her positive description of the Labor Party of which she is a member at lines 9-11: ".hh one of the policy commitments of the labor party's been to make that a far more public process and we're- we are going to involve the community at the time of those licence approvals and renewals." After the IE's positive introduction to the Labor Party: ".hh one of the policy commitments of the labor party's been to make that a far more public process", the IE uses 'we' to talk more about the Labor Party. Using 'we' in this position, enables the IE to clearly identify herself as one who is affiliated with the Labor Party, a group she has constructed as one which is doing things which are beneficial to the public.

At lines 12-14, the IE talks about the Environmental Protection Agency's role in the implementation of public policy: ".h that's something that the e-p-a knows, is one their agenda, .h and they're working to include that in their reform of the environment protection laws that's currently going on." By referring to the Environmental Protection Agency as 'they', a sense of 'other' is invoked, excluding 'I' from the group (Sacks 1992:2:291). 'The use of they' enables the IE to separate herself from the Environmental Protection Agency. By invoking a 'we' and 'they' distinction, the IE delineates the responsibilities of the Labor Party and the Environmental Protection Agency. In this context, in which the IE speaks favourably about the Environmental Protection Agency, an affiliative relationship is set up between 'we' (the Labor Party) and 'they' (the Environmental Protection Agency).

In sum, all the pronouns used in Example 6.9 in the IE's turn – 'we', 'I', 'we' and 'they' construct a positive image of the IE and the groups with which she is affiliated with, namely, the public, the Labor Party and the Environmental Protection Agency.

Examples 6.6-6.9 show a range of different constructions of 'self' and 'other'. In Example 6.6, the IE uses generic 'you' to construct a picture of the Government and his proposal for it as typical. When the IE makes supporting claims about what a Senate inquiry has found, he associates himself with this by constructing himself as part of this group 'we'. In Example 6.7, the IE constructs herself as a representative of the Democrats who are a fair party using 'I', 'we' and generic 'you' in contrast to the opposition she constructs with generic 'you' and 'you' plural. In Example 6.8, the IE constructs himself as 'I' using 'I think'. In Example 6.9, the IE portrays the Government and other groups of which she is a part in a positive light, using 'I', 'we' and 'they' in an affiliative context. In referring to the Opposition, the IE describes them as "the former conservative government", highlighting the difference between her supposedly "forward-looking" party and the "backward-looking" Liberal Party.

Examples 6.6-6.9 have in common the construction of a positive 'self' by the IE exploiting the flexibility of pronouns to accomplish this. In these examples, one pronoun is not always used in a particular situation and context has a significant influence on the choice of pronouns (Malone 1997:59, Watson 1987 and Sacks 1992: 1 and 2, Goodwin 1996). These positive 'selves' are accomplished by the use of different pronouns – 'I', 'we', and 'you' – within contexts that refer to positive actions and contributions of the IE.

### 6.5 Shifting footings to achieve multiple 'selves' and others

Another way that politicians construct different identities is through changing footings (Goffman 1974, 1981) and pronouns are pivotal in this. In the following examples the IEs animate different voices, using pronouns to signal the change (Malone 1997: 58-59).

In Example 6.10, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot, is interviewed about the Democrats' response to the Government's budget proposal. The IE animates the Government using a quotation.

#### Example 6.10

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 71-77]

- |   |       |                                                                                      |
|---|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL  | well on the basis of what you've heard <u>so</u> : fa:r, ah how do you think the     |
| 2 |       | democrats will respond to the budget.                                                |
| 3 |       | (0.4)                                                                                |
| 4 | F:CK• | .h well we'll respond the way we always have constructively and swiftly and          |
| 5 | •     | decisively=we've done our homework .h we know what sort of tests we wanto            |
| 6 | •     | apply but the government can't have it both ways=they can't <u>pretend</u> there's a |
| 7 | •     | process of consultation going and then say afterwards .h you haven't played          |
| 8 |       | fair.                                                                                |

The IE's turn can be divided according to two different voices and the pronominal structure. In the first part, the IE speaks on behalf of the Democrats and uses 'we' to refer to them, and 'they' to refer to the Government, setting up an oppositional dichotomy between the Democrats and the Government. In the second part of the turn, the IE takes on the voice of the Government and addresses the Democrats as 'you' plural in a quotation, again setting up an oppositional dichotomy between the Democrats and the Government

In the first part, the IE responds to the IR's question about how the Democrats will respond to the budget (lines 1-2), using 'we' five times between lines 4-5. In all uses of 'we', the IE describes positive actions associated with the Democrats: "constructively and swiftly and decisively", "we've done our homework .h we know what sort of tests we want to apply". The frequent use of 'we' emphasises that the IE is responding in her institutional identity (Sacks 1992:1:391), and the association of 'we' with positive attributes (see Chapter 3 on 'we') creates a picture of the Democrats as an active and watchful party.

In contrast to the IE's picture of the Democrats as a "good" political party, the IE speaks critically about the Government at lines 6-7: "the government can't have it both ways=they can't pretend there's a process of consultation going and then say afterwards". At line 6, the IE refers to the Government as 'they' setting up an oppositional 'us and them' distinction between the Democrats and the Government. At lines 7-8, the IE intensifies the criticism of the Government by animating the Government's response to the Democrats: ".h you haven't played fair.". In the quote, the IE's party – the Democrats – is addressed as 'you', becoming the oppositional 'other'. By using 'you' in quotes, the IE constructs the Democrats as a party which is being victimised by the Government. This quote also suggests that the Government is deceptive and retaliatory. This contrasts with



the initial picture that the IE created of the Democrats as a good party between lines 4-6.

Within the turn the IE uses both 'we' and 'you' to refer to the Democrats. 'You' is not usually used to talk about the IE, but in the voice of the IE quoting the Government, 'you' is used in this way. By using both 'we' and 'you' to refer to the same party, the IE creates two perspectives of the Democrats. The first is from the point of view of the IE, and is a positive picture of an active political party. The second is as a party that is criticised by a Government which is pretending that it is consulting with other political parties.

In Example 6.11, the Federal Minister for Health, Dr Carmen Lawrence is interviewed about the Labor Government's health insurance policies. This example, too, shows how pronouns can be used in different footings to achieve different identities.

#### Example 6.11

[XVI: 16.2.96 ABC TV, lines 15-25]

- |    |       |                                                                                                          |
|----|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | M:KO  | but the principle is exactly the sa[me that you are- that you are                                        |
| 2  |       | offering] you are offering <u>concessions</u> to <u>australian families</u> (.) to attract <u>more</u> , |
| 3  |       | <either <u>into</u> for the first ti:me, or <u>back</u> into pri:vate health insurance which is          |
| 4  |       | <u>exactly</u> what john <u>howard's</u> doing.>                                                         |
| 5  | F:CL• | <u>that's</u> not what it's <u>designed</u> to do it's designed to assist family with their              |
| 6  | •     | health care <u>costs</u> ¿.h and for most of them they'll stay with the public system                    |
| 7  | •     | and they'll purchase those services directly.                                                            |
| 8  | •     | .h but we couldn't <u>penalise</u> those people who had private health insurance .h                      |
| 9  | •     | so we're saying if you've <u>taken</u> the move to insure privately .h to purchase                       |
| 10 | •     | things like dental and allied health services¿.h then you're entitled to the                             |
| 11 |       | <u>same</u> (.) <u>cash</u> rebate=it's not a tax rebate,= it's a direct cash <u>payment</u> .           |

The IE's response can be divided into two parts, according to a shift in the pronominal structure. The first part of the IE's turn consists of the IE referring to the people of Australia as 'they' (lines 5-7). This contrasts with the next section which consists of a distinction between 'we' the Government, and 'you' the people, who are being addressed by 'we' the Government (lines 8-9). Within the topic of the IE's turn, about the Government's proposal about private health insurance, it is the pronouns which mark the change in representation of the people and the Government, namely, 'self' and 'other' (Malone 1997: 62).

In the IE's turn, the IE talks about how different groups of Australian people will respond to the new private health insurance policy. At line 6, the IE sets up ones of these groups of Australians, by demarcating them as "most of them", that is, the group who will "stay with the public system". The IE then uses 'they' to refer to this group. At lines 6 and 7, the IE describes how they will respond: "they'll stay with the public system and they'll purchase those services directly". The IE speaks positively about this group of people, creating an affiliative context in which to embed 'they'. This enables the IE to create an affiliation with the people and an impression that she has these people's interests at heart.

After talking about how 'they' (lines 5-7) were going to respond to the new health initiative, the IE talks about another group of people at line 8: "those people who had private health insurance". The IE talks about this group how her Government would respond to this group at line 8: ".h but we couldn't penalise those people who had private health insurance", portraying the Government as a compassionate and caring Government. The establishment of this second group, defined by their having private health insurance, contrasts with the establishment of the first group of people, which is set up as: "most of them", that is, most Australians. The contrast, highlights that the first group (lines 5-7) is the majority, and the second group (line 9) is the minority.

At line 9, the IE introduces a shift in footing, now quoting what her Government is proposing to “those people”: “so we're saying if you've taken the move to insure privately”. In this utterance, the IE talks to the people as a representative of the Government, invoking her institutional identity by using ‘we’ (Sacks 1992:1:391). The IE then addresses the people as ‘you’ to accomplish two things. First, the quotation mimics the IE addressing the people, thus creating an impression that the Government is directly engaged with these people. Second, the IE makes a contrast between the group of people whom she referred to in lines 5-7, by addressing them, rather than referring to them. Furthermore, the IE talks about this group’s actions in a positive light, referring to their actions as ‘taking a move’ at line 9: “if you've taken the move to insure privately...”. This positive reference, in conjunction with the IE’s addressing of this group, as though the Government were speaking personally to them, has the effect of making the Government appear to care. The people who have already insured privately are potentially in a position to be disadvantaged since they have not received compensation from the Government which is planning to give a cash rebate to those people who insure privately.

In Example 6.12, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot, is being interviewed about tax cuts that the Government is proposing. This example reveals some anomalous uses of the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘you’. Contrary to traditionally expected uses of group membership and distancing by pronouns, ‘we’ is used to distance the speaker from the content of the speech and ‘you’ for affiliation. Furthermore, both ‘we’ and ‘you’ are used to refer to the same referent. These pronouns are pivotal in the creation of different levels of communication. An analysis of this talk reveals some hitherto unresearched and striking uses of pronouns.

Example 6.12

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 19-33]

- 1 M:PL [wha]t tax cuts,  
 2 you mean the ones that we were promised at the last=  
 3 F:CK =hh.=  
 4 M:PL =election=the se[cond half of them that's disappeared=  
 5 F:CK [that's right] h. =that's right but here's  
 6 • the ultimate way to deliver it .hh <here's the tax cut which y'really can't  
 7 • have because we're compelling you to save it for the  
 8 • future but you got it anyway=just remember that when you don't see  
 9 ((monotonous voice, not as much pitch variation, more rhythmical speech))  
 10 • it. > (0.2) .hh if it's linked to those tax cuts (0.2).hh then a:h there's no telling  
 11 • if that will flow on to further wage demands (0.2).h if it does then they could  
 12 • lose up to a quar:ter of what they're proposing that they will- that they will  
 13 • make out of this so .hh I THINK THE FIGURES ARE a little bit dubious.

At line 2, the IR refers to the people of Australia, by using 'we' including himself and the IE. The effect of this is to set up an 'us and them' distinction where 'we' is a group that includes the IR and the IE and 'them' is the Government. By using 'we' in this way, the IR reflects an alignment with the Australian people and does not display the preferred neutral footing of an interviewer (Clayman 1992).

The IE begins her reply to the question with the announcement of what is to follow, animating her addressing IE 'self' (Goffman 1974, 1981). She then shifts footing to animating the Government by quoting. To accomplish this change she uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to the Government and generic 'you' to refer to the people of Australia who will experience tax cuts. In this footing, 'we' is used as a distancing mechanism rather than to indicate affiliation as would traditionally be expected. The IE is also affiliated with the group of people who will be affected by tax cuts, invoked by generic 'you'. This change of footing to animating the Government at lines 6-10, is also marked at the beginning (line 6) and end (line 10) by an inbreath with no breath at the transition relevance place in the middle. The animation of the Government creates a picture of the Government in the moment of discourse, as one that the IE is distant from.

At lines 10-11, the IE changes footing back to her own voice and makes an evaluation of the proposed tax cuts: “if it's linked to those tax cuts (0.2) .hh then a:h there's no telling if that will flow on to further wage demands”. At line 11, the IE introduces the Government, as ‘they’: “if it does then they could lose up to a quarter of what they’re proposing that they will- that they will make out of this”. In this utterance the IE describes the negative consequences of the Government’s proposed tax change, thus creating a picture of the Government as one associated with failure. ‘They’ is implicitly in opposition to those affected by the change.

At line 13, the IE finishes her turn by making a personal evaluation: “so .hh I THINK THE FIGURES ARE a little bit dubious.” This personal evaluation is signalled by ‘I think’ and represents the IE voicing her own opinion. This segment contrasts with the previous segments in which the IE voices the Government and then talks about ‘them’.

In Example 6.13, the Leader of the Democrats, Senator Cheryl Kernot, is interviewed about the Government’s proposal to give women a lump sum maternity payment.

### Example 6.13

[IX: 24.4.95 ABC TV, lines 42-51]

- |   |       |                                                                                            |
|---|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | M:PL  | (0.5) .hh then what of the idea of a means tested lump sum payment to women                |
| 2 |       | who have babies.                                                                           |
| 3 |       | (0.3)                                                                                      |
| 4 | F:CK• | °ye:h well° (0.3) .h another <u>cute</u> idea isn't it (0.1) you know .hh. (0.4) one year  |
| 5 | •     | ago: (0.2) announced we're going to do marvellous things for maternity                     |
| 6 | •     | allowance for women,=this is something y' know constructive that we can do: to             |
| 7 | •     | help women juggle .h work and family, .hh <and then you find'll maybe you                  |
| 8 | •     | can't afford it afterwards so you> <u>cla:w</u> it back (0.3) .h and you go on a- a public |

- 9 • relations exercise of a >lump sum< now .h I think that is a >really cheap  
 10 trick< and it does very little to extend the notion of >legitimate allowable<  
 11 maternity leave in the private sector.

The IE's turn can be divided into four parts according to pronominal structure and footing. The first part is the IE giving her personal opinion at line 4. The second part is the IE voicing the Government, invoked by 'we' from lines 4-7. The third part is the voice of a distant narrator, who speaks about the Government with generic 'you' from lines 7-9. The final part from lines 9-11 is the IE giving her personal opinion, marked by the pronoun 'I' in 'I think'. This return to the same footing as the beginning of the turn, reflects the general pattern of footings being parenthetical (Goffman 1974, 1981).

The first part of the IE's response to the question mirrors the footing of the question which elicits an opinion from the IE. The IE gives a sarcastic evaluation of the situation calling it a "cute idea" (line 4). Furthermore, she uses the tag question format, but not to elicit an answer from the interviewer. The intonation of the tag is different from that of a tag which is eliciting a response and in which the intonation is falling. In this use of the tag, there is no change in the intonation from before the tag. She also does not pause to wait for an answer indicating that she has not intended it to be a tag question. The use of the tag strengthens the sarcasm of the previous phrase "another cute idea" but also suggests that the IE does not want to elicit a response from the IR.

At line 4, the IE changes footing to animate the Government, using a quotation. She accomplishes this by using 'we' to refer to the Government and paints a picture of the promises using words like "marvellous" and "constructive" at lines 5 and 6, exaggerating what it has done. However, here 'we' is used to distance the IE from the Government and not to show membership of a group and is pivotal in creating this change in footing. This use of 'we' is different to explanations of 'we' which explains it as a marker of group membership and affiliation. In this example, the IE

is doing the opposite of affiliating – she is distancing herself from a group of people.

At lines 7-9, the IE then changes her footing to animate a distant narrator who speaks about the Government as generic 'you'. This footing also refers to the Government because she has just been talking about what the Government said it was doing a year ago and then proceeds to continue reporting what it was going to do after that by saying "and then" at line 7. This use of generic 'you' here constructs the Government and its promises in a more typical way. Using generic 'you' to refer to the Government gives the impression that the government typically make and break its promises. It is not just one instance that is occurring which would be implied if she had referred to the Government as 'they'.

Both of the abovementioned sections from lines 4-7 and lines 7-9 are talk about the Government. The first creates a picture of a Government making promises and the second a picture of a Government not able to fulfil their promises. What is noteworthy here is that the difference between the two pictures of the Government in these two sections is more strikingly contrasted by the unexpected use of the pronouns 'we' and 'you'.

The IE finishes her turn by evaluating the situation that she has just described animating her individual 'self' at lines 9-11: "I think that is a really cheap trick and it does very little to extend the notion of legitimate allowable maternity leave in the private sector". Her choice of the words "really cheap trick" are in keeping with the nuance of the words "cute idea" which portray the Government's actions as silly.

Examples 6.10-6.13 reveal some striking uses of pronouns, in which "sequential context" (Malone 1997:59), including changes of footings, enables the listener to unravel the referent of and identity work being done by the pronoun. In Example 6.10, the IE, the leader of the Democrats, takes on the voice of the Government speaking to the Democrats, who are referred to as 'you'. The use of 'you' here gives

the IE and the Democrats the identity of those being victimised. In Example 6.11, the IE is the Health Minister, who refers to two different groups of people affected by the new health proposal. One group, not affected by the proposal, is referred to as 'they'. The other group is addressed as 'you' as the IE takes on the voice of the Government addressing them. In this way, pronouns are used to distinguish between two groups, traditionally expected to be referred to as 'they'. The groups are distinguished from each other as the group talked about and referred to as 'they' and the group that is spoken to, being addressed by 'you'. The effect of 'talking about' and 'talking to' in this context is to treat the group referred to as 'they' as normal and the group addressed as 'you' as worthy of the special attention of being spoken to.

In Example 6.12, the IE, as Leader of the Democrats, refers to the same Government as both 'we' and 'they' in the same turn. The effect of using 'we' in this context, is as a distancing mechanism, contrary to the understanding of 'we' to signal group membership and affiliation. 'They' is also used as a distancing mechanism, to indicate that the Government is an oppositional 'other'. In addition, the IE refers to "the people" as 'you' plural in which she is included. This use of 'you' differs from 'you' as a term to addressing the listener because the IE is also included in the referent.

In Example 6.13, the IE as leader of the Democrats, refers to the same Government as both 'we' and generic 'you'. 'We' is used as a distancing mechanism and does not indicate the IE's affiliation with the Government, contrary to traditional expectations. Generic 'you', refers to the Government, in the voice of a distant narrator. It does not include the IE, but creates a negative picture of a Government which typically makes mistakes.

In Examples 6.10-6.13, the IE integrates changes of footing (Goffman 1974, 1981) and pronouns which results in the use of pronouns in a 'new' and previously unexplored way. In these examples, 'we' does not include the speaker as a means



of affiliation but is used as a distancing mechanism. Similarly, generic 'you' does not include the speaker but is used to categorise the Government (which is not the IE's political party) as one that makes the kinds of mistakes that all Governments typically do. 'You' plural is used to include the IE, not as one who is addressed by the speaker. From these examples it can be seen that inclusion and exclusion of the speaker and hearer, and what is being accomplished by the pronoun, cannot be assumed without considering the "sequential context" (Malone 1997:59).

## 6.6 Conclusion

Politicians construct 'self' and 'other' by using pronouns as a resource. The construction of 'self' and 'other', or the "identity work" (Malone 1997) that gets done is the construction of a 'good' 'self' (Wiesner 1991) and the construction of an 'other'. In the context of political interviews, this is particularly relevant to the politician's task of creating a positive image of him/herself and his/her party.

When expressing individual and collective selves, IEs use the pronouns 'I' and 'we' respectively. When 'I' and 'we' are used, their main function is to construct the 'self' as a 'good' politician and as a representative of a 'good' political party. 'I', 'we' and generic 'you' are used when IEs defend 'self' against criticism from the IRs to reconstruct a good 'self'. The addition of generic 'you' in these contexts enables IEs to create an image of a typical, and therefore, acceptable 'self' and party.

The IE also constructs good 'selves' and various 'other', depending on the relationship of the IE to the 'other'. In Example 6.6, the IE constructs an upright 'self' and a deceitful 'other'. In contrast, in Example 6.7, the IE constructs a 'self' that is active and involved with the community, affiliated with an 'other' who is working hard to achieve the best for the public. In Example 6.8, the IE constructs a 'self' that is reflective and 'others' who have acted thoughtfully and with integrity, affiliated with 'self'. In Example 6.9, the IE constructs a 'self' that is associated with

the Senate inquiry, and makes suggestions to the Government by using generic 'you', to construct a picture of how the Government should be if it were to act in accordance with the IE's suggestions. Through generic 'you', the IE also "incidentally" constructs a typical 'self', that is, 'self' as a typical member of a category (Sacks 1992:1:163-8).

In conjunction with different footings, the IE constructs good 'selves' and bad 'others' using a variety of pronouns in ways that differ from past analyses of pronouns. In Example 6.10, the IE constructs a picture of her political party as a constructive and well-prepared party and a deceitful and unfair 'other'. In the voice of the IE, she invokes her institutional identity with 'we', constructing a picture of a 'good' party but later in the turn, takes on the voice of the Government addressing her political party as 'you' in a retaliatory voice. By using different pronouns the IE constructs a picture of her party from two different perspectives: her own and that of the Government. 'You' is used to refer to 'self' as the bullied one.

In Example 6.11, the IE uses 'they' to refer to a part of the public who will not be adversely affected by the proposed changes to Health, but 'you' to address those who will. Here, the pronouns coincide with a change in voice by the IE as a person reporting about the first group of people to the overhearing audience, to the IE as someone speaking directly to the second group of people, to mimic more intimate speech in which the people are addressed. In Example 6.12, the IE animates the Government and constructs herself as part of the public, invoked by generic 'you' who are being treated unfairly by 'we' (the Government). 'We' is used as a distancing mechanism and does not include the IE.

In Example 6.13, the IE again takes on the voice of the Government, invoked by 'we', constructing it as a Government which is speaking about its supposed intentions to give women maternity allowance. 'We' here serves to distance the IE from the Government. In contrast to this, the IE takes on the voice of a more distant

narrator using generic 'you' to refer to the Government, this time conjuring up a picture of a Government which typically finds that it does not have enough money to carry out its promises.

The examples in this chapter show that pronouns must be understood in terms of what is being done with them in the context of naturally-occurring talk, rather than as a set of pronouns with fixed references (Sacks 1992: Volumes 1 and 2, Schegloff 1996 and Watson 1987). In one example, 'you' is used to address the public, and create an image of a Government talking directly with those people affected by the changes. In another instance, 'you' refers to the speaker and her political party, and creates an image of a party that is being bullied by the Government. 'We' is used to refer to a variety of groups that are affiliated with 'self', and on other occasions distanced from 'self'. Generic 'you' is used variously to include and exclude 'self' and to create pictures of typical members.

Politicians' identities are invoked by politicians, reflecting the variety of identities that are particular to that politician. The pronouns show the identities of 'self' as an individual, 'self' as a member of a collective, including the politician's own political party and the people of Australia but also collectives to which the politician belongs in a particular situation. 'Self' is as many-faceted as a politician constructs and the politician can draw on any of these 'selves' to create a picture of a 'self' relevant to that context. 'Other' is created in relation to 'self' and varies between oppositional and affiliative 'other'. These different combinations of 'self' and 'other' are used as a means of creating a picture of the politician's version of reality in a particular moment of discourse.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

In this chapter, the main findings of the thesis will be presented and the question of what politicians are doing with 'I', 'we', 'you' and 'they' addressed. First, a summary of the findings of each pronoun and then pronouns as they occur in sequence will be presented. It will be argued that pronouns are being used by politicians in the construction of 'self' and 'other' and that politicians exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to do this. Furthermore, pronouns can be used by politicians, in ways contrary to traditional expectations, to construct their versions of reality (Goffman 1981).

Politicians use 'I' (and other related first person singular pronouns) to represent themselves as individual politicians. The response of the politician as an individual invoked by 'I', is in keeping with one of the central tasks of politicians – to speak about issues from their individual perspective (Clayman 1988). When an individual response is called for 'I' is the obvious pronoun to use if the interviewee wants to make claims about him/herself.

The pronoun 'I' is used to construct a favourable image of the interviewee as an individual and is integrally related to how a politician does "being a good politician". This is accomplished in such contexts as the interviewee talking about his/her positive personal qualities and accomplishments – personal attributes and actions, expressions of authority and a good track record that equate to being a good politician.

A common use of 'I' in these political interviews is 'I think'. 'I think' occurs with both D-events (events that are disputable) and A-events (events which are about the speaker). When 'I think' is used with D-events, politicians can use 'I think' to position themselves in agreement or disagreement with certain information, that is, to express an opinion. This use is attributable to the role of politicians to make known their views on certain issues (Clayman 1988:476). The second and more striking use of 'I think' is when it is used with an A-event.

In such cases it may appear that politicians are giving evaluations about their own personal knowledge. However, politicians do not use 'I think' to give an opinion about something only they know about. Rather, they use 'I think' to distance themselves from saying something about themselves that they do not want to claim knowledge of or responsibility for. In this use politicians position themselves at a distance from their actions enabling them to downgrade their commitment to their own actions and avoid questions. This means they lessen their risk of being seen in an unfavourable light and potential damage to themselves is minimised. This use is in keeping with one of the goals of the interviewee to maintain and construct of a good image of him/herself (Putnis and Petelins 1996).

'We' (and other related first person plural forms) is central in the construction of identities of politicians as members of groups and can be used to invoke a collective identity or group membership which politicians want to make salient at the time. Here, 'we' can be used to invoke a politician's "institutional identity"; to establish an 'us and them' dichotomy and affiliate with the public. Politicians may also invoke collective identities invoked by 'we', to deflect individual attention or simply to present issues as collective rather than individual ones.

Within the context of political interviews politicians may have different collective identities that they can call on in the process of constructing a picture of themselves. Indeed, these different collective identities may be subsets of each other, in which case an embedded membership is created (Liddicoat et al. 1999). However, what is important here is that politicians are presenting collective responses to issues rather than indicating who the particular referents might be. Thus, it is not the referent of 'we' that is important so much as the effect that is achieved by presenting 'self' as a part of a collective identity.

In addition to these uses of 'we', the collective membership of 'we' can be taken advantage of and used in phrases such as 'we all', 'all of us', and 'every one of

us'. These uses draw on the collective membership invoked by 'we' and 'us' and add another dimension by dissolving the potential ambiguity of who is included in the group invoked by 'we' and 'us'. Another use of 'we' which draws on the collective membership of 'we', but which does not refer to first person plural, is in the phrase 'we have'. In this particular use, 'we have' is used as a personalised substitute for the impersonal existential marker 'there is' and is used to present issues as collective. It is used when talking about a situation which would normally be thought of as impersonal, that is, not having the direct involvement of people, to construct it as one that is personal and affects people.

'We' is also used in a way contrary to traditional expectations of group affiliation or membership. In this striking use, politicians use 'we' in quotative talk to animate groups to which they do not belong. In such contexts, 'we' does not refer to a politician or any group with whom s/he is affiliated. Rather, 'we' is used to distance politicians from the group invoked by 'we'. Here, 'we' is pivotal in the change of footing to the animation of a group to whom the interviewee does not belong, showing that pronouns are integrally involved in the creation of interactional structures and "identity coordinates" beyond category membership of the speaker (Malone 1997:76).

The use of 'you' (and other related second person pronouns) in these political interviews also shows that determining who 'you' refers to and what 'you' does is more complicated than simply addressing the listener. 'You' singular does not simply refer to the addressee. In these political interviews 'you' singular is associated with disagreement and is implicated in the change of the participation framework. It can be exploited as a means of shifting the interviewee and interviewer from the conventional institutionalised identities to two people engaged in mundane conversation (Greatbatch 1985, 1988, 1991, 1992, Heritage 1985).

Generic 'you' is also closely linked to politicians' presentation of a favourable image of themselves and can be used when they evaluate a situation or event. By using generic 'you', interviewees can construct an argument as a general one or a person as a typical member of a category. This enables the interviewee to present 'self' as someone who has views that appear to be more widely held and is a way of giving more weight to the interviewee's argument and thus, is a means to defend his/her views (Laberge and Sankoff 1980:280-1, Sacks 1992:1:350). Generic 'you' can also be used to represent a particular person or group and occurs where an interviewee has been asked about something for which s/he is responsible. In such cases, the 'self' or 'group' is presented as a 'self' or 'group' that is typical, thus minimising the potential damage to the person/people invoked by generic 'you'. By using generic 'you' in these kinds of situations, 'self' is distanced from responsibility and politicians are able to avoid potential damage to their image.

'You' is also used to animate someone other than the addressee, either in quotative talk or in an animation of another person or people's talk. In these kinds of contexts, 'you' can be used to refer to a wide range of referents depending on the author of the talk. When politicians use 'you' to animate someone other than the addressee, 'you' does not necessarily include everyone. Rather, it can be used to distance politicians from a group of people. Thus, this use of 'you' goes beyond the use of generic 'you' that includes everyone (Sacks 1992:1:165-6).

'They' (and other related third person plural pronouns) is used in these political interviews to identify an 'other'; in particular, to distinguish the interviewee, either as an individual or a member of a collective, from an 'other'. 'They' occurs in a continuum of linguistic contexts ranging from oppositional, through neutral to affiliative. When politicians use 'they' in these different contexts they can construct a picture of an 'other' in terms of their different relationships to the 'other'. 'They' is also used to obscure identity by the use of its categorial property or to create unspecific groups of people. In such uses,

what is salient is that an 'other' has been constructed, rather than the specification of the referent.

The analysis of the individual pronouns revealed the construction of identities in the moment of discourse. In the final analysis chapter, all the pronouns that were studied individually in chapters two to five, were studied as they occurred in sequence, highlighting the construction of the shifting identities of politicians and 'others' within a turn. In other words, politicians use pronouns to indicate shifts between their individual and varied collective 'selves' and 'others'. Thus, this chapter revealed how subtle shifts from one pronoun to another pronoun create a multitude of perspectives of the politician's world within one turn.

The shifts between the different identities invoked by pronouns in sequence were as many and varied as the different politicians but a number of patterns of use were evident. First, politicians shifted between their individual and collective identities invoked by 'I' and 'we'. The alternation between 'I' and 'we' reflects a shift between two of the IE's most salient identities as a politician, both individual and collective identities. After representing themselves as individuals, the interviewees choose to identify with a particular group, by using 'we', to present themselves as more than an individual.

Second, combinations of the pronouns 'I', 'we' and generic 'you' to express a variety of individual and different collective identities were common. This particular combination of pronouns reflects a shift of identity from the interviewee as an individual to the interviewee as a member of a particular collective and then as a part of 'everyone'. This shift in pronouns from 'self' to 'everyone' occurs when the interviewee has been criticised by the interviewer and wants to justify his/her position. The effect of moving from 'I' to 'we' to generic 'you' enables the politician to construct a stronger position avoiding potential damage to their image, by virtue of moving from 'self' to the 'group to 'everyone'.



In addition to these combinations of pronouns, the pronoun 'they' to express a variety of 'others' was used with the pronouns 'I', 'we' and generic 'you', highlighting the complexities of the relationships between the different 'selves' and 'others'. In these examples politicians use pronouns to alternate between their different individual 'selves' and collective 'selves' and 'others'. Here, the purpose is to create a positive picture of the different 'selves' and a variety of different 'others' ranging from 'others' that the interviewee affiliates him/herself with and 'others' that the interviewee distances him/herself from.

The multiple use of pronouns in sequences shows that, in the same way as pronouns can be used by politicians to construct identities relevant in a particular moment of discourse, shifts from one pronoun to another represent the construction of their identity as a shifting one (Malone 1997, Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1978:30). This use of pronouns reflects the reality of multiple selves (Ochs and Capps 1996); politicians are not static selves but embody many changing selves.

In addition to these abovementioned uses, this study reveals some striking uses of pronouns used to construct politicians' multiple 'selves' and 'others'. In combination with different footings, politicians can use pronouns in ways that are contrary to traditional expectations. Pronouns that are typically associated with group membership, like 'we', can be used in contexts in which membership is not implied. Instead, 'we' may be used to distance 'self' from the group being invoked by 'we'. Similarly, generic 'you' can be used so as not to include the speaker but to categorise an 'other' group in a particular way. Here, pronouns are pivotal in the change of footings and creation of the distinction between different 'selves' and 'others'. Furthermore, when the uses of these pronouns are examined, it is clear that the referents do not correspond to traditional uses of pronouns. Rather, politicians are exploiting the flexibility of pronominal use to present different identities which can only be understood in the context of the talk.

The context that must be taken into consideration in order to understand the talk is the “sequential context” (Malone 1997:59), the surrounding linguistic context (Drew and Heritage 1992 and Schiffrin 1994) and an understanding of the broader context of Australian politics (Cicourel 1992, Goffman 1974, Malinowski 1923 and Ochs 1979) which enables the listener to identify the referent of, and identity work being done by, pronouns. The level of context taken into consideration is critical for understanding the use of pronouns. In some cases the referent of the pronoun is clear from the sequential or immediately surrounding context, but in other cases the listener has to draw on an understanding of who is who in Australian politics, and knowledge of the people being talked about in the interviews.

In conclusion, the use of pronouns in these political interviews show that politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct different identities of ‘selves’ and ‘others’. This supports the claim that pronouns do not just do referring work but can also do identity work (Malone 1997, Watson 1987, Sacks 1992:1 and 2, Schegloff 1996). This kind of use of pronouns is not determined by considerations of deixis or group membership. Rather, the impact comes from the context in which the talk is produced.

Thus, this study goes beyond the traditional paradigm of pronouns with grammatical divisions of first, second and third person or singular and plural number and the system of anaphora and deixis. It shows that pronouns are pivotal in the construction of identity, supporting the claim that pronouns are fundamentally social in that they permit possibilities of alignment with and boundaries between different identities (Malone 1997, Sacks 1992, Watson 1987). Thus, pronouns are critical in the creation of politicians’ versions of reality which are constructed in moments of discourse (Foucault 1972).

The construction of politicians’ versions of reality is part of designing talk for the audience of the political interview, that is, the overhearing-audience or the

public (Goodwin 1981 and Heritage 1985). After all, it is this overhearing-audience for whom politicians construct their version of reality, the group of people whom they ultimately must persuade by their choice of words that they are the best politicians and best political party.

Finally, this study is important for understanding the nature of political interviews. The study of pronouns in these political interviews gives linguistic evidence that has led to a clearer understanding of the nature of political talk. This study shows how talk is socially constructed and *how* politicians do what people talk about when they say that politicians are always trying to make themselves look good. In addition, this study highlights that the politician's task of answering questions is not about giving information. Rather, politicians are primarily concerned with their turn as an opportunity to create a version of *their* reality. And, in this pursuit, it is pronouns which are a key resource.

## Appendix 1

### Table of Participants and Content of the Interview

**TABLE 1**

Date	Number	Interviewer	Interviewee	Content	Program
3.2.1995	I	Paul Lyneham	Bob Collins	Environment	ABC 7.30 Report
29.3.1995	II	Paul Lyneham	John Faulkner	Environment	ABC 7.30 Report
26.9.1995	III	Andrew Olle	John Howard	Runways	ABC 7.30 Report
5.10.1995	IV	Andrew Olle	Bob Carr	Drugs	ABC 7.30 Report
27.10.1995	V	Paul Lyneham	Ralph Willis	Inflation	ABC 7.30 Report
15.2.1995	VI	Ross Solley	Kim Beazley	Election campaign 1996	ABC radio (national)
16.2.1996	VII	Kerry O'Brien	Paul Keating	Election campaign 1996	ABC 7.30 Report
15.2.1996	VIII	Kerry O'Brien	Peter Costello	Election campaign 1996	ABC 7.30 Report
24.4.1995	IX	Paul Lyneham	Cheryl Kernot	Budget	ABC 7.30 Report
25.8.1995	X	Andrew Olle	Clover Moore	Road Tolls	ABC 7.30 Report
19.4.1995	XI	Paul Lyneham	Carmen Lawrence	Easton Affair I	ABC 7.30 Report
10.2.1995	XII	Andrew Olle	Reba Meagher	Apprehended Violence Order	ABC 7.30 Report
3.10.1995	XIII	Andrew Olle	Pam Allen	Dept. Reforms	ABC 7.30 Report
8.2.1996	XIV	Kerry O'Brien	Cheryl Kernot	Election campaign 1996	ABC 7.30 Report
28.8.1995	XV	Paul Lyneham	Carmen Lawrence	Easton Affair I	ABC 7.30 Report
6.2.1996	XVI	Kerry O'Brien	Carmen Lawrence	Election campaign 1996	ABC 7.30 Report
23.5.1995	XVII	Elizabeth Jackson	Michael Moore	Allegations	ABC radio (Canberra)
23.5.1995	XVIII	Elizabeth Jackson	Paul Osborne	Allegations	ABC radio (Canberra)
14.2.1995	XIX	Elizabeth Jackson	Michael Moore	Land Tax	ABC radio (Canberra)
15.2.1995	XX	Fran Kelly	Brian Howe	Health	ABC radio (national)
29.9.1995	XXI	Veronica Schenker	Duncan Kerr	Immigration	SBS

Table of Participants and Content of the Interview (continued)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Program</b>
1.3.1996	XXII	Fran Kelly	Kim Beazley	Election Campaign 1996	ABC radio (national)
21.2.1995	XXIII	Fran Kelly	Noel Pearson	Aboriginal Affairs	ABC radio (national)
29.9.1995	XXIV	Veronica Schenker	Laurie Brereton	Work Practices	SBS
23.5.1995	XXV	Elizabeth Jackson	Kate Carnell	Allegations	ABC radio (Canberra)
23.5.1995	XXVI	Elizabeth Jackson	Kerry Tucker	Allegations	ABC radio (Canberra)
16.2.1995	XXVII	Elizabeth Jackson	Carmen Lawrence	Health	ABC radio (Canberra)
24.4.1995	XXVIII	Elizabeth Jackson	Kate Carnell	Code of Ethics	ABC radio (Canberra)
21.2.1995	XXIX	Fran Kelly	Christine Gallus	Aboriginal Affairs	ABC radio (national)
9.8.1995	XXX	Elizabeth Jackson	Kate Carnell	Public Service Freeze	ABC radio (Canberra)
24.4.1995	XXXI	Elizabeth Jackson	Margaret Reid	Demonstration rule	ABC radio (Canberra)
10.2.1995	XXXII	Elizabeth Jackson	Lucinda Spier	Land Tax	ABC radio (Canberra)

## Appendix 2

### Transcription conventions<sup>1</sup>

.	a stopping fall in tone, not necessarily at the end of a sentence
,	low rise intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences
?	rising inflection, not necessarily a question
¿	rising intonation, weaker than indicated by a question mark
-	cut-off
><	talk is faster than surrounding talk
<>	talk is slower than surrounding talk
° °	talk is quieter than surrounding talk
SO	talk is louder than surrounding talk
↓↑	marked falling and rising shifts in pitch
the::n	an extension of a sound or syllable
(     )	transcription doubt
((     ))	analyst's comments
(xxx)	talk that is unclear to the analyst
(0.6)	time intervals, indicated in 1/10 of seconds
(.)	short untimed pause
hh.	audible aspirations
.hh	audible inhalations
t!	dental click
<u>so</u>	emphasis
≈	creaky voice
*     *	laughter
[	overlapping talk
=	connecting talk
->	a marker to indicate something of importance

<sup>1</sup> The transcription is based on Gail Jefferson's notation in Sacks et al (1974), Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and Button and Lee (1987).

## Appendix 3

### Transcriptions of data

#### [I: Paul Lyneham/Bob Collins 3.2.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:PL senator bob collins welcome to the programme  
 2 M:BC (.) hi paul  
 3 M:PL how much uh sleep have you had in the last seventy two hours  
 4 M:BC (.) .h uh not a lot but what's new  
 5 M:PL yeh (0.5) well the blockade's lifted= ((sound of trucks in the background))  
 6 M:PL [thanks partly to your behind the scenes efforts  
 7 M:BC [yeh  
 8 M:PL =are they just being naive or 'ave they won real  
 9 concessions  
 10 (1.0)  
 11 M:BC no uh it's not a question of concessions paul uh I think the two key elements are (0.7)  
 12 that uh the prime minister set in place an assessment process (0.5) which  
 13 underpinned the unanimous decision (0.5) that was uh taken at this morning's  
 14 meeting to lift (.) the blockade (0.5) and I think more importantly he personally had  
 15 a key meeting (0.3) with the organisers uh of the blockade uh yesterday (0.5) uh  
 16 which I think was very important ((end of truck noises))  
 17 in ah in getting a final resolution to it  
 18 M:PL .h but what have the loggers gained in real terms a proper assessment of tho- those five  
 19 hundred and nine or .h five hundred and eleven coups?  
 20 M:BC (.) uh the prime minister has announced that uh (.) that will happen in two stages.= there's uh  
 21 going to be a fast track stage (0.7) uh for those coups that uh in fact have licences (0.5) from  
 22 the commonwealth uh for the remainder of this year (0.3) they're going to be dealt with very  
 23 quickly and a decision will be taken on them by david bedall .h next week. (0.5) the  
 24 remainder will be uh (0.4) very carefully assessed (.) and uh that will finally go back to  
 25 cabinet for a further decision at a later time.  
 26 M:PL .h well the opposition's been having great sport claiming that some of the coups don't exist .h  
 27 others have been logged twice one has an airstrip .h another has a gravel quarry .h another  
 28 has a pine plantation=I mean what's been going on?  
 29 M:BC .h paul there's no doubt there's problems with the list .h but (.) the fundamental problem is  
 30 with the process (0.3) .h uh what is needed uh in australia (.) very very quickly (.) is a  
 31 national uh management uh for forests (0.3) we have got the structure of that (.) that was set  
 32 in place I have to say at the initiative of the federal government (.) even though we don't  
 33 manage forests I mean we've only got export controls over woodchips (0.5) uh but at the  
 34 initiative of the federal  
 35 ((laughter)) government that uh framework was put together (.) but regrettably (0.5) the  
 36 regional uh plans that have to be put into place the management plans (.) have not yet been  
 37 done  
 38 M:PL .hh talking of blame are you are uh totally enchanted with the way your junior minister david  
 39 bedall's handled this from the outset?  
 40 (0.5)  
 41 M:BC paul david and I worked together (.) uh up and during the cabinet meeting that resolved this  
 42 process and we're going to continue to work on this .h until it's resolved  
 43 (1.5)  
 44 M:PL .h well let's look now at one of the comments the p-m made when he announced last friday  
 45 that those (.) .h five hundred and nine coups would be set aside.  
 46 PM *look (0.5) let's call a spade a spade in this (0.7). if there had been two hundred or two*  
 47 *hundred and thirty coups reserved here (0.9) before christmas the environment movement*  
 48 *would have thought they'd kicked a tremendous goal.*  
 49 (1.0)  
 50 M:PL .h well if the p-m's right, (0.3) wouldn't your junior minister've been somewhat smart to have  
 51 given them two hundred and two or two hundred and thirty coups?  
 52 M:BC (0.5) paul if you're talking about uh numbers I think the p-m was pretty close to the mark,  
 53 (0.5) but I'm sure the prime minister would agree with me (.) that unfortunately the whole

54 debate has become numbers and it's not where the debate is (0.2) I mean the debate really  
55 should be about the kinds of coups you're talking about.

56 M:PL .h but then we also have the not insignificant question of your .h junior minister according to  
57 the federal court not following proper proCE:dures by giving due weight to environmental  
58 considerations which could affect all sorts of

59 M:BC ((laughter))

60 M:PL other exports including uranium an' .h aluminium and god know's what  
61 ((gradual increase in volume))

62 M:BC (.) paul the last part of uh your argument defeats your first .h. I mean the media have loved to  
63 portray mister justice sackville's decision .h as some uni:que error david bedall's made=it's  
64 now out in the public domain it was nothing of the sort What mister justice sack- sackville  
65 did in a case (0.4) was to establish a definition of the application of the act that had not  
66 existed before and uh you're right it not only affects woodchips but attorney general's advice  
67 to me (.) indicates that it's got a potential effect on all exports from australia that require  
68 commonwealth decision making that may a-affect the environment and of course potentially  
69 some imports and things like fishing licences and so on (.) we've mounted a major exercise to  
70 deal with this as we've done uh when these things happened before and uh in three or four -  
71 eeks time I'm sure that the attorney general .h will bring the options to cabinet with how to  
72 deal with that.

73 M:PL .h allright well just for the record uh senator collins so I can put it in our library for the future  
74 would you like to .hh just give us a nice pithy phrase telling us why david bedall is really a  
75 first class junior minister with a great political future?  
76 (0.5)

77 M:BC paul do you serious seriously suggest that anyone in the future is going to want to watch  
78 these tapes? ((laughter))  
79 (0.4)

80 M:PL .hh come o- one line why he's such a terrific political performer and he's handled this so:  
81 well  
82 (1.0)

83 M:BC paul it's been conceded there are errors with the list (.) and I think that uh it's now public  
84 knowledge uh that those errors are not not uh a matter for responsibility for a single minister  
85 (.) .h. look the [important thing=

86 M:PL [of pass the parcel of pass the parcel

87 M:BC =the no paul the important thing as I said before is to get away from completely have a look  
88 at the past public record you know this has been a stoush every twelve months (.) for as long  
89 as I've bee- certainly been in the federal parliament (.) everybody's sick of it the federal  
90 government's sick of it state government's are sick of it environmentalists are and particularly  
91 the workers in the timber industry

92 M:PL .hh and then there's your other cabinet colleague senator john faulkner sort of suggesting to  
93 the greens that they could protect .h thirteen hundred coups. now that mightn't have been .h  
94 just a touch over done do you think?  
95 (1.0)

96 M:BC paul uh it's impossible to say at this stage uh

97 M:PL =\*impossible to say is it?\*=

98 M:BC =yes it's impossible to say and the assessment process the prime minister's put in place and  
99 which is now uh very much under way is [going to determine at the end of the day what  
100 coups should stay

101 M:PL [well he only nominated five hundred and nine coups

102 M:BC I'm sorry paul

103 M:PL he only nominated five hundred and nine he didn't seem to think it was too impossible to say

104 M:BC paul- as paul as I've said before it underlies this process which everyone knows is flawed of  
105 going through this coup by coup nonsense every twelve months.  
106 everyone knows we've got to get away from it and we now will.

107 M:PL when will we start to see regional forest agreements that will underpin a national forest  
108 reserve system?

109 M:BC this year

110 M:PL when this year?

111 M:BC paul uh that process has already begun (0.5) and I'm pleased to say that david bedall an' I  
112 have already had discussions (.) with three of the state ministers. we've got solid



113 commitments from all of 'em (.) that uh this does have to be brought to an end and I'm sure it  
114 will be.  
115 M:PL senator collins thanks very much I'll let you get some sleep at long last  
116 M:BC thanks paul

[II: Paul Lyneham/John Faulkner 29.3.1995 ABC TV]

1 M:PL minister thanks very much for joining us.  
2 M:JF my pleasure paul=  
3 M:PL =now I imagine you fee:l ((muffled laugh)) pretty emBArassed about the policy you've had  
4 to unveil today.  
5 M:JF no I don't I'm uh I think it's a-a very significant enhancement of australia's greenhouse gas  
6 response= I don't feel embarrassed about it at all. .h this new package is going to take us to  
7 within about three percent. .h ↑that's a -a pretty good record I think.  
8 M:PL well given that we've overshot everything so far why should we believe three percent now  
9 particularly when it's based on >voluntary agreements with business<.  
10 M:JF well I think you can believe it because uh I think the science in terms of what we've tried to  
11 do with our greenhouse gas inventory .h sh:ows that uh that uh our our results are at least  
12 scientifically based. I think you can be quite confident .h that the measures that we've taken  
13 (.) of levels of omissions at nineteen ninety are accurate, I think you can be confident that  
14 [projections that we've  
15 M:PL [hhhhhhhh.  
16 M:JF made [are accurate]  
17 M:PL [so you can ] with scientific accuracy we'll miss our target by three percent.  
18 M:JF what I can say with uh scientific accuracy if it had been business (.) as normal business as  
19 usual .h we'd 've missed the target by fourteen percent .h= that was how australia was  
20 going .h and we've our existing greenhouse response measures and our new package we'll  
21 get to within three percent of our targets .h ↑and ↑that's (0.3) not a bad re↑cord  
22 M:PL .hh but the fact remains: minister that <you were rolled by industry and the economic  
23 ministers who wouldn't let you .h impose even the modest carbon tax that you wanted.>  
24 M:JF look paul, what happened in relation to the carbon tax w's this. .h <government consulted  
25 with the stakeholders.> it consulted with the interest  
26 group[s,=  
27 M:PL [and they wo[uldn]'t have a bar of it.=  
28 M:JF [xxxx] =w'll we sat down we talked to  
29 industry, we talked to the trade unions, we talked to the community groups, .h we talked to  
30 the conservation groups. .h . industry made very clear.h their position that they wanted to  
31 see a reduction .h in the level of greenhouse gas emissions, .h they were willing to work  
32 cooperatively .h with government to see that achieved, .h and <government intends to hold  
33 them to that commitment.> .h but someti[mes:  
34 M:PL  
35 [how can you do that though without firm bench marks and ongoing targets  
36 M:JF what we'll be able to do uh paul to ensure that uh that uh these companies uh have  
37 inventories, we'll ensure that they have energy audits, .h we'll ensure that they have plans .h  
38 and uh we'll ensure that they report .h on progress.h . we're very committed as a government  
39 to working with industry to <see a reduction in the level of omission[s>.  
40 M:PL [xxx .h well cooperation is all you've got left you've got nothing to beat th'm round  
41 the head with have you?  
42 M:JF th' b't- b't- b't they've indicated th't they wouldn't cooperate if a carbon tax or small  
43 greenhouse levy or other measures were put in place but they've indicated to 's they will  
44 cooperate if uh on the basis of voluntary agreements. now what government has said .h okay  
45 we've listened to uh your views we intend to .h take on board the commitment you've  
46 made .h and hold you ↑to those commitments  
47 M:PL .hh let's look at some specific measures. land clearing is a major cause of greenhouse gas  
48 emissions, .h your response is to develop a better database on land clearing now the world  
49 wide fund for nature said it's a bit like taking precise measurements of the hole in the titanic.  
50 M:JF w'll (0.3) uh land clearing is 'n important uh component of greenhouse gas omissions .h. I  
51 think when the inv'ntry came out in australia last year .h many people were surprised at the  
52 contribution those land clearing ah ah practices were making (.) to the level of our omissions  
53 in australia..hh re:- remember paul that ah that really commonwealth government doesn't  
54 have a capacity to make too many decisions about land management in austr[alia  
55 M:PL [and without a carbon tax you've got no money to spend  
56 to subsidise  
57 people [to stop them clearing

- 58 M:JF (~~~~) [b't b't what we've got to do then is work  
59 cooperatively with other levels of gov'nment s:tate governments and local governments  
60 who actually do have the jurisdictional and constitutional responsibility f' dealing with these  
61 land cover issues.
- 62 M:PL governments that don't seem to have worried too much about it about it in the past industry  
63 that doesn't have seemed to worried too much about it in the past =we're all getting very  
64 cooperative it sounds like sesame street.
- 65 M:JF look well governments haven't worried about it too much in the past .h but it wasn't until  
66 august of last year paul th't we actually had a measure th't showed what a significant  
67 contribution .h land clearing was making to: greenhouse gas omissions in australia.
- 68 M:PL you're going to expand the one billion trees programme. by how much are you going to  
69 double it? triple it?
- 70 M:JF no we're not going to uh to double it uh or triple= it's a question of an injection a  
71 significant injection of funds into the one billion trees programme which is on target to  
72 deliver one billion trees by the year two thousand .h and I might say again .h in relation to  
73 our greenhouse gas inventory .h it is a programme that 's really delivered the goods on the  
74 ground. .h you can actually measure (.) the reduction (.) by the year two thousand in terms  
75 of carbon dioxide equivalents that that particular project has delivered (.) some twelve  
76 megatons twelve million tonnes of reduction in the level of our green house gas omissions.
- 77 M:PL and while you're extending the billion trees program on one hand cabinet uh tomorrow will  
78 consider how many of those remaining three hundred and ninety nine forest coups are t' be  
79 released to the timber industry .hh. the a-c-f says there'll be more than a hundred the loggers  
80 say that it will be more than three hundred. either way it looks like you ↑lose.
- 81 M:JF well let's wait till makes its decision t'morrow paul I don't intend to ah to ah to add to the  
82 speculation of either the a-c-f (.) or the loggers (.) suffice t' say (.) they both can't be right<sub>i</sub>
- 83 M:PL they can't b't .hhh 've you got any regrets about your role in what has become known now in  
84 contemporary political history as the great labour woodchip bungle<sub>i</sub>
- 85 M:JF look I think that the the government uh has had an approach on the forests of trying to find a  
86 balance between (.) ah invironmental protection (.) protecting ah our high conservation  
87 value (.) native forests on the one hand .h and ensuring that the jobs of australian workers  
88 and their families .h who are dependent ah on the forest industries are also pr[otected  
89 (~~~~~)]
- 90 M:PL [did you promise m]uch more than you could ever realistically deliver  
91 [at the end of this year didn't you
- 92 M:JF [what what I did uh paul was to take my  
93 responsibilities as environment minister seriously .h I ah I identified ah areas which uh  
94 were likely to have high conservation value .h so that all those ah areas were before  
95 government as government makes a whole of ah government decision[s but it's not
- 96 M:PL [and that list 's been >whittled awa::y< (.) month by month  
97 now since [isn't 't and we could end up with
- 98 M:JF [but let's get it clear=  
99
- 100 M:PL eighty coups reserved[by this time tomorrow night<sub>i</sub>
- 101 M:JF [b't let's get it<sub>i</sub>- let'sk-(.) let's get 't  
102 clear (0.3) the environment minister has a responsibility, to ah to ah identify (.) those areas  
103 (.) that ah are are likely to: ah warrant interim protection. that's my responsibil'ty, .h I took it  
104 seriously .h as ↑goverment (.) makes 'n assessment about how it approaches the forest issues,  
105 it look also at other considerations=<↑not only the env'r'ment, but social and economic  
106 considerations. we're committed to finding (.) a: balance (.) and the c-commonwealth  
107 government also: hasn't been gutless in this, 't hasn't backed out of this, it hasn't left it ah to  
108 the states, or the opposition, or anyone else who'd probably want to go in 'n log every  
109 single .h last one of these ah ah coups ah that 've- many of them of very high conservation  
110 value native forests (.) we're certainly working hard (.) t' see (.) an envi'rmental ah result.  
111 but we are doing it from a framework of ensuring there remains balance in the debate.
- 112 M:PL john faulkner thanks f' your time.
- 113 M:JF thanks paul

[III: Andrew Olle/John Howard 26.9.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:AO an' john howard welcome to the program.  
2 M:JH andrew,  
3 M:AO .h ah what were you really: a:fter with this ah shameless piece of bribery? what do you  
4 actually want?  
5 (0.3)  
6 M:JH there's no bribery I just ah want ah the noise issue in sydney (.) .h fixed .h an' I've said th't  
7 as a condition of our supporting the privatisation of kingsford smith airport .hh we will  
8 require th't that be fixed ↑first there's nothing- no bribery it's a question of .h fairly  
9 spreading a burden arou:nd=at the moment you've got a limit number of people .h who are  
10 copping all of the noise in the neck .h and what we're a:sking is th't ah (.) that burden be  
11 spread arou:nd .h ah in a fair and reasonable way and ah .h I've said to the government th't  
12 ah I have no objection in principle t' the privatisation of kingsford smith airport b't I'm  
13 imposing a condition .hh on the coalition's support,  
14 M:AO and that condition is that [you  
15 M:JH [tha- and that condition is that the east west runway be reopened  
16 M:AO =right  
17 M:JH =and and that is that is the principle way by which you can spread the noise burden around  
18 and you c'n .h end this very unjust situation where all of h. the noise h. burden is dumped on  
19 a limited number of ↑people  
20 M:AO but you actually favour the privatisation of mascot don't you?  
21 M:JH I've (.) been in favour of privatisation where there's a public benef't .h I've never been in  
22 favour of privatising f'r its own sake, I've always been in favour of privatising where there's  
23 a public benefit (.) now the public benefit .h lies in fixing the noise issue (.) first (.) then  
24 privatising because .h there's a clear view in the community that once something is  
25 privatised .h no matter what the ah (.) legislative safeguards might be the c'ntro:l of the thing  
26 is lost ah by the government, .h and I'm saying very simply to mister brereton .h you reopen  
27 the east west runway and fix the noise problem and you will have no difficulty .h in  
28 obtaining the liberal party support for the privatisation of the airport and .h it will be on his  
29 head if there's any undue delay with the privatisation of that airport.  
30 M:AO .h what are you looking for in political terms though out of this  
31 noise issue because in the past you've taken quite a different  
32 stance about noise ah if I can quote from a couple of interviews that ah you've done in the  
33 past I can remember one you did with ah  
34 M:JH ((clears throat))  
35 M:AO vincent smith the late vincent smith a couple of years back you said ah .h I grew up in one of  
36 the areas covered [by] the fl[ight]  
37 M:JH [mm] [mm ]  
38 M:AO path and I know some of the local politics and I think it has been [grossly exag]gerated  
39 M:JH [\*\*\*\*\*]  
40 M:AO over the years I think more and more people see the issues in terms 'f sydney's being in  
41 sydney's inter'st being .h ah scarified and more imp[ortantly] nationally the ↑tourist industry  
42 being  
43 M:JH [mm mm]  
44 M:AO prejudiced.  
45 M:JH yeh well andrew those words were spoken at a time when .h there was a fairer sharing of  
46 noise (.) an' what I was really arguing against was the proposition that you could have a  
47 completely noiseless situation and still have an airport .h close to the commercial heart of the  
48 city .h b't what has happened (.) particularly in the last six or seven months is th't all of the  
49 noise has been dumped over people who live under the north flight south path ah ah the  
50 flight path north south flight path and that includes people in my electorate, it includes  
51 people in suburbs like drummoyn and habberfield, in mary easton's electorate .h an' it  
52 includes people in the inner suburbs of leichhardt and stanmore .h ah and ah and syd'nam .h  
53 so we're talking about mixture of people, .h ah who voted for different people at different  
54 stages an' .h it's one thing to talk about ah adopting a realistic attitude when noise is fairly  
55 spread arou:nd, .h it's entirely another thing ah to ah support a situation where all of the  
56 noise (.) is dumped I mean some of the people living under that flight path are now  
57 experiencing .h flights which are not just double but treble and quadruple what they used to  
58 experience now what I'm a:sking for is really a return to a situation where the noise is more

- 59 evenly distributed= now .h it's a fair australian principle that when you have a problem you  
 60 ((laughter)) ask a limited section of the community to carry all of the ↑burden= I'm not  
 61 asking for example my constituents have no noise at all=I'm sure they would prob'ly .h all  
 62 prefer less noise life's not as simple as that=I'm merely asking that they don't share all of the  
 63 noise .h with people in adjoining areas of sydney and it be spread around and I have a  
 64 capacity .h to try an' (.) ↑y' know put some pressure on the government to .h recognise the  
 65 fairness of what I'm putting forward and that is why we are imposing the very (.) fair  
 66 condition on the privatisation and that is fix the noise problem first (.) then privatise 't.  
 67
- 68 M:AO t! .h b't mister howard I- I still put it to you that you didn't seem to see these problems  
 69 before when someone else was copping the noise that these people are now copping.  
 70 M:JH (.) b't it b't it ah ah what you've just put to me is wrong 'n you didn't have a situation where  
 71 (.) where all of the noise was being borne by other people and none being borne by people  
 72 who live in ah ah on on on in in those suburbs I've mentioned what h's happened is that all  
 73 of the noise has been shifted onto a limited number of people .h from a situation where it  
 74 used to be spread around a lot more,  
 75 M:AO all right  
 76 M:JH and and and and and and in the process mister brereton has completely looked  
 77 after his own constitu?ents .h he's completely looked after mister punch's constituents and  
 78 constituents and mister mcclay's constituents .h I'm not asking that my constituents be  
 79 completely looked after by no .h noises I'm just asking th't it be shared around in a fair  
 80 equitable australian ↑fashion  
 81 M:AO all right th[en  
 82 M:JH [an' I think that most  
 83 people would agree with that.  
 84 M:AO w'll you certainly made the point  
 85 very thoroughly tonight mister howard,=but I mean isn't the inevitable result though if the  
 86 east west w- runway was to reopen .h that there would be an increase in traffic overall .h  
 87 and there that there would therefore consequently be an incre- an increase in noise as well ,  
 88 M:JH well that's not the argument that's been put to the senate inquiry. (0.5) ah the senate inquiry  
 89 actually argues ah some people argue that if you have- you reopen the east west runway the  
 90 number of movements will .h ah could be affected=the evidence th't we have is th't um .h  
 91 ah it's been put to the senate inquiry is that if you ah .h if you re-open the east-west runway  
 92 you w' you can end up (0.) according to most of the evidence having about the same number  
 93 of movements th't you have >at the present ti' <.h and it's within the capacity of any  
 94 government (0.3) to put a limit on the number of air movements=mister brereton indicated  
 95 yesterday (.) to one of the newspapers that his government intended to put a cap on air  
 96 movem'nts=and you can regulate that (.) and you can decide for example that .h you will  
 97 have the same number of air movements but you will do it .h using all of the runways and  
 98 not just two of them including using the east west runway an' you distribute the same  
 99 number of air movements .h over a wider range and therefore .h nobody (.) is carrying (.) 'n  
 100 unfair share of the ↑burden [an' what  
 101 M:AO [okay I  
 102 M:JH could be fairer than that?  
 103 M:AO fair enough I'm going to have ah to regulate this I'm  
 104 afraid we're out of [time john howard thanks  
 105 M:JH [okay  
 106 M:AO f' ye time  
 107 M:JH pleasure

[IV: Andrew Olle/Bob Carr 5.10.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:AO w'll premier there's a lot of pressure building it seems to me in the community >fo:r some  
2 reform< of our drug laws notably on the hard drugs like heroin. hh are you implacably  
3 opposed t' that?
- 4 M:CA .h no I'm open minded=I- I'm the first to concede that our approach at the present time  
5 doesn't ↑work (0.2) no one could look at ah .hhh the the range of h. of policies on drugs in  
6 (.) many western country today and say that they're working .h ah what we've gotta look at  
7 a:h are whether the alternative[s] (.) decriminalisation or
- 8 M:AO [hhhhhhhhhh  
9 M:CA [legalisation of hard] drugs is not going to be disastrous.  
10 M:AO [hhhhhhhhhhhhhh.]  
11 I thought you had been implacably opposed to to those (xxx) to decriminalisation or  
12 legalisation
- 13 M:CA .hh my position is rea:lly that we've got to define heroin  
14 (0.4) <addiction, heroin dependence as a health problem,> we've got to treat it as a health  
15 problem. .hhh um I: I think once you make that (0.5) you make that concession >°if it is a  
16 concession,°< (0.4) you're on the way to to viewing the (0.5) disparate natures: the disparate  
17 nature of this problem. >there are simply no easy ↑answers.< the the the ultimate answer  
18 (0.3) is to tackle (0.2) the demand for drugs (0.3) to persuade people to say ↑no↓: to see the  
19 demand for drugs dry up, that takes care of the health problems, and the law enforcement  
20 problems in one go. ah we've increased funding to anti-drug programmes in the schools by  
21 five million dollars <one of the first things we did as a government> .hh but again it's going  
22 to be (0.1) a longer term approach that sees (.) the demand for illegal drugs (0.4) gradually  
23 wither and ↑die
- 24 M:AO but there are a lot of people now aren't there in responsible positions calling for ah  
25 liberalisation of drug laws and decriminali- =people like senior police=I think the tasmanian  
26 police commissioner there are lawyers, academics, quite a number of responsible people the  
27 health authorities.
- 28 M:CA yeh b't they are calling for different things. some call for ah a small experiment a modest  
29 experiment (.) in a supply of (.) of ah of heroin to registered addicts. I'm saying that that  
30 won't alter the problem of drug based crime (.) there'll still be a black market because there-  
31 the majority of ah drug users at this time are using .hh amphetamines or cocaine other drugs  
32 (.) it's not a heroin problem only (.) .hh I'm saying that the bigger step the bigger step of  
33 decriminalising heroin (.) for anyone who wants it or legalising the drug (.) an' the other  
34 drugs is a step that no society's taken now I've got to concede that the present position is  
35 pretty close to ah discouraging=
- 36 M:AO =well you must be=  
37 M:CA =if not disastrous  
38 M:AO you must be terribly discouraged when you see all the evidence that comes out of the police  
39 royal commission. I mean drugs are obviously a huge problem= =obviously the  
40 commissioner
- 41 M:CA =yes=  
42 and not one of the problems revealed by this (.) this most alarming evidence out of the royal  
43 commission .hh not one of the problems (.) ah would have been solved (.) by a sydney based  
44 experiment (.) supplying heroin to registered addicts (.) that would make the most marginal  
45 difference if any difference. .h what you're looking at here is really the decriminalisation of a  
46 whole spectrum of drugs (.) amphetamines and cocaine as well as heroin. I'm not sure that's a  
47 step th't people would want to take,
- 48 M:AO garry sturgess I think recently told the conference or a meeting that um you have a pri:vate  
49 opposition to ah drug law change what is it?
- 50 M:CA no it isn't. not at all a private opposition ah it's known that my brother died of a heroin over  
51 dose um when he was in his mid-twenties. I ah if I could be persuaded (.) th't that would  
52 happen to fewer people it would happen to fewer families (.) through a different approach to  
53 drugs (.) legalisation or decriminalisation .h then I would be persuaded I'm interested in the  
54 arguments here (.) I'm not- I've got no block (.) based on personal experience. if I could be  
55 persuaded (.) on the material available intellectually persuaded (.) th't a different approach  
56 would deliver (.) one less crime (.) and two fewer drug based deaths (.) then I'd be persuaded  
57 but no study I've seen has demonstrated that that's the ↑case, um we'll look at the experiment

58 when it's undertaken in the a-c-t continue to monitor what's happening in zurich (.) .h ah  
 59 what's happening in the u-k but it's a very big step for a society to take.  
 60 M:AO kate carnell, for example expresses concern about your attitude .hh as being perhaps  
 61 condemning the a-c-t trial to not working.  
 62 M:CA no I'm not I've said nothing about the a-c-t trial except that ah .hh anyone with an interest in  
 63 this problem is going to keep an eye on 't I don't see on any of the evidence that the the  
 64 supply of ah of prescribed quantity of heroin is going to make any impact on the black  
 65 market in this drug (.) or on the other currently illegal drugs an' that's the difference we're  
 66 looking for we're looking for a policy that wipes out the crime connected with drug  
 67 dependency. .hh I mean if if the evidence evidence changes if the evidence on this changes  
 68 (.) then I'll change my view.  
 69 M:AO do I take it then that you are in favour of trials like the ones in the a-c-t because it might help  
 70 us get evidence.  
 71 M:CA well I'm not in favour of them but it's a matter for the  
 72 a-c-t to make a decision on that. ah we'll watch ah we'll we'll watch that and see what  
 73 develops here. we'd be mad not to do that.  
 74 M:AO so how concerned is the government about the situation that has been unfolding just on the  
 75 situation- the issue of drugs at the royal commission?  
 76 M:CA .hh well the the most terrifying revelation out of the royal commission is the way corruption  
 77 has permeated a range of police organisations. I'm thinking of the federal police the joint  
 78 agencies .h now compromised by the evidence out of the royal commission and ah it  
 79 confirms what we've a-c-t long believed about the difficulties (.) of beating the problem of  
 80 ah ah abuse dependency on hard drugs .hh by legal sanctions alone,  
 81 M:AO bob carr thank you.

## [V: Paul Lyneham/Ralph Willis 27.10.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:PL ralph willis welcome to the program.  
2 M:RW th'nkyou  
3 M:PL I-if I could just get the big picture right. inflation's now at its- at its highest since the  
4 december quarter of ninedeen ni:nety<sub>6</sub> .h you expect it to go higher still but then it's  
5 go:nna come down again=is that right?  
6 M:RW (.) we:ll I think the official rate the- the headline rate (.) is ah almost ad its peak if  
7 not at its peak (.) and that ah certainly from the march quarter of next year we'll see  
8 it come down.  
9 M:PL (.) why?  
10 M:RW because ah it's up well above the underlying rate (.) mainly because of the measures  
11 that have been taken by the government to arrest inflation which have the perverse  
12 effect (.) in the short term of putting up the headline rate that is increasing mortgage  
13 interest rates. .hh  
14 M:PL so to correct inflation you've curbed inflation?  
15 M:RW ((laughter)) it puts up the ah the inflation rate in the short term but it has the effect  
16 of moderating inflationary pressures and in the long term gives us a lower rating  
17 than otherwise have.  
18 M:PL but you expect quote inflationary pressure to continue through the course of this  
19 year.  
20 M:RW yes I think the underlying rate of inflation will increase a little further through the  
21 course of this year=it's now gone up over three percent .hh ah and we expect it to go  
22 further (.) ah towards three and three quarter percent through the course of this ah  
23 financial year.  
24 M:PL .h now in ah (.) in ah bringing the interest rates up last year to slow the economy  
25 and bring everything back down to a sustainable <sup>↑</sup>level you've caused the other  
26 problem too though haven't you of the Labour market going soft  
27 M:RW well I' think that the fig- figures that we've been seeing in the labour market in the  
28 last ah two or three months are not indicative of ah what's going to happen for the  
29 rest of the year. we still expect to see quite reasonable employment growth through  
30 the course of this year.  
31 M:PL you've got wages running at about four point eight% overall up to five and a half  
32 percent in the ah (.) private sec<sup>↑</sup>ta we're going to get more ages started tomorrow  
33 that could be  
34 M:RW mmhm  
35 M:PL fairly unpleasant news for you<sub>6</sub>  
36 M:RW well wage increases ah above the inflation rate mean that there are real wage  
37 increases are occurring that means workers are getting real improvements in their  
38 income  
39 M:PL and more inf<sub>6</sub>lationary pressures built [in  
40 M:RW [and [w'll  
41 M:RW certainly there's ah some some addition to inflationary pressures but bare in mind  
42 that ah the opposition is tryin' to tell us that people are worse off (.) at a time when  
43 they're getting real wage increases quite significantly so.  
44 M:PL .h you said to day that we don't see any need for a change of policy is that (.)  
45 treasurer's code for don't expect any cut in interest rates in the foreseeable future  
46 M:RW I'd said that there were no implications for policy I meant monetary and fiscal  
47 policy because (.) what we see happening is ah more or less what we forecast in  
48 terms of the inflation rate, that we would see the (.) the underlying rate move up  
49 over three percent in the course of this f<sub>6</sub>ncial year, ah that's happened (.) .h and  
50 so it's not unexpected ah obviously we're not complacent about that and will say  
51 therefore that doesn't matter but it's not ah=  
52 M:PL = but your not going to change your policies. we're not complacent but we're not  
53 going to do anything?  
54 M:RW because we've already had ah a number of steps taken both in terms of monetary  
55 and fiscal policy to: attack inflation the three increases that there have been in  
56 interest rates (.) are the tightening of fiscal policy in the budget (.) they are  
57 measures that were designed to ah arrest inflation and to ensure that we could  
58 continue to grow with moderate in<sup>↑</sup>flation and these are still moderate inflation



- 59 numbers I mean remember the last time john howard was controlling this country .h  
 60 the the un- the the (.) the headline rate for inflation was eleven point four percent  
 61 an'-
- 62 M:PL but the prime minister's been giving us a few broad hints that we might see a cut in  
 63 interest rates before the election. should we now forget those ah signals?
- 64 M:RW well I don't want to say anything about the future of interest rates ah  
 65 M:PL leave that to the boss?
- 66 M:RW ((laughter)) w'll I don't think he's been ah giving too many hints as you say ah I  
 67 think he's been essentially saying that ah there's- ah all things are possible but um  
 68 ah I don't think it's proper for us to be making predictions about ah what interest  
 69 rates might do in the future  
 70 [but what I can  
 71 M:PL [but I can't  
 72 M:RW say as a result of these figures ah I don't see any implications ah for monetary  
 73 policy.
- 74 M:PL I can't though remember any time when inflation has been rising and short term  
 75 rates have come down can you?  
 76 (1.0)  
 77 M:RW well-
- 78 M:PL as a matter of fact.  
 79 (0.7)
- 80 M:RW h. well ah probably not but ah there's also of course ah some slowing in the  
 81 economy and some people are saying well that ah creates the circumstances in  
 82 which ah you might be looking for an interest rate cut so there are- the economy's  
 83 slowing interest rates ah ah are ah increases ah of last year of course ah have had  
 84 the impact of helping to ah bring about that slowing which (.) is a good thing in  
 85 terms of getting us to  
 86 [more sus- [to more sustainable rates
- 87 M:PL [more than you would really have [liked too
- 88 M:RW of growth but we still expect growth this year I mean you're assuming paul that  
 89 we're going to have some bad outcome this year. I'm not assuming that at all.
- 90 M:PL but you've got real political problems though, haven't you? you're seven to ten  
 91 points behind the coalition in the polls, we've now got inflation going up the labour  
 92 market softening. I mean it's-
- 93 M:RW what we've got is an outcome where most people are getting better off because  
 94 we've got employment ah essentially growing ok the last two or three months that  
 95 hasn't happened .h but we expect that to get back on the growth path that it's been  
 96 on for the last couple of years .h and we've also ah got rising real wages. now in  
 97 those circumstances households australians generally are becoming better off wage  
 98 earners are getting more real income at work and ah there are more people working  
 99 in australian households.
- 100 M:PL but mortgage mortgage interest charges up twenty five point two percent over the  
 101 year. doesn't sound better off to me.
- 102 M:RW well that's all caught up in ah tentline inflation rate. ah that's the impact of the one  
 103 and three quarter percent ah rise in mortgage interest rates that came from the  
 104 interest increases last ↑year. .h now that those steps had to be taken to ensure that  
 105 we took some steps against inflation. =had we not done that you'd be starting to  
 106 look at much higher inflation numbers very shortly than we're going to be looking  
 107 at because this ah essentially policy would be conducive to higher inflation.
- 108 M:PL thanks for your time
- 109 M:RW thank you

[VI: Ross Solley/Kim Beazley 29.2.1996 ABC Radio National]

1 F:EF would the labour vote suffer because of the willis blunder  
2 M:KB (0.6) no I think people are quietly making up their minds, (0.3).h about issues of risk, (0.6)  
3 about the alternative party policies, about the affordability of those policies, (0.6) .hh and  
4 that really this: rather than the argy-bargy of an election campaign is what is going to  
5 govern their vote.  
6 M:RS .h ralph willis has been around for a while, should he have known better than a:h than to race  
7 out as he did and a:h and release these documents?  
8 M:KB look I haven't had an opportunity to talk to ralph about it or the  
9 ah (.) .h enquires that he made of the validity of the those documents, (0.6) ah so I'm really  
10 not in a position to comment  
11 M:RS (.) .h would you have expect that he would have cleared it with the campaign office before  
12 he went ahead and did this?  
13 M:KB (0.3) .hh again these these really are matters of ah for ralph to contemplate (0.3) and ah .h I  
14 haven't got any comment on it.  
15 M:RS but you would expect someone ah a senior politician or any  
16 politician if they 're going to take such action would (.) clear it at  
17 least with the campaign office if not with the prime minister or the deputy prime minister.  
18 M:KB as I said no comment on that.  
19 M:RS when you do get the chance to speak to mister willis ah will you be having some harsh  
20 words with him=ah it's not a very clever thing to do really is it  
21 M:KB .hh I think if I see ralph ah around over the next couple of days, which is unlikely since I'll  
22 be in western australia and he'll be there in victoria, .hh I'll say good luck mate in the seat of  
23 gellibrand you've been a great treasurer of this country and you deserve to be returned.  
24 M:RS but with the wonders of modern ah communication, you're bound to ring him on the  
25 \*phone\*  
26 M:KB .hh ((laughter))  
27 M:RS ah I mean ah will you say to him that  
28 that it really wasn't a clever thing to do?  
29 M:KB (0.3) the wonders of ah modern communication have me using mark one mouth round brand  
30 for the next \*couple of days .h and I don't intend to ring anybody.\*

## [VII: Kerry O'Brien/Paul Keating 16.2.1996 ABC TV]

- 1 M:KO -currently still comfortably in front. I interviewed john howard in the first week of the  
2 campaign, and I'm join' now for the first time by the priminista.
- 3 M:KO paul keating you: and wayne goss if we start with queensland have ah hardly forged a close  
4 relationship over the years, (0.5) between federal and ah queensland labour,=d' you accept  
5 any of the blame for what's gone wrong in queensland.
- 6 M:PK (0.3) I think queensla:nd queensland 's had ah (0.3) ah an opportunity to think about this, (.)  
7 they knew wh't the bi-election meant, (0.2). they made a- a fairly firm decision an' I think  
8 (0.5) wa:yne has ref- has reflected (0.3) well on himself (0.5) ah accepting that judgement,  
9 (0.5) acting expeditiously, (0.2) with integrity, (0.5) and I think a:h from the- from c'n I say  
10 from my part (0.5) ah with admiration (0.3) I think there's something we can admire (0.5) the  
11 fact that somebody has (0.3) accepted (0.3) the electorate's notion, (0.5) and ah <made a  
12 decision>=whether he wanted t' resign the leadership of course is iz own mader. (0.6) but I-  
13 I don't see it replete (0.5) I've never- I didn't see the state election (0.3) replete with federal  
14 issues (.) ah and frankly I don't think the queensland labour party did either.
- 15 M:KO except there was a- there was curious moment in the mundingburra bi-election campai:gn.  
16 (0.7) ah whe:re labour had started behind (0.3) was seen to have clawed back, (0.5) that ah  
17 (0.3) party officials had come to believe that they were going to win that seat, (0.3) and then  
18 you declared the federal election, and it was all down hill from there= now I would suggest  
19 potentially (0.5) the message for you in that (.) and certainly there seemed to be some anger  
20 and frustration in the queensland branch that you had- you couldn't hold off in declaring the  
21 federal election.
- 22 M:PK I think the answer the answer t' that's in the margin (0.8) that the liberal party won it with in  
23 the end (0.5) such (.) such a margin (0.5) as to believe there wasn't a vote or or so in it (0.5)  
24 um and (0.3) I don't think there's any doubt that electors in mundingburra kne:w that were  
25 they to vote (1.5) against the government (0.8) that the matter would be thrown in the hands  
26 of (0.5) liz cunningham, (0.8) who they believed would vote for the coalition.
- 27 M:KO so: now you've only got one labour premier left, [and bob=  
28 M:PK [can I say  
29 M:KO bob carr doesn't seem to be doing [much to help you in new south  
30 M:PK [can I say  
31 M:KO wales eith[er does e:?  
32 M:PK [can I- can I say I think wayne goss deserves much bede' (0.3) I think he was  
33 a- an exceptionally good premier, (0.6) ah ei a very straight (.) and honest government (0.8)  
34 um I mean he's accepted a judgement (.) as we all have (1.0) ah but (.) I think one could  
35 make that observation.
- 36 M:KO okay (.) new south wales, the last (.) labour (.) hold out amongst the states (.) and yet even  
37 there it would seem that ah that bob carr has in the past month or so (.) ah turned voters  
38 against labour and that the suggestion again coming from inside the party is that that is going  
39 to hurt you.
- 40 M:PK listen you you you're you're you're alluding to the the issue over the governor well  
41 [I think the ans- the answer to that is kerry is that  
42 M:KO [well what=  
43 M:PK today (0.8) ah we've sworn in a new governor general, (1.2) ah who will be (1.5) a full time  
44 (.) occupant (.) of that position (1.3) ah and (.) the federal labour party (1.0) ah have done  
45 nothing but observe (0.5) the traditional protocols.
- 46 M:KO regardless regardless of what you say about 't the fact is (0.5) it would seem that you and  
47 bob carr are both on the nose in new south wales.
- 48 M:PK I don't think I - we're on the nose in new south wales particularly I don't, (0.8) ah and ah I'm  
49 not sure (1.0) to what extent this is true of the state government either (0.5) but (.) again  
50 (0.5) the governments .h governments have problems (0.5) all the time all governments.
- 51 M:KO \*an' your- [and your- yours has certainly\* had a fistful.  
52 M:PK [and ah a- ye:h- and and right throughout  
53 the western world north am- <everywhere else> but the fact the matter is (0.5) look at the  
54 australian economy it's still growing around three t' four percent still seven hundred  
55 thousand jobs still [three  
56 M:KO [allright,  
57 M:KO well let's, let's actually talk about the australian economy.  
58 M:PK percent inflation= ((clears throat))

59 M:KO t'day should have been a big day for you. john howard has finally given you something to  
60 hit with his spending cuts,  
61 M:PK =mhm.=  
62 M:KO =regardless of the rights or wrongs the arguments about them you've got a target to do what  
63 you can with(.) something to something to aim at. but your own credibility is still taking  
64 damage= you've you've been ducking and weaving for a week on the claims that ah that  
65 you're headed for an underlying budget deficit, next year, (0.8) people want to know what  
66 you're afraid of in not (.) moving to shed any [new  
67 M:PK  
68 [xxx]  
69 M:KO light on those figures.  
70 M:PK kerry there's only one issue here (0.8) an'that is (0.8) whether the spending of the parties  
71 (1.0) adds to the budget task or makes it easier. (0.8) that's the question. in other words what  
72 have we done in the election campaign, any of us (.) that makes the budget task more  
73 difficult, or more easy. (1.0) what the government has done (.) has funded its commitments  
74 (.) twice over. (0.8) what we found today with the liberal party is that mister k-howard's  
75 commitments are unfunded. it's another nineteen eighty seven box hill operation. (1.0) mister  
76 beazley discovered (.) by (0.8) going through the line items a three billion dollar deficiency.  
77 M:KO and yet for at least a third of kim beazley's press conference today (.) he was being pressed  
78 by questioners from the  
79 M:PK mm  
80 M:KO [press core saying  
81 M:PK [okay so okay  
82 M:KO saying why don't you come clean on the budget deficit=  
83 M:PK =it's not a  
84 [matter=  
85 M:KO [that everybody believes is around the corner=  
86 M:PK =but it's not a matter  
87 of coming clean (.) kerry the liberal party=  
88 M:KO =that's the [perception=  
89 M:PK [for the first  
90 time in any federal election (0.8) are asking the incumbent government to publish a starting  
91 point budget °number°. it's never happened before because it doesn't happen easily and  
92 >without a lot of time.<=  
93 M:KO =okay but here's h[ere's the argument here's the argument ]  
94 M:PK [now hold on you asked the question let me]  
95 answer you. (1.0) they've got this herring- red herring out there the real issue is the fiscal  
96 spending and whether it's covered (0.3) whether they (.) are (.) lucky enough (1.0) or or you  
97 are gullible enough (0.5) to jump on their piece of bait [and not on the real issues=  
98 M:KO  
99 [~~~~~ =this is not  
100 M:PK [and not on the real issues  
101 M:KO [this is not just coming this is not just coming from the liberal party it's coming from a very  
102 large swag of private sector economists including some highly credible ones. and th- the  
103 fact is (0.8) that when you made y' forward estimates for the- for the budget in may of last  
104 year (0.5) you then came out at the end of last year with a half year budget review.  
105 M:PK exactly.  
106 M:KO (.) you have acknowledged in that budget review that growth has slowed that has had an  
107 impact already (.) on your budget ah on your budget outlays. the reserve ↑bank has  
108 estimated towards the end of last year a two billion layer on top (.) of a:h on top of your ah  
109 budget deficit two billion dollar out- two billion dollars on top of that (.) ah there there seem  
110 to be very legitimate reasons [for people to  
111 M:PK o[kay well  
112 M:KO be asking the question what's around the corner next ye[ar  
113 M:PK [right well let me give you a  
114 very legitimate answer. (0.5) the reserve bank has declined to reduce interest rates have they  
115 not? they've just had a board meeting,  
116 M:KO =ye:s

- 117 M:PK =the us has just dropped their rates why haven't they? because they think the economy is  
 118 gonna to be strong next year from one july: (.) in other words they think we're facing [a  
 119 whole=  
 120 M:KO [the question is how strong?=  
 121 M:PK =okay if it [if it=  
 122 M:KO =[strong enough for you to recover the position=  
 123 M:PK =if it=  
 124 M:KO =that you, that you=  
 125 M:PK =ri- kerry=  
 126 M:KO =forecast in may of last year?=  
 127 M:PK =kerry it'll be- it's around three and a quarter percent now so if it's gonna to be strong it's  
 128 four or four plus.(.) if it's four or four plus you know that the slightest movement (.) in  
 129 growth (0.8) employment, and average weekly earnings means differences by billions in the  
 130 budget balance (0.8) so (.) therefore we believe (0.8) when the budget puts puts to bed for  
 131 august in this year or next financial year it will be reflecting the general [inclination surplus  
 132  
 133 M:KO [okay you you have made much of the fact that in nineteen eighty three  
 134 the day you took office as treasurer you were handed a minute (.) by john stone the head of  
 135 treasury at that time (.) which said there was a deficit blow-out.  
 136 M:PK =now=  
 137 M:KO =an' an' you made much of that=  
 138 M:PK =ye but [I=  
 139 M:KO [now why: why: [could you not lift the phone n-=  
 140 M:PK [but we never  
 141 M:KO why if it was possible in nineteen eighty three (.) for those figures to be made available  
 142 then=why isn't 't possible (0.4) for similar updates to be made available now  
 143 M:PK well f' the first thing in nineteen eighty three we were not asking the then government (.)  
 144 treasurer howard to give us a starting point (.) deficit we were not- as it turned out stone  
 145 gave 't to us after the election (.) but we were not a:sking for it (.) and as mister howard  
 146 himself said quite eloquently (.) the numbers are almost worthless at this point six months  
 147 from a budget round. (0.4) now as it [turned out  
 148 M:KO [in one sense six months fr'm a  
 149 budget round but ten months (0.4) since you  
 150 M:PK ((clears throat))  
 151 M:KO came up with those estimates ten months (.) are you telling the people of australia (.) that  
 152 you couldn't lift the phone (.) to the head of treasury (.) or the head of reserve and that they  
 153 don't have at their fingertips now unofficial estimates for next financial year.  
 154 (1.5)  
 155 M:PK a forecasting round a joint economic group forecasting round takes at least six or seven  
 156 weeks. if I'd 've said on the day I called the election (.) press the button on a new round to  
 157 give us some rough starting point numbers we'd be flat out getting it before the poll.  
 158 (1.0)  
 159 M:KO they're largely based on growth, (0.3) on inflation, (0.2) on employment, and on wages are  
 160 they not?  
 161 M:PK yeah b't for what quarters  
 162 (1.2)  
 163 M:KO we're- I- what- [what I'm- what I'm-  
 164 M:PK [and for what quarters]  
 165 M:KO whad I'm raising with you (.) is that (.) we're talking about a ten month period going back to  
 166 may of last year when your estimates w'- w'- w' made.  
 167 M:PK mm  
 168 M:KO so if you were sitting dow- if this election wasn't taking place  
 169 you'd be [sitting you'd be sitting down  
 170 M:PK [kerry look  
 171 M:KO with your officials no:w (.) planning for a may budget (.) in which these figures surely  
 172 would be available=oth'wise how could you plan y' budget?  
 173 M:PK bu' we're not (.) having a may budget. (.) and we've asked the treasury an' the f'nance  
 174 department we've told 'em last october or november (.) we would not be having a may  
 175 budget. (.) we're having an august budget. an' in august <we set the budget parameters after  
 176 we get (.) the: december, march and june quarter national a↑ccounts> (.) in other words

177 when we've got the base of growth and activity (.) of the- of the previous ↑year. (.) we won't  
178 have that for six ↑months.  
179 M:KO the thing that I find puzzling is th't th't this issue is hurting you.  
180 M:KO [it is  
181 M:PK [clears  
182 M:KO diver[ting you as we saw at kim beazley's [xxxxxxxxxxxxx we'll  
183 M:PK throat][xxxx look kerry loo- xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
184 M:KO [come to that in a minute=  
185 M:PK [no: hang on=  
186 M:KO =just let me finish this question.]  
187 M:PK [xxxxxxxxxxxxx well ] why don't you have the interview by yourself =you  
188 could talk for the whole program.  
189 M:KO but I'm not I'll just finish this question. [well could you] solve  
190 M:PK =maybe I could just sit here and you could [just carry on a  
191 M:KO [this ] puzzle for me. (1.0) this issue does appear to be  
192 M:PK [monologue ]  
193 M:KO hurting you=it appears to be di:verting you (0.5) as we saw in kim beazley's press  
194 conference today (1.0) you're asking us to believe that paul keating confronted with this  
195 dilemma (0.5) can't fix it (0.5) unless you've got something to hide.  
196 M:PK kerry the government's got nothing to hide. there's only one issue and that's s:pending.  
197 (1.5)  
198 M:KO [but it's not the only issue=  
199 M:PK [but it's whether it's paid for whether it's but but but what is the major issue in the- an  
200 australian national election? (0.5) whether the policies of the of the parties (0.5) are credible  
201 and can be paid for. whether they add to the budget task or subtract from it. we're as I said  
202 the other day I think the only government in federal history who actually improved the  
203 budget balance substantially in the course of the election. (0.3) what we find today is that  
204 mister howard can't pay for his election promises (0.5) he can't pay for them. he's got a three  
205 billion dollar deficiency=it's box hill all over again. I mean he always has the bribes (1.0)  
206 and that's how he ↑thinks, =  
207 M:KO =yes but see you're,=  
208 M:PK =and he can't pay for them.=  
209 M:KO you're going after his credibility, you're credibility is ve[ry much  
210 M:PK [no no  
211 M:KO a central to [this campaign too  
212 M:PK [no no but but but it's a central issue because people like you (1.0)  
213 have bought the liberal party line that is the issue is a starting point deficit= it was ↑never or  
214 the surplus it was never the starting point=  
215 M:KO =[I'll I'll say I'll say again before I saw anyone from the liberal party jump on this issue it  
216 came from private sector economists.  
217 M:PK but who cares kerry? there's dozens of ex-treasury economists out there. they- I mean there's  
218 only one national forecasting capacity and that's with the treasury, the department of finance,  
219 the statistician, the reserve bank and the department of employment education and training  
220 (~~~).=  
221 M:KO none none of whom you would have us believe are capable right now of doing this?  
222 M:PK they are but it would take six or seven weeks to get starting points together and for what  
223 budget? a budget in may? but we're having a budget in august.  
224 M:KO okay.  
225 M:PK d' you understand?  
226 M:KO well well let's move on to another issue of ah credibility and and revenue and that's the issue  
227 of telstra. you've seized on the differences between your policy today on telstra and john  
228 howard's policy today on telstra. (0.5) you've a:h- you've sworn blind (.) that telstra (.) is  
229 off limits for privatisation (0.5) b't you were the one (.) who wanted to sell off o-t-c were  
230 you not in[ those in those days [ when  
231 M:PK [~~~~~ [~~~~~  
232 M:KO you were trying to [ forge new policy  
233 M:PK [~~~~~ exactly  
234 M:KO =you were going to sell off the the whole international arm of telecom.  
235 M:PK no:  
236 M:KO to to [to

- 237 M:PK [o-t-c was a separate body. o-t-c never belonged to telecom.  
 238 M:KO okay but it wa- it was the government's international communications arm  
 239 [you were going to sell that off and use that as a private  
 240 M:PK yel's  
 241 M:KO competitive force to compete with telstra  
 242 M:PK =which I hoped telecom new zealand become the australasian competitor (~~~~~).  
 243 M:KO which today's telstra, if your plan had come off today's telstra would not have (.) that whole  
 244 arm (.) and you're now saying (0.4) telstra is sacred we can't sell telstra including what used  
 245 to be o-t-c which you were going to ↑sell  
 246 M:PK °very poor argument kerry very poor argument°  
 247 M:KO why  
 248 M:PK because (.) telecom's (.) ah telecom (.) has thirty billion of revenues it would've taken (.)  
 249 them (.) a relatively short period of time to have built an international arm (.) the proposition  
 250 I had (.) was to keep (.) telecom in public ownership, (0.4) to sell off o-t-c, (.) to have  
 251 telecom new zealand and o-t-c be the competitor, (.) or one of the competitors (.) in an open  
 252 competitive model, and that we would then give an international licence to telecom to build  
 253 it's own network. it's doing that now all over the world (.) I mean it's just got a license in  
 254 java (.) it didn't get that from o-t-c.  
 255 M:KO okay but  
 256 M:PK =it's trying to get a license in india it didn't get that from otc.  
 257 M:KO but=  
 258 M:PK =in other words it could- we could've had- we could've had in that model ah a confident  
 259 telecom with international arm and not had (0.8) um (0.8) the english comp'ny (0.5) and the  
 260 american telecommunication company owning optus  
 261 M:KO but you told me: in 'n interview on lateline that it didn't really matter whether telecom as it  
 262 was then was publicly or privately owned, (.) it was the competitive framework that was  
 263 important  
 264 M:PK [and the competitive framework I've always had in mind (.) is  
 265 that (0.6) we throw australia open to competitors which the government's just (.)  
 266 reconfirmed for nineteen ninety seven in nineteen ninety seven (1.0) ei-t-an' t (.) british  
 267 telecom, n-k-k, they can all come if they wish  
 268 M:KO but do you see- can you understand why people have a problem with y' credibility there was  
 269 [a point where you were going to sell otc but not  
 270 M:PK [~~ well  
 271 M:KO now there was a point where you said it didn't matter if telstra w[ent  
 272 M:PK [no  
 273 M:KO public or private[ now you[ say it's public it's sacred  
 274 M:PK [~~ [~~ w- no: always  
 275 understand what the model was kerry (0.5) that the government never needed (.) to dispose  
 276 of telecom to have competition in telecommunications=<that was the model=that was that  
 277 was (~~~~)>= see before the government's reforms there was no competitor ah a-  
 278 M:KO mm  
 279 M:PK a- an' an' and we had a debate in government about whether we have a duopoly or an open  
 280 market a::h framework. (0.5) and that was  
 281 M:KO [yep  
 282 M:PK deci'ded in favour of the duopoly (.) but throwing the system open in nineteen ninety seven  
 283 that's what were were going to do but but, but look the real issue is this (0.8) we're living in  
 284 the fastest growing part of the world where telephone connections are (.) are are coming  
 285 together at a and and telecommunications are being laid at such a pace (0.3) that we could  
 286 grow telecom, as a major east asian carrier. there is if you think about it there is no major  
 287 east asian carrier. telecom can be a major east asian ca- but to break it up and let british  
 288 telecom have a lump of it or someone else after a century of nurturing the thing seems to me  
 289 to be ah ab-absolutely foolish  
 290 M:KO =what about=  
 291 M:PK =and counterprod[uctive=  
 292 M:KO [bu- bu-but what about ai-bee-em and lendlease having a part of ah  
 293 of its ah information technology base?=  
 294 M:PK =oh that that's=  
 295 M:KO =are you aware of those negotiations have been going on?=

296 M:PK =yeah but that but that that's again it's got side businesses it's got side businesses it's got got  
 297 a got a side business in the yellow pages (1.0) that's not the core business.  
 298 M:KO so you could sell off the yellow pages?  
 299 (0.8)  
 300 M:PK no: it wants to keep them because it thinks the digitalised network suits the digitalisation of  
 301 the yellow pages. but but=  
 302 M:KO =but so is it okay=  
 303 M:PK =no no=  
 304 M:KO =is it okay  
 305 M:PK but but  
 306 M:KO =for the yellow pages to sell off by the back door as people claiming  
 307 the information technology component of telstra?  
 308 M:PK =the yellow,=  
 309 M:KO =to ibM=  
 310 M:PK =let me, let me just,=  
 311 M:KO =and lendlease?=  
 312 M:PK =let me just make the point with the yellow pages. they are already in partnership with an  
 313 australian comp'ny the yellow pages have been for years. I don't know whether you know  
 314 that. have been for years.  
 315 M:KO okay but come to the other question are you comfortable about the information technology  
 316 or much of the information technology base going into another company with ibM and  
 317 lendlease?  
 318 M:PK oh well o-  
 319 M:KO =because neg- as I understand it=  
 320 M:PK =well,=  
 321 M:KO =negotiations are=  
 322 M:PK =well I,=  
 323 M:KO =temporary put on hold while the elections are in place.=  
 324 M:PK =I I well, okay well I'd be, if if that's in telecom's interest telstra's interest I'd be as happy  
 325 with that as I was with them doing the foxtel arrangements. (1.0) in other  
 326 words=  
 327 M:KO =okay. others others see that  
 328 as privatisation of foxtel.=  
 329 M:PK but it isn't. I mean basically they're how could telecom produce a movie channel on a whole  
 330 group of news movie information channels =I mean telecom's a phone business it's not a it's  
 331 not a it's not an entertainment company= it has to do arrangements, you have to come to  
 332 arrangements. I mean it's the same reason why mca and british telecom are buying into  
 333 news limited. see you say to me I've got a credibility problem, I say you've got an  
 334 information problem.  
 335 (1.0)  
 336 M:KO okahehey. coming back to credibility again and ah your sud-(clears throat) your sudden  
 337 decision on the weekend to stamp about (.) what you and ralph willis regard as unacceptable  
 338 tax avoidance by the rich how do you explain as john howard and peter costello keep asking  
 339 (.) th't this has emerged so suddenly (.) when you've had thirteen years to deal with a  
 340 problem th't one assumes was- was there  
 341 M:PK no.  
 342 M:KO e[n twelve years ago  
 343 M:PK [wasn't there wasn't there at all  
 344 M:KO tax a[voidance with family trusts  
 345 M:PK [be- before be- be- before I introduced the capital gains tax in nineteen  
 346 eighdy five kerry, ev'ry tax avoidance scheme ende' up °in the capital gain° (.) 't doesn'  
 347 matter how how tricky the arrangement in the end what dropped out of the bottom was the  
 348 capital profit  
 349 M:KO mm  
 350 M:PK now I moved against that generically by putting in the capital gains tax.  
 351 M:KO b't b't b't b't [surely  
 352 M:PK [so so so trusts were not- were not- were not a problem for the tax system  
 353 in nidee-up to nineteen eighty five or  
 354 M:KO and yet, and yet in nineteen eighty five according to brian toohey  
 355 M:PK =or in o



356 M:KO the journalist= [you- you- you had a minute as a treasurer from  
 357 M:PK [but brian toohey  
 358 M:KO ah from the tax office (.) warning you that precisely this kind of thing was going on  
 359 M:PK I ran around the whole country in nineteen eighty five saying the tax- tax system was in  
 360 massive disarray and disrepair and th't we had to have option- option see to put a suture on  
 361 it so when  
 362 M:PK I th[en [no- no but it also had in it (1.0)  
 363 M:KO [option see was the con[sumption tax  
 364 M:PK the abolition of entertainmen' as a deduction, 't had the fringe benefits tax, it had the  
 365 capital gains tax (.) and I did all these things =I mean it's not a matter of of the tax office  
 366 writing to me saying we've a problem 'n the tax office=I was- I was at that stage (.)  
 367 prosthetising about (.) the haemorrhaging of the tax system on ev- on every radio and  
 368 television station 'n the country.  
 369 M:KO okay  
 370 M:PK =what happened is we then repaired 't this problem has arisen (.) at some time in the last  
 371 few years  
 372 M:KO allright and if I don't wind us up now I'm going to get my throat cut because we're out of  
 373 time but ah thanks very much prime minister for joining us.  
 374 M:PK thank you kerry.

[VIII: Kerry O'Brien/Peter Costello 15.2.1996 ABC TV]

- 1 M:KO spending cuts I recorded this interview with shadow treasurer (.)  
 2 and deputy liberal prime minister oh deputy liberal leader peter  
 3 costello.  
 4 M:KO peter costello you've attacked the government for years for  
 5 alleged dishonesty, you've tried to make a great virtue of the  
 6 coalition's honesty (.) yet you and john howard are both very clearly  
 7 fudging on this issue of a deficit blow-out (.) hiding it would seem  
 8 behind disclaimers of hypothetical questions. <isn't it time to  
 9 reveal publicly what you believe privately>  
 10 M:PC well kerry we we can't reveal what the state of the accounts (.) are .h  
 11 we have done everything we can to get the government to reveal it, .h I've written to the  
 12 secretary of treasury, he says he can't do it  
 13 without mister willis's approval, mister willis won't give his approval, .hh the government  
 14 sent the tax commissioner to see me on the sunday I said to them I didn't want the tax  
 15 commissioner so much >as the  
 16 secretary of treasury<=now (.) short of a watergate style break in to  
 17 the treasury, what else can we do?  
 18 M:KO well that's one issue that's one issue about one what the  
 19 treasury might believe the estimates are or aren't and whether they actually have those  
 20 figures. another issue is <what do you believe?> do you believe there will be an underlying  
 21 deficit of some amount or not  
 22 M:PC .h well ah kerry you can speculate on this different people have different views, it depends  
 23 VERY much on ah ye forecasts, for the further (.) year the nineteen ninety six ninety seven  
 24 year >but let me tell you what we did today.< .hhh w[e made sure ]  
 25 M:KO [but what xxx]  
 26 just sorry  
 27 M:PC [no no no it's very important  
 28 M:KO [just before you get- no- just before you get  
 29 M:PC [we made sure [today  
 30 M:KO [xxxx sor[ry sorry, just before you get to that and we will cover (.) today,  
 31 and we'll come to figures today. (.) but one more, one more, (0.4) ah moment on the deficit.  
 32 tim fisher last night on lateline=quote <the black hole in their the governments deficit IS, not  
 33 might be, IS, so big that they don't say anything. liberal liberal premier jeff kennett three  
 34 times in a radio interview on february ↑eight (.) saying that on your party's own estimates (.)  
 35 a three to five billion dollar deficit.  
 36 (0.7)  
 37 M:PC w'll I: discussed that with mister kennett who put out a statement saying that he'd been  
 38 confused about that, [the point being]  
 39 M:KO h[e was con,  
 40 he was confused be[tween] a deficit (0.3) and a su:rplus, so [xxx] you- do  
 41 M:PC [the p-] [xxx]  
 42 M:KO do you do you think that's credible. [that a- that a person as]  
 43 M:PC well [that's what he said kerry.]  
 44 M:KO that a person as senior as a premier, would confuse a deficit with a surplus.  
 45 M:PC .h >↑kerry¿ what's your point here?< your point here is you don't believe mister keating.  
 46 (0.2) all↑right that's your point.  
 47 M:KO I'm [not]  
 48 M:PC [now] you you saying to me you're saying to me well why don't you tell us what the  
 49 treasury knows °how° would I [know kerry?]  
 50 M:KO [no no ]  
 51 that's not what I'm [asking.]  
 52 M:PC [>but ] I'm- what I'm- what I'm going to tell you is this (0.2) we  
 53 have announced today how this will be solved forever.< .h we are going to introduce a  
 54 charter of budget honesty. it's going to be put in legislation. the charter of budget honesty  
 55 will require a↑ny government, including our own, when it announces an election, (.) to  
 56 update the forecasts in relation to the <forthcoming budget year> to state at the beginning of

- 57 every election campaign what the most up to date revised forecasts are. .h that will ensure  
 58 that this kind of argument never occurs again  
 59 [we ] have  
 60 M:KO [that have]  
 61 M:PC taken that step it will be one the best things for election period that could ever be done in  
 62 australia.=  
 63 M:KO =o:kay that's the three years hence, (.) this is no:w=I'm not asking you what you think  
 64 treasury believes. I'm a:sking you what you and john howard (.) are pri:vately saying (.)  
 65 about the li:kelihood >not possibility< li:kelihood of a deficit and what I'll ask you again  
 66 which was put at the press conference. .h you've- you've said that you are clearly committed  
 67 to- to maintaining to keeping all of your promises  
 68 M:PC (0.4) ye:s [we wil[l.  
 69 M:KO s[o [so you're putting your promises ahead of the possibility of a  
 70 deficit.=so would you accept in the end, (.) a budget deficit an underlying budget deficit in  
 71 nineteen ninety six >ni:nety seven< (.) if that's what you have to do >to meet your  
 72 promises.<  
 73 M:PC ah we will meet all of our promises.=if a:h if a:h a large deficit ari:ses ah we'll have to take  
 74 that into a ccount after the election,=>and we'll have to take that into account in relation to  
 75 the bottom line.< .h >but you see what we've done today kerry≈< (.) is we have sho:wn how  
 76 we can pay for all of our promises and more (.) AND more AND add to the <bottom  
 77 line> .h we know what the outcome will be under us, it will be SAVings on the <bottom  
 78 line> (.) what ever the starting point is, (.) under us (.) there will be additional savings (.) on  
 79 the <bottom line> a:fter we have paid for each and every >one of our election  
 80 co<sup>o</sup>mmitments°.<  
 81 M:KO and you're going to do all of that without any tax increases,=you've (.) but but you've  
 82 embraced the government's proposal to raise hundreds of millions in tax revenue, (.) by  
 83 cutting back (.) the ah the tariff concession system for business imports (.) but at the same  
 84 time you have made that promise not to raise taxes.  
 85 M:PC (0.6) yes well the ah tariff concession is something that the government has proposed to  
 86 with<sup>↑</sup>dra:w. it's a concession which they're proposing to withdraw. .h ah we have said in the  
 87 circumstances that we accept that as a policy initiative, .h after the election we'll discuss the  
 88 implemenTA:tion of that with those that are (.) affected by it, .h ah >but we also recognise  
 89 there's a corresponding obligation< to reduce business costs, which we'll be doing >as part of  
 90 our vigorous reform °package.°<  
 91 M:KO but you're counting you're counting that are you not as a part of your rev ur part of your  
 92 revenue?  
 93 M:PC >no: kerry< the thing you've got to get into your mind is this. we've announced today a ONE  
 94 point seven billion dollar sa:ving in the first year, (.) >don't shake your head< (.) six billion  
 95 dollars over three years and it <doesn't requi:re> .h ah any of the funny tricks in relation to  
 96 trusts, .h it doesn't require treating asset sales on the <bottom line> .h we have clearly  
 97 separated the amount and the only savings you get from then is public debt interest.  
 98 M:KO can we look at some ah ah quickly at some of those spending cuts,=the government says that  
 99 your plan to deny many migrants access (.) to six hundred million dollars of social security  
 100 benefits for two years has come straight from fightback.= has it?  
 101 M:PC <sup>↑</sup>↓well <sup>↓</sup><sup>↑</sup>no: the the proposal here is that people who come into austra<sup>↑</sup>lia and come into  
 102 australia after having got assurances of suppo:rt, .hh from members of their family .h ah  
 103 ought to be a:ble to rely on those a<sup>↑</sup>ssurances um that the people who do come in relying on  
 104 those assurances won't need to go on (.) ah jobsearch allowances during that <sup>↑</sup>two year  
 105 <sup>↑</sup>period.  
 106 M:KO you're ah going to cut five hundred plus million dollars from social security by targeting  
 107 fraud and ah (.) and ah tighter tests for employment benefits (.) ah are you prepared to reveal  
 108 the ah the basis of those figures?  
 109 M:PC I will ah as I say in this document ah will be saying some more about the activity test. but in  
 110 relation to fraud, ah many people in australia feel that the proper tests aren't enforced and  
 111 when they are arrears are not recovered .h ah by making sure that they <sup>↑</sup>are and this is <sup>↑</sup>not  
 112 denying a payment to anybody who's perfectly entitled to it, but by making sure that they  
 113 <sup>↑</sup>are .h and recovering over payments >you c'n make SAvings=now< kerry this is all about  
 114 giving tax payers value for money, (0.3) whilst at the same time protecting pensions and

115 health services for those that need them. the gOVERnment should be working as ha:rd(.) as  
116 it asks the tax payers to do.  
117 M:KO you're ah going to spend ten million dollars in the next two years on a racial tolerance  
118 program. what sort of people is that designed to target?  
119 M:PC .hh well ah kerry that's part of community education, um we want to see australia as a  
120 tolerant and understanding nation, ah we think the best way of doing that is through  
121 education .h rather than introducing criminal penalties and criminal sanctions .h and I think  
122 at the end of the day you might get much better tolerance return on an education program  
123 than on the government's criminal and civil leg- leg- proposed legislation.  
124 M:KO so it might be designed to reach some people ah who would ah who would in public use  
125 rather outrageous racist terms  
126 M:PC -'ll be ah reaching all of us ah we can we can all ah do with ah reminders of ah the  
127 importance of tolerance kerry.  
128 M:KO peter costello thanks for talking with us.

## [IX: Paul Lyneham/Cheryl Kernot 24.4.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:PL .h senadah thanks for ↑joining us.  
 2 F:CK thank you paul.  
 3 M:PL .h now the experts all say australians have got t' sa:ve more=<d'z zis mean that you would  
 4 support the idea of employees giving up three percent of their pay packets for super?>  
 5 (0.9)  
 6 F:CK well I certainly support the notion that we1 have to save more,=I'm just not convinced that  
 7 this particular proposal <SUCH AS WE KNOW OF IT> .hh is the: most efficient way to  
 8 save.  
 9 M:PL =what's wrong with it  
 10 F:CK .h ↑we:ll (0.3) I think you'll find that it's- a:h it's impact is fair and squarely on a:h on low  
 11 income earners, and >tho:se who already earn< over six hundred dollars a wee:k will be able  
 12 to just switch savings,=so .hh I don't think what the government's claiming about how much  
 13 it's going to rai:se is iz ahah essentially accurate=I think they could ((creaky voice))  
 14 probably raise about one third of what they claim=<because they've also gotta pay> ah .h  
 15 generous tax concessions on superannuation as well, .h so those are two problems .hh  
 16 thi:rdly if it's linked to the tax cuts as I suspect er that's the political aim, °h [ h° ]  
 17 M:PL [wha]t tax cuts, you mean the  
 18 ones that we were promised at the last  
 19 F:CK hh.  
 20 M:PL election=the se[cond half of them that's disappeared=  
 21 F:CK [that's right] h. =that's right but he:re's the  
 22 ultimate way to deliver it .hh <here's the tax  
 23 ((monotonous..  
 24 cut which y'really can't have because we're compelling you  
 25 to save it for the future but you got it anyway=just remember  
 26 that when you don't see it. >  
 27 ...))  
 28 (0.2) .hh if it's linked to those tax cuts (0.2).hh then a:h there's no telling if that will flow on  
 29 to further wage demands (0.2).h if it does then they could lose up to a qua:ter of what  
 30 they're proposing that they will- that they will make out of this so .hh I THINK THE  
 31 FIGURES ARE a little bit dubious.  
 32 (0.5)  
 33 M:PL .h do you accept though the the ai- actu's position that people earning less than say thirty  
 34 thousand a ye:ar (0.5) .hh do need to be helped to pay that three percent?  
 35 F:CK (1.5).hh ↑ye:s h. I do: h. but I don't know how the government proposes to do that, (0.5) .h  
 36 and we would look very ca:refully at the way this proposal fits together but y' know the  
 37 government hasn't spoken to us about (0.3) any options any variations of this proposal so I  
 38 wouldn't wanta commit myself much further than that.  
 39 (0.5)  
 40 M:PL .hh then what of the idea of a means tested lump sum payment to women who have babies.  
 41 (0.3)  
 42 F:CK °ye:h well° (0.3).h another cute idea isn't it (0.1) you know .hh. (0.4) one year ago: (0.2)  
 43 announced we're going to do marvellous things for maternity allowance for women,=this is  
 44 something y' know constructive that we can do: to help women juggle.h work and  
 45 family, .hh <and then you find'll maybe you can't afford it afterwards so you> cla:w it back  
 46 (0.3) .h and you go on a- a public relations exercise of a >lump sum< now .h I think that is a  
 47 >really cheap trick< and it does very little to extend the notion of >legitimate allowable<  
 48 maternity leave in the private sector.  
 49 (0.3)  
 50 M:PL .h have you voiced these concerns to the treasurer in your many consultations with him?  
 51 F:CK ((laughter for 1.3)) no pau:l my only consultations in inverted commas with the treasurer  
 52 (0.3) .h have been a couple of letters (0.3) and one very short ah conversation abo:ut the lack  
 53 of dialogue.  
 54 M:PL so no real talks in any depth?  
 55 (0.3)  
 56 F:CK no I think they're just pretending and I think they're pretending for two reasons=I think .h  
 57 they're pretending one to make the markets feel that we've got this process under control,  
 58 (0.2).h and ↑secondly I think they're trying to ah

59 ((monotonous talk.....  
60 assess what the opposition's going to do. .h under john  
61 ...))  
62 howard's leadership ah previously the opposition tended to ah vote for most government  
63 measures saying that they'd fix it up when they were in power (.) now I think the  
64 government needs to have a sort of insurance policy of saying well we have talked to the ah  
65 the other parties in the senate .h but I can assure you: I don't think it's been a two way  
66 process ad all.  
67 M:PL well on the basis of what you've heard so: fa:r, ah how do you think the democrats will  
68 respond to the budget.  
69 (0.4)  
70 F:CK .h well we'll respond the way we always have constructively and swiftly and  
71 decisively=we've done our homework .h we know what sort of tests we wanto apply but the  
72 government can't have it both ways=they can't pretend there's a process of consultation  
73 going and then say afterwards .h you haven't played fair.  
74 M:PL but is the budget likely to run into difficulties do you think on the basis of what you know at  
75 this point?  
76 F:CK (~~~) well the superannuation levy looks as though the opposition is ah firming a position  
77 on that so yes the co-contribution looks as though it could be a problem,  
78 M:PL thanks for your time.  
79 F:CK thank you

## [X: Andrew Olle/Clover Moore 25.8.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:AO -is the independent m-p clover moore an' thank you for coming in t'night.  
 2 F:CM °thanks andrew°  
 3 M:AO .hh ts' um as kerry douglas said in the news some time ago <you may not 've caught 't> b't  
 4 [ ah .h the opposition  
 5 F:CM [mm  
 6 M:AO is having a field day 'n calling for ah fresh elections ah in those marginal seats where tolls  
 7 were .h a .h a key issue = =how  
 8 F:CM =mmm=  
 9 M:AO big 'n issue was it in ↑your seat of bligh?  
 10 (0.5)  
 11 F:CM traffic is a a huge issue in the elect'rate hh. um I think: my electorate though has a fairly-  
 12 fairly healthy scepticism about promises 'f .h'f governments ah the former premier greiner  
 13 came to government promising t' complete the eastern distributor and then moving the  
 14 money elsewhere once in government .hh and throughout this last campaign labor did  
 15 promise a toll-free eastern distributor. .hh I think f' the people in bligh the most important  
 16 thing is to do something about the terrible traffic problem. .hh when the harbour ↑tunnel  
 17 came on line we we copped an extra: (0.4) ten to twenty thousand vehicles a day and it's just  
 18 grid lock .hh and they're really desperate for s'm action and we are expecting a commitment  
 19 from the roads minister this month=<that's what he said he would do> .hh ah and ah I think  
 20 that many of those people that saw those signs at all the ah election polls w- ah polling  
 21 booths would expect labor to: intro↑duce a toll free eastern distributor. .hh b't if we do haf to  
 22 have the toll I think what most people are worried about (.) are the toll plazas that will have a  
 23 real impact on the urban fabric of ah h'storic suburbs like woolloomoolloo and that art  
 24 gallery area .hh or at the other end near the terraced houses in in south darling street or the  
 25 park. .hh that's a problem=the other problem is if they do have a toll we are still going to  
 26 have all the heavy traffic in residential streets .h  
 27 [so:  
 28 M:AO [m  
 29 F:CM [we're really worried about i]t  
 30 M:AO [mightn't get rid of the problem anyway] <mightn't get rid of the problem anyway> I mean  
 31 do you find yourself a bit tor on the issue of tolls? on the one hand of course you are very  
 32 unpopular with your constituents b't on the other hand .h I mean I guess they are targeting to  
 33 some extent although they're probably there for fiscal reasons th[ey are targeting .h ah  
 34 the- the motor car an'  
 35 F:CM [m mm  
 36 M:AO <hopefully getting more of th'm off the ↑road>  
 37 F:CM I and many people in bligh don't have a problem with road users paying for f' ↑roads but  
 38 it's as I said it's this problem that if you do have the toll you compound the problem of  
 39 getting traffic off .h off um inner city streets an' .h the m'jority of people in my electorate  
 40 are living in terrace houses right on the footpath an' the p'llution's terrible, the noise is  
 41 terrible, it destroys life in the area an' we've been fighting for over a decade now .hh to get  
 42 through traffic off streets like bourke and crown 'n 'n we've had this long promise .hh and  
 43 then the problem c'mpounded by the harbour tubbel com- conning coming on the line and  
 44 um the eastern d'stributor not going ahead so .hh we've got grid lock, and we need an  
 45 integrate- integrated traffic and transport policy and we're desperately crying out for that .hh  
 46 and we really want the government to get on with it = I think they're the biggest ah concerns  
 47 that we have in the area b't I think people at the last electio' were- had a healthy scepticism  
 48 of the promises.  
 49 M:AO so in other words politically it didn't have a lot of impact <y' don't think>  
 50 F:CM .h it could've hala lot of a:h impact on the upper house it certainly didn't in the l' lower  
 51 house vote in bligh .hh but we are expecting um action and we're certainly are going to need  
 52 it because my electorate separates the city from the airport, the city from bondi the city from  
 53 the sporting venues [an'  
 54 M:AO [smack in the middle of 't all.  
 55 F:CM .h well iyi- 'n you don't expect people to travel around the world and end up idling in bourke  
 56 street which is what's (.) been happening since the harbour tunnel finished so the  
 57 government's really got to get on with it and we're waiting for th'm to ↑do that.

- 58 M:AO so you're going to take the fairly unpopular step are you of calling for the toll  
 59 F:CM .hh no I'm not going to do that because I see that there are huge problems .hh u:m what I did  
 60 ah an' what I I moved an urgency in the former parliament and there was a resolution of the  
 61 lower house th't .hh the government goes ahead with the eastern distributor get- to get that  
 62 traffic (.) under taylor square. .hh um I'm calling for action (.) and we rea'y want the  
 63 government to get on with it and we want it to be completed as soon as possible  
 64 M:AO (.) and invariably though when they're asked to do more they want to spend more I mean  
 65 they want to get more money from other people, don't they?  
 66 F:CM .h well 'ey do but I- I-I really think that there is a moral a social environmental problem ah  
 67 ah um issue here (.) f-for the government (.) um if it <sup>aa</sup>.hh if we got these extra cars coming  
 68 into the area from the harbour tunnel well then I think the government (0.3) or the successive  
 69 government has to pick up the tab and do something (0.2) with that problem .h um (0.3) and  
 70 that's what we are expecting.  
 71 M:AO all right clover moore thanks f' coming in tonight.  
 72 F:CM thank you.



**XI: Paul Lyneham/Carmen Lawrence 19.4.1995 ABC TV]**

- 1 M:PL doctor carmen lawrence ↑welc'm to the ↑program.=  
2 F:CL =th'nk you paul.  
3 M:PL .h well (.) we've all heard pam beggs' ↓alle↑gations; they're fairly detailed, (0.2) apparently  
4 since:re, (.) and similar to keith wilson's. (0.3) why shouldn't we believe th'm.  
5 (0.3)  
6 F:CL well they're simply wrong. (0.3) because the people at the time who were asked the same  
7 questions (0.3) myself jo berenson and kay hallahan (.) clearly contradicted the: ah report  
8 that she's made;  
9 M:PL .h yes but (.) they're very ° >de:tai:led ah (0.3) detailed recollections aren't they um< °.h  
10 F:CL =w'll one of the problems you always have with people remembering after the event is  
11 that a lot of things h've trah.nspired since then (0.2) .h a lot of water under the bridge and a  
12 lot of it very di:rty water too (.) out in the public arena, (0.2) .h accusations being made  
13 counter accusations .hh <an' it reminds me a bit of the royal commission and in fact> ah mrs  
14 beggs like many others was asked (0.2) a series of questions, at that time, (0.3) and I think  
15 it's worth drawing attention to what she said (.) then, about the difficulty that many  
16 experienced in answering questions (0.6) .hh >she sait< (0.6) it's also difficult to distinguish  
17 in my mem'ry between the various meetings I attended. (0.2) it's also (.) um (0.8) ah also  
18 difficult to ascertain whether I'm remembering something actually occurring at a cabinet  
19 meeting .h or whether I'm now recollecting having read something in the newspaper, (.) or  
20 heard something via the media <that was said to have occurred at a particular cabinet  
21 meeting.> .h and I say that's precisely the problem. (0.3) which is why I've referred to the  
22 people\* wh\*o made (0.2) <the evidence at the time if you like> in the parliament (0.2) jo  
23 berenson °and kay hallahan°.  
24 M:PL s o: pam beggs is lying?=I mean you [said today it was transparently  
25 F:CL [NO:  
26 M:PL contri:ved to [ah  
27 F:CL [WELL THERE ARE SOME ELEMENTS OF IT that I think 've been put  
28 t:ogether after the fact I mean the very explicit reference to: the fact that she can't rew- ah  
29 recall the word petition being mention .hh because I think there's some view that that is  
30 somehow ° critical to all of this ° .hh um I found th't when I heard 't a very strange  
31 interview (0.3) ah and I must say two and a half years down the track, (0.3) .h with the sort  
32 of difficulty that anyone would experience .h the level of detail was actually quite  
33 extraordinary. (0.3) ↑I mean it was a ma:jor event (0.2) b't a:fter the fact (0.2) a woman died  
34 (0.2) and many people have not been prepared to talk about 't or put their heads (xxx)  
35 precisely for that reason. .h it is a matter of some embarrassment, (0.2) sadness, (0.2)  
36 tragedy (0.2).hh so people aren't going to be running around ah in  
37 our side of politics at least talking about 't. .h [but I would have=  
38 M:PL [hhhhhhh  
39 hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh and.]  
40 F:CL thought that if those matters ]were pertinent at the time to keith  
41 M:PL hhhhhhh.  
42 F:CL wilson in particular (0.2) since he did resign from the the ah cabinet (.) before the election.  
43 (0.2) that he would have raised it with me (.) he didn't at no point did he raise it with me he  
44 didn't suggest that I made a wrong statement. he didn't suggest there need'd to be \*some  
45 revision\* at the time.  
46 M:PL =has anything of this got to do with you calling a royal co↑mmission; that eventually  
47 destroyed brian bourke? are there old sco:res in this?  
48 F:CL .hh well I'm reluctant to conclude that and I certainly haven't done  
49 [so=  
50 M:PL hav[e you thought that might be a: ζ=  
51 F:CL =SOME people have put it to me as a  
52 proposition so I'm bound to have thought 't. (0.2) and certainly there's a lot- there are a lot of  
53 bruised feelings ° in the west australian  
54 ((decrescendo in  
55 volume.....  
56 labor party°. .hh but this is first and foremost about the liberal  
57 .....))

- 58 party, (.) they've been dragging this around for two and a half years, .h (.) they've been  
 59 pushing journalists to ask questions, (.) they've been ma[king allegations of the most  
 60 extraordinary kind=  
 61 M:PL [ .h but  
 62 it now gets serious because YOUR FORMER LABOR COLLEAGUES are  
 63 running with it and that's what makes it a national issue of prominence and <GIVES IT  
 64 SOME CRED'ABILITY>  
 65 F:CL yes I understand that but even keith wilson said when he made his allegations that it wasn't  
 66 capable of resolution, (0.2) that inevitably there would be different recollections (0.2) an' I  
 67 think that's part of the tragedy of all this that labor members have been drawn into it  
 68 M:PL =well if you're right, why haven't more of your (0.2) former colleagues rushed forward to  
 69 support you <QUITE EXPLICITLY> not just said .h oh I can't really remember b't (.)  
 70 actually (.) spelled it out.  
 71 F:CL but they have spelled 't out you see what's being said is that  
 72 M:PL but a lot of [them are still on the sidelines=  
 73 F:CL [something occurred =no what's being said is that something  
 74 occurred at a particular ti:me (0.3) now the people who were there at the time gordon ↑hill  
 75 for instance <yvonne henderson> said no: I don't remember any such discussion. .h that's not  
 76 saying something weak, it's saying something strong. you claim that ay occurred and another  
 77 person says no I don't recall anything like that ever having happened. .h it's not a weak  
 78 statement it's a strong one (.) and I might say I've not asked any of those people their views I  
 79 h[aven't asked them to support me.  
 80 M:PL [why not  
 81 F:CL .h because I thought the principle of cabinet confidentiality was important,=  
 82 M:PL =are you prepared to ↑sacrifice yourself for cabinet confidentiality <which many> would  
 83 regard as a sophisticated sort of smoke screen?  
 84 F:CL well it isn't I- \*my- know in ah canberra often it may seem that way 'cause there a lot of  
 85 leaks out of\* cabinet.h but in wester- australia it is taken very seriously, .h but it's interesting  
 86 that o- of- of those people who seen fit to speak .h apart from pam beggs and ah mister  
 87 wilson they basically say (.) that .h there's no evidence of such a discussion having occurred,  
 88 and in the case of jo berenson he says either before or after .h now I thought th- there was  
 89 some discussion in cabinet afterward but it may well have been in caucus. it was certainly a  
 90 matter that was discussed widely (.) .h ((laughter)) and there were strong feelings and after  
 91 the event everyone of us c'n say (0.2) we wish it hadn't happened, [(0.2) as I said today I  
 92 wish it  
 93 M:PL [ .hh  
 94 F:CL hadn't happened and I wish I'd been more careful about the matter at the time (0.2) but that's  
 95 with hindsight.  
 96 M:PL .h well lets go back to that crucial cabinet meeting on monday november the sec'nd nineteen  
 97 ninety two. .h isn't it ↑possible that ↑your memory (0.3) has let you down. that that beggs  
 98 and wilson are right I mean you're vague on other points of the story why are you so:  
 99 accurate (0.3) in this event  
 100 F:CL .hh well because basically (0.2) the- the answer I gave to the parliament at the ti:me, very  
 101 clearly said, (0.2) what my knowledge was (0.3) simultaneously or a little later I think (0.2)  
 102 in the upper house quite independently the attorney general of the time, and the leader of the  
 103 house and the deputy leader of the house said the same thing .h and they said that as I did  
 104 before the parliament (0.2) .h ah where you can be severely criticised for misleading the  
 105 parliament. .hh I couldn't have had knowledge (0.2) enough to talk at a cabinet meeting  
 106 because it hadn't been raised with me  
 107 [until ((laughter))  
 108 M:PL [ .hhhh  
 109 F:CL afterwards so]  
 110 M:PL hhhhhhhhhh]  
 111 F:CL it's simply 'n impossible connection of events,  
 112 M:PL hhhhhhhhhh]  
 113 M:PL allr[ight now  
 114 F:CL [that's why I'm confident about 't  
 115 M:PL so labor m-p john haldon tabled brian easton's petition in the legislative council, the upper  
 116 house=  
 117 F:CL =mmhm. =

118 M:PL =on thursday=  
 119 F:CL =yes=  
 120 M:PL =november five, (0.5) you were told the night before that quote (.) haldon would be briefing  
 121 me on the matter.  
 122 F:CL yes (0.4) on a petition that was to be presented.  
 123 M:PL were you told=oh a petition was mentioned at that time=  
 124 F:CL =I think so at that time (xxx).  
 125 M:PL were you told what the matter was at that time, the night before?  
 126 F:CL =no it was very much a- you know tomorrow there's a meeting it's not in your diary and  
 127 haldon will drop in and talk to you about this petition.  
 128 M:PL and that was the very very first you'd ever heard of it  
 129 F:CL yes that's right.  
 130 M:PL .hhh yet one of your press secretaries appears to have been able to tip off a channel seven  
 131 reporter in advance:nc:e that a <bucket was going to be tipped on richard court.>  
 132 F:CL that same da:y and I understand what he said that there was a- there was a matter now I'm  
 133 only going from what the press reports are saying ah not from what ah he may 've said .h but  
 134 that's not inconsistent because as I pointed out (.) members of staff would often have  
 135 advance knowledge SOMEONE \*KNEW ENOUGH TO COME AND T-ELL ME \* TH'T  
 136 MISTER haldon was going to talk about 't with me tomorrow .h but there's certainly been  
 137 none of the conspiracy that the lib'r'l party wanted to talk about a [massive  
 138 [ .hhh  
 139 F:CL =organisation designed to trip up richard court <I mean> frankly unbelievable.  
 140 M:PL .h and brian easton did write to you on october twelve nearly a month before the tabling of  
 141 the petition, (.) detailing (.) his alle<sup>g</sup>ations against penny easton and her sister,= <it was  
 142 sent to you under confidential cover =  
 143 F:CL =mmhm=  
 144 M:PL =yet you still knew nothing of it.  
 145 F:CL w'll it didn't come to me: I mean that's the point about these letters= they are then delivered  
 146 to the appropriate officers for action and reply (0.2) as appropriate (0.2) .h and it when-  
 147 <when I finally got to see those letters because mister court actually refused to provide them  
 148 to me (0.2) against all convention as a former premier .h when I got to see th'm there was no  
 149 mention made of mister court .h so unless he's holding back some m'terial the letters  
 150 themselves don't even invite that interpretation=  
 151 M:PL =there's a lot of mention made of penny easton.  
 152 F:CL yes but as I say I didn't get to see those letters till I signed th'm (.) off a (.) reply some time  
 153 in february se[veral months later  
 154 M:PL [so so when the official responded to mr easton <the  
 155 premier has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter>  
 156 F:CL =it's a sta[ndard reply]  
 157 M:PL [the ] premier will reply to you as  
 158 soon as possible that  
 159 F:CL =standard reply and if mister court had  
 160 been at all honest he might have released some other letters that had very \*similar  
 161 phraseology\* .h but he's no he didn't.  
 162 M:PL so on that night of wednesday november four the night before the petition was tabled .hh  
 163 how much did you know of brian easton and the complaints that formed the basis of his  
 164 petition  
 165 F:CL .h I wasn't aware of it at all. (0.2) I mean when I go back now I see that this issue was first  
 166 raised by: a member of the liberal party in nineteen eighty seven .h but that's after the fact  
 167 knowledge I didn't know that at the [time  
 168 M:PL [but you knew easton reasonably well by  
 169 then,  
 170 F:CL .hh not no: he he was employed in government I didn't know him well at all to the extent  
 171 that I knew him it was an entirely professional relationship based maybe on one or two  
 172 contacts.  
 173 [that was it=  
 174 M:PL [that he'd been a senior officer for some years in the department of aboriginal affairs [he was  
 175 a minister  
 176 F:CL [not for some years no I think he was there for a (.) brief [period of time  
 177 M:PL [well since eighty nine. we:ll

178 F:CL I was asked to see whether we could redeploy him and uh that was pretty much the end 'f 't  
 179 as far as I was concerned [appropriate  
 180 M:PL [but you agreed  
 181 F:CL [documentation  
 182 M:PL [to his coming over to your department=  
 183 F:CL =oh yes yes=  
 184 M:PL =you read a  
 185 submission he wrote ah about aboriginal 'n cooperative housing,=  
 186 F:CL =well my staff t' read it in detail and we replied th't 't looked int'r'sting, and the aboriginal  
 187 affairs planning authority obviously thought they could use his services, they were always  
 188 under resourced \*like h. unfortunately a lot of\* .h aboriginal affairs departments around the  
 189 country .h and so they were keen to take on someone who appeared to have the expertise.  
 190 M:PL .h so on that morning of thursday november five nineteen ninety two. john haldon told you  
 191 about the petition he was going to table.  
 192 F:CL that's right.  
 193 M:PL .h now where did this meeting occur:  
 194 F:CL in my office at parliament house to my- the best of my recollection \*that's where it would  
 195 have had to\* been= I was ready to w- to walk in to the parliament which resumed at ten am.  
 196 M:PL so it was some time before ten ei em.  
 197 F:CL yes.  
 198 M:PL and what exactly did he tell you  
 199 F:CL well to the best of my recollection what he said was that he was goin' to be tabling a petition,  
 200 (.) that it would seek further inquiry into matters relating to: richard court basically and (.)  
 201 the fact that he had misteuse- misused documents. (0.8)  
 202 M:PL so as you said in your press club today your press club address the main political point of the  
 203 petition was the allegation about richard court.  
 204 F:CL that's right absolutely=  
 205 M:PL =it held considerable potential to cause difficulty for the  
 206 liberal party.  
 207 F:CL that's right.  
 208 (0.8)  
 209 M:PL .h and you didn't wanda know (.) ↑ what about richard court?  
 210 F:CL well as I say there was a suggestion that he had misused documents. .h but it was a very brief  
 211 meeting, (.) and it was \*necessary for me\* to get on with what I was doing .h and I presumed  
 212 because he assured me at the same time that 'e'd been through it with the clerk, (.) that all  
 213 that had to be done had been done h. remember this was a matter that'd been going on for  
 214 months and months this committee had been sitting and having public hearings and televised  
 215 conferences (.) and it was a ah daily event.  
 216 M:PL .h but the: nub of the allegations about court (0.8) ah- which uh you repeated today at the  
 217 press club was th't he had provided documents that helped penny easton in her family court  
 218 dispute with her estranged husband ↑ bri:an easton=  
 219 F:CL =mhm=  
 220 M:PL =a senior public servant in your department of aboriginal affairs, (1.5) there are so many (.)  
 221 sort of points here that you never quite get to in that crucial conversation,  
 222 F:CL well h. as I say if you- if you assume after the event some conspiracy then you start looking  
 223 for these connections. but at the ti:me .h this is a member of the upper house a competent  
 224 member .h who's on our committee (.) ah which is dealing with these questions generally  
 225 comes and says he's got a petition (.) from an individual  
 226 a:[nd=  
 227 M:PL [that's going to damage=you're the premier and I come to you and say I've got a real bucket  
 228 here that's going to damage th[e  
 229 F:CL [well I don't  
 230 M:PL [opposition leader  
 231 F:CL [think that's the way it was described as a real bucket. the re[al  
 232 M:PL [well  
 233 F:CL [work had to be done  
 234 M:PL [a serious potential to (.) cause p- con↑siderable  
 235 [political difficulty for the liberal party  
 236 F:CL [political difficulty yes yes yes.

237 and obviously back benchers would often come (.) to (.) \*ministers and members\* and say  
 238 that they had that sort of material [.hhh  
 239 M:PL =but it's just  
 240 in[credible t]hat you the premier don't say (.)  
 241 F:CL [.hhh. and]  
 242 M:PL what is it tell me about it and that would have been the final second where you might have  
 243 heard family court matter, easton anything that would 've rung a bell  
 244 F:CL well perhaps it may have with hindsight if I had been more diligent and had I have asked  
 245 more questions= these are all ifs and buts with twenty twenty hindsight and I've said very  
 246 clearly that that would have been preferable .h but in any case I=  
 247 [couldn't necessarily .hhh  
 248 M:PL [penny easton might have alive today had you done so some would say=  
 249 F:CL =well I think that is a fairly unreasonable connection and I've always felt so and there's a  
 250 great deal of regret on everyone's part but as one of her friends said in an interview yesterday  
 251 that's a pretty extraordinary connection to seek to make (.) and it's one of the reasons that  
 252 people have obviously felt reticence in talking about this  
 253 M:PL ↑did you later publicly defend john haldon's action and shortly afterwards promote him?  
 254 (0.5)  
 255 F:CL well I defended his right to present a petition and he had clearly gone through the necessary  
 256 action, and remember a privileges committee had found that he hadn't been in breach of  
 257 privilege, and required him to apologise the family which he did. so I- I think it was quite  
 258 proper to defend his action [at the time  
 259 M:PL [.hh now your critics say that  
 260 there is an extraordinarily long list of people who knew all about brian easton alle- easton's  
 261 allegations in the petition long before premier carmen lawrence seemed to I mean .h your  
 262 press secretary [seems to know some  
 263 F:CL [well ther- the the same day as  
 264 M:PL [the journalist=  
 265 F:CL [I was informed there was to be a meeting  
 266 M:PL the ah the public service commission officials in your departmen, john haldon, the clerk of  
 267 the legislative council, .h yet you remained somehow ah through the middle of this blissfully  
 268 unaweare.  
 269 F:CL well .h you get on with the business of governing developing policy, carrying on debates in  
 270 parliament, and making sure that things function smoothly .hhh these things while they (.)  
 271 now appear very significant were not necessarily seen that way at the time.  
 272 M:PL =.h but this was [the same phenomenon that saw  
 273 F:CL [I mean it was extraordinarily well for the premier's office  
 274 M:PL [but this was exactly how you came over- the- living through the  
 275 F:CL [I think that =  
 276 M:PL w-a inc (.) emerging um ah not sort of having seen ah sha=  
 277 any[thing  
 278 F:CL [well I don't think that's  
 279 M:PL I mean your critics say you could have been at gallipoli and not heard a shot ↑fired,  
 280 F:CL =well I don't think that's fair at all because I wasn't in the cabinet for most \*of that time  
 281 so\* .h in that sense I suppose it's fair to say that I I wasn't party to it because I wasn't a  
 282 member of cabinet until after mister Bourke left .hhh and during the time where I was a  
 283 member of cabinet I did give as best evidence I could to the royal commission about what  
 284 had occurred, .h and I called that royal commission to make sure that everybody said what  
 285 they knew it was well resourced, it had every opportunity to get to the bottom of matters and  
 286 it ↑did (0.3) and very comprehensively and probably to the discomfort of some.  
 287 M:PL but what about your- this does go to your credibility,  
 288 M:PL have you [ever lied in a serious political context?  
 289 F:CL [yes it does  
 290 course not no. I mean it isn't something you can ever do in politics (.) ever.  
 291 M:PL (.) have you ever misled a parliament?  
 292 F:CL never (0.4) and I fe[el] very strongly about that to[o  
 293 M:PL .hh [well [what about headlines like um ((shuffle  
 294 of paper)) lawrence admits misleading house?  
 295 F:CL which one is that in relation to: (0.3) the western women group, well that's- I didn't accept  
 296 that as an official misleading because as soon as the matter was drawn to my attention that

297 there had been a letter I simply said yes that was the case but knowingly misleading  
298 deliberately lying was what you are talking about I don't think I have ever contemplated that  
299 (.) in that particular occasion like many members of parliament from time to time you find  
300 yourself having said something too clearly in my case too absolutely .h and when it was  
301 pointed out to me that there was in fact a letter that I'd signed I immediately informed the  
302 house and that was uh clarified and that often happens too people go back and say hang on I  
303 said this but in fact .h the figures should have been something else I mean that's not  
304 misleading in the sense that that headline suggests it's correcting the record and ah you know  
305 I think there is no one in politics who hasn't had to do that from time to time.  
306 M:PL .hh if this develops nowhere from here, if we end up say in the situation we're at tonight=  
307                   ↑how badly  
308 F:CL =mmhm=  
309 M:PL damaged are you  
310 F:CL I can't assess that (.) I mean obviously that's what it was designed to do ah there's been an  
311 attempt for two and a half years .h it was raised during the election campaign in ninedy  
312 three, it was raised again during my bi-election, it's been \*raised on several occasions\*  
313 since .hh and obviously it has now a very <considerable potential for damage I don't under-  
314 un[derestimate that,>.hhhhh  
315 M:PL [some of your federal political colleagues stroke rivals aren't  
316 all that distressed at your distress,  
317 F:CL well I don't think that's fair to say they've been very supportive indeed=all of them and in  
318 fact I've been very pleased by their support because they might well of been sceptical, .h and  
319 what they've said basically is that they trust me and I thank th'm for that.  
320 M:PL .h well in the end then (0.2) why should (0.3) the Australian public say (0.3) carmen lawrence  
321 (.) is >telling the truth< about this matter (0.2) and keith wilson and pam besag (.) are not  
322 F:CL .h because I am telling the truth (.) it's what I said at the time (.) it's what I say now, it's  
323 consistent with the views of others at the time (.) .h when they were asked (.) under  
324 parliament (.) to give an account of the events.  
325 M:PL (0.3) thanks f' your time.  
326 F:CL <thank you very much paul>

## [XII: Andrew Olle/Reba Meagher 10.2.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:AO w'll reba meagher what do you say to all those critics who say th't <and some of them are  
2 women's activists I might add> that you h've devalued (.) the serious purpose the serious  
3 intent (.) of <apprehended violence orders.>
- 4 F:RM .h w'll I've said at the outset (.) that as a woman (.) I have the right to seek police advice <'n  
5 act on that advice when a threat is made against my personal safety,> .h this is primarily a  
6 personal safety issue .h and 's ev'ry woman irrespective of her position in the community or  
7 her profession (.) t' I have the- the right to access the p'lice and the la:w .hh and I acted on  
8 police advice .h and ahh ~-(creak-glottal stop) (0.3) I feel completely justified in the actions  
9 th't I've taken=
- 10 M:AO =it's true that um police advised you=I know I've checked .h to take out a-  
11 an apprehended violence order, b't ah that's hardly surprising is it given the history of of  
12 your seat I mean your predecessor was murdered .h. they're not going to take any chances  
13 are they when a- the local m-p .h comes along and says look I feel threatened
- 14 F:RM after the threat was made against my personal safety I sought the police advice .h and based  
15 on their professional policing opinion and in this case of thirty years in the police force .h it  
16 was recommended to me: that I take out an apprehended violence order because it would  
17 empower the police to ensure my safety.
- 18 M:AO yes you realise though that a lot of people feel that you were never (.) never felt genuinely  
19 threatened
- 20 F:RM .hh I believe they made that judgement on the basis of my position rather than the  
21 circumstances .h. the issue was a personal safety matter between the police and myself .h  
22 and ah they offered their advice, 'n I took that advice and acted in good faith.
- 23 M:AO b't <they didn't advise you to withdraw this apprehended violence order so why> (.) e you  
24 now doing that
- 25 F:RM that's right (.) .hh after some consideration I think that the ah the media (.) that has been  
26 placed on the issue has meant that ah (.) mister gadilari is unable to carry out his threats  
27 against me .h and f' that reason I believe th't the apprehended violence order has served its  
28 purpose.
- 29 M:AO but isn't 't (.) frankly nonsense to suggest that um public awareness would somehow (.) scare  
30 off or warn off .h rocky gatilari, .h ah when you think about it the supposed original threat  
31 th't he made t' you (.) w's made on nation'l television. (.) he's obviously not scared of media  
32 attention=he's not shy.
- 33 F:RM .hh I believe that the: (.) the media attention that is focused on this issue (.) has meant that  
34 the or- the application for the order 's served its purpose .h and on that basis I've withdra:wn  
35 the application.
- 36 M:AO isn't it the hard fact that from anyone who's read his book from anyone who saw the alleged  
37 threat or what you took to be a personal threat ah his comments on ah <I think 't was on the  
38 seven network> in a telephone call to someone that he was .h ah planning to ah .h ah kick the  
39 shit out of you. it was purely a political reference=<I mean he's just not very good with  
40 words.>
- 41 F:RM .h ↑andrew (.) the book that I brought to public attention um (1.0) detailed violence against  
42 women and an- other acts of violence.
- 43 M:AO [mm
- 44 F:RM .hh now I can only take (.) mister gadilari's words on face value .h and ah I believe th't the  
45 threat he made against me was intention'l, and I think that ah the inconsistencies in his (0.5)  
46 ts supposed apology and subsequent comments to: to media ?commentators gave me reason  
47 to apprehend my safety.
- 48 M:AO mm. if you really still feel all that (.) why not proceed with an apprehended violence order?=  
49 at least as a way of saying (.) women you can do this it's a- it's a good sensible thing to do if  
50 you genuinely feel threatened.
- 51 F:RM .h because the ah the media furor which has surrounded my application .hh has prevented  
52 me from speaking about the issue politically, .hh and I think that [ that's
- 53 M:AO [~~~~
- 54 you've had an extraordinary forum it's been non-stop;
- 55 F:RM the the media have focussed on my application 'n whether I was genuine I don't think the  
56 media are in any place to judge that.
- 57 M:AO your real point in raising all of this though was to establish that ah the liberal party you say  
58 was running a candidate against you who was an unsuitable candidate .h and that should

- 59 reflect on the candidate and and indeed the party=<b't if you are tryin' to establish his>  
60 unsuitability .h surely if he had an a-v-o taken out against him that would really ram home a  
61 point wouldn't 't?
- 62 F:RM andrew I: (0.8) called a press conference last week to bring community attention (.) to: (0.6)  
63 t' the comments that a candidate could make that they were unfit for public office, and called  
64 on the premier to intervene immediately .hh. now what happen- what has happened  
65 subsequent to that is a personal safety issue I've taken the police advice, I've acted in good  
66 faith, .hh howeve' I think (.) that (.) .h most importantly it's now in my mind that the  
67 attention that h's been focussed on this issue has meant that the a-v-o or the application for  
68 the a-v-o has served its purpose .hh
- 69 M:AO if a cand'date was running h. with an application violence order either (.) current or ah in  
70 their background (.) could they possibly s- hold themselves up <as a suitable candidate do  
71 you think>?
- 72 F:RM well I don't think that that ah has ever been a contention, I think  
73 premier ah sorry (.) the minister for the status of women said that ah .hh should such an  
74 order be granted that ah mister gadilari would be dropped as a candidate.
- 75 M:AO b't what about if there any other cand'dates in this election who might have had ah  
76 applicated- ah an apprehended violence order against th'm
- 77 F:RM I'm not aware of that andrew, I can't comment. I don't know if other candidates are in that  
78 position,
- 79 M:AO if there was one in that position, (.) on either side of politics, (.) should they go, should they  
80 be thrown out by the party?
- 81 F:RM I think that violence against women is a very serious issue and I think that ah if somebody by  
82 their actions or their comments demonstrates (.) that they either condone or participate in  
83 that activity then they are clearly unfit to partic- participate .hh ah sorry to contest public  
84 office I mean .h i- it is a criminal assault.
- 85 M:AO one thing I would like to ask you though finally though is whether you consider your  
86 colleague diedrie grooseven (.) a suitable cand'd't in this election given (.) the ah .h strong  
87 attack she made on the character (.) of ah john marsden under parliamentary privilege which  
88 was subsequently proved wrong, (.) ah <and he wasn't even a political candidate of course. is  
89 she a suitable candidate?>
- 90 F:RM .hh (0.8) I'm here to talk about violence against women (.) andrew and ah that's been the  
91 focus of (.) of ah my public comments in  
92 [in in in in ah
- 93 M:AO [well doesn't violence or unfairness or a tax on reputation count 's  
94 well
- 95 F:RM a≈÷≈h I:- (.) n:o:; I think you are trivialising the issue the issue here is basic[ally  
96 M:AO [tell that
- 97 to john marsden.
- 98 F:RM the ISSUE HERE is violence 'gainst women acts of violence 'gainst women and the  
99 condonement of those acts of violence by the premier (.) that's what I'm talking about that's  
100 the .h the: the focus of ei my campaign and subsequently the action that I was forced to take  
101 myself in light of threats to my own personal safety .hh. but diedrie grooseven has the  
102 support of the leader and of the state parl'mentary labour pa:rty,  
103 (0.8)
- 104 M:AO <allright we'll leave it there=.hh reba meagher thanks for y' coming>  
105 F:RM th'nk you.



## [XIII: Andrew Olle/Pam Allen 3.10.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:AO .h w'll pam allen this report that you've commi:ssioned is effectively a blue-print for the  
2 reform over the next four years of your depart~~ment~~ .h so why did you ask a committed  
3 ↑greenie to do this
- 4 F:PA .hh w'll geoff angel is a person with (.) over <t:wen'y years experience in the environmental  
5 movement> an' also is someone who's worked with governments an' oppositions .hh so he's  
6 someone that can translate I think environmental ideas, into practical strategies for  
7 government so [he's an ideal person
- 8 M:AO [b't can he l- c'n he look at things in an  
9 open-minded way though
- 10 F:PA .hh oh ↑he certainly has a very strong environmental perspective  
11 and he wants to ensure that there is change in the portfolio but he's done so with very  
12 practical recommendations.
- 13 M:AO do you also want to ensure this change?
- 14 F:PA .h I think that there has to be change ah the government has a very (.) broad vision of 'ts  
15 own~~i~~ .h b't I think we need over the next four years to apply that carefully to the agencies  
16 that are part of the portfolio.
- 17 M:AO so how wholeheartedly are you going to embrace this r'port
- 18 F:PA it reminded me I think of ah- my grandmother's recipe book when I read it ((laughter))  
19 because it's- it sort- I- I thought it could be a very useful tool over the next four years for the  
20 government in particular me: .hh t:o implement our various policies th't we took to the last  
21 election .hh ah there's very little in that that ah I think won't be of use to 's.
- 22 M:AO one of the government agencies that its looks at (.) p'raps quite critically .hh is the e-p-a, the  
23 environmental pro[tection agency
- 24 F:PA [mm
- 25 M:AO .hh (.) it seems to apply that it's a very timid outfit do you agree~~i~~
- 26 F:PA geoff angel has criticised the environment protection authority  
27 because doesn't see it as bold enough .hh now I don't think that that's terribly surprising  
28 when that agency was born .h in an atmosphere when the environment was not of a huge  
29 importance to the relevant government at the time .h so I think th't (.) he ↑hasn't  
30 acknowledged its technical expertise, which I think's appropriate, I'd I'd certainly  
31 acknowledge that it's very good technic'lly, .hh b't I think too that it could be bolder in its  
32 strategies.
- 33 M:AO yeh well his big criticism seems to be that is c'nfines itself does the e-p-a to ah .h looking at  
34 licences (.) for industry to pollute
- 35 F:PA mm .hh w'll I don't think that's terribly surprising .hh ah one of  
36 the things he says is that the e-p-a has never rejected a pollution  
37 control licence. .hh he hasn't acknowledged in that th't there's an  
38 awful lot of work that actually goes on in negotiation  
39 between the agencies and the industry to make sure that's the best possible licence .hh that  
40 could be had at the time .hh but on other hand some of the criticisms that geoff makes are  
41 actually already being taken up by the government and I think that even in the last three to  
42 four months we've seen a far more proactive  
43 approach .hh being taken by the e-p-a.
- 44 M:AO but not only has ah he never <ah sorry has the e-p-a> never .h refused a licence to  
45 industry .h it's only ↑twice had any objection .h ah by industry against the c'nditions  
46 imposed on the licence.
- 47 F:PA .hh that maybe a public and known objection but I c'n assure you  
48 there are many industries out there in the state that think the  
49 e-p-a 's ↑far too tough on th'm .hh and ah I s'ppose the e-p-a would never win either  
50 way. .hh obviously they've got to be seen to be a  
51 responsible agency, in a context of trying to promote economic  
52 development in the state .hh but of course they are going to be as  
53 tough as they possibly can.
- 54 M:AO you obviously don't think they're too tough.
- 55 F:PA .hh I think they are very tough. I think the e-p-a in 'ts attempts to get good licences with  
56 industries is very tough .hh I also think that they are being more tough in more recent times  
57 in prosecuting industries that do the wrong thing~~i~~ .h and there's ↑quite an atmosphere of

58 fear out there in: amongst the private sector and also in local councils .h and other public  
 59 agencies th't the e-p-a will go after them if they do the wrong thing.  
 60 M:AO another thing he points out though is that when there are these considerations about a a  
 61 licence to pollute as he puts it the- .hh there's just the e-p-a: (.) and industry sitting dow[n  
 62 and no one else  
 63 F:PA [mm  
 64 M:AO [there's-the public's excluded [we've got an interest in that  
 65 F:PA m[m .hh[hh  
 66 M:AO [haven't we?  
 67 F:PA [hha. we certainly have and ah and that I think reflects on the former conservative  
 68 government .hh one of the policy commitments of the labor party 's been to make that a far  
 69 more public process and we're- we are going to involve the community at the time of those  
 70 licence approvals and renewals. .hh and ah getting the licences in the first place .h that's  
 71 something that the e-p-a knows, is one their agenda, .h and they're working to include that in  
 72 their reform of the environment protection laws that's currently going on.  
 73 M:AO geoff angel ah points out that the e-p-a has never used its power under section twelve I think  
 74 it is of the environment administration act .hh ah to .h ah direct government agencies to ah t'  
 75 do or to stop doing something that effects the environment.  
 76 F:PA one of the things that the e-p-a 's attempted to do .hh over the last  
 77 couple of years that I can perceive .hh is th't they've actually tried to persuade other public  
 78 agencies to improve their environmental performance. .hh now the e-p-a is still a relatively  
 79 small agency  
 80 although it's a fairly powerful one .hh and they've attempted to do it by way of  
 81 negotiation .hh I'm not quite sure th- we've- that by splitting hairs and by saying they're  
 82 never actually said to an agency stop doing that or you shouldn't do that whether that really  
 83 paints the full picture.  
 84 M:AO .h as you say ah there's a lot of concern out there in the community anyway about how  
 85 hairy-chested the e-p-a always- already is. geoff angel wants it to be a lot more so, you've  
 86 endorsed I think most of his report .hh but then that brings you up against other departments  
 87 other ministers ah will they support you  
 88 F:PA I think that there's a recognition by the current government that  
 89 the e-p-a .hh is the very important agency it has to be involved as widely as possible in most  
 90 of the d'cisions that are made by government .hh in fact the premier has already involved the  
 91 e-p-a's head .h in his inner circle of chief executive officers for government departments  
 92 since he's come to office .h so already were involved in the e-p-a at a very senior level  
 93 M:AO <pam allen thanks for your- talking to 's>  
 94 F:PA thanks andrew

[XIV: Kerry O'Brien/Cheryl Kernot 8.2.1996 ABC TV]

- 1 M:KO cheryl kerno:t two weeks into the campaign (0.3) both sides both major parties are (0.5) big  
 2 on the promises, (0.3) how do you compare credibility and leadership this time with past  
 3 elections  
 4 (1.5)
- 5 F:CK .hh ↓a:h I think it's pretty similar (0.3) oh I just think that ah the pardy that makes the:  
 6 fewer election promises will probly get more sup↑port (0.3) .hh I think that ah leadership has  
 7 a long way to go yet in this campaign= the issue of leader↑ship .hh and I think that people  
 8 are still asking questions about how are the promises goin' to be paid for and all this  
 9 discussion about whether (0.2) .h the treasurer should release forward estimates=I think  
 10 what's more important .h is that we should all be asking (.) where's the funding for the  
 11 promises coming from because the labour party so far promised about two point eight billion  
 12 and the liberal pardy about two point seven three
- 13 M:KO with ah with campaign launches to come,  
 14 F:CK that's right.
- 15 M:KO right at this moment (0.3) the liberals are front runners to form a government= after two  
 16 weeks (0.3) how big is your list of policy problems as far as the democratic block (0.3) in the  
 17 next senate is concerned  
 18 (0.3)
- 19 F:CK .h well it's not huge (.) kerry and there are some areas of common ground too like  
 20 provisional tax supply factored for small business (0.7) .hh ah but we would single out (.)  
 21 telstra, (0.5) we would single out (0.5) the future role of the industrial relations commission,  
 22 (0.5) .h= we would single out for both labour and liberal though, .h how they're going to  
 23 fund their health rebates, ah what effect that would have on public hospitals and public  
 24 health systems generally, (.) .hh I think on the matter of unfair dismissals the democrats  
 25 would not be in favour of abolishing the law but we'd certainly would be willing to talk  
 26 about ways to even up the procedural fairness of it,
- 27 M:KO okay you've had ti:me now to reflect on ah on the liberals (0.3) ah tying of the telstra sale to  
 28 their environmental policy (0.3). you have been quite emphatic up to this point about that  
 29 although there was that slight chink (0.2) that if they could demonstrate public benefit by the  
 30 sale of telstra.
- 31 F:CK before you tied it to the en↑vironment we said we'd never had the debate in this country  
 32 =we've never had anybody pro:ve public benefit from any privatisations (.) .h the labour  
 33 party's just led us down the track without asking us .h but I think the environment nexus is  
 34 unacceptable (.) democrats don't cross trade (.) you don't say ever in parliament we'll vote for  
 35 this if you give us that= if you could be bought on one issue kerry (.) what's to say the next  
 36 one you can be bought on = it's a very important principle to us,
- 37 M:KO okay the ah the industrial relations policy you say that (.) that the industrial relations (.)  
 38 commission (0.7) has to virtually remain unchanged they can't tinker with that?
- 39 F:CK no they can't because it's the umpire and it's the protection and australians I think rely: on  
 40 that, .h ↑we've been willing to say to th'm look your office of employee advocate (.) .h it's  
 41 got some merit but only at the beginning of the process because perhaps you've spotted a  
 42 weakness in the system that nobody's bringing all the parties together .h but never never as a  
 43 substitute for the i-r-c.
- 44 M:KO b't what about ah spending cuts particularly liberal spending cuts since the:y seem to be  
 45 much more wedded to the idea of ah of surplus real underlying s[urplus
- 46 F:CK [mm  
 47 (0.2)
- 48 M:KO ah john howard ah say's he'll be spelling out spending cuts after his policy launch= is there  
 49 much left to cut as far as you're concerned (.) and what approach would you apply again in  
 50 the senate?
- 51 F:CK .h well I don't think there's much left to cut kerry=I mean look what we've seen so far is a  
 52 twenty fi:ve percent decrease in the amount of money spent on public education for a start  
 53 (.)h and in the last budget .h ah (.) putting up the ah safety net threshold for  
 54 pharmaceuticals so that families with chronically ill children (.) .h can't have their  
 55 medication. ↑that's that's the de- degree to which things have been cud in this country, .h  
 56 what we always apply, to our assessment of cuts is impact and ac- and equity and access.  
 57 we have said to the labour party all along, we will judge each thing on it's merit, (.) we are

58 not happy about the way .h ah cuts have been used by the labour party either and I think  
59 there'd be a lod of australians who would expect us to stand up for fairness.  
60 M:KO =.h b[ut if the  
61 F:CK [it's the liberal party who said they won't look at other ways of raising revenue, =.h  
62 they may just have to  
63 M:KO but if the coalition wins easily what about their mandate  
64 F:CK .h well and if the democrats win balance of power having discussed these things in the public  
65 domain what about the other mandate=  
66 M:KO [what=  
67 F:CK [I mean there are a lot of australians who since 1980 have deliberately chosen to vote either  
68 labour or liberal in the lower house .h and democrat or somebody else in the senate. .h I  
69 think australians like to have that other insurance.  
70 M:KO well it's ah it's one of those (.) interesting ironies of politics isn't it  
71 F:CK [it is  
72 M:KO the [situation you're faced with that on the one hand (.) you're you're threatening an advance  
73 potentially to knock-over liberal policy (.) on the other hand in some states (0.5) you will  
74 need liberal preferences will you not, to build your numbers to even maintain y' numbers  
75 perhaps in the senate let alone build them.  
76 F:CK in some states we will need liberal preferences because we'll be in competition with labour  
77 for the last seat (.) .h but in tasma:nia western australia and queensland we'll need labour  
78 party preferences =but that doesn't alter the fact (.) .h this is no big ah a:h blackmailing block  
79 kerry that you're trying to have me say I'm [ simply  
80 M:KO [no no but but by  
81 F:CK [I'ms no no no that's not s- we are not at the stage of saying  
82 M:KO [but by=  
83 F:CK we're going to block the next liberal government's budget we are just saying .h there's room  
84 for talk in some areas, and let's see what they propose, .h (.) our record has been consistent  
85 =we are a force for fairness we will apply that same test to the liberal government as we  
86 have to the labour government.  
87 M:KO okay but we both know that there's been a great deal horse trading about preferences and in  
88 this last twenty four hours before the ah (0.3) before the tickets are decided for the senate on  
89 Saturday. (0.5) ah what is- what is the current picture in terms of what you anticipate from  
90 from preference deals  
91 F:CK well I- it's a bit muddy I'm afraid to say it's ah ah negotiations with the labour party are only  
92 in a fair to middling state, and ah .h and negotiations with the liberal pardy I think have been  
93 a lot more calm and civilised this time around, (.) .h ah with all the other minor parties that  
94 still seems to be in a a h. great state of flux (.) .h this happens all the time we don't have the  
95 money for polling, .h ah I guess a lot of it's going on ah anecdotal conversations and  
96 intuitions=  
97 M:KO =as to who can  
98 offer whom what.=  
99 F:CK =and who's saying what to who else behind the back door at \*that same time .h but it- we'll  
100 all know ah tomorrow at midday and we've said\* we will wait and see what we do with  
101 lower house preferences when we've seen what the major parties do with their preferences,  
102 M:KO and very briefly you've ah as I understand it not achieved a quota on primaries in queensland  
103 the g[reens] in queensland  
104 F:CK [no]  
105 M:KO ah performed well at the last state election, (.) and now you've got the women's party with a  
106 capacity to bleed primary votes from you (.) that makes your preference flow vital for your  
107 survival does it not  
108 F:CK it does=it's one of the ironies of this contest that because I'm vocal and visible people think  
109 that I'm automatically re-elected =I'm not, I'm a democrat, I'm a queenslander and I'm in the  
110 contest with labour .h with the women's party and with the queensland greens for the last  
111 seat in queensland.  
112 M:KO is this potentially a bigger struggle for you than previously?  
113 F:CK it is and remember what happened to janine haines (.) .h it's a h. no consolation to have all  
114 your colleagues re-elected because of your efforts and loose your own seat .h and I think the  
115 split in queensland the fact that it's not just a two way split that it's a very complicated  
116 split .h and the fact that the women's party may not give me a hundred percent of their  
117 preferences .h really jeopardises my position and I don't say that lightly.

118 M:KO (.) cheryl kernot thanks for talking with us.  
119 F:CK thank you.

## [XV: Paul Lyneham/Carmen Lawrence 28.8.1995 ABC TV]

- 1 M:PL doctor carmen lawrence welc'm again to the program.  
2 F:CL =<thank you very much [ paul>  
3 M:PL [ .hh now your attendance at the u:-n fourth world  
4 conference on women in beijing will presumably be a pleasant interlude from your  
5 recent political battles b't .h ↑what do these huge talkfests actually achieve f' women  
6 F:CL .hh w'll I think they always run the risk of being irrelevant and that's why australia has  
7 pushed very hard to make this a conference of commitments .h so that every nation who  
8 goes there will actually have a series of commitments they're making to improve the  
9 status of women .h and we mean commitments we don't just mean nice words .h and so  
10 we've taken the lead in that and there's been a lot of work done now to make this  
11 conference very relevant .h and appropriate to the community that you're coming from  
12 too now what's important in australia is obviously not going to be important in the  
13 develo- the developing countries for [ example [hh.  
14 M:PL [ .hh so[me australian women would probably say that a- things haven't  
15 improved that much in recent years and in some respects they've gone backwards=I  
16 mean .h relatively fewer women in our parliaments, male-dominated enterprise  
17 bargaining, .h women under ever more pressure to balance work and families,  
18 F:CL .hh there some of the problems women have pointed to but they also acknowledge that  
19 there's been a vast improvement. vast improvements in access to education in access to  
20 child care, .h improvement generally in their ability to have their voices heard.  
21 M:PL .h and t' what extent do you genuinely believe that your recent problems are in any  
22 way due to the fact th't you're a woman.  
23 F:CL w'll ↑I think I've indicated before that the the only (.) way in which they are is th't ah as  
24 the only woman in cabinet .h and one of the few women in ah public life, you tend to  
25 stand out like a sore thumb and indeed \*it's felt more like a sore thumb than any other  
26 more attractive sort of novelty\* .hh over the last few weeks .hh and one of things that  
27 women told us very clearly was that they wanted to see more women in positions of  
28 authority in political life in board rooms, .h so we're actually ah encouraging and  
29 helping to finance a business women's group which will give women greater profile in  
30 that area where they've been sadly lacking and indeed in some areas we've been going  
31 backwards.  
32 M:PL if we can just move on to your present problems and and I'd like to start by going back  
33 to basics you told the w-a parliament on tuesday november ten nineteen ninety two the  
34 day after penny easton's suicide (.) I: LEARNED THE DETAIL of the petition and its  
35 general thrust upon its tabling" .h now you've conceded a few days back that your  
36 recollection is not necessarily per↑fect whado you say tonight?  
37 F:CL .h w'll I've indicated a very general point about recollections and I hope everyone\*s  
38 humble enough to make this point\* and that is all of us have difficulty recollecting  
39 events over time, .h that particular matter however is not one that I revile from I've  
40 given a very clear indication that I (.) didn't know the details of the petition, .hh  
41 inCIDENTALLY mister john haldon comes out in a in a \*bulletin magazine tomorrow\*  
42 saying exactly the same thing and no doubt he will say so before the commission. .hh  
43 the problem with some of the evidence to date is that it hasn't actually covered the  
44 chronology .h and who had access to what material and that's obviously part of that's  
45 what I will be seeking to clarify before the commission when I finally a↑ppear.  
46 M:PL .h b't (.) there have been so many labor people now contradicting you on the broad  
47 issues of your foreknowledge of the petition that surely many reasonable people have  
48 begun to ask (.) is she ly:↑ing  
49 F:CL I think some have concluded that I am because of the way the evidence has been  
50 presented. .hh I mean if you look at the actual evidence before the commission to date  
51 most of it has been from the people whose recollections don't coincide with mine .h but  
52 obviously we've got to yet hear from the people who put together the petition, a- the  
53 member who tabled it and who were found not to be in breach of privilege, the clerk  
54 who gave legal advice and the other cabinet ministers who ah don't share the  
55 recollections of some we've heard from so I think fairness demands that all of that  
56 evidence is hea:rd and fairly assessed which is not something you get when you get a  
57 sort of a media h. hungry for a little bit of scandal.

- 58 M:PL .h well when you're able to say as you did today that the order of witnesses has been  
 59 designed to achieve maximum political impact .h what does this suggest about the  
 60 ability to get a fair go?
- 61 F:CL well I suggested the whole commission had been established ah out of political motive,  
 62 and th't there were reasonable ques[tions]
- 63 M:PL [.hh  
 64 F:CL being [asked by my lawyers about the way in which the=  
 65 M:PL [but what does this...  
 66 F:CL commission itself has been conducted,  
 67 M:PL but what does that say about commissioner marks then?  
 68 F:CL well I think inevitably in criticising the establishment of the commission, narrow terms  
 69 of ref'ence, its political motivation .h um I was I guess and anyone who's made the  
 70 argument as we've had in the courts suggesting that anyone involved perhaps \*shared\*  
 71 some of the same problems. that's not a direct criticism of the commission or indeed  
 72 anyone involved but I'm sure they take it as one because if you're saying we think the  
 73 commission has been established for the wrong reasons, overturning very ah ancient  
 74 principles of cabinet confidentiality and so on anyone who's undertaken to do the job is  
 75 bound to feel somewhat insulted  
 76 [and I mean  
 77 M:PL so wh[at ((laughter)) that you are a liar?  
 78 F:CL well we'll wait and \*see\* what the commissioner says but I think it's important that  
 79 people have a look not only at the outcome but at the process why it was established  
 80 and for what purpose I think they're all germain in the evaluation of what the  
 81 commission might find .h because remember this is an arm of the executive it's not a  
 82 court .h the commissioner while he's a former judge is not acting as a judge and I think  
 83 it's important that people recognise that the terms of reference have been drawn up by  
 84 the current government in western australia designed to inquire into its predecessor f'  
 85 what are \*essentially\* political reasons. .hh having said that I mean the findings have to  
 86 be judged in that context.
- 87 M:PL w'll let's go back to some the early evidence before the commission, ah former press  
 88 secretary zoltan kovacs and bob willoughby now they ↑both claimed to have discussed  
 89 the petition with you: (.) in october the month before it was table  
 90 F:CL mm  
 91 M:PL now they're either both lying or they've both got an extraordinarily synchronised (.) .h  
 92 malfunction of mem'ry.  
 93 F:CL .hh well I think you'll have to look at the evidence as it spells out the chronology of the  
 94 tabling of the petition (.) .h and as I draw your attention to the arti\*c\*le by mister\* haldon  
 95 you might see that some of the evidence by mister willoudy willoughby and ah mister  
 96 kovacs is already being challenged as to accuracy, .hh I obviously had an opportunity to  
 97 go through all of that detail myself with reference to diaries and the like and I'd prefer to  
 98 do that in a controlled environment fran\*kly paul not on national television\* .h  
 99 M:PL and then we had the the former chief executive of the ↑cabinet department, marcel  
 100 anderson [.h ah then we have  
 101 F:CL mh[m  
 102 M:PL former colleagues of yours ian taylor, judith watson, keith wilson, I mean it's a long list.  
 103 F:CL yes as I say mostly because of the people who have differing recollections and some of  
 104 them .h I think will be shown very clearly just to be not possible apart from wrong .hh  
 105 but I mean that's that's the case but on the other side you have six cabinet ministers .h ah  
 106 who say they don't share that recollection. .h you have one cabinet minister who wasn't  
 107 there although some of the others who are adamant about their evidence say he wa:s  
 108 F:CL [and another cabinet minister a former minister who's  
 109 M:PL [.hhhhh hhhhhhhh.  
 110 F:CL now potentially [for contempt for refusing to answer]  
 111 M:PL [he wasn't there]  
 112 he wasn't there but he claimed to have heard all about it in advance at a dinner party  
 113 anyway. so he can pick it up at a dinner table somewhere round perth .h and the premier  
 114 right up to the end knows ↑nothing about it 't all.  
 115 F:CL well it's clearly swirling around the parliament in the days before its tabled, not  
 116 necessarily the petition but some of the issues I think you have to conclude that from the  
 117 evidence that a few people have given .hh including a member of the national party who

118 didn't tell the leader (laughter) of his own coalition ah that this matter was about SO  
 119 some people appeared to know. mister edwards said that he heard at a at a lunch I think  
 120 or a dinner and he thinks probably in parliament house but the interesting thing about  
 121 mister edwards' evidence was that he said he wasn't at the cabinet meeting although  
 122 one of the other ministers were as sure of his attendance as they were about the rest of  
 123 their recollections.

124 M:PL .h well the p-m and this government are now toughing it out on the basis of your  
 125 memory and your integrity. are you really a good bet?

126 F:CL w'll I believe \*I am and so far they do too\* and it's been interesting I guess from my  
 127 point of view to see the strong support I've had from my colleagues and from the  
 128 community .h I mean my office at the moment looks more like a florist than it does like  
 129 anything else. .hh I'm getting um lots of ah calls from the community four hundred  
 130 letters in the last week alone faxes and so on [ so the community see f-

131 M:PL [I hear you've got a  
 132 couple of cabbages=  
 133 =two cases of cabbages from a very good market gardener in my seat of fremantle.  
 134 M:PL but surely the tradition is to put the government and the party first=  
 135 F:CL =abs'lutely=  
 136 M:PL = and stand aside under  
 137 F:CL circumstances like this well you have to make that judgement and it's a difficult one to  
 138 make I mean I'm unimpressed by the opposition's calls because they're not consistent .h  
 139 they say on the one hand that they want to be fair and let me have my say and on the  
 140 other hand they want me to stand aside. .hh  
 141 M:PL well garry grey doesn't seem to have too many problems with it.  
 142 F:CL .h well garry grey hasn't put that proposition to me I mean I know that's the ah swirling  
 143 ah um agenda around the place

144 M:PL [cross  
 145 F:CL [((laughter.....))]  
 146 M:PL [y' heart he did not] come to you last week an'  
 147 [say ((laughter))]  
 148 F:CL [ .hh I had ]  
 149 M:PL [((laughter))]  
 150 F:CL [discussions] I had discussions with vario's people from time to time and the and the  
 151 subject of those discussions is not a matter for the parliament's curiosity or anyone else's  
 152 but I can tell you I've got strong support and I will also consult wi- from time to time .h  
 153 with various people about the best way to proceed in the parties and the government's  
 154 interest. .hh a lot of people are calling me and saying .hh if you allow ah the- this to  
 155 destroy you then you are destroying a lot of other principles along the way= against that  
 156 is the distraction and I do recognise that that's problem.

157 M:PL well you saw the prime minister at the press club last trying to talk about the economy  
 158 and then the vast majority of questions that followed were about carmen lawrence.  
 159 F:CL we actually took a count the majority were about other things ah there were far too  
 160 many about the \*easton royal  
 161 M:PL [well I that it would have been a  
 162 F:CL commission\*  
 163 M:PL pretty even bet=  
 164 F:CL I- an' and that's obviously that's obviously a difficulty for a government to have a single  
 165 issue dominate the agenda to that extent. .h but I think in fairness if you look of the  
 166 coverage of other issues and the fact that this tends to come and go depending on (.)  
 167 you know various bits of evidence the government still has an opportunity to get its  
 168 agenda up.

169 M:PL and finally (0.4) I realise the the the outrage of trying to make the argument that .h  
 170 carmen lawrence is responsible for penny easton's death. nevertheless kovacs came to  
 171 you afterwards and said he was- he felt such unease he was ill and he wanted some time  
 172 off

173 F:CL mm  
 174 (1.0)  
 175 M:PL do you understand those those feelings and and to what extent do you share them given  
 176 that the petition must have added to the pressure on a woman already under considerable  
 177 stress.



178 F:CL well I don't know that you can conclude that and I don't think you should and that 's  
179 what I said to zoltan kovacs. I've had a lot of calls from families of people who've had  
180 members commit suicide from those who counsel those who commit suicide and ev'ry  
181 time in the public arena there's a suggestion that an individual can be blamed for the  
182 suicide of another. those families suffer because they know how wrong that is and yet of  
183 course they feel some sense of responsibility. .h so it's a very cruel thing to say about  
184 anybody and it's a very wrong thing to say about anybody and it's very destructive of a  
185 whole lot more people than myself.  
186 M:PL thanks for your time.  
187 :CL th'nk you

[XVI: Kerry O'Brien/Carmen Lawrence 6.2.1996 ABC TV]

- 1 M:KO private health minister doctor carmen lawrence. carmen lawrence two days ago paul  
2 keating was ah (0.5) attacking the coalition for promising tax concessions to attract  
3 more people back into private health insurance he was using terms like (.) gold plated  
4 private health insurance system, gold plated incomes for specialists, gold plated  
5 returns for private hospitals. how on earth do you justify this around just two days  
6 later?
- 7 F:CL well this is to go to all of the eligible families sixty percent of whom don't have any  
8 private health insurance at all. hh and it offers them a choice they can either use private  
9 health insurance as a means of purchasing these extra services, .h or they can  
10 do it directly. hh and that also introduces competition of course into the market place  
11 because you've got sixty percent of families out there .h with additional money 350 or  
12 500 depending on the number of children .hh with which they can purchase services  
13 directly=they don't need private health insurance, .h and it will keep the insurance  
14 funds on their toes.
- 15 M:KO but the principle is exactly the sa[me that you are offer]ing you  
16 F:CL [no (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)]
- 17 M:KO are offering concessions, to australian families (.) to attract more, <either into for the  
18 first ti:me, or back into pri:ate health insurance which is exactly what john howard's  
19 doing.>
- 20 F:CL that's not what it's designed to do. it's designed to assist family with their health care  
21 costs. .h and for most of them they'll stay with the public system and they'll purchase those  
22 services directly. .h but we couldn't penalise those people who had private health  
23 insurance. .h so we're saying if you've taken the move to insure privately, .h to purchase  
24 things like dental and allied services. .h then you're entitled to the same (.) cash rebate=it's  
25 not a tax rebate,=it's a direct cash payment.
- 26 M:KO okay but if the need is so great, why hasn't this been done for thirteen years.  
27 F:CL .hh well medicare is always evolving=and that was paul keating's point today. we invented  
28 medicare, we've implemented and we've steadily improved it. .h here we have an  
29 addition=one that's been called for by many people as I've gone around australia. .h they say  
30 to me=what about dental care, what about the allied health services, .h this is a tangible  
31 practical way of putting it within the reach of families where those costs are often higher.  
32
- 33 M:KO and you've been so deeply touched by that situation that, you you talk about this rebate  
34 offering families peace of mi:nd and you express the concern about parents having such  
35 difficulty you quote research saying that twenty five percent of children (0.5) ah can't afford  
36 to see a dentist regularly (0.5) and then you ah then you fix it to start (.) from july of next  
37 years seventeen months away you don't pay one cent for another seventeen months=why not  
38 straight after [an election. ]
- 39 F:CL [well I think,]  
40 I think kerry you would know the legislative programme we will actually have to put it  
41 through the parliament .h the budget will be coming down late this year .h so that's the first  
42 practical ti:me=we also have to make arrangements with those providers=not this is a serious  
43 point .h those providers who are not currently perhaps registered appropriately. .h because we  
44 can't simply have anybody (.) making these claims=they have to be registered providers.  
45
- 46 M:KO well let me suggest that that the prospect that if you were seriously committed to this that by  
47 the august budget you could bring it in to start immediately.
- 48 F:CL .hh well I doubt that that's practical we did look at that and ah we found that those ah  
49 changes that need to be made would preclude it and we don't want it going off ah um half  
50 formed it should come in fully formed.
- 51 M:KO okay why only children why not the elderly who arguably have significan- significantly more  
52 need in many ways ah who might not be able to afford private health cover is one illustration  
53 and and face long waits for surgery like hip replacement?
- 54 F:CL .h well the latter point is precisely why we've put one hundred and fifty million dollars  
55 directly into the public health system to reduce waiting times .hh because the older members  
56 of the community are the ones who consume most health care in the society anyway  
57

58 M:KO well why not give  
59 F:CL [and they're waiting  
60 M:KO [them the same access to rebates?  
61 F:CL well we think the best thing we can do there is to ensure that they get the the surgery they  
62 need, the procedures they need, in the public hospitals where they mostly go the majority are  
63 not privately insured .h and that they don't have to wait an undue period of time .h but we  
64 need to lock the state governments into that .h and these changes today will do that for the  
65 first time.  
66 M:KO that's that's seventy five million dollars a year the total annual health bill for the states are  
67 something like fourteen billion dollars in this area so a state like victoria you you're offering  
68 them a carrot of maybe twelve to fifteen million in a year and their total their total bill is  
69 something like four billion why on earth are they going to be moved?  
70 F:CL well that actually drives the eight hundred million that's in the bonus pool arrangement at the  
71 moment .h and we've already got an agreement with the states for those ah changes to be  
72 made .h when the medicare agreements are renegotiated it will be the full four point six  
73 billion the commonwealth puts in .h that will be monitored and we insure that the states put  
74 in their share too and they don't pull back so it will be a dramatic change in commonwealth  
75 states financial relations .h as the system grows it won't just be commonwealth dollars that  
76 grow it will be state dollars too.  
77 M:KO because the opposition ah has already made the point that of course graham richardson  
78 promised a hundred million dollars to get down hospital queues ah in the last election and  
79 one million dollars of that one hundred million ended up being spent.  
80 F:CL well they should do their homework though because it was actually thirteen million dollars  
81 that went to the ah queensland government who were prepared to cooperate. .h what  
82 happened was that a lot of  
83 M:KO [and eighty and eighty three million wasn't spent.  
84 F:CL and that's right because the private hospitals weren't prepared to take on the public patients  
85 that we were offering. this time we're not going via the private system .h we're putting the  
86 funds directly into public hospitals .h where after all most people seek care .h and of course  
87 where research and training is done as well.  
88 M:KO okay you've promised the medical school for james cook university in townsville which just  
89 happens to be a marginal ah .h ah seat held by labor where ah where your support is seen to  
90 be deserting in droves if mundingburra is any illustration (0.4) as a- as a boost to rural doctor  
91 shortages what is that if it's not a blatant piece of pork barrelling. why townsville?  
92 (0.3)  
93 F:CL well because that's a very important part of the top end and there's already a post graduate  
94 medical school there perhaps it's not well understood the- there's clinical work that goes on  
95 there already .hh and remote and rural medicine has been neglected in australia our medical  
96 schools haven't concentrated enough on the problems of rural australia .h and it seemed to  
97 us that a top end university was long overdue .h and I must say I think it will be a welcome  
98 throughout the medical community not just in queensland.  
99 M:KO [although it would seem  
100 F:CL [it would benefit  
101 M:KO [well I- I'm, I'm hearing one critic-  
102 F:CL [(xxx) australia and the northern territory as well.  
103 M:KO I'm hearing one criticism already that it's an extremely expensive way to fund ah more rural  
104 doctors and and in your last budget you actually ordered a cut of two hundred medical  
105 students places in existing universities (0.3) yet you'll establish a whole new school  
106 somewhere else?  
107 F:CL well they'd better be taking the places from other universities because we don't want an  
108 increase in the number of doctors .h we're also adding to the specialist places- places some  
109 sixty in total around the country .h so it's a two pronged attack on the problem.  
110 M:KO mm. the- the coming back to to ah the way you've applied your family health rebates, there's  
111 only thirty four point five percent of australians covered by private insurance well under the  
112 forty percent level that graham richardson said when he was health minister was the  
113 minimum that that the system could handle (0.5) ah haemorrhaging at the rate as I  
114 understand it is six hundred- six- six thousand a week or something like two percent a year,  
115 your own health department has accepted an estimate that five hundred thousand more people  
116 became dependent on public hospitals from july ninety three to september ninety four and

117 that those people will use about three hundred and twenty two thousand public hospital bed  
 118 days per year. how can you afford that trend to continue?  
 119 F:CL well I dispute those figures because I know that they came from the opposition and state and  
 120 who've taken a range of figures that were prepared for ministers, commonwealth and state .h  
 121 at a conference in june .h in fact the impact of declining price of health insurance numbers  
 122 on the public system .h is something of the order of point three to one percent minimum .h  
 123 up to a maximum of two .h when we've seen the states withdrawing funds to the tune of ten  
 124 percent total expenditure. .h that gives you I think an indication of the problem .h and the  
 125 public sector .h people have simply judged that private health insurance doesn't give them  
 126 value for money .h and that's why we introduced reforms last year in legislation to introduce  
 127 that competition.  
 128 M:KO [in- in-, incidentally I've seen the briefing paper from that june conference  
 129 F:CL yes.  
 130 M:KO which said that- that, that- that estimate was accepted by all departments  
 131 incuding yours [xxx]  
 132 F:CL [but that, as the up- as the upper end of ah a number of estimates, the  
 133 lower end is considerably less than that.  
 134 M:KO by applying rebates as we look at peter martin's report by applying rebates for private  
 135 insurance aren't you simply acknowledging the reality that medicare will only survive on of  
 136 two ways either by- by maintaining a substantial private insurance base (0.3) which the  
 137 opposition also wants to do or by raising the medicare levy?  
 138 F:CL .hh no I don't believe so and your own piece earlier \*suggested just the opposite\*  
 139  
 140 M:KO well-  
 141 F:CL medicare is working and working well economically .h it's not expensive ah in comparison  
 142 to oecd countries, we're around about eight and a half of our g- percent of our gdp .hh ah  
 143 that percentage has not been increasing .h it's actually a very good system indeed .h and we  
 144 have as an option a choice private health insurance, private medical use .h and now we're  
 145 ensuring that families can exercise that choice but the sixty percent who don't have and  
 146 probably don't want private health insurance aren't penalised.  
 147 M:KO to sell this policy you need credibility (1.0) that must be fairly difficult after the outcome of  
 148 the west australian royal commission that branded you a liar?  
 149 F:CL I don't believe so because the people I've talked to in the community and that's a great  
 150 many never ask questions about that matter and they saw it as a political exercise .h and  
 151 hence discounted it heavily. .h and unlike mister howard who said today at the moment  
 152 we're not going to downgrade medicare, our commitment is permanent not just for the  
 153 moment.  
 154 M:KO carmen lawrence thanks for talking with us.  
 155 F:CL thankyou very much.

[XVII: Elizabeth Jackson/Michael Moore 23.5.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ .hhh with me on the line no:w is ah independent m-l-a michael moo:re, (.) .h >michael  
2 moore<=ah rosemary follett says ' he should go kate carnell says he should stay, the greens  
3 say they're not ?su:re at this stage, what do you say.  
4 M:MM it seems to me that whenever there's a shadow over a minister=and this is no comment on  
5 innocence or guilt=b't whenever there is a shadow over a minister .h ah <that minister  
6 should stand aside while the matter is being ah considered and I think that .hh ah that (0.3)  
7 appears to me to be the most appropriate action.> b't I must ah hasten to ah .h add elizabeth  
8 that I've not seen the ah >full set 'f information< yet and ah it's very <difficult> .h to come to  
9 a final conclusion: ah when you are away from canb'rra.  
10 F:EJ that's fair enough. ↑why should he stand aside though mister moore,=these are a↑llegations,  
11 nothing more nothing less, what about the presumption of innocence until proven guilty.  
12 M:MM .hh (xxx) it is important ah ah th't we ah keep in mind the presumption of innocence but it's  
13 also important (.) ah that ministerial: ah responsibility (.) ah be considered very seriously and  
14 it has been the normal process .h ah in the westminster system that ah where allegations  
15 occur:where there is a shadow over a minister, .hh that they stand a↓↑side (.) ah for the  
16 ti:me >that those things are considered and I would hope that they'd be considered very  
17 quickly< .h ah and ah it's that (0.3) that I'm interested in ensuring .h that what we've got is a  
18 situation (.) where ah our ministers have the highest possible standards an' ah an' that's  
19 indeed what the chief minister was trying to achieve when she made her statement on  
20 ministerial standards >just recently.>  
21 F:EJ yes by standing him aside thou:gh isn't there <some suggestion in that action:, that here is a  
22 guilty person> that nee- that is in (.) need of punishment.  
23 M:MM .h t! w'll look I've 'n made no: u:h suggestion any way that ah .h ah he's ah guilty and ah nor  
24 innocent=I mean I think there's a really important thing to distinguish between .h the way we  
25 deal with ministers who are- who are in some way under a: shadow and ah and how we deal  
26 with other people and in the case of a: .hh ah minister .h I think ah it's very very impo:rtant  
27 (.) that they .h conform to much much higher standards th'n ah th'n ordinary people=it's not  
28 about his guilt or innocence it's about ensuring ah normal ministerial responsibilitie:s kept at  
29 the highest possible standards.  
30 F:EJ now the assembly's is ah currently conducting a debate into ah the code of con↑duct that mrs  
31 carnell >has suggested,> .h should something like this do you think be codified.  
32 M:MM .h w'll I certainly commented ah ah during the debate (.) on this issue in the assembly that I  
33 thought that .h it ought to inclu:de issues like this. .h I think it's important for us to remember  
34 that ah there was a case in new south ↑wales, where ah one of the ministers .h who was  
35 guilty of ah of sexual harassment .h ah resigned and in fact as I recall wasn't reelected. .h in  
36 this particular instance there appears on ah from what I've heard .hh and from my  
37 discussions ah with um some of the ah previous staff <of mister dediminico> that there are  
38 extenuating circumstances and m b't they're the sort of issues that are up to the human rights  
39 commission(0.3) to ah determine; and ah are at arm's length from the assembly quite rightly  
40 so, .h  
41 [wh-  
42 F:EJ so [you- you seem to be suggesting as rosemary follett did at her press conference  
43 yesterda:y (.) th't a precedent has been set for this, I think you ah you allude there to terry  
44 griffith's in new south wa:les, .h but isn't this a very different situation, I mean we have (.)  
45 one person in this instance making a complaint. .h there were from memory several people in  
46 terry griffith's office.  
47 M:MM .hh yes ah as I said elizabeth it is very difficult ah to- to make a comment from where I  
48 am, .h what I'm interested in doing is ensuring the highest possible standards ah when I get  
49 back to canberra I'll look at it very very carefully .h ah prior to the time the assembly sits,  
50 but ah we are after the highest possible standards an' I think th't ah um while we would look  
51 for a very early ah decision on this issue .h ah we probably ought to have a minister who ah  
52 stands aside=I think that would put all doubt aside.  
53 F:EJ what can be done michael moore kate carnell says it's not necessary for him to stand aside,  
54 she's ah in no hurry to have that happen, .h rosemary follett's talking about the possibility of  
55 censure motions, what would you like to see happen.  
56 (0.6)  
57 M:MM I'll ah what I'd like to ah ah see happen is that ah I find out ah the full facts on both sides of  
58 the issue elizabeth and as I said ah I was happy to do this interview to ah talk about

59 ministerial standards .h but ah at this stage I really have to look at both sides o the issues and  
60 most importantly I don't think it's appropriate for the assembly .h to ah be the judge of ah of  
61 mister dediminico in this case .h we must make sure that that is done at arm's length.  
62 F:EJ =yeh but if kate carnell <won't stand him down> and you believe that's what should happen,  
63 how will you ensure that that does happen.  
64 M:MM well we certainly have ah reasonable ways of doing ah of doing that= if we if the assembly  
65 as a whole (.) believe that ah that ah he ought to be stood down then ah can be done ah by  
66 a: .h ah motion of the assembly or even a ah motion of no confidence ah in a minister for not  
67 standing aside if he doesn't follow the direction of the assembly=I mean there's a whole  
68 range of possibilities we've got,  
69 F:EJ and you'd be quite prepared to ah follow that avenue.  
70 M:MM well I'm just telling you that there are those avenues available and ah I want to talk to the  
71 chief minister,I'd like to speak to tony dedominico and ah I'd like to talk to rosemary follett  
72 to ah see why it is they are coming from where there= from where they are at and try and  
73 determine what the best way to deal with it.  
74 F:EJ so in summary mister michael moore he should stand down as minister and stay on the back  
75 bench until there is some resolution some findings.  
76 M:MM that's- that's only my preferred position as I say ah um if there are good reasons why I should  
77 move form that position then I'd I'd listen to them but my position at the moment is that it is  
78 appropriate for him to ah t' stand aside ah temporarily (.) while the matter is sorted out.  
79 F:EJ michael moore thank you  
80 M:MM my pleasure

[XVIII: Elizabeth Jackson/Paul Osborne 23.5.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ .hhh mister osborne: you've heard what the chief minister has to say, is she right or wrong.  
 2 M:PO well ah thanks elizabeth I I I tend to agree with mrs carnell=whe- when I applied for this  
 3 (0.5) to th- for this job no where on that application form did it say that I (.) .h all of a  
 4 sudden assume the role of judge jury and executioner, .hh and I I I certainly believe th't .h  
 5 th't they are serious allegations=I don't know a lot about th'm but .h but I'm prepared to to  
 6 let it take its due course, and I think that there's there's are many more people much more  
 7 qualified then I: to make a decision on this.  
 8 F:EJ .hhh rosemary follett argue:s that while there is this cloud of suspicion, that it is ah only right  
 9 and proper that he should be <stepped: down.>  
 10 M:PO eliz'beth as I said when I applied for the job no where did it say that I (.) i- once I became l-  
 11 m m-l-a that I loose the right of being innocent until proven guilty. .hh and I I have a I have a  
 12 real problem with (.) with people in the public life being an ex-police man as well, where .h  
 13 once you're accused of something you're automatically accu- assumed to be guilty, and you  
 14 have to prove your innocence and I think .hh that that's wrong and that's the stand I'll be  
 15 taki[ng on it  
 16 F:EJ [ .hhh but is that necessarily the case here  
 17 (.) I mean are canberrans: a:h so: silly that they \*don't\* understand that this is just an  
 18 allegation that has been made abundantly clear.  
 19 M:PO well this is just an allegation and and an' I've an' I've taken the view that I think that that  
 20 mister dedomenico should be able to continue in in his job and if he is found guilty well  
 21 then .h then I'd look at it again and I think that I that I have no problem at all with with  
 22 working with tony while this thing's hanging over his head, and obviously there are (.) as  
 23 I've said there are people who are in a much better situation than I to to judge whether he's  
 24 guilty or not, .h that while- while the- while the question is still open I'm not prepared to  
 25 make a judgement and and and and ask him to stand aside.  
 26 F:EJ .hh mister osborne, d'you accept though that a minister really does have to have standards  
 27 of behaviour well abo:ve the normal ah the normal acceptable level beyond question  
 28 M:PO oh absolutely (0.4) I don't .h I don't doubt- I don't question that at all. (0.5)  
 29 F:EJ .hh w'll (.) given that that is the case, if the opposition moves to censure mister dedomenico  
 30 on the floor of the assembly, .hh would you back th'm?  
 31 M:PO no I wouldn't  
 32 F:EJ why not  
 33 M:PO well as I said before I I I believe ev'ryone is innocent until proven guilty and as I said I'm  
 34 not I'm not qualified t' to make a judgement on this matter=all I know is what I've read in the  
 35 paper. .h and there are avenues, which in this case is the human rights commission who will  
 36 decide whether or not he is guilty and I'm not prepared to- to take that- to go out on a limb  
 37 and say yes ah .hh because if if we- we do force mister dedomenico to stand aside then I  
 38 then- then I feel myself, that ah it is a vote of ah ah ah no confidence in him and and and it is  
 39 a vote of saying th't yes we think y' guilty and I'm not prepared to do that.  
 40 F:EJ all right mister osborne we'll leave it at that thank you  
 41 M:PO >↑thank you<

[XIX: Elizabeth Jackson/Michael Moore 14.2.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

1 F:EJ mister moore good morning  
2 M:MM good morning elizabeth  
3 F:EJ can we start with the nuts and bolts of this debate? what's the format and is it open to all ah  
4 all people including lucinda spier?  
5 M:MM oh indeed anybody who wishes to come and ah participate in the audience would be  
6 welcome to come and participate in the audience but the format .h is that the three ah prime  
7 members of the assembly second of the assembly the chief minister the leader of the  
8 opposition and myself will debate the rates and what and in over the last three years with  
9 rates and where we think that the changes need to be made we'll have about eight minutes  
10 each to put our case and then a further five minutes to rebut statements that the other people  
11 have said then it will be open to questions ah from ah the audience including people like  
12 lucinda spiers  
13 F:EJ have you ah have you hijacked this issue?  
14 M:MM well I don't think there's anybody hijacked any issue .h I think we are in a political ah  
15 election campaign and ah whatever issues are up for debate are up for debate and so it's  
16 appropriate that ah we ah we keep trying to get them on the agenda. up till now I think many  
17 people accuse (.) um the various groups running in the elections of having a very boring  
18 election and I think it's appropriate that we raise the issue of rates which is of course an  
19 important issue to all people in canberra.  
20 F:EJ I guess that we should clarify at this point that lucinda spier is a liberal candidate running for  
21 the seat of molonglo. she's also ((clears throat)) pardon me .hh ah headed up the a-c-t rates  
22 payers association but she has in effect accused you michael moore of ah being not being  
23 prepared or willing to listen to the rate payers that it's just become political football and that  
24 you're not interested in talking to the real people who pay the money  
25 M:MM ah I think ah the rates payers association so called was formed about ah a year or so ago and  
26 in the whole time that they've existed I think that it's just been a political platform for ah  
27 lucinda spier to get her into the liberal party and to run I mean she usually identifies itself as  
28 rates payers association rather than liberal candidate .hh and ah it seems to me that if she was  
29 really serious about it then she would've been the first person to draw attention to the  
30 relationship between um the planning issues between ah the redevelopment of properties and  
31 rates now that issue has never been raised by them it's been raised in fact by myself and  
32 that's really what has happened particularly in central canberra but all over canberra that the  
33 potential for redevelopment has pushed up the ah value of properties even though people  
34 only want to use them as homes and that has meant a windfall gain for the government and it  
35 has meant ah a huge hike in rates particularly for people in inner canberra so ah in all that  
36 time lucinda spiers has never once approached me to discuss these issues ah and ah I think  
37 that to suggest that I'm hijacking the debate is just nonsense.  
38 F:EJ .hh now michael moore it seems from the datacol poll and from what party officials have  
39 been telling me that the issue of rates hasn't so far been a big campaign issue. .hh what have  
40 the electors been telling you?  
41 M:MM oh look ah as soon as ah people who heard that the rates debate was on I was flooded with  
42 calls and there are lots of different people who continue to raise the last night I was at the  
43 turner residents association meeting and a ah ah a war pension widow was ah there and ah  
44 came across to talk to me about the fact that she is still in her house and she is having huge  
45 difficulty rates but continues ah to do so because that's where she lives she's lived there since  
46 before the war and ah and clearly we have a problem with our system our system of  
47 payments we have a problem with how the rates are constructed for somebody like that  
48 F:EJ in fact you go so far as to say that ah you believe both the government and the opposition  
49 have got it wrong as far as ah rates policies are concerned  
50 M:MM yes yes I do  
51 F:EJ what's the right answer then how would  
52 you fix it?  
53 M:MM well the most important this is to recognise that what has been inequitable about the rates  
54 system and we all have to pay rates that's part of the taxation system I think most people  
55 accept that but what's been inequitable in the distribution .h is where there's been a ah  
56 increase in development and properties are particularly attractive for development then the  
57 people who live in the houses around them have no intention of redeveloping them are  
58 actually paying a great deal extra in their rates because their property suddenly has that



59 potential for redevelopment. and the way to resolve this problem ah is to charge full  
60 betterment and that way the profit that would come out of the doesn't affect the rates so  
61 much. the point of that is that ah the labor party will only charge fifty percent betterment and  
62 liberal party actually would love to have a freehold system but recognise that the constitution  
63 won't allow that so they are trying to have a pseudo freehold system and they want a less  
64 betterment charged on domestic properties and if we had that 100% betterment then I think  
65 that although there would be some time lag things would begin to resolve many of the things  
66 associated with inequity in the way rates are distributed.

67 F:EJ now what about this recent suggestion of the rates association of a threshold for investment  
68 properties?

69 M:MM well that we're now talking about ah land tax and that relies on ah the new south wales  
70 system. where we're talking about commercial properties properties where people actually  
71 make a profit from the from the ah from the land and we refer to it as land tax it's been on  
72 normal commercial properties for a for a long long time but was introduced into ah domestic  
73 commercial properties so where landlords are letting a property and making money out of it  
74 ah some ah I think two or three years ago ah and it seems to me that ah that's a very sensible  
75 way to extend that because it's it is a business and it's appropriate for use to tax a business in  
76 that way to have a threshold is is pointless because we're actually taxing a business that was  
77 the whole point of the exercise. But the rate payers association also suggested that what we  
78 should be doing is ah taxing ah our rates setting our rates just to pay for our municipal  
79 services and I find that laughable because ah if that was the case and that is the rate payers  
80 association's suggestion then the rates revenue we should look at what that would mean. the  
81 rates revenue for the territories is about 86 million dollars and the expenditure that we put  
82 out on ah on municipal services is about about one hundred and five million on a con  
83 servative estimate which is made up of things like city services which was seventy  
84 million ah public works and services which are ten million plus ten million ah recurrent  
85 equivalent for capital for capital works and territory planning which is four or five million.  
86 now if that was the if we were to take the rate payers association's suggestion what it would  
87 mean is that we would either have a twenty percent increase in rates or we cut our municipal  
88 services and I would say that most people would think that ah that our gutters footpaths and  
89 so forth are needing in maintenance rather than ah rather than having cuts.

90 F:EJ .h now you mentioned earlier the example of ah the little old lady in red hill that simply  
91 couldn't afford the rates since they've been put up .hh now speaking to the chief minister just  
92 the other day she gave me an assurance that ah she wouldn't implement any new taxes and  
93 that she didn't really realistically see ah any current taxes jumping up to any great ah to any  
94 great height .hhh I mean isn't the government doing all it can? what else can it do?

95 M:MM ah what happened in that particular situation the person I was talking to was actually in  
96 turner but red hill people have exactly the same there are people in red hill with exactly the  
97 same problem .hh and ah what the system currently does is that these people can defer their  
98 rates and have them ah paid ah out at their estate and that seems to be a very sensible way ah  
99 for somebody like myself a forty year odd year who thinks yes I've got a mortgage on a  
100 property and ah it could come out of the estate. the people aah that age really are in ah really  
101 want to ensure that they can pass on a property that is unencumbered and that's why it is it's  
102 there's only something like twenty people who have taken up this offer right across canberra  
103 and I think that's ah we really need to look in to find out why that is they case and I think it  
104 is largely because the interest rates are still high perhaps if we ah suggested to people that we  
105 would only charge the same interest rate that the government gets itself so that the  
106 government isn't spending any more money but they're not making money on it as well  
107 then I think we might have a chance of a having people see that even though the property  
108 would be encumbered somewhat it wouldn't go down in value compared to ah compared to  
109 ah the value of the property and I think that that is a very very important thing for us to  
110 explore with elderly people in particular ah people on pensions and and probably more  
111 importantly self-funded super annuants ah who seem to miss out in every which way. If we  
112 explore with them the different ways that they can pay to make it easier I think we would  
113 also assist them to assist them to help them to resolve this kind of problem.

114 F:EJ .hh michael moore we spoke earlier on land tax just another quick one on that issue do you  
115 still support a land tax in the land tax in the non-commercial sector in the a

116 M:MM I've never supported a land tax in the non-commercial sector and that's ah and that has been  
117 misrepresented even in a letter to the editor ah yesterday. .h what I'd said in the middle of the  
118 debate is that one of the things that we want to explore and it was done in reference to a ah a

119 twenty twenty concept is whether houses over over half a million dollars in value might be  
 120 the ah might be where we would explore the possibility of a land tax but in its context it was  
 121 ah made very clear that I didn't support increases in rates at thistime and ah and that was my  
 122 policy so it is one of those things that has been taken out of context and used as a political  
 123 tool  
 124 F:EJ so what did you say- so what exactly did you say?  
 125 M:MM I said that perhaps we should look at in a twenty twenty context in in fifty years time in  
 126 thirty years time we should be looking to see if if there might be some reason to tax ah put a  
 127 land tax on domestic properties of a very very high value because one of the things that's  
 128 always been a problem in our society is how do we tax the very very wealthy because often  
 129 they pay very very little tax and the best example of all of course is some of the wealthiest  
 130 men in australia who pay who there's been evidence pay no tax whatsoever and ah I think  
 131 that ah in that context I was saying that if we need to tax those people maybe one way to do  
 132 it is to look at very very very high ah value properties and see if we should ah put a ah tax ah  
 133 extend the land tax to those very very high value properties but it was done in that context  
 134 and it was-  
 135 F:EJ you didn't mean it for this  
 136 M:MM it wasn't done in the context of this century it was done in the context of a general  
 137 philosophical discussion about how do you tax the very very wealthy who aren't paying any  
 138 tax.  
 139 F:EJ okay michael moore we'll leave it there  
 140 M:MM thank you elizabeth  
 141 F:EJ thank you for talking with us

[XX: Fran Kelly/Brian Howe 15.2.1995 ABC Radio National]

1 M:FK brian howe has atsic agreed to a conditional handover of primary health care to the  
2 commonwealth department of health?  
3 M:BH .hhh well I think they've ah agreed to consider that and ah they've ah put ah a series of ah  
4 fairly stringent conditions ah to that ah position which I understand ah .hh is a basis for  
5 consultation ah with aboriginal communities around australia .h before it's actually ah  
6 finalised.  
7 (0.3)  
8 M:FK one of those conditions is more money. in the current climate of tightening the purse strings  
9 how realistic is that?  
10 M:BH .hh well I think the issue ah really is not an issue about personalities and it's not an issue ah  
11 ah in terms of ah just primary health care it's a matter of the whole orientation of the  
12 government ah and ah towards ah achieving much better outcomes in relation to aboriginal  
13 health. now that involves ah of course atsic in a clear.hh ah and very important policy role  
14 and that would continue .hh it involves ah ah effort in terms of primary health care where ah  
15 responsibility ah would ah move to the department of health and their proposal .h but they  
16 are suggesting ah a- increased support effectively in terms of infrastructure .h now that area  
17 of course is absolutely crucial in terms of health and a number of ministers in the  
18 government will have an interest in that area of how to improve ah ah not simply the primary  
19 health care services are available but the other services that ah together are going to be  
20 important if we are going to achieve a significant improvement in health outcomes.  
21 M:FK .hh just to get back to the issue of funds though that does necessarily involve more funds and  
22 atsic as I understand that one of the conditions is more funding for the area of aboriginal  
23 health. do you support the need in this coming budget to siphon off more funds to this issue?  
24 M:BH .hh well I think what I support ah is ah whatever will do something substantial to improve ah  
25 health outcomes for aboriginal people. .h the position is obviously very very serious it's not  
26 ah improving substantially .h ah despite the very significant funds that are already moving  
27 into this area. .h  
28 M:FK would more funds help though I mean is that essential?  
29 M:BH in terms of cooperation between the different levels of government ah commonwealth state  
30 and local government .hh it's to ensure that there is proper coordination between the various  
31 departments it's also got to be consistent with ah a much greater degree of aboriginal  
32 autonomy and self determination. we simply will not achieve ah the outcomes that need to  
33 be achieved ah if ah atsic is a representative ah a body of aboriginal people doesn't play a  
34 central role and it's not a simplistic issue of simply spending more money it's a matter of ah  
35 getting the structures right that ah will enable that cooperation to occur that simply ah really  
36 hasn't been there in the past it hasn't been possible to get the really concerted effort ah that's  
37 required and that's why I believe atsic's role is central but also the cooperation across  
38 commonwealth departments as well as between ah different levels of government.  
39 M:FK mister howe you have been wary of this plan in the past I understand you were one of the  
40 people involved in knocking it off last year and you have had some concerns largely about  
41 self determination. what would need to be in the plan now to satisfy you?  
42 M:BH .hh well I think it's not just ah a matter of primary health care and it's certainly not a matter  
43 of simply simply transferring funding ah ah from atsic ah to a commonwealth department it's  
44 a matter of a comprehensive approach .hh that is particularly focused on outcomes. we can  
45 ah name I think some of the key ah health problems that afflict aboriginal communities and  
46 if we can't be specific in terms of the outcomes ah that we are seeking to achieve in the way  
47 that can be achieved ah then I don't think ah additional funds ah will be the answer  
48 M:FK (but mister howe in the past [ (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)]  
49 M:BH [that's just right and we'll] have to look at funding and well do  
50 that within the budget context.  
51 M:FK but mister howe in the past as recently as last week it's no good pointing the finger at atsic  
52 when things go wrong. now this change over has come about because there has been a bit of  
53 finger pointing going on. that is what's brought the change isn't it?  
54 M:BH well I certainly think it's extremely unfair for people to ah suggest that atsic ah has been  
55 responsible for the failure to achieve the improvements in primary health care that we would  
56 like to achieve. it's got to be remembered that atsic in terms of the funds controlled and the staff  
57 that it's had .hh is relatively peripheral to the overall ah ah deployment of resources in  
58 relation to ah health in ah ah in ah communities in which there are significant aboriginal

59 population. so atsic is a very very important player. it's very important that atsic continue to  
60 have a very strong policy role in relation to health but of course the really significant  
61 resources are in control of .hh the mainstream ah commonwealth departments are in control  
62 of state governments that are very important and also local government is there as well .h so  
63 this is ah very much a matter of ah getting the overall approach right and clearly we haven't  
64 been getting the outcome so we haven't had it right in the past I think this is the once only  
65 opportunity to really get the whole ah approach ah right and I hope that ah we'll be able to do  
66 that by cooperation ah between a number of ministers from the government and of course the  
67 government's ah very close working with atsic  
68 M:FK .h mister howe finally on another matter. as deputy prime minister and senior member of the  
69 left in the government do you think the government should tolerate kerry packer's moves to  
70 try and push the cross media ownership rules and gain greater than fifteen percent share (.)  
71 of fairfax?  
72 M:BH well I certainly think that a factional issue I think the government has very clear ah rules the  
73 ah minister ah responsible ah reasserted yesterday ah the fact that those rules were in place  
74 and that those rules ah should stand and ah in this case I support ah quite strongly the  
75 minister as indeed in any case where a minister is simply carrying forward legislation and  
76 government policy.  
77 M:FK brian howe thank you  
78 M:BH thank you

## [XXI: Vivien Schenker/Duncan Kerr 29.9.1995 SBS TV]

- 1 F:VS .h mister kerr ↑welc'm<sub>i</sub> .h [will the government  
2 M:DK [thank you  
3 F:VS move to make mother roo takumi divest himself of his property holdings, an' if not  
4 why not  
5 M:DK .h w'll ah if anybody in australia (.) is convicted of a h. a a serious a<sup>a</sup>- offence ah  
6 under federal law<sub>i</sub> .h ah they can have their property (.) ah confiscated under the (.)  
7 ah criminal (.) ah forfeiture legislation th't exists but .h simply the passive owning  
8 of a investment unit, ah if if there are no convictions for criminal actions would not  
9 lead to loss of prop'ty.  
10 F:VS is he not though a magnet for other yakuza  
11 M:DK .hh ↑well I think you've got to get this in perspective ah the commonwealth law  
12 enforcement review looked at h. ah the threats australia faces from an increasingly  
13 internationalised criminal environment .h and certainly it's true they identified ah  
14 the yakuza as a potential threat in australia, and it is being watched, but also ah they  
15 identified ah the the growing- I think you call 'em russian mafia the .h ah the crime  
16 ah crime groups that 'ave ah (.) ah grown in ah the former soviet union since the  
17 break up of the ah a<sup>a</sup> the communist system, they also identified (.) the growing  
18 threat in australia from columbian ah grub- ah drug (.) ah groups .h and we have in  
19 australia enough home-grown problems with the east coast criminal milieu (.) and  
20 ah and groups like ah the motor cycle gangs which 'ave been implicated in a  
21 number of ah organised crime ah incidents so so we have our hands full ah with ah  
22 potential threats,  
23 [ah  
24 F:VS b't [surely that doesn't mean then that you are going to ↑wash your hands then of  
25 the yakuza?  
26 M:DK not at a:[ll  
27 F:VS [j'st because they're not the the [\*\*\*\*\*  
28 M:DK not[ at all  
29 <not 't all> b't it's a matter of getting all of this into perspective and and making  
30 sure that we target our law enforcement (.) ah <effectively in australia's  
31 interests=an' > at the moment ah the activities of the yakuza in australia, (.) are far  
32 less significant towards australia currently (.) ah than the activ'ties 'f other groups  
33 (.) who represent (.) ah existing threats, now  
34 [that  
35 F:VS <b't [are you  
36 M:DK [doesn't mean that we're taking]  
37 [saying that it's be]cause we're going to wait until they become a  
38 greater threat>  
39 M:DK well we've got i- greater threats no:w (.) and ah and the assessment that we are  
40 making (.) is th't the yakuza whilst they may have a potential inter'st in australia,  
41 have not developed criminal activities to a significant ah s- scale compared (.) to  
42 other existing threats t' which we're directing greater at↑tention (.) and for proper  
43 proper (.) strategic intelligence reasons=now .h ah we are are ah we are making sure  
44 that we continually upgrade our threat assessments,  
45 F:VS <okay> .h the two main other issues raised in that report, foreign investment  
46 guidelines an' visa (.) umm restrictions or or visa re↑quirements .h why: aren't the  
47 a::h foreign investment guidelines 's as strict as they are for investment in say a  
48 casino?=<is that something the government should look at> str-um strengthening  
49 those guidelines, and whadabout visa (.) ah requirements =is the government  
50 seriously looking at letting them go for japanese ↑tourists?  
51 M:DK the principle reason for foreign investment review .h is t' make sure th't ah where  
52 there are key strategic areas of the australian economy which are important to retain  
53 (.) in australian ownership that they are so retained  
54 F:VS <visa re↑quirements=is the government considering loosening up those?>  
55 M:DK the- there is an inquiry currently ah proceeding about visa inquiries ah the evidence  
56 that 's been given to that inquiry ah (.) by the australian fed'ral police a::h who are  
57 my area of administerial responsibility, .h ah was to the effect th't ah they would be

58 reluctant to see the ah the visa requirements ah (.) a:h a<sup>h</sup> removed (.) ah they  
 59 understand however th't ah a:h that there are pressures ah to to a:h make sure that  
 60 we have least inconvenience= ah to tourists ah coming to this  
 61 F:VS =mmhm=  
 62 M:DK country=now we think that that's going to- compatible ah a:h ps- situation th't  
 63 with- there can be a resolution (.) which ah does maintain (.) the effectiveness of the  
 64 visa system, ah with also minimum inconvenience to inbound ah travellers b[t' ah  
 65 F:VS [b't  
 66 M:DK that's an issue that's currently (.) under consideration by a parliamentary inquiry an'  
 67 I'm certainly not going to ah .h say otherwise an' th'n ah th't I support the  
 68 submissions that 've been put ah by the australian federal police, b't in the end it'll  
 69 be a decision for government  
 70 F:VS <okay mister kerr thank you very much>  
 71 M:DK (.) thank you

[XXII: Fran Kelly/Kim Beazley 1.3.1996 ABC Radio National]

- 1 F:FK .h kim beazle:y your biggest blow in this campaign so fa:r was the letters affair of two days  
2 ago:, .hh there's now a statement from a-l-p campaign headquarters .h saying that someone's  
3 given a statement to the police (0.1) alleging a person associated with peda costello and jeff  
4 kennett was involved (0.3) .h d'you know anything about this.  
5 (0.5).
- 6 M:KB .h well I think you'd actually better ring garry grey on that o:ne,=I don't know a great deal  
7 any more than has actually come out in your news services=except to say this [.hh] I think  
8 within a day or so  
9 F:FK [mm].
- 10 M:KB of that event it became pretty obvious .hh ay: that ralph willis was the victim of the sca:m  
11 and be: that his office and he himself wasn't involved (.) .hh and fortunately his own good  
12 character is ah  
13 (.) .h h's helped him through that process=the fact that everybody knows that ralph isn't a  
14 head kicker and that he's straight as a die:, .hh so if he was going to do anything with a set  
15 of ah letters which turned out to be fraudulent .hh it would be a a product of unknowing as  
16 opposed to knowing action  
17 (0.5)
- 18 F:FK .h well the: liberal party has denie:d the the sm- what they describe as a snear- smear and the  
19 federal liberal campaign director andrew robb today condemned what he described as  
20 another fraudulent and desperate attempt by the labor party .h to shift the blame for the willis  
21 letter scam .h don't you run the risk here of this looking like a de:sperate attempt by labor in  
22 the bi- dying stages of this campaign.
- 23 M:KB =well (0.3) I don't think a great deal is claimed for it (0.3)  
24 except to sa:y for- from what I can hear .hh except to say that this statement has been made  
25 as a statutory declaration to poli:ce, .hh a person who makes a: statutory declaration places  
26 themselves in great legal danger if they don't tell the truth (0.3) .hh and ah (0.3) that- ah  
27 an- and- and <apparently the person has been assisting the federal police with their enquiries,  
28 (0.5) .h if mr robb and mr costello and other- have other matters that they feel that they can  
29 usefully raise with the federal police they ought to spend tomorrow> doing (0.7) .h exactly  
30 that.  
31 (0.5).
- 32 F:FK .h are you happy with the campaign your campaign headquarters puding out a statement like  
33 this given there's one day de run (0.2) .hh doesn't this- don't you run the risk of puding  
34 (0.3) the forged letters back on the front pages if you like on the day when the prime  
35 minister could've hoped for some headlines from his final press conference.  
36 (0.6)
- 37 M:KB .hh we:ll we'll just have to see how the a:h how the headlines run on that, (0.3) but ah I do  
38 think that if ah (0.3) .h given that this matter is received the degree of prominence in the  
39 media (0.3) .hh ah if the campaign feels that it has the ha:nd (0.3) .hh ah information on it  
40 that ah that oughda be made public then ah that's a: decision for them to do so. .hh ah it must  
41 must be said that a statutory declaration is a: ah document of some ah .h very substantial ah  
42 matter (0.4) .h and ah and therefore having that to hand (0.2) .h ah it's obviously going to be  
43 something that ah they would want in to the public domain as quickly as possible and I guess  
44 that's what's the underpinning motivation .hh I [think also]
- 45 F:FK [though the federal] police have said th't they have taken  
46 a number of statements as part of this investigation=I mean are you perfectly happy with  
47 your campaign .h putting this information out.  
48 (0.4).
- 49 M:KB .h well listen it's a matter entirely for the campaign (.)  
50 and and their judgement. I c'n understand their concern and the concern of the campaign, .hh  
51 ah given th't there was that attack on our integrity that is obviously a product of a jake done  
52 by somebody ↑else .hh not ourselves, .h if y' actually sit down and think through the issue  
53 logically there the notion that we'd write ourselves  
54 .h fraudulent letters is an absolute absurdity .h  
55 [so easy to demonstrate  
56 F:FK [wasn't it a attack on  
57 (0.3)  
58 M:KB [that they're ↑false.]

- 59 F:FK [wasn't it a attack] on john howard's  
60 (0.7)  
61 [integrity?
- 62 M:KB [yeh well] (0.4) but (0.3) as far as ah we're concerned those fraudulent letters arrived in our  
63 hands from some third party not devised internally by ourselves, (0.6) .hh I mean a- an act of  
64 devising them internally by ourselves would be a an act of both gross stupidity and  
65 dishonesty (0.3).hh which somebody like ralph k- willis simply is not capable of, and what  
66 we are seeing emerging apparently .h and as I said I know about as much as you do from the  
67 news services about this .h what is emerging apparently is somebody has given some quite  
68 useful information to the police on the matter .h and is prepared by a statutory declaration  
69 (0.3) .h t' make that matter public, .h ah the particular suggestions there ah take obviously  
70 would take the police investigation some direction, .hh if there is concern in the liberal party  
71 headquarters about that particular direction and they have other information, (0.3) .hh then  
72 they have easy recourse to ringing up the federal police and giving it to them.  
73 (0.5)
- 74 F:FK .h well let's get to: the election, (0.6) .h it really is two minutes to midnight as- h. as th'  
75 liberals just said (0.3) .h qui- for- for the labour party that is (0.3) .h quiet pessimism was  
76 allegedly how one of your strategists described the mood in the government tonight, (.) is  
77 that how you: feel.  
78 (0.6)
- 79 M:KB .hh ah no I: I feel a sense of hope. (0.5) .h I mean basically I think that we've been a good  
80 government. (0.6) .h I think the public thinks that we've been in a- good- a good government  
81 and I think our opponents think we've been a good government by virtue of the fact they've  
82 tried to (0.2) batten themselves onto us by- like limpets (0.5) .hh and ah and leave ah as  
83 little as daylight as possible between us on the key issues of the nation, (0.7) .hh so ah I  
84 guess if- if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery there we have it, (0.7) .hh but the a:::h  
85 (0.3) and in those circumstances (0.6) .h and the fact that I think as pollsters do note these  
86 days that people are less and less willing to be frank with them (0.3) .hh there in lies some  
87 hope for us (0.2) but ah I don't think mr keating myself or anyone else has been ah .hh so  
88 um (0.3) ah bli:nded by the situation that we've never considered ourselves the underdogs in  
89 this campaign=we have been, (0.3) .hh and ah this has been a: an election campaign we've  
90 had to fight against that background.  
91 (0.6) .hh
- 92 M:KB [a:h and therefore I live with hope]
- 93 F:FK [we've just heard a a report (.) sorry]
- 94 M:KB that we might well win it.  
95 (0.7)
- 96 F:FK we just heard a report that the prime minister had a spa:rkle in his eye at 'is press conference  
97 today, (0.3) .h he described the- labor's chances as goo:d .h is that overstating it? (0.5)
- 98 M:KB I- I think that he's had a sparkle in his eye all campaign,= I th- this has been in some ways a  
99 nineteen seventy's campaign, (0.5) .hh on the one hand you've had john howard come out  
100 with nineteen seventy seven style fist full of dollars promises <with about as much validity  
101 as they have> .h on the other hand instead of the prime minister being hermetically sealed in  
102 a capsule .hh ah as is now days is often the case with prime ministers and leaders of the  
103 opposition and you .hh you pop the top of the hat capsule the head pops out and you the  
104 journalists get a ((laughter)) chance t' have a go at him for .hh for about ah thirty minutes  
105 and then the head goes down again (0.3) .hh the prime minister has actually done an old style  
106 campaign= he's out there of an evening, (0.6) .h ah as well as during the da:y=he's a- it's  
107 been a- a- a- an old fashioned barn storming and I think one of the (.) effects of that is people  
108 actually warm to seeing you and he's being buoyed by the fact 's he's gone around (.) .hh that  
109 people have foundah (.) found him a pretty attractive bloke to get to know.  
110 (0.3).
- 111 F:FK .h well the editorials of the major papers generally tell people today that it's time for a  
112 change. h how much of a blo:w was that to labor. (0.5).
- 113 M:KB .h the editorials usually say that. (0.3) I think if you gake your  
114 ((laughter)) way- go through- back through the editorials of the last ah four or five  
115 election campaigns, .hh with the possible exception of the first in nineteen eighty three, .hh  
116 you won't find a whole lot of a::h favourable editorial comment about us=that's just- the  
117 that's the nature of the beast ah .h we've put up with that for some time. (0.8) .h so a:h



118 (0.3) the public before have ah managed to find a good reason for divorcing themselves from  
 119 the opinions of editors and I hope they will again tomorrow.  
 120 F:FK (.) well the west australian the paper in your home state .h said the same thing generally but  
 121 they all- also added but vote for kim beazley in brand will that help?  
 122 M:KB well I I did ring them up and suggest I agreed with one paragraph in their editorial and the  
 123 rest of it I thought was ah was a bit untoward, .hh so: ((laughter)) ah for that [one paragraph I  
 124 am grateful.  
 125 F:FK [will you hold your seat?  
 126 M:KB [oh it will be  
 127 F:FK [will you hold your seat?  
 128 M:KB it's a tough fight as you well know fran I've ah I've never had the luxury of a safe seat and  
 129 I'm in there battling again and I'll be battling tomorrow night.  
 130 (0.7).  
 131 F:FK .hh mister beazley just finally if labor loses (.) tomorrow .h I think that paul keating has  
 132 indicated pretty clearly he won't be lead- leader of the labor party after that, will you be the  
 133 next leader?  
 134 (0.8).  
 135 M:KB .h well I just ah hh. a:h operate as a confidence player as I've said before, and I'm living in  
 136 anticipation that paul keating will be prime minister again .hh as a result of the vote  
 137 tomorrow (.) .h and that an election for labor party leader is someway down the track=I've  
 138 indicated before that whenever that ah someway down the track occurs I'll be a candidate.  
 139 F:FK (0.5) kim beazley thank you.  
 140 M:KB my pleasure.

[XXIII: Fran Kelly/Noel Pearson 21.2.1995 ABC Radio National]

- 1 F:FK noel pearson=i's an extraordinary virulent attack on the liberal party, what 've they done to  
2 deserve it=I mean (.) for all of us <the slogan for all of us> doesn't suggest racism to me  
3 particularly or to most people I'd suggest.
- 4 M:NP .h well it's a noto:rious scatological sandwich .h in the sense that it looks all glorious and  
5 wholesome on the outside .h b't in °side° .h there is a- a fairly putrid smell. .hh I think that  
6 it's very clear .h that (.) the philosophy of the lib- liberal party in this campaign has been .h  
7 to paint or construct .h some sort of moral majority .h that is middle australia<sub>1</sub> .h and that the  
8 new howard government will govern .h for middle australia<sub>2</sub> .h and for me: <on the fringes  
9 of australian society= I feel that there are groups .hh ah who are impliedly .h ah somehow  
10 receiving too much largesse from the present federal government, .h and therefore we're  
11 gonna have a government in the future (.) that's gonna kinda even things up for middle  
12 australia.
- 13 F:FK well you say it very clear but I I mean I haven't heard anyone else talk about this and  
14 certainly .h when the liberal party did have a candidate who was trying to suggest that there  
15 was too much largesse for aboriginal australia she was disendorsed immediately.
- 16 M:NP well that's right that c:andidate in queensland pauline hanson said th't the government was  
17 looking after aborigines too much and that was given rise to racism.
- 18 F:FK so john howard dump'd her.
- 19 M:NP it's an absolute political fact (.) that (.) the party polling from both sides has shown, .h that  
20 there's a great deal of ah (0.5) there's a great - ah >ground swell< of confusion .h about  
21 aboriginal issues and mabo and native title in the australian population, .hh whilst we've  
22 taken huge steps ahead in this country there is still a back water, .h of resentment and  
23 prejudice about ab'iginal issues .h and my concern about the liberal campaign, is that it has  
24 di:rected resentment and prejudice .h ah ah it has tapped into it is mined into that vein in  
25 aust- in australian society, .h for very obvious p'litical ↑reasons. .h for instance you asked  
26 the question about leadership. the question of leadership on the la- a-l-p slogan implies .h  
27 that labour have leadership and the other mob don't. .h well the question for all of us  
28 implies .h that the labour mob somehow have not governed for all of us .h and then it begs  
29 the question .h for whom have they governed? .h now it's very clear in the last three years .h  
30 that we've had a political party that's gone out on a limb and a political leader .h who has  
31 gone out on the limb on a very unpopular issue .h an issue which his own party told him .h  
32 would possibly cost the party votes publicly. .h but there was a great deal of faith placed in  
33 the australian population .h that mabo was so important .h that we needed to get this thing  
34 implemented properly. .h now I believe that the kind of leadership that saw mabo eventually  
35 be accepted by the majority of the population .hh has changed the community and we've  
36 seen a maturation .h however .h my fear is that there is still a substantial section of the  
37 australian population, .h that still hold to obscurantist views particularly in rural australia  
38 where I come from.
- 39 F:FK but noel pearson with due respect I mean aren't you being a little paranoid there's also been  
40 other things happening in the last three years .h when asked about who he means when john  
41 howard says that he will govern for all australians .hh he says there's been an emphasis too  
42 much emphasis on the union movement here=I mean he doesn't mention black australians .h
- 43 M:NP that that's the great thing about this- this particular p- particular strategy on the part of the  
44 liberal party .h it is a slogan that can be used by different groups .h to focus resentment or  
45 prejudice against other groups.
- 46 F:FK but if labour had used this slogan you wouldn't be reading these as you say sinister  
47 sentiments into the words would you.
- 48 M:NP if if you have- if you have a beef with greenies for instance .h it's perfectly possible to paint  
49 them as a minority group on the fringe .hh for whom .h john howard's government (.) will  
50 govern for all us. if you don't like asians then this is a- this is a slogan that can work for you  
51 as well because john howard will govern for all of us. .hh I ↑think that there's a very  
52 unrea:sonable .h sense in the australian public in middle australia .h that somehow (.)  
53 they're not- (0.8) they're not getting everything they deserve the fact of the matter is that  
54 both sides of politics will al:ways look after middle australia .h both sides of politics will  
55 always look after middle australia.
- 56 F:FK well given that if labour did use this slogan would you be reading the same sentiments into  
57 the words.

58 M:NP (xxx) absolutely it would've be- it would be just as appalling for the labour party to have used  
59 a slo:gan that deliberately constructs people on the margins as somehow .h being du- being  
60 the illegitimate recipients of governments largesse

## [XXIV: Vivien Schenker/Laurrie Brereton 29.9.1995 SBS TV]

- 1 F:VS .h mister brereton, wel↑c'm<sub>i</sub>
- 2 M:LB good evening
- 3 F:VS sh:ould australians be prepared to work shorter >hou:rs< in order to keep their work
- 4 makes employed?
- 5 M:LB w'll I- h. let me say ah we're very keen on h. innovative (.) work practices, (.) ah
- 6 job-sharing, (.) um the sort of flexibility, (.) ah that we're seeing in a lot of
- 7 enterprises at the moment .h b't what we don't want to see ah develop are >inferior
- 8 (.) working arrangements< there is a big difference ah but ah certainly through the
- 9 enterprise bargaining process (.) you can tailor-make (.) arrangements to suit both
- 10 employers (.) and employees it can be good for the worker, it can be very good for
- 11 the employer as well, (.) if you can genuinely get that agreement on flexibility
- 12 F:VS <I don't think that anybody's suggesting though that it's actually good for those
- 13 workers at vw to work shorter hours,=I mean it's billed as a sacrifice they're
- 14 prepared to make .h for their colleagues is that the way that the way we could be
- 15 heading here?
- 16 M:LB well y' know I'm not ah speaking personally I I can say ah .h in the middle of a
- 17 tough week in parliament I wouldn't mind a bit more leisure time for m'self um but
- 18 ah I think over time (.) people will ah will have more time (.) and opportunity with
- 19 their fam?lies (.) this c'n be a very good thing (.) ah workers with family
- 20 responsibilities are now enjoying (.) opportunities in the work force (.) as a result of
- 21 ah these flexible arrangements (.) .h ah it's no ah it's not ah an all a- a loss situation
- 22 (.) indeed it can be (0.9) a great improvement (.) in the circumstances of ah ah of an
- 23 individual ah worker, particular those with family responsibilities.
- 24 F:VS clearly mister keating wants industrial relations on the agenda come the next
- 25 election .h um certainly one of the most recent opinion polls shows it is one of the
- 26 few areas where the government is .h considered by the public to be ahead of the
- 27 opposition, .h can you whip it up sufficiently do you think to:
- 28 M:LB it's not really a matter of whipping it up (.) I think ah (0.6) the working men and
- 29 women of australia (.) know that this is one area (.) of fundamental difference
- 30 between the parties. (0.7) ah a labor party (.) a government (.) committed to the
- 31 retention (.) of a secure safety net (.) of a comprehens've award system. (.)
- 32 regularly updated, (.) guaranteeing the conditions (.) of all the people (.) who can't
- 33 (.) get into the enterprise bargaining stream. .h and 't the same time providing the
- 34 underpinning (.) for the enterprise bargaining stream<sub>i</sub> (.) .h so th't (0.4) working
- 35 men and women can go down that path, knowing th't they won't be worse off (.) as
- 36 a resu- in the result (.) knowing that they can't be disadvantaged (.) vis-a vis their
- 37 existing circumstances. (.) that's the labor way of doing things
- 38 F:VS <certainly: the working people were important for the labor party getting in next
- 39 time and mister keating .h appealed to them again at the a:- c-t-u congress yesterday
- 40 to keep the fai:th, .h martin ferguson however did warn that you weren't attracting
- 41 the hearts and minds 'f 'f younger 'f younger people, .h and I think mick young
- 42 recently too h's warned th't you're losing the support of
- 43 [blue collar workers .h is that traditional
- 44 M:LB [wha-
- 45 F:VS support going to be [ there for you come the next election?
- 46 M:LB [I think I- I think
- 47 M:LB I think mick young ah remarked about ah (.) a situation in queensland (.) um b't I
- 48 think what was said at the a-c-tu congress this week as terribly important. .h I mean
- 49 this movement (.) industrial and political (.) have done so much togeth'r (.) so much
- 50 of such enormous benefit to the nation. .h if you look 't the accord and we're now
- 51 on the eighth (.) the eighth accord (.) .h and you look at the manner in which ah it's
- 52 created jobs (.) the manner in which it's given 's record low inflation, (.) .h the
- 53 manner in which it's given 's the tremendous growth we're experiencing as a nation
- 54 't the moment, .h the manner in which it's improved the social (0.2) ah the social net
- 55 (.) as it were= I mean the first accord gave us medicare (.) this last accord (0.3) has
- 56 given 's (.) superannuation (.) which will double the position (.) of any one in the
- 57 work force (.) over what they would receive under the age pension when they
- 58 finally r'tire

59 F:VS =do people believe all of this=is this what the workers believe?

60 M:LB I think (.) all workers know, .h th't were john howard to be elected (.) with peter

61 reith (.) as 'is i-r minister (.) the security, (.) of the of the fed'ral system (.) would be

62 swept away, (.) and we'd have one level (.) of very insecure conservator

63 arrangements, (.) without any of the safeguards that are so necessarily, (.) especially

64 for those (.) at the very bottom end of the scale (.) those on the minima (.) those

65 who are least able (.) to bargain (.) and look after themselves

66 F:VS okay and no doubt we'll be hearing a lot about that befo\*re\* the next election=that's

67 a line no doubt the government's very \*keen\* to be pushing .h mister brereton

68 thanks very much

69 M:LB thanks very much indeed

[XXV: Elizabeth Jackson/Kate Carnell 23.5.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ chief minister I guess you were glued to the box  
 2 F:KC eliz'beth actually I had another another meeting on I only saw it  
 3 ((laughter))  
 4 very briefly but uh .h <I certainly saw some 'f it>  
 5 F:EJ (.) whadid y' think?  
 6 F:KC oh hhh . look eliz'beth I don't think it's up to me uh to think .h um anything on this whole  
 7 situation, I think it is really important .h th't nobody (.) prejudices (.) this situation and  
 8 allows the human .h rights office (.) to run 'ts course.  
 9 F:EJ were you surprised by the allegations that margot marshall ma:de on the seven thirty report  
 10 last night  
 11 F:KC .hh look eliz'beth this whole situ- whole thing's been going on f' nearly six months now, .hh  
 12 and (.) I don't think anything could surprise me  
 13 F:EJ ((laughter)) allright w'll (.) the debate now seems to be: (.) should you or should you not  
 14 stand tony dedominico aside, while this inquiry is under way=you've made it very clear that  
 15 you don't believe you should., (.)  
 16 F:KC eliz'beth what we've got he:re (.) is s'me untested (.) allegations (.)  
 17 at this stage with a process .h ah under law under the the um human rights .h commission,  
 18 th't should be allowed to run its course and again I make the comment I don't think it's  
 19 appropriate to prejudice (.) the situation adall and on that sit- basis I don't think it's ah fair or  
 20 just .h to require mister dediminico to stand aside for what could be a >very long time,<  
 21 remember the situation has gone on fe .h um nearly (.) six months now there are no time  
 22 frames under the legislation, (.) so we could be talking about any time whatsoever  
 23 F:EJ b't chief minister isn't this what is expected (.) of our 'lected representatives .h what- th't  
 24 while ever there's a cloud of suspicion hanging over th'm that they should step step down .hh  
 25 just until that enquiry has taken place th't it's not an indication (.) of guilt or innocence, that  
 26 people are intelligent enough to understand that this is just an allegation  
 27 F:KC .h well eliz'beth it is (.) just (.) an allegation and there is a proper process t' run, what we've  
 28 got is some allegations .h by one previous employee (.) th't's all we've got here and I believe  
 29 that the process should be allowed to run 'ts course .h an' we shouldn't prejudice and I  
 30 believe .h requiring mister dedominico to stand aside at this stage .h at least to ↑some extent  
 31 (.) would prejudice the whole situation.  
 32 F:EJ why do y' say that because ah rosemary follett argues th't that is (.) not the case .h that this  
 33 is standard behaviour .h uh for chief ministers or premiers or wh- whatever you like to call  
 34 th'm to stand (.) people down while there is a cloud of suspicion hanging over th'm  
 35 F:KC <eliz'beth> it's fascinating that y' say that because if you remember (.) mister berry when the  
 36 vitab winquiry was on miss miss follett re↑fused to stand mist- mister berry down (0.8)  
 37 we've got .h one previous employee has made a set of allegations which should be: .h  
 38 investigated by the proper authority which is (.) the human rights office (.) prop'ly (.) um  
 39 that's all we've got here (.) .h um (.) we must allow the process to run its course we mustn't  
 40 prejudice (.) there are no time frames (.) under the legislation, so the the case could go on for  
 41 many months (.) still I hope it ↑doesn't but it could. .h would it be appropriate=would it be  
 42 fair and just (.) to require mister dediminico to stand aside for potentially (.) many months .h  
 43 simply because (.) there are (.) a set of allegations (.) um against him. I I seriously don't  
 44 believe that that would be (.) fair or just. (.)  
 45 F:EJ .h chief minister the reality for you today is that you may very well be forced into a situation  
 46 where you have no ↑choice but to stand him down.  
 47 F:KC look eliz'beth if I'm forced into it well so be it but .hh I've gotta make the decision (.) ah at  
 48 this stage on what I believe is (.) a is a fair and just and really the right thing to do and that's  
 49 what I've done  
 50 F:EJ well how optimistic are you that you might be able to: ah convince the greens 'v your  
 51 argument they're still undecided  
 52 F:KC .hh look (.) a-all (.) I can do eliz'beth in this is really hope th't the greens and others in the  
 53 assembly .hh um look at the situation and determine what would be a fair thing, (.) both for  
 54 mister dediminico and for miss marshall on this and I certainly hope .h that the human rights  
 55 office (.) will speed up the hearings here but I understand mister dedominico and his lawyers  
 56 have .h written to the human rights office on a number of occassions (.) asking them to bring  
 57 forward (.) the hearing but that hasn't happened at this stage. hh eliz'beth this isn't a situation  
 58 that the a-c-t government (.) is directly involved with at all it's a- it's a case between mister

- 59 dedominico (.) and miss marshall .h there is no: tax payers money involved the tax payer  
 60 simply isn't involved .h so it's really not up to me .h and it wouldn't be appropriate for me (.)  
 61 to be trying to convince anybody (.) um (.) of the rights or wrongs of (.) of the of the case or  
 62 of my position=I hope (.) people (.) .h in the assembly just look at what would be what they  
 63 believe is a fair thing
- 64 F:EJ so you're saying that all the money that has been spent on this case has come from tony  
 65 dediminico's own pocket
- 66 F:KC <'liz'b'th> I'm- I can absolutely guarantee th't there is no: tax payers money (.) involved in  
 67 mister dediminico's case (.) ad all
- 68 F:EJ how disruptive will it be for your government if you do find yourself in a position where you  
 69 have no choice b't to stand down y' deputy
- 70 F:KC ↑I'd be very very disappointed if that's the way the assembly (.)  
 71 decides .h ah to go:↑ I'd be very pleased if the human rights office decided to bring- to bring  
 72 forward the ah hearing but again they're an independent body .h they ah they decide which is  
 73 what is the appropriate way to go themselves, and I have to .hh accept that.
- 74 F:EJ would 't cause some major problems for your government
- 75 F:KC if: the assembly decides that's what will happen then I suppose that's what'd- will  
 76 happen .hh b't I think (.) .h that people in the assembly are h. um are reasonable people and I  
 77 think when they actually look at .h the situation and look at (.) .h the fact that if mister  
 78 dedominico was (.) required to stand down for what is as I said just allegations from one  
 79 previous employee, um h. it it would be um a very very um onerous requirement f' a  
 80 minister, (.)
- 81 F:EJ despite the fact that it has occurred in several other states over several years
- 82 F:KC .h it it has occurred on other occasions and on other occasions it hasn't happened eliz'b'th=I  
 83 think you've got to judge every situation .h um as it as it pr'sents .h I've made a decision  
 84 that I don't believe it's a fair thing to require mister tony dedominico to stand aside .h um (.)  
 85 on the basis (.) of: a set of allegations by a previous employee that are being investigated by  
 86 the:- by the proper authority .hh I don't think that's a fair thing, um others may judge  
 87 differ'ntly.
- 88 F:EJ is this because kate carnell you have ma:de a personal decision about how you feel about  
 89 these allegations?
- 90 F:KC quite the opposite eliz'beth (.) I've (.) stayed (.) um (.) as I believe it is appropriate (.) at  
 91 absolute arm's length from the whole situation,
- 92 F:EJ [you don't have a- you don't have an opinion on margot
- 93 F:KC .hh I [think there's
- 94 F:EJ mar[shall's ah allegations
- 95 F:KC [.hhhh hhh. eliz'beth it 'd be totally inappropriate for me to be involved (.)  
 96 in any way what so ever in this situation it must be handled by the proper authority which is  
 97 the human rights office, .hh um it is inappropriate for the media for the leader of the  
 98 opposition or 'r me (.) to prejudice what um .h will be the outcome or what are the facts of  
 99 the situation
- 100 F:EJ you're not prepared though to make a public stand in support of y' deputy
- 101 F:KC .h look the fact that my deputy is still in the job, means that I believe .h that um tony  
 102 dedominico is doing a good (.) job as deputy (.) leader .h as as for the facts of this case it  
 103 would be inappropriate for me or anybody else to prejudice it
- 104 F:EJ allrigh' chief minister we'll leave it at that thank you
- 105 F:KC <thank you very much eliz'beth>

[XXVI: Elizabeth Jackson/Kerry Tucker 23.5.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ .hh I have on the line no:w ah kerry tuc↑ker from the greens, she's speaking on behalf: of  
 2 lucy harodney as well, >kerry tucker< good ↑morning.  
 3 F:KT hello: elizabeth  
 4 F:EJ .hhh w'll what d' you think?  
 5 F:KT .hh um well obviously sexual harassment is a serious issue, hh. and um .hh we don't take it  
 6 lightly at all, but we also see in this um (.) .h situation that there is a question of natural  
 7 justice as well, .hh there are appropriate processes in place with human rights office, .hh and  
 8 I guess the question that I have .h is ah if people are demanding that mister dedomenico:  
 9 stand down, .hh I c'n understand why at the same time they are not also demanding as  
 10 loudly .h th't the processes be appropriate and he has prompt access to resolution of this  
 11 problem. I heard mrs carnell say before that it could go on for months, .hh it's my  
 12 understanding it's been going ↑on for months, .hh so (.) the complications are th't if one  
 13 person (0.4) c'n make an allegation and a minister's taken out of his area of responsibility f'  
 14 six months or so, .hh while that allegation's being looked at .h the a-c-t is going to suffer,  
 15 the people are going to suffer=both the complainant and the person who's been accused .hh  
 16 and it just seems totally inappropriate .h so we're very concerned about that what the time  
 17 frame is .h as mister osborne said we- we don't know the whole story, we certainly aren't  
 18 interested in making any judgements at all, .hh <and so we want to> try and understand  
 19 where the process is going in terms of ti:me, .hh and we are still considering our position in  
 20 terms of the questions you've asked mister osborne about .hh whether we would actually ask  
 21 that he does stand asæ- asi:de or support a censure motion=we we have no position on that at  
 22 this point .hh we're taking the position um we're taking this situation very seriously and we  
 23 want to take our time in making a decision  
 24 F:EJ .hhh all right so when ultimately do you think you will uh reach that decision.  
 25 F:KT .hh I \*can't tell you that elizabeth\* .hh >but we'll be working on it=we are working on it  
 26 right now< hh. so we'll let we know if we uh when we do reach a decision.  
 27 F:EJ are you leaning either way at this stage?  
 28 (0.5)  
 29 F:KT .hh u::m hhh. no::, I don't think we are. we're just considering the situation because it's .hh  
 30 it's very- it's very tricky because I mean I have always been a very uh .h concerned person  
 31 about sexual harassment, I don't take it lightly at all, .hh b't I'm also equally concerned that  
 32 justice is done here and that uh someone doesn't get put through unnecessary .hh ↑pain and  
 33 that the a-c-t government also doesn't um suffer, because they have a lot of work to do.  
 34 F:EJ .hh will you and lucy harodney vote the same way on this, because it appears to me as  
 35 though really you're going to be the one to make this decision, .h paul osborne uh seems to  
 36 be siding with uh kate carnell and the liberals, .hh michael moore I haven't spoken to him yet  
 37 b't uh I have received an indication that uh he seems to favour labor's point of view on  
 38 this, .hh it looks like you're the decision maker.  
 39 F:KT the decision makers, yes. lucy and I a:re (.) as the green m-l-a's (.) and we wou- we vote the  
 40 same way we're a party .h so we'll make a party decision on this.  
 41 F:EJ allright we'll leave it at that=kerry tucker thank you  
 42 F:KT okay >bye bye



[XXVII: Elizabeth Jackson/Carmen Lawrence 16.2.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ doctor lawrence, good morning.  
 2 F:CL morning  
 3 F:EJ please tell me it's not true. are you really throwing thousands of dollars at gp's for nothing?  
 4 F:CL I'm not throwing money at anyone I can assure you especially in the current budget climate.  
 5 hh. I'm sure your listeners would be aware that in australia the fee for service system that we  
 6 have under medicare the medicare benefits schedule payments .hh can lead if you're not very  
 7 careful to what are called perverse incentives the doctor as for any one else .h and that means  
 8 that instead of um spending their time with patients ,h doing the sort of things that dr nelson  
 9 talked about .h talking about prevention and so on .hh they tend to move them through at a  
 10 fair rate .h ah to increase the the income to the practice. .hh now that's not to say that doctors  
 11 are unusual, that's ah I guess fairly common economic behaviour ((laughter)) .hh and we're  
 12 simply saying there's another way to reward them financially to pay for the services that they  
 13 have and that's to recognise doctors who spend longer time with more with patients that they  
 14 keep on their books for longer .h so they do have an opportunity to do that preventive work.  
 15 F:EJ .h doctor lawrence, how do you guarantee that this income subsidy scheme does just that I  
 16 mean wouldn't it still be possible for doctors to still race through the patients and pick up the  
 17 ten grand as well?  
 18 F:CL no not at all because .hh the way it's actually paid to them it's on the basis first of all of  
 19 having to have a number of characteristics for the practice .h for instance that they're  
 20 prepared to see patients after hours .h that they have a proper locum service if they're not  
 21 doing it themselves where there's a connection between the locum service and the  
 22 practice .hh for example and that they have all the necessary characteristics to be  
 23 vocationally registered .h through their own college the royal australian college of general  
 24 practitioners so they have to be maintaining a very high standard of practice .h with after  
 25 hours calls with preparedness to visit for instance people in nursing homes .hh and then they  
 26 are paid on the basis of the size of the practice obviously that's fair .hh then they're prepared  
 27 a greater proportion if they're in the country we have a lot of difficulty keeping general  
 28 practitioners in the country .hh and they're also paid on the basis of if you like extended  
 29 consultation to give them an opportunity to practice what everyone agrees according  
 30 including the college is better medicine  
 31 F:EJ mmm .hh how do you actually regulate or police this? I mean who sits in judgement about  
 32 whether they maintain that high standard of practice and go to nursing homes and do the  
 33 after hours calls and all those things?  
 34 F:CL well at this stage we're relying on the on the decency and honesty of the medical  
 35 practitioners but of course the evidence is there in terms of the size of practice and the length  
 36 of consultation and so on ah with the health insurance commission .hh and we will check  
 37 from time to time to make sure that there is no ah misleading of government. we do that in  
 38 any case with the medicare benefit schedule claims .h so it isn't ah dissimilar from the  
 39 practice that exists already. .hh  
 40 F:EJ can they be trusted?  
 41 F:CL I think so yes. I mean I have a great deal of regard for the medical profession but we have a  
 42 problem in australia we have too many general practitioners ah for our population .hh ah the  
 43 numbers have been growing very rapidly over the last decade .h and sadly the more doctors  
 44 you have in the population .h the greater the bill for the tax payer =it's growing at about five  
 45 percent per annum the medicare benefit schedule claims .hh and it's drives of course ah visits  
 46 to specialists and it also drives pharmacy in a way that's not always ah commensurate with  
 47 the improved health outcomes.  
 48 F:EJ minister, doctor nelson said yesterday that he believed there were some very needy areas in  
 49 the whole arena of health apart from um gp's .h he quoted things like aboriginal health for  
 50 example as a as a priority .hhh I guess some people out there would be saying you know  
 51 doctors already receive a healthy salary even probably they wouldn't argue against that.  
 52 could we spend this mon money better?  
 53 F:CL .h well I think what we've had in australia as I say is a very rapid growth in the number of  
 54 medical practitioners in the population and we're taking a number of measures to try and .hh  
 55 reduce that number and also to um ensure that doctors go to country areas where sometimes  
 56 we can't get anybody at all. .hh we've had a major general practice reform programme .h  
 57 which has included some very substantial payments to try and improve the quality of  
 58 practice ensure that general practitioners keep their skills up to speed .hh ah better rewards

59 if you were vocationally registered as it's called .h and we spend twenty two million dollars a  
60 year of tax payers to actually ensure the training program of the royal australain college .hh  
61 ah is appropriate and high quality .hh so I think if we were to drop off now and say well it  
62 doesn't really matter much gp's can go on their own merry way .h not only would we  
63 necessarily get the best practice out there in our practices but we would also have a much  
64 more expensive system .h and there wouldn't be funds for those other programs that brendan  
65 nelson talks about .hh of course if the general practitioners um as the ama have urged them  
66 don't apply for these payments then we will be looking for alternative ways of spending the  
67 money.

68 F:EJ .hh doctor lawrence what do you think of ah the suggestion of paying g-p's ten thousand  
69 dollars to tell patients to ah have pap smears and vaccinations and so forth?

70 F:CL .h well as I think you said on your programme yesterday that's part of what we regard as  
71 good practice especially for primary health care ah worker .h the doctor is often the first  
72 person that um ah the person sees when they're going to think about things like  
73 immunisation and worried about cancer for instance .h and doctors would be routinely be  
74 recommending to their clients .h that they have pap smears .h but if doctors don't see the  
75 same patients over a period of time they can't necessarily follow up .h and I guess indirectly  
76 we are rewarding precisely that practice because you are more likely to get these funds .h if  
77 you have a practice where you see people you follow them up you .h remind them about the  
78 immunisation pro- for their children .h ah you tell them they should come back for another  
79 check up ah for another pap smear and so on..h that's good medicine and we ah commend  
80 the ama for recommending it to their members so do we.

81 F:EJ so you think it's a good idea?

82 F:CL not the payments, no

83 F:EJ not the payments

84 F:CL they are based as as we've indicated on

85 ah .h some easy to measure characteristics if your were to do it on the basis of specific  
86 procedures carried out .hh they are already paid for those ah through the medicare benefits  
87 schedule .h we want to pay them give them an additional source of funding .h ah to ensure  
88 that those other characteristics which are important in a practice are rewarded .hh and I  
89 might say ah just to correct part of your introduction we didn't freeze the .h medicare benefit  
90 schedule rate of payment .h we gave them half the rate of cpi increase. .h now a lot of  
91 workers wouldn't have had anything like that level of increase in their salaries over the last  
92 few years.

93 F:EJ .hhh doctor lawrence. .hh let me um briefly ask you about another issue there are reports in  
94 the paper today quoting lo- lois o'donohue from atsic the aboriginal and torres strait islander  
95 commission. .hh saying well basically denying reports that her organisation has agreed to  
96 hand over responsibility for aboriginal health to your department which ah everyone seems  
97 to agree was the situation yesterday. what do you understand the situation to be now?

98 F:CL .h well I've always understood that this was a matter finally to be determined ah by the  
99 cabinet after discussion between the relevant ministers and with a very strong input about  
100 their views from atsic. .hh atsic I think is still working through a range of options and ah  
101 my understanding is that they haven't yet concluded that work .hh and ah I welcome their  
102 willingness to consider the movement to help which is the which is the way I read what  
103 they'd said yesterday .h because they're put a number of conditions on their .h agreement  
104 apparently but um .h I think we've just got to keep working on this issue everyone's agreed  
105 that the administrative arrangements are less important than the delivery on the ground .hh  
106 ah I happened to think and have argued that the delivery on the ground is better managed  
107 with um a strongly aboriginal community controled input and also the professional backup  
108 of a health department

109 F:EJ but will it happen do you think?

110 F:CL well we've still got a few weeks to go on this question the budget is being framed that's why  
111 I'm here in canberra this week but ah I've been here ((laughter)) talking to treasury and  
112 finance officials about my budget .hh all ministers will be doing that then we will put it  
113 together in a comprehensive form .hh ministers are working very closely on the question of  
114 aboriginal health and aboriginal infrastructure needs because all of us recognise that there is  
115 a problem there a very serious problem that we can't continue to address in a piece meal  
116 fashion.

117 F:EJ so it's by no means signed sealed and delivered in your mind as yet?

- 118 F:CL oh no no. it's very much a matter for further discussion and negotiation and  
 119 working out the details if it were to go to my department .h the precise nature of  
 120 input from atsic ah how they would be involved in strategy and planning .h and ah  
 121 the nature of the programme that would be undertaken. so all that details to be  
 122 done, including the in principle um final agreement by atsic that that might be what  
 123 they prefer
- 124 F:EJ doctor LAWrence, I don't want to draw you in on the intricacies now of the act election  
 125 because that wouldn't be fair but can I just ask you specifically about our vmo situation in  
 126 the act? now our health minister here terry connolly has threatened with legal action and  
 127 says ah we'll simply replace them with victorian doctors but ah in victoria they say that they  
 128 don't have that many doctors who can come to canberra .hh it appears as though we are in a  
 129 real mess.
- 130 F:CL .hh well if you look at the act as I've done obviously in making comparisons between the  
 131 states .h I think terry connolly is absolutely right the vmo's here have a very privileged  
 132 position .hh which I'd have to sadly which is probably the result of past federal health  
 133 departments not taking as much stringent action with the budget as state governments were  
 134 required to do .hh so before self government I think there was a fairly .hh mm generous ah  
 135 attitude taken towards the vmo's .h and in the interests of um comparability ah at the very  
 136 least between the states .h I think the government ah has to move.
- 137 F:EJ .hhh just quickly on the issue of case mix before we go this is ah the hot potato in ah this  
 138 election campaign .h is it not true that your government is not trying to encourage state and  
 139 territory governments to implement the case mix scheme .h and if that is the case are you a  
 140 bit disappointed with the act ah labor party because here in canberra it appears to be the  
 141 liberals who are singing the merits of case mix
- 142 F:CL .hh well case mix is not a panacea it is a method of measuring what hospitals do basically .h  
 143 and um it is being developed and I think cautious ((laughter)) people might say well lets wait  
 144 and see how it works. .hh in victoria where it has been introduced we've had one a prelim  
 145 preliminary assessment .hh sadly muddled by the fact that the victorian government  
 146 dramatically slashed health funding and I had to put some of it back.hh but some of the  
 147 effects of that I think have been mixed up with case mix implementation .hh but it really is  
 148 as I say a way of measuring what is being done .h and then paying a hospital or organisation  
 149 accordingly. .hh the risk is that if people don't look at things like clinical training and  
 150 research .h you can end up with a very skewed system.
- 151 F:EJ .hh so just let me ask you that again then. do you believe that ah case mix should be  
 152 implemented? are you pushing for that in all states and territories or not?
- 153 F:CL no we're not pushing for it, we're working cooperatively to develop it were the states are  
 154 where the territories are interested and embracing it the private health sector as you know too  
 155 is also doing there own work in this area. we've put a lot of money in to the developmental  
 156 work and we'll continue to think that it's better than .hh simple historical funding but the  
 157 time at which you embrace the system like this .h is one I think of judgment it's not going to  
 158 be immediately going to be suitable for all states and territories and some indeed haven't  
 159 moved as far as embracing it. .hh they're a little weary particularly given the victorian  
 160 experience .h and I can understand that so we're not selling it we're saying here it is this is a  
 161 a um good idea worthy of examination and it may improve ah efficiencies in your hospital  
 162 system
- 163 F:EJ allright doctor lawrence we'll leave it there thank you very much for the time you have given  
 164 us this morning
- 165 F:CL thank you indeed.

[XXVIII: Elizabeth Jackson/Kate Carnell 24.4.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ chief minister good morning  
 2 F:KC good morning elizabeth  
 3 F:EJ .hh let's get right to the heart of this. specifically why doesn't this code include the matter  
 4 that we all know about and ah that is the alleged personal behaviour of ministers?  
 5 F:KC the code um covers all sorts of behaviour elizabeth .h right across the board in fact what it  
 6 does is it sets a code of behaviour .hh um a code of what you can accept um in terms of gifts  
 7 travel all those sorts of things that is above that of the normal community and I think that's  
 8 what people .hh um that's what people expect .h from um ministers and fr I suspect from  
 9 mla's generally but particularly from ministers.  
 10 (1.0)  
 11 F:EJ .hhh but there are no specific terms of reference to sexual harassment and this is the one after  
 12 all did trigger this code in the first place this is the one that rosemary follett the now  
 13 opposition leader used .hh as a as a tool to say this was a necessary thing to do.  
 14 F:KC actually it didn't um trigger this code at all elizabeth we've been looking at this for a very  
 15 long time. .hh it's one that was was um bought in in south australia I think in nineteen ninety  
 16 two I think elizabeth .hh and so it's really got nothing to do with that at all. .h obviously we  
 17 believe that issue to be an important one and that's the reason that we believe that the human  
 18 rights office is the appropriate avenue to look at that sort of um that that issue and to  
 19 investigate it fully and properly.  
 20 F:EJ so chief minister in a nutshell then what does your new code say about sexual harassment?  
 21 F:KC it doesn't say anything about sexual harassment what it says and as it doesn't say anything  
 22 about .hh ah vandalism or lots and lots of other issues that obviously could impact on ah  
 23 ministers their staff and so on. .h because what it does is it sets a a code of behaviour  
 24 elizabeth and a code of behaviour above that .hh of the normal community but a code of  
 25 behaviour that I believe people can expect. .h ministers have a huge amount of discretion in  
 26 their jobs everyday. every day trips are offered .h um memberships of things are offered  
 27 gifts are offered that simply aren't accepted it's not acceptable for ministers or their their  
 28 staff or their immediate families .hh to accept a lot of these unless of course the act .h is  
 29 going to benefit from that so what we set is a code to really put it in you know to put it in  
 30 writing on what is and isn't acceptable for ministers personal behaviour.  
 31 F:EJ now chief minister why doesn't the code extend to all elected mla's? why just the ministers?  
 32 F:KC the first step elizabeth and ministers have substantially more um flexibility and discretion in  
 33 their jobs than do mla's generally. .hh there's lots and lots of things that ministers can do  
 34 potentially um could ah impact on the community generally in terms of well we've seen it in  
 35 other states elizabeth let's be fair .h when money has changed hands with planning  
 36 approvals all sorts of things that happened. we're not going to allow that to happen in the  
 37 act .hh and this code I believe will stop any of those things that we've seen happen .h  
 38 federally and in other states um raise their ugly heads in canberra.  
 39 F:EJ .h who acts as judge and jury?  
 40 F:KC .h this code has gone through cabinet and so every minister has accepted it has accepted this  
 41 as the level of=  
 42 F:EJ =but what happens if someone is accused of breaching the code is it then up to the assembly  
 43 to test that accusation?  
 44 F:KC ah in the first instance elizabeth it's obviously up to cabinet to test that that accusation. .hh  
 45 we're not going to by the way um every time somebody is accused of something suggest  
 46 that they therefore are guilty and and should step down. .h but I would expect any minister  
 47 that was found to have ah not to have fulfilled their obligations under this code .hh um  
 48 would um well more than likely would have to step down from their job depending on just  
 49 how bad the discr- the indiscretion was. .h if they accepted a gift say that was worth two  
 50 hundred and one dollars .h rather than the two hundred dollars stipulated in the um in the  
 51 code obviously cabinet would look at it and ah we may allow the minister to pay the  
 52 difference. that sort of thing. but what it does is set a code of behaviour .h that is very very  
 53 very difficult and much and a long way ahead of what um we'd except from normal people  
 54 in the community.  
 55 F:EJ chief minister thank you very much.  
 56 F:KC thank you very much elizabeth.

**[XXIX: Fran Kelly/Christine Gallus 21.2.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]**

- 1 F:EF noel pearson who's the director of the cape york aboriginal land council .hh and to respond  
 2 to his comments we're joined on the line now by the coalition's spokesperson on aboriginal  
 3 affairs chris gallus and she's speaking to fran kelly.  
 4 F:FK .hh chris gallus=to some degree noel pearson's right isn't he=I mean it is implied in the  
 5 slogan for all of us that labour is not governing for all of us, which suggests they're not  
 6 governing for the mainstream.  
 7 F:CG ah look there is no implication in that- there is an implication that labour has ↑failed all of us  
 8 I think that .h has certainly I think the ah .h forty percent youth unemployed would had the  
 9 feeling that labour hasn't been ah .h governing for ↑them .h but I I'm really disappointed that  
 10 noel would come out and say something ↑like this .h because in its- say ten days before an  
 11 election when in fact the slogan's been around for three weeks, .hh and if noel would care to  
 12 have a look at the ads that go with the slogan, .h he will find amongst the ads the ↓all of us  
 13 they -s play the music .h and on the ad we have >aboriginal people, vietnamese people,  
 14 chinese people< .h and I think that ad is so obvious that it is for all of us, .h for all australians.  
 15 F:FK well he's saying it's operating at a- at another level a subliminal (xx) level and .hh john  
 16 howard has said repeatedly that he won't let the government be hijacked by minority groups  
 17 as labour has .h who does he mean >when he's talking about those minority groups.<  
 18 F:CG well I don't know who noel ↑pearson means but as I said if he has a look at the=  
 19 F:FK =no who does john howard means when he says that he won't let the [xx] the coalition  
 20 government be hijacked by >minority groups.<  
 21 F:CG >well I think you answered your own question ↑earlier=didn't you fran= that ah< there has  
 22 been a capture of this ah labour government by the union movement, .h and that's certainly  
 23 not the sort of things that we want to see we want to govern for all australians, .h and not  
 24 have any particular interest group >↑like< the union group (.) putting undue pressure to  
 25 make government go in a direction that is not the correct ah ah way the government should  
 26 go (.) for all au↑stralians .h a=  
 27 F:FK =and do you think that's who john howard is referring to when he says minority groups=he's  
 28 only talking about unions or is he talking about .h greenies, the ethnic lobby, the aboriginal  
 29 mabo negotiating team people like that that .h that mainstream australia's seen on the t-v  
 30 news at night?  
 31 F:CG I think ah what we are saying is that we will be not subject to bullying by any particular  
 32 minority group and I think the whole of australia would applaud at that because nobody  
 33 wants to see a government bullied and certainly not the way that THIS government has  
 34 managed to be bullied by ah the union movement and you've only got to have a look .h in  
 35 what happened um with the sale of the a-n-l to see what happened there .h can I also point  
 36 out fran in answer to this- what I find is an absolutely scurrilous, accusation by noel  
 37 pearson .h that if he looks that he would find amongst the liberal parliamentarians around  
 38 australia .h that the only overseas born um chinese are of the coalition parties and we have  
 39 three of them around australia not the lab-  
 40 F:FK yes but if he listens um I mean noel pearson's described himself as being on the fringe of the  
 41 society .h if he listens he would of heard in recent weeks .h coalition mps and candidates .h  
 42 with some very public outspoken racist views is this the price the coalition's paying for that  
 43 now? (1.0) this kind of comment?  
 44 F:CG when pauline mentioned that she thought that aboriginal people were getting a  
 45 disproportionate amount of money .h she was immediately sacked as a candidate leaving  
 46 nobody  
 47 F:FK that's true.  
 48 F:CG there in oxley .h and that showed a tremendous commitment .h by john howard to have a  
 49 very inclusive government where there is no room for anybody to make those sort of  
 50 comments .h and he is in fact wanting a government for all of us and that includes all  
 51 australians.  
 52 F:FK and shouldn't john howard have spoken out more strongly against the comments of bob  
 53 catter and bob burgess?  
 54 F:CG john- I saw john howard and he certainly did bot- speak out against those comments as I  
 55 did.  
 56 F:FK chris gallus thank you very much.

## [XXX: Elizabeth Jackson/Kate Carnell 9.8.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

- 1 F:EJ .h c'n we go firstly to the c-p-s-u: clai:m,  
 2 F:KC certainly.  
 3 F:EJ now on something of this magnitu:de a c'mplete w'll (.) virtually a c'mplete free:ze <on a-c-t  
 4 public servants.> (.) .hh ↑why didn't you c'nsult the union: (.) over this. I thought that  
 5 consultation was very much a part of your election °catch crai:e°. (.)  
 6 F:KC that's certainly the case eliz'beth,=b't with a free:ze is as as I'm sure everybody would know  
 7 who's ever been part of one you've actually just got to do it .h and then ((clears throat)) um  
 8 and then talk about how we can make 't h. work best. (.) simply if you- if you give too much  
 9 ah lead time running into a freeze, .hh it means th't people .h c'n obviously employ y' know  
 10 c'n (.) .h c'n c'n fill up all those extra positions and so: on,  
 11 F:EJ it sounds a bit like shoot first and ask the questions ↑later.  
 12 F:KC you've gotto: simply gotto make a decision on this eliz'beth and we made the decision, in  
 13 cabinet on monday and did 't immediately. .hh we're certainly very happy to have  
 14 discussions with the union now on how we c'n-  
 15 F:EJ it's a bit late °now though° isn't it?  
 16 F:KC I think it's actually a freeze is just a freeze it just means th'- the positions th't aren't filled .hh  
 17 um at this moment (.) um won't be filled .h and that we'll use the people who are currently  
 18 (.) .h um available for re-deployment <and we understand it could be as many as a hundred  
 19 people in the a-c-t public service> right now. .hh that are- th't that are available for re-  
 20 deployment into jobs .hh so I think we should be using (.) those people ↑first, the people  
 21 we've got, .hh we should be re-training people, <you know th'- the one's that we've actually  
 22 got no:w< .h rather than bring new people into the public service that we simply can't  
 23 afford, and ↑we're very happy to talk to the union about that,  
 24 F:EJ b't chief minister you haf to admit don't you that it <does make your election (.) promis: (.)  
 25 sound a bit hollow> .hh I mean <you spoke about consultation: time 'n time again .hh now  
 26 you're in government an' you're saying to me >the< o:h b- yeah but with something like this  
 27 is doesn't matter= y' don't need to consult on this.  
 28 F:KC <no eliz'beth I'm not saying it doesn't matter I'm saying it wouldn't work> u:m .h with-  
 29 with- situati=  
 30 F:EJ =the unions seem to think it would work, they would ev very much appreciated ah a  
 31 comment or a letter or something f[rom you.  
 32 F:KC [xxxxx .h um look I understand that elizabeth but I think  
 33 that one of the things about government is th't you have to be willing to make decisions at  
 34 times .hh on issues like this, now we've certainly made a decision and we're very willing to  
 35 talk to the union how we can make it work best .hh and I think that's the appropriate  
 36 approach, .hh we've simply got a huge problem here >elizabeth< we've got .hh a hundred  
 37 and twendy million dollar plus hole in the budget, .hh we've gotta make 't work, (.) I think  
 38 it's very appropriate not to bring new people into the public service that we can't affo:rd,  
 39 we've gotta use the people that we've got better, .hh um >I'm sure the union would agree  
 40 with that.<  
 41 F:EJ .hh allright now how do you respond to kath garvans clai:ms? I mean I think to use her  
 42 words <she said something along the lines that the a-c-t in her view is going to fall a↑part,  
 43 because of this> .h that some departments are already cut right to the bone, .h through  
 44 natural attrition if you don't bring in new people, things just aren't gunna work  
 45 F:KC .hh there are some areas that certainly will need extra staff and we believe that we should be  
 46 using the people that we've got at the moment=as I said there's as many as a hundred people  
 47 who avail- who are available .hh for re-deployment (.) right now so people who don't have  
 48 jobs who are (.) a-c-t public servants .hh that could be re-deployed and re-trained .hh ah into  
 49 those jobs that- that are available right at this moment. .hh (0.3) I believe strongly that we've  
 50 simply gotto accept that we are living beyond our means that we're spending money we don't  
 51 have, .h and we've gotto pull back. .h if we don't we're going to have to borrow and it's our  
 52 kids that are going to have to pay and we see what's happened to other states that have gone  
 53 down that path, .h they've ended up being (.) massive .h retrenchments, now we want to sta-  
 54 steer well clear of that .h the only way we can avoid forced retrenchments, (.) is if we  
 55 manage our public service numbers no:w .h befo:re there's a huge problem.  
 56 F:EJ .h a- wayne berry was saying that the a-c-t was awarded a triple ei rating after the election  
 57 [(.) .hh how is it that suddenly we seem to be

58 F:KC [hhhhhh  
59 F:EJ slipping into this massive black hole (.) with threats of ah job losses redundancies goodness  
60 knows what else  
61 F:KC .h the triple a rating elizabeth appears to do with the level of debt that we've currently got. .h  
62 now in nineteen eighty nine when we got self government (.) we inherited a fairly new infra  
63 structure that was virtually debt free (.) .hh now that's at a time when most other states had  
64 huge debts and had y' know very large financial problems after the ah .h mistakes of the  
65 eighties .h so the a-c-t did come in with a very good position= we've progressively made that  
66 worse by spending more than we actually get .h in other words spending more money than  
67 we get from the commonwealth and get in taxes. .h I think the other day you had on a- on an  
68 academic from the a-n-u, who made the comment that (.) the follett government was very  
69 good at increasing taxes .h and we're right up now to taxation levels equal to other states, .hh  
70 but they weren't very good at reducing expenditure to the same level of other states and that's  
71 really the job that we've been left with.  
72 F:EJ .hh I must say I feel li:ke I'm being prepared here for a horror budget next month, .h is that  
73 what I'm going to get?  
74 F:KC ah you're going to get a tough budget (.) elizabeth but I think  
75 w'- look it- this is not about about preparing (.) people for anything it's  
76 ((laughter)) about open government .hh we've been=  
77 F:EJ =wayne berry seems to think it is, he says it's just a big wind up  
78 F:KC well I- I know what wayne berry says  
79 F:EJ =tell 'em the worst and then they'll be happy  
80 F:KC well (.) on the table at the moment, we've got an eighdy one million dollar deficit that we  
81 finished the financial year with, hh ah so that's on the table it's in black and white. .h eighdy  
82 one million dollars down the tube last ye:ar (.) now on top of that the commonwealth is  
83 reducing our ex- our funding this year by thirty million dollars, that's in black and white as  
84 well, .hh that takes us to a hundred and ten million dollars. .hh now on top of that there's a  
85 number of (.) of um (.) things that the previous government started .h um but simply didn't  
86 ↑fund and one of the ↑good examples of those is um .h the city p'lice station which gary  
87 humphries  
88 [xx]  
89 F:EJ [=oh ye: this is the lack of furniture.  
90 F:KC well th'- mister humphries is opening that toda:y and they certainly funded the refit but  
91 forgot to fund the four hundred and fifty thousand dollars .hh that it's taken to actually  
92 furnish the place now unless they actually thought the policemen were going to sit on the  
93 (.) .hh on the floor um .h and ah not have desks and so on I don't really understand how that  
94 was going to work .hh but on top of that we've got things like the clinical school, um wasn't  
95 funded now that's h. one point five to two millions dollars a year, the bone marrow transplant  
96 unit at the hospital .h wasn't funded, (.) the intensive (.) training clinics um which ah clinics  
97 sporting clinics to .h get our young people ready for- well hopefully ready for the  
98 olympics, .h the l- previous government funded four but actually established twelve they've  
99 got they've got staff they've got tr- they've got coaches .h and so on that's another million  
100 dollars,  
101 F:EJ so all these things make up that difference between eighdy one and a hundred and twenty  
102 F:KC no all of those make up the difs between a hundred and ten and a hundred and twenty, .h the  
103 commonwealth thirty million dollars that they're reducing from our funding for this year it  
104 makes up the ah the thirty million .h <the commo[nweal-  
105 F:EJ [what about  
106 your election promises are they factored into this or is that another story  
107 F:KC well that's another story elizabeth and that's that's, one of the great problems for us, .h is  
108 before we even start implementing one of our strategies or one of our promises .hh we've got  
109 a hundred and twenty million dollar plus hole (.) .hh um to start with.  
110 F:EJ now what d'z that mean for the ah the petrol levy the three- the three cents a lidre over three  
111 ye:ars, does that have to go now?  
112 F:KC well actually the petrol level's a very interesting one .h we've actually written to the major  
113 petrol (.) companies .hh ah requiring an undertaking from them: that if we reduce the- the  
114 petrol (.) tax by one cent a year they will pass that onto the consumer .h now at this stage we  
115 don't have an undertaking from them .h so we're certainly not going to reduce it if it goes  
116 straid into the pockets of ah, the major (.)  
117 petrol companies .hh but um but that's- that's another issue

- 118 F:EJ =so that's under a big question mark too now  
 119 F:KC it's certainly under a question mark, simply because um I'm sure nobody in the a-c-t wants to  
 120 have their taxes spent .h ah making major petrol companies richer, but we're working on  
 121 them and we're certainly putting pressure on them to get that undertaking.  
 122 F:EJ chief minister we've just taken a call from a government employee now he works in (.)  
 123 motor registry,=  
 124 F:KC =yes=  
 125 F:EJ =in a motor registry office and he says that yesterday .h he and his co-workers were offered  
 126 (.) what he says were >expressions of interest in redundancy packages< .hhhh hh. it makes  
 127 you wonder is the freeze in fact a little bit deeper are there now job cuts going on (.) right  
 128 now as we speak  
 129 F:KC there've been redundancy offers (.) for the whole period of the last government as well= in  
 130 fact I think there were some four hundred and fifty odd .hh in the ah in in the follett  
 131 government .hh redundancies a:re a regular way of changing the priorities of government .h  
 132 and certainly in the motor registry area I think we made it quite cle:ar .h that ah- that there  
 133 would be some significant changes in in that area .h <and actually interestingly the previous  
 134 government promised exactly the same thing.>  
 135 F:EJ .hh now, >let me ask you this<=being in <minority government:> are you involving the  
 136 independents and the greens, in this budget preparation, o:r are you running I guess the  
 137 rather risky line of bringing down a budget that co:uld .hh have bits and pieces blocked in  
 138 the assembly.  
 139 F:KC .h well obviously in a minority government you always take that risk,. .h we're attempting to  
 140 keep people as well informed as is possible in a budget process. .hh (clears throat) but as you  
 141 know elizabeth with ah with budgets .h they're a a very big affair, they come together (.) um  
 142 very much at the last minute and it's really this week that ah .h that the various elements of  
 143 the budget are coming together, .hh ah which was the reason we made the decision right now  
 144 to: freeze employment in the public service but ↑not just freeze jobs .hh we're also freezing  
 145 contractors .h and consultants (.) so we're not um we're not just doing it-i=  
 146 F:EJ =d'you regret the money you've spent on the consultants yourself  
 147 F:KC um (.) look I think we've spent too much, there's not doubt about that I don't think ah .h the  
 148 booth-allen consultancy which I think mister berry ah raised yester\*day was\* .h was a  
 149 mistake I think we've desperately got to do something about our health area, .hh we still ah  
 150 [a  
 151 F:EJ [what you think it was a mistake to employ those consultants?  
 152 F:KC .hh no I don't I think that they they're um .h that we desperately need to to do something  
 153 about health and we've tried to do it internally over a number of years and failed .hh and  
 154 we're still spending some thirty percent more, .hh than other um similar hospitals .h in at  
 155 woden valley hosp=  
 156 F:EJ =b't you're saying you won't spend so freely on consultants now?  
 157 F:KC no look we can't elizabeth we've gotta cut down in all areas .h we're spending more money  
 158 than we've got and we simply can't afford to do that. .h if we're going to do things like y'  
 159 know fund superannuation, apr- ah, the sorts of things that= <I know you had a guest on the  
 160 other day who was talking about the need to make su:re .hh that we do fund our  
 161 superannuation liabilities for the future .h if we're going to do those sorts of things .h we  
 162 need a budget in surplus .h not a budget that's looking at a hundred and twendy million  
 163 dollar deficit.  
 164 F:EJ .hh allright chief minister we'll leave it at that= thank you.  
 165 F:KC thank you very much elizabeth.  
 166 F:EJ the chief minister of the a-c-t kate carnell.



**[XXXI: Elizabeth Jackson/Margaret Reid 24.4.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]**

1 F:EJ senator reid, welcome.  
2 F:MR thank you  
3 F:EJ .hh well ah we'll come to the deputy president position in a moment  
4 or so but I believe you've been talking to politicians in new  
5 zealand about the use and abuse I guess of the parliamentary  
6 precinct .hhh what's your view of the n-c-p-a giving marching orders to some of the  
7 demonstrators who've been camped outside the australian parliament?  
8 F:MR well that's an ((clears throat)) an inquiry that we're involved in at the present time which  
9 was .h partly why I was interested in talking to the new zealand ((clears throat)) members  
10 about what they do .hh ah I think my view would be that it's rather late to be doing it but ah  
11 better now than not at all=I think we really do have to have some .h ((clears throat)) rules  
12 about camping outside parliament house .h I think the n-c-p-a should've asked them to move  
13 on a bit sooner.  
14 F:EJ .hh now I wonder though should the n-c-p-a have waited until your committee reported back  
15 before issuing eviction notices?  
16 F:MR I I really felt that they should've moved them on before the  
17 committee was ever set up. and now I think you might argue that  
18 the committee having been established .h perhaps they should've waited I think on balance I  
19 would say that they have a role to play  
20 and a job to do and um they should probably issue these notices  
21 now the committee will report to the parliament and the parliament  
22 in due course will decide what will happen in the future.  
23 F:EJ is there any room though in your view for demonstrators to set up  
24 camps outside parliament?  
25 F:MR I believe so but I think we need to have um a few .h some sort of  
26 rules and understandings about the length of time it is appropriate  
27 to be there.  
28 F:EJ .h so the parliament you believe should perhaps set time limits for demonstrators?  
29 F:MR I think so. In new zealand if you want to demonstrate you get  
30 permission from the speaker and the times in a sense are  
31 negotiated in ad in advance of the length of time that you'll be there.hh um their their layout  
32 of course is quite different from ours but they seem to go about it somewhat differently. .hh  
33 but um the point of being there I imagine (.) is to tell the politicians what you think .h and  
34 when we're not sitting at all there seems little point in the demonstrations remaining there for  
35 the days that parliament is sitting then there is a point to be made.  
36 F:EJ I guess some of the demonstrators would argue that ah the  
37 politicians aren't listening so they feel it's necessary to stay there.  
38 F:MR .hhh well the politicians listen but politicians have a lot of people to to take into account, not  
39 just a few who may be  
40 camped outside parliament house. you've got to get the balance  
41 between the majority of the electorate and the people outside  
42 parliament house and you know they're there you know what they're saying .hh and you have  
43 to evaluate that message .h ah  
44 with everything else that you have to consider.  
45 F:EJ .hh should the time limits be different for different demonstrators  
46 or should there be ah a particular time limit that is set aside?  
47 F:MR I really haven't thought about that in detail but I think I'd find it  
48 difficult to say "ah yours is a good cause you can stay three days. yours is not so good you  
49 can only stay one" .hh I think I think  
50 you'd run into some difficulties trying to make those decisions.  
51 F:EJ so you seem then to be suggesting that a uniform time limit is the  
52 way to go.  
53 F:MR I think so but we will listen to the evidence that's put to the committee and I'd certainly go  
54 into any committee with an an open mind about how these things should be done. .hh and ah  
55 then we'll report when we've evaluated it.  
56 F:EJ .hhh we've been getting a lot of media attention here in recent weeks about the issue of maori  
57 land rights. what's your impression now after an extended visit .h how divisive is the matter  
58 becoming in new zealand?

59 F:MR it's not an extended visit and in the time you only pick up some of  
60 the impressions I would not speak in any way with any knowledge of it .hh but ah there are a  
61 number of sort of methodolog- a number of sort of a number of maoris were saying through  
62 the media .hh we are proceeding claims through the courts and doing it properly ah why  
63 should those who are doing it through different methods doing it through different methods  
64 get so much publicity and perhaps even succeed in something by doing it sort of outside the  
65 law and by doing it in that fashion. .hh and ah that seemed to be emerging during the week I  
66 was there um (1.0) that that there are you know there are sort of two different approaches  
67 those who are proceeding within the rules that have been set out .hh and and they now are  
68 questioning how it is that others seem to be perhaps doing better by demonstrating taking  
69 over and occupying things like that and that is obv- ((clears throat)) obviously causing some  
70 dilemma amongst the different maori groups themselves.

71 F:EJ .hhh senator, onto another matter. will you stand for the position of ah deputy president ah  
72 when senator chricton-browne quits?

73 F:MR when the position comes up I expect to. I this week I intend to talk to some of my colleagues  
74 that they are of the mind that that would be a good idea. ah I certainly would like to occupy  
75 the job if it is available and if people take the view that I should be the one to do it.

76 F:EJ .hh now of course you got a bit of a bruising last time. are you  
77 confident that you'll get the party's support you need this time?

78 F:MR ahh life is never really certain in politics. ah last time I lost  
79 and that was that and I went on with the job that I had quite  
80 happily .hh um (0.7) if I stand I would like to ((laughter)) you can never be certain about  
81 anything but I would want to know that at least a fair number of my colleagues thought that  
82 it was a good idea.

83 F:EJ you wouldn't stand unless you were pretty convinced that it was a  
84 sure thing?

85 F:MR ah probably not.

86 F:EJ ((laughter)) .hh

87 F:MR I shall be making a few phone calls this week.

88 F:EJ oh fair enough. senator what's your understanding why hasn't  
89 chricton-browne formally resigned?

90 F:MR president I understand is out of the country and so he cannot  
91 resign ah at the present time the there must be the presiding  
92 officer's position must be filled at all times. .hh if the president isn't in the country then the  
93 deputy president must be in the country and hold the position. so my understanding of it is  
94 that he isn't able to resign from the job he holds until the president returns. I mean I'm  
95 representing the president tomorrow at the war memorial to lay a wreath on behalf of .hh the  
96 senate um and my understanding is that senator bean is out of the country and ah so therefore  
97 he cannot resign until he returns.

98 F:EJ well senator, we wish you well.

99 F:MR thank you

100 F:EJ thanks for your time this morning. a-c-t liberal party senator and opposition whit in the  
101 senator margaret reid.

[XXXII: Elizabeth Jackson/Lucinda Spier 10.2.1995 ABC Radio (Canberra)]

1 F:EJ lucinda spier, good morning.  
2 F:LS good morning, elizabeth.  
3 F:EJ now we'll move in a minute to the problem that ah you and the liberal party face  
4 with you also wearing a canberra rates association hat. .hh firstly though can we  
5 tackle this issue of land tax? .hh now especially when you effectively say that the y  
6 es, indeed. the- the thing that they have wrong about land tax is the fact that there's  
7 no tax-free threshold as there is in every other state in australia including new south  
8 wales.  
9 (1.2)  
10 F:EJ now why do you say that ah that is a breach of party policy? why is that so wrong  
11 for the liberals to take that stand?  
12 F:LS .hh well what it does is it it targets small investors in canberra and in fact it's  
13 driving investment out of the territory .h whereas in new south wales, the fact that  
14 there's a tax-free threshold .hh exempts small investors .h and the effect of this  
15 policy is that we're driving investment out of canberra and in particular people are  
16 going and investing in jerrabomberra. .hh and at the same time they're using the  
17 expensive infrastructure and facilities that are paid for by canberra rate payers.  
18 F:EJ .h what sort of a threshold would you like to see?  
19 F:LS .h I'd like to see a threshold in line with new south wales which is around one  
20 hundred and seventy thousand .hhh um it's also higher in victoria it's more like the  
21 two hundred thousand and it's going be rev- be reviewed upwards .hhh  
22 F:EJ have you tried within the liberal party structure to get the party to adopt a threshold  
23 on land tax in line with new south wales?  
24 F:LS indeed I have but failed. policy convention did not pick up this issue. there w- we  
25 were told that it was a money issue and they wanted to keep it. .hh um there is a bit  
26 of a history attached to land tax with the liberal party .hh they agreed to ah abolish  
27 it but went back on that that promise in nineteen ninety two .h and they reneged on  
28 it so I mean I don't really think they know exactly whether they should have this  
29 this tax-free policy tax-free threshold or not but at the moment there is none and  
30 there should be.  
31 F:EJ .hh and as I see it lucinda spier there appears to be ah a modern day problem not  
32 just a historical problem for the liberal party. isn't fair to say that .hh the liberals  
33 existing land tax policy doesn't accord with the overall party platform and that is to  
34 keep all taxes .hh and charges in line with new south wales.  
35 F:LS absolutely and not only that miss carnell in her policy launch on sunday said that no  
36 tax or charge would be higher than new south wales. well here's a prime example  
37 where it is higher than new south wales.  
38 F:EJ so we haven't even voted and you a member of the liberal party are saying that your  
39 leader has already broken an election promise?  
40 F:LS no no I'm saying that there's an inconsistency there and perhaps she hasn't thought  
41 this one through but there- you know she's said on the one hand that no tax or  
42 charge would be higher whereas I know this one is.  
43 F:EJ but she hasn't thought it through you've already told me but you have tried to  
44 discuss it with her in the party.  
45 F:LS I don't mean that aspect of it I mean the fact that this ah pronouncement was made  
46 tha that no tax or charge would be higher yes that the policy's been thought through  
47 but I don't think that statement has.  
48 (3.0)  
49 F:EJ if this is so and you're effectively saying that your leader has got it wrong it's not a  
50 great vote of confidence in kate carnell and the liberal party is it a week before an  
51 election?  
52 F:LS not necessarily I think what has to be put here on the record is that the liberal party's  
53 policy on land tax is the best of the three ruling parties there's no doubt about that It  
54 just doesn't go far enough .hh and I think that if we want to assist business  
55 encourage investment and to keep unemployment down we have to lower our taxes  
56 we can't just spend spend spend and hope everything will be all right .hh you have  
57 to look at the tax base as well and you don't want to drive investment out of  
58 canberra.

59 F:EJ .hh lucinda spier doesn't your membership of the liberal party bind you to support  
60 existing policy aren't you expected to support the policy that the party puts forward?  
61 F:LS .hhh yes I am and this causes me some pain to come out and say what I am saying  
62 but I feel so strongly about these property taxes that I've taken this decision .h and  
63 I'll wear the consequences. I know that what I am saying is going to cause me  
64 personally some injury within the party but as I say it is so important that I'm  
65 prepared to put myself on the line for it and let people know out there I will be  
66 working internally to change the liberal party's mind of these issues of property tax.  
67 F:EJ what sort of injury are you expecting?  
68 F:LS .hh oh I guess the party itself will vilify me for what I'm saying but I can accept that.  
69 (1.0)  
70 F:EJ has kate carnell told you when you spoke out last time to effectively shut up and go  
71 through the appropriate channels  
72 (0.3)  
73 F:LS no she didn't she just said she wasn't terribly happy about it.  
74 (0.6)  
75 F:EJ .hhh and obviously she would have advised you or presumably she would have  
76 advised you to go through the proper channels in the future.  
77 F:LS no she didn't ah I wear two hats and it's quite legitimate that I speak out .h on behalf  
78 of rate payers and this has never been .hh something that has been um agreed to  
79 with the liberal party I have always said I will continue .h to speak out as the  
80 chairman of the canberra rates association .h and I have .h and not only that the  
81 only other canberra rates association that exists in canberra .h has come out publicly  
82 and endorsed me yesterday and said I am the only of candidate that can be trusted  
83 on the issue of rates and land tax  
84 F:EJ so kate carnell the leader of the liberal party .h did not try to discipline you in any  
85 way .h when you came on this program about a week ago and said that she had got  
86 it wrong?  
87 F:LS not after the event no she didn't.  
88 F:EJ .h well some people lucinda spier would ah say that that reflects very badly on kate  
89 carnell's leadership.  
90 F:LS .hh I don't think so I think she's a true liberal what she's saying is that the  
91 individual has a right to say what they think and in fact they do know that I do have  
92 these two hats. I was preselected on the basis of um my work with rates and they  
93 knew that and that was why they elected me so I don't see that that's a problem I  
94 think that it's um it's a plus that they can accept that.  
95 F:EJ .hh some would say that ah the picture that you're painting of the liberal party this  
96 morning is one of inconsistency .h confusion that essentially it's ah it's a free kick  
97 to the labor party a=  
98 F:LS =ah=  
99 F:EJ = a week before an election.  
100 F:LS I don't think that's correct I think that what they're saying is that we accept the right  
101 to free speech .h the right to wear two hats and the right for the individual to speak  
102 up when I they feel very strongly about an issue such as taxation a very hateful tax  
103 might I add this particular tax .h its' double what people pay in their rates and it's a  
104 very unfair tax  
105 F:EJ and the right presumably to contravene the party platform.  
106 F:LS .h well there is a difficulty with these two hats and I think mis carnell understands  
107 that quite well herself having um had the same sort of issue raised with the  
108 pharmacy guild.  
109 (1.0)  
110 F:EJ now of course lucinda spier under robson rotation it requires people to build a high  
111 profile in that ah you're certainly today building up your profile.  
112 F:LS .hh oh that could be said liz and I'm sure you're not a cynic but after um what I did  
113 on the last program with you my profile's already high and that was your intro too  
114 that I'm already a high profile candidate .hh so it's nothing to do with that it's to do  
115 with it's to do with speaking up about an issue I believe very strongly about.  
116 F:EJ .hh lucinda spier if you continue to speak out against the existing party policy .h  
117 should you continue to be a member of the liberal party? why don't you just quit  
118 and become and independent?

119 F:LS .h well it's too late for that liz, the ballot papers are drawn the ah the the line has  
 120 been ruled and everybody is where they will be on the day and it's just too late it's  
 121 practically an impossible suggestion .hh to go along with.  
 122 F:EJ do you wish you had have done that?  
 123 F:LS no I don't. I still believe in liberal party philosophy .h and that was what I was  
 124 saying to you earlier the right of the individual to speak out has been upheld .h and  
 125 that's something that we should um applaud the liberal party for and I don't want to  
 126 be an independent I'm very happy on the liberal party ticket  
 127 F:EJ but you disagree with a couple of their policies  
 128 F:LS on those issues the issues that I have been working very hard to deal with over the  
 129 last two years, yes I do and I make no secret of that.  
 130 F:EJ .hh do you disagree with any other policy issues?  
 131 F:LS I don't.  
 132 F:EJ just those ones?  
 133 F:LS just the land tax policies, the property tax.  
 134 F:EJ lucinda spier, did any one threaten your party endorsement after the last time you ah  
 135 tailed against the existing platform on rates?  
 136 F:LS not after that because elizabeth the um the nominations had closed.  
 137 (0.9)  
 138 F:EJ right. .h so some might suggest that it was clever timing on your part.  
 139 F:LS they might suggest , yes. ((laughter))  
 140 F:EJ all right well it's an extraordinary statement that you make lucinda spier this  
 141 morning we thank you ah for your time  
 142 F:LS you're welcome elizabeth. thank you. bye bye.  
 143 F:EJ it's been interesting talking to you

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