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The Theatre of Emotions:
Investigating Journalistic Emotions and the Role of Interruptions in the
Emotionalisation of Political Television Debates

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Abstract

Political television debates, as a broadcast genre, have garnered notable academic attention, particularly in the era of 24/7 news. Much of the academic and media criticism of these debates points towards the presence of emotionalised and aggressive discussions between the host and the panellists, characterised by intrusive turn violations. In applied linguistics and a handful of journalism studies, speech interruptions caused by turn violations have been recognised to cause emotionalised reactions and negative emotions. Criticised for frequent turn violations and emotionalised discussions, Indian political television debates, as a form of journalistic content, present an opportunity to examine the extent of speech interruptions and their role in the emotionalisation of the shows from the standpoint of emotions research in journalism studies. Despite the evident research gap, the examination of emotionality in tandem with turn violations has remained beyond the purview of academic research in journalism. To address this research gap, the overarching research question that guides this study is: How do the frequency and types of speech interruptions and overlaps in political debates contribute to the emotionalisation of the interaction, particularly eliciting angry reactions from debate hosts, and how do journalists perceive and interpret these emotional responses?

To answer this research question, this thesis studies journalistic emotions in Indian political television debates, taking a three-pronged approach. First, it examined the extent of interruptions in ten Indian political television debates using a conversation analysis approach (CA). Second, it examined the transcribed units from the debates for verbal, visual, and vocal cues of journalistic anger using multimodal conversation analysis (MCA), with the aim of understanding the role of interruptions in causing journalistic emotions. Moreover, third, it examined the journalistic perception and interpretation of emotions, the presence of specific emotions such as anger, and the underlying reasons shaping their presence in the shows using semi-structured interviews.

The investigation revealed several notable findings. First, the heavy presence of speech interruptions, predominantly initiated by the host, results in speech overlaps that compromise the intelligibility of the discussion. Second, the ‘fairly high’ presence of competitive

interruptions caused angry and aggressive reactions in journalists, thus revealing anger as the most prominent emotion in the debates. Third, while interruptions are used as a strategic device to manage the debates and cause confrontations, heightening the entertainment value of the shows, the presence of journalistic anger in the debates is predominantly ‘inauthentic’ and is caused by underlying commercial, political, and cultural reasons that benefit the broadcast stations and the incumbent government.

The study made several novel contributions to emotions research in journalism, encompassing but not limited to: a) the integration of conversation analysis and multimodal conversation analysis in the examination of broadcast content, b) the examination of interruptions in journalistic talk-in-interaction and their implications for anger, c) shedding light on the previously overlooked issue of journalistic autonomy over emotions, and d) extending the study of journalistic emotions, particularly anger, within emotions research.

Keywords: *Emotions in Journalism, Political television debates, Indian Media, Journalistic Emotions, Journalistic Anger, Multimodal Conversation Analysis, Conversation Analysis, Speech Interruptions, Turn Violations, Measuring Anger*

Zusammenfassung

Politische Fernsehdiskussionen als Sendungsgenre haben insbesondere im Zeitalter der 24/7-Nachrichten signifikante akademische Aufmerksamkeit erlangt. Ein Großteil der akademischen und medialen Kritik an diesen Diskussionen weist auf das Vorhandensein emotionalisierter und aggressiver Diskussionen zwischen dem Moderator und den Diskussionsteilnehmern hin, die durch eindringliche Sprechübernahmen gekennzeichnet sind. In der Angewandten Linguistik und einigen Journalismusstudien wurden durch Sprechunterbrechungen verursachte emotionale Reaktionen und negative Emotionen erkannt. Kritik an häufigen Unterbrechungen und emotionalisierten Diskussionen macht indische politische Fernsehdiskussionen als journalistische Inhalte zu einer Gelegenheit, das Ausmaß der Sprechunterbrechungen und deren Rolle bei der Emotionalisierung der Sendungen aus der Sicht der Emotionsforschung im Journalismus zu untersuchen. Trotz der offensichtlichen Forschungslücke blieb die Untersuchung von Emotionalität in Verbindung mit Sprecherwechselerletzungen bisher außerhalb des akademischen Forschungsbereichs im Journalismus. Zur Schließung dieser Forschungslücke richtet sich die übergeordnete Forschungsfrage dieser Studie darauf, wie die Häufigkeit und Art von Sprechunterbrechungen und Überlappungen in politischen Diskussionen zur Emotionalisierung der Interaktion beitragen, insbesondere indem sie wütende Reaktionen von Debattenmoderatoren hervorrufen, und wie Journalisten diese emotionalen Reaktionen wahrnehmen und interpretieren.

Zur Beantwortung dieser Forschungsfrage untersucht die vorliegende Arbeit journalistische Emotionen in indischen politischen Fernsehdiskussionen mit einem dreigleisigen Ansatz. Erstens wurde das Ausmaß der Unterbrechungen in zehn indischen politischen Fernsehdiskussionen mit einem Gesprächsanalyse-Ansatz (CA) untersucht. Zweitens wurden die transkribierten Einheiten der Diskussionen mit multimodaler Gesprächsanalyse (MCA) auf verbale, visuelle und vokale Anzeichen journalistischer Wut hin analysiert, um die Rolle der Unterbrechungen bei der Verursachung journalistischer Emotionen zu verstehen. Drittens wurden durch halbstrukturierte Interviews die journalistische Wahrnehmung und Interpretation von Emotionen, das Vorhandensein spezifischer Emotionen wie Wut und die zugrundeliegenden Gründe für deren Präsenz in den Sendungen untersucht.

Die Untersuchung ergab mehrere bemerkenswerte Ergebnisse. Erstens führt die starke Präsenz von Sprechunterbrechungen, die überwiegend vom Moderator initiiert werden, zu Sprachüberlappungen, die die Verständlichkeit der Diskussion beeinträchtigen. Zweitens verursachte die relativ hohe Anzahl wettbewerbsorientierter Unterbrechungen wütende und aggressive Reaktionen bei Journalisten, wodurch Wut als prominenteste Emotion in den Diskussionen hervorgehoben wurde. Drittens werden Unterbrechungen zwar als strategisches Mittel eingesetzt, um die Diskussionen zu steuern und Konfrontationen zu provozieren, wodurch der Unterhaltungswert der Sendungen gesteigert wird, doch ist die journalistische Wut in den Diskussionen überwiegend „unauthentisch“ und auf zugrundeliegende kommerzielle, politische und kulturelle Gründe zurückzuführen, die den Rundfunkanstalten und der amtierenden Regierung zugutekommen.

Die Studie leistet mehrere neuartige Beiträge zur Emotionsforschung im Journalismus, einschließlich aber nicht beschränkt auf: a) die Integration von Gesprächsanalyse und multimodaler Gesprächsanalyse bei der Untersuchung von Rundfunkinhalten, b) die Untersuchung von Unterbrechungen im journalistischen Gespräch und deren Auswirkungen auf Wut, c) die Beleuchtung des bisher übersehenen Themas der journalistischen Autonomie über Emotionen und d) die Erweiterung der Untersuchung journalistischer Emotionen, insbesondere von Wut, in der Emotionsforschung.

Schlüsselwörter: *Emotionen im Journalismus, Politische Fernsehdebatten, Indische Medien, Journalistische Emotionen, Journalistischer Ärger, Multimodale Gesprächsanalyse, Gesprächsanalyse, Redebeiträge Unterbrechungen, Abbiegeverstöße, Ärger Messen*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The first presidential debate between Joe Biden and Donald Trump on September 29, 2020, was widely perceived as one of the most contentious and chaotic in modern American political history, marked by frequent interruptions and combative exchanges that challenged the norms of civil discourse (The Commission on Presidential Debates, 2020; Ballotpedia, 2020). While political commentators widely covered the debate, much of the media attention highlighted its interruptive and emotionalised character. Reports described the event as "chaotic" and "jarring" (AP, 2020), marked by repeated interruptions, heckling, and personal jabs (Carlisle, 2020). Regarded as a "verbal slugfest" or "schoolyard squabble" (Colvin & Monsivais, 2020), the recurrent turn violations underline the significance of turn-taking mechanisms that abide by the conventions of the speech exchange system (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), which prescribe one party speaking at a time as a "basic rule for conversations" (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1076).

Political candidates aside, the emotionalised reaction and experience of the journalist moderating the show is of particular significance here. Reports of moderator Chris Wallace raising his voice in frustration to regain control of the debate (Colvin & Monsivais, 2020) underscore the emotional dimensions of journalistic talk-in-interaction, marking it as a significant site for examining emotions in journalism and directly informing the focus of this study.

The example of the 2020 American presidential debate, however, highlights what has become a routinised practice on Indian television, where confrontational and interruptive political debates constitute staple programming and occupy hours of daily airtime—marking a distinctly different media landscape that warrants focused academic attention. With panellists sparring with moderators, these debates are frequently characterised by interruptions, conflict, emotional outbursts, and escalating confrontations, which have drawn sustained criticism from the press regarding programme formats, participant conduct, and the role of moderators. The emergence of such shows underlines that journalistic emotionality is now visibly enacted on television screens, as Indian print and web media repeatedly lament the presence of angry hosts, volatile discussions, and foul-mouthed exchanges.

Moreover, the frustration experienced by moderators in managing confrontation underlines the link between sustained interruption and negative emotions such as anger (Beefink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006; Zijlstra et al., 1999; Bucy et al., 2020). Characterised by constant clashes and dramatised contests or battles (Hess-Lüttich, 2007), these debates—though often dismissed as routine programming—gain analytical significance within the framework of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), growing academic attention to experiences and displays of journalistic emotions (Pantti, 2010; Peters, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021), and recent efforts focusing on the examination of journalistic experiences of anger (Ivask et al., 2023; Stupart, 2022; 2023). When observed in tandem, these themes yield several research gaps.

The interruptive, confrontational nature of political television debates offers a valuable opportunity to explore how interruptions affect journalistic emotions, particularly negative emotions like anger. Such an investigation aligns with calls to examine the interplay between emotions and journalistic work across practice, text, and talk, while considering the various social, political, technological, and economic factors influencing journalistic emotionality (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021).

Journalistic emotional experiences vary across media formats—print, broadcast, and digital—and differ regionally due to unique professional challenges. However, current emotion scholarship predominantly focuses on print media and Western contexts, with insufficient attention to

broadcast journalism and journalists' emotionality in the Global South. Addressing this research gap through the study of political television debates can enrich academic understanding of journalistic emotionality in underrepresented regions.

While some academic discourse on political television debates exists—particularly in applied linguistics (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Lauerbach, 2007; Carpignano et al., 1990; Patrona, 2005, p. 23; Hernández-Flores, 2008; Ornebring, 2003; Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Niapele et al., 2021; Coleman, 2013)—studies examining these debates from journalistic perspectives remain limited (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; Voltmer & Brants, 2011). Political television debates on journalistic networks—characterised by frequent speech interruptions, confrontational talk, and emotionalised discussions—present a peculiar mix that has largely escaped detailed academic inquiry. Since journalists act as hosts or moderators, these debates provide a vital opportunity to examine journalistic emotionality and the underlying factors that shape it.

Previous studies on the role of hosts in debate or talk shows have mostly taken a critical view of both hosts and shows (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Coleman, 2013), eschewing a deeper analytical perspective on the forces shaping discussions. Likewise, criticism by the Indian press lamenting the interruptive, confrontational, and emotional nature of these discussions (Balasubramaniam, 2014; Singh, 2015; Choudhury, 2018; Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Bisht, 2016; Daniyal, 2016) points to the presence of journalistic emotions but lacks a more critical analysis of this trend.

In linguistics and a handful of journalism studies (Voltmer & Brants, 2011), speech interruptions have served as a unit of analysis for investigating broadcast talk. Regarded as intrusive, impolite, and hostile acts (Hutchby, 1992) that disrupt interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1983) and violate conversational symmetry (Coates, 2004), examining interruptions in journalistic talk offers a novel approach to understanding emotions, since the two have been observed to be interlinked (Jackson et al., 2003; Mandler, 1980; Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006).

Despite this close association, turn violations resulting in interruptions have been relatively underexamined for their emotionalising effects. Some studies identify interruptions as a source of negative emotions such as anger and frustration (Beeftink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006), and in

journalism research, their role has mainly been explored in the context of journalistic antagonism or aggression in interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; Voltmer & Brants, 2011). This suggests a gap in understanding how interruptions influence journalistic discourse and elicit emotional responses.

Examining interruptions in television debates offers a significant method for revealing their role as subtle yet powerful triggers of journalistic emotions, particularly anger and frustration. This approach complements calls to study how specific emotions interact with journalistic work by integrating the social, political, technological, and economic dimensions that shape emotionality in the profession (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021).

Furthermore, the particular focus on journalistic emotionality stems from the growing scholarship on emotions in journalism research. Over nearly fifteen years of research on emotions in journalism, studies have explored several themes to gain a deeper understanding of journalistic emotions. Broadly, these studies have explored journalistic interpretations and experiences of emotionality in the profession (Pantti, 2010; Peters, 2011; Hopper & Huxford, 2015), emotional storytelling in print (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Paul, 2019), broadcast reporting (Kotíšová, 2017b), and digital journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016).

The continued interest to examine emotionality's presence, significance, and implications—from longstanding issues such as objectivity and rationality (Beckett & Deuze, 2016) to newer concepts such as the 'strategic ritual of emotionality' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013) and journalistic engagement with emotional labour (Peters, 2011; Kotisova, 2017a) — has resulted in an 'emotional turn' in journalism research, characterised by a rapidly developing area of inquiry opening up new research agendas (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021), and “new forms of emotion-driven journalistic work, such as immersive journalism and constructive journalism” (Lecheler, 2020, p. 287).

The nuanced investigation driving this 'emotional turn' requires not only a comprehensive understanding of how emotionality presents and manifests in journalism but also attention to diverse perspectives emerging from 'national contexts and journalistic cultures' (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 11), necessary to develop a critical mass of literature in emotions research.

It requires examining and theorising emotions in newsrooms and the field, as well as journalistic content in print and broadcast, and journalistic experiences navigating personal and professional terrains across various settings. In the same vein, to expand the scope of the emotional turn, researchers have called for broadening emotions research by examining audience perceptions to better understand how closer ties and emotional engagement with audiences can be achieved (Lecheler, 2020).

Despite growing interest in examining emotions in the profession and journalistic content encompassing old and new issues and challenges, emotionality in journalism remains "under-theorised and under-researched" (Kotisova, 2019, p. 1). Additionally, while emotionality in journalistic content, particularly in print (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Paul, 2019), has received some attention, research examining its presence in journalistic talk and talk-in-interaction in broadcast content such as political television debates has been limited.

This study addresses the identified research gap by using political television debates as its principal site of analysis. Specifically, it investigates the presence and interpretation of journalistic emotions through two interrelated lines of inquiry: first, by examining how speech interruptions contribute to journalistic emotionality within debates; and second, by exploring how journalists themselves view, interpret, and make sense of their emotional experiences. Adopting this dual perspective enables both an externally grounded analysis of interactional features—namely, interruptions and overlaps—and an internally informed account of how journalists understand and rationalise the emotions that arise during debate participation.

Indian political debates offer a particularly rich and relevant site for pursuing these aims. As outlined earlier, Indian television news programming has become increasingly defined by a culture of confrontational discussions, in which interruptions, emotional outbursts, and escalating conflicts are not anomalies but rather routinised features of the format. Debate programmes occupy several hours of daily airtime across major news networks, and panellists frequently clash not only with one another but also with moderators and programme hosts. This format has attracted significant criticism in the mainstream press, which has raised concerns about the deterioration of debate quality, the adversarial role of hosts, and the performative nature of participant behaviour. The regularity with which such debates occur, coupled with their highly charged and antagonistic

style, provides a fertile ground for investigating how journalistic emotions are both produced and interpreted in and through interaction.

Methodologically, this study contributes by employing Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine the extent and character of interruptions, turn-taking violations, and overlaps within debates. While CA has been applied to some extent in journalism research, its use as an empirical tool for studying emotion is minimal. By analysing journalistic talk-in-interaction through CA, this research opens up new ways of thinking about how affect is embedded and enacted in the structural organisation of speech. Furthermore, this study expands its methodological scope by incorporating Multimodal Conversation Analysis (MCA) alongside Retzinger's (1991) cues of anger to investigate how emotions are not only spoken but also embodied and visually signalled.

The dataset includes audio-visual units of confrontational sections in debates, enabling the capture of the simultaneous interplay of interruptions, talk, gestures, and affective displays. While machine-based multimodal systems are increasingly used to study emotion, the combination of MCA with Retzinger's framework remains rare in both journalism research and emotions scholarship more broadly. This dual-level approach thus provides a novel methodological contribution.

The study also extends beyond conversation and multimodal analysis by foregrounding the perspectives of journalists themselves. Through interviews and reflections, it examines how journalists interpret their emotional responses during debates and the reasons they attribute to these emotional experiences. This approach recognises that emotions are not merely surface-level displays observable to outsiders, but also experiential and interpretive processes understood from within professional practice.

By incorporating insider perspectives, the study captures dimensions of journalistic emotionality that are inaccessible through interactional analysis alone. Taken together, these three strands—the analysis of interruptions via CA, the multimodal exploration of emotion in debate units, and the elicitation of journalists' subjective accounts—offer a comprehensive view into how emotions manifest in journalistic talk.

The contribution of this study is therefore twofold. First, it advances theoretical and empirical understanding of emotionality in a journalistic genre that has thus far been underexamined. Second, it offers a novel methodological perspective by presenting an integrated approach that combines conversation analysis and multimodal conversation analysis to examine journalistic emotions. This combined perspective makes it possible not only to document the interactional role of interruptions in political broadcasting but also to interpret how journalists themselves connect these interruptions to emotional experience and meaning-making.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The study examines how interruptions contribute to emotionality in Indian political television debates, as well as journalists' perspectives and interpretations of this emotionality.

Building on the critical media commentary in the Indian popular press, the Indian television political debates as research desiderata present themselves as a site of investigation, the opportunity to examine the extent of turn violations resulting in interruptions and speech overlaps and, thus, into journalistic emotionality by examining the emotionalised discussions between the journalists and the debate participants. Therefore, the overarching research question developed in this study is: In what ways do interruptions contribute to emotionality in Indian political television debates, and what are the journalistic views and interpretations of emotionality in these debates, as well as the factors underlying these emotions? To answer this research question, the study employs a three-pronged approach divided into three stages.

First, it empirically examines the presence of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates using the conversation analysis approach, where it seeks to fulfil the following objectives;

- To measure the extent of interruptions in television debates, particularly involving the host.
- To examine the implications of interruptions used by and against the host in a journalistic context.
- To contribute to the integration of conversation analysis in the empirical examination of journalistic talk-in-interaction.

Second, it examines the methodically identified units of the debates to capture the intersections between interruptions and journalistic emotions using the multimodal conversation analysis approach in a bid to achieve the following objectives;

- To examine the units for the simultaneous presence of emotions/anger and interruptions.
- To understand the ways in which interruptions are used by the host and their display of emotionality in visuals, vocals and verbal cues.
- To advance the use of multimodal conversation analysis for the analysis of emotional displays in journalistic talk-in-interaction
- To understand whether competitive interruptions influence journalistic emotionality, specifically whether they result in the display of journalistic anger.
- To establish a foundation for a deeper investigation into journalistic emotions and specific emotions in debates, utilising a multimodal conversation analysis approach.

The third stage of the study examines journalistic views and interpretation of the presence of journalistic emotions in the debates and the underlying reasons for their presence in the debates, as it seeks to achieve the following objectives;

- To understand journalists' views and interpretations of emotions in political television debates, and the identification of specific emotions/dominant emotions in the debates.
- To examine their insights into the presence of specific emotions in the debates
- To identify the factors behind the presence of journalistic emotions/ anger in television debates.
- To extrapolate the findings from the existing literature on emotions in journalism research.

1.3 Overview of the thesis

The 2nd chapter of this thesis begins by exploring the broader literature on emotions. It examines the literature to develop a comprehensive understanding of emotions across various disciplines, including philosophy, psychology, sociology, and political science. This introductory view into emotions provides insight into how discourse on emotions has developed in the social sciences, particularly in political communication, and how it may potentially influence discourse on

emotions in journalism research. Through this, it examines how the rejection of emotionality in political sciences, particularly rooted in Habermas's (1964) public sphere theory in the second half of the 20th century, may have influenced the journalistic discourse on objectivity, hinging on the dichotomy between rationality and emotionality.

Through this, the chapter outlines a continued and close interaction between political sciences and journalism research where the narrative in both the disciplines could be seen shifting from vehement rejection of emotions to a more accommodating view of it evident in terms such as agonistic public sphere (Mouffe, 2002) in the former and Martin Bell's (1990) journalism of attachment in the latter. The chapter further narrows down to a more focused discourse on emotions in journalism with the turn of the 21st century with rise of peripheral concepts such as therapeutic television (Mayes, 2000; Furedi, 2004), reporting of death in the media (Kitch, 2000; Hanusch, 2008; 2010; 2013) to more concerted and landmark works on journalistic emotions with the turn of second decade (Pantti, 2010; Peters, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013).

Taking a similar approach, the chapter in the next section traces the discourse on specific emotions with a particular focus on anger. It explores how discourse on anger, particularly rooted in popular political mass movements driven by rights groups and feminist thinkers in the mid-to-late 20th century, and the growing favourable view of its expression in the public domain and political discourses. In tracing its trajectory in the social sciences, the chapter narrows its examination of journalism research to identify a growing interest among researchers in recent years (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2023). The final section of this chapter examines the Indian media discourse surrounding political TV debates, demonstrating how their criticism provides a basis for investigating journalistic emotions through Indian television debates as a site of inquiry.

Chapter 3 elaborates on the methodological framework adopted in the study. The three-pronged analysis outlines three methodological approaches adopted in this study. The first section of this chapter discusses conversation analysis and demonstrates its application to the sample corpus. It further outlines the sample selection procedure, sample size and the method of data analysis. The second section discusses the multimodal conversation analysis approach, in addition to Retzinger's (1991) examination of verbal, visual, and vocal cues of anger. It elaborates on sample selection, the selection of units of analysis, and the process of analysis. The third section discusses the use

of interviews for investigation. It elaborates on sample selection, sample size and the application of the thematic analysis approach to examine the interview data.

Chapter 4 of this study presents the findings and discussion in three stages. The first stage, referred to as Stage I of this chapter, presents the findings on the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates derived from the conversation analysis (CA) approach. With a specific emphasis on the show hosts, it critically analyses the competitive and cooperative interruptions and speech overlaps initiated *by* and *against* the host. Building on Stage I, the chapter extends into Stage II to examine the transcribed units in the corpus for the interplay between interruptions and emotionalised reactions, using the multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) approach. It analyses how competitive and cooperative interruptions may affect hosts' emotionality and examines the units for hosts' verbal, vocal and visual anger cues using Retzinger's (1991) framework. Using Stage II as a platform to narrow its focus on the presence of emotions, particularly anger, Stage III extends this investigation to examine the presence of emotionality in the debates based on the interview data acquired from the journalists. It reports the findings derived from the journalistic views and interpretations of emotionality, as well as the underlying causes of its presence in the debates.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions of this study. The first section of this chapter summarises the study, while the second section reports the findings derived from each stage of the study, subsequently demonstrating the integration between the three stages as an inclusive body of work. It also presents the novel contributions of each section and explains how they address the research gaps identified in this study. The last section of this chapter outlines the limitations and recommendations for future research emanating from this study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a review and synthesis of the theoretical and empirical literature that is central to and informs the theoretical framework of this study. Developed in five parts, it begins with an analysis of emotionality in journalism, tracing its most current discussions through to historical developments in key literature on journalism studies. Next, it zooms in on broader research regarding anger, accompanied by an analysis of recent efforts to examine journalistic anger within the context of emotions research in journalism. The chapter then presents a discussion on the examination of speech interruptions and overlaps, elaborating on their connection to negative emotions, such as anger, and reviewing the literature in journalism that encompasses empirical analyses of interruptions. It further discusses the academic literature and critical press coverage of Indian political television debates, which underpin the research desiderata of this study, establishing the premise for the investigation.

The first section provides a comprehensive overview of emotion research, tracing its development from the earliest studies in the late 19th century. It begins with a foundational understanding of emotions and progresses to more technical discussions within social sciences such as psychology. The section also explores the significance (or lack thereof) of emotions in political communication, examining debates surrounding the perceived opposition between rationality and emotionality, with particular emphasis on the privileged status of rationality in the public sphere.

The chapter further discusses the criticism of emotionality in journalism, particularly in light of the centrality of objectivity in journalistic practices and its subsequent approval, acceptance, and revival in journalism as the 21st century dawned. It then examines the discourse on emotions against the backdrop of criticisms of Habermas's public sphere theory, centred on rationality, in contrast to the rise of the agonistic public sphere theory, which advocates for emotions, particularly supported by feminist and post-modernist enquiries.

It then traces the parallel development of emotion research in the social sciences and its emergence in journalism, laying the groundwork for deeper inquiry into emotionality in journalistic content, practice, and experience. It advances the discussion on anger in journalism, highlighting the need to investigate a range of emotions within both journalistic output and the journalist's perspective.

The second section explores anger as a negative emotion, outlining its distinct place in emotions discourse and examining recent scholarship on mediated and journalistic anger. It briefly synthesises philosophical debates on anger and charts its evolution from a rejected emotion associated with aggression to a recognised force behind rights-based and feminist movements, often expressed through art and music. The section also reviews research in political communication that positions anger as central to public and political mobilisation, noting how media both channel and sustain public anger. It then narrows to recent journalism studies focused on anger in texts and talk, accompanied by calls for further academic attention. Finally, the chapter briefly turns to applied linguistics to underscore the connection between interruptions and negative emotions.

In doing so, the chapter offers a detailed account of the origins of interruption studies, focusing on Harvey Sacks's 1970s turn-taking mechanism. It reviews key research analysing interruptions in multiparty discussions through the Conversation Analysis (CA) approach in both linguistics and journalism. Furthermore, it examines the overlaps and interruptions within this theoretical framework, establishing the basis for investigating their role in the emotionalisation of Indian political television debates.

The turn-taking mechanism has shaped the development of empirical models for analysing interruptions in multiparty discussions and has evolved into a key methodological approach known as Conversation Analysis (CA). Originating in linguistic research, CA has been widely adopted across disciplines to explore themes such as power dynamics and gender representation. In applied linguistics, broadcast interviews have been frequently used to expand the validity and reach of CA. In journalism studies, CA has been instrumental in examining journalistic antagonism, revealing how interruptions can signal or intensify aggression, particularly when journalists assert control over interviews or debates.

While a direct link between journalistic emotions—particularly anger in response to interruptions—and journalism practice remains unexplored, research outside the discipline has noted a connection between interruptions and negative emotions. This section brings together insights on journalistic antagonism, interruptions, and emotionality to establish a foundation for a line of inquiry that has primarily been confined to linguistic studies. It argues for expanding this investigation into journalism research, particularly within the context of broadcast talk formats, such as political TV debates.

Building on the proposed line of inquiry, the fourth section introduces Indian political TV debates, alongside relevant media criticism and broader academic research. The section then surveys existing scholarly work on political debates, identifying both the themes addressed and those overlooked, thereby highlighting a critical research gap. It positions these debates as fertile ground for analysing interruptions and emotions. Drawing on prior studies, it further differentiates between talk shows and political panel debates, and clarifies the distinction between a show host and a journalist acting in the role of host.

The final section of this review examines the existing literature on televised debates, highlighting criticisms, including the role of the hosts and the emotional nature of the debates. It identifies the gap in academic discussion on emotionality in television debates and emphasises the need for it to be examined in relation to simultaneous speech, with television debates as the principal site of analysis. The section concludes by emphasising the need for further research and highlighting the key areas that require attention, which this thesis aims to address.

This section provides a detailed account of media criticism surrounding Indian debate shows, noting the significant attention they have received for their emotional intensity and departure from normative journalistic standards. Critics have pointed to panel debates as a rich site for analysing interruptions and emotions, reinforcing their suitability as a research corpus. It argues that investigating the relationship between journalistic emotion and interruptions through Conversation Analysis can yield new insights into how interruptions and overlaps—already linked to journalistic antagonism—may also influence or reflect journalistic emotions. The section further suggests that these debates offer a valuable lens into emotions like anger in journalism, particularly from the perspective of journalists who have hosted or observed such formats.

2.1 Emotions

Academic discussion on emotions is vast and spans various disciplines, including neurology, behavioural sciences, philosophy, psychology, sociology, linguistics, and, more recently, machine learning and artificial intelligence. However, broadly speaking, there are two approaches to assessing emotions. While one leans towards natural sciences and is rooted in Darwinian thought wherein emotion is observed in terms of the brain-body relationship — a human element meant to be understood and measured, the other largely emanates from and is rooted in traditional philosophy and the longstanding philosophical pursuit of reason and rational thought influenced by the Greek and Athenian philosophical traditions to Aristotelian and Hegelian traditions in modern times. These distinct approaches have shaped contemporary research on emotions, with the natural sciences focusing on biological, physiological, and neurological mechanisms, while philosophy continues to explore the ethical, existential, and rational aspects of emotional experience. Together, they offer a comprehensive framework for understanding emotions as both a physiological response and a complex, subjective experience. This duality has continued to inform interdisciplinary debates, driving the study of emotions and offering diverse perspectives on their origins, purposes, and impacts on human behaviour, action, and society. While these two broad approaches — rooted in the natural sciences and philosophy — provide a foundational framework for understanding emotions, the empirical investigation of emotions has remained within specific disciplines.

For example, the early discourse on emotions in the domains of psychological and neurological research aimed to capture the various modalities of emotions, their manifestations, whether bodily or otherwise, and their association with feelings, actions, reactions, and instincts. Less focused on its meaning and treated as a phenomenon that can be measured with the help of devices and tests, "traditional psychological theories of emotion have relied upon an empirical method that privileges the study of behaviour and physical reactions; the meaning of emotion is explained by recourse to magical laws (e.g., association, sensation, etc.)" (Emerick 1999, p. 78). In sociology, where empirical research on emotions began to emerge in the late 1970's, the focus of research remained limited to individual subjectivity and "confined to questions about individual experience" however, more recently pivoted to "shared ideas and rules regarding emotions within a culture, and their manifestations in widely circulating narratives" (Kusenbach & Loseke 2013, p. 23). In line with that change, Gammerl (2012) study for example, examines community-based emotionality called "emotional styles", which incorporates "the experience, fostering, and display of emotions, and oscillate between discursive patterns and embodied practices as well as between common scripts and specific appropriations" (p. 163). The use of 'style' in emotions research refers to tackling a "bundles of feelings" than the "individual ones like envy or anger" (Gammerl 2012, p. 162) and helps "explore the ways in which these diverging emotional styles relate to and interact with each other" (ibid. 163).

In linguistics, scholars have taken more language-oriented approaches to study emotions. One of the approaches "frequently used in cognitive linguistics to study...representation of emotion concepts" (Soriano, 2015, p. 206) is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), CMT is a theoretical framework that posits the existence in our minds of stable associations between different domains recursively employed to help us represent reality" (Soriano, 2015, p. 213). It "indicates that human thought processes are largely metaphorical, and the human conceptual system is structured and defined in a metaphorical way" (Rasekh & Ghafel, 2011, p. 212).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) contributes to the broader discourse on emotions by providing a framework for understanding how emotions are conceptualised, structured, and communicated through metaphorical language. Emotions, often subjective and difficult to capture directly, are frequently expressed through metaphors that draw on physical experiences, social

norms, and cultural contexts. By examining how emotions are represented metaphorically, CMT offers insight into how emotional experiences are understood not only individually but also within a shared societal and linguistic framework. For example, the use of colours in metaphors, such as green for both envy and inexperience and red for anger and fury, as well as playing with fire, referring to one's encounter with a potentially dangerous situation, are metaphors that entail salient emotions embedded in day-to-day conversations.

While emotions have been at the centre of academic discussion since James (1884) proposed the theory of emotion in the late 19th century, and references are often made to Aristotle's views on emotions, the scholarly interest in emotions and their social and political presence and role has grown manifold particularly in the 21st century (Prinz, 2005; Kusenbach & Loseke, 2013; Scheer, 2012; Gammerl, 2012; Katriel, 2015; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019). Despite the century-and-a-half-old academic literature on emotions, scholars have repeatedly underscored the lack of a unified definition of emotion, as defining emotions remains a "notorious problem" (Scherer, 2005). Given its myriad interpretations and applications across various disciplines, academic consensus over its understanding has remained mired in disagreements, whether in natural sciences (Bradley & Lang, 2000, p. 242) or philosophical traditions (Solomon, 2008; Scherer, 2005).

With more than 200 years of literature on emotions, a comprehensive account may be both unachievable and beyond the scope of this study. However, a cursory view of the research on emotions in philosophy and psychology reveals a) several intersections between the two and b) that the conceptual understanding of emotions in journalism is greatly influenced by discourses on emotions in philosophy. A brief view of these two aspects is arguably necessary to achieve foundational clarity on research on emotions in journalism.

2.1.1 Emotion: Intersections between Psychology and Philosophy

One of the earliest texts to systematically theorise emotions was written by psychologist William James (1884), although the works of modern philosophers influenced it. James (1884), in his seminal essay, introduced the peripheral perception theory of emotion, to which he argued that emotions are of bodily origins, a view that is "often ascribed to René Descartes and David Hume" (Ahmed, 2014). James claimed that "the feeling component of emotion derives from bodily sensations, i.e., the perceived pattern of somatovisceral activation, reversed the causality of

emotion and bodily responding" (Kreibig, 2010, p. 396). Descartes's view of emotion can be seen as a key basis for theories of emotions in both psychology and philosophy, as his perspective on emotions was rather broad, encompassing experiences of the mind, body, and soul (Ahmed, 2014). In his view, emotion is not merely a perception of the body, but it may also be a perception of the soul (e.g., the perception of desire), and some perceptions (as in dreams) may be of things that do not exist at all (Solomon, 2008, p. 6).

Cognitive philosophers, such as Descartes, "admit that emotions are not merely cognitions; cognitions are just one component" (Prinz, 2005, p. 10). In fact, for cognitive psychologists and philosophers, bodily arousal is "considered unspecific, secondary, and nonessential for understanding emotion" as for them, emotions are "a mental event closely comparable to appraisals, evaluations, and judgments" (Scheer, 2012, p. 195), a view that aligns with evolution theory that sees the body as a container of various mental processes. In contrast, however, emotional practices theory sees emotions as a combination of both bodily and cognitive processes.

While James's theory shaped and influenced subsequent academic discourse on emotions and continues to be a centrepiece in scholarly discussion, it received its fair share of criticism both in philosophy and psychology, which led to the birth of new theories that further consolidated the physical or cognitive understanding of emotions. For example, in psychology, Cannon (1927) criticised Jamesian theory for arguing that "it is admittedly concerned with the *sensory* aspect of emotion" only to expand on the role of the hypothalamus and subcortical centres in inducing emotions. According to Scheer (2012), the term "emotional practices" implies that emotions are a form of practice as they are an act of a mindful body and that "a definition of emotion must include the body and its functions, not in the sense of a universal, pristine, biological base, but as a locus for innate and learned capacities deeply shaped by habitual practices" (p. 220). Jamesian theory was further criticised for overlooking the problem of creating meaning (Emerick, 1999, p. 78).

Half a century later, Scherer (2005), one of the key thinkers on emotions in psychology, presented the componential theories of emotion while criticising James for not drawing the appropriate distinction between feeling and emotion. Disagreeing with James (1884), Scherer (2005) notes, "When in 1884 he asked 'What is an emotion?', he really meant 'What is a feeling?'" (Scherer, 2005, p. 699).

Building on Jamesian criticism, Scherer (2005) defined emotions "*as an episode of interrelated, synchronised changes in the states of all or most of the five organismic subsystems in response to the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus event as relevant to major concerns of the organism*" (p. 697, emphasis in original). Further discourse on emotions in psychology became increasingly technical, encompassing the sensory and physical origins of emotions, which, to disciplines in the humanities, were too complex to be integrated.

Despite criticism, the Jamesian theory inspired a significant amount of philosophical analysis of emotions, with Sartre's (1939/1962) treatise being the earliest and most influential work of the 20th century on emotion, which largely grapples with the meaning of emotions and their phenomenological and existential origins. Sartre, in direct opposition to the Jamesian theory, argued that emotions are "moments of an act of consciousness" (Emerick 1999, p. 75) and thus are "irreducible to bodily sensations" (Ahmed, 2014). Emotion, to Sartre, is essentially an intentional act because it requires an object to exist (p. 57). Sartre's theory of emotions continues to inspire discussion on emotions and has "recently commanded a level of attention among philosophers which it had not enjoyed in the decades before" (Hartmann, 2017, p. 2).

Emphasising the phenomenological origin of emotions, Sartre (1939/1962) suggests that human reality realises itself in the form of 'emotion'. Emotion is "essentially an intentional act because it requires an object to exist" (Emerick, 1999, p. 75), a view that closely resembles the Aristotelian view that "emotions are intentional—they are directed towards an object- if I feel fear, then there is something, some object, which is the object of my fear" (Goldie, 2000, p.4). Building on the idea of emotions being directed toward objects, another key debate centres around the relationship between emotions and feelings.

2.1.2 Emotions versus feelings

The feeling theory of emotions, for example, posits that emotions are to be identified with feelings (Whiting, 2011) and has led scholars to debate whether emotions are distinct from feelings or two separate terms. While some researchers contend that emotions are feelings (Prinz, 2005; Whiting, 2011), many argue that in addition to feelings, "emotions contain other components as well, such as cognitions" (Prinz, 2005, p. 9). Prinz (2005), in support of the feelings theory of emotions,

argues that "emotions are feelings when conscious, and they are not feelings when unconscious" (p. 9), a view that aligns with the cognitive view of emotions in philosophy.

The seeming dichotomy between the two is well tackled by Bedford (1956), who, in his traditional theory of emotions, noted that "an emotion is a feeling, or at least an experience of a special type which involves a feeling" (p. 281) implying that every emotion is labelled as the names of feelings that are observable as bodily expressions. According to this view, "anger is a specific feeling which leads the angry man to show the signs of anger" (ibid. p. 281) unless the expression is suppressed or knowingly concealed as it manifests. Distinguishing between the two, Emerick (1999) holds that while emotions are "clearly avatars of an infantile stage of desire", feelings, on the other hand, are "adult intentions that follow the course of perception and respect the limits of finite knowledge" (p. 89).

According to Bain (1859, p. 3), emotion is a term "used to comprehend all that is understood by feelings, states of feeling, pleasures, pains, passions, sentiments, affections". Weighing in on the debate between feelings and emotions, Prinz (2005) argues that emotions are "perceptions of bodily changes, and when those perceptions are conscious, emotions are feelings" (Prinz, 2005, p. 23). To Scherer et al. (2013, p. 281), feeling is defined as "a subjective cognitive representation of the emotional state which reflects a unique integration of mental and bodily changes in the context of a particular event". The efforts to distinguish between feelings and emotions have remained mainly confined to the fields of philosophy, psychology, and cognitive science. While these attempts continue within these disciplines, research on emotions in journalism has primarily focused on emotions themselves, with little attention given to feelings or the distinction between the two. In line with this, the present study maintains its focus on analysing emotions, limiting any references to feelings.

2.1.3 Classifications of Emotions

Another area that emotions scholarship can be observed grappling with is the classification of basic emotions. Scholars have identified a range of basic emotions that includes pleasure and pain (Mowrer, 1960), fear, love, and rage (Watson, 1930), panic (Panksepp, 1982) and happiness, sadness, anxiety, anger, and disgust (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 1985) (*cf* Ortony & Turner, 1990).

In addressing the debate surrounding basic emotions, Ekman (1999) introduces the 'basic emotions framework' with a set of characteristics, which he notes can be employed to distinguish emotions from other affective phenomena such as feelings, moods, or attitudes. Contending that the term 'basic' is problematic, Fridja (1986, pp. 71-72) argues that emotions are "action tendencies", never basic, and can come in the form of "mixtures or blends". To elaborate further, they note that emotions are "modes of relational action readiness, either in the form of tendencies to establish, maintain, or disrupt a relationship with the environment or in the form of a mode of relational readiness as such", which can be further characterised as "elementary, primary, basic or fundamental emotions" (ibid.).

However, the extent to which such a classification is helpful, especially in the context of its applicability for empirical research, remains debatable. Ortony and Turner (1990), for example, critique the notion of basic emotions, arguing that the classification of emotions using the basic scale has "minimal theoretical usefulness, that is, little explanatory value, and not much predictive power" (ibid., p. 328). In attempts to classify it further, Elias (1987) identified three aspects of emotions: somatic (the physical—acceleration of the heartbeat, sweating, trembling, etc.); behavioural (flight or attack, including the expressive aspect, functional in group communication); and the feeling-a component (i.e., panic) in the narrower, culturally variable sense of the term "emotion" (in Flam & Kleres 2016, 4). Such a nuanced classification of emotions, albeit valuable, could prove more meaningful only in the backdrop of empirical examination.

2.1.4 Affect vs. Emotions

In mass communication, attempts have been made to study the presence and nature of the effect on the public. A theory called "affective publics" by Papacharissi (2015) offers insight into the changing nature of the public, owing to digital technology, which facilitates the production of affective discourse and sentiments and allows for collective action. The term refers to the "networked publics that are mobilised and connected, identified, and potentially disconnected through expressions of sentiment" (p. 5). It underlines the "small, fragile, and fluid quality" (Lunenborg, 2019) of the public, driven by the emerging digital ecosystem of technologies and public platforms. While affect is not an emotion but rather a broad term that includes emotion and feelings, its use in conjunction with the public allows for a better understanding of the changing

nature of the public and a "new understanding of publicness" (ibid. 319) owing to the increased digitisation of media technologies and increasingly fragmented and mobile publics.

2.1.5 Emotion versus rationality and emotional rationality

A key strand of inquiry in philosophy on emotions is their relationship with reason or rationality, a subject that deeply concerned early philosophers (Solomon, 2008). The early origins of this debate have laid the foundation for contemporary discussions on emotions across the humanities and, to a significant extent, the social sciences, particularly in fields like political communication and journalism research, where emotions are often observed in a dichotomous relationship with reason and closely associated with ethics.

While recent scholarship has explored the possibility of their coexistence, the early discourse on the distinction between emotions and rationality was primarily rooted in the rejection of the former in political, public, and journalistic contexts. In communications and its allied fields, emotions, primarily in 20th-century literature, have been more often than not juxtaposed, analysed, and problematised vis-à-vis reason and rationality. Traditionally, all emotions have been viewed as threats to rationality (De Sousa, 1990; p. 1) and have been considered 'always irrational' (Sartre, 1939/1962). Almost viewed in dichotomous relation, "emotional and rational action can be compared as impractical to practical behaviour" (Emerick, 1999, p. 79).

2.1.6 Adversarial view of emotions

In philosophy, the traditional view, dating back to the time of early philosophers such as Aristotle and Descartes, holds that emotions are viewed in a hierarchical relation to thought and reason, which can cloud clear thinking, impair judgment, and disrupt the rational process (De Sousa, 1990). Referring to the traditional view of emotions vis-à-vis reason, Ahmed (2014, p. 3) notes, "to be emotional is to have one's judgement affected: it is to be reactive rather than active, dependent rather than autonomous". De Sousa (1990), in referring to a Latin phrase, *Ira brevis furo*, that translates as 'anger is a brief bout of madness', underlines how anger has been traditionally viewed as a threat to rationality. Observed "often as a threat to reason and a danger to philosophy and philosophers" (Solomon, 2008, p. 3), the relationship between emotions and reason has been underscored by the master and slave metaphor, with reason firmly controlling and

suppressing the "the dangerous impulses of emotion" (ibid. 3). In asserting the primacy and superiority of reason and the need for its authority and control over emotions, the latter has largely been observed as "more primitive, less intelligent, more bestial, less dependable" (Solomon, 2008, p. 3) with a strict demarcation from the reason, absence of which could corrupt the discussion or a thought resulting in "confused perception" or "distorted thought" (ibid.)

2.1.7 Emotions, not an adversary

Amid its vehement rejection, there have been some studies where emotionality has been viewed favourably. Contending with the traditionally held adversarial relationship between emotions and reason, De Sousa notes, "our emotions underlie our rational processes" (p. 18) and that emotions are intrinsic to rationality given the "thought-dependence of emotions" (De Sousa, 1990, p. 2). In this regard, as he notes, while emotions have been considered intrinsically subjective, their objectivity can be relative to human nature, guided by and grounded in "paradigm scenarios," which comprise two elements: a) an occasion or situation and b) the "normal" responses to the situation (p. 19). De Sousa's (1990) arguments, while liberating emotions from the fixed principles that pit them against reason, align with the postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches that challenge the fixed nature of things, making way for more flexible and malleable approaches, reconsidering existing paradigms, a theme briefly addressed in a later section of this chapter.

2.1.8 Emotions necessary for informed judgment

A particular cognitivist view of emotions in psychology regards emotions as an integral part of cognitive communication that is formed both within an individual and influences those around them. Oatley and Johnson-Laird (1985) assert that emotions have a rational cognitive function. They argue that emotions like anxiety or fear not only propagate through the individual human body and brain to set them into a particular state appropriate to danger, but they also propagate beyond the individual to influence others while setting them into a similar or complementary state (ibid.2). Roberts (1988), argues that emotions do not affect judgement instead judgments are motivated by emotions. For example, when one senses danger or fear of falling off a narrow staircase, one could choose not to climb further, climb slowly while clutching the handrail or try a similar option that may ensure their safety while climbing. In this case, fear and emotion lead to the construal of a judgment about a fall from a narrow staircase, which triggers a host of potential

actions to ensure safety.

2.1.9 Discourse on emotions in journalism

A similar trajectory of discourse on emotions, starting with its rejection, contention, and acceptance, could be observed in journalism research.

2.1.9.1 *Rejection of emotions in journalism research*

The early discourse on journalism, particularly in the early 20th century, began with its rejection, primarily rooted in the reason-emotion dyad and the ethical issues concerning emotions. The professionalisation of journalism in the mid-20th century was significantly influenced by the discourses of critical media thinkers, such as Walter Lippmann (1922) and Harold Lasswell (1927), as well as Frankfurt School scholars like Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. The 'culture industry' argument of Horkheimer and Adorno (1944), in particular, offered a critical evaluation of sensationalism in the media and its role in promoting cultural commodification and consumerism, laying the foundation for ongoing discourse on the importance of ethical practices in journalism. Such views gained momentum in the mid-20th century, coinciding with the growing emphasis on fairness, neutrality, and objectivity in the media. This debate gained momentum as Jürgen Habermas's (1964) *public sphere* theory significantly influenced the discourse on objectivity and rationality in journalism while framing emotions as potentially disruptive to rational discourse and public deliberation.

This period witnessed an intense focus on objectivity in journalism, particularly built upon Gaye Tuchman's (1972) concept of the *strategic ritual of objectivity*. The emphasis on objectivity as a cornerstone of journalism focused on outlining and asserting the ethical principles of the profession. In this context, the principle of objectivity, reinforced by rationality and neutrality, took centre stage, marked by vehement rejection of emotions in public space. As a result, emotions remained on the periphery of academic journalism research for much of the early and mid-20th century, owing to the cynical view of emotionality—a concern that has been increasingly voiced by scholars in the 21st century. Emotions, as Calhoun (2001) notes, are "little studied in the context of journalism because they appear on the 'wrong' side of traditional dichotomies such as rationality/emotionality, public/private, objective/subjective, serious/trivial, etc." (Calhoun, 2001,

p. 52). However, the rejection of emotions in academic research was to witness a turning point in the form of contention over its rejection in scholarly discourse.

2.1.10 Contention to the rejection of emotions and their subsequent acceptance in scholarly discourse

Amid its rejection and opposition, some early concepts in journalism and politics, such as advocacy journalism (Janowitz, 1975), journalism of attachment (Bell, 1997), Public arena (Freitag, 1989), emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), agonistic public sphere (Mouffe, 2000) serve as direct or indirect plank the contention to rejection of emotions paving the way for a favourable view of emotionality in journalism. The shift from its rejection in the mid-20th century to acceptance of emotionality in the early 21st century is evident in both political communication and journalism research and can arguably be attributed to three key cascading and overlapping influences, albeit not in chronological order.

2.1.10.1 First influence: Rise of Postmodernist thought

The first and overarching reason, arguably, is the rise of postmodernist and poststructuralist discourse in the late 20th century, rooted in "doubt" and "suspicion" of any established order or "truth claims," and calls for "new ways of knowing" (Richardson, 1994, p. 509). If we were to have learned one thing from postmodernism, it was to be deeply suspicious of binary oppositions (Brady, 2004, p. 333). As Richardson (1994, p. 508) notes,

The core of postmodernism is the *doubt* that any method, theory, discourse, genre, tradition, or novelty has a universal and general claim as the "right" or privileged form of authoritative knowledge. Postmodernism *suspects* all truth claims of masking and serving particular interests in local, cultural, and political struggles...it opens those standard methods to inquiry and introduces new methods, which are also then subject to critique.

The dismissal of dichotomous approaches to established ideas, under the influence of postmodernist thought, allowed for the criticism of longstanding traditions of objectivity and rationality in the public sphere and journalism, which were built on a vehement rejection of emotionality. More recently, the influence of postmodernism on the profession has been well recognised by Wahl-Jorgensen (2016b).

The researcher argued that journalism as a profession is in a state of flux, characterised by the transformation of the conventional business model, journalism's central role in democracy, and the effects of convergence on content and consumption, in addition to scholarly challenges to binary oppositions such as objectivity and subjectivity, which together represent a "postmodern turn" in journalism (ibid. p. 3). While postmodernist inquiries allowed for the reevaluation of existing arguments in favour of more dominant ideas, they opened avenues for a reflexive approach to accommodate alternative and peripheral ideas, particularly in politics and journalism.

2.1.10.2 Second influence: Criticism of the Public Sphere and the rise of the Agonistic public sphere

In line with postmodernist thought in the late 20th century was the growing opposition to the public sphere theory, with its emphasis on simplistic binaries, particularly in an attempt to envision politics beyond the standard dichotomies and redefine the political discourse.

Consider Brady's (2004, p. 333) criticism of the use of binary opposition to understand and capture political realities, for example;

Although they [binary oppositions] offer an often elegant and parsimonious means of theorising politics, in reality, so the critique goes, traditional conceptual couplets such as public/private, universal/particular or self/other constrain political analysis by hampering the ability of theorists to appreciate the inherent flux and heterogeneity of political practice. Political reality is simply too messy to be forced into such either/or categories of analysis. Worse still, such binaries, with their implication of opposition and independence, obscure the mutually constitutive nature of most political and social phenomena.

Mouffe (2002), a noted scholar in the public sphere tradition, seeks to capture a similar view when she argues for the need to go beyond the dichotomy of the left and right to move "towards a consensual politics of the centre" to bring an "end of the adversarial model of politics" (p. 55). The end of the adversarial model of politics has also allowed looking beyond the antagonistic model of politics to more towards the agonistic model of the public sphere that enables "agnostic pluralism" and "agonistic struggle", which, Mouffe asserts, are "defining characteristic" of democratic politics and are "the very condition of a vibrant democracy" (ibid. 58). The end of the antagonistic model of politics and the emergence of an agonistic view, to Mouffe, is enabled by

Ulrich Beck's "reflexive modernity", a term that marks "the end of modernity" and embodies the essence of the postmodernist thought (Aiken, 2000, p.5). Rejection of such oppositional views of objectivity versus emotion, as evident in criticisms of the Habermasian public sphere—particularly in the backdrop of postmodernist influences—can therefore be seen as a second reason that paved the way for newer models of the public sphere and the subsequent rise of discourse on emotions in politics and journalism.

i. Criticism of the public sphere theory

The public sphere theory, as proposed by Jürgen Habermas, refers to the sites of communication within a society where members of the public discuss matters of collective concern before an imagined audience. In his words, the public sphere refers to the "realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens" (Habermas, 1964, p. 49). Critics such as Brady (2004) have regarded the public sphere as "seriously flawed" (p. 332) and "hopelessly unrealistic"(p. 332) as it propounds a political discourse based on "rational exchange of opinions, despite copious and daily proof of the messy, conflict-laden nature of contemporary political practice" (p. 332).

For several decades, the theory has been central to debates on issues concerning the democratic process, public opinion, and the media's role in engaging the public in political discussions. Public debates and discussion facilitated by the media are seen as central to this theory, where the public sphere "operates as a space that is framed and structured by the operations of the mass media - primarily print and broadcast" (Bruns & Highfield, 2015, p. 56), and where media operates as a forum for such debates and through which political participation of the public is achieved. One of the most important features of the public sphere is the "guaranteed access" to the public to those spaces where citizens could engage in "unrestricted fashion- that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions- about matters of general interest" (Habermas, 1964, p. 49). It envisages a scenario where public debate and discourse are democratised, resulting in the active participation of the citizenry in matters of political and social interest. The community debates, however, have been dubbed "too idealistic and not reflecting real communities" (Ruiz et al., 2011). It envisions an ideal scenario in which the media ensures that discursive democratisation is enacted. Although this scenario—dubbed an 'ideal' by some scholars—has been critiqued for its potential and apparent ambiguities.

Fraser (1990), in her criticism of the Habermasian concept, emphasises the issue of conflict which emanates as a result of "power differentials" that exist in any public sphere along the lines of gender, race, class and identity and that those conflicts are mediated, contained and presided over the dominant (ibid. 62). Freitag (1989), in her criticism of the public sphere, emphasises the palpable issue of unequal relationships, power plays and deeply entrenched class divisions and social hierarchies in non-Western societies in comparison to the Western world. They propose the concept of public arenas by contrasting the origin and experiences of the public sphere in the West with those of the non-Western world. The public arena, according to Freitag (1989), is a "universe that sometimes reinforces hierarchy, providing roles for those occupying various positions within society, and at other times expresses conflict among unequals; it may even do both simultaneously" (p. 19).

The voluminous criticism of Habermas's theory arguably set the stage for the emergence of newer approaches that allowed us to reevaluate the value of emotionality in public affairs. This becomes apparent when juxtaposing the criticism of the public sphere theory with the argument in favour of agonistic politics. Habermas's public sphere, for example, emphasised the importance of a rational public debate on political issues and a rational media discourse — a view criticised by the proponents of agonistic public sphere theory, who have argued that the public sphere theory is "seriously flawed and actually hampers the development of a viable theory of democracy" (Brady, 2004, p. 332).

Mouffe (1999, p. 748), in her criticism of Habermas's theory, notes that it seeks to achieve political consensus through a rational argumentation process that, in turn, is realised through the "ideal speech situation" achieved through the values of impartiality and equality, openness (no one and no relevant information is excluded), lack of coercion, and unanimity. In Mouffe's (1999) view, achieving "a neutral or rational dialogue" and an "ideal speech situation" that Habermas's public sphere necessitates are "conceptually impossible" in deliberative democracy because it denies the existence of power and antagonism as key features of democratic discourse. According to Mouffe (1999), the denial of power and antagonism as central elements of democratic politics "denies the central role in politics of the conflictual dimension and its crucial role in the formation of collective identities" (p. 752).

ii. Rise of the Agonistic view, a counter to the Public Sphere theory

Mouffe (1999, p. 756) argues that Habermas's view of the public sphere over-emphasises rationality in achieving political consensus through a rational exchange of arguments and counter-arguments. This approach, however, further denies the scope of democratic contestation, is exclusionary and overlooks the unequal power relations between diverse groups in a democratic society. On the other hand, the "agonistic" democratic approach to the conception of the public sphere acknowledges and recognises the forms of exclusion that democratic politics embody "instead of trying to disguise them under the veil of rationality or morality" (Mouffe, 1999, p. 757). Unlike the public sphere, which is "rationalistic and hostile to cultural and value pluralism", the agonistic public sphere conceives public politics based on "political conflict and contestation" (Brady, 2004, p. 333). In advancing the model of "agonistic pluralism", Mouffe advocates the importance of passions vis-à-vis rationality in democratic deliberations. As she notes, "the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions nor to relegate them to the private sphere to render rational consensus possible, but to mobilise those passions towards the promotion of democratic designs" (Mouffe, 1999, p. 756). Mouffe's theory, since its inception, has been employed by a range of scholars to counter the Habermasian view of the public sphere, exploring various issues, including identity, politics, public opinion, and journalism in democratic societies.

More specifically, the theory has been employed by scholars to "promote perspectives that take into account not only rational debate but also emotions, passions and identity" (Karppinen et al., 2008, p. 6). Given that emotions are "vital in an agonistic public sphere, in contrast to the Habermasian public sphere" (Tong, 2015, p. 3), the theory has been employed to counter the rigid views of rationality in the public discourse and advance the case for emotionality in socio-political discourse, discursive contestation and media roles (Tong, 2015; Chan, 2018; Rosas, 2018).

2.1.10.3 Third influence: Criticism of objectivity and early scholarship on emotions

The transition from modernism to postmodernism may not be an overarching and vividly tangible theme in the notable writings of the late 20th century that sought to reconfigure the longstanding conventions of journalism, although it is well recognised in a recent study (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016b). However, with postmodernist influences on theories such as the public sphere that underpin the normative functions of journalism, the emergence of a new wave of thinking in

journalism was inevitable. The foundational discourse on emotionality in journalism, particularly in the 21st century, is primarily built on the criticism and rejection of the ideals of objectivity to a great extent, arguably rooted in postmodernist thoughts and approaches (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016b).

i. Objectivity: Its rise and significance as a journalistic ideal

For much of the 20th-century literature in journalism, objectivity has been the most contested and advocated principle, with an unequivocal rejection of emotion and subjectivity in journalistic reportage. Objectivity in relation to rationality has been considered a feature of scientific knowledge, while subjectivity and emotion have been associated with philosophy, art, and poetry (Ward, 2005, p. 84). Moreover, for much of the discourse on objectivity in journalism, reason and emotion have been observed in a dichotomous relation, with "reason guiding journalists in the pursuit of detached objectivity and emotion allegedly leading journalists astray and driving bad professional practices" (Ward, 2005, in Rosas, 2018: p. 2114).

Much of the late 20th-century discussions on objectivity can be traced to Gaye Tuchman's influential article that described objectivity as 'a strategic ritual' and prescribed an approach to practising objectivity for journalists to insulate themselves from professional hazards and the risks of the trade, such as deadlines, libel suits, critics and superiors (Tuchman, 1972). Defined as "fairness or balance in decision making, information seeking, and presentation of information" (Drew, 1975, p. 1), objectivity requires journalists to be "impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible" (Deuze, 2005, p. 447).

While discussions on objectivity in journalism have been ongoing since the 1800s (Glasser, 1983), 20th-century concerns about the standards of journalism have also largely centred on objectivity, particularly in the context of journalism ethics. At the turn of the 20th century, Woodruff (1925), in his article titled "Is Journalism Decadent?", explored how newspapers succumbed to commercial pressures, resulting in declining informational standards, as "the newspapers think more of business success than of ethical standards" (p. 304). Broadly, much of the discourse on objectivity was developed by problematising journalistic reportage and the cynicism or apprehension grounded in declining journalistic standards (*see* Glasser 1983). Objectivity as a 'cornerstone of journalism' is an oft-used adage that has been used numerous times to hold journalism and journalists accountable for truthful and fact-based reporting. The phrase has been

used instructively to both criticise and suggest corrective measures and test the quality of reportage.

Described as "one of the most important principles of modern journalism" (Drew, 1975, p. 1), the significance of objectivity has been recurrently emphasised to keep news free from "any personal bias or outside influence that makes it appear anything but what it is" (ibid.). To achieve professional standards, strive for objectivity and "to remain free from unrecognised prejudgments, journalists have concentrated on reporting rather than interpreting news, using themselves largely as vehicles for their sources' arguments, rebuttals, explanations, and criticisms" (Glasser, 1983, p.1). Consequently, the more objectivity was emphasised, the more emotions were relegated to the peripheries of journalistic text and talk. However, the rise of objectivity in recent discourses may have its roots in general discontent with sensationalistic press and the rise of discourses on ethics as early as the sixteenth century.

According to Ward (2009, p. 297), the history of journalism ethics can be divided into five stages, the first being the invention of an ethical discourse for journalism in Western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was followed by the rise of public ethics rooted in the Enlightenment public sphere, wherein "journalists claimed to be tribunes of the public, protecting their liberty against the government" (ibid.). The third wave, as Ward notes, started in the 19th century with the evolution of the idea of a Fourth Estate rooted in the liberal theory of the press that advocated for a free and independent press for "the protection of the liberties of the public and the promotion of liberal reform" (ibid.). The fourth stage began in response to the liberal doctrine at the turn of the 20th century, leading to the rise of professional ethics in objective journalism. Ward (2009) argues that the ongoing stage is the fifth stage, which is driven by mixed media ethics and "lacks consensus on what principles apply across types of media" (p. 295). It is arguably the fifth wave, where the criticism of objectivity paved the way for a deliberation on the significance of emotions in politics and journalism.

ii. Criticism of Objectivity

Alongside the repeated emphasis on the objectivity norm, a sporadic wave of criticism of its limitations began to emerge in the late 20th century, paving the way for newer forms of journalistic practices. The key contentions surrounding objectivity primarily focused on its declining

standards, the inability to achieve it, and its mechanical nature, which compromised journalistic potential.

Glasser (1983), for example, has lamented objectivity for causing "unfortunate consequences" for journalists, for stripping them of their creativity and their imagination, robbing them of their passion and their perspective, for transforming journalism into something more technical than intellectual and turning the art of story-telling into the technique of report-writing (p. 9). Glasser (1983), in his criticism of objectivity, argues for the need to "liberate journalism from the burden of objectivity" as it, he notes, has turned reporters into "professional communicators" who merely function as "translators" translating the specialised language of their sources into simplified information which is bereft of analysis and interpretations (p. 11).

Another view addressing the decline of objectivity as an achievable standard in journalism asserts that journalists "do not simply report the news, but rather they create it" – a view held by scholars since the 1970s, according to McIntyre et al. (2018, 1658). However, despite its elusive nature, it has been regarded as "an ideal to strive for" (Glasser, 1983). Consequently, much of the criticism around objectivity has also led to the exploration and emergence of alternative approaches to reporting and the emergence of radical, albeit controversial models of journalism, such as Journalism of attachment (Bell, 1997) and advocacy journalism (Janowitz, 1975), given their seeming opposition to the normative principles of journalism.

Later studies, largely towards the end of the 20th century, both critiqued objectivity and paved the way for a more favourable discourse on emotions in journalism. The pillars of truth and particularly, objectivity—observed as "one of the most important principles of modern journalism" (Drew, 1975, p.1) —began to show "serious wear and tear due to a post-modern scepticism about objective truth and a cynicism about the claims of profit-seeking news organisations to be impartial informers" (Ward, 2009, p. 301).

Thus, the third reason for the rise of discourse on emotions can be attributed to the growing criticism of objectivity in both the journalistic and academic spheres amid calls for affective approaches to news reporting.

iii. *Engaged journalism: Antecedents to emotionalisation discourse in journalism*

Even as the objectivity debate gained momentum during the latter half of the 20th century, building on criticism of objectivity and the exploration of newer approaches, many scholars advocated for more engaged forms of journalistic practice. In the backdrop of this discursive transition, one of the most significant ideas of the 20th century that sought to transcend the limits of objectivity while advocating for more passionate and involved reporting and that continues to feature in contemporary journalism research, is 'journalism of attachment', a phrase coined by former BBC war correspondent Martin Bell. In critiquing objectivity, Bell (1997) advanced his ideas, building more on his personal experiences of reporting from the war zones rather than any theoretical traditions. What can be classified as a view located in the realm of postmodernist thought, Bell (1997) lamented the way journalists are expected to perform their professional roles and sought to embrace the rather peripheral views.

While the concept met both criticism and acclaim, it reignited the discourse on objectivity in journalism and offered great impetus legitimising opposition to objectivity. Bell (1997) regarded the 'notion of objectivity' to be "something of an illusion and a shibboleth" in contrast to a form of reporting that includes "fairness and impartiality and a scrupulous attention to the facts" that eschews accumulated experience of the eyes, ears and the mind that in essence is subjective in nature (p. 6). In dismissing the "myth of the journalist as a neutral observer and witness", Bell refutes the practice of "*bystanders' journalism*" in favour of what he calls 'journalism of attachment'. As he notes (1997, p. 8),

In place of the dispassionate practices of the past, I now believe in what I call the journalism of attachment. By this I mean a journalism that cares as well as knows; that is aware of its responsibilities; and will not stand neutrally between good and evil, right and wrong, the victim and the oppressor.

Bell's view, particularly during the times when objectivity reigned supreme in journalistic discourse, attracted immediate disagreements and criticisms for being "unbalanced" and "moralising" (Ward, 1998), yet was expressed in a relatively accommodating tone. Ward (1998, p. 121), in dismissing Bell's notion of objectivity as "too narrow" and "misconstrued", argues that objectivity and attachments are "not necessarily incompatible or even rivals" although they may

"come into conflict" at times. In resolving the seeming tension between the two, Ward (1998) asserts the need for both "passion of attachment and restraint of objectivity to work together to produce solid, yet engaging, reporting" (p. 124).

The term, despite its criticism, continued to feature in journalistic discourse, resulting in newer concepts that sought to present a more integrated version of objectivity and attachment while eschewing the seeming opposition between the two. In criticising Bell's 'journalism of attachment', which requires reporters to take sides in reporting on a conflict, Von Oppen (2009) examined German reporter Marina Achenbach's reporting from Bosnia to suggest an alternative model of "attached journalism" which resolves the problem of journalists' positionality through reflexive writing and reporting (p. 26). The researcher shows how Marina Achenbach, while reporting on the Bosnian conflict, represented the conflict with attachment "without losing sight of her role in the conflict as a reporter who refused to see herself as a mere bystander" (p. 22). Thus, in offering an improvised version of attachment that is yet objective, a view closely resembling Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013) 'strategic ritual of emotionality, Von Oppen (2009) suggested that journalists could practice reflexive reporting, "which recognises its own implicatedness or attachment and is aware of its own positionality but does not abandon the quest to represent the conflict" (p. 27).

In further criticism of the term, Hanitzsch (2004, p. 89) argued that journalism of attachment "clearly turns its back on basic, indispensable principles of professional news reporting such as objectivity, neutrality and impartiality" (p. 487). In later studies, Hanitzsch et al. (2011) introduced the term 'interventionism' as an element of a complex framework of journalism culture, which to an extent bears a resemblance to Bell's notion of attachment, albeit by inference, in their description of the interventionist and non-interventionist journalist. While interventionism espouses an "involved, socially committed, assertive and motivated" approach, the journalism of attachment is "detached and uninvolved, dedicated to objectivity, neutrality, fairness and impartiality" (Hanitzsch et al., 2011, p. 275). Interventionism, which "reflects the extent to which journalists pursue particular missions and promote certain values", neither opposes nor builds on journalism of attachment, yet eschews any reference to attachment and circumvents any opposition to objectivity.

A similar concept that preceded the journalism of attachment by almost two decades is 'advocacy journalism,' a term coined by Morris Janowitz (1975). According to Janowitz (1975), journalists should perform the "role of active interpreters and participants who 'speak on behalf' of certain groups, typically those groups who are denied 'powerful spokesmen' in the media" (in Waisboard 2009, p. 371). While the advocacy journalism paradigm sought to view journalists as advocates for the public cause, it did not, however, build on the critique of objectivity or advocate for emotionality in journalism. It instead presented itself as an opposition to "the 'gatekeeper' model, the notion of professional journalism guided by the ideals of objectivity and public service" (ibid. 371).

Emerging in the late 90s and early 21st century, most of the concepts that sought to embrace attachment alongside objectivity could be seen as antecedents to the discourse on journalistic emotionality, which may have contributed to the normalisation of the discussion on emotionality in journalism in the last decade, without necessarily contrasting it with the ideal of objectivity. With the growing discourse emotions literature, in more recent times, the erstwhile tension between objectivity and attachment appears to have mellowed as a "strategic ritual of emotionality" is not necessarily built on the rejection of the 'ritual of objectivity', in fact, the two can complement each other (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013).

Twenty-first-century literature on journalism builds on a century of uneasy relations between objectivity and emotion. While debate continues, terms such as passion, emotions, and attachment are more readily observable in current discourse than they were in the previous century. As Tumber and Prentoulis (2003) note, "the traditional ideological framework of journalism is breaking down as a new culture of journalism, one that embraces emotion and trauma, develops" (p. 227), a form of "paradigmatic shift" which unsettles even further the public/journalist distinction: from detachment to involvement, from verification to assertion, from objectivity to subjectivity" (p. 228). The vexing questions and complex dynamics of emotions and rationality that shaped the early discourse on journalism have continued to inform academic discussions in the 21st century. However, early efforts by researchers to challenge the supremacy of objectivity paved the way for more engaged and concerted efforts to embrace and examine emotionality in journalism, which led to the rise of a dedicated domain of emotions research in journalism. The ensuing section delves into the trajectory of the emergence of discourse on emotions in journalism studies.

2.2 Emotions Research in Journalism

Transcending the early academic apprehensions on emotions and their purported threat to the normative standards of journalism, research on emotions is now almost two decades old with a series of scholarly studies exploring the role of emotionality in journalism (Bas & Grabe, 2015; Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Pantti, 2010; Paul, 2019; Peters, 2011; Huan, 2017; Kotisova, 2017; 2019, Uribe and Gunter 2007; Wagner & Boczkowski, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; 2016; 2019). Regarded as "one of the characteristics used to separate fact-based and neutral quality journalism from popular or tabloid journalism" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 106), emotionality has acquired a centre stage in journalism research. The increased recognition and attention to emotions in journalism can be summed up under what Wahl-Jorgensen (2019) calls the 'emotional turn' in journalism studies, which has led to "increasingly nuanced and diverse investigation of the role of emotion across contexts of production, text and audience engagement with journalism" (ibid. 1).

A cursory look into the cumulative scholarship reveals a few notable themes and analytical lenses in grappling with both old questions that shaped journalistic discourse in the yesteryears and new inquiries that cemented the centrality and significance of emotions in journalism research. Broadly, the discourse on emotions in journalism is characterised by two waves that have spanned the past two decades. The early research, which began with an investigation into audience engagement and the reception of emotion in media and journalism, led to the emergence of concepts such as 'therapy news', 'emotionalised public sphere', and 'confessional culture'. Marked by concerns about sensationalisation and tabloidisation, the discourse in the early part of the first decade paved the way for more specific concerns, such as the increased presence and significance of emotions in journalistic works, towards the end of the decade.

The scattered yet consistent stream of studies on the emotional audience and emotionality in journalistic work and practice during the first decade paved the way for more concrete and directed inquiry into emotionality in journalism and, more specifically, into journalists' engagement with emotions in the second decade of the 21st century. The attention to journalists and journalistic works, particularly in relation to emotions, became more evident in the early years of the second decade. The studies addressed three key themes: a) journalistic emotion, b) emotions in and/or the emotionalisation of journalistic content, and c) public engagement with emotions in journalism.

While normative concerns, such as objectivity, continued to be the centrepiece of discourse in both decades, the hardwired, dichotomous view of emotions underwent a thorough revision due to landmark studies and a growing body of research on emotionality over the past decade. Emotionality, once a pariah in academic discourse, took centre stage amid calls for a nuanced, concerted, and systematic examination of its critical presence in shaping the actors, actants, and the practice of journalism.

Despite recent strides, the calls for further research continued to grow, with Peters (2011) lamenting how emotions in journalism remain "consistently undertheorised" and Beckett and Deuze (2016, p. 5) underlining the need to examine the "personal, affective, and emotional engagement with newswork" (Beckett & Deuze, 2016, p. 5). Emphasising the need for further studies on emotionality, Beckett and Deuze (2016, p. 5) note, "simply put, we need to know much more about the role of emotion and the consequences of recognising and putting emotion front and centre in our considerations of newswork". While the call for more research has been heeded and research on emotions has increased over the years, more recently, Kotisova (2019, p. 1) identified several "blind spots" in emotions research and noted that the field remains "under-theorised and under-researched". Amid myriad themes identified and pursued in research, "change and continuity regarding journalism's relationship with emotion are always matters of empirical inquiry" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021, p. 4).

The subsequent sections discuss the literature on emotions, particularly in the 21st century. For the ease of segregating studies by their central focus, the two sections are loosely referred to as the first wave and second wave of emotions research. While the first wave elaborates on prominent themes, concepts, and empirical research from the first decade, the second wave, referred to here as the second decade of the 21st century, highlights the growing interest in examining emotions in journalism.

2.2.1 The First Wave: Formative discourses on emotions in journalism

With its antecedents in the late 20th century, as discussed in the previous section, the 21st-century discourse on emotions began with its gradual exploration in tandem with ever-present themes such as tabloidisation and sensationalism particularly focused on television among a host of key themes such as 'confessional culture' (Aldridge, 2001), 'commemorative journalism' (Kitch, 2001; 2003;

Hanusch, 2009; 2010), 'therapy news' (Mayes, 2000) and 'politics of pity' (Chouliaraki, 2004). These early studies conducted in the early years of 21st century sought to explore and negotiate new meanings of emotions in news reporting and news consumption vis-à-vis and/or independent of the oppositional ideas and concepts such as objectivity that underlined the conventional understanding in journalistic practice and reportage (*see* Aldridge 2001; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2003; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Chouliaraki, 2004; Miller, 2004; Pantti, 2005).

While a more optimistic view of emotionality was to emerge in years to come, the start of the decade began with a more cautious note on the emerging role of emotions in journalism. Mayes (2000), for example, argued that news has become emotional to the point of being therapeutic, with reporters focusing on the emotional reactions of people in the stories, including their own, rather than facts and analysis of the events. Driven by emotional indulgence and sentimentalism at the cost of informative, fact-based reporting, the author notes, "[t]oday reporters are providing Therapy News" (*ibid.* 30). Mayes (2000) further asserts that the classic Who-What-Where-When-Why news formula of news reporting has come to be replaced by the feel factor which entails "what people feel happened, what the reporter feels happened and what people feel about others' feelings about what happened" (p. 30). The therapeutic approach to news that builds on a heightened exploration of emotions, according to Mayes (2000), entails the exploration and presentation of feelings about the events rather than facts that are "sidelined, sometimes ignored, or redefined" (p. 30) for emotionalisation purposes. Critical of the therapy news, Mayes (2000) laments the reporter's deliberate attempt to sideline facts and analysis in prioritising people's emotions in the stories "as if reporting and analysing feelings are the reporter's chief purpose" (p. 31). Mayes's (2000) criticism of the emotional displays and therapy news, in particular, takes shape against the traditional ideas of acceptable and unacceptable practices in journalism, particularly those that undermine objectivity and, in the words of Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007), "her critique is grounded in a conventional liberal view of news media as the lubricant for the wheels of representative democracy" (p. 4).

A detailed account of therapeutic culture, as presented by Furedi (2004), opened a fresh wave of analysis of the emotional and therapeutic nature of news. Mayes's (2000) apprehensive view of the therapy news and Furedi's (2004) account of "therapeutic culture" enabled scholars to examine the emotions in the news in a new light.

In opposition to Mayes's (2000) critical view of the therapy news, Furedi (2004) saw some value in therapeutic culture. Contrary to Mayes's (2000) views of therapy news that compromises the credibility of news in offering "an overindulgent feast of feeling" (p. 35), Furedi (2004) saw the rise of emotions in public life as a key feature of Western therapy culture which "regards the management of emotion as the most effective way of guiding individual and collective behaviour" (p. 22).

Drawing on several examples, Furedi (2004) suggests that, like in other spheres of life, news has become dominated by public displays of emotions. It, however, "is seen as an acceptable form of expression that does not threaten political or social stability" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007, p. 3). In their assertion of the need for therapy news, Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) argue that it should be taken seriously "as a potential site for good journalism" rather than being dismissed as a trivialisation of news (p. 22). At the heart of Mayes's (2000) criticism of therapy news and Furedi's (2004) favourable view of it, arguably, was the discord between objectivity and emotions in the media culture, which was to change in the latter half of the decade. The recognition and acceptance of therapeutic culture and news, also referred to as the therapeutic turn, could be seen as a key moment and an antecedent to the growing recognition and acceptance of emotions in journalism. While the 'therapeutic turn' in the media has received relatively less attention over the years, it could still arguably be seen as a precursor to some key ideas in emotions research.

Although being juxtaposed in opposition to objectivity, Mayes's (2000) views of growing emotionality in the news, albeit critical, can arguably be seen as a precursor to the rise of emotions in 21st-century news. The dualistic view of emotions versus objectivity became less evident in the subsequent wave of studies that presented a relatively favourable view of emotions in the media with little reference to objectivity. Moreover, the early debates over therapeutic news served as a plank for exploring emotionality in newer ways, influencing the early efforts to study emotions in journalism.

Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) criticised Mayes's (2000) views on therapeutic news, arguing that therapy news has long been an integral part of news reporting, particularly in disaster reporting. Through the representation of ordinary people's suffering in journalistic storytelling, therapy news comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable by holding the government

accountable, strengthening communities, and fostering solidarity (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007, p. 6). Pantti and Wieten (2005) emphasised the role of media in managing public emotions during major tragedies by "actively contributing" to restoring public morale and mitigating the climate of anxiety and fear.

Broadly, the early studies captured the emotional elements in journalistic reportage and the emotionalisation of the public. In this context, some studies examined the nature of emotions in journalistic reportage, particularly in the backdrop of 9/11. Tumber and Prentoulis (2003), for example, underline how the events of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent Afghanistan war on war/foreign correspondents may have accelerated professional changes in journalism. In particular, as they note, journalists embraced personalised storytelling where, for example, obituaries resembled feature stories representing "a new type of journalistic writing that was at the same time tribute, homage and solace" (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2003, p. 227). This new approach was perceived as a "rebuttal of an old culture of newsgathering and war reporting founded on a 'macho' attitude that prohibited any display of emotion or psychological anguish" (ibid., p. 227). In further asserting the emerging importance of emotions, the authors cite Chris Cramer, CNN's president of international networks, who, in asserting the need for journalistic display of emotions, "unleashed an attack against the traditional approach to newsgathering and urged media employers to allow displays of emotion from reporters" (ibid. p. 227).

Examining the news coverage of key American news magazines, Kitch (2003) argued that the "news coverage corresponded to the ritual stages of a national funeral" (p. 216) weeks following the events of September 11, "creating a forum for national mourning" (p. 213). In examining the text and images of the news coverage, Kitch (2003) highlights how editorial choices were employed to set an emotional tone that "helped to accomplish this reification of emotions" (ibid., p. 216). The role of media in managing emotions and repairing social life during major tragedies is emphasised by Pantti and Wieten (2005). They argue that media "actively contribute to turning a climate of anxiety and fear into one of restored morale and unification" (p. 304).

On a slightly different tangent, during the same period, several studies examined the presence, manifestation, and significance of emotions in journalistic reportage through the analysis of coverage of death, disaster, and mourning. Much of the analysis, however, observed emotions as

a vital element of journalism and crucial to serving society and the audience. Kitch (2000), for example, examines the phenomenon of commemorative journalism in the media coverage of the deaths of 12 major celebrities in American news magazines. They argue that, with emotions as the central element in the coverage of a public figure's death, the news media perform public rituals where journalists become consolers of public grief and facilitate public mourning through the collective participation of the audience (p. 190). While the practice, as Kitch (2000) notes, is "a logical and useful function of journalism" (p. 172), it "offers a magnified view of the ongoing ways journalists use narrative and personalisation...to unify audiences as communities" (p. 190).

In an analysis of the 'confessional culture', a controversial aspect of tabloidisation, Aldridge (2001) reports that its continued appeal among the audience is not due to the decline of hard news in the press. Instead, its sustenance is rooted in the new conditions of emerging emotional requirements of men in the shadows of late modernity and the media's attempt to cater to that. In a similar vein, Pantti (2005) analysed the coverage of public grief in Finnish newspapers following the murders of Olof Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweden, in 1986, and Anna Lindh, the Foreign Minister of Sweden, in 2003. Pantti (2005) argued that through the coverage of the death and disasters of public figures as "integrative events", the press constructed a "democratic feeling community" within which people were unified by emotion both across communities and gender (p. 374). While the coverage of the events reveals the "manufacturing of emotions" (Pantti, 2005, p. 373), driven by increased competition in the media, it, however, according to the author, does not undermine the public sphere contrary to the view held by academics.

In a subsequent article exploring the coverage of mourning in the press and the 'feelings community' approach, Pantti and Wieten (2005) underline the ubiquity of emotions in public life and the press. They show how representations of emotion in press coverage can create a "nationwide bereaved community" that is unified in grief and mourning (p. 301). The authors demonstrate how news, in its representation of mourning and emphasis on public grief, "forged a sense of emotional unity" (ibid., 312). By defining the tragedy as national, the authors argue that emotions in the news can lead to the formation of a nationwide feeling community united in grief and political action. This period also witnessed a significant interest among academics in the examination of the representation of death in the media, alternatively referred to as commemorative journalism research, predominantly concerned with investigating the images and

linguistic portrayal of death in the tabloid and popular press centred around the themes of human suffering (Fishman & Marvin, 2003; Hanusch, 2009; 2010; 2012; 2013).

While not directly centred on emotions, Folker Hanusch, for example, in his work in commemorative research, variedly underlined the emotionalised nature of the coverage of death and elaborated on journalistic engagement with emotionality and its effect on their mental health. Rejecting the standard notion of journalists as "emotionless and sensationalist voyeurs", Hanusch (2010, p. 83) demonstrates how exposure to death, accidents and disasters can cause trauma and "deeply" affect their mental health (ibid. p. 83), a view consistent with several important studies in emotions research that examined journalistic engagement with emotion labour in the later years (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2017a; Kotisova, 2020; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019a). Such studies can arguably be considered precursors to the 'emotional turn' in journalism, particularly as they preceded the exploration of emotions through the representation of death in news texts and its impact on journalists' emotional experiences. Research on the thematic consistency between emotions and commemorative studies presents an opportunity to reconcile the two fields and expand the research base into the latter. A more concerted effort to examine emotions in media texts and images gained momentum in later years, particularly within the domain of emotions research in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; 2019; Paul, 2019).

Around the same period, a similar theme that was gaining momentum was disaster reporting and its role in the emotionalisation of public culture. Yell (2012), for example, explored how the articulation of emotion in disaster reporting in news texts has an affective influence on the public. More specifically, Yell (2012) examined the discursive construction of emotions in news coverage of natural disasters and its effect on the audience's emotions and thoughts, as well as how the mediation of suffering functions in orienting audiences affectively within local and global public spheres (p. 410). Yell's analysis reveals that the affective response to events in the news varies in terms of the proximity of the event, characterised by fellow sufferers and distant sufferers. The articulation of emotional reactions in disaster reporting is constructed differently for international and domestic disasters, implicating the "shape of communities of feeling" and the strength of their emotional affiliation to the event (ibid. 410).

While favourable discourse on emotions was on the rise, its criticism continued alongside. Miller (2004), for example, argued that the dominant influences of emotionalisation and financialisation, resulting from increased corporatisation and content deregulation in the media, have led to a decline in the standards of US current affairs television. In further criticism of emotionalisation, Miller (2004) argued that it substitutes analysis of politics and economics with an emphasis on feelings, resulting in "a shortage of knowledge and a surfeit of opinion, a surplus of bluster filling in for an absence of skill" (p. 22). Miller's (2004) view is essentially in line with the objectivity advocates who problematised the use of emotions in journalistic discourse.

Amid sporadic criticism and the rise of themes concerning the emotionalised coverage of public grief in the press, the early discourse on emotions primarily identified it as a connecting force between the press and the audience, with little attention to its role in journalistic news production. Through the concepts of 'feeling communities' (Pantti, 2005; Pantti & Wieten, 2005) and 'democratisation of emotions' (Pantti, 2005) and overall analysis of the role of emotions in its unifying effect on the communities, for example, the emotions scholars emphasised and primarily addressed the critical importance of the press in emotionalisation of the communities or news consumers. It not only underscores the political role of emotions with its unifying and integrative effects but also presents a formidable ground and a rebuttal to the claim that "new emotionality...does not lead to collective political participation and moral action" (Pantti, 2005, p. 375). This early discourse, however, was to serve as foundational support to the academic wave that would analyse emotion as an inherent part of journalism and journalistic work in the latter half of the decade.

Towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century, studies began to highlight the importance of emotions in the news, suggesting that a more concerted approach to exploring and embracing emotionality may be forthcoming. Attempts to examine emotions in journalism, which were to begin in the latter half of the first decade, preceded calls for such an analysis from scholars.

In exploring the nature and practices of mediated citizenship, Wahl-Jorgensen (2006), for example, underlined the importance of both emotions and reason in shaping its collective understanding. Emphasising the role of the media in shaping the values of citizenship, she argued, "acts of citizenship do not arise from rational, detached observation, but from a set of strong emotions, including anger, love, hate, and a sense of injustice" (p. 199).

As emotions research gained currency, the role and importance of emotions in creating an informed citizenry continued to be a recurring research theme in the later years. In testing the importance of emotionally laden information sources on the audience, Bas and Grabe (2015) examine the "informative potential of emotionally personalised news" using the knowledge gap hypothesis (p. 2). The authors emphasise the need to reconsider the very notion of informed citizenship and political participation as the two "might require emotional involvement and personal identification with social issues" (p. 2). Taking the experimental approach to study participants, the authors conclude that "emotional personalisation of news increased encoding, storage, and retrieval of news information for citizens positioned at both higher and lower educational segments of society" (ibid., p. 18).

In a similar context, Pantti and Husslage (2009), in examining the constructions of emotional expression in vox pops, both highlighted its "critical" importance to public discussion and political engagement and emphasised the need to examine the "emotional dimension of news" for its "potential to foster passions and identities" to strengthen social cohesion (p. 20). While underscoring the lack of previous empirical research and the necessity for it, they outline a series of research areas with an emphasis on emotions in journalism. In so doing, Pantti and Husslage (2009, p. 20) note,

In the era of participatory journalism, it would be important to compare how citizenry emotions are incorporated in news broadcasts and on the broadcaster's website. Further comparative empirical research in newsrooms of both public and commercial broadcasters is also important as a means of understanding journalists' values and motivations behind giving access to non-elite voices and space for emotional expression.

While earlier studies addressed emotions in relation to the news media, fewer made outright calls for emotion-centric research. Pantti and Husslage (2009) outline potential research areas that can be seen as early calls to further research in emotionality in journalism, as they highlight important areas to examine and set a tone and direction for researchers to follow.

2.2.2 The Second Wave: Emotional turn in journalism research

Detailed examination of emotions in journalism, particularly focusing on journalistic emotion, began to emerge towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century, resulting in a subsequent wave of research that became more concerted and focused on its theoretical and conceptual advancement. Researchers more emphatically and assertively accorded agency to emotionality in journalism while examining its presence in journalistic text, talk and professional experiences. Mainly originating in the West, while most studies highlight the significance of emotions as an analytical lens for examining the journalistic profession, others, through their findings, emphasise the necessity for further exploration of journalistic perspectives on emotions in news gathering and dissemination (cf. Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2017; 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Consequently, several important themes emerged in this second wave, aiming to gain a deeper understanding of how emotions shape the profession.

While public engagement with emotions in journalism and emotionalisation of content was central to the early first wave of emotions research, with turn of the second wave, the discourse chiefly focused on a) journalistic emotions and b) its influence on journalistic content, with some attention paid to the technological and digital media technologies as one of the research themes driving to personalisation and, thus, emotionalisation of content (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). As the inquiry into the relationship between journalism and emotion develops "rapidly," studies continue to emphasise the need for further empirical examination (Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021, p. 5).

2.2.2.1 *Journalistic content, emotions and the role of technology*

The attention to the role of technology, the role of new media technologies, platforms and networks in emotional storytelling is one of the key themes that Beckett (2015) identified in his blog, addressing emotion as "a new strand of research" in addition to a) the use of journalistic emotions

in storytelling and b) the importance of emotion in news selection. While Beckett's themes of journalistic emotions and news selection were consistent with previous calls for research, they did, however, bring the role of new media technologies' emotionalisation of content into the spotlight. The evidence of discussion on the three themes can be found in the study by Beckett and Deuze (2016), which highlights that emotions, technology, and content are often seen as interrelated and go hand in hand. They outline three factors that influence journalists' use of emotions as a tool. The first is the intense economic pressure, particularly fueled by the internet and driven by the digitally mobile audience. The second factor, according to the authors, is the technology that enables journalists to disseminate their content interactively and publicise it across a multitude of networks, for which "emotional impact is critical" (p. 3).

Furthermore, the third is "a better understanding of people's *behavior*" based on scientific knowledge and emerging technology of algorithms. They note that the understanding of "how people relate to the news on a personal as well as the communal level is vital to anyone trying to get them to connect to their journalism" (p. 3). With their focus on the medium, the scholars direct their attention to the role of technology and its centrality in facilitating emotionality in news. To that, the researchers argue that emotions and drama have "always been part of the media" (p. 4), and thus "there is nothing entirely new about the idea of emotion in the news nor is the familiar debate about the role of emotion in journalism particular to the 21st century" (p. 4). They note that personalisation and speed are the main features of the medium, which have facilitated the emotionalisation of content. As Clay Shirky argued, "As a medium gets faster, it gets more emotional. We feel faster than we think" (cited in Beckett and Deuze 2016, p. 4).

The centrality of digital technologies in facilitating emotionalisation was echoed by Wahl-Jorgensen (2016), who argued that the emergence of digital journalism "has opened up new spaces for more emotional and personalised forms of expression in public discourse" (p. 1). To add further Wahl-Jorgensen (2016), "the era of digital journalism has made emotional expression increasingly prominent" particularly with the rise of a) citizen journalism and user-generated content that have "generated new ways of knowing, through personalised and embodied accounts of news events" and b) the "emergence of social media....have further amplified these trends through the generation of affective news streams" that "embody both positive and negative emotion, support and disruption, consent and dissent" (p. 27).

As 21st-century journalism is shaped by "a more mobile, personalised, and emotionally driven news media", the challenge for journalists will be to sustain in the "new emotionally networked environment" (Beckett & Deuze, 2016, p. 5). Moreover, they note that careful consideration is required for the "personal, affective, and emotional engagement with newswork" by practitioners, learners, and scholars of journalism (ibid.). Beckett and Deuze's (2016) emphasis on the role and importance of digital technologies and Wahl-Jorgensen's (2016) view of digital journalism as facilitating emotionally driven media and amplifying emotional content underscored the need for and potential of a more nuanced analysis of emotions and their forms. Efforts to amplify emotionality in content and create more immersive experiences to reconnect with audiences are evident in emerging forms of digital journalism, such as immersive and VR journalism. As these emotion-driven journalistic formats continue to evolve, calls for examining both content (Kukkakorpi & Pantti, 2021) and audience engagement have grown in parallel (Lecheler, 2020; Goutier et al., 2021).

While the integration of technology and digital media into the emotions discourse has garnered attention in recent years and remains in its early stages, the theme that has received the most sustained focus over the past decade is journalistic emotionality.

2.2.2.2 Emphasis on Journalistic emotion in the profession

The research into journalistic engagement with emotions examined a range of factors, including objectivity, emotions, and training, that underlie the journalistic identity, role, and practice. Setting the tone and need for nuanced deliberation on emotions, Peters (2011) argued that while news has always been a feature of emotions, what is noteworthy is "the diversity of emotional styles, the acceptability of journalistic involvement, and attempts to involve the audience have become more explicit" (p. 298). In introducing the sociological conception of emotions, Peters (2011) argued that the analysis of emotions must be taken beyond traditional dichotomies, such as hard/soft, fact/opinion, and information/entertainment, as they are becoming "progressively blurred" (p. 298). In further advocating the importance of emotions in news work, he (ibid. p. 311) concluded,

By considering journalism's emotional side, even when it claims to put emotion aside, we can focus on the subtleties of style that provide the tone, feel, and potential success of the news in an increasingly fragmented, sceptical, and commercialised era.

Peters's (2011) emphasis on the importance of emotions and his investigation in journalism research exhibited clear and categorical directions of inquiry, emerging as a key text in the first wave of impending research on emotions. During the same period, research on emotions became more nuanced as researchers sought to delve deeper into the subject. However, an investigation along similar lines was initiated by Pantti (2010), who examined the "journalists' assessment of emotion in news storytelling and their motivations for using emotion" (p. 170). While asserting the lack of scholarly research in exploring the journalists' perception of the use and functionality of emotional expression in television news, she investigated the concept of journalistic emotionality in asking questions addressing the journalistic view of the emerging role of emotions in journalism, its place and function in the news and their significance to their self-image and the ideas of 'good journalism' (p. 169). In her findings, Pantti (2010) reported that the journalistic view of emotions differs from the academic stance, which regards emotions as a potential threat to the quality of news.

Additionally, she found that journalists view emotions as "essential to journalism" given that they are "essential to people's everyday life" (p. 172). Given that television "is, in essence, an 'emotion medium'", Pantti reports that journalists view television as "particularly suitable for depicting emotions and evoking emotions, and, on the other hand, to the 'emotional mode' of consuming television news" (p. 180). While journalists did not observe emotions as "a challenge to the rationales of factuality and objectivity" (p. 179), they, however, were critical of 'emotional news' given the potential dangers it poses. The discourse on emotion, as Pantti notes, was "highly negative, and focused on dangers embedded in emotional expression", driven by the traditional views of journalism that are based on "reason/emotion and information/entertainment binaries" (ibid. p. 180). Pantti's (2010) inquiry into the journalistic view of emotions can be seen as an early attempt to address this concern while setting an agenda and a propaedeutic base for future research into journalistic emotions.

With a further focus on journalists' engagement with emotions, Richard and Rees (2011) examined the state and nature of emotional literacy in journalism training and practice to understand how journalists engage with the emotional dimension of their work. In addition to journalistic experiences of reporting traumatic events, the authors seek to understand their emotional engagement with reporting mundane stories to explore how it contributes to the emotionalisation

of the public sphere and to understand that an "emotional literacy agenda might enhance journalism training" (p. 852). Despite the emotionally demanding nature of the profession, the authors report that "journalism is less hospitable to emotional literacy than some other professions" (p. 865), particularly due to "a broad, complex and fundamental tension in the professional discourse of journalism between *objectivity* (variously constructed) and *emotional engagement* (variously experienced)" (p. 864). In further emphasising the importance of emotional literacy, the authors argue that a "more self-reflective and consistent understanding of its emotional dimensions" can aid journalists in performing their roles more effectively (p. 865).

While objectivity remained a central concern throughout the first wave, a more favourable view of it began to emerge in the second wave. An influential study that sought to address the oppositional view of emotions and objectivity and show how the two are not necessarily opposing forces was captured in the term 'strategic ritual of emotionality' by Wahl-Jorgensen (2013). In her analysis of the Pulitzer Prize-winning articles as exemplars of journalistic practice, Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) argued that emotionality and objectivity have always existed in tandem and thus, journalism has always been emotional. In her analysis of the award-winning articles, she shows how stories "rely heavily on emotional storytelling" to achieve emotionality (p. 2) and how "emotional storytelling is a driving force behind award-winning journalism", intending to capture the attention of the audience, pressing and complex issues (p. 13). As the strategic ritual of objectivity is achieved by fact-based reporting, the strategic ritual of emotionality can be achieved by "employing emotional intelligence, which involves an understanding of how to craft stories that use emotional expression appropriately to elicit an emotional reaction in the audience" (p. 14).

Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) argued that the "strategic ritual of emotionality does not call on journalists to express their *own* emotions" (p. 2, *italics* in original) in the stories instead, emotionality can be achieved by "outsourcing of emotional labour to non-journalists such as the protagonists and other sources who are "authorised to express emotions" in the stories (p. 3). Achieved through "overwhelming use of anecdotal leads, personalised storytelling and expressions of affect" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012b, p. 2) and "outsourcing of emotional labour to the subjects of the stories" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012b, p. 306), the strategic ritual of emotionality, to Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), has always been an element of journalistic practice as is the strategic ritual of objectivity although rarely acknowledged given its troubled view in journalism discourse.

In a further analysis of the 'strategic ritual of emotionality', Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) explored the use of subjective language in award-winning news reports. She revealed that despite much academic debate on objectivity, the award-winning journalistic stories are "pervaded by subjective language" (p. 305). However, the use of subjective language in articles "does not straightforwardly or consistently undermine claims to objectivity" (p. 305). Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) further shows how the use of subjectivity through the outsourcing of emotional labour in the stories, otherwise referred to as explicit 'appraisals' in linguistics, has always been an element of journalistic storytelling practised in the form of tacit rules (p. 307). This view is consistent with Peters (2011), who holds that journalism has always been emotional and that to consider the facts-driven journalism of the 20th century to be *unemotional* "is a fallacy" (p. 304).

In asserting that emotionality tends to be an inherent feature of 'objective' news reports through appraisals and "narrative construction of emotive appeals", Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) concluded that the use of oppositional binaries such as objectivity and subjectivity, emotionality and rationality as analytical yardsticks to assess journalistic practice "may be overly simplistic and obscure the complexities of journalistic storytelling" (p. 304). Evidence of emotionality in journalistic narrative requires further analysis of the way subjectivity is employed and practised, "which as is now a deeply embedded tool of the journalistic profession, solidified and validated by the most prestigious form of cultural capital in the field" (p. 317). In a similar vein, Beckett and Deuze (2016) noted that "emotion is becoming a much more important dynamic in how news is produced and consumed" (p.1) and that "quality reporting and editing has always had emotion at its core" (p. 1), a view consistent with Wahl-Jorgensen (2013).

Studies employing affect or emotions as an analytical lens are steadily catching up to the call for further research amid the growing significance of emotions in journalism research. Drawing on research based on emotions in journalism, Johanssen and Garrisi (2019), for example, explored the coverage of acid attacks on women by British tabloid newspapers and "the rhetorical strategies used by journalists" to describe pain while employing affective-discursive narratives. Johanssen and Garrisi (2019) report that, in the process of sense-making of violence, journalists attempt to capture the experience of the victims, with particular emphasis on pain, in words that invoke emotionality, may enable "a sense of shared meanings" and "affective relationality" to emerge among the audience (p. 14). Along similar lines, Miller and Lewis (2020) explore the nature and

implications of harassment experienced by female journalists in the United States. Kotisova (2020) examined the 'crisis' affecting cultural journalism due to recent technological and institutional changes and its implications for cultural critics in fulfilling their tasks. Amidst the growing empirical studies, the theoretical base in emotion research has also consolidated, with attempts to develop newer approaches and incorporate older concepts that deserve due attention.

Towards the end of the second decade, the literature on emotions experienced steady growth, yet continued to explore recurring themes, albeit with an increased focus on journalistic emotions and emotional narrative in journalistic texts. Kotisova (2017a), for example, explored the professional and personal experience of covering a terrorist attack by Belgian journalists. More specifically, the author sought to understand how journalists navigate the tension between normative principles of journalism, such as objectivity and detachment, and personal conditions, including their identities and emotions, particularly when covering a crisis. Kotisova (2017a, 14) reported that journalists found it "incredibly difficult to separate the human, emotional experience from the rational, analytical perspective required by their professional identity". She further maintains that the respondents viewed emotions as "more acceptable elements of news" with no consequences for traditional values or journalism roles (p. 179).

In a further investigation into crisis reporting and journalistic emotion, Kotisova (2017b) attempted to gain deeper insights into the crisis reporters' "emotional culture". In that, she asked, "how crisis reporters' emotions are articulated by the processes of crisis reporting" (p. 1). Through the personal accounts of crisis reporters, Kotisova (2017b) concluded that covering emotionally disturbing events while attempting to remain detached often leads journalists to resort to cynicism as a coping mechanism. While cynicism "is understood as a prerequisite for successful performance of the job", it, however, poses "psychological danger" caused by suppression or prolonged suspension of emotions in otherwise emotional situations (p. 11). In the realm of emotions research, Kotisova's work underscores the professional and psychological hazards that journalists are confronted with when trying to strike the right balance between the professional demands of objectivity and the personal need for emotionality. More specifically, it also shows how emotions are always present in a suppressed or suspended state when striving for objectivity, particularly when reporting on crises. While objectivity has continued to feature in the discourse on emotions, research in the last

decade has paid relatively less attention to it, presenting it as a complementary force rather than an oppositional one.

2.2.2.3 Emotions in the shadows of objectivity

In sharp contrast to the principle of objectivity, Beckett and Deuze (2016) observed that "emotion is becoming a much more important dynamic in how news is produced and consumed" (p. 1) and a consensus in favour of emotions in journalism across the academic texts can be observed (Bas & Grabe, 2015; Peters, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Kotisova, 2017; Kotisova, 2019). Usually discussed "in the context of commercialisation or tabloidisation of journalism" (Pantti, 2010, p. 169) in early journalism research, a general acceptance of emotions in the news in a certain equilibrium with objectivity only began to emerge in the 21st century. In a bid to make way for emotions in journalism, the key texts on emotions in the last two decades can be seen grappling with the longstanding tension between emotions and the ideal of objectivity in journalism, a thought rooted in "cartesian dualism of emotion and rationality when discussing 'quality' journalism" (Huan, 2017, p. 461). The growing acknowledgement and presence of emotions in the news, according to Beckett and Deuze (2016, 2), "redefines the classic idea of journalistic objectivity" and is "reshaping the idea of news". Infusing emotion in journalistic writing, for long, has been seen "as antithetical to 'objective reporting'" (Paul, 2019, p. 1324) because "when journalism is emotional, it is therefore often seen as a threat to the standards and normative ideals of journalism" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 2).

Unlike the previous scholarly works on journalism, which considered objectivity as a "strategic ritual" (Tuchman, 1972) and observed emotions as a "marker of unprincipled and flawed journalism" (Peters, 2011, p. 298), the current research rejects the dichotomous view of the two. In that, the growing acceptance of emotion in journalism does not build on rejection of the "strategic ritual of objectivity" (Tuchman, 1972), instead incorporating what Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) calls "strategic ritual of emotionality" which implies "an institutionalised and systematic practice of journalists narrating and infusing their reporting with emotion" (ibid. 2). As Kotisova (2019, 4) notes, objectivity is still a "cornerstone of journalists' professional ideology", yet "journalistic storytelling, despite its allegiance to the ideal of objectivity, is also profoundly emotional" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013, p. 2).

2.2.2.4 Emotions sans Objectivity

Beyond objectivity, the rise of emotions in journalism has been a response to technological changes driving more personalised forms of news production and consumption, resulting in "more mobile, personalised, and emotionally driven news media" (Beckett & Deuze, 2016, p. 5). This, in turn, has led to journalism operating in a "new emotionally networked environment" and emotions becoming a "much more important dynamic in how news is produced and consumed" (ibid. 2).

In strengthening its conceptual foundation, academic efforts have been made to underpin its importance in a wide range of journalism studies (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Kotisova, 2019; Peters, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019), in the analysis of news texts in the Western (Pantti, 2010; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013) and non-Western context (Huan, 2017; Paul, 2019), in exploring its effect and acceptance among the audience (Bas & Grabe, 2015; Dafonte-Gómez, 2018; Wagner & Boczkowski, 2019) and in exploring the journalistic perspective of its importance in news vis-à-vis the standards of objectivity (Kotisova, 2017). Towards the end of the second wave, a series of empirical articles building on emotions scholarship began to cement the discourse on journalistic emotions with fewer references to objectivity and the central use of Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013)' strategic ritual of emotionality' as a theoretical and analytical concept (see Huan, 2017).

2.2.2.5 Emotions Research in Journalism: Perspectives from the Global South

The latter half of the past decade witnessed a notable surge in empirical studies, both in the Global North and, notably, in the Global South region, building on the foundation of and engagement with the scholarship on emotions. While the emotions literature had remained predominantly Western so far, towards the end of the second decade, some attempts to understand non-Western journalistic experiences began to emerge. Employing Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013)' strategic ritual of emotionality' as an analytical lens, Huan (2017), for example, presented a comparative analysis of the mediation of emotions in hard news across Chinese and Australian newspapers. More specifically, he compared how the two media systems present and represent the emotions of news actors in risk-related hard news stories, organising solidarity and ensuring or restoring social order. Huan (2017) argued that while the 'strategic ritual of emotionality' is present in both press systems as it "constitutes an indispensable professional skill" (p. 475), it is characterised by cultural

resemblances in the way securities/insecurities of ordinary citizens are presented and variability in the way powerful vis-à-vis powerless are presented.

Different approaches to strategic rituals of emotionality, Huan (2017) argued, "are conditioned by the press conditions" such as budget constraints, competition and broadloidization (p. 462). Huan (2017) argued that "rituals of emotionality are strategically utilised in service of engaging with a broader readership and therefore accruing economic benefits" (p. 475), which may be indicative of the "broadloidization" trend—a tabloid-style reporting by broadsheets. His observation, while highlighting the prominence of emotionality, also points in the direction of the ever-held contention to which the objectivity critics decry emotion for its tabloidisation effect.

Nevertheless, in emphasising the importance of the ritual of emotionality, Huan (2017) indicates that "emotions are vital to the bond journalistic pursuit of objectivity with the formation of social togetherness" (p. 477). Moreover, Huan's (2017) use of the strategic ritual of emotionality as an analytical lens in his study reveals its 'distinctive' use in Australia and China. Australian journalists, according to Huan (2017), employ emotions to represent the voices of ordinary citizens, thereby extending comfort to the victims and their families. The Chinese journalists, however, "are cautious about attending to the voices of the powerless", and an emotionality frame is employed to represent the voices of the elite (p. 476).

Similarly, Paul (2019) analysed the narrative construction of emotions in the coverage of the Gulf crisis on Nepali migrants in three Nepali newspapers employing Wahl-Jorgensen's "strategic ritual of emotionality" as a theoretical framework. In response to the hardships, sufferings, and economic struggles of migrant workers resulting from the economic blockades in Qatar, Paul (2019) notes that newspapers constructed an emotional narrative, thereby presenting a humanistic view of the situation. He showed how journalists engaged in the strategic ritual of emotionality through their "their subjective viewpoints and concerns" (p. 1334) and not by the outsourcing of emotional labour to the actors/emoters, a notable finding as it is inconsistent with Wahl Jorgensen's (2013) finding where she shows how emotionality in reporting/articles is achieved by the outsourcing of the emotions to the sources thereby maintaining ritual of objectivity alongside ritual of emotionality.

In stark contrast to what has been reported in Western studies, Paul's (2019) analysis of emotionalised writing in Nepal reveals that emotions are not necessarily outsourced but can be directly expressed by journalists. In emphasising the distinction between the Global North and the South in the way emotionality is employed in the press, Paul (2019) calls for further exploration of "the use of emotion in different press systems to enhance our understanding of the cultural production of journalism and how it deviates from the predominant Western assumptions about journalism" (p. 1335). Although the Western scholarship on emotions has begun to acknowledge that emotional work may not only differ between different media systems, but there is much to learn in the ways it "varies across different types of news work and organisation, different geographical contexts, and the varied platforms of news content" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2021, p. 1571).

2.2.3 Continued debates and emerging themes in emotions research in Journalism

As the literature on emotions in journalism gathered pace, a deeper analysis of journalistic content and journalistic emotions emerged, utilising sociological concepts such as emotional labour and dramaturgy, with a handful of references in the first half and a deeper engagement in the second half of the decade. A few noteworthy concepts that could further shape the discourse in emotions research and underscore the significant potential in this area are dramaturgy, emotional labour and mediated anger. Widely used as an analytical lens in several disciplines, Erving Goffman's dramaturgy and Arlie Hochschild's emotional labour, almost half a century-old sociological terms with their widespread interdisciplinary popularity, are being employed in emotions scholarship as an analytical lens, particularly to develop a systematic insight into journalistic emotions. In terms of content analysis, a noteworthy concept that emerged in the latter half of the decade was mediated anger (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018), which emphasised the importance of examining journalistic anger alongside a host of other emotions.

2.2.4 Emotional labour

Far from the objectivity versus emotionality debate in journalism, a theory termed 'emotional labour' has significantly informed the emotions literature in journalism while eschewing references to objectivity and narrowing the focus of emotions research to journalists' emotions. Although a sociological theory, its utility in studying emotions was only realised in the last two decades.

Coined by Hochschild (1983), the emotional labour thesis has proved significant in exploring and underscoring the importance of journalistic emotions and emotionality in journalism and has been readily employed in journalism research by various scholars (Richard & Rees, 2011; Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2019; Kotisova, 2020; Miller & Lewis, 2020). Recent works on journalism have employed emotional labour as an analytical lens for a more intimate understanding of the “context-sensitive understanding of emotional work in the journalism profession” (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2021).

Emotional labour underlines how employees "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 10). Hochschild (1983) emphasises how emotion is an act of management, and individuals work on managing their feelings and emotional display in their encounters and interactions "to render them 'appropriate' to a situation" (p. 551). In journalism, it is particularly relevant as journalists "can and do play a major role in setting the public sphere's emotional tone" (Richard & Rees, 2011, p. 853).

While emotional labour, featured more recently in journalism research, has always been an element of journalistic storytelling, according to Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), journalists have infused emotions into stories by means of "outsourcing" it to non-journalists. In a more comprehensive use of the concept, Hopper and Huxford (2015), for example, emphasise the importance of studying the effects of emotional labour on journalism, particularly "because of the importance placed on objectivity in the profession" (p. 22). The researchers examined journalistic practice and engagement with emotional labour, as well as its effects on reporters and journalistic practice.

Hopper and Huxford (2015) argued that journalists during newsgathering "indeed engage in emotional labour, suppressing impulses of sympathy, pity and guilt to achieve 'objectivity' and to avoid being overwhelmed by their feelings" (p. 25). Engaging in emotional labour can have both negative and positive effects on journalists, while the focus of research so far has been mainly on its adverse effects (ibid.). Identifying its effects, the scholars show how professional demands of journalism and engagement with emotional labour can have "substantial" repercussions for journalists and the profession (p. 38).

In outlining the impact, the authors show that journalists engaging in emotional labour reported being deeply troubled by the emotional incidents, made admissions of long-term guilt and even self-hatred, employed coping strategies to mitigate the impact of an emotional event, and reported deferring and suppressing emotions. While the authors lament "the lack of formal training in successfully engaging in emotional labour", they suggest the need for "specific training in strategies for emotional labour for journalists" (p. 37) to deal with emotionally charged situations and a more proactive role of news organisations in assisting the journalists (p. 38).

Journalistic work often requires reporters to encounter situations in war, famine, and natural disasters that can have a profound emotional and psychological impact on them. Studies into occupational hazards in journalism have already provided insight into how journalists are affected by these situations. Despite its importance, however, examination of journalistic emotional labour has remained "largely neglected" (Hopper & Huxford, 2015, p. 25), and "given that research on journalists' emotional labour is relatively new, we still know very little about long-term effects of the job on journalists' mental and emotional well-being" (Kotisova, 2019, p. 7).

Building on the discussion, Huxford and Hopper (2020) examined the process of emotional labour in journalism, specifically as it is performed by journalists in both print and broadcast journalism. Through personal interviews, the authors found that while journalists do engage in emotional labour in "suppressing or manipulating their own emotions", the print and broadcast journalists have "markedly different mindsets and attitudes towards emotional labour" and rely on "different mechanisms for coping with the difficulties that arise from emotional control" (p. 39).

More recently, Kotisova (2020) examined the emotional labour that cultural journalists, particularly cultural critics, undertake, particularly in cultural journalism, which, according to the author, is in crisis due to recent technological and institutional changes in the field. Kotisova (2020) argues that although cultural journalism permits a considerable degree of subjectivity—encompassing emotional experiences, political opinions, and personal memories—critics engage in emotional labour by setting aside these subjective elements in order to achieve “a successful objectivisation of their emotionality” when reviewing a cultural object (p. 1).

While emotional labour serves as a lens to examine the emotional vulnerabilities that journalists face as well as the emotional management strategies that they employ in dealing with emotionally demanding situations, it also emphasises the significance of exploring emotions in journalism without invoking the objectivity debate. In a more recent study, Miller and Lewis (2020) explore "the nature and implications of harassment experienced by journalists in the United States" (p. 2) and the emotional labour performed in negotiating such harassment. The authors report that women journalists undertake "a significant degree of unpaid emotional labour" (p. 3) in dealing with harassment of both sexual and non-sexual nature while simultaneously working to mitigate and prevent further abuse.

To achieve a nuanced understanding of emotional labour, some researchers have sought to examine its presence in the profession by combining it with Goffman's dramaturgical framework, particularly through the analysis of front and back regions of emotional expression. Emotional labour, when viewed through an analytical lens and coupled with dramaturgical analysis, has enabled scholars to explore how journalists not only display emotions publicly but also navigate their emotional experiences behind the scenes.

2.2.5 Dramaturgy: The front and back regions of journalistic emotions

Similar to emotional labour, the references to the dramaturgical view of emotions in journalism are an emerging aspect. Their simultaneous use gains validity in light of the fact that Hochschild (1983) developed the concept of emotional labour, drawing on and critiquing Goffman's dramaturgy. While the front region refers to the role and importance of emotion in public life, which includes emotional displays, content, and its examination, the back region refers to the presence and dynamics of emotions, both personal and professional, in the backstage and their influences on the content and/or individual. While the front and back region emotions have been referred to sporadically in a handful of studies (Votmer & Brants, 2011; Kotisova, 2017a; Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013) and form the theoretical basis of the study of emotions by Flam and Kleres (2016), the only comprehensive engagement with Goffman's dramaturgy was a recent study by Kotisova (2019) who presented a review of emotions in journalism literature in terms of front and back region.

In particular, Goffman's concept of dramaturgy serves as an overarching tool for effective categorisation of the scholarship on emotions in journalism "as both a phenomenon permeating the "face" of journalism, appearances, performances, and expressions—that is, emotions visible in the outcomes of journalists' work—and behind-the-scenes forces driving "impression management"—that is, journalists' emotional labour" Kotisova (2019). Despite its significance, empirical studies based on dramaturgy are scarce in research on emotions. The scholars addressing the former have emphasised the need to understand the role of emotionality in public life (Yell, 2012), while those exploring the latter have argued for a detailed investigation into its presence and influence on media content and journalists (Kotisova, 2019).

2.2.6 Mediated Anger

The growing discourse on emotions has begun to focus on the presence of specific emotions, such as anger, in the profession (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2023). Wahl-Jorgensen (2018), in her seminal study, for example, identified anger as "one particularly important emotion to study" (p. 2074). This study was significant because, to date, none of the previous studies had identified a particular emotion as a research concern. That said, however, the antecedent to specific attention to anger can be found in a study by Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011), where they explored the articulation of public anger in the British press and emphasised the role of media in the mediatisation of anger as they observe news media "as a key site for expressing and managing public emotions" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 107). In highlighting the political importance of anger in constituting citizenship and its representation in the press, the authors underline the role of the media in acting as a bridge between personal and public emotions and as a site where, through the process of mediation, personal emotions become public emotions and vice versa (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 108). In a more concerted effort, Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) presented a detailed analysis of anger in journalistic content, illustrating how mediated anger is "discursively constructed" (p. 2083) through the narrative of journalists, a subject addressed in detail in a later section dedicated to the analysis of anger in journalism. The discussion on mediated anger underlined and paved the way for analysing anger in journalists and its channelisation in content. Research examining anger is only beginning to emerge, with a recent study by Stupart (2023) examining journalistic anger.

2.2.7 Measuring emotions in journalism studies

Initial efforts to examine emotions in journalism studies primarily focused on audience and content until the second decade of the 21st century, when the focus shifted to emotions in the profession and journalistic engagement with emotions. Newhagen (1998), in his study, for example, employed repeated measures factorial experiment to test the effects of emotionally negative images on approach-avoidance ratings and memory for television news images that induce anger, fear, and disgust on test subjects, which included 20 participants. In a more recent study that employs an experimental method, Kuhne and Schemer (2015) explored the emotional effects of two news frames—an "anger" frame and a "sadness" frame—on information processing and opinion formation among seventy-one participants.

2.2.8 Empirical efforts to measure Emotions

Much of the work on emotions spans philosophical exegesis, critical commentaries, conceptual papers, and theoretical engagements, with only a handful of methodological papers focused on measuring emotions. Among the empirical works, while an array of methodological approaches can be found, a lack of a unified methodological approach is evident. Scholars have repeatedly noted the "difficulties of measurement in a process that is very interactive, interpretive and nuanced" (Crigler & Just, 2012: 220). In early attempts to define emotions, scholars in various disciplines sought to formulate or present a framework for measuring emotions. In the natural sciences, for example, Bradley and Lang (2000) regard emotional acts and their effects as "measurable biological phenomena that reflect an evolutionary inheritance" (*ibid.*, p. 242). While studies in the human sciences, such as psychology, have employed controlled experiment-based approaches, much of the research into emotions across the humanities and social sciences has predominantly employed interviews, experiments, and textual analysis of some form.

Lutz and Abu-Lughud's (1990) distinction of emotional discourses is particularly noteworthy when considering the methodological approaches to emotional discourses. They identify two categories of emotional discourse. The first category is identified as discourses on emotion that deal with "self-distance and reflexivity as well as the capacity to note and interpret the emotional displays of others" (Katriel, 2015, p. 57).

The second category is that of emotional discourses, which refers to the "verbal and non-verbal ways through which people display their emotionality, and its specific nature and force through the act of enunciation" (ibid. 58). According to Katriel (2015, 58), who draws on the said two categories, the former "involves linguistic practices of naming emotions, reporting on their presence and force, accounting for their emergence, and narrating about emotion-laden events" while the latter relates to "expressivity of discourse" and form an intrinsic part of all communicational processes such as the narration of personal experiences. Katriel (2015) demonstrates the workings of these categories in her study, which examines 900 full-length videotaped interviews of Israeli dissident veteran-activists' military service, including explicit discourses on emotions and emotional displays that accompany these acts of remembering and witnessing.

Under the "Discourses on Emotions" category, Katriel (2015, p. 61) identifies two key elements of emotions, which include references to a) the intensity of emotional responses and b) specifically named emotional responses. Under the emotional discourses category, they identify "two layers" of emotional responses, which include past-tense emotions and present-tense emotions. The former, according to Katriel (2015), is associated with military service identified, narrated, reflected upon and, at times, relived and expressed in the act of telling, and the latter refers to emotions that attend the act of witnessing of revisiting the past—including the emotional experiences that have shaped the soldier-witnesses' memory-work at the time of the interview. Katriel's (2015) approach to analysing the emotional accounts of Israeli soldiers is particularly instructive, as it categorically and systematically demonstrates how emotions can be analysed both in the emotional accounts of interviewees and in their expressions, actions, and gestures when narrating the incidents.

Considered 'vital to communication and construction of political meaning', emotions have been studied more closely in political communication than any other subfield in communications research. However, emotions have been seen with scepticism in politics as "normative political decision-making models, for example, deliberation implicitly pits reason against emotion, painting emotion as a less valuable and unwelcomed element of political behaviour" (Sabzo, 2020, p. 6). Despite the scepticism, scholars have paid due credence to emotions in political communication and decision-making.

Without emotion, according to Crigler and Just (2012, p. 212), "it is impossible to convey political messages, form preferences, express the intensity of opinions, or even to make political arguments". Despite its growing importance in political communication, as well as in other subfields of communications research, emotions have received limited attention due to the difficulties in defining and measuring the term (*ibid.*, p. 211). In a review of six journals, 62 scholarly articles on emotion and politics published over two decades, Crigler and Just (2012) found that a) 'the study of emotions, affect and mood is primarily concerned with psychology' (p. 217), b) 'scholarly attention to emotions and politics is sparse' (p. 218), c) that research on discrete emotions has 'focused on negative emotions, particularly anger, anxiety, fear and to a lesser extent, guilt' (p. 219) and d) survey and experimental being the key methods in addition to ethnography, interviews and focus groups. Although a similar study offering insight into methodological approaches has yet to emerge in mass communication or journalism research, broadly speaking, the existing methods in the discipline are largely similar to those identified by Crigler and Just (2012) in political communication.

Textual analysis of emotions is another key approach that can be seen in the study of political emotions and news texts. Loseke (2009), for example, examines former President George W. Bush's first four nationally televised addresses after the events of September 11, 2001, to identify the multiple and interlocking reflections of emotion codes which encourage audience members to feel in particular ways about the Good American victim and hero and the evil terrorist villain who are the primary story character (p. 497). Piwoni (2018, p. 2), in a recent study, argued that "mass-mediated public discourse produces a discourse on emotion and disseminates specific feeling rules for different groups". Using the grounded theory approach, she explored the discourse on emotion based on 961 articles, interviews, essays, commentaries, letters to the editor and other items that appeared in Germany's quality print media on debates on immigrant integration.

Sentiment analysis is another increasingly used method, particularly in political communication studies, "that focus on the 'sentiment' or 'tone' of news content, political speeches, or advertisements" (Young & Soroka, 2012), of which Soroka et al. (2015) are particularly noteworthy. Soroka et al. (2015) examined 55,000 front-page news stories to compare the prevalence and nature of negativity in news content, particularly fear and anger, using sentiment analysis based on their Lexicoder Sentiment Dictionary (LSD).

Developed by Young and Soroka (2012), the Lexicoder Sentiment Dictionary (LSD) is a "comprehensive affect lexicon constructed and tailored for political news; it consists of 4,567 positive and negative words and phrases" (Soroka et al., 2015, p. 111). With a dictionary-based coding approach, LSD enables a straightforward frequency count of keywords in a text from a predefined dictionary.

While most of these studies employ news media text to examine emotions, their concerns, however, are not aligned with those of studies in emotions research in journalism, where the focus is particularly on emotionality in journalistic text, talk and practice, in addition to journalists' emotions and their implications for journalism as a profession.

2.2.8.1 Empirical studies in emotions research in Journalism

In research on emotions in journalism, a cursory review indicates a predominant use of interviews, content analysis, and qualitative analysis of news texts to examine how and to what extent emotions are present and employed by journalists. In exploring the display of public grief in Finnish newspapers following the murders of two public figures, Pantti (2005), for example, conducted a qualitative analysis of news reports, columns, and editorials published in Finnish newspapers. In a similar study, Panttii and Husslage (2009) employ quantitative and qualitative content analysis, as well as interviews with journalists, to explore the emotions expressed by ordinary people in public discussions and journalists' assessments of their emotional expressions. In a more detailed study into emotions, Richard and Rees (2011) conducted 40 interviews with journalists, documentary makers, journalism educators and psychology experts in addition to six focus groups with professional journalists and two with undergraduate students to explore the importance of emotional literacy in journalistic training programmes and its potential to enhance journalism training. In examining the interplay between journalists' emotions and objectivity and their professional and personal identities, Kotisova (2017) conducted in-depth, narrative interviews with 10 Belgian 'crisis reporters to explore the aftermath of the terrorist attacks among Belgian journalists.

In a similar study, Kotisova (2020) conducted 14 semi-structured interviews to explore the emotional labour performed by cultural journalists. Hopper and Huxford (2015) conducted interviews with former and current print and digital journalists to investigate their engagement in emotional labour during the news-gathering tasks of the journalism profession. In a similar study, Huxford and Hopper (2020) explored emotional labour performed by journalists in print and broadcast journalism through personal interviews. Employing content analysis, Paul (2019) analysed 68 news articles and editorials about the Gulf crisis in relation to Nepali migrants in Nepal's three national dailies to understand how emotions are deployed in news writing in non-Western newspapers.

2.2.9 New directions in emotions research

Towards the end of the last decade, notable academics in the field of emotions scholarship in journalism intensified calls for further research, setting a broader research agenda that offered new approaches and directions for the advancement of emotions research in journalism (c.f. Kotisova, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019a; Beckett & Dueze, 2016). Wahl-Jorgensen (2019a) argued that emotions research is "marked by presentism" and requires new tools and vocabularies for studying how transformations in journalism have shaped journalists as individuals and journalism as a professional identity over the longer term. (p.2). One approach to making sense of the "profound changes and challenges facing the profession of journalism", she argued, could be through "charting the emotional life histories of journalists" (p. 1). The various approaches now used to examine journalistic emotions, along with the growing scholarly investigation into the area, have come to be identified as the 'emotional turn' in journalism research.

While references to this term have been made in the early studies on emotions, in order to add conceptual clarity and mark the shifting terrain of research encompassing emotions, Wahl-Jorgensen (2019), more formally, introduced the idea of 'emotional turn' in journalism studies. Spurred by and developing alongside the rapidly changing technological landscape driven by digital technologies, the emotional turn, according to Wahl-Jorgensen, implies that "a growing number of scholars in the field are now attentive to the place of emotion in shaping the production, texts and audience engagement with journalism" (p.4). The increased attention to emotions among scholars has, in turn, led to an increasingly nuanced and diverse investigation of the role of emotion

across contexts of production, text, and audience engagement with journalism (p. 1). While the term does not imply a paradigm shift, according to Wahl-Jorgensen (2019), it underscores that "the relationship between journalism and emotion represents a rapidly developing area of inquiry which opens up for new research agendas, with particular relevance for the study of digital journalism." (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p.4). In further clarifying the word 'turn', Wahl-Jorgensen (2019, p. 4) notes that "scholars are now seriously engaging with the role of emotion across the contexts of journalistic production, content and consumption, using the wide variety of theoretical and methodological tools at our disposal".

2.2.10 Research Gap

As research on emotions has increased in the past decade, a series of studies has marked its emergence and called for further investigation into this field. While academic investigations into the interplay between emotions and journalism, particularly encompassing public experiences and engagement, began to emerge in the early years of the 21st century, concerted calls for further investigation into both the front and back regions of emotionality in journalism began to appear by the end of the first decade. In one of the foremost studies examining the journalistic view of emotions, Pantti (2010) noted that "little attention" has been paid to emotions and their presence in news texts in addition to "the role of journalism in interpretations and enactments of emotions" (p. 169).

In the following years, nearly every study on emotions research voiced a similar view to that of Pantti (2010). For example, Peters (2011) noted that the concept of emotions in journalism is "consistently undertheorised", a view further held by Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), Hopper and Huxford (2015) and Kotisova (2017, 2019). The lack of academic attention to the role of emotional expression of the journalists in particular, according to Wahl-Jorgensen (2013), has been due to the profession's historical allegiance to objectivity, and that some attention could be paid to "redressing the silence around emotion which has for too long haunted both scholarship and practice" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013, p. 11).

As research in emotions gains more ground in journalism, the need to know more about its role grows alongside note Beckett and Deuze (2016), in addition to "the consequences of recognising and putting emotion front and centre in our considerations of newswork" (ibid. p.1). In pressing for further research, the scholars identify a handful of areas that present "a number of questions and concerns" for the scholars, journalists and educators, which include "the ontology of data, the political economy of identity when privacy goes public, the sociology of influence when power is redistributed emotionally" (ibid. p. 1). Scholars have called for further research into the interplay between emotions and journalistic practices, including and encompassing the "social, political, economic, technological, and both intra-organisational and extra-organisational" (Kotisova, 2019, p. 7) challenges and issues that influence journalists' emotionality (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019). In widening the scope of emotions research, more recently, Wahl-Jorgensen and Pantti (2021) called for "an urgent need for careful empirical study and theorisation of historical shifts in the role of emotion in journalism, and how it interacts with professional norms and values." (p. 10)

2.2.10.1 A more specific attention to journalistic emotions research

Amid a range of subtopics and ideas identified as part of the broader research agenda, more specific attention has been paid to journalistic emotions. Since the research on emotions in journalism is "relatively new" (Kotisova, 2019), the knowledge on the social character of journalists' emotions is "still largely missing" (ibid. 1) from the emergent work on emotionality in journalism research. In presenting the concept of 'strategic ritual of emotionality', Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) argued for further and detailed investigation into the concept "to uncover changing manifestations" and "documenting its emergence as a professional tool" (p. 14). In employing the 'strategic ritual of emotionality' as a theoretical lens, Huan (2017) lamented the "insufficient" understanding of how the rituals of emotionality are strategically employed, particularly by journalists across different cultures (p. 473).

Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) particularly emphasised the potential for more research in gaining "a broader and more nuanced view of how emotion operates in journalistic storytelling" (p. 15). A more comprehensive and all-encompassing overview of the literature on emotions in journalism is provided by Kotisova (2019), who argues that the emergent work on emotions has yet to engage with "the social character of journalists' emotions" (p. 2).

Kotisova (2019) identifies several areas that could serve as a basis for further research, as she emphasises the necessity for further investigation into both how emotions shape public emotions and journalistic views of their own emotions as they shape them personally and professionally. For further insight into how emotions shape journalistic accounts and narrative, Kotisova (2019) emphasises the need to address "how emotions circulate in the backstage: in newsrooms, on work trips, and in front of the monitors at which journalists sit to watch and edit graphic and violent videos and sounds" (p. 5) to gain insight into the emotional labour in both the regions.

2.2.10.2 Journalistic emotions vis-à-vis emotional labour and dramaturgy

While studies employing this journalistic emotional labour and its dramaturgical analysis are sparse, they demonstrate its particular significance in the examination of journalistic emotions. Given the importance of both the concepts that offer a specific way to approach emotions in journalism in myriad ways and more specifically, journalistic emotions, researchers have lamented the lack of research (Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Kotisova, 2017a; Kotisova, 2020; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019a) and extended calls for further research in congruence of these concepts (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). For example, Hopper and Huxford (2015) noted that journalistic emotional labour "has been largely neglected" (p. 26) and remains "consistently undertheorised and underresearched" (Kotisova, 2017a, p. 2). Emphasising the importance of emotional labour and backstage emotions (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013), a view into "extensive 'behind-the-scenes'" emotional labour is required for a better understanding of the production of journalistic content. While analysis of back-region emotions has been recurrently emphasised (Vltmer & Brants, 2011), more recently, Kotisova (2019) noted that "emotionality in the front region of journalism needs to be studied further and more systematically" (Kotisova, 2019, p. 4), given its influence on both public emotions and journalistic work respectively. For a better understanding of emotional labour and emotional management that shape journalistic work, Kotisova (2019) argued for a "contextualised understanding of journalists' back region emotions and their emotional labour because, as follows from the very concepts of emotional labour and emotional management, media organisations, journalists' professional ideology, and situational contexts all play vital roles in how emotions are handled, managed, moderated, policed, disciplined, and experienced" (Kotisova, 2019, p. 7).

As the emotional turn evolves further with the growing interest of researchers in this area, the need for more studies that encompass the underlying forces and dynamics shaping emotions in the profession requires more attention. Emotional turn, according to Wahl-Jorgensen (2016), "is not complete" and continues to be "a dynamic and hotly contested process, continually challenged by professional journalists" (p. 27). Pressing for further analysis of emotions, Peters (2011) argues that "just as academics have, for decades, tried to unpack the role of objectivity in shaping the dynamics of professional journalism, emotions too require similar discursive engagement to understand its centrality to news production and dissemination" (Peters, 2011, p. 307).

As the emotional turn continues to unfold, the need to move beyond generalised discussions of emotion becomes increasingly evident. To fully understand how emotions operate within journalistic practice, it is essential to examine the specific emotions that may carry a particular weight in the profession. Among these, anger stands out—not only for its prominence across social and political life but also for its growing visibility in journalistic expression and discourse, and it has begun to receive attention in emotion research. Zooming into anger, therefore, offers a focused lens to understand how this emotion is experienced, negotiated, and articulated within the emotional dynamics of journalism.

2.3 Anger

Anger, among a host of emotions, has received particular attention in scholarly works across disciplines and has been considered one of the "most frequently experienced emotions" (Averill et al., 1982). From Greek to Modern philosophy, psychology, behavioural sciences, politics and more recently, journalism, anger has "historical roots that are wide and deep" (Potegal & Novaco, 2010, p. 18). However, the discourse on anger, particularly in the social sciences, is rather polarised between its significance or lack thereof, its acceptance and dismissal.

In journalism research, anger has only begun to receive attention, particularly in its mediation and discursive construction in journalistic text and talk. With the growing importance of emotion analysis in journalism research, anger is being observed as "one particularly important emotion to study" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2018, p. 2074). The significance of this view, as discussed later in this section, is evident in the growing interest among researchers in examining anger within the scope of emotions in the journalism domain.

Discourses centred around anger may be a recent trend in journalism research. However, a broader academic interest in examining anger has been present for some time. Akin to myriad views on emotions, anger has been subject to opposing views regarding its social appropriateness, from ancient Athenian philosophy to contemporary political discourse.

2.3.1 Anger in Philosophy: The Opposing Views

In the philosophical treatise on emotions, anger and fear have received particular attention. The discussions largely focused on addressing the nature and phenomenological origins of anger, but more so its significance as a virtue or a vice. More than a private emotion, anger in contemporary Western philosophy has largely been recognised as a social emotion essential for addressing inequities and injustices in society. Its roots, however, can be traced back to the works of ancient Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and Stoics like Seneca, who held relatively opposing views on anger.

Anger, according to Aristotle, is "a desire (*orexis*), accompanied by pain, for what appears to one to be punishment for what appears to one to be belittlement by people for whom it was not proper to belittle oneself or someone close to one" (As cited in Vogt 2006, p. 56). For Aristotle, anger is accompanied by pain and is geared towards revenge. In voicing its importance to venting it, he notes, "Let anger be a reaching-out, accompanied by pain, for conspicuous revenge for some conspicuous slight to oneself or one's own, the slight not having been deserved" (Harris, 1997, p. 452). According to Solomon (1993, p. 10) Aristotle regards anger as "a distressed desire for conspicuous vengeance in return for a conspicuous and unjustifiable contempt of one's person or friends." While Aristotle viewed anger as a means to seek justice emanating from pain, Seneca saw anger as all excitement, raging towards vengeance (Vogt, 2006). Aristotelian view of anger continues to receive attention in the contemporary literature, where it is recognised "as an emotion employed to condemn violations linked to notions of justice, freedom, fairness, individualism, individual choice, and liberty" (Hess, 2014, p. 58). This view, however, finds some opposition in the Stoics' view of anger.

Stoic philosophers have advocated self-control, particularly over emotions and total elimination of anger, as "it inevitably produces more evil than good" (Srinivasan, 2018, p. 3). To Seneca, a key Stoic philosopher, anger is 'closed to reason' and is a desire to pay back pain against a perceived wrong and thus is driven by a desire for revenge. Calling it a "most hideous and frenzied of all the emotions", Seneca draws anger's relationship with violence and aggression. As Seneca notes,

The other emotions have in them some element of peace and calm, while this one is wholly violent and has its being in an onrush of resentment, raging with a most inhuman lust for weapons, blood, and punishment, giving no thought to itself if only it can hurt another, hurling itself upon the very point of dagger, and eager for revenge *though it may drag down the avenger along with it.*

(as cited in Srinivasan 2018, p. 3)

In launching a further onslaught on anger, Seneca, in his treatise titled *De Ira (On Anger)*, notes,

Certain wise men, therefore, have claimed that anger is temporary madness. For it is equally devoid of self-control, forgetful of decency, unmindful of ties, persistent and diligent in whatever it begins, closed to reason and counsel, excited by trifling causes, unfit to discern the right and true-the very counterpart of a ruin that is shattered in pieces where it overwhelms.

Seneca (n.d.) (as cited in Hess 2014, p. 55)

The early discourse on anger, particularly its appropriateness in Greek philosophy, went on to influence 18th-century Enlightenment philosophers, who perceived and defined anger as a significant public emotion through the analytical lens of modern politics. Among the Enlightenment philosophers, for example, social contract philosopher Rousseau's works on anger proved to be a key reference in exploring social and political meanings of anger and its significance as a public emotion. No longer seen as an exclusive privilege of the rulers, anger, in the 18th century, became increasingly democratised as the right to anger was claimed by the philosophers through their anger and displeasure against social ills, and its recognition as "a moral duty to feel anger and indignation at the suffering and degradation of others" (Pagani, 2015, p. 10). Rousseau's views on anger resonate with Aristotle's, who emphasises the importance of anger and noted that "only fools don't get angry, and that although overly angry people may be 'unbearable,' the absence of anger (aimed at the right offences) is a vice rather than a virtue" [in Solomon 1993, p. 10].

According to Coleman, "Rousseau's anger is not a symptom of a disease but a healthy form of protest against complacency. Indignation is a sign of moral vigour, of commitment to truth" (*as cited in Pagani 2015, p. 10*). Rousseau, as Pagani (2015) notes, "was not ashamed of his anger but rather built a monument to it through the written word" (p. 8).

In line with the philosophical discussion, 20th-century analysis of anger is found to be nuanced yet largely dichotomous, recognising anger as either a negative or a positive emotion or as a necessary political force or a counterproductive force in strict opposition to reason. Particularly when discussed in response to injustice and oppression, the discussion on anger either deems it an appropriate response to a situation or counterproductive to a cause.

2.3.2 The Early narrative- A negative emotion

Associated with irrationality, anger has been observed as "the most involving and invigorating of the negative emotions" (Newhagen, 1998, p. 267; Hess, 2014), one that interferes with clear thinking. The public display of anger has been "historically discouraged" due to its "close association with irrationality and aggression" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 105). The very existence of rationality, a central pillar of the public sphere, depends on the absence of emotions, particularly anger, a stance consistent with Seneca's view of anger, who viewed it as a threat to rationality, a corrupting force, and an enemy to reason. The political sphere has been as unaccommodating of emotions as the angry members who are deemed "not suitable for the political community" and thereby for a reasonable discussion (Srinivasan, 2018, p. 20). The dismissal of anger largely aligns with the dismissal of emotionality for much of the late 20th century, while advocating the centrality and importance of rationality as a central pillar of public conduct and political discourse.

2.3.3 Change in the narrative- An important and positive emotion

With growing criticism of the public sphere theory, in line with the rise of agonistic models that emphasise the growing importance of emotions in public discourse, favourable academic engagement with anger has increased alongside. Recent works on anger have identified anger as an emotion with positive attributes. Hess (2014), for example, argues that anger is not necessarily a negative emotion and has a positive side to it, at least for the one who is expressing it, while it

may appear negative for the one at the receiving end. In asserting anger as a positive emotion, the author examines anger "as a sign of strength and anger as a force that leads to needed action" (p. 56). Drawing on theoretical and empirical studies in psychology and behavioural science, Hess (2014) demonstrates how anger has been shown to work positively for the individual experiencing it. The research across the two domains shows that anger "mobilises energy and focuses attention on redressing the appraised wrong" (p. 57), works as "a source of goal-directed action" (p. 58) and "positively influences negotiations", mainly when a negotiator is low in power. Perception of anger for those observing the emoter or at the receiving end could be positive, as while "angry individuals are perceived as threatening", they are seen to be taking a stand against injustice and an unjust situation. In this sense, anger could signal strength, commitment to change and "the ability and motivation to address bad situations" (p. 63). The examination of anger has, over the decades, spanned into various areas such as its use for mobilising public opinion and action (Ost, 2004), its effects on individual's information processing strategies (Shapiro, 1997), its role in economic decision-making (Zizzo, 2008), and risk perception and risk-taking (Gambetti & Giusberti, 2009), and as a device to search for information (Mendonça, 2014).

2.3.4 Favourable view of anger in public life

The discussion and recognition of the full spectrum of emotions, particularly in public and political life in the early 21st century, was arguably built on the foundation of discourse that recognised the significance of anger in public activism and social movements in the late 20th century. This development, however, was occurring concurrently with the growing recognition of Habermas's public sphere theory during the same period.

The positive assertions of anger in the social sciences have their roots in discourses on social and emancipatory movements, particularly those related to racial equality and feminist movements. The opposing view of anger seemingly changed as anger came to be seen as a source of change and increasingly recognised as a response to oppression and injustice, particularly in feminist literature, wherein anger is defended by several feminist philosophers "as a morally and politically appropriate response to sexist oppression" (Bell, 2009, p. 165). To Audre Lorde (1981), a noted feminist thinker, in her speech, stated, "Anger is loaded with information and energy. Anger is a

source of empowerment we must not fear to tap for energy rather than guilt." (Lorde 1981, p. 7-8).

Lorde (1981, p. 7), capturing the women's responses to racism, underlined the importance of expression of anger vis-à-vis its suppression and silence, as she notes,

My response to racism is anger. I have lived with that anger, on that anger, beneath that anger, on top of that anger, ignoring that anger, feeding upon that anger, learning to use that anger before it laid my visions to waste, for most of my life. Once, I did it in silence, afraid of the weight of that anger. My fear of that anger taught me nothing. Your fear of that anger will teach you nothing, also. Women responding to racism means women responding to anger, the anger of exclusion, of unquestioned privilege, of racial distortions, of silence, ill-use, stereotyping, defensiveness, misnaming, betrayal, and coopting.

Lorde (1981) not only captures the political significance of anger as a key emotional device and a tool of activism, but she also highlights how anger manifests in response to perceived social injustices. Decades of feminist approval and endorsement of anger as a response to oppression and injustice can arguably be seen as the central plank on which the 21st-century analysis of emotions and an affirmative/positive view of anger in disciplines such as political science and journalism has emerged. The constructive analysis of anger in academia in recent years has been coupled with "extraordinary new visibility of women's anger" (Kay, 2019) in the public domain, where there has been a shift from women's anger being perceived as "deviant, monstrous or otherwise taboo" to the "'celebritisation" of anger" Kay (2019) in the popular culture and media sphere.

In sociological and anthropological analysis, anger has also been observed as an emotion of resistance, with music, art (Nehring, 1997; Martinez, 1997), and language (Eksner, 2015) being identified as vehicles and outlets for expressing discontent and resentment. Research has indicated that among the whole set of emotions, anger, fear, joy and sadness are "relatively frequently experienced" (Scherer, 2005, p. 707), with anger and joy "outranking all others" (ibid., p. 707). Eksner (2015), for example, examines how emotions, particularly anger expressions, are encoded in linguistic practices through the lens of linguistic anthropology. In a case study of the linguistic displays of anger among the '36 Boys, the researcher showed how anger and aggression are intertwined in linguistic enactments of anger through 'tough talk'.

Taking rap music as a site of analysis, particularly the political and gangsta rap of the early 1980s and 1990s, Martinez (1997) has demonstrated how rappers channelled their anger into forms of resistance and social critique of a perceived racist and discriminatory society. Located within the framework of oppositional culture or the culture of resistance, the author argues that rap artists, through their lyrics, present a critical analysis and resistance to the dominant culture, institutional discrimination, racial prejudices, and historical oppression and injustices that underlie race relations in American society.

However, anger may remain suppressed or unexpressed and may not always find an outlet or an expression, particularly in the absence of an agonistic environment and more so in autocratic and repressive regimes. Flam (2004), for example, argues that the powerless may suppress their anger and refrain from displaying or expressing it due to fear of negative sanctions or repression from the powerful. In such conditions where angry demonstrations and protests are likely to be met with repression and clampdown from the rulers, Flam (2004) shows that the visible display of anger takes alternative creative forms, often relying "on ambivalent, amusing, satirical, carnivalesque forms of protest" (p. 172). Flam's (2004) observation is significant here, as on a certain level, the suppression or repression of anger appears to be tied to the fear of flak or repercussions.

Decades of affirmative endorsement of anger in feminist discourse and allied disciplines have had cascading effects on various disciplines in incorporating the analysis of anger alongside emotions rather than its outright dismissal. Such a view and analysis of anger has also formed the basis of research in political science and journalism, particularly in the past two decades, where anger has been primarily explored either as a populist emotion or a public response to injustice.

2.3.5 Anger as a political and populist emotion

Efforts to measure anger have received significant attention across various disciplines, particularly in studies related to media texts, with a strong focus on politics and the corresponding role of the media (Ost, 2004; Eksner, 2015; Newhagen, 1998; Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011; Soroka et al., 2015; Wagner, 2014; Young & Soroka, 2012).

While a sustained interest among researchers in examining anger in political communication can be readily observed, some efforts in this direction can be found in the works of anthropologists

and linguists, who employ ethnographic approaches to study its presence and usage in language and articulation by the actors, respectively. Mahrouse (2015), for example, examines an educational program that involved students travelling on a month-long field trip to poor and rural regions in Nicaragua. Intending to uncover emotions in the power and privilege dynamics within encounters between young Canadian students and Nicaraguan families, Mahrouse employs in-depth interviews with the trip coordinators and students' first-person accounts of their expectations, experiences, and reflections. To this end, two sets of open-ended self-administered questionnaires are used, one administered to students before their trip and the other after. Reflecting on the methodology, Mahrouse offers a vital insight into the significance of open-ended questionnaires with written responses and interviews, as opposed to oral responses and focus groups. In underscoring the efficacy of their adopted research design, Mahrouse (2015) notes,

With the benefit of hindsight, I can see that the methodology and design that I used for this project were inadvertently useful for uncovering emotional data. This was especially true with respect to the fortuitous decision to collect written responses (as opposed to oral ones) and to use individual interviews (as opposed to focus group ones, which I had also been contemplating). By writing their responses down, the students were able to express themselves more freely and perhaps less self-consciously than might have been the case orally. In fact, had I conducted oral interviews, it is very likely that I would have intervened and redirected these emotional expressions since they were not what I had been seeking. In other words, albeit unintentionally, the written data collection method I used proved to be an effective means of gathering emotional data.

Eksner (2015), in positing 'language ideologies as a site of emotions', reflects on the methodological challenges of studying emotions in linguistic practices. In their anthropological study exploring the intersection of emotions and linguistic practices, Eksner presents a case study of the linguistic displays of anger among the 36 Boys, a local peer group of German Turkish working-class youths in Berlin. To uncover anger and aggression in language use, Eksner employs an ethnographic approach to gather data, including field notes, interaction transcripts, and qualitative interviews, on youths' ideologies about different linguistic codes and their speakers, as well as their contestational forms of language use. The data are then analysed using the grounded theory approach.

In political communication research, in particular, anger has been recognised as "central to politics" (Ost, 2004, p. 29), has frequently been linked to populist communication (Breeze, 2019), and has been well-investigated as a populist emotion in political discourse (Breeze, 2019; 2020), and public emotion (Wagner, 2014). A cursory examination of these themes, encompassing anger, appears to be in congruence with the prevalent views of emotions in philosophical positions discussed earlier. In populist research, for example, anger has been recognised as "a reaction to injustice" (Holmes, 2004), and political parties have been recognised to "stoke and mobilise anger in order to gain and maintain support" (Ost, 2004; p. 30), a perceived violation of "an accountability relationship" (Wagner, 2014, p. 684), and an emotion having a close association with violence or possible violence (Breeze, 2020).

In electoral research, while "emotions are acknowledged to be instrumental in motivating political choices and voting behavior", recent studies have asserted the implications of anger on policy measures and electoral outcomes (Breeze, 2019, p. 40). Wagner (2014, p. 683) examined the causes of fear and anger among British citizens in response to a negative stimulus related to the financial crisis in the UK, highlighting the importance of perceptions of accountability in shaping emotional responses to economic crises. Using the panel survey approach, he investigated the potential impact of the economic downturn and anger at the actions that triggered the crisis and whether anger was "experienced among individuals who believed a specific actor was to blame for the crisis" (ibid. p. 683).

In political communication research, the examination of anger is not limited to the public but also extends to political parties. Ost (2004), for example, suggests that political power and political elites should be examined for employing anger in pursuit of power, as anger is as central to the political domain as it is to the public domain. While the public employs anger to express their discontent with political parties and their policies, political parties, both opposition and ruling, note that Ost (2004) routinely employ anger to mobilise public opinion and support in their favour. Breeze (2019) examined the 'affective-discursive practices' employed by two political parties in Britain to invoke specific emotional areas such as fear, anger and anxiety in the electorate. The author reported that parties secured more popularity and votes, which "harnessed anger" and "promised radical solutions" (ibid., p. 40).

In exploring the effects of emotionally negative images on approach-avoidance and memory for television news images that induce anger, fear, and disgust in test subjects, Newhagen (1998) reports that anger-inducing images were the most memorable among the respondents in comparison to images that induce fear and images that induce disgust. In another study exploring anger, Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011) examine the articulation of anger in relation to British man-made disasters involving human error, negligence, or systemic failure and its role in constituting citizenship and community. The authors employ content analysis to observe (a) who expresses anger and (b) to whom the anger is directed, followed by a detailed qualitative analysis of stories containing expressions of anger in British newspapers to analyse how anger is articulated, mobilised, and managed.

In another study that encompasses media and political communication, Tong (2015) examines the political implications of public expressions of emotions and the role of the Internet and news media in facilitating this function in China. Taking the case study-based approach, Tong examines the role of the Internet and news media in facilitating the expression of public emotions, especially hatred, resentment, anger, and compassion, regarding issues of public interest. In examining the dynamics of emotions in the public sphere, researchers have analysed and emphasised the emergence of anger as a key public emotion, albeit with opposing views of its significance. In analysing the political implications of the public expression of emotions, particularly anger, in China, Tong (2015) shows how public ire towards the powerful and privileged has been on the rise. He notes that anger in public is evident in most social layers and has been in response to corruption, injustice and the lack of life opportunities.

Channelled through social media and mainstream media, he notes, anger appears to be a primary response to addressing feelings of injustice while also being evident among groups holding differing views on economic reforms and China's future. Recognition and evidence of anger in the public sphere as a dominant public sentiment mark an affirmative shift from rationality to emotionality, on the one hand, and align with the rise of the agonistic public sphere on the other. Tong (2015) shows how, in line with the agonistic public sphere, the outpouring of emotions – especially hatred, resentment, anger and compassion over socio-political issues in China has pressurised the Governments, commercial corporations and individuals into dealing with the problems concerned.

Thus, the formation of the agonistic public sphere has democratised communication processes and facilitated public participation through the route of emotional expressions in the public discourse. Tong's (2015) analysis, while reasserting the centrality of emotions to the agonistic public sphere, also recognises and validates anger and resentment as a part of the public response mechanism to issues of socio-political concern. Arguably, if the agonistic public sphere defines and captures the socio-political landscape, then how can emotions, particularly anger, remain beyond the purview of critical analysis?

Besides, the emphasis on anger, among other emotions in political research, further highlights its inherent significance as a socio-political emotion —a device and a force that shapes the undercurrent of political choices, actions, and discourse. Amid growing discourse on public anger in politics, recent studies have examined public anger towards journalism and journalists (Shin et al., 2021; Ihlebaek & Holter, 2021). A recent article by Shin et al. (2021) highlights the prevalence of negative emotions, including anger, shame, and hatred, directed towards journalism and journalists in South Korea. In a similar article, Ihlebaek and Holter (2021) examine "hostile emotions" (p.1) expressed by far-right-wing commenters against the news media. Using in-depth interviews, the authors examine how commenters' emotions, such as anger and fear rooted in their perceived media biases, influence their engagement and contribute to their lack of trust in the mainstream news media. Emanating from a lack of trust in the media, such anger could be indicative of the public's political engagement through negative emotions. It also points towards the growing analysis of negative emotions, such as anger and fear, in journalism research. Amid the growing recognition and analysis of anger in emotion research, efforts to examine anger in journalistic texts and experiences have begun to emerge.

2.3.6 Analysis of Anger in Journalism Research

In tandem with the research on emotionality, the presence of anger in journalistic reportage has only begun to receive attention, particularly in recent years (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2023; Ivask et al., 2023), and journalism is being recognised as "a central venue for enacting and sustaining the emotional regime" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 106). However, when viewed through the Goffmanian lens, studies on anger only examine the front-region anger, while the back-region presence of anger, particularly journalistic anger, remains relatively unaddressed.

Viewing its presence through Goffman's dramaturgical approach allows for a clear view into the front region of journalism, where journalistic work is presented, and the back region, where journalistic work is planned and produced. This distinction provides a clearer understanding of how emotions, such as anger, influence the journalist, their work, and the audience.

In journalism research, particularly in terms of the front region, attention to anger primarily revolves around the public response to perceived social ills and injustices, as expressed through social movements, protests, and political action, and the journalistic attempt to channel it through the media text. Anger, as Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011, p. 105) note, "motivates people to engage in political action, fuelling collective struggles for justice and recognition". The view is consistent with appraisals theory of emotion, which asserts anger as a motivational force for justice and motivated action (*c.f.* Hess, 2014) and resonates with Aristotle's view that "physical or psychological discomfort—sickness, poverty, love, war, breached expectations, or ingratitude—yields a predisposition for anger" (Solomon, 1993, p. 10).

In exploring the relationship between anger and journalistic practices, Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011) examine how public anger is articulated in British newspapers in response to British man-made disasters and feeds into the identity of citizenship and community when channelled against a perceived event of social injustice, lack of accountability and negligence. In asserting the role of journalism in channelising public anger, the authors conclude that "anger opens up a space for ordinary people to critique power holders, allowing victims and those affected by disasters to raise questions of systemic failure and blame" (p. 106). Through a systematic analysis of the text, the authors demonstrate how journalistic texts capture, accentuate, and mediate public anger, often referred to as public mood or public sentiment.

Central to this analysis is the mediated nature of emotions and how the media acts as an outlet, while journalistic text and talk serve as a conduit for representing and sustaining public emotions, a view captured in Wahl-Jorgensen's (2018) mediated anger thesis. In developing the typology of mediated anger, Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) analysed the routine coverage of anger in UK protests for two months in 2015. The author examined 21 news stories published in UK newspapers featuring routine protests to analyse how anger is constructed in coverage of the protests.

The central notion of the mediated anger concept is that anger is "discursively constructed" (p. 2083) through the narrative of the journalists. Marking anger as an 'important emotion' worthy of systematic analysis, Wahl-Jorgensen (2018, p. 2073) notes, "In taking emotions seriously, it is first of all important to understand that they operate and circulate in distinctive and patterned ways in public and mediated discourse".

Anger, among the whole set of emotions, "serves as a marker of importance, highlighting possibilities for disruption of the social order" (ibid. p. 2075), thus "more frequent and more newsworthy" (p. 2075). While this view may be broadly consistent with preceding views on anger, it acquires more significance in journalism research for its mediated nature and, thereby, its potentially distinct implications for the wider public sphere and its various actors and actants that shape it. Amidst efforts to examine anger mediated through news media texts and anger directed at the media, minimal effort, if any, has been made to examine journalistic anger. Some efforts in this direction have been observed in Stupart's (2023) work, which explores the role of anger in journalistic work. Stupart (2023) examines the reflections of investigative journalists on the role of anger and identifies a moral dimension with the potential to form "a moral community between journalists" (Stupart, 2023, p. 2356). Despite the emphasis on the centrality of anger to journalists' emotions, the author, however, does not refer to the utilisation of anger by journalists as journalistic anger. The careful attachment of anger with journalists is potentially rooted in the same challenge as the one that emerges from considering the presence of emotions in journalistic work. Stupart (2023, p.2342), for example, notes,

The idea that journalists might be angry while working is often considered a threat to maintaining appropriate 'neutrality' in reporting – a concern that anger evinces an inappropriate attachment to values or outcomes that is not the rightful professional place of the 'good' reporter.

Identified as a "fundamentally moral emotion" by investigative journalists, Stupart (2023, p.1) reports that while anger constitutes "a valued component" in their work, it, however, is subject to norms of control and management which includes, for example, soliciting opinions of fellow journalists, fact-checkers and editors before finalising the story for publication (p. 1).

More recently, Ivask et al. (2023) examined the coping strategies that journalists adopt in dealing with hostility against them and their implications for their mental health. The authors show that engagement with emotional coping strategies and emotional management arising out of hostility against them causes "negative emotional responses in journalists, such as sadness, anger or anxiety" (p. 2102). The engagement with hostile situations, such as cyberbullying, according to the authors, "bothered and even angered" (ibid., p. 2109) the journalists, prompting them to adopt coping strategies and emotion management techniques to deal with them.

The examination of anger in journalism is still in its early stages, and despite anger having "dimensions of aptness and prudence" (Stupart, 2023, p. 2), its implications for journalism, journalists, and their work have yet to receive due attention. Additionally, there is a scope to examine the anger of the front and back regions, which may offer a more nuanced view of journalistic engagement with them in the newsroom and the studio. In an examination of mediated anger in the text as a front region and journalistic accounts and reflections on their experiences of anger in the Goffmanian back region, attention may have begun to be given. However, more studies are needed to develop a comprehensive understanding of its presence in both regions.

The other aspect is that of the effect of hostility stressors such as "dangerous working conditions, hate speech and online harassment, threats, or physical attacks" towards journalists (Ivask et al., 2023, p. 2112). Studies such as that of Ivask et al. (2023), which explore the impact of hostility on the emotional state of journalists, causing anger, sadness, and anxiety, offer an important avenue to explore and identify the various hostile triggers, both in front of and behind, that may affect journalists' emotional state. Hostility against journalists, according to Ivask et al. (2023), can be experienced in the form of "attacks, insults, or harassment" (p. 2099), prompting them to adopt coping and emotion management strategies. The emerging literature examining the effect of hostility on journalistic anger offers an opportunity to expand the scope of identifying hostile stressors in order to examine the presence of and engagement with hostile emotions by the journalists in newswork, both in the back and front regions of the profession, such as field, studio, text or talk.

Repetitive speech interruptions, for example, have been identified as an intrusive and hostile act (Hutchby, 1992) and "a source of negative emotions" (ibid. p. 214) such as anger and depression (Beefink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006; Zijlstra et al., 1999). In journalism research, the scholarship on journalistic adversarialism (Votmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007), for example, has identified the strategic use of interruptions by the journalists and the interlocutors to dominate and maintain an adversarial and neutralistic stance during the interviews. While the discourse on journalistic antagonism eschews the emotionalising effect of interruptions, it nonetheless reveals how journalists utilise interruptions as a resource to manage or demonstrate hostility in talk-in-interactions, such as debates and interviews. Elsewhere, a small but significant scholarship on journalistic talk-in-interactions encompassing interviews, presidential debates, press conferences and political studio debates has identified sustained interruptions as a source of negative emotions (Beefink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006), anger (Selting, 2010; Retzinger, 1991, 1995), conflict (Khan & Shahid, 2019), frustration (Yu, 2011) and verbal markers of anger (Retzinger, 1995).

In this context, it would be valuable to examine the role of interruptions in the emotionalisation of journalistic talk-in-interaction. Political television debates, as journalistic talk-in-interaction, present a unique opportunity to analyse the way in which sustained interruptions, as indicated by the Indian press coverage of the debates (*see* section 2.5), may act as emotional stressors triggering angry responses in journalists, a subject addressed in the ensuing section of this chapter.

2.4 Turn-Taking, Interruptions and Simultaneous Speech: The Emotions Connection

While research into journalistic emotions and, more recently, anger has been growing at a consistent pace, the myriad factors and forces that underlie and shape their emergence and interaction in media text and talk remain to be captured. Professional and personal factors, for example, have often been identified as forces that affect the emotional state of journalists (Waisboard, 2009; Kotisova, 2020). With the apparent presence of emotional reactions in political television debates, which can be explained through existing frameworks and discourse on

emotionality in journalism, a less explored yet readily visible element is that of interruptions and speech overlaps, particularly initiated by journalists hosting the debates.

Seen as a central element of communicational behaviour, interruptions and speech overlaps have predominantly received attention in linguistics research since 1970, yielding a prominent methodological approach called Conversation Analysis (*hereafter* CA). Drawing on linguistics, studies in journalism have employed CA to examine the relationship between interruptions and journalistic antagonism in broadcast talk (Ekström, 2009; Voltmer & Brants, 2011). Seen as a key indicator of power and dominance in both linguistics and journalism research, the examination of interruptions in institutional talk has been a subject of interest among researchers for over half a century (Beattie, 1982; Hutchby, 1992; Sacks et al., 1974; Ekström, 2009). Televised panel discussions and interviews, for example, have served as a corpus in both disciplines to examine the nature, function and implications of interruptions vis-à-vis power dynamics between host and interviewees. While both linguistics and journalism research have paid little attention to the causal link between interruptions and emotions, experimental psychology has shown a close association between the two. Drawing on Mandler's (1964) theory of interruption, studies in various disciplines have shown how interruption can affect the emotional state of a worker or speaker, eliciting an emotional response, and have argued that the stronger the interruption, the stronger the emotional response (Stets, 2006).

The TV discussions, which tend to feature panellists and hosts (read journalists) engaged in confrontational sparring characterised by sustained interruptions, have been widely critiqued in the Indian press (*see* Section 5 of this chapter). Some studies in journalism have explored the link between interruptions and journalistic adversarialism (Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007) or the extent of interruptions in journalistic talk primarily driven by linguistic ontological concerns (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Khan & Shahid, 2019). Despite sustained interruptions being identified as a source of negative emotions such as anger and frustration (Beefink. et al., 2008; Stets, 2006; Yu, 2011), a source of hostility and confrontation (Hutchby, 1992) and a verbal marker of anger (Retzinger, 1995), the emotionalisation effect of sustained interruptions has remained beyond the purview of empirical examination in journalistic talk-in-interaction.

With the recent interest in examining the role of stressors that trigger hostile situations and anger among journalists (Ivask et al., 2024), the scope of investigating similar stressors in journalistic talk-in-interaction gains significant value. In this context, examining the role of sustained interruptions, for example, in causing angry reactions in journalists hosting political television debates, could prove an illuminating empirical exercise to expand the research into journalistic anger within the domain of emotions research in journalism. Exploring the centrality of discursive forces, such as speech interruptions, which may have implications for journalistic talk, presents itself as a pressing area of inquiry, particularly when the tradition of journalistic research seeks to develop deeper insights into journalistic emotion.

2.4.1 Linguistics and Journalism

The efforts to explore the methodological and theoretical interactions between journalism research and applied linguistics are well-documented (O'Keeffe, 2012; Van Hout, 2015; Van Hout & Burger, 2016). The interaction between the two has yielded productive lines of inquiry in critical discourse analysis, conversation analysis, corpus linguistics, and sociolinguistics (Van Hout & Burger, 2016), and has served as a central methodological approach to the empirical analysis of news texts for over half a century. Alternatively, media corpus as a site of investigation has been a unifying factor between the two disciplines where both the spoken and written text and talk have received a varying degree of academic attention broadly under three main approaches that include discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and "nonlinguistic" in addition to more hybrid frameworks such as pragmatics, CA, variation, Labovian narrative analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. (see Cotter 2010, p. 417). With language and visuals as key components of news analysis, both journalism and linguistics researchers have attempted to unpack them within the scope of their respective disciplinary concerns.

Such intersections have been identified as a sub-disciplinary approach called media linguistics, the contours of which are systematically outlined by Perrin (2013). Media linguistics, according to Perrin (2013), refers to a "linguistic subdiscipline that investigates language use in public discourse and the media" (p. 17). Beyond the examination of language use, however, efforts have been made to examine the myriad forces that shape its production and dissemination, owing to the criticisms that journalism research has "tended to remain 'unpeopled' and primarily text-driven, with little

focused attention paid to the production process" (Van Hout, 2015, p. 72). In that direction, researchers have made efforts to a) present a systematic view of existing and potential research directions, b) explore a deeper engagement between journalism and linguistics and c) advocate for zeitgeist methodologies such as ethnographic approaches for exploring the news practices (*see* Catenaccio et al., 2011; Van Hout, 2015).

With further efforts in that direction, calls for reconciling linguistics and journalism have sought deeper engagement between the two disciplines by utilising emerging methods, such as newsroom ethnography and the linguistics of news production, to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the news as both a process and a product (Catenaccio et al., 2011). More recently, Van Hout (2015) described a promising mutual relationship between journalism research and linguistic ethnography where while the former extends a "fertile ground" for examining a plethora of existing and emerging human experiences encompassing culture, ideology and representation, the latter presents with "useful analytical frameworks" for exploring the ongoing shifts taking place in journalism (*ibid.* 72).

The roots of linguistic ethnography in journalism are rooted in more consolidated research efforts in journalism, which seek to integrate newer approaches to examining news text. A categorical attempt in this direction spanning over the limits of existing inquiries into the language of news to emerging and potential areas of investigation to the alternative methodological approaches more prevalent in linguistic anthropological inquiries is seen in Catenaccio et al. (2011), who note that linguistics analysis of news has been limited to news products with limited efforts made in the direction of exploring the news production process. In making a case for analysing the linguistics of news production, they argue for a closer examination of news production practices, with particular emphasis on the "news context" that underlies news texts and encompasses the elusive dynamics shaping and informing the undercurrents of news practices and the editorial process. In other words, "a more inclusive contextual analysis of everyday editorial practices" (Catenaccio et al., 2011, p. 3) could push the analytical efforts beyond the surficial text that meets the eye and into the backstage, where myriad forces shape the process of text production.

The effort of studying such forces has gained vigour in recent years among what has been termed as 'newsroom ethnographers' or alternatively known as *NewsTalk&Text (NT&T)* advocates. With an emphasis on examining the text beyond the textual level, *NewsTalk&Text* prioritises 'ethnographic descriptions and [...] insider perspectives on the actual practices and values of news production, documenting how these often differ from the claims of theorists, while simultaneously exploring new theoretical frameworks to understand better and analyse news production practices' (Catenaccio et al., 2011, p. 5).

Amidst deeper research ties between linguistics and journalism, two seemingly interrelated yet crucial gaps continue to manifest in media and journalism research. First, the focus of research has tended to remain limited to media texts rather than broadcast talk, potentially due to the greater ease of access to the former through news databases and archives compared to the latter (O'Keeffe, 2012). Second, and therefore, the focus of research has remained limited to analysis of news products rather than the production process, sparking calls for the adoption of alternative methodical approaches that take one behind the text to the dynamics of the production process and its people involved in it (*see* Catenaccio et al., 2011; Hout, 2015).

The outlined gaps may encompass a host of macro and micro trends and practices that not only mark the "shifting ecology of contemporary journalism" (Van Hout & Burger, 2016) but also underscore the need to study their significance for a myriad of actors engaging in the ever-changing landscape of production and consumption. The emergence of panel debates, for instance, has been characterised by a decline in the practice of field reporting (Coleman, 2013). While that may be a more palpable feature, the more nuanced elements, such as the ideological orientation of the talk, the way it is performed, the myriad actors and elements that shape it and the purpose it seeks to achieve, are only a few among a host of variables that necessitate attention. Moreover, inquiry into questions such as how the production of talk is shaped by the communicative practices and actions of the actors and their centrality to the process could yield valuable insights into journalistic talk-in-interaction.

Speech interruptions, for example, have been shown to be used to seek dominance and control in television interviews (Veltner & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009) and have been known to incite negative emotions such as anger and frustration (Stets, 2006) and confrontational talk (Hutchby, 1992). Its value, in particular, as a stressor causing hostility in talk-in-interaction, and consequently, its implications for invoking angry reactions and responses in participants of talk, are a promising yet less explored question that deserves particular attention in journalism studies. Viewing and examining interruptions as a hostility stressor in talk acquires further value, especially as recent research has begun to acknowledge a variety of hostility-causing stressors such as dangerous working conditions, hate speech and online harassment, threats, or physical attacks causing negative emotional responses in journalists (Ivask et al., 2023, p. 2103). To determine whether speech interruptions warrant investigation and can be classified as hostility stressors requires turning to the literature on the 'turn-taking mechanism' (Sacks et al., 1974), which offers the theoretical and methodological basis for systematically analysing their presence in institutional talk.

2.4.2 Turn-Taking Mechanism

A normal multiparty discussion seeks to ensure the right of all parties to speak one after the other, otherwise recognised as a turn-taking approach to conversation. The origins of discussions on interruptions and simultaneous speech can be traced to the literature on the turn-taking mechanism proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) that "specifies that only one party should talk at a time" (Beattie, 1982, p. 93). Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) regard the turn-taking approach as a fundamental element of any conversational or interactional act, including interviews, meetings, debates, ceremonies, and conversations, which they term 'speech exchange systems.' Using videotaped conversations, Sacks et al. (1974) developed a framework for analysing turn-taking in natural conversation.

According to Duncan (1972), turn-taking acts as a key mechanism to "avoid in conversations an inordinate amount of simultaneous talking" (p. 283). The antecedent to the turn-taking approach can be traced to Schegloff (1968), who proposed the "basic rule for conversations: *one party at a time*" (p. 1076, italics in original). The rule served as an underlying principle of the turn-taking mechanism through which "participants in an interaction can affect the smooth and appropriate

exchange of speaking turns" (Duncan, 1972, p. 283). Beyond interactional modes, turn-taking is used for "...ordering of moves in games, for allocating political office, for regulating traffic at intersections, for serving customers at business establishments" (ibid. p. 696), among several other daily activities where turn-taking is seen as much part of an individual right to be heard, served and catered to as much a part of ethics which comes with both expectation and respect for the same by the parties involved in a collective activity.

Sacks et al. (1974) describe turn-taking as a central feature of the 'speech exchange systems' and as a "prominent type of social organisation" (ibid. p 696), which entails 'turn' as a unit of 'value' and thus a unit of analysis in any form of socially organised activities, including conversations. One of the key features of the turn-taking mechanism is the speaker's right to turn and uninterrupted speech in a communicational-interactional setting. One's right to turn in a multiparty discussion is considered to be "sacrosanct wherein one and only one person may appropriately speak at any given time" (Goldberg, 1990, p. 884). Turn-taking, thus, acts as a "speakership code" (ibid. p. 884), the "underlying basic code around which all interaction is said to be organised and from which it derives its meaning" (ibid. p. 884). Emphasising the importance of turn-taking and ease of conversing, Beattie (1982, p. 93) notes that,

people find it very difficult to talk and listen simultaneously, especially when the speech is relatively complex, and therefore, for reasonable efficiency in conversation, there must be some means of allocating turns so that for some limited period one person alone holds the floor and acts primarily as a speaker and the other person acts primarily as listener, contributing only briefly to provide support, encouragement, and feedback.

According to Sacks et al. (1974), there are three rules for turn-taking in a conversation: 1) the current speaker selects the next speaker, 2) the next speaker self-selects, and 3) the current speaker continues. The violation of turn-taking results in an interruption, which, according to Coates (2004), occurs in three instances: 1) grabbing the floor, 2) hogging the floor (taking the floor although the other speaker was selected, and 3) not responding (silence). The early academic efforts in applied linguistics, focusing on turn-taking mechanisms in the latter half of the 20th century, have continued to serve as a foundation for theoretical and empirical inquiries across various disciplines. Central to the framework of the turn-taking mechanism is Conversation

Analysis, which, as its central methodological tool, offers insight into the structure of a conversation and the rules and structure or violations that govern the mechanism.

2.4.3 Conversational analysis: An overview

Widely used for empirical purposes, conversation analysis is a method for "investigating the structure and process of social interaction between humans" (Perakyla, 2004, p. 165). With its origins in the Turn-Taking approach developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), CA has emerged over the decades as a prominent method for examining social interaction. The process involves examining the design of a talk in terms of the organisation of turns, violations of turns, overlaps, and speaker change. Employed to examine both ordinary and institutional talk, CA allows for the examination of "the responsiveness to context by producing a next action that a previous one projected, the creation of a context by the production of that next action, and the showing of understanding by these means" (Heritage, 2005, p. 105).

In this sense, CA enables the examination of the action in an interaction, the context within which the interaction occurs, and the actions that reproduce new contexts and their sense-making within an institutional context. The sense-making entails examining the normative standards through which the participants can be held "morally accountable" for their compliance and deviations from the accepted conventions (ibid. 106). The research corpus used for CA consists of interactions that can be live or recorded and take place in either an ordinary or an institutional setting. With the aim of describing the orderliness of activities, such as taking turns in talk, it involves a sequential examination of the progress of interaction observed in terms of time, turns, and sequence. It also equips the researcher with tools to examine turn violations caused by interruptions and speech overlaps, thereby determining the extent of divergence and identifying the party responsible for the violation to assign accountability. While it helps reflect on the conduct of the participants and the agenda they seek to achieve, it helps to "contextualise the types of claims, arguments, and evidence in examining the data" (Niapele et al., 2021, p. 16).

2.4.4 Institutional and Ordinary Talk

With its growing usage, the discussion about its efficacy in examining ordinary and institutional talk has also gained momentum. CA has served as an empirical framework and has been recognised for its effectiveness in examining ordinary but, more specifically, institutional talk. While institutional talk involves participants tied to their institution-relevant identities, such as doctor and patient, interaction is subject to special constraints due to procedures that are specific to the institutional context (Heritage, 2005). Ordinary conversation, however, is "informal, casual conversation without specific institutional goals or tasks" and is relatively easily accessible compared to institutional talk, which may be subject to protocols and bureaucratic hurdles (Perakyla, 2004). The importance of CA as a theoretical and empirical approach to examining institutional talk is comprehensively tackled by Heritage (2005). The method, according to Heritage (2005), is of particular importance in examining institutional talk because it helps examine a) conversations that operate within the realm of an institution's normative standards employing basic CA and b) the operations of a social institution using institutional CA. The former, in addition to examining "a conversation as an institution", helps examine the organisation of talk and the conventions that guide the talk-in-interaction that are specific to an institution rooted in the framework of its social and historical existence.

Journalistic talk, for example, emanates from an institution that operates according to a certain mechanism and conventions within which such talk is conducted and understood. Basic CA equips a researcher to examine such a talk, its structuring, intelligibility and factors such as turn-taking, repair, interruptions and overlaps that shape the organisation of the talk. The institutional CA, while building on the findings of basic CA, helps "to examine the operations of social institutions in talk" (ibid. 104). It could help examine, for example, how dominance and power dynamics shape the organisation of journalistic interviews or broadcast debates and how journalistic adversarialism shapes or is shaped in broadcast talk. In that sense, while basic CA views interruptions and overlaps as quantifiable phenomena, institutional CA offers insight into the experiential and contextual backdrops in which these phenomena occur.

2.4.5 An empirical framework to examine broadcast talk

Since its inception, CA has emerged as a popular methodology among researchers examining broadcast talk ranging from telephone conversations (Ferencik, 2009), movies (Jaya, 2017), talk shows (Niapele et al., 2021) and radio programs (Nevinskaitė, 2016) to more journalistic works such as political interviews (Beattie, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988), press conferences (Ekström, 2009), live political TV show (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016) and political television debates (Khan & Shahid, 2019). In journalism studies, the use of CA is particularly evident in the research related to journalistic adversarialism (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007). In more recent studies, turn-taking has been employed as a key methodological tool for examining journalistic talk, while its significance in analysing journalistic work is being consistently asserted. Jorfi and Dowlatabadi (2016), for example, examine the types of overlaps in Iranian live TV shows and assert the significance of CA in analysing media and journalistic discourse. Similarly, Bowman and Ubayasiri (2012) have emphasised the importance of CA in examining journalistic interviews, particularly "challenging" or adversarial journalistic talk, and in particular to "research journalism professional practices" (p. 9). The duo extend the call to employ CA as a key methodological approach to investigate an array of broadcast talks aiming to "help further understandings as to how journalists pursue truth in the public interest" (p. 9).

While a majority of studies employ CA to examine television interviews and press conferences, more recently, some, particularly emanating from the Global South, have used it to examine political television debates (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Khan & Shahid, 2019). While not particularly in a journalistic context, both studies examine the extent of interruptions and their functions in political TV debates. Rafi'M and Al-Satori (2016) examine the dominance element of interruptions and report that interruptions have a "communicative value" in inciting conflict between participants in political debates (p. 357). Similarly, Khan and Shahid (2019) examine the functional performance of interruptions in political news interviews. Their findings attribute 80% of disruptive interruptions to the hosts of the show, who deviate from their role as moderators to that of commenters. Interruptions, according to the authors, are particularly employed by hosts for "agenda setting purposes" and to both retain control of the talk and manage it (ibid., p. 12).

2.4.6 Interruptions

Interruption is seen as a key hurdle to the turn-taking mechanism as, according to Coates (2004, p.114), it "breaks the symmetry of the conversational model: the interruption prevents the first speaker from finishing his/her turn, at the same time gaining a turn for oneself (second speaker)". Also referred to as 'deviations' in turn-taking (Duncan, 1972; Beattie, 1982), interruptions occur when the participants in a discussion violate the turn-taking rules. In face-to-face interaction, turn-taking as a "communication mechanism" (Duncan, 1972, p. 283) helps in "regulating the pace at which communication proceeds" (ibid. p. 284) and "monitoring deviations" (ibid. p. 284) of the participants from "appropriate conduct" (ibid. p. 284). Interruption, in essence, violates the turn-taking approach with "its primary function to gain immediate control of the discourse - of the turn and/or topic - by pressuring the speaker to relinquish his/her control" (ibid, 284). Therefore, interruption is seen as a power display device and exercise of control. According to West and Zimmerman (1983), interruptions can disrupt turns at talk, disorganise the ongoing construction of conversational topics, and violate the current speaker's right to be engaged in speaking. An interruption in a conversation occurs when the next speaker begins to speak while the first one has not finished speaking. In interviews, Wiens et al. (1966, p. 326) define interruption as,

simultaneous interviewer-interviewee speech occurs either as an interjection, both beginning and ending, while another person is speaking, or as a premature, overlapping comment beginning prior to the other person's completing his (her) speech and continuing after its termination.

Hutchby (1992) calls interruption a common-sense concept which is an intrusive, impolite, even hostile act and defines it as an "act of starting to speak 'in the midst of another's speech; not letting another 'finish'" (p. 345). According to Hua and Sabri (2019, p. 1), interruptions are "perceived as distracting the flow of a discussion, on top of being deemed as disturbing, offensive and impolite".

While some observations on overlaps were made by Sacks et al. (1974), systematic empirical examination of interruptions and overlaps only began with Ferguson's (1977) study on interruptions. For a systematic examination of disfluencies in a multiparty talk, Ferguson (1977) developed the following categories of interruptions;

1. Simple interruption: exchange of turns, simultaneous speech present, first speaker's turn appears incomplete.

Example:

Panellist 1: why don't you ask Congress, *[why can't they talk....]*

Host: *[I will ask]* Congress, I will ask
Congress, but what about you?

2. Overlap: exchange of turns, simultaneous speech present, first speaker's turn *reaches* completion. The first speaker manages to complete his utterance; thus, the speaker switch is classified as an overlap.

Example:

Host: It's your chance to speak, to tell the world that *[you have done your bit.*

Panellist 1: *[We have, we have...we have]*
said it already that we do take some responsibility. But it is not just us.

3. Butting-in interruption: no exchange of turns. simultaneous speech present.

Example:

Host: But what have you done about *[resolving the conflict in your party.*

Panellist 1: *[We are doing our work,]* we will
inform you
[when the time comes.

Host: *[No, why not now, why not now]*

Panellist 2: *[They will never come clean on this,]* I am telling you.

4. Silent interruption: exchange of turns, with no simultaneous speech; the first speaker's utterance appears incomplete.

Example:

Host: So are you saying your party takes the responsibility of the corruption charges?

Panellist 1: It's for the judiciary to decide.

Building on Ferguson's categories, Beattie (1982) developed an additional category called smooth speaker-switch (p. 101).

5. Smooth speaker-switch: exchange of turns, with no simultaneous speech, the first speaker's utterance appears complete.

Example:

Host: ...So who will take the responsibility for this political fallout, who?

Panellist 1: No, we take responsibility, but there are other parties involved as well.

Ferguson's (1977) categories went on to serve as an important analytical lens for examining interruptions in a range of multiparty discussions, including various forms of broadcast talk, such as interviews, press conferences, and talk shows. Moreover, while many employed the whole set of interruptions suggested by Ferguson, others employed it to examine only simple interruptions and speech overlaps. Building on Ferguson's (1977) framework, for example, Beattie (1982) found, in their study of political TV interviews, that overlaps were the "most frequent form of interruption" (p. 105). In examining the conversational turn-taking in a televised interview of the then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the author reported that "overlaps were the most common form of interruption", with politicians producing "almost double the number produced by the interviewers (19 as opposed to 10)" (ibid. p. 108). He further reported that some periods of simultaneous speech resulted in an overlap in Margaret Thatcher's interview, which lasted for as long as 5 seconds.

2.4.6.1 Interruptions and Dominance

Interruptions have "traditionally been viewed as reliable and objective indicators of ...domineeringness and dominance" (Goldberg, 1990, p. 883). Broadly, interruptions have been interpreted as (a) an act of dominance, (b) a violation of the speaker's turn, and (c) a tool for exercising control in face-to-face interactions (Kennedy & Kamden, 1983). However, some have argued against the stance that all forms of interruptions are power displays. For Goldberg (1990), for example, interruptions are not synonymous with power aimed at gaining control of the discourse/turn/topic. Taking a more nuanced approach, she notes that not all interruptions can be considered power displays, and if examined in relation to the content and context of a discussion, the correlation between interruption and power can be dismantled. She presents a framework for differentiating between power and non-power interruptions, which could be power, rapport, or 'neutral' acts of interruption. In a similar approach, West and Zimmerman (1983) note that any interruption, in the form of facilitation or contribution to the speaker's talk, may not qualify as an interruption. In addition, longer incursions, such as "saying the same thing at the same time," also fail to qualify as interruptions due to the "active listening or intense involvement" (p. 105) they appear to display (as cited in Drummond, 1989, p. 156). Therefore, only intrusive interruptions that result in longer overlaps and potential floor-taking could be considered power interruptions.

The power-dominance frame of interruptions analysis has served as an analytical lens to examine presidential interviews and press conferences in journalism research.

2.4.6.2 Speech overlaps

Early discussions on overlaps began with the problematisation of simultaneous talking and violations of the turn-taking mechanism, which can be traced back to the works of Jefferson (1973) and Ferguson (1977). Bennett (1978) defines overlaps as instances of two voices occurring simultaneously. Underscoring the challenge of speech overlaps, Jefferson (1973) notes that it is "difficult to maintain adequate mutual comprehensibility when participants in a conversation are talking at the same time" (ibid., p. 283) since any "overlapped term is potentially unheard" (ibid., p. 48). For Zimmerman and West (1975), an overlap is an instance of simultaneous speech where a speaker other than the current speaker begins to speak.

With the turn of the century, empirical examination of speech overlaps received further impetus with a new wave of research in the field of Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR), initiated by the works of Shriberg et al. (2001) and Adda-Decker et al. (2001). Borrowing methodologies from linguistics and speech overlaps as a key concern, studies in ASR have focused on measuring overlaps, their types, and the disfluencies caused as a result of overlaps (Adda et al., 2007; Adda-Decker et al., 2008). Focused on developing improved machine transcription models, in ASR research overlaps have been regarded to "definitely cause problems for automatic processing" (Adda-Decker et al., 2008, p. 3105) of speech since they tend to "increase disfluencies" and interfere with speaker turns in multiparty discussion/debates (Adda et al., 2007; Adda-Decker, 2008). A view well established in linguistics (Coates, 2004; Hutchby, 1992; Hua & Sabri, 2019), in ASR, speech overlaps have been recognised to interfere with speaker turn regulation (Adda et al., 2007). Overlaps, especially in multiparty conversations, cause disfluencies in the form of hesitations, repetitions and restarts (Adda-Decker, 2008), impeding the symmetry of communication and thus, presenting "serious consequences for processing models at all levels—from speech recognition to understanding to dialog modeling" (Shriberg et al., 2001, p. 1).

Similar to linguistics, several studies in ASR have conducted empirical examinations of overlaps in broadcast talk. In an analysis of speech overlaps and relative disfluencies in political interviews, Adda et al. (2007) report the occurrence of frequent speech overlap, with an average of three to

four overlaps per minute. However, their cumulative duration, as they note, "remains short (below 5% of the data)" with "negligible" instances of a "complex situation" involving "more than two people speaking at the same time" (ibid., p. 3). Their findings contradict previously held positions that broadcast speech will have "very few overlaps" and is "a very controlled form of communication" (ibid., p. 2), a view further asserted by Charlet et al. (2013). Reporting on disfluencies caused by overlaps, the authors note that intrusive overlaps result in higher speaker disfluency rates compared to non-intrusive overlaps. In another study of political interviews, Adda-Decker et al. (2008) report similar findings, noting that "that overlaps generate twice as many disfluencies as non-overlapping speech portions" (Adda-Decker, 2008, p. 3111). Shriberg et al. (2001) in a study reported that both meetings and telephone conversations have high rates of overlap (with more than 10% of overlapping words). The broad implication of examining the quantification of cumulative overlaps in ASR research is that overlaps cause disfluencies and could undermine the intelligibility of speech.

In linguistics, particularly, further examination of overlaps yielded several categories indicating the emergence of overlaps as a central concern in the examination of broadcast speech. A dedicated discussion on challenges with overlaps is Schegloff's (2000) study, which examines overlaps in situations where more than two parties talk at once and particularly when "such occurrences are problematic" both for the participants and the conversation (p. 1). With particular emphasis on overlaps caused by two or more individuals, Schegloff (2000, p. 8) presents the following schematic representation,

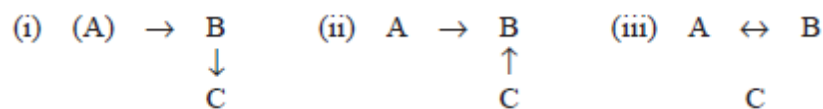


Figure 1: Forms of overlap configuration

The schematic representation of how overlaps between two or more parties occur is of particular importance to televised debates, as there could be instances of overlaps where, as shown in Figure 1 above, more than two individuals could be speaking to each other simultaneously, except in a situation where only two are speaking at the same time. While Schegloff (2000) also addresses a handful of concerns regarding overlaps, such as the feature of overlapping talk, when overlaps are problematic for participants, and the organisation of interaction, what is significant is the

distinction between two categories of overlaps: competitive and non-competitive. Competitive talk leads to sustained and extended overlaps where "more than TWO" (caps in original) individuals seek to occupy the same turn space. A non-competitive talk occurs where simultaneous speakers "do not appear to be contesting or even alternative claimants for a turn space", and the interrupter has no intention of occupying the floor (ibid. 7).

While the competitive turns are problematic for turn-taking, comprehensibility, and speech repairs, causing longer overlaps, the non-competitive turns, however, are considered unproblematic since the overlaps are very brief. Features of competitive talk could entail more than three speakers speaking at the same time, intention to take over the turn, could often be very loud, high pitched, "is vulnerable to other hearings (for example, as angry, drunk, coarse etc.)" (ibid. 5). Schegloff's (2000) competitive and non-competitive overlaps arguably are the result of two categories of interruption namely cooperative interruption and intrusive interruption proposed by Murata (1994) which when referred to, highlight the symbiotic relationship between interruptions and overlaps.

2.4.6.3 Types of interruptions

According to Murata (1994), the very nature of the two categories of interruption is such that cooperative interruptions do not result in significant overlaps, while intrusive interruptions result in longer overlaps. Cooperative or collaborative interruption occurs when a second speaker joins in, causing the overlap and adding to the first speaker's speech. In this, the interrupter does not seek to change the topic or take control of the turn, leading to a quick resolution of overlaps. Intrusive or competitive interruption, however, "seems to be more aggressive...aimed at topic-changing, floor-taking, or disagreement, thus threatening the 'territory' of the speaker", resulting in longer overlaps yielding confusion (ibid. 389). In view of the two categories of interruption by Murata (1994) and two of the overlaps developed by Schegloff (2000), it can be noted that intrusive overlaps result in competitive overlaps, which tend to be longer and may involve two or more parties speaking simultaneously and cooperative interruptions result in non-competitive overlaps, which tend to be much shorter and are resolved quickly. Li (2002), who employed these categories to examine interruptions in intercultural communication, noted that, depending on the context, intrusive interruptions could be power-related, while cooperative interruptions could be non-power-related.

Further discourse on overlaps has yielded categories that identify its functions, such as floor-taking, objecting, confirming, and continuing (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016), as well as its use as a direct and indirect conversational strategy, in turn, influencing turn-taking (Nipele et al., 2021). Unless a form of intrusion which alters the course of a sentence hampers the speaker from completing it, or an abrupt end of his speech may qualify as an interruption. Therefore, the purpose of interruption could be either disruptive or cooperative (Goldberg, 1990; Kennedy & Camden, 1983; Li, 2001; Jaya, 2017).

The significance of differentiating disruptive, alternatively referred to as intrusive or competitive, from cooperative, also referred to as non-competitive interruption, particularly lies in a) distinguishing the intent of interruptions from one that is violative and seeks floorchange to one that does not and b) from one that causes longer overlaps causing garbled and intelligible speech to one that does not cause long overlaps and resolves quickly. Thus, while not all interruptions are noteworthy, in essence, only the intrusive interruptions are likely to have strategic value, characterised by acts of dominance, control and power play in a talk-in-interaction. In journalism studies, such an evaluation and analysis of interruptions can be found in studies examining journalistic antagonism.

2.4.6.4 Interruptions and Journalistic adversarialism

In linguistics, the use of dominance and power frames is a recurrent theme against which interruptions have been examined (Ferguson, 1977; Zimmermann & West, 1975). However, in journalism, the use of this framework to examine interruptions has yielded the concept of journalistic adversarialism (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). In examining American presidential broadcast interviews and press conferences through conversational analysis, researchers have demonstrated how interruptions are employed to assert dominance and control and have shown a causal relationship with journalistic adversarialism (Vltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007). The 'phenomenon of adversarialness', first analysed by Clayman & Heritage (2002), underscores the adversarial nature of the press-politics relationship, particularly the journalist's adversarial and aggressive line of questioning in interviews and press conferences. The rise of adversarialness, which is operationalised in terms of initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility for empirical analysis of interviews by the

authors, not only renders press conferences and presidential interviews as "a formidable instrument of political accountability" but also establishes journalists as "autonomous professionals" upholding journalistic integrity in the eyes of the public (ibid. 772). In essence, the examination of interruptions, among other variables, is shown to have strategic value or is observed as an asset for journalists. Its use against journalists, however, has not been seen positively.

Using CA, Rendle-Short (2007) examines how journalists strategically employ interruptions to maintain both an adversarial approach and a neutralistic stance during the interviews. However, interruptions are used as a tool to assert control by both interviewers and interviewees. Ekström (2009), employing CA, presents a closer analysis of journalistic adversarialism and interruptions, particularly in the context of the much-discussed interruption-dominance angle, where interruptions are identified as a tool and a strategy to take control, display superiority, and shape the agenda in an interview. In analysing presidential press conferences in the US, Ekström (2009) shows how the President uses jokes and interruptions "in order to control the allocation of turns, disagree and reject criticism, demonstrate certainty and conviction, and make a joke with the journalists" (p. 386). In this way, he uses jokes and interruptions to his advantage, exercising power and dominance over the journalist and thereby diluting his adversarial line of questioning.

A more comprehensive empirical study encompassing interruptions, dominance and journalistic adversarialism using CA is by Voltmer and Brants (2011). The researchers examine control over time and content in political broadcast interviews to investigate how journalists and politicians compete to take control of the interview. While they measure *control over time* in terms of absolute seconds and the mode of turn-taking, such as interruptions, control over content is measured in terms of the number of questions asked and the number of answers received. Asserting the established view, the authors recognise interruptions as the key means of maintaining control and dominance and attribute the majority of interruptions to journalists who characterise the adversarial nature of journalism in the UK. Despite identifying the role of interruptions in an adversarial or aggressive stance, the studies examining journalistic adversarialism do not make any references to emotionality. However, some articles, such as Rendle-Short (2007), identify frequent interruptions as "particularly hostile" (p. 19). A similar observation is made by Ekström (2009), who notes that "interruptions always run the risk of appearing hostile..." (p. 393). Despite being observed as a source of hostility and confrontation (Hutchby, 1992), the impact of sustained

interruptions and resultant overlaps on the emotionalisation of talk remains unexamined, mainly in either linguistics or journalism research. A detour into experimental psychology, however, reveals evidence of concerted efforts to explore the relationship between emotions and interruptions.

2.4.6.5 Emotions and Interruptions: The Missing Link

A longstanding theoretical approach that has served as a basis for investigating the link between interruptions and emotions is Mandler's (1964, 1980) theory of interruption. Elucidating a causal relationship between interruptions and emotional outcome, Mandler (1980) notes that "many...emotional states arise out of the interruption of ongoing psychological events, out of the conflicts and the discrepancies among them, or from the frustrations of actions" (p. 225). Studies in several disciplines have drawn on Mandler's theory to examine the effects of interruptions on emotions. According to Jackson et al. (2003), who examined the effect of email interruptions on employee performance, interruption is defined as "any distraction that makes a developer stop his planned activity to respond to the interrupt's initiator" (p. 57). The researcher argues that interruptions can "affect the personal state, in particular, the emotions of the worker" (p. 57).

Additional experimental studies investigating the relationship between interruptions and negative emotions have further confirmed their causal connection. Zijlstra et al. (1999), in their experimental study on interruptions, reported that interruptions do have "a negative impact on emotion and well-being" (p. 163). Beeftink et al. (2008) have recognised interruptions as "a source of negative emotions" such as confusion and frustration (p. 360). While anger and depression are identified as "strong negative emotions" (ibid. p. 214), according to Stets (2006), the more sustained and frequent the interruption, the more distress it causes, resulting in strong negative emotions and emotional reactions. The evidence of the link between the two offers a firm foundation for investigating the influence of sustained interruption on the emotionalisation of the debates. More specifically, it provides foundational support for examining how sustained interruptions can lead to angry reactions in journalistic talk during a multiparty discussion, as illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Analytical construct highlighting the scope of research vis-à-vis the key observations in the literature

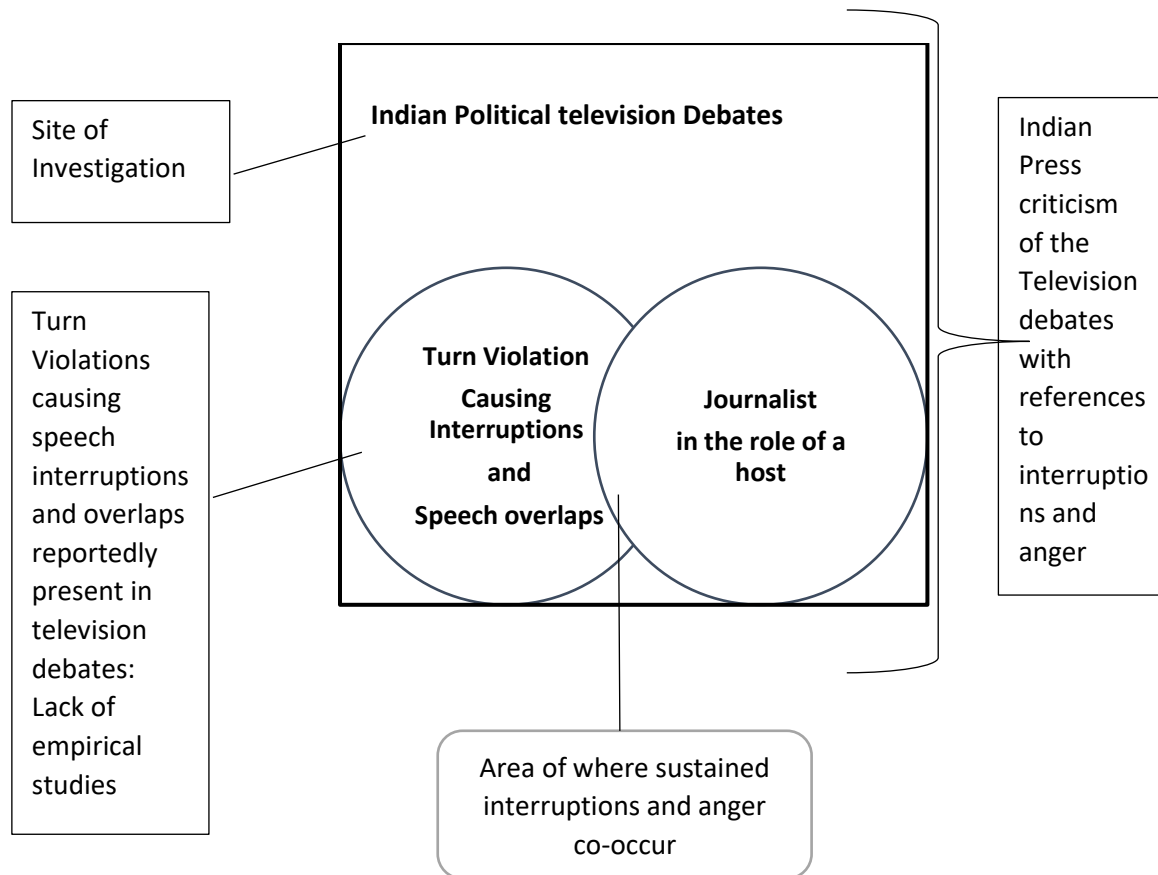


Figure 2 above provides a comprehensive analytical overview of the scope of investigation in relation to the existing literature. Based on insights drawn from critiques of debates in the Indian press, the square in the figure symbolises *Indian political television debates*, which serve as the site of investigation in this study. The two circles placed within the square denote the presence of *interruptions and speech overlaps* caused by turn violations in the debates, as well as the *journalists' role as hosts*. The overlapping area of the circles represents the space where sustained interruptions are reported to elicit negative emotions, such as *journalistic anger*, as noted in some academic studies. Moreover, references to frequent interruptions and host aggression have been consistently highlighted in Indian press critiques and are readily observable upon viewing the shows, forming a key basis for this investigation.

2.4.6.6 The emotionalisation effect of interruptions

The examination of interruptions in this chapter reveals that sustained interruptions are hostile stressors that have been identified as a source of a) hostility and confrontation and b) negative emotions such as anger and frustration. Meanwhile, Indian political television debates have received voluminous critical commentary in the Indian press for their emotionally charged discussions and frequent interruptions, which are their dominant features, a view also found in a critical review of the 2020 American presidential debates. Since the focus of emotions research in journalism is to examine the various ways journalistic emotions can be examined in the front and backstage of the profession, the television debates could serve as an exemplar to investigate the role of interruptions in journalistic talk in interaction. More specifically, it provides a basis for analysing the ways in which interruptions may elicit angry reactions in journalists during political television debates. Since political television debates qualify as institutional talk, the turn-taking mechanism provides a theoretical foundation for conducting an empirical investigation of the debates using the conversation analysis approach.

More precisely, the CA, as a methodological approach discussed in detail in the methods chapter, offers an opportunity to (a) measure the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates and (b) measure the extent of intrusive and cooperative interruptions and speech overlaps to establish the degree of confrontation in the debates. The data derived from this analysis will serve as a foundation for examining the link between interruptions and anger and, by extension, the role of interruptions in causing angry reactions among the show hosts.

2.5 Political Television Debates

Amid the diverse corpus of televisual talk, political television debates, also referred to as panel debates, occupy a significant space on television, given their socio-political value for both media professionals and the audience. For more than half a century, researchers have examined a range of broadcast talks, including presidential debates, journalistic interviews, talk shows and television studio discussions across a range of disciplines on topics concerning analysis interruptions and speech overlaps in automatic speech recognition technologies (Adda-Decker et al., 2008), stylistic and rhetorical features of the participants (Nir, 1988), audience perceptions of presidential candidates (Zhu et al., 1994) and politeness maxim and facework in Spanish TV debates

(Hernández-Flores, 2008), sequences of irony (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula, 2010), and Twitter discussions of television debate between politicians (Trilling, 2015). Television debates, in particular, have been examined for rules and roles for public discussion (Livingstone, 1996), as an unequal terrain of discursive struggle (Carpignano et al., 1990), debate mechanism and associated rules (Glazer & Rubinstein, 2004), 'verbal violence' and pseudo-argumentation (Hess-Lüttich, 2007), "'staged' discursive confrontations" (Lauerbach, 2007), conversational violence (Luginbuhl 2007) and pseudo-debate on television and the importance of the medium as a public space (Coleman, 2013). Despite the growing interest among researchers in examining television debates, particularly following the cable TV boom, a concerted effort in this television genre remains sporadic and limited.

As a form of the communicative genre, TV debates "consists of a "naturally" occurring conversation among its members" (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016, p. 116), is political, journalistic, and potentially unscripted where emotions are likely to manifest during heated discussions on issues of public interest and are characterised by power dynamics between various participating stakeholders and the moderator. Except for research on journalistic antagonism (Voltmer & Brants, 2011), alternatively referred to as journalistic adversarialism (Clayman & Heritage, 2002), and journalistic aggressiveness (Wu & Zhao, 2016), much of the recent analysis of television debates is largely critical underlining its failure to live up to their socio-political role as envisaged by Jürgen Habermas in his public sphere theory (*see* Coleman 2013; Hess-Lüttich, 2007). While the debates were envisioned as a means of fostering public participation and argumentation over social issues (Livingstone, 1996), they have, however, been criticised for being inauthentic (Hess-Lüttich, 2007), 'staged' discursive confrontations (Lauerbach, 2007), and an unequal terrain for discursive struggle (Carpignano et al., 1990).

Amid its broader criticism, the research into debates takes a rather conservative view of the hosts too, where either they have been critiqued for being unfair, biased, and inauthentic (*see* Hess-Lüttich, 2007) or, particularly in the ambit of journalism research, have been subject to empirical examination for their adversarial role (Voltmer & Brants, 2011). Aside from the literature on journalistic antagonism, research into debates, particularly focusing on the role of the host—alternatively known as the journalist or moderator—is limited and inconsistent.

While academic discussion examining the debates is slow to emerge, the recent voluminous press commentary of the political television debates in India, critiquing the interruptive and emotionalised discussions of the shows and rather ballistic conduct of the show hosts, offers a firm footing to launch an empirical investigation of the TV debates. Additionally, parallels between recent commentaries in the American Press critiquing the 2020 US Presidential debates provide further impetus to this line of investigation. In this regard, it provides a basis for using debates as research desiderata for an empirical examination of the extent of interruptions and their role in the emotionalisation of debates in the front region, employing the conversation analysis approach.

Alternatively referred to as studio discussions or Television panel discussions, they "constitute a primary broadcast genre in contemporary media culture" (Patrona, 2005, p. 235). As a source of mediated discourse, political television debates are classified in "the larger category of *broadcast products* like talk shows, interviews, quiz shows, and audience participation debates" (Hernández-Flores, 2008, p. 691). The debates "can be either panel discussions (comprising experts only) or audience discussions (also including laypersons)" (Patrona, 2005, p. 235), where the host functions as the "institutional mediator of interaction" (ibid., 256). As a "typical interaction" of this communicative genre, discussion in panel debates consists of "a set of explanations of topics, objections, and counter-objections" (Patrona, 2005, p. 236). The interaction is "goal or task-oriented" (ibid. p. 236), and TV debates seek to "inform and to influence public opinion" (Hernández-Flores, 2008, p. 691). They are characterised by, as Hernández-Flores (2008) notes, purposeful talk, pre-established topics, and participants' turn-taking controlled by the host, with an audience watching TV being the ultimate addressee of the debate (message-oriented and multiple audience-oriented talks).

Topics tend to be social and political issues, "with a preference for out-of-the-ordinary social, political, or moral issues instigating controversy in the current press" (Hernández-Flores, 2008, p. 699). The discussion tends to have "multiple asymmetric communicative relations" between the participants and the hosts (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1363). Ornebring's (2003) definition of political debates, which he terms current affairs debates, helps to draw a clear distinction between similar genres, such as interviews, talk shows, and televised debates, which may include presidential or parliamentary debates.

The current affairs debates, according to Ornebring (2003), are explicitly designed in a televisual format and are "overtly presented as part of a mediated public sphere," compared to other forms of talks that can take place in either the presence or absence of cameras (ibid.). The debates are distinctive in that they cover important social issues, and the dominant form of communication is debate or discussion between two or more participants in addition to a host (ibid.). While the shows are structured according to the "accepted conventions about social, communicative and cultural aspects", given the dynamic nature of the talk, it "reformulates and negotiates the established conventions" (Hernández-Flores, 2008, p. 691).

The discussions are organised according to the conventions of turn-taking, with each participant given time and space to contribute to the discussion. As a "purposive institutionalised communicative event" (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016, p. 334), TV debates represent a "communicative genre" that performs three communicative goals in the discussions: "To inform, to entertain and to convince people of political ideas" (Hernández-Flores, 2008, p. 699).

The debate panels are carefully planned where the subject matter is addressed to the 'experts' who are a "fundamental class of participants" invited or empanelled "to interact and negotiate meanings with speakers enacting different social identities, institutional (the host) or not (laypersons)" (Patrona, 2005, p. 235). Additionally, participants could include accountable parties, such as political spokespersons asserting their position on key issues or challenging the opposition, and stakeholders, including activists and laypersons, who interpret the meaning or impact of an event on broader society. The roles, such as professional characteristics and personal features like gender, ascribed to the participants play a central role in participatory interaction. For example, "the expert in the subject brings a lot of information and details, the moderate participant tries to find a balance between the different opinions, the controversy-rousing participant has the goal of producing controversy, etc." (Hernández-Flores 2008, p. 691). Given the institutional nature of the talk, where the views, ideas, or opinions of the panel member are taken as an accountable statement, the debate corpus is, therefore, part of the broader media discourse that is subject to analysis or research (Patrona, 2005).

2.5.1 Political TV debates versus talk shows

Although one of their purposes may be to entertain (*see* Hernández-Flores 2008), the distinctive nature of television debates comes to the fore when compared to daytime talk shows, its closest and most academically attended televisual talk genre. Political TV debates differ from talk shows, as the former is based on contestation, while the latter is based on cooperation. There may be parallels between the two formats, as both offer a mediated space for discussion on an issue of public interest, yet they differ in that they seek to achieve different sets of objectives. Talk shows tend to take a "therapeutic approach" (Lunt & Stenner, 2005, p. 6) with "a serial association of testimonials", which could be scripted to entertain (Carpignano et al., 1990, p. 51). The debates, however, are spontaneous, tend to include competing parties, are geared toward conflicting viewpoints that aim to inform and are rather 'confrontational' in nature (Carpignano et al., 1990; Luginbühl, 2007). According to Glazer and Rubinstein (2004, p. 159), debate is

a mechanism by which an uninformed decision maker, the listener, extracts information from two informed debaters, who hold contradicting positions regarding the right decision. During the debate, the debaters raise arguments, and based on these arguments, the listener reaches a conclusion.

Differentiating between conversations and debates, the researchers note that debates are different from conversations because, in conversations, there is a "common interest among the parties", whereas, in debates, the "two parties hold contradicting positions regarding the right decision" (p. 160). The television talk show or tabloid talk shows are defined as "a cheap daytime television genre which proceeds more through audience discussion and commentary than through an interview with a personality" (Carbaugh 1988, p. 2 as cited in Gregori-Signes 2000, p. 210). While the talk show qualifies for semi-institutional discourse (Niapele et al., 2021), panel debates are "an institutionalised debate which occurs in an institutional setting" (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016, p. 2).

2.5.2 Political TV debates as institutional talk

The debates are considered "as political institutions since all participants are believed to be a part of the political process" (*ibid.* p. 337) while "fulfilling institutional goals of communication" such as "information-giving, supplying a response to a problem, or displaying public debate" for the

audience (Patrona, 2005, p. 237). Institutional talk is primarily characterised by the shared goal among participants, where the discussion revolves around a pre-identified topic and entails some "advance preparation in wordings, goals, and structures of talk" (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016, p. 111). Central to this is the institutional role of the journalist, who, in the capacity of a host, is responsible for moderating and organising the talk. Given their centrality in the progress of the discussion, their role has received some attention in research.

2.5.3 Political TV debate Hosts: A host, a journalist or both

The host, also identified as the interviewer or moderator, plays a crucial role in the organisation and progression of the debates. The host, being the manager of the show, allocates turns, monitors the conversation, asks questions and makes comments; thus, it "typically takes place under their control" (Niapele et al., 2021, p. 15). In the process of hosting the show, the debate hosts are "responsible for managing the interaction, critically questioning politicians, and moderating the discussion, and this from a neutral, balanced and impartial stance" (De Smedt 2011, no page) given that the host is seen to be in a responsible institutional position who not only assures the purposive progress of the talk but also ensures adequate opportunities/time for different parties to present their views and opinions while ensuring neutrality and fairness throughout the process. Such normative expectations are instinctively more rigorous, particularly when the host's role is performed by a journalist, who, given the nature of their profession, is expected to play their role with both ease and diligence. While talk show hosts may not be journalists or identify as such, political debate show hosts tend to be journalists with a good understanding of the subject (*see* Hernández-Flores 2008).

While most studies exploring the role of a host in television debates do not distinguish between a host and a journalist per se (*see* De Smedt, 2011; Patrona, 2005), Ames (2016) has, however, particularly explored the distinction between the two in an Australian panel show. According to Ames (2016), show hosts may orient to different roles, such as a counsellor, friend, member of a community, or facilitator, depending upon the objective and purpose of the show, albeit performing some journalistic techniques such as entrapment and humour, hosts tend to engage in "role switching" (p. 7). Vraga et al. (2012) demonstrate, in their examination of the host style in political talk shows, how a show host tends to transition between the roles of combatant, comic,

and correspondent. Such a transition maintains both the informational and entertainment value of the show, where the correspondent host strengthens informational value and program credibility, and the "comic host mitigates some of the negative impact compared to a combatant host" (ibid. p. 5).

Studies examining the host, however, unanimously view the host as a neutral and "fair-minded moderator" who conducts the debate dispassionately, allowing suitable face time to the participants and maintaining a neutral stance towards the views and opinions (Vraga et al., 2012, p. 8). Moreover, while they are expected to remain neutral moderators and are "required to play out a number of roles to achieve a legitimate position as media professional" (De Semdt 2011, no page), research has shown (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016) that they tend to act as participants often confirming or rejecting positions and interrupting the participants (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Haug et al., 2010). Hess-Lüttich (2007), in their study on the role of the show hosts on a Swiss TV show, contend that "lack of coordination, simultaneous starts, and overlapping could usually be blamed on the moderator" (p. 1369). The pattern of the show, he argues, is "always the same", where the host "creates an emotional atmosphere by issuing provocative questions and insinuating. (Hess-Lüttich 2007, p. 1369).

Studies examining the interpretations of moderators regarding the forces that shape the show's progression are limited and primarily focus on journalistic neutrality and discursive strategies. Consequently, the examination of key forces, such as emotions (particularly anger), interruptions, and turn-taking, that shape the moderator's strategies, actions, and emotions in both the front and backstage, as well as the interaction between the two, has received little attention. Given the socio-political space that TV debates occupy and the normative role they seek to fulfil in the public sphere, the interpretivist constructionist approach to exploring the emotional forces from the moderators' standpoint could offer a more nuanced view of this televisual format. However, it could also contribute to emotional discourse in journalistic accounts, particularly those emanating from the Global South.

2.5.4 The Socio-Political Importance of TV Debates

While the calls for further research into the televisual formats, particularly by the *NewsTalk&Text* (NT&T) advocates, is a more recent development that favours a detailed analysis of the televisual language and advances the significance of an ethnographic approach to examining the newsroom dynamics, the early attempts to examine televisual discussion emanated from the discussions on the public sphere. The foremost attempt to explore the importance of television discussions, particularly in the context of the public sphere, was made by Sonia Livingstone as early as 1996, when the cable TV boom was in its nascent stage. Livingstone (1996) explored the "rules and roles" of discussion that are shaped by the program and the "media's potential to contribute to or undermine the public sphere" (p. 259). In particular, the early discussions on political television debates were primarily driven by concerns regarding the state of the public sphere and were "part of a broader project concerned with how the study of broadcast talk illuminates the specific forms of communication which permeate the contemporary public sphere" (Livingstone, 1996, p. 260).

The emphasis on the public sphere is also evident in the nature of the analysis, which Livingstone's study addressed through thematic concerns such as access, public participation, the quality of discussion, and the nature of discourse, using TV discussions as an exemplar for analysis. The debates, while on the one hand, observed as a "terrain of the struggle of discursive practices" (Carpignano et al., 1990, p. 52), on the other, have been noted to serve as a "public space in which diverse opinions engage in an argument concerning a problem of pressing concern" (Livingstone, 1996, p. 277).

2.5.5 Political television debates, an agonistic public sphere

The public sphere, to Fraser (1990, p. 57), is "a theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk" and to which television serves as "an important place" (Livingstone, 1996, p. 261). Journalism has traditionally been observed as a key pillar of the public sphere model as it serves as "an instrument for objective, dispassionate investigation and a forum for rational discussion" (Pantti, 2010, p. 169). Television discussions, particularly political debates, constitute a discursive space that mimics the conditions of an institutional public sphere, serving as a 'realm of social life' where public opinion is formed and

access is 'guaranteed' to all citizens (Habermas, 1964, p. 49). The importance of broadcast debates is particularly rooted in the agonistic public sphere that, contrary to the traditional public sphere, which has been critiqued for being overly rationalistic, elitist and exclusionary (Livingstone, 1996), embraces emotionality in the socio-political debates and encourages the rise of inclusive, egalitarian spaces sponsored by the media that promote the participation of diverse publics in the issues of public interest. Such shows, according to Ornebring (2003), "play an important role in the public sphere as a whole" in comparison to other talk genres that do not define themselves as important and/or self-evident contributions to a common public sphere (p. 505).

Owing to feminist interventions in the public sphere debate, as noted elsewhere in this study, and the growth of favourable views on the agonistic public sphere, the first decade of the 21st century saw a rise in discussions on the significance of emotionality in the public sphere and the news media. Richards (2009), for example, fervently argued for the necessity of understanding the importance of emotions in the public sphere as much in the news, particularly because, as he notes;

Our understanding of how democracies function today and our capacity to defend and enhance them both depend on developing a deeper understanding of the essential and ongoing role of emotion within the democratic process. Crudely put, the emotions of the public are the key factor in most elections and many legislative outcomes. Moreover, this topic belongs in this book because news is by far the largest single influence on the shaping and strength of emotions in the political public sphere. (Richards 2009, p. 302).

In furthering this view, Richards (2009) introduced the concept of 'emotional public sphere' and argued that "studying the emotional dimensions of news is essential to understanding its political and cultural influence, and can bring new perspectives to some long-standing debates about the place of news and journalism in democracy and everyday life" (p.301). The emotional public sphere, according to Richards (2009), is an emotional dimension of the political public sphere characterised by increased emotional participation and the display of emotions in public spaces on matters of socio-political interest, as well as the increased mediatization of politics in the age of the cable TV boom. While the media's rationalistic role was emphasised in the Habermasian public sphere, the agonistic public sphere, in line with its agonistic principles, emphasises journalism's role in the emotionalisation of the public sphere and calls for "reflection on how the news shapes public mood" (Richards, 2009, p. 310). The significance of the agonistic public sphere and

emotions in journalism has been a central theme of research, predominantly in Western liberal democracies.

However, only a handful of studies emanating from the Global South have examined the emotionalisation effect of the news media in the public sphere (Tong, 2015; Paul, 2019). Tong (2015) exemplifies the formation of the agonistic public sphere in China, particularly through the media's role in airing emotional public sentiments. In line with the agonistic principles, according to Tong (2015), mediated emotions, in particular, volatile sentiments in the media such as anger, rage, hatred and compassion on matters of political and social life, result in the democratisation of communication processes by giving voice and space to an otherwise silent public. Such expression of emotions and public sentiment in the media and on the internet in tandem, according to Tong (2015), has the "potential to break down" the hegemonic political powers in China (p. 333). In essence, the agonistic public sphere serves as a backdrop against which the examination of emotions in journalistic content, such as television debates and their various actors —journalists, editors, and producers — who experience and/or express emotionality in shows, is imperative to expand the critical discourse in emotions scholarship. Some efforts to examine public debates, however, without emotions, can be found in academic studies.

2.5.6 Studies in political TV debates

The literature on televised debates can be traced back to the early 1960s, but much of it remains predominantly Western (Coleman, 2013; Lauerbach, 2007), "very US-centric" (Anstead, 2016, p. 4; Zhu et al., 1994, p. 304) and devoid of any emotionality analysis. Nevertheless, a body of "established literature" (Lunt & Stenner, 2005, p. 3) can be found in media and communications on the talk show genre (Livingston & Lunt, 1994) and political television debates (see Bollow, 2004; Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Luginbuhl, 2007; Trilling, 2015). While the former has been analysed for its emotional values to a certain extent (*see* Lunt and Stenner, 2005), the latter, however, except for some passing references, remains bereft of a systematic examination of emotions in the genre. Some studies focused on TV debates, however, can be found making sporadic references to emotions, but rather disapprovingly and almost always in a dichotomous relationship with rationality and objectivity. In an analysis of television talk, Carpignano et al. (1990, p. 33) note

that public discourse is "increasingly based on emotionally charged images rather than on rational discourse, such that political discourse has been degraded to the level of entertainment".

An overview of the broader research on television debates reveals two broad themes. First, the research on TV debates is rather inconsistent and sporadic. Hess-Lüttich (2007), for example, examined the TV debates for the discursive practices of the host and the politicians invited to the show. Luginbuhl (2007) examined the concept of 'conversational violence' in Swiss political TV debates. Lauerbach (2007) examined TV debates through the lens of argumentation theory. Hernández-Flores (2008) examined TV debates through the lens of politeness and facework theories. Cho and Choy (2011) examined the role of elite TV debates in stimulating citizens to take part in information-seeking and conversation. Furthermore, one of the earliest studies on TV studio debates by Livingstone (1996) examined its role in facilitating public debate on broader political issues and its contribution to the role of mass media in the public sphere. More recently, Khan and Shahid (2019; p. 1) examined the use of speech interruptions by the hosts for agenda-setting purposes in studio-based discussions.

Second, while studies on TV debates are sparse, the ideas in contemporary studies are still rooted in the objectivity debate, which dismisses emotions in newswork as a corruptible force. In those studies, emotions have frequently been observed as a diversionary tactic bordering on the entrainment and infotainment values of the show. In critiquing debates, emotions, according to some researchers, are strategies used to create dramatic spectacles (Luginbuhl, 2007; Coleman, 2013). For Hess-Lüttich (2007), debate hosts tend to create an emotional atmosphere in debates by "issuing provoking questions and insinuating" (p. 1368). According to Luginbuhl (2007), emotionally heated conversations in debates indicate a clear connection between violence and language. Coleman (2013), for example, notes that dramatic spectacle and emotive expression in debates "can only be distractions from a focus on rational reflection" (p. 28).

Particularly in emotion research, while print news has been examined for the presence of emotionalised text (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013, 2018; Paul, 2019), broadcast talk, particularly TV studio debates, remains beyond the purview of academic analysis. A study that comes closest to exploring emotions in political debates, however, is Bollow's (2004), which examines the impact of emotions on the communicative strategies of politicians in pre-electoral debates.

Bollow (2004) highlights that there is a 'dialogic connection' between the politician's communication of emotions and the anticipated emotions of the audience, which, he argues, politicians use to develop their argumentation. While emotionality literature has expanded into some key areas in journalism studies, the functions of emotions and their "use in TV debates have rarely been studied in broad terms" (Kimmich, 2016, p. 80), and less so concerning the journalistic expressions and experiences of it.

2.5.6.1 Examination of Journalistic emotionality in Emotions research

While the analysis of emotionality in the newswork is of great importance to understand journalism as an 'emotional regime' (Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021), the role of actors central to the enactment and/or management of emotions in journalism is equally important and has progressively received some attention, particularly in the last decade (Pantti & Husslage, 2009; Pantti, 2010; Rosas, 2018; Richard & Rees, 2011; Kotisova, 2017; Hopper & Huxford, 2015; Supart, 2022). Despite the growing research and importance of professional and personal emotions in journalistic work, journalists' values and practices central to their work that shape their emotional investments are "little understood" (Richards, 2009, p. 308) and less so in broadcast formats such as TV debates, which, as noted earlier, are charged with emotions inviting considerable criticism.

The host, among other factors, has been central to this criticism and has been considered instrumental in emotionalising the shows "by issuing provoking questions and insinuating" instead of maintaining a rationalist approach (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1368), resulting in confrontations and conversational violence (Luginbuhl, 2007). Amid the critical views of the journalists for being sentimental and/or emotionalising the discussions, an empirical examination underpinning and evaluating such critical views, particularly in the emerging landscape of journalistic practices, is a pressing area of inquiry. While a range of approaches could be taken to probe the debates, a constructivist understanding of more palpable factors such as interruptions and their potential influence on journalistic emotions, particularly anger in the debates, is imperative for this broadcast genre, which, particularly in the Indian Press, has been subject to scathing criticism for almost a decade.

2.5.6.2 Indian television debates as a site of analysis

Although television debates have been part of TV news programming in India since the cable TV boom following globalisation, they have evolved and consolidated in terms of quality, quantity, and programming only recently, owing to the growing number of news channels and cut-throat competition for ratings (*c.f.* Devi, 2019). In response to fierce competition and the changing dynamics of media consumption, Indian television news channels have increasingly adopted alternative formats beyond traditional bulletins. A defining feature of this transformation has been the rise of nightly political talk shows—studio-based programs where news anchors moderate discussions on current affairs with multiple guests offering diverse viewpoints. These shows dominate prime-time slots across English and regional news channels (Bhat & Chadha, 2023).

For instance, NDTV 24x7 airs programs such as '*We The People*', '*Left, Right and Centre*', '*The Big Fight*' and '*The Buck Stops Here*'. Times Now, a market leader in English news, broadcasts *The Newshour*, *India Upfront*, and *The News Epicentre*. Republic TV is known for '*The Debate*', while News18 and its Hindi counterpart, *News18 India*, offer '*The Crux*', '*Face-Off*', '*Aar Paar*', '*Hum Toh Puchenge*', and '*Sau Baat Ki Ek Baat*'. Similarly, Aaj Tak, dominant in the Hindi segment, features '*Halla Bol*', '*Vishesh*', and '*Dastak*'. In contrast, its English counterpart, India Today TV, presents '*To the Point*', '*India First*', '*Newsroom*', and '*News Today*'. Zee News airs shows such as '*Taal Thok Ke*' and '*Daily News and Analysis*' (Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Devi, 2019). The advent of the 24/7 news cycle dramatically changed news presentation. Today, the emphasis is no longer solely on the one-way dissemination of information but on dialogical, opinion-based formats that involve commentary and analysis of the day's top stories (Ranganathan, 2014).

Such shows are popular not only for their dramatic appeal but also for economic reasons, as per several studies. Academics have noted that studio-based discussions are significantly cheaper to produce than field-based investigative journalism, making them attractive to networks operating under tight financial constraints (Mehta, 2008; Devi, 2019). According to the Indian Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC), these prime-time debates are among the most-watched television programs in the country (Pundir, 2018; Becerril, 2020).

Some argue that political debates on television have gained such influence that they often set the news agenda, even for print media, and play a significant role in shaping the country's political discourse (Hasan, 2014). As Khorana (2014, p. 98) argues, the debates have become a "popular culture equivalent of the public sphere" for middle-class political discussions in India. Ranganathan (2014) further underscores their power by noting that such televised debates are now central to India's political process.

The format of the show on the most popular English and Hindi broadcast stations is largely similar. Hosted in a TV studio, the show addresses a socio-political issue of national interest. Moderated by a seasoned journalist, often regarded as 'the face' of the news channel, the show typically invites five to ten members who are either 'experts' on the subject or representatives of civil society and political parties. While not the norm, a half-hour show typically has two commercial breaks, totalling six minutes, resulting in a total show duration of approximately 24 minutes.

The host begins by addressing the audience with a 3- to 4-minute monologue on the issue at hand, expressing displeasure in an assertive and, at times, angry tone while insinuating and implicating the stakeholders or responsible parties involved in the matter. This is followed by a brief introduction of the guests and a set of questions directed at the panel members. While the members are expected to take turns presenting their views, due to the oppositional nature of the views, the turns are often violated, causing recurrent interruptions, speech overlaps, and unintelligible speech. The moderator, in order to manage turn-taking and/or uphold the debate's objectives, tends to abruptly interrupt the panellists, often frequently, "due to time/agenda constraints, yet also for argumentative purposes" (Niapele et al., 2021, p. 15). Moderators in the previous research have been "blamed" for a lack of coordination, simultaneous starts, and overlapping speech (Hess-Lüttich, 2007). The discussions in the process get confrontational, as both moderators and panellists engage in loud and angry interchanges. While debates have received some attention among researchers in the West, academic research in India examining the phenomenon of broadcast debates has received little attention.

2.5.6.3 Academic criticisms of political Television debates

While the debates have been lauded for enhancing political participation by promoting discursive engagement among citizens, they have also been critiqued for being "inauthentic" shows (Hess-Lüttich, 2007), facilitating "'staged' discursive confrontations" (Lauerbach, 2007). While they seek to promote dialogue on political issues in society, according to some, this dialogical mode of communication is not ideologically neutral and has been avidly critiqued by academics in recent years. Critics have noted that news commentators frequently frame stories from specific political, cultural, or religious standpoints, often reflecting the interests of the organisations they represent or catering to the ideological leanings of their audience (Bhat & Chadha, 2023). In fact, under pressure to maintain advertising revenue and avoid confrontation with the current government, many privately owned networks have adopted a pro-government, right-wing editorial stance (Devi, 2019; Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Garimella & Datta, 2024; Agarwal et al., 2024; Kumar et al., 2024). This convergence has led some observers to argue that Indian television news channels increasingly resemble one another, featuring similar headlines, reporting styles, and opinion segments (Bajpai, 2019).

Although a few outlets, such as NDTV, have tried to maintain space for dissenting voices (Basu, 2018), ownership changes by business groups closely allied with the incumbent government have raised concerns about shrinking editorial independence (Sethuraman & Thomas, 2022). In the Western context, researchers have held similar views. Livingstone (1996) noted in her study that TV debates could be "too chaotic and biased, with dubious influence over social or political outcomes" (ibid., p. 264).

Coleman (2013), echoing the concerns of critics, notes that television as a forum for debate has been a "disappointment" in opening up spaces that could facilitate "democratically promising forms of multiperspectival communication" (ibid., p. 2). Television debates, he observes, are,

[t]oo often characterised by the frustrating vacuity of the angry headline, the overdramatised incident, the image of the denouncing mob, and a prevailing mood of cynical resignation, the televisual public sphere all too often abandons deliberation for declamation, turning televised politics into a spectacle of unrestrained uproar or virulence" resulting in troubling consequences for democratic citizenship (ibid. 2).

Over the last two decades, studies on televised debates have repeatedly highlighted the 'artificial' nature of TV debates, with studio formats designed to simulate theatrics and drama to appeal to audiences. While labelling them "pseudo-conversations" to Hess-Lüttich (2007), debates invoke "pseudo-dispute of the adversaries with each other, of the adversaries with the journalists, and of all the participants with the 'implied public'" (p. 1363). Reconciling the variance between the expectation and reality of the genre, Livingstone (1996, p. 277) observes,

studio debate is in many ways a highly unsatisfactory space for public discussion, yet it remains a rare opportunity for viewers at home to see the conflict directly and to hear, from those whose experience and passion is palpable, that which is usually discussed only in the abstract elsewhere in the media, through a disinterested, rational discourse.

The academic lamentations of the debates underscore the significance of examining journalistic talk-in-interaction, and their emphasis on the confrontational nature of the debates reveals it as an emotionally charged terrain. As a naturally occurring talk, debates, therefore, present an ideal research desideratum to empirically examine the dynamics of journalistic emotional engagement in journalistic output. This line of investigation gains further momentum when observed in the backdrop of the Indian press commentary on the debates, which have been intense and vehemently critical of their overall standards and practices on screen.

2.5.6.4 Press Criticism of Television Debates: A minefield of emotions and interruptions

Several articles published in the popular Press have lamented the emotional and noisy debates on national news broadcasters, led by seemingly angry hosts. In a bid to gain more traction, an evident feature of the studio debates, according to critics, has been the rise in 'increasingly shrill' and 'high-decibel' tones coupled with emotional outpours as part of the discussions (Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013). Siddiqui (2013), for example, notes, '[t]ry to recall the last time you saw a debate on a TV news channel that wasn't shrill or hysterical?' Echoing a similar view in a critical commentary directed at a popular journalist, Daniyal (2016) notes,

Times Now anchor Arnab Goswami's rabble-rousing tendencies have been extensively discussed. As is obvious to even casual viewers, Goswami's prime-time show often descends to the level of a kangaroo court, as the anchor condemns and harangues his targets in a tone that betrays near-hysteria.

Evidence of this trend can be found in a sizable corpus of articles critical of the debates, which frequently employ words such as shouting/shouting matches, loud, screaming, angry, fight, shrill, rant, high-pitched, fish market, interruption, high-decibel, hysterical, and insulting. Critiquing a debate show host known for his 'high-decibel' shows, Bisht (2016) writes, "[n]ow that Arnab Goswami is signing off from the Times group, his cacophony and his shrill sermons will be missed." 'So will the fish market.' 'Thank God for that because, for me, the fish had started to stink.' These views in the Indian Press are similar to those highlighted in some academic studies, where political television debates have been noted to be 'presented as a controversy, contest, even as a battle' (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1367) and 'often realised in "confrontainment" formats' (Luginbühl, 2007, p. 1372).

In response to growing criticism, some national news broadcast networks have attempted to distance themselves from the trend in their promotional materials and taglines in recent years. For example, New Delhi Television (NDTV) is distancing itself from 'noisy' debates in its channel promos, noting, 'you don't have to shout to be heard', and CNN IBN's tagline reads, 'news over noise'. Such views have also been well echoed by seasoned journalists. Rajdeep Sardesai, a prominent Indian journalist, noted in a tweet, "I guess we are truly in an era where sense must battle sensationalism, news versus noise..." (as cited in Daniyal 2016).

Moreover, an overview of the criticisms of the debates in the Press reveals two central themes. First, the responsibility of emotionalised discussions is placed on the host, and second, such debating practices are viewed as a violation of the normative principles of journalism and the public sphere. In underscoring the adverse impact of such debating practices on journalistic responsibilities and the public sphere, several press articles describe them as a challenge to democracy, democratic ideals, freedom of speech, discourse, civility, ethics, journalistic responsibility, and public opinion. Daniyal (2016), underlining the centrality of journalism's role in the public sphere, notes that,

This is a sad illustration of the state of the Indian media. Goswami and other sections of the media are giving currency to the notion that opposing the Indian government is immoral. By doing so, they are actually undermining Indian democracy.

The emotional and antagonistic behaviour of the host has been underlined in some critical commentaries. In an article titled '*In India, emotions speak louder than words*', Patel (2010) comments on the journalists' emotional and aggressive behaviour. He notes, "In a discussion, the Indian television anchor is quickly agitated. This is because what he demands from the politician is not information but agreement". Among the range of emotions, the presence of anger and aggression in the debates has been well underlined in the criticism. In an article titled, '*Indian debates must be respectful and tolerant, unlike the angry fights on TV*', Raghuram Rajan (2016), a noted economist, former governor of Reserve Bank of India and a professor at Chicago University notes, "for effective communication and debate, rather than the angry exchanges that we see on some TV shows, we need both respect and tolerance". Consider this excerpt (Republic World TV, Oct 26, 2017) from a debate show titled "Rahul Gandhi Against Standing For National Anthem?" for example,

Host: (25:01) Why can't you stand up for *jana gana mana* (national anthem)? (*angrily*) why //can't you stand up for 52 seconds? why can't you? Why, rotary club or school? why can't you? why can't you? Today (.), because I tell you why, //because I tell you why, you hear me, can I tell you why, can I tell you why, then you stop I tell you why, I tell you why, I can shout over you, I tell you why, I tell you why, I tell you why Mr. Pathan, //don't be an anti-national, don't be an anti-national, don't be an anti-national. (2sec pause) can I say something, then I will tell you why, today the argument is, today the argument //is that

don't force us to stand up for 52 seconds, listen to me, //tomorrow- (4 seconds pause) listen to me, (.....)(26:53, overlap continues further)

Panellist 1: (25:10) (angrily,) //(overlap begins, unintelligible for 9 seconds) why should I?// (..)why should I?//(..) why should I?//(..) No, why should I?// (overlap continues, unintelligible for 17 secs),-Oh, no how can you call me antinational? I am more nationalist than you? (overlap continues, unintelligible for 5 seconds)// question is of forcing, question is of forcing, this is //undemocratic (26.53, overlap continues further)

(Source: YouTube)

The excerpt highlights the presence of interruptions and overlaps, along with emotional outbursts—especially journalists' anger—which are striking features of the debates and have drawn significant attention from critics. Given the dynamic nature of the talk, however, the "widespread occurrence of extended utterances" (Patrona, 2005, p. 233) hinders smooth speaker transitions, leading to interruptions and speech overlaps that result in disorder, confusion, and lost contributions from meeting participants (Hua & Sabri, 2019). In further criticism of the hosts, critics have lamented their anger and aggression, which interfere with their moderation. As Madhu (2015) notes,

TV anchors, instead of moderating, add to the cacophony – by yelling, browbeating the panellists, and constantly interrupting them. A negation not just of the ethics of journalism but of the rudiments of good manners. India has many TV news channels. No other country has so many. Let's add: Nowhere else are TV debates so loud, so uncouth, so ill-mannered.

A notable theme in the criticism of the moderators is the close association between interruptions, journalistic aggression, and anger in these debates. This theme is consistent with power-oriented interruptions, which result in aggressive behaviour toward other participants and are regarded as an "impolite, disruptive, intrusive and inappropriate act" (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016, p. 341). Evidently, such a link between anger and interruption has been noted in Indian parliamentary sessions, where sloganeering as a form of interruption has been employed to stall speech and debates (Balasubramaniam, 2014; Singh, 2015).

A report (Choudhury, 2018) titled, '*As PM Speaks In Parliament, Opposition Tries To Drown Out Speech With Slogans*', underlining the problem, notes,

His [Prime Minister] 90-minute speech in the Lower House was punctuated with continuous slogan-shouting by the opposition lawmakers, so much so that at one point, the Prime Minister said, "Your slogans can't drown my voice, I wish the opposition listened to me quietly".

The voluminous criticism of debating practices in the Indian popular Press is indicative of the changing nature of the media while underlining a pressing need to examine the emergent practice of political studio debates in journalism. While the critical commentary in the Press published in the last decade marks a transition in discursive practices on news channels, it underscores that the expectations of critics continue to be rooted in the rationality paradigm and dismissal of emotionality. Such views, as noted earlier, are also in line with the views held in academic studies examining debates. Coleman (2013), for example, notes that dramatic spectacle and emotive expression in debates "can only be distractions from a focus on rational reflection" that inhibit effective discursive engagement (p. 28). Much in line with similar studies on political debates, the criticism in the Press, on the one hand, laments the waning normative values of the media, on the other, denounces it as a negation of emotionality and, thus, of a potential agonistic public sphere.

However, for enhanced understanding of journalism "as a central venue for enacting and sustaining the emotional regime" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011, p. 106), it is imperative to look beyond the critical views that do not take the zeitgeist view of emotions in journalism in account that "values individualised emotional expressions, also those of journalists, and allows for a wider register of emotions to be displayed" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021, p. 5). Alternatively, emerging analyses of journalism, journalists, and journalistic work must be viewed as much in the backdrop of the agonistic public sphere as they are readily viewed in line with the Habermasian public sphere. Besides, the criticism of the debates, whether in the Press or academic discourse, remains limited to front-stage analysis, with little observation or commentary on the backstage processes and the interaction between the two.

The political TV debate, which to a great extent is a microcosm of the zeitgeist public discourse and a potential window into the state of the public sphere, offers a unique prospect for examining the forces, such as emotions, that shape journalism and broader journalistic practices. The criticism of the hosts' emotions and conduct, in particular, offers a window to explore emotions as a key force and a strategy employed by the journalist in the emotionalisation of the debates. Moreover, it lays a propaedeutic foundation for reconciling the academic debates on journalistic emotions, which, thus far, appear to be limited to their respective domains yet are evidently both interrelated and influence each other, as discussed in detail in this study.

Given the widespread criticism of disorderly conduct, overlapping speech, and particularly the aggressive behaviour of TV anchors in Indian political debates, this study first seeks to explore the specific role of interruptions in shaping emotionality. These considerations lead to the following research questions:

RQ1. What role do interruptions play in the emotionalisation of political news debates on Indian television?

1.1 What is the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in political TV debates?

1.2 What is the level of cooperative and intrusive interruptions and speech overlaps by and against the journalist in political TV debates?

1.3 What evidence can be found to identify the effect of intrusive interruptions on hosts' anger?

1.4 In what ways are interruptions strategically employed by hosts in managing the debates?

1.5 What are the implications of interruptions on journalistic anger?

Empirical analysis of interruptions provides a foundation for further investigation into examining journalists' emotionality in debates. Beyond the dominant themes of emotionality in academic and press criticism—guided mainly by the normative values of journalism—the question of how journalists themselves interpret the presence and emergence of emotions in political TV debates remains a blind spot. In this context, the study seeks to address the following research questions:

RQ2. How do journalists interpret the emergence and presence of journalistic emotions in political TV debates?

2.1 Which specific emotions, according to the journalists, are present in the debates, and how do they interpret them?

2.2 What factors/influences do journalists perceive in relation to the presence and emergence of emotions in the debates?

2.5.6.5 Indian Broadcast Media: An Overview

Over the past three decades, the Indian news industry has undergone a revolutionary transformation. The liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation reforms of 1991 played a pivotal role in this shift, paving the way for the emergence of multiple private news organisations and foreign broadcasters. The establishment of STAR TV in 1991 as India's first satellite television network marked the beginning of a new era in the country's media landscape. Television news rapidly evolved from government-sponsored half-hour bulletins on Doordarshan to a vibrant, 24/7 ecosystem, making news an omnipresent phenomenon (Bhat & Chadha, 2023).

Today, with over 400 round-the-clock news channels and a strong tradition of English-language journalism, India has become one of the largest television news markets globally. According to a 2021 Reuters Institute of Journalism report, the country hosts more than 392 dedicated news channels (Krishnan, 2021). This exponential growth has been driven by both domestic and international players, including NDTV 24x7, Times Now, Republic TV, India Today, Aaj Tak, BBC World, Al Jazeera, and CNN. These private and foreign networks, bolstered by advertising revenue, have challenged and significantly diminished the monopoly once held by Doordarshan, the state broadcaster (Thussu, 2019; Bhat & Chadha, 2023).

The scale of this transformation in Indian broadcast media is also reflected in economic data presented by national agencies. According to the FICCI and EY Indian Media and Entertainment Industry Report (2019), the television industry grew from ₹660 billion in 2017 to ₹815 billion in 2019 and was projected to reach ₹955 billion by 2021. Advertising revenue increased from ₹668 billion in 2017 to ₹843 billion in 2019, with projections to hit ₹1,042 billion by 2021 (FICCI & EY, 2019). The number of television channels expanded from 132 in 2000 to over 800 by 2014

(Mehta, 2015). Even Doordarshan, the Indian public service broadcaster, operated two channels in 1997 and had expanded to 35 channels by 2014 (Mehta, 2015).

The rapid expansion and commercialisation of the Indian media landscape over the past two decades have significantly altered the production and presentation of news. The demand for real-time reporting gave rise to the 'breaking news' culture and made 'live coverage' a hallmark of Indian television news, which, as Thussu (2015) noted, often left little time for thorough research or fact verification. Consequently, the pressure to deliver updates instantly has led to the circulation of incomplete, inaccurate, and sometimes misleading reports (Bhat & Chadha, 2023). The last decade, however, witnessed the growth of the culture of studio-based political television debates, which rose in frequency and popularity almost at the cost of field-based reports and other similar news formats.

2.6 Conclusion of Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presented an overview of various concepts that form the central pillars of this study. The synthesis of the literature attempted to reconcile anger, speech interruptions and political television debates with the common theme of emotions. While the latter serves as a site of investigation, the literature on emotions, anger, and speech interruptions offers the theoretical and methodological basis for conducting an empirical investigation into the debates. The analysis highlighted the research gaps in emotions in journalism research, where calls for concerted efforts to examine emotions in journalism, both in the front and the back region, continue to emerge. By presenting the broader effort in examining anger and the formative research journalism encompassing the examination of anger in journalism and its presence in text, talk and journalistic engagement, the chapter highlighted the lack of research in this area.

Additionally, through an examination of the literature on interruptions in applied linguistics and journalism studies, the chapter highlighted the potential to investigate speech interruptions as emotional stressors in journalistic talk-in-interaction. The academic research on political television debates and the critical press coverage of these debates in the Indian press further revealed both the lack of research on this topic and the potential to expand investigation in emotion studies.

Chapter 3

Methodological Framework

This chapter provides an overview of the research methods employed to address the research questions developed in this study. The study employs mixed-methods research, utilising research tools of both quantitative and qualitative nature. According to Hussein (2009, p. 2), this approach has received "significant attention among scholars and researchers" in recent years. Also known as the triangulation method, it is argued to "increase credibility of scientific knowledge by improving both internal consistency and generalizability through combining both quantitative and qualitative methods in the same study" (ibid., p. 10). However, the triangulation method comes with its fair share of criticism as the two methods are considered to "differ epistemologically and ontologically" (Hussein, 2009, p. 10) and are mutually "incompatible" methodologies given that the line of questioning that requires qualitative inquiry may differ from that of quantitative inquiry (Blaikie, 1991). Despite criticisms, it remains a popular approach among researchers due to its strengths (Hussein, 2009).

The methods employed aim to address the following two overarching objectives, which are at the heart of this research, through three interconnected stages.

- First, it explores the violation of turn-taking initiated by and against journalists in political news debates and their impact on journalistic emotions, particularly journalistic anger.

- Second, it examines the journalistic view and interpretation of the rise, significance, and acceptance or rejection of emotionality, specifically journalistic anger and the underlying factors in political TV debates.

The research questions, derived from the study's objectives, address two key concerns. On the one hand, they examine journalistic emotionality through the lens of the mechanistic composition of journalistic content, with political debates as the research desiderata. On the other hand, they seek to gain deeper analytical insight into the nature of journalistic emotions in these debates from the perspective and interpretations of journalists themselves. To address these questions, the study employs three methodological tools across three stages—Stage I, Stage II, and Stage III—as illustrated in Figure 3 below.

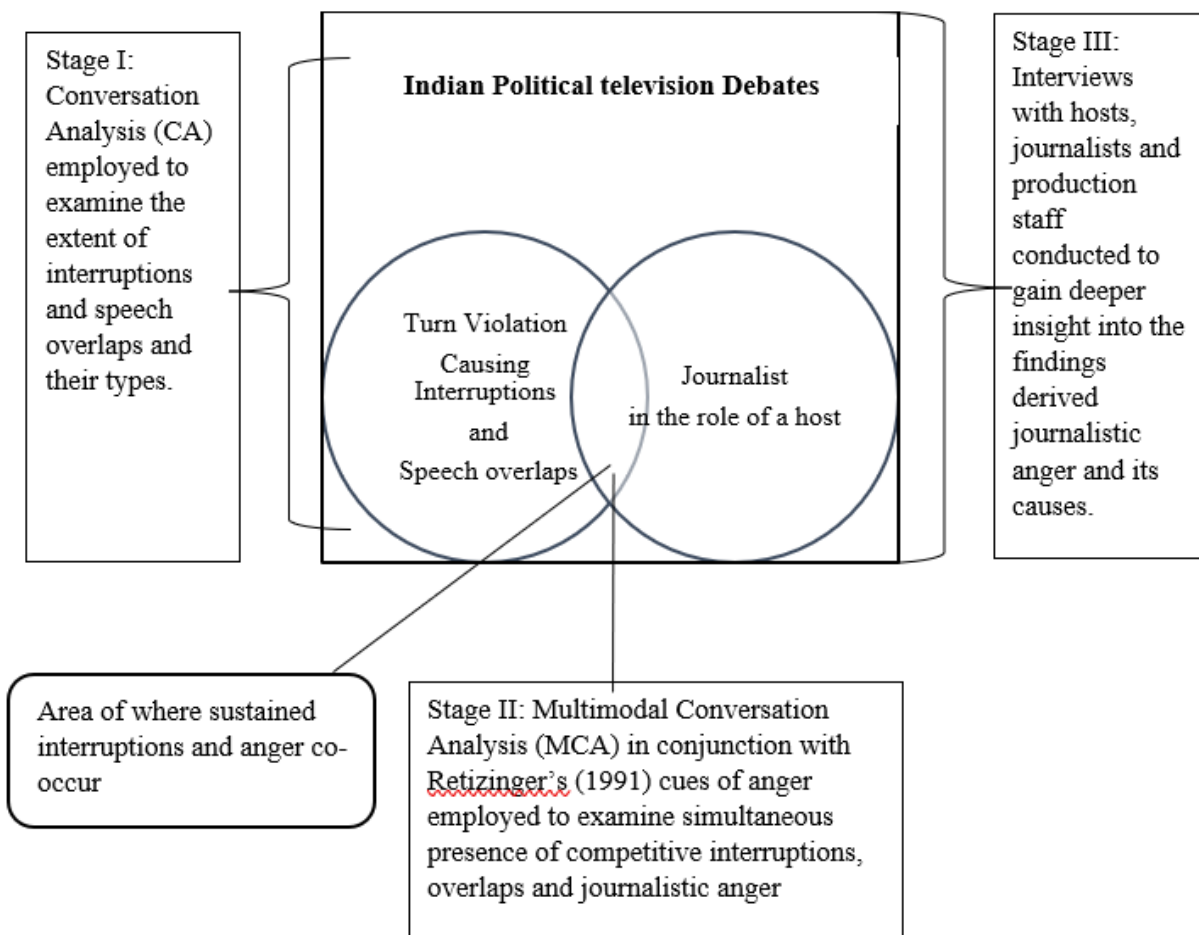


Figure 3: Analytical diagram representing the methodological framework of the study

Stage I of the study involves examining Indian political television debates for the presence and extent of interruptions and speech overlaps using the conversation analysis (CA) approach. Based on the data from the first stage of the study, Stage II examines the transcribed content of the debates to investigate (a) the intersection between interruptions and hosts' emotions and (b) the role of interruptions in eliciting negative emotions in hosts. This is based on the conjecture drawn from observations in previous studies (Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Bucy et al., 2020) that recurrent interruptions are a cause of negative emotions. Using the multimodal conversational analysis (MCA) approach in combination with Retzinger's (1991) codes of anger, it examines the presence of anger in audio-visual and textual content. The emergent methodology has been employed in a few studies to examine the audio-visual content in talk-in-interaction (Chourdaki, 2021; Sandlund, 2004; Strukowska, 2019; Yu, 2011).

In Stage III, the study employs journalistic interviews to understand and examine participants' views and impressions about emotions and anger in television news debates. Several studies investigating the rise of emotions in journalism (Pantti, 2010) and, more recently, journalistic anger (Stupart, 2023) have conducted in-depth interviews with journalists for data collection. While TV debates serve as a corpus for investigation and a backdrop for examining emotions, journalistic views and experiences of emotions in the debates could provide novel insights into how emotions shape journalistic practices and the profession. The ensuing sections elaborate on the various stages of investigation, including methodical approaches, analysis methods, and sample design.

3.1 Stage I: Conversation Analysis (CA)

Stage I of the study involves examining Indian political television debates for the presence and extent of interruptions and speech overlaps using the conversation analysis (CA) approach. With its origins in applied linguistics, the method has been steadily gaining popularity in journalism research (Voldtmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Bowman & Ubayasiri, 2012) in addition to calls for its further integration for the examination of journalistic talk-in-interaction (Bowman & Ubayasiri, 2012). Since this stage of the study concerns gaining empirical insight into the organisational order of talk-in-interaction, conversation analysis (CA) is deemed the most appropriate method for measuring interruptions and speech overlaps resulting from turn violations

in political TV debates. The ensuing sections elaborate on the method, sample, and analysis procedure.

First developed by Harvey Sacks and his colleagues, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson in the 1970s, CA has been frequently employed by researchers to examine both live and recorded multiparty discussions, particularly in broadcast content. Since its inception, CA has emerged as a popular methodology among researchers examining broadcast talk ranging from telephone conversations, movies (Jaya, 2017), talk shows (Niapele et al., 2021) and radio programs (Nevinskaitė, 2016) to journalistic works such as political interviews (Beattie, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988), press conferences (Ekström, 2009), live political TV show (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016) and political television debates (Khan & Shahid, 2019). While TV debates serve as a corpus for investigation and a backdrop for examining emotions, journalistic views and experiences of emotions, both in their professional realm and during the debates, could provide novel insights into how emotions shape journalistic practices and the profession. Previous studies analysing broadcast content, more specifically talk shows and television interviews, have employed positivist approaches in reporting frequency and length of interruptions and overlaps, respectively. (Beattie, 1982; Hutchby, 1992; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; Khan & Shahid, 2019; Murata 1994)

In journalism studies, the use of CA is particularly evident in the research related to journalistic adversarialism (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007). While it has been employed as a key tool for examining journalistic discourse, its significance in analysing journalistic works has been repeatedly asserted (Ekstrom, 2007; Bowman & Ubayasiri, 2012). Jorfi and Dowlatabadi (2016), for example, examine the types of overlaps in Iranian live TV shows and assert the significance of CA in analysing media and journalistic discourse. Similarly, Bowman and Ubayasiri (2012) have emphasised the significance of CA in examining journalistic interviews, particularly "challenging" or adversarial journalistic talk, in order to "research journalism professional practices" (*ibid.*, p. 9). The duo extend the call to employ CA as a key methodological approach to investigate an array of broadcast talks to "help further understandings as to how journalists pursue truth in the public interest" (*ibid.*, p. 9).

While a majority of studies employ CA to examine television interviews and press conferences, more recently, some research emanating from the Global South has used it to examine political television debates (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Khan & Shahid, 2019). While not particularly in a journalistic context, both studies examine the extent of interruptions and their functions in political TV debates. Rafi'M and Al-Satori (2016) examine the 'dominance' element of interruptions and report that interruptions have a communicative value in inciting conflict between participants in political debates (p. 357). Similarly, Khan and Shahid (2019; p. 1) examine the "functional performance of interruptions" in studio-based discussions. Their findings attribute 80% of disruptive interruptions to the hosts of the show, who deviate from their role as moderators to that of commenters. Interruptions, according to the authors, are particularly employed by hosts for "agenda-setting purposes" and to both retain control of the talk and manage it (ibid., p. 12).

3.1.1 Significance of CA

Conversational analysis, as a method, given its significance in analysing broadcast talk, has been employed in this study. As an established method for analysing institutional talk, CA equips the researcher with tools to examine turn-taking and, therefore, offers insight into the organisation of the talk. While the method is not particularly concerned with context or meaning, it is particularly driven by the operational concerns of a multiparty discussion. It may not be so valuable in explicating how power is embedded in the text, but it could also indicate how power and dominance are being exerted in the way turns are being organised and violated. Interruptions are considered a violation of the turn-taking mechanism and are broadly identified as the act of speaking before a speaker has finished their turn. According to Hutchby (1992), interruption is an "act of starting to speak 'in the midst of another's speech; not letting another 'finish'" (Hutchby, 1992, p. 345). Drawing from Murata (1994), interruption in this study is defined as "intentional actions of interrupting the conversational partner's utterances" (Murata, 1994, p. 386).

Ferguson's (1977) classification of interruption and simultaneous speech has been widely used as a tool, as it explicates how dominance and power are negotiated between parties in an interaction. Building on Duncan's (1972) mechanism of speaking turns, Ferguson (1977) developed the approach for examining simultaneous speech and interruptions. She proposed five categories of interruptions, which include a) simple interruption, b) overlaps, c) butting-in interruption, d) silent

interruption and e) smooth speaker switch. While Ferguson's (1977) approach to examining interruption, particularly in the context of power and dominance, was drawn upon by several studies (see Zimmerman & West, 1975), further research went on to identify its forms and functions.

The scope of CA's application has been expanding beyond the analysis of power and dominance, as studies examining multiparty discourse have also employed it to examine politeness maxims, rapport building, and face negotiation, among other aspects. In widening its scope, the violation of turn-taking and recurrent interruptions, as explored through theoretical interpretations, could extend into additional areas of inquiry, such as the violation of speaker rights, unequal political representation, information suppression, evasion of accountability, and emotionality in talk-in-interaction, encompassing both journalistic and non-journalistic works. Building on Sacks et al. (1974), a later study by Murata (1994) argued that interruption may not always be power-related, may have cultural connotations, and may not necessarily result in speech overlaps. Murata's (1994) description of interruption is particularly helpful, as it emphasises the centrality of 'intention' to the act of interruption and branches out into its two forms: *intrusive* and *cooperative interruption*.

Moreover, it allows for a precise categorisation and, thereby, quantification of interruptions based on how they feature in a talk. The two categories are valuable in examining interruptions as they perform specific functions. While the *intrusive* is initiated with the intent to either achieve a turn grab or floor change, the cooperative is used to extend support to a speaker in the midst of their turn. Besides, such a bifurcation of interruptions is also helpful, as it enables the examination of the extent of turn violations or their absence by quantifying the two types.

Since not all interruptions are violative (Murata, 1994), a more nuanced view of talk-in-interaction data can be achieved by distinguishing between violative and non-violative interruptions, as they have a direct bearing on the progression of the talk. For example, interruptions that are violative, alternatively referred to as *intrusive*, tend to result in longer overlaps, whereas *cooperative interruptions* do not result in significant overlaps (ibid.). *Intrusive interruptions*, according to Murata (1994, p. 387), are aggressive as they aim to change the topic, take the floor, or disagree while threatening the speaker's territory. Below is an example of *intrusive interruptions*;

Host: [You are [saying... not tolerance +so+see++ see+]
IR2: [NEHA JI++ NEHA JI + all *...* [in Kerela *...*[↑↑the question is,
 whenever BJP forms the government<...>↑↑
IR3: [° (inaud.)° °]

[Ds 8]

Cooperative interruptions, alternatively referred to as *non-violative*, are characterised by brief utterances and are used to extend support, agree or input with a word or a phrase while the original speaker continues their turn (ibid., p. 386). Below is an example of *cooperative interruptions*;

IR1: When any investigating agency does not give proper evidence, then they are released, we have seen so many such cases+ now those who have been released what is their 20:38[political alignment+ and those+ and those++ see ++let me complete+ according to me]20:54+++I am saying

Host: your point is ab+ab+absolutely correct but the point is++ that political parties are declaring it [vendetta+++do you think this is appropriate

[Ds9]

In addition to speech interruptions, overlaps are particularly significant as they reveal the extent to which an interaction is confrontational. In contrast, interruptions can reveal the frequency of turn violations, and an examination of overlaps particularly offers the opportunity to capture the amount of time elapsed in sparring over turns. Overlaps, also referred to as simultaneous talk (Schegloff, 2000), occur when two or more participants in a multiparty discussion speak at the same time, resulting in simultaneous speech (Ferguson, 1977; Bennett, 1978; Zimmerman & West, 1975). They tend to begin with an act of interruption and may be either of long or short duration. Schegloff's (2000) discussion on overlapping talk and its "problematic" effects (ibid., p. 1) on participants is worthy of particular attention. Speech overlaps, according to Schegloff (2000), have been observed as a "major" departure from the principle of turn-taking, which prescribes one turn at a time (p.1).

Defined as "talk by more than one at a time" (ibid., p. 7), overlaps have been observed as "a means of seizing turns and dominating talk (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; p. 113). Along with the interruptions, examination of overlaps is equally meaningful as while overlaps are known to cause "communication troubles" (ibid., p. 114), not all overlaps result in confusion.

Competitive overlaps, for instance, reveal parties competing for turn often characterised by confrontational talk causing the sparring voices to drown while *cooperative overlaps* are marked by turn support causing negligible disfluencies (see Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; Schegloff, 2000; Adda-Decker et al., 2007;2008). *Competitive overlaps* occur when two or more speakers speak simultaneously, causing disfluencies as they attempt to hold their turn. Below is an example of *competitive overlaps*;

IR1: 15:02 No one has objected to anyones right to food and right to choices,
15:07[but I compliment the South Delhi *...* as *...* as *...* as *...*]15:14

Host: [15:07] (↑↑)offcourse you have if you are++if you telling meatshops to shut down firstly you are shutting down peoples livelihoods.. (↑↑)you are shutting down peoples livelihoods and] 15:14 you are also denying people's right to eat meat 15:19 [if they ((*incomplete sentence, turn abolished*))

IR1: (↑↑)NO ONE IS DENYING] 15:21 for a certain period of time

[Ds4]

Cooperative overlaps, also referred to as *non-competitive overlaps*, occur when two or more speakers speak simultaneously yet do not result in disfluencies and do not appear to be competing for a turn. Below is an example of *cooperative overlaps*.

IR3: 23:10 ...that is the reason why unification is happening that is why they are 23:15[trying to buy time in elections, they are only trying to create tension in Delhi] 23:17

Host: but you made a very important point, Abhishek Dutt] you+ you're saying

[Ds4]

Thus, while overlaps are known to affect the intelligibility of speech, *cooperative overlaps* may have a less significant impact on intelligibility than *competitive overlaps*. While the former may result in voices in chorus, the latter may lead to oppositional speech, resulting in garbled communication. Occurring as a result of interruption by or against the host, *cooperative interruptions* may be a type of rapport-building exercise, reinforcement or confirmation of an idea. *Competitive overlaps*, however, may underscore confrontation, disagreement and an act of seeking control and dominance.

3.1.2 Conversation Analysis in Journalism Research

While CA, as a method, has been more popular in applied linguistics and pragmatics, its popularity among journalism researchers has been increasing in recent years. Broadcast talk, which has, to a great extent, served as a corpus for CA, has been under investigation since the 1980s, as shown by the works of Bettie (1982) and Greatbatch (1988). However, its use as a method of choice is primarily driven by journalistic concerns, such as objectivity and journalistic adversarialism, and is a more recent development (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Bowman & Ubaysiri, 2012; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016). This is perhaps because the journalistic inquiry has primarily focused on the purpose and structure of texts and meaning, with content, narrative, and discourse analysis being the most prominent methods among researchers. A potential reason could be that CA primarily concerns talk-in-interactions, while the printed word falls beyond its ambit.

In the recent past, CA has served as a methodological lens to examine journalistic talk-in-interaction. Studies that have employed it to examine broadcast desiderata, in particular news interviews and political debates, to some extent, have elucidated the impact of turn violations, interruptions and speech overlap concerning journalists' ability to manage interviews and organisation of the talk (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Rendle-Short, 2007; Ekström, 2009). Although the popularity of CA has yet to gain more traction in journalism research compared to more established methods, such as content analysis, its increased use to examine broadcast talk could yield a better understanding of its more comprehensive application and implications for journalistic practices.

Bowman and Ubaysiri (2012), for example, demonstrate how CA "can inform understandings of journalism objectivity" (p. 2). Arguing for its use by journalism academics and media scholars to study journalism professional practices, they assert that CA can help enhance the understanding of how journalists pursue truth in the public interest and serve as a measure for examining journalistic values. Its use gives particular credence to journalistic interaction and how it is organised. It could help to ask questions such as how interruptions and speech overlap affect the quality of information that is a public good. In the context of debates, for example, how do journalists navigate the discursive confrontation that arises from *intrusive interruptions*? Questions concerning the organisation of the talk can be effectively addressed by using CA to uncover factors and influences

that shape the talk and may otherwise go unnoticed. Similar efforts can be seen in the examination of journalistic aggressiveness and antagonism, where studies have examined how interruptions and assertive questioning are used as resources for seeking control in interviews and assume an aggressive or antagonistic stance by the journalists (Rendle-Short, 2007; Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Alfahad, 2015).

CA could prove helpful in the empirical analysis of broadcast talk on the representation of politics in the media and the forces that affect the newsmakers and the newsmaking process, which analysis of news commentaries and reports may not offer due to their lack of insight into the production process (Voltmer & Brants, 2011). The need to examine the production process has been emphasised by the News Talk and Text advocates (NT&T), who particularly emphasise the use of ethnomethodological examination of the newsroom practices and how they influence journalistic practices and content (Catenaccio et al., 2011). Considering that the organisation of institutional talk is shaped by the production process, CA, as a method, equips the researcher to examine the process, underlying concepts and conjectures that are embedded in the production of journalistic talk.

With a larger aim of examining emotionality in political debates, this chapter employs CA to measure the extent of interruptions in Indian political television debates. The underlying motivation is that the extent of interruptions will not only offer insight into the organisation of the broadcast talk but may present avenues to escalate the investigation deeper into areas such as journalistic emotions. Interruptions, for example, although seemingly benign, have been identified as an emotional stressor and can be seen as an instrument of suppression, deviation, or deflection. A handful of studies have already underlined a relationship between recurrent interruptions and "strong negative emotions" such as anger, depression, confusion and frustration (Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006). Interruptions have been reported to cause emotional distress and verbal conflict (Allwood et al., 2012) and have been identified as an enabler of journalistic antagonism (Voltmer & Brants, 2011). CA, as a method, serves as a tool for launching an ontological and epistemological inquiry into such seemingly benign forces that shape journalistic works, inquiring into both their extent and impact on the organisation of the talk. While political debates can be examined from various standpoints, this study is primarily concerned with

the extent of interruptions and overlaps, as well as their potential causal relationship with emotionality in debates.

3.1.3 Measuring Interruptions and Overlaps

Studies examining interruption in broadcast talk have measured interruptions in terms of their frequency. For example, an interruption occurs when a participant's speech is interrupted by another member whose turn to speak has not yet come. Studies examining interruptions in broadcast talk have measured interruptions in terms of their occurrence and frequency, which in turn are translated into the functions or purposes they seek to achieve (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Zimmerman & West, 1975). When an individual's turn is interrupted by another individual, a single act of interruption is counted. Examination of *intrusive* and *cooperative* interruptions will naturally extend to the examination of the extent of overlaps in debates as well.

While speech overlaps have been examined in several studies (Beattie, 1982; Adda et al., 2007; Shriberg et al., 2001), Schegloff (2000) has highlighted two variants of overlaps: competitive and non-competitive overlaps, which are caused by intrusive and cooperative interruptions, respectively. Studies examining overlaps using CA in talk-in-interaction samples, such as news interviews and televised debates, have measured them in terms of frequency and length, which are expressed in absolute seconds. Zimmerman and West (1975), for example, measure both interruptions and overlaps in terms of the frequency with which they occur. Bettie (1982) measured overlaps in absolute seconds. In examining the conversational turn-taking in a televised interview of the then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the author reported that "overlaps were the most common form of interruption", with politicians producing "almost double the number produced by the interviewers (19 as opposed to 10)" (ibid. p. 108). He further reported that some periods of simultaneous speech, resulting in overlap, in Margaret Thatcher's interview were found to be as long as 5 seconds. Using an Iranian broadcast talk as a corpus of Analysis, Jorfi and Dowlatabadi (2016) examined the function that certain specific overlaps fulfil. The authors marked the beginning and end of overlaps in terms of minutes and seconds.

3.1.4 Analytical framework

While certain key texts, including Sacks et al. (1974), Ferguson (1977) and Murata (1994), greatly inform the central framework of CA, researchers have adapted it to the specific needs of their studies. Studies using CA for examining journalistic talk, in particular, have tailored it in line with the study's objectives (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Khan & Shahid, 2019; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016). For instance, within the framework of CA, Clayman & Heritage (2002) developed a coding scheme to measure journalistic aggressiveness in press conferences, whereas Jorfi & Dowlatabadi (2016) measure overlap occurrences along with other features such as pitch, stress, loudness, and intonation in a transcribed script in a live TV program. In addition to serving as a mechanism for measuring interruptions, CA, in both journalism and applied linguistics, has been employed as a framework to examine the dynamics of power, dominance and journalistic adversarialism in talk-in-interactions.

Since this study aims to employ CA to examine the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps employed by and against journalists, it draws on categories presented by Murata (1994), with a particular focus on the journalist's role as a host in debates, while excluding the panellists from the scope of the analysis. In other words, only those sections of the debates were examined where either the host or the panellists were observed to initiate an interruption against each other, resulting in speech overlaps.

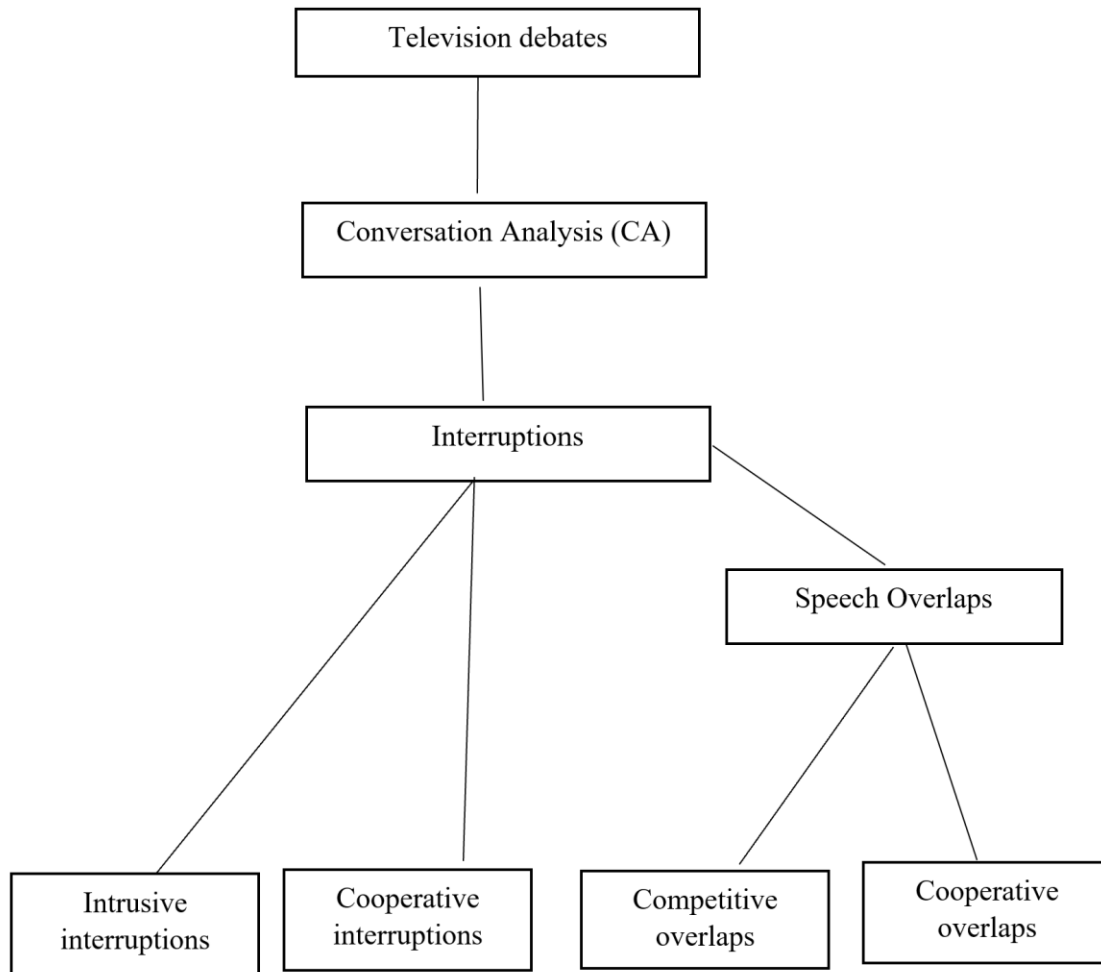


Figure 4: The analytical framework of the scheme of analysis

The underlying logic of adopting such an approach was to keep the journalistic engagement with interruptions at the heart of the inquiry. The panel members were only considered when engaging with the journalist through interruption and overlaps, and not among themselves.

A comprehensive analysis of the shows, including the panellists, could result in numerous questions and themes extending far beyond the scope of this study. The analytical diagram in Figure 4 shows the approach taken to analyse interruptions and speech overlaps, and a brief overview of each analytical unit is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Type of empirical unit and its brief description: interruption and overlaps

Empirical unit	Brief description
Total corpus	The total length of the corpus in minutes
Total Monologue by the Host (in minutes)	The total time devoted to the host monologue in the corpus counted in minutes
Actual Debate Corpus Excluding Host's Monologue (in mins)	The total time of the corpus, excluding the host's monologue, is counted in minutes
Cumulative interruptions in the actual corpus	The total number of interruptions in a show is reported in terms of the number of occurrences.
Cumulative overlaps in the actual corpus	The total extent of overlaps in a show is reported in absolute minutes and seconds.
Interruption by the host	The total number of interruptions initiated <i>by</i> the host
Interruptions against the host	The total number of interruptions initiated <i>against</i> the host
<i>Cooperative interruption</i>	The total number of cooperative interruptions initiated <i>by</i> and <i>against</i> the host of the cumulative interruptions
<i>Intrusive interruption</i>	The total number of intrusive interruptions initiated <i>by</i> and <i>against</i> the host of the cumulative interruptions
<i>Cooperative overlap</i>	The total extent of cooperative overlaps in a show is reported in absolute minutes and seconds involving the host.
<i>Competitive overlap</i>	The total extent of <i>competitive overlaps</i> in a show reported, in absolute minutes and seconds, involving the host.

The table illustrates the analysis scheme. It demonstrates how television debates were examined, firstly, for the extent of interruptions in the shows. The examination of interruptions was further bifurcated into measuring the extent of intrusive and cooperative interruptions. Since interruptions are known to cause speech overlaps, the focus of the examination was shifted to measuring cumulative speech overlaps in the debates. The cumulative speech overlaps were further examined to determine the extent of competitive and cooperative overlaps in the debates. To reiterate, the counting exercise is solely limited to the host, implying that the host was involved in the interruptions and speech overlaps by initiating or receiving them.

3.1.5 Material

Ornebring's (2003) definition of political TV debates was adopted for sample selection. The current affairs debates, according to Ornebring (2003), are explicitly designed in a televisual format and are "overtly presented as part of a mediated public sphere" (p. 503), compared to other forms of talks that can take place in either the presence or absence of cameras (*ibid.*). The debates are distinctive in that they cover critical social issues, and the dominant form of communication is debate or discussion between two or more participants in addition to a host (*ibid.*). The format of the debate is largely common to the shows on all channels, where a journalist acts in the capacity of the host and invites debate panellists to present their views and opinions on a preselected topic. The network predetermines the panellists for the show, with numbers ranging between four and twelve. The topics are based on current political issues that resonate with the larger audience. The panellists include representatives from political parties, academics, lawyers, artists, social workers, media personnel, trade union members, and the business community. A similar description of political TV debates can be found in several studies (Ornebring, 2003; AlFahad, 2015; Khan & Shahid, 2019; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016).

3.1.6 Sample Corpus and Selection Procedure

The material studied here encompasses ten political television debates broadcast between January 2014 and December 2022. The debates broadcast initially by television news channels were sourced from YouTube. As a regular practice, news channels upload debates to their YouTube channels after they are broadcast on TV. Terms such as 'Indian political debates' and 'political debates' were used to conduct the search. Using the purposive sampling method, the debates were chosen based on the criteria outlined below. A similar approach to selecting the debate corpus for CA has been employed by Al Fahad (2015).

1. Since debates are a feature of both English and Hindi language news channels, a mix of debates in both languages was considered.
2. The runtime of the debates ranged from 22 to 54 minutes. The average length of the show was 25 minutes, excluding the hosts' monologue.
3. The debates were broadcast on national mainstream news channels and made available on YouTube.

4. The debates are broadcast in the Primetime category for a narrower selection of samples. Additionally, Primetime debates are of key importance as they supposedly reach a larger audience and, therefore, address a national political issue of interest to a broader audience. The shows broadcast between 7 pm and 10 pm are regarded as primetime debate shows.
5. The shows with at least two participants, excluding the show host, were considered since more than two participants are typical of debate formats on Indian television.

The selection criteria yielded several hundred debate shows. A mix of debates broadcast on various national TV channels between 2011 and 2022 was considered. The search indicated that political television debates as a genre largely emerged after 2013, with very few instances, if any, prior to that period. This time period also aligns with print media commentary on debates, as fewer articles on political debates on TV can be found prior to 2013. Aligned with the criteria, the final selection yielded ten shows broadcast on well-known English news channels, including Times Now, Republic TV, and India Today, as well as popular Hindi-language channels such as Zee News, ABP News, and Aaj Tak. The ten shows included in the sample matched the selection criteria and had consistent features.

A limited sample selected in accordance with the selection criteria outlined in the next section was best suited for the investigation, given its exploratory approach. Studies employing CA in examining talk-in-interactions in journalism research, for example, have selected samples based on their "specificity and not as representative samples" (Hout, 2015, p. 77). Since the aim was to find new insights that can serve as a platform for reflecting on or investigating journalistic emotionality, a purposive sample selection approach that represents the diversity of the sample universe, aligned with the key aim, was best suited for this study. The selection criteria for sampling content for analysis in this study are developed in line with Creswell's (2013) guidelines for sample selection, which include diversity or homogeneity of the sample, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and sample size aligned with the study's aims.

A broad overview of debates and the confrontational nature of discussions, characterised by interruptions, has been well documented and critiqued in the Indian print media, as discussed in the literature review chapter. However, the gap has been evident in terms of the limited empirical

data on a nearly decade-old phenomenon on television, which can be addressed with an exploratory rather than a representative sample.

3.1.7 Overview of the Corpus

The sample included ten primetime debate shows. As shown in Table 2, the average runtime of the debates was found to be 37 minutes, excluding commercials, with the longest debate lasting 54 minutes and the shortest lasting 22 minutes. An average of six panellists participated in the debates, with a range of four to ten. The number of interlocutors did not appear to have any relation to the debate runtime. For example, the debate with the highest number of interlocutors (10) was found to be the shortest, with about 21 minutes of runtime, while the one with the lowest number of interlocutors (4) in the corpus was found to be approximately 37 minutes, nearly reaching the average length of the debates in the corpus. The total runtime of the entire corpus comprising the ten debates was approximately 377 minutes. The serial number of the debate show was used to refer to the shows in analysis throughout the study for ease of discussion. For example, the first entry in Table 2 is referred to as Debate Show 1, followed by Debate Show 2, and then by other samples in the corpus.

Table 2: Overview of the sample (n=10)

	Show title	Source	Date of broadcast	Show length	No. of panellists
Debate show 1	The Newshour Debate: The Rs 5 Joke	Times Now	Jul 26, 2013	37:29:00	4
Debate show 2	The Big Fight Appropriating Mahatma Gandhi: Congress vs Sangh?	NDTV	Oct 4, 2019	46:05:00	6
Debate show 3	Congress Ministers Set Anti-Hindu Agenda Bharat Jodo Yatra Turning Into Bharat Todo? Newshour	Times Now	Nov 8, 2022	40:23:00	7
Debate show 4	Right To (M)Eat: Let People Choose What They Eat No Spin	NDTV	Apr 5, 2022	27:17:00	5
Debate show 5	Republic TV Exposes Cong's '2 Crore Signature' Fraud	Republic TV	Dec 24, 2020	50:32:00	9
Debate show 6	SC begins hearing on the validity of triple talaq	Zee News	May 11, 2017	21:02	10
Debate show 7	Halla Bol: Protest Against Shah Rukh Khan's 'Dilwale'	Aaj Tak	Dec 19, 2015	30:03:00	5
Debate show 8	Big Debate: Did Anupam Kher dominate other speakers at the Telegraph National Debate 2016	ABP News	Mar 7, 2016	22:45	7
Debate show 9	भ्रष्टाचार पर वार या बदला ले रही सरकार? Takkar	CNBC Awaaz	Sep 4, 2019	53:54:00	6
Debate show 10	Rashtra Ki Baat: धर्म संसद में Nathuram Godse की पूजा, Mahatma Gandhi को गाली क्यों? Manak Gupta	News 24	Oct 2, 2021	48:01:00	5

The broadcast date of the sample spanned between 2013 and 2022, and the topics of the shows were related to political issues. The debates were broadcast on national television news channels during primetime hours. While no efforts were made to choose a specific source, the final sample was ascertained as per the selection criteria, including English and Hindi debates, with three national English news channels and five national Hindi news channels appearing as the source. The English national news networks included Times Now, NDTV and Republic TV, while the Hindi news sources included Zee News, Aaj Tak, CNBC Awaaz, News 24 and ABP News. The diversity of news sources, cutting across language, reach, and popularity, reveals that debate shows have, for almost a decade, continued to maintain their presence in primetime slots on national television.

The first show in the sample, "The Newshour Debate: The Rs 5 Joke," aired on July 26, 2013, on Times Now. It focused on Congress spokesperson Raj Babbar's controversial claim that a full meal can be had for Rs 12 in Mumbai. The statement sparked backlash from the BJP, the ruling party, and the debate delved into issues such as poverty, food security, and the insensitivity of political remarks regarding the economic struggles of ordinary people. The show featured representatives from Congress, the AAP, the CPI(M), and the BJP, with Arnab Goswami, then Editor-in-Chief of Times Now, as the host.

"The Big Fight: Appropriating Mahatma Gandhi: Congress vs Sangh?" aired on October 4, 2019, on NDTV. It was the second show in the sample, examining the political dispute over Mahatma Gandhi's legacy during his 150th birth anniversary. Congress claimed to have preserved his ideals, while the RSS was accused of appropriating his legacy despite historical opposition. Six participants analysed Gandhi's values and the politicisation of his legacy, with Nidhi Razdan moderating the discussion.

The third show aired on November 8, 2022, titled "The Newshour Debate: Congress Ministers Set Anti-Hindu Agenda — Bharat Jodo Yatra Turning Into Bharat Todo?" on Times Now. The debate questioned allegations of an anti-Hindu agenda by Congress ministers associated with the Bharat Jodo Yatra and explored whether the movement was becoming politically divisive. Seven participants discussed the controversy, with Navika Kumar hosting the episode.

On April 5, 2022, "Right To (M)Eat: Let People Choose What They Eat | No Spin" aired on NDTV, discussing the BJP's directive to close meat shops during the Navratri festival. This move, justified as respecting "public sentiment," led to criticism for violating personal freedom and negatively impacting the livelihood of meat vendors. Five participants, including politicians and legal experts, debated the broader issues of communal polarisation and constitutional rights, with Nidhi Razdan moderating the show.

"Republic TV Exposes Cong's '2 Crore Signature' Fraud" aired on December 24, 2020, on Republic TV, investigating allegations that Congress submitted two crore fraudulent signatures on petitions. This fifth show in the sample featured nine participants who discussed the evidence and the political fallout, with Arnab Goswami hosting in his signature confrontational style.

The sixth show aired on May 11, 2017. Titled "SC Begins Hearing on the Validity of Triple Talaq," it aired on Zee News and covered the Supreme Court's hearing on the constitutionality of triple talaq and polygamy. The debate, hosted by the late Rohit Sardana, featured 10 participants, including Muslim women affected by triple talaq, religious scholars, and legal experts, who discussed the tension between women's rights, religious freedom, and the need for legal reforms.

"Halla Bol: Protest Against Shah Rukh Khan's 'Dilwale'" aired on December 19, 2015, on Aaj Tak, covering protests by right-wing groups against the Bollywood film Dilwale. The protests were triggered by Shah Rukh Khan's remarks on rising intolerance in India. The debate examined freedom of expression, intolerance, and the role of political groups in organising these protests. Anjana Om Kashyap, a prominent journalist in the Indian media, moderated the discussion with five participants.

On March 7, 2016, "Big Debate: Did Anupam Kher Dominate Other Speakers at the Telegraph National Debate 2016?" aired on ABP News, focusing on India's political and social climate, especially intolerance. Bollywood actor Anupam Kher's speech addressing political controversies became a focal point. This eighth show featured seven participants, including Kher, actress Kajol, and political spokespersons from Congress and BJP, with Neha Pant moderating the discussion.

The ninth show, "Takkar: भ्रष्टाचार पर वार या बदला ले रही सरकार?" aired on September 4, 2019, on CNBC Awaaz, exploring whether the government was genuinely fighting corruption or using it for political revenge. Six participants presented varying views on the issue, with Amish Devgan hosting the show.

Lastly, the tenth show, "Rashtra Ki Baat: धर्म संसद में Nathuram Godse की पूजा, Mahatma Gandhi को गाली क्यों?" aired on December 27, 2021, on News 24. It investigated controversial religious assemblies where Nathuram Godse, the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, was allegedly praised, and Gandhi was insulted. The debate, which touched on nationalism, communal harmony, and freedom of speech, involved five participants offering divergent opinions. Manak Gupta hosted the episode.

Besides fulfilling the sampling criteria specified in Section 3.1.6, the sampled shows—conducted in the two most prominent official languages, Hindi and English—represent a diverse range of national news channels and ideological perspectives, covering the period from 2013 to 2022. With widespread popularity and extensive reach among both national audiences and the Indian diaspora, these mainstream news channels compete for the same audience and advertising revenue.

In terms of popularity and audience market share, these networks consistently rank among the top news channels, although their rankings can vary significantly over time. According to a 2025 report from APAC (India), Aaj Tak remains the top-ranked news channel, continuing to dominate the Hindi news segment (APAC, 2025). It is followed by India TV in second place, while ABP News secures the third position. News18 India ranks fourth, and Zee News holds the fifth spot. In the English news space, Times Now, ranked sixth overall, remains the market leader. India Today follows in seventh place, with CNN-News18 in eighth and NDTV India in ninth. DD News, the state-owned public broadcaster, ranks tenth, with a particularly strong reach among rural audiences.

While comprehensive, long-term audience data is not publicly available, a recent report from the Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC), as cited by MediaBrief (2025), MediaNews4U (2025), and PressRoom (2025), offers insight into short-term viewership trends. For Week 5 of 2025, Aaj Tak's prime-time show "Black & White" (aired from 9:00 to 10:00 pm, Monday to Friday) emerged as the most-watched Hindi news program, recording a Gross Average Minute Audience (AMA) of 9,746,000 viewers in the Hindi-Speaking Market (HSM) among the 15+ age group. Competing channels in the same time slot included News18 India (9,355,000), Republic Bharat (8,752,000), Times Now Navbharat (6,534,000), India TV (6,244,000), Zee News (3,718,000), and ABP News (3,219,000).

During the Lok Sabha election period (Weeks 16–21 of 2024), the English news segment, BARC data for the target group of 10 lakh+ urban households showed that Times Now led prime-time viewership with a 31% share (MediaBrief, 2024; MediaNews4U, 2024). Republic TV followed with approximately 22%, while India Today Television held 21%, and CNN-News18 captured 16% of the prime-time audience during the same period.

While none of these channels officially declare their political or ideological leanings, their editorial styles and political positioning offer valuable insights into their ideological orientations. Among the Hindi news channels, News 24 is generally regarded as the least biased by Media Bias Fact Check (MBFC), although it often emphasises nationalist narratives and issues related to cultural identity and national pride. CNBC Awaaz, a part of CNBC TV18, is rated as right-centre biased by MBFC, with a strong focus on economic and governance issues that reflect a pro-business editorial line often favouring conservative or nationalist perspectives. ABP News is also viewed as right-centre biased, with editorial framing that tends to support conservative or nationalist views, particularly those aligned with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Aaj Tak is typically regarded as right-centre, focusing on nationalist themes relevant to the Hindi-speaking heartland. Meanwhile, Zee News is widely regarded as a right-leaning news outlet, often supporting government policies and strongly promoting nationalist narratives.

Among the English news channels, Republic TV is rated right-centre biased by MBFC. It frequently supports the ruling BJP and maintains a consistently critical stance toward opposition parties such as the Indian National Congress (Jaffrelot & Jumle, 2020). In contrast, NDTV has traditionally held a centre-left or liberal editorial position, emphasising secularism, democratic values, and critical scrutiny of government actions. However, following its recent acquisition by a business tycoon closely associated with the BJP, NDTV's editorial tone has shifted, and it is now rated right-centre biased for increasingly aligning with government narratives. Times Now, another prominent English news channel with national and international audiences, is known for its right-leaning orientation, often critical of opposition parties and generally supportive of the BJP.

3.1.8 Units and Procedure of Analysis

This section outlines the units of analysis and the procedure for measuring the interruptions and speech overlaps. The categories, as units of analysis, were drawn from Murata's (1994) and Schegloff's (2000) analyses of interruptions and overlaps, respectively.

3.1.8.1 Measuring Interruptions

Each debate was analysed to measure a) the number of times an interruption occurs in a debate, reported in terms of frequency, and b) the amount of time elapsed in overlapping speeches, reported in minutes and seconds. In particular, the interruptions and overlaps in the debates were coded in the following ways;

- a. *Cumulative interruptions*- This included counting the total number of interruptions in the corpus involving the host. Every instance of interruption caused by either the host or the panellists against the host was counted in absolute numbers and reported in percentages.
- b. *Interruption by the host*—This included measuring every instance where the journalist interrupted the panellist's turn to probe further into their response, ask a question, cut their speech, reassign a turn, or resolve an overlapping speech between the panellists. Regardless of the reason, every instance of interruption initiated by the journalist was counted as one act of interruption. These were further bifurcated to identify *cooperative* and *intrusive interruptions* by the host.
- c. *Interruption to the host* - The analysis of this category included measuring the absolute number of times the panellist initiated an interruption against the journalist, either to contend, rebut, ask questions, make a request, or for any similar reason. Every single instance of such interruption by any member of the panel was counted in absolute numbers. These were further bifurcated to identify *cooperative* and *intrusive interruptions* against the host.
- d. *Length of cumulative overlap*- Cumulative overlap implies the total duration of overlaps in a debate show. Every interruption occurring under the two categories above, resulting in speech overlaps, was counted in absolute seconds using the video counters. For example, if an overlap between two or more members, including the journalist, started with an interruption at 02:07 (mm: ss) and lasted until 02:20, then the total overlap was counted as 13 seconds.

The data for Debate Show 1 are reported in Table 3 for reference.

Table 3: Frequency of interruptions and length of overlaps in political TV debates

Sno.	Cumulative Interruptions	Interruptions by the host	Interruption to the host	Length of total overlap (mm: ss)
Ds1	89	68	21	4:08

Drawing on Murata's (1994) work, cooperative and intrusive interruptions were identified and measured to distinguish between interruptions based on their functions.

- a. *Intrusive interruption*: Such interruptions are employed to violate a turn with the intent of topic-changing and floor-taking. Also known as *competitive interruptions*, these interruptions may be repetitive, tend to cause longer speech overlaps, and are perceived as a violation of the original speaker's right to speak. Every instance of interruption by or against journalists who showed disagreement, sought to violate another's turn, or made repeated requests to speak while a member was speaking was counted as one instance of *intrusive interruption*.
- b. *Cooperative interruption*: Such interruptions are made in an effort to extend support or provide input within an ongoing turn. This included counting every instance of interruption by the host or directed at the host who appeared to be extending support and did not intend to violate their turn. Examples of this include saying words that show agreement, such as "yes," "okay," and "you're right," or *repeating their words*, resulting in a chorus of voices.

The data on interruptions by and against the host were further examined to count the number of *cooperative* and *intrusive interruptions* occurring in the corpus, and were reported in percentages. This included identifying and measuring the two types of interruptions in every debate show of the corpus, followed by cumulative reporting of the two in percentages.

3.1.8.2 Measuring Overlaps

The next step entailed measuring the types of speech overlaps, drawing from Schegloff's (2000) categories of *competitive* and *non-competitive overlaps*. The unit of analysis used for measuring overlaps caused either as a result of an interruption initiated by the journalist or against the journalist was measured in terms of;

- a. *Competitive overlaps*: Caused by intrusive interruptions, competitive overlaps occur when two or more speakers speak over each other, resulting in confusing and garbled speech. In such overlaps, two or more panellists, including the journalist, could be seen sparring to take turns while speaking over each other. The overlapping sections of such overlaps were measured based on their time counters. The total duration of the overlaps was then reported in absolute minutes and seconds.
- b. *Cooperative overlaps*: These involve two or more speakers speaking simultaneously without causing disfluencies. Caused by *cooperative interruptions*, *cooperative overlaps* are resolved quickly. Such overlaps are observed as a result of interruptions either by the journalist or the panellist, yet they are of very short duration, as the person initiating the interruption does not seek to violate the speaker's turn but rather uses consenting remarks. Under this category, overlaps were identified and measured based on their time counters.

While CA provides insight into the frequency and types of turn violations occurring in the debates, examining how turn violations may contribute to emotionalised expressions, particularly the expressions of anger, in the audio-visual content is approached using multimodal analysis. The ensuing section elaborates on the multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) method and its application in the study, examining hosts' verbal, visual, and vocal cues of emotional expression in sampled units of analysis.

3.2 Stage II: Multimodal Conversation Analysis (MCA): Analysis of the audiovisual content

While CA offered an insight into the extent of turn violations in TV debates, their role in the emotionalisation of the debates warrants a closer analysis. For this, the sections of the debates were methodically selected and examined for the simultaneous presence of interruptions and emotions, in particular anger, drawing on a combination of studies that prescribe approaches to examine verbal, visual, and vocal data in text or audiovisual content (Fields, 1988; Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Gottschalk et al., 2020, 3rd ed.; Chourdaki, 2021; Strukowska, 2019; Bucy et al., 2020).

Drawing on studies that have examined anger in discourse (Retzinger, 1995), populist politics (Bucy et al., 2020), parliamentary debates (Strukowska, 2019) and in conversational story-telling, and using methodological approaches such as conversation analysis (Chourdaki, 2021) and qualitative content analysis (Gottschalk et al., 2020), this study examines the simultaneous presence of anger and interruptions in the overlapping sections of the corpus. Anger, among other emotions, is particularly in the spotlight because competitive interruptions and turn violations are known to yield negative emotions such as anger, hostility and aggressive behaviour (Soroka et al., 2015; Retzinger, 1995; Sandlund, 2004; Strukowska, 2019; Bucy et al., 2020; Antaki, 2012). Indicative of speakers' aggressiveness towards their opponents, the intent and function of interruptions have been observed to "disrupt the continuity", "steal time", and "advance the interrupter's agenda" (Bucy et al., 2020, p. 641). In their analysis of the 2016 US presidential debate, Bucy et al. (2020, p. 638) note that hostile interruptions convey a threatening tone, representing "represent violations of debate decorum and incursions on the opposing candidate's speaking rights" (Bucy et al., 2020, p. 638). If interruptions do not necessarily represent angry or aggressive behaviour, competitive or hostile interruptions are widely believed to indicate anger and "transgressive behaviour" (ibid.). Within the scope of verbal indicators, this study incorporates turn violations and competitive interruptions as a sign of verbal aggression and anger (Sandlund, 2004).

Additionally, focusing on the analysis of one prominent emotion is imperative for operational reasons. An empirical inquiry into several basic emotions (Ekman, 1972; Plutchik, 1980) would necessitate a comprehensive framework and a complex analytical approach encompassing a range of indicators to interpret emotional cues. In studies examining emotions, identifying and measuring more prominent variables of emotional displays has been observed as a practice before. Berry and Sobieraj (2014), for example, identify "dramatic" and "prevalent" emotional cues, such as crying, yelling, and slamming down the phone in anger, as their units of measurement while leaving out "less egregious" cues (p. 39). Keeping the analysis limited to the expression of specific emotions, such as anger and aggression, also aligns with the Indian media's evaluation of the host's aggression in the debates. This section discusses the multimodal conversational analysis (CA) approach adopted for its ability to analyse visual, vocal and verbal cues for the host's anger in the debates. It discusses the significance of the chosen methodology and the epistemological framework

adopted for analysing the sample units. Additionally, the section outlines the procedure for sample selection, analysis, and data reporting.

3.2.1 Multimodal analysis

The term, coined by M.A.K. Halliday, "refers to the modes of analysis used that could be applied to objects and words inferred from semiotics" (Luca, 2020, p. 74). Multimodality, "as a phenomenon of communication," involves analysing and interpreting semiotic modes such as images, speech, writing, layout, gestures, and spatial relationships within texts and communicative events (Van Leeuwen, 2015; Adami, 2016; Luca, 2020). For instance, examining spoken discourse under the multimodal approach encompasses elements like "voice, gestures, facial expressions, and aspects of self-presentation" (Luca, 2020, p. 75). In communication research, multimodality views representation and communication as dependent on various modes such as objects, words, colours, gestures, symbols, and the relation between these, which are socially constructed to convey meaning (Adami, 2016; Luca, 2020).

The examination of emotions has been central to academic discussion, primarily in linguistics, para-linguistics, and psychology, for over six decades. Studies have examined emotions in talk-in-interactions and broadcast data using a range of approaches such as experiments (Uribe & Gunter, 2007), conversational analysis, semiotic and qualitative content analysis (Gottschalk et al., 2020, 3rd ed.), and more recently, multimodal analysis and multimodal conversational analysis (Selting, 2010; Tai, 2023; Li et al., 2023). Compared to traditional methods of empirical analysis of emotions, the methodological discussion on multimodal analysis of audiovisual content has witnessed significant growth in studies that apply computational research, artificial intelligence, automatic speech recognition, and machine learning over the last two decades. While machine-based multimodal analysis often draws on the humanities and social sciences (see Adda et al., 2007; Caridakis et al., 2007), researchers have duly highlighted its shortcomings in comparison to manual approaches (*see* Knoblauch et al., 2008; Garcez et al., 2011).

Computer-based analysis of audiovisual material to capture tone, valence, sentiments, and emotions using predesigned lexical dictionaries is a growing area of inquiry in journalism research that employs Natural Language Processing (NLP) software and lexical dictionaries, albeit with some reservations. In addressing the challenges with lexical dictionaries, Rheault et al. (2016)

illustrate why a computer modelling approach to identifying emotions based on lexicons may produce unreliable results. The challenge, they note, is particularly rooted in interpreting the meanings, context, and tones of words that may have negative valence but are being used in a positive reference. For example, words like 'war,' as illustrated by Rheault et al. (2016), will be classified as having a negative valence, even when used in contexts such as diplomacy, intervention, and resolution, which necessitates manual checking for possible errors.

Besides, reliance on machine learning makes multimodal analysis more inclined towards technological nitty-gritty than the meaning-making of the data under investigation. The brief discussion here is not an attempt to present a critique of computer-driven analysis of audiovisual content, as such an endeavour would be beyond the scope of this study. Instead, the effort is to present a case for making a methodological choice favouring the traditional approach to multimodal analysis of audiovisual material. While machine reading of audiovisual content is a growing and promising area of inquiry, in alternative approaches, researchers in social sciences continue to employ multimodal approaches in combination with conversational analysis (Evnitskaya & Jakonen, 2017; Flewitt et al., 2019; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005) and discourse analysis methods (Luca, 2020), among other approaches.

3.2.2 Multimodality and Conversation Analysis

Several studies in recent years have explored the intersections between multimodality and conversation analysis (Evnitskaya & Jakonen, 2017; Flewitt et al., 2019; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005), including some that have employed multimodal conversation analysis to examine anger. (Selting, 2010). While Conversation Analysis (CA) traditionally focused on examining talk-in-interactions, according to Evnitskaya and Jakonen (2017), its analytical focus has broadened to examine the use of gestures and texts "as resources for interaction" (Evnitskaya & Jakonen, 2017, p. 2).

Expanding the scope of conversation analysis (CA) to incorporate non-verbal multimodalities, Goodwin (2000, p. 1490) has argued that instead of treating language in isolation, the "analysis of action within human interaction" should incorporate the "simultaneous use of multiple semiotic resources by participants". Multimodal conversation analysis, therefore, posits a framework for the examination of text with "contextual configuration", which considers the body as a site of the

production and display of meaning and action" encompassing bodily movements, actions, gestures and expressions (ibid., p. 1490). Tai (2023, p. 34) has argued that considering multimodal analysis in talk-in-interaction allows the researchers to "pay attention to how talk unfolds and not investigate utterances in isolation", as analysis of both verbal and nonverbal resources as "an integrated system" is equally "essential" (Li et al., 2023, p. 4).

Incorporating nonverbal cues like gaze, gesture, and posture is "deemed imperative" (Li et al., 2023, p. 4) in multimodal CA, as every detail may be of significant value in the interpretation of participants' orientations towards the interaction (Li et al., 2023, p. 4). The use of multimodal conversation analysis (CA) has "gained popularity as a methodological framework" (Li et al., 2023, p. 10). It has been employed to examine TV interviews (Koutsombogera et al., 2008), classroom practices (Evnitskaya & Jakonen, 2017), classroom translanguaging (Tai, 2023), and, more recently, press conferences (Li et al., 2023).

3.2.2.1 Multimodality in Journalism Research

A cursory literature search reveals a growing trend of multimodal studies in journalism research encompassing topics such as emotions and sentiment in the news (Soroka et al., 2015; Young & Soroka, 2012), detecting fake news (Singh et al., 2021), analysing captions in photojournalism (Logaldo, 2017), news dissemination via social media (Hase et al., 2023), and the analysis of digital long-form journalism (Hiippala, 2017). Despite the growth of multimodality in journalism and Conversation Analysis (CA) studies (Flewitt et al., 2019, p. 4) as two separate domains, the intersection between the two in journalism remains unexplored. In what may appear as a glaring methodological gap, research in journalism has yet to adopt a multimodal conversation analysis (CA) approach to examine journalistic content.

3.2.3 Examining Anger using Multimodal Conversation Analysis

While conversation analysis (CA) enables the capture of pitch changes, pauses, emphasis, or stress on certain words, it is particularly effective in capturing turn violations, such as interruptions and speech overlaps, in a talk-in-interaction *in situ*. Multimodal CA, in particular, enables the capture of visual cues, such as facial expressions when anger is expressed, as well as vocal cues in the form of pitch changes. Additionally, it encompasses verbal cues, including the use of hostile

speech and hostility, which is characterised by turn-violation, competitive interruptions, and overlaps. Using transcription conventions to annotate transcripts only makes the process more systematic as emotional cues can be indicated with precise markers as they occur, whereas, in their absence, emotions "may be only vaguely identified" (Chourdaki, 2021, p. 41). Combining CA with the indicators of anger—a process adopted in several studies (Chourdaki, 2021; Sandlund, 2004; Strukowska, 2019)—in verbal and vocal behaviour in tandem with visual expressions presents a more systematic and orderly approach to inferring anger in television debates, rather than using the two methods separately.

3.2.4 Interpreting Anger in Visual, Vocal and Verbal Data

Being the most easily recognisable emotion (Pittam & Scherer, 1993; Sandlund, 2004; Retzinger, 1995), empirical analysis of anger in broadcast data and talk-in-interaction has received much attention (Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Gottschalk et al., 2020 (3rd ed.); Chourdaki, 2021; Strukowska, 2019; Bucy et al., 2020). Moreover, scholars widely agree that verbal, vocal and visual cues signify emotional involvement and can be used to interpret emotions (Selting, 2010; Retzinger, 1995; Gottschalk et al., 1969; Bucy et al., 2020). While some studies have examined visual, vocal and verbal cues in tandem (Sandlund, 2004; Selting, 2010; Bucy et al., 2020; Chourdaki, 2021), others focused on individual cues to identify anger in data (Strukowska, 2019).

Selting (2010), for example, examined verbal, visual, and vocal cues of anger in the narration of complaint stories, noting that participants use these cues to "signal their emotive involvement in telling and responding to the story" (p. 242). In a recent study, Bucy et al. (2020) examined verbal and visual indicators to study emotionalisation marked by anger and hostility in the populist communication style of politicians. In examining populist rhetoric in the US presidential debate, the authors identify emotionalisation¹ and negativity as "communicative dimensions" that invoke public sentiment and examine the visual and tonal markers of outrage (Bucy et al., 2020, p. 639). Visually, anger can be evident in "antagonistic expressions and defiant gestures" and verbally, in

¹ The difference between affect and emotion is that former encompasses feeling, moods and attitudes (Selting 2010, p. 230)

angry language that employs hostile and resentful terms, as well as *ad hominem* attacks against the opponent (ibid.).

Illustrating the cues that can be observed for emotionalisation and, in particular, anger in populist political performances, Bucy et al. (2020) suggest anger can be identified by observing visual and tonal markers of outrage, including "angry and threatening facial expressions and tone of voice, defiance gestures, inappropriate displays, hostile interruptions, verbal nonfluencies, character attacks, and use of blame and anger language" (p. 639). Strukowska (2019), for example, used conversational analysis of anger in the verbal exchanges in the UK parliamentary debates and claims that "anger is intrinsically a threat, a function of context, and a gradable emotional state" (p. 4). Expanding its scope, anger has been used synonymously or linked to negativity, hostility and aggression by many (Soroka et al., 2015; Sandlund, 2004; Bucy et al., 2020). According to Soroka et al. (2015), negativity can be quantitative or qualitative. A news story about worsening unemployment would be identified as quantitative negativity, whereas journalists expressing disappointment or anger about unemployment would be considered to exhibit qualitative negativity.

Aside from the description of anger, fewer studies offer a comprehensive framework for identifying and measuring it in text, talk, and visuals. A detailed framework of verbal behaviour related to anger and hostility is presented by Gottschalk et al. (1969), where verbal expressions of anger can range from mild to extreme, from inward expressions to outward expressions directed at someone or something. Drawing from Gottschalk et al. (1969), more manageable and "most detailed" (Sandlund, 2004, p. 84) descriptions of anger come from Retzinger (1991, 1995). Her analysis of verbal, vocal and visual cues offers a set of specific indicators encompassing "verbal interruption, sarcasm, blame, criticism, questioning, other-attribution, prescription, and threats" as expressions of anger (ibid. 1991, p. 42). Audiovisual and vocal data allow for observing various cues in tandem and thus could offer a more reliable analysis of expressions of anger. However, verbal, vocal and visual cues to signify anger "need to occur in combination" (Retzinger, 1995, p. 1112). Thus, broadcast data encompassing all three cues can be regarded as the most suitable data for such an enquiry.

For the interpretation of visual, vocal, and verbal cues of anger, this chapter draws on Selting (2010) and relies on Retzinger's (1995, p. 1112) approach, as it "provides a holistic picture of emotions in context, which is not possible with other methods." Retzinger's (1991, 1995) method stands out as the most comprehensive framework that categorically outlines the indicators of anger in interaction, drawing on more than half a decade of literature on identifying emotions using verbal and non-verbal cues, primarily for two reasons. First, it allows the researcher to approach the multimodal conversation analysis more systematically, specifically emphasising anger in text and context. Second, her list of visual, vocal, and verbal cues enables one to interpret actions, expressions, and transcription conventions, such as pitch and tempo changes, for angry reactions rather than solely relying on the researcher's interpretation (*cf.* Samra-Fredericks, 2004; Saldana, 2015; Faherty, 2009).

The use of a multimodal conversation analysis combined with Retzinger's (1991, 1995) categories of anger to examine talk-in-interaction complement each other to offer a deeper insight into the composition of emotional reactions through the observation of the "constellation" (*ibid.* 1991, p.45) of verbal, visual and vocal cues. While the observation of emotions purely based on one set of cues may be inconclusive, triangulating it with corresponding categories, such as verbal with visual and vocal, for example, will strengthen the validity of the observation as "the greater number of cues from each category, the stronger the evidence for a particular emotion" (*ibid.*, p. 1112). Subsequent sections discuss the scope of verbal, visual, and vocal cues to examine anger in text and talk and elaborate on Retzinger's (1995) indicators of anger that this study utilises to conduct multimodal conversation analysis.

3.2.4.1 Visual analysis of anger

Visuals are a broad category in audiovisual analysis and may include camera shots and angles, set composition, and non-verbal communication. Non-verbal communication also encompasses various subcategories, including facial expression, gaze, gesture, posture, touch, and spatial behaviours/proxemics, which are further divided into subsets. Among an array of non-verbal cues, facial expressions have received much attention. Ekman (1999) has identified six universal types of facial expressions, for example, which broadly correspond to emotions such as surprise, anger, fear, happiness, disgust/contempt, and sadness (McNoughtan, 2009; *see* Ekman, 1972, 2004), and

corresponding facial expressions could be observed to capture a particular emotion being expressed in a moment of observation. A cursory review of the literature on facial expressions and emotions reveals that, simplistically speaking, raised eyebrows typically indicate surprise, frowns often indicate anger, laughter or a chuckle typically indicate happiness, and a head tilt often indicates disappointment (Ekman, 2004).

Despite a sizeable literature on facial expressions of emotions, their concrete interpretation, however, is not without its limitations. This is because emotions can be expressed or experienced without facial expressions, may be faked (Ekman, 1992), and are context-dependent, potentially differing across cultures. Given those challenges, considering the full scope of facial expressions amid the complexities of their analysis presents an arduous task. Therefore, researchers considering facial expressions in qualitative studies tend to self-report emotions and corroborate their observations with the transcribed content (*see* McNaughtan, 2011; Ekstrom, 2009), an approach that may involve a certain degree of researchers' subjectivity in reporting emotions, discussed later in this chapter.

The visual analysis of emotions and anger, however, is not limited to facial expressions. Studies examining anger have considered paralinguistic features encompassing facial expressions and bodily movements as visual cues of anger. Bucy et al. (2020) note that anger can be visually evident in "antagonistic expressions and defiant gestures" and verbally in angry language, which includes hostile and resentful terms, as well as *ad hominem* attacks against the opponent. For Selting (2010), visual displays of anger can involve hand movements, clenched-fist gestures, slashing and pointing gestures, head nods and shakes, gaze and withdrawal of gaze, tight-lipped smiles, and other facial expressions, as well as collapsing body posture.

A more comprehensive list of visual cues of anger is provided by Retzinger (1991) and has been widely adopted as a methodical source (Selting, 2010; Chourdaki, 2021; Sandlund, 2004). Employed in this study, her visual cues of anger allow for the delimitation of the scope of visual indicators to a manageable few, thereby eliminating the need for researchers' self-interpretation of the cues. Following is the list of indicators of anger identified by Retzinger (1991, p. 1111), employed in this study;

1. Brows lowered and drawn together, vertical lines appear between them
2. Eyelids narrowed and tense in a hard and fixed stage, and may have a bulging appearance
3. Mouth closed with lips pressed together, the corner straight or down, or the mouth is open but tense and square. Close mouth position may occur in an attempt to control shouting and hostility. Open mouth anger occurs during speech
4. Hard direct glaring
5. Lean forward toward others in a challenging stance
6. Clenched fists, wave fists, hitting motions

3.2.4.2 Verbal analysis

Gottschalk et al.'s (2020, 3rd ed.) work on hostility and anger presents a systematic and detailed compendium of verbal indicators of anger. Their analysis provides exhaustive lists of verbal codes in words and phrases that indicate anger expressed towards others, using verbal expressions to criticise, deprecate, blame, and dislike other living and non-living beings. Building on his exhaustive list of verbal codes, Retzinger (1995) offers a limited set of verbal indicators that can be employed to identify anger occurring in interaction or transcribed content (Retzinger, 1995). According to Retzinger (1995), anger can be indicated by "verbal challenges", which involve "acting out of hostile behaviour" rather than expressing feelings. Employed in this study, her list of challenging behaviours indicative of anger includes;

- a. Interruption: the act of cutting another off before he or she ends his/her turn.
- b. Sarcasm. Statements that say one thing in words and another in gesture, and that put others down or make others look foolish.
- c. Blame: Statements that place the responsibility of fault onto the other.
- d. Criticism. Negative evaluation of another
- e. Questioning. Repeating the same question over and over is a form of interrogation.
- f. Presumptive attribution: "Statements that attribute thoughts, feelings, intentions, or motives" to others
- g. Prescription. Statements that seek to change the other's behaviour in a specific way: request, demand
- h. Threaten: To give the other an either/or alternative or imply abandonment

3.2.4.3 *Vocal analysis*

A sizeable body of literature has examined vocal cues for the presence of emotions. Between qualitative and quantitative studies, a commonly held view is that emotions can be identified by examining vocal cues (Sandlund, 2004; Selting, 2010; Retzinger, 1995; Sobin & Alpert, 1999). Marked by loudness, pitch, pace, emphasis, and time (Pittam & Scherer, 1993; Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004), vocal characteristics and variations in talk-in-interaction are known to be "directly revealing speakers" emotions (Selting, 2010, p. 230). Studies examining vocal pitch cues for negative emotions, such as anger, have identified it in "increased volume, volume variance, increased pitch variance, and rapid speech rate" (Sobin & Alpert, 1999, p. 361). Research has shown that anger is "marked primarily by harsh voice qualifiers" (Retzinger, 1995, p. 1110) and "associated with a higher pitch, loudness and speed" (Sandlund, 2004, p. 82).

Further studies that have examined negative and positive emotions in tandem have considered vocal cues a key distinguishable feature between the two sets of emotions (Sandlund, 2004; Sobin & Alpert, 1999). Acoustic variables, such as pitch, volume, and speed, for negative emotions, like anger, are categorically distinguishable from those for positive emotions, like happiness and joy. Indicating the reliability of these as features in distinguishing between negative and positive emotions, Sobin and Alpert (1999) have shown that anger, joy or sadness are "never misperceived" (p. 360) for each other and emotional inferences drawn from vocal cues are "rather accurate" (Sandlund, 2004, p. 82).

In analysing anger in complaint stories, Selting (2010) marked vocal cues such as extra-strong accents, extra-high pitch peaks, lengthenings, stress shifts, dense accentuation, tempo changes, and changes in pitch register. Selting (2010) draws on the categories initially presented by Retzinger (1995) to capture the vocal cues of anger, which this study also draws from.

1. *Loud*. The volume of the voice increases
2. *Heavy stress*. Volume and emphasis increase on certain words.
3. *Staccato*. Distinct breaks between successive tones.
4. *Sing-song*. A repeated pattern of pitch and stress.
5. *Whine*—a nasally spoken utterance.

While using verbal and non-verbal cues to examine broadcast/audiovisual data or capture emotions offers a sense of reliable framework, such analysis is not without its limitations.

3.2.5 Challenges with analysing audiovisual data

Studies examining audiovisual content have identified various challenges and limitations associated with examining audiovisual data. One relates to the lack of a unified method for examining broadcast data, as noted in "little literature about the analysis of this type of material" (Garcez et al., 2011, p. 253). Second, while multimodality may appear to answer the analysis of broadcast content, "there is no decisive notion of the visual in Video-Analysis" (Knoblauch et al., 2008, p. 5; Luca, 2020). As a result, much of the analysis of audiovisual material is often reduced to the analysis of the transcribed data of the audiovisual content, with inferences drawn based on "the assumptions used in the analysis of written material" (Garcez et al., 2011, p. 253). While speech can be transcribed in detail, the attempt to capture gestures, gaze, tone of voice, cadence and images "can hardly be translated into written language safeguarding the necessary precision." (Garcez et al., 2011, p. 255). These challenges have been addressed to some extent in the growth of multimodal studies; however, the focus on text continues to take precedence over the interpretation of both verbal and non-verbal language in audiovisual material (Luca, 2020).

Amid the challenges and limitations, however, studies examining broadcast data have continued to grow at a consistent pace. Under the overarching umbrella of qualitative approaches, researchers use a combination of techniques which primarily entail observation of the visual content and transcribing the verbal data, followed by qualitative content analysis, multimodal conversation analysis (CA) and discourse analysis (Fields, 1988; Luca, 2020; Garcez et al., 2011; Knoblauch et al., 2008; Sandlund, 2004).

3.2.5.1 Challenges with identifying emotions in Audiovisual content

Despite advances in studying emotions using a range of manual and computational approaches, a unified framework for their analysis, particularly in audiovisual formats, remains scarce. Described as "a fuzzy and complicated domain for scholars " (Sandlund, 2004, p. 5), the challenge of studying emotions has been acknowledged by numerous scholars (Strukowska, 2019; Selting, 2010; Bucy et al., 2020; Retzinger, 1995). The varying experiences and expression of emotions in

humans make it more "particularly difficult to understand" (Retzinger, 1995, p. 1104) and complicated to study and analyse because there is "no such emotional experience that would be intrinsically measurable" (Strukowska, 2019, p. 6). Capturing emotions that are noted to be "elusive-private, intangible, transient, unmanageable, and even unknowable" (Sturdy, 2003, p. 81) has been regarded as a "formidable task" in research (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p. 1020). Notably, despite the considerable amount of literature on emotions in various disciplines, researchers have lamented the lack of a systematic methodology for studying emotions (Garcez et al., 2011; Sturdy, 2003; Strukowska, 2019). For example, both Saldana (2015) and Faherty (2009) offer a scheme of qualitative coding, including the coding of emotions in text and talk; however, they do not provide a framework that can be used to capture emotions in action and highlight the potential subjectivity involved in the coding process.

While transcription of verbatim talk-in-interaction, as per the set conventions, offers insight into the nature of speech, turn violation, and prosodic values, its use to capture kinesics, spatial behaviour, and emotions is somewhat elusive and complex. It has thus been observed as a methodological limitation by the Conversation Analysts (McNaughton, 2009; Samra-Fredericks, 2004; Sturdy, 2003). Emotions are context-dependent and are subject to "interactional arrangement" (Selting, 2010, p. 230); thus, they are "particularly difficult to understand because they are deeply embedded in the moment-by-moment context in which they occur" (Retzinger, 1995, p. 1107). While emotional messages can be derived by combining verbal and nonverbal cues (Sandlund, 2004, p. 84), their interpretation requires a context-sensitive approach that surpasses conventional methods, which cannot capture the "contextual and sequential cues" (Retzinger, 1995, p. 1107).

3.2.5.2 The problem of subjectivity in interpreting emotions

Amid these challenges, the issue of subjective interpretation of emotions in data has also been duly identified, raising the possibility of potential researcher bias. According to Faherty (2009), the process of studying emotions may involve a degree of subjectivity even when approaches like applied qualitative data analysis are used. Emphasising the subjectivity involved in coding emotions, Faherty (2009) notes that "there is no absolutely right or wrong code" (ibid. p. 63) as long as it is within the research context and there is no objective yardstick that can be effectively used to measure emotions (Strukowska, 2019). While analysing verbal data, anger, according to

Faherty (2009), can be manually coded based on researchers' interpretation or evaluation of the text to capture the "essential meaning" of the text in a word or two.

3.2.5.3 Working with Limitations

Despite the apparent incongruity between the possibility and the extent of accurate interpretations, social science research has continued to grapple with interpreting emotions in audiovisual and textual data for over five decades. Studies have shown that researchers often infer and self-report emotions based on nonverbal cues, such as eye contact, gaze, facial expressions, and body language, also known as kinesics. Transcription enables the capture of emotional detail by observing and recording the linguistic assemblage of feelings, their expression, acknowledgement, and reciprocation during actual *interaction* (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p. 1020). Researchers examining audiovisual content, for example, have self-reported the occurrence of emotions based on their observations while transcribing the content. The use of double parentheses [((researcher's observation))] has been employed to report non-verbal communication, such as gaze, expression, and emotion, in the researcher's description of a noteworthy action occurring during the talk-in-interaction (see Garcez et al., 2011; McNaughton, 2009; Ekstrom, 2009). Some have attempted to circumvent the challenges by combining multimodality with conversation and discourse analysis. Others have drawn upon a combination of methodological studies, such as Retzinger (1995) and Gottschalk et al. (1969). Combining multimodality with conversation analysis, mainly to capture emotions in talk-in-interaction, has been observed as a reliable approach (Tai, 2023).

In the absence of a unified framework for examining emotions, researchers have tended to rely on a combination of studies to address the challenges involved in studying emotions. Additionally, given the complexity of examining emotions, most studies have focused on individual emotions, such as anger, shame, happiness, and joy. Anger, in particular, is observed as the most easily recognisable emotion (Pittam & Scherer, 1993; Sandlund, 2004; Retzinger, 1995) and has received much attention in the examination of visuals, text, and talk. Such studies examining hostility, anger and aggression have tended to depend on a multimodal methodological framework for the identification of anger, offering a certain epistemological clarity on the identification of anger based on vocal, verbal and visual cues (Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Gottschalk et al., 2020, 3rd ed.; Chourdaki, 2021; and Strukowska, 2019) rather than researchers' self-

interpretation of the emotions, actions and expressions (Samra-Fredericks, 2004; Garcez et al., 2011).

Multimodal CA eliminates the over-dependence on researchers' observation while limiting the possibility of researchers' bias, as vocal, visual and verbal cues have been regarded as reliable indicators of detecting emotions. Emotions have been reported to manifest in vocal sounds (Strukowska, 2019; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Retzinger, 1995). For example, a sad account or an angry speech will likely contain both words and vocal sounds that are indicative of embedded emotions. The tone/tempo of voice or vocal inflection/intonation, and/or varying vocal pitch, for example, "are an important component for assembling and expressing emotions" (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p. 1020). CA-based transcription of multimodal cues, therefore, offers a reliable tool for empirical inquiry into anger while allowing the capturing of turn violations and speech overlaps. Retzinger's (1995) visual, verbal, and vocal indicators of anger, identified in situ during transcription, can reveal the presence of angry reactions corresponding to the transcribed text.

3.2.6 Sample Selection and Sample Size

The sample and findings from the previous chapter were utilised to identify the sample for analysis, referred to as units of analysis, in this chapter. The corpus of ten debates used as a sample in the previous chapter formed the basis for this chapter, with the findings that helped identify the sections with the most turn violations in the corpus. Since every debate revealed turn violations, the entire sample of ten debates was accounted for, and the four-step approach (Li et al., 2023, p. 4) utilised in multimodal conversation analysis was followed to identify samples for this chapter in the debates. This process yielded 12 minutes and 49 seconds of visual data and 3274 words of transcribed material. Table 4 presents the identified sample for each show, along with its duration and time counters. The steps outlined below involve a) delimiting the data within the corpus, b) identifying the units of analysis, c) annotating and transcribing multimodal data, and d) identifying the emotional expressions.

1. The first step, delimiting the data within the corpus, involves manually examining the debates in the corpus to identify units in debates where the host engages in competitive interruptions with the panellists.

2. The second step, delimiting units of analysis, involved marking the units, referred to as units of analysis, based on their time counters. As a result, the audiovisual units of analysis from the debates, which contain competitive interruptions and overlaps, are categorically outlined.
3. The third step, called annotating and transcribing multimodal data, involves transcribing and annotating the interactions occurring during the units of analysis using Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions, which allow for the identification of verbal and vocal cues. Transcription of units using Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions, central to Conversational Analysis, enables capturing of turn violations causing interruptions and overlaps, in addition to verbal utterances and vocal cues such as pitch, tempo, and stress. The host's visual cues, which occur during the transcribed portions, are captured providing visual cues.
4. The fourth step, called identifying the topics (in this case, anger), involves identifying and interpreting anger based on multimodal cues. In this, Retzinger's (1995) verbal, vocal, and visual cues are employed to identify and interpret expressions of anger in the units of analysis.

Since this investigation is exploratory, the sample selection was kept limited to specific units rather than examining whole shows. The limited sample size, informed by the purposive sampling approach, was selected with the underlying aim of gaining insights into how journalistic emotions in talk-in-interaction can be observed and, potentially, captured using the Multimodal Conversation Analysis approach. Additionally, since the investigation is novel on both conceptual and methodological levels, with the underlying aim of uncovering novel insights, the exploratory approach was best suited to this study. In addition to the measures taken for sample selection, the sample size was kept limited. This is mainly because the attempt was a) not to generalise the results and b) to achieve in-depth multimodal analysis of the results. The application of MCA combined with Retzinger's (1995) anger cues is in itself a complex exercise that requires several viewings of a single sampled unit. Besides, the overlapping units involving 3 to 8 participants add further to the viewing hours, making the exploration a labour-intensive and complex exercise. Despite this

limitation, the application of the methodology and the findings in this study can inform more extensive and structured future studies.

Discussed in the ensuing section, the four-step approach resulted in three broad categories, which involved a) unitising content, b) transcribing content, and c) identifying and interpreting visual, vocal and verbal cues of anger.

3.2.6.1 Unitising content

The corpus was examined to identify sections in the debates with the most turn violations, revealing competitive interruptions and speech overlaps. The process involved watching the debate shows multiple times to identify sections where the host and panellists appeared to engage in competitive interruptions, intruding into each other's turns. The identified sections were referred to as units of analysis. The process yielded ten units in the corpus of ten debates, with varying frequencies and lengths of interruptions and overlaps (*see* Table 4). Once the sample was identified, the units were manually observed to measure the number of competitive interruptions and the length of overlaps. The manual examination of the units involved counting the frequency of interruptions initiated by and against the host, followed by simultaneous observation of resultant competitive overlaps in minutes and seconds. The key rationale for identifying the units with the maximum number of turn violations was to delimit the sample data to specific sections of the debates where evidence for the simultaneous presence of the two could be derived. Since not all interruptions result in emotional talk, only competitive interruptions were taken into consideration. Competitive interruptions have been observed as a violation of speakers' rights (Votmer & Brants, 2011) and deemed intrusive, thus aggressive, as they "threaten" the territory of the speaker (Murata, 1994, p. 389). The specific emphasis on units with competitive interruptions allowed the chapter to focus on the evidence of various modalities of the host's angry reactions. The units were considered for further analysis using the multimodal conversation analysis approach, which encompasses vocal, verbal, and visual categories of anger (Retzinger, 1991, 1995).

Additionally, the units were examined to count the number of panellists speaking simultaneously during the competitive overlaps. For example, in the debate show 1 of the corpus, 45 seconds of competitive overlap was identified between 24 minutes and 25 seconds and 25 minutes and 10 seconds of the show, during which five speakers, including the host, caused eight turn violations

while speaking over each other. The table below presents the attributes of the units identified in the corpus.

Table 4: Unitising content

Source and Debate show	Number of turn violations	Number of speakers, including the host	Time counters	The total duration of the identified sample in mm/ss	Word count in transcript
Debate show 1	8	5	24:25 – 25:10	0:45	208
Debate show 2	17	3	39:23 – 40:25	1:02	328
Debate show 3	12	3	26:14 – 27:18	1:04	281
Debate show 4	11	6	24:25 – 25:27	1:02	308
Debate show 5	13	3	20:30 – 22:14	1:44	437
Debate show 6	15	7	12:45 – 14:52	1:57	558
Debate show 7	13	2	26:09 – 27:05	2:07	270
Debate show 8	8	4	14:56 – 15:22	0:26	91
Debate show 9	12	3	33:42 – 35:01	1:19	427
Debate show 10	8	3	20:22 – 21:35	1:13	366
	117			12:49	3274

The corpus of ten debates was found to contain ten units, amounting to 12 minutes 49 seconds of cumulative runtime, with the most turn violations. The units identified involved the host, given the exclusive focus on journalistic emotions rather than the panellists. The identified duration accounted for approximately 5% of the total corpus ($n = 254$ minutes). The total frequency of interruptions occurring during the units was found to be 117, which is about 16% of the total interruptions reported in the corpus (745). The number of overlapping speakers, including the host within the unit, was also counted to give an impression of the magnitude of interruptions and overlaps during the identified unit.

Additionally, it underlines the challenge associated with transcribing overlapping speeches between two members as opposed to many. In Debate Show 6, for example, seven of the ten members spoke concurrently, resulting in frequent interruptions and speech overlaps. Except for show 7, every debate sample had more than two members talking over each other in the units identified for analysis.

As shown in Table 4 above, not all overlapping units were equal, with the shortest being 45 seconds and the longest over 2 minutes. The length of overlaps varied due to several factors: a) the hosts' style, with some exhibiting more dominant behaviours than others; b) the nature of the topic, as some topics appeared more divisive; and c) the number of panel members, where bigger panels seemingly presented more challenges in managing turns.

3.2.6.2 Transcribing content

While conversation analysis allows for examining the talk-in-interaction, its full scope is only realised by following Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions. The units were transcribed with particular emphasis on the vocal pitch tunes. Transcribing the units using Jeffersonian conventions (see Appendix) helped capture the vocal pitch tunes, interruptions, and the host's emotions *in situ*. Table 5 below presents the transcribed version of a unit from Debate Show 1, which serves as a reference for how this was achieved. The excerpts from other shows discussed in this chapter can be found in the appendices. While in socio-linguistic research, the use of CA in conjunction with Jeffersonian transcription is almost half a century old (*formally introduced in 2004*), its application in journalism research is more recent.

Studies have examined journalistic antagonism in presidential press conferences, debates, and political interviews using CA (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekstrom, 2009). Ekstrom (2009), for example, employs Conversation Analysis and Jefferson's (2004) transcription index to examine interactions, jokes, and laughter in US presidential press conferences. Using the transcription codes, Ekstrom (2009) a) captures the frequency of interruptions made by the President and the journalist, b) qualitatively reports the occurrences of jokes and laughter in the interaction, and c) presents his observation on the dynamics of power relations emerging in the press conferences between the journalists and the President. While researchers have advocated for the use of CA in

journalism research (Ekstrom, 2007; Bowman & Ubayasiri, 2012), its application as a methodological tool has yet to gain traction.

In this study, the corpus under investigation was transcribed verbatim, followed by the analysis of units. The list of transcription conventions was adapted to meet the needs of this study and is categorised under verbal categories (see Appendix for a complete list of transcription notations). Adapting conventions aligned to the study's objectives is a standard practice in Conversation Analysis (CA), particularly for analysing audiovisual content (*see* McNaughton, 2009; Ekstrom, 2009). Thus, in line with the analytical purposes of this study, notations that helped identify vocal pitch categories, interruptions and speech overlaps within the units were employed.

Table 5: Vocal pitch tune illustrated alongside transcribed units

Source	Vocal pitch tune	Transcription codes	Example script
TIMES NOW The Newshour Debate: Mind your language - 15th Nov 2013	Upward vocal register shift	↑↑	Transcribed 30:27 Host: ↑↑I will only say [this to you at the end the next time you get a TV anchor who is known for his verbal violence]+ (<i>laugh</i>) on a lighter note+ when you get a TV anchor [known for his verbal] violence on another channel you must tell him that he is not on this channel. IR1: ↓↓i++ i would + no+ *...* hear sure++sure
	Downward vocal register shift	↓↓	
ABP NEWS Big Debate: Did Anupam Kher dominate other speakers at the Telegraph National Debate Mar 7, 2016	Increased speech tempo	< .. >	IR1: <Political discussions have become increasingly aggressive *...* such incessant aggressive Statements> [coming in *...*political statements +++ *...*a specific form of ideology ((continues speaking))... <u>let me finish</u> *...*++ I plea is () the violence occurring in] {15:22} ↓↓ >day to day life< Host: [You are [saying *...* not tolerance + so + see ++ see —] IR2: [<u>NEHAJI</u> ++ <u>NEHAJI</u> + all *...* [in Kerela *...*[↑↑the question is, whenever BJP forms the government↑↑] IR3: [° (inaud.) °] Host: [↑↑ok fine++whose shirt more stained than ()↑↑ lets take this discussion further++ one minute++↑↑wait+++ speaking aloud will not prove the point+++Sir]
	Decreased speech tempo	>...<	
	Very high stress	<u>CAPITALS</u>	
	High stress	<u>underlining</u>	
	Low stress	CAPITALS	

With the help of Jefferson's transcription conventions, the transcribed unit in the table above reveals not only the verbal content but also interruptions, overlaps, changes in pitch from high to low, and emotional reactions. The unit, revealed to have eight turn violations, has all five members, including the host, engaging in a series of interruptions and overlaps within 45 seconds. The host uses repetitions to cause competitive interruptions and engages in competitive overlaps to cause IR1 to relinquish his turn. As IR1 seemingly refuses to relinquish his turn, the host continues with competitive overlaps and raises his pitch angrily to have himself heard by IR1.

3.2.6.3 Analysing units: Visual, Vocal and Verbal cues

After transcribing the units, the process shifted to analysing them, drawing on Retzinger's (1995) visual, verbal, and vocal cues of anger, as illustrated in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Retzinger's (1995) list of visual, verbal and vocal cues of anger

S.no.	Visual cues	Vocal cues	Verbal cues
1	Brows lowered and drawn together, vertical lines appear between them	<i>Loud</i> . The volume of the voice increases.	Interruption: the act of cutting another off before he or she ends his/her turn.
2	Eyelids narrowed and tense in a hard and fixed stage and may have a bulging appearance	<i>Heavy stress</i> . Volume and emphasis increase on certain words.	Sarcasm. Statements that say one thing in words and another in gesture and that put another down or make others look foolish.
3	Mouth closed with lips pressed together, the corner straight or down, or the mouth is open but tense and square. Close mouth position may occur in an attempt to control shouting and hostility. Open mouth anger occurs during speech	<i>Staccato</i> . Distinct breaks between successive tones.	Blame: Statements that place the responsibility of fault on to the other.
4	Hard direct glaring	<i>Sing-song</i> . A repeated pattern of pitch and stress.	Criticism. Negative evaluation of another
5	Lean forward toward others in a challenging stance	<i>Whine</i> —a nasally spoken utterance.	Questioning. Repeating the same question over and over; a form of interrogation.
6	Clenched fists, wave fists, hitting motions	-	Presumptive attribution: "Statements that attribute thoughts, feelings, intentions, or motives" to other
7	-	-	<i>Prescription</i> . Statements that seek to change the other's behaviour in a specific way: request, demand
8	-	-	<i>Threaten</i> : To give the other an either/or alternative or imply abandonment

i. Examining visual content

The visual content within the identified overlapping sections was viewed at least twice to observe the visual cues. Using Retzinger's (1995) list of visual cues of anger such as lowered brows with vertical lines, narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, closed or tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and clenched or waving hand gestures such as raising a fist or finger pointing were observed occurring in concurrence with the verbal content *in situ*. Only the noteworthy facial expressions that clearly denoted emotions were captured and reported to minimise excessive reliance on visuals. The visuals were cropped and reported alongside the transcribed versions in a tabular format (*see* Table 7).

The examination of simultaneous visual data further complemented the analysis. Most importantly, it allowed for the observation of hostile and antagonistic situations, albeit of varying degrees, co-occurring with the vocal and verbal data captured in the transcript. The presence of expressions like smiles, laughter, or similar facial expressions denoting pleasant situations was rarely observed, in contrast to frowns, raised eyebrows, or expressions accompanied by hand gestures, which were indicative of a rather hostile environment (Yu, 2011). Embodied actions, such as bodily movement, facial expressions, and hand gestures, in addition to paralinguistic cues like pitch and intonation, combined with verbal challenges, have been observed as displays of anger (Retzinger, 1995, 1991), frustration (Yu, 2011), and confrontation (Selting, 2010). For example, most high-pitched upward vocal register shifts (↑↑) and very high stress (CAPITALS) were often found to be accompanied by hasty hand gestures and facial expressions that indicated frustration, exasperation, and annoyance (Yu, 2011; Retzinger, 1995, 1991).

Drawing on Retzinger (1991), Yu (2011, p. 2972) has argued that, similar to anger, frustration "can also be conveyed by embodied actions alone." While raging facial expressions that one would imagine during a verbal duel were rarely observed, the host, however, when engaged in competitive interruptions and overlaps, revealed emotions through a varying combination of facial expressions, pitch, tempo, and kinesics, albeit without a consistent, discernible pattern. The host's embodied actions or visual cues of anger revealed frowns, hard, direct, glaring, tensed and narrowed eyelids, and hand gestures such as finger and hand pointing, as well as leaning towards the subject of anger in a challenging stance when engaged in a heated, competitive overlap with the panellists (Retzinger, 1995). Notwithstanding the degree of confrontation, emotions were more

evident in speech and tone than in facial expressions, a limitation of facial expressions of emotions that may be absent (Ekman, 1992) or present alone (Yu, 2011).

ii. *Examining vocal content*

Using the transcription conventions (see Appendix), the vocal cues for anger, as suggested by Retzinger (1995) and Selting (2010), such as stress shifts, changes in speech tempo, and pitch register, were annotated, in addition to identifying interruptions and speech overlaps in the transcripts. The analysis of vocal data in the units readily offered discernible giveaways concerning the intersection between emotions and interruptions in the debates. The recurrent presence of elements such as high pitch and very high-stress speech, increased speech tempo, and upward vocal register shift provided formidable evidence of emotional speech, either by the host or the panellists, during the overlaps. For example, when phrases like 'DO NOT INTERRUPT' and 'DON'T TELL ME WHAT IS RIGHT' are spoken in very high stress (CAPITALS) and upward vocal register shift(↑↑) where high pitch, stressed words and increased loudness characterised by shouting or yelling are indicators of a "strong emotional stance" such as frustration (Yu, 2011, p. 2965) and anger (Retzinger, 1995, 1991). High pitch and increased loudness, as noted by Yu (2011), signify challenges arising from conflicting or contrasting expectations.

iii. *Examining verbal content*

Drawing from Retzinger (1995), "verbal challenges" indicative of anger and hostility were identified in the transcripts. Following her list, the transcripts were read to identify verbal cues that qualify as sarcasm with an intent to insult, blame to place the responsibility of fault, criticism marked by a negative evaluation of the speaker, repetitive and interrogative questioning, and threatening verbal expressions.

The analysis revealed the presence of words in units that corroborated the findings of the vocal data. Verbal markers of anger, such as verbal interruptions, challenges, sarcasm, blame, criticism, and repetitive questioning, were readily observed in the analysis (Retzinger, 1991, 1995). The use of challenging stances and disciplinary phrases such as 'mind your language', words indicating hostility and confrontational stance such as 'shut up', and use of repetition such as 'no no no no, YOU LISTEN TO ME+YOU LISTEN TO ME' to retaliate, assert authority and seek compliance was observed in the corpus.

iv. *Verbal interruptions*

Frequent verbal interruptions and competitive turn-taking, which are identified as the "emotional cues of competition and frustration" (Schiffrin, 1985, in Yu, 2011, p. 2968), were determined simultaneously. The conversation analysis of the transcribed units revealed that the host and panellists frequently interrupt and speak over each other when competing for turns. Both verbal interruptions and competitive turn-taking have been observed as indicators of frustration (Yu, 2011), hostility (Bucy et al., 2020), verbal conflict and anger (Retzinger, 1995). Yu (2011, p. 2979) has shown how competitive turn-taking results in interruptions and overlaps coupled with the display of frustration caused by "challenging of statements, disputing of facts, verbal interruption, criticism, and questioning."

Table 7 illustrates the verbal, vocal, and visual cues derived from a unit drawn from Debate Show 1, following the methodological approach described in the previous sections (see Appendix for the remaining nine units). The data illustrate turn violations, causing hostile interruptions, speech overlaps, verbal and vocal indicators of anger, and visual cues that reveal the host's emotions *in situ*.

Table 7: Visual, Vocal and Verbal cues of anger in the units as revealed by the host

Debate Show 1			
 The screenshot shows a video player interface. The video title is 'The Newshour Debate: The Rs 5 joke (Full Debate)'. The video content shows a debate with four participants in a grid layout. The central figure is a man in a suit, likely the host, who is gesturing with his hands. The other three participants are in smaller frames. The video player has a progress bar at the bottom showing 24:29 / 37:29. The video title and some interface elements are visible at the top of the player.			
Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
Host:...<u>YOU LISTEN TO ME</u> <u>SANJAY JHA YOU LISTEN TO ME</u> <u>SANJAY JHA...</u> <i>Interpretation:</i> challenging, forced turn termination, repetitive and interrogative questioning and threatening verbal expressions	Upward vocal register shift ↑↑ <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	vertical lines, narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, closed or tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and clenched or waving hand gestures	Confronting and rejecting the panellist's claim

While multimodal conversation analysis provides a rich understanding of emotionality and the hosts' emotions, its findings are limited to the content itself. To gain a more comprehensive understanding, the study extended the inquiry beyond content by incorporating insights and interpretations from news workers. This approach enhanced the interpretation of the findings, helped test their validity, and revealed information previously inaccessible to outsiders who are not directly involved in the coordination and production of the shows. Building on the findings from the multimodal analysis of audio-visual content, the study, therefore, incorporated interviews to deepen the investigation.

3.3 Stage III: Interviews

In taking a qualitative approach, the subsequent stage of the study employed in-depth interviews with journalists and production team members. Interviews provide a broad overview and offer specific insights into the journalistic experience and perspective on employing or rejecting emotions in their professional practice. The methodology was adopted with the central aim of the study in mind, which was to understand the journalistic perspective and interpretation of emotions in debates through their narrations and accounts. In particular, the chapter aimed to investigate the potential presence of journalistic anger in the debates and the underlying factors that underpin its presence. The focus on journalistic anger per se, within the scope of emotionality in the debates, is rooted in its supposed presence identified in the previous chapters of this study. In-depth interviews were chosen as they allow "to find out what is on someone's mind" and "to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe" (Hannabuss, 1996, p. 23). Unlike other methods, research interviews offer the possibility to develop an in-depth analysis of a research problem as it allows for "the respondents' own perspective to emerge, explore the ways in which people working together share common understandings, get insight into particular experiences, find out motives behind decisions, get a view of informal procedures, consider apparent contradictions between attitudes and behaviour, and allow respondents time to provide their answers" (ibid. p. 23). Qualitative interviews have been regarded as a flexible and powerful tool for capturing the voices and the ways people make sense of their experiences. (Rabionet, 2011, p. 563).

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews (SSI)

While interviews are suited to elicit detailed responses from interviewees, this study employed semi-structured interviews, as they are known to keep the discussion focused with a "blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up *why* or *how* questions" (Adams, 2015, p. 493). SSI is particularly suited to exploring a research problem when "there is sufficient objective knowledge about an experience or phenomenon, but the subjective knowledge is lacking (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 1). In this case, although there is an existing body of research on journalistic emotions built on evidence, a) as an emerging concept, it requires more evidence-based data, and b) since much of the knowledge is primarily drawn from Western

experiences, emotions research presents enough room for data to emerge from the non-Western democracies. Designed to "ascertain subjective responses from persons regarding a particular situation or phenomenon they have experienced" (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 1), semi-structured interviews are particularly well-suited for this study, as they aim to explore the subjective views and interpretations of journalists regarding their emotional engagement in journalistic practices. Particularly suited to mixed-methods research, SSIs prove useful as an "adjunct to supplement and add depth to other approaches" (Adams, 2015, p. 494) and can be used in "conjunction with a variety of other methods and theories" (Longhurst, 2003, p. 106).

Unlike other forms of interviews, semi-structured interviews tend to progress through a systematic series of stages. Rabionet (2011, p. 563), for instance, outlines six stages of the interview process, including selecting the type of interview, establishing ethical guidelines, crafting the interview protocol, conducting and recording the interview, analysing the data, and reporting the findings. Additionally, for analytical purposes, SSIs allow for structured comparison between the participant responses as "all participants are asked the same questions in the same order, data collected are comparable, and may be numerically transformed and quantified" (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 1).

SSIs are particularly suited for gathering data on a seemingly ongoing phenomenon and its specific elements from the interviewees' perspective, which cannot be obtained using structured questionnaires, participant observation or unstructured interviews (McIntosh & Morse, 2015: p. 2). While SSIs are known to be one of the "most commonly used qualitative methods" (Longhurst, 2003), they have been critiqued for their disadvantages. According to Adams (2015), SSIs are "time-consuming, labour-intensive, and require interviewer sophistication" (p. 493). SSIs tend to present with the "arduous task of analysing a huge volume of notes and sometimes many hours of transcripts" (Adams, 2015, p. 493). According to McIntosh & Morse (2015: 7), face-to-face interviews can lead participants to provide more socially desirable and conventional answers to sensitive questions compared to self-administered questionnaires. The interviewer's physical presence and appearance can also influence responses, and such interviews may be costly in terms of both time and money. Compared to other methods, such as self-administered interviews and questionnaires, fewer face-to-face interviews are likely to be completed within a given time period (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 7).

3.3.2 Interviews for emotions

Notwithstanding their disadvantages, interviews are particularly suited to exploring emotions in journalistic practices, as they allow for uninterrupted reflection and processing of journalists' experiences of emotional engagement or lack thereof. Through the retrospective reflection that in-depth interviews allow, journalists can benefit from the advantage of hindsight to "not only enact their environments and delimit the place of emotions in their professional ideology but also define the link between their emotions and their professional identity" (Kotisova, 2017, p. 6). The "retrospective narrating of emotional experience" through interviews can allow for introspective reflection and "sensemaking" of the events that shape the journalists and are shaped by the very journalistic involvement on the ground (Kotisova, 2017, p. 6). In studying emotions, interviews, particularly involving reflection on emotional engagement and practice, may yield "recurring emotional patterns" such as "anger or resentment towards particular groups or individuals; compassion and sympathy for others; enthusiasm for certain projects; and cynicism for others" in text and talk delivering insights that may be imperceptible and inaccessible otherwise (Flam & Klares, 2016, p.39).

While emotionality has traditionally been a controversial subject in journalistic practice, interviews with journalists can offer insights into emerging, entrenched, or transitory forces shaping the processes of emotionality in the profession, especially as academia begins to recognise its emergence and importance. The emotions research has attempted to capture journalistic views on emotionality, yielding a mixed set of results, coupled with calls for further research in this area of inquiry, which may have implications for a range of normative principles in journalism, such as objectivity, detachment, and rationality. These concepts have long shaped the practice in the field. Interviews enable the pooling of data to reflect on the transition, if not offer a conclusive answer, on how the old and new forces are shaping journalistic practice and content while opening avenues for further inquiry into emerging processes and paradigms. For example, how emotions in political debates are interpreted by journalists and how such interpretations can be reinterpreted in light of academic conjectures and notions of emotions within the profession. Is journalistic anger, for example, more evident in content and how can it be evaluated?

The data could be extrapolated to the current state of discourse emanating from the emotions research as it could offer both a view into the existing ideological and theoretical concepts from within journalism discourse, such as rationality, objectivity and normative values that have long shaped the nature of the profession, to emerging concepts such as emotionality and its underlying factors, emotional labour and dramaturgy that despite their long history of academic existence, have only recently come to inform the scholarly discourse in journalism research. While the examination of experiences of Indian journalists and the exploration of Indian journalistic content cater to the calls for further research in the non-Western region, they deliver insights that could contribute to developing a more diverse understanding of the emotional turn in journalism research.

3.3.3 Interview-based studies in Emotions research

Given their suitability in examining emotions, several recent studies have employed in-depth interviews as a method to explore journalistic perspectives and engagement with emotionality in the news. Pantti (2010) examined journalists' perceptions of emotional expression in broadcast news and their motivations for using emotions through interviews with 32 journalists working for public and commercial broadcasters in Finland and the Netherlands. Kotisova (2017a) conducted ten in-depth narrative interviews with Flemish and Walloon crisis reporters' who specialised in covering regional conflicts. In another study, Kotisova (2017b) examined the reporting of the 'refugee crisis' and the 13 November Paris terrorist attacks by Czech Television, conducting 15 semi-structured or unstructured interviews with journalists to investigate individual emotional work-related experiences and development. Hopper and Huxford (2016) interviewed 20 former and current journalists to explore emotional labour, its effects on journalists, and how it impacts journalists' news work. Calling for more research into journalistic emotions, particularly in the non-Western press systems, Paul (2019) emphasises the need to study emotions through newsroom observations and interviews. Pantti and Husslage (2009), in addition to other methods, interviewed nine journalists to study journalists' assessments of emotions in vox pops. Richards and Rees (2011) interviewed 40 journalists, as well as journalism educators, to explore how journalists manage their emotional well-being in traumatic situations, such as reporting on war and natural disasters.

3.3.4 Interview Guide Framework

To investigate journalistic emotionality in debates through interviews, a semi-structured interview guide comprising ten questions was developed for the study. The line of questioning often shifted into more nuanced probing of specific elements as needed. Broadly divided into four sections, the questions in the first section examined their familiarity with the debates, the second concerned the emotions evoked in the debates, the third covered specific emotions in the debates, and the fourth focused on the hosts' emotions. The questions in four sections predominantly concerned three main thematic categories. This approach is similar to Pantti (2010), who reported developing her interview guide based on four themes. The first category guiding the interview questions was journalists' views and interpretations of emotions in the debates.

The questions under this category focused on inquiring about the presence of dominant emotions in the debates and how they are viewed and interpreted, particularly in terms of any specific or prominent features of the shows. At this stage, the respondents were asked questions regarding their views and interpretations of the hosts' emotions. The second thematic category that guided the questions concerned the specific emotions identified by the respondents in the debates. The questions in this section probed deeper into their views and interpretations of the specific emotions they identified as predominantly present in the shows. At this stage, questions were also asked regarding the hosts' display of emotions while hosting the shows. For example, drawing from the critical media reports of the host's emotionality, a question directly probing into hosts' emotions, such as 'What are your views of the hosts' emotionality in the debates' sought to elicit responses of their views of specific emotions displayed by hosts and its interpretations (see question 9 in Appendix).

Additionally, a question was asked regarding the presence of hosts' emotions on camera and off camera, alternatively referred to as the front and backstage of the debates, to understand the potential presence of similar emotions in the newsroom, if at all (see question 10 in the Appendix). The third prominent theme guiding the questions in the interview guide was the underlying factors and influences that underpin the presence and emergence of emotions, or specific emotions, in the shows. The respondents were asked to comment on the causes underlying the presence and emergence of emotions in the debates and the hosts' emotions.

Additionally, questions aimed at examining the interrelation between interruptions and journalistic anger were asked in the context of the findings from the previous chapter, where recurrent interruptions were reported as a cause of journalistic anger in the shows.

As noted earlier and discussed at length in the previous chapter, research into emotions is an emerging yet consistently growing area of inquiry. Previous studies exploring journalistic emotions have conducted in-depth interviews to develop insight into the journalistic rationale and motivation for using emotions in the news (Pantti, 2010; Kotisova, 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Richards & Rees, 2011). A specific focus on journalistic anger, however, is a recent development and employs interviews as a method of analysis (*see* Stupart, 2023). A seminal inquiry into anger in journalism can be traced to an article by Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) that advances and explores the concept of mediated anger. However, it remains specifically concerned with the journalistic content in print. An interview-driven inquiry into journalistic emotionality could reveal insights that can only be acquired by speaking to the actors, in this case, journalists, who are instrumental in hosting, organising, and observing the shows from close quarters.

3.4.5 Sample Size and Sample Selection- Interviews conducted in this study

Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 journalists directly or indirectly involved in the production of news debates, using a semi-structured interview questionnaire to understand their views and interpretations of emotions in the debates.

3.4.5.1 Sampling technique

Both purposive sampling and the snowball technique were used to build the sample database. This is because journalists were expected to have experience in either hosting, producing as a production team member, or arranging or observing shows from close quarters, with at least five years of experience. The initial selection was conducted using purposive sampling to identify participants who possess specific characteristics or insights relevant to the study's objectives. Subsequent participants were identified using snowball sampling. Combining the two sampling methods in academic research to gain access to participants who possess specific insights and experiences aligned with the study's objectives is a common practice (Ting et al., 2025).

3.4.5.2 Composition of the sample

As outlined in Table 8, the total number of respondents included in the interviews consisted of seven males and eight females, all between the age group of 25 and 48, with current and former experience working in the newsrooms of commercial broadcasters in India. The participants' professional experience spans from five to 21 years, with most journalists having over 15 years of industry experience. Journalists with experience in hosting shows, in particular, reported having experience ranging from 5 to 15 years. Of the total, six journalists reported having experience hosting the shows. The sample size remained limited to 15 journalists for two reasons. First, a certain saturation point in terms of the similarity of the data could be observed in the responses. Second, despite repeated requests and reminders, many journalists did not respond to the interview requests.

Table 8: Summary of Interview Participants

Total	15
English	7
Hindi	8
Hosts/Formers hosts	6
Journalist + Production and research	9
Male	7
Female	8
Age group	26-48
Experience in the industry	5-21 years

Interviewees represented a range of career levels, from senior to junior, and held various roles in the industry, including editor, host, field reporter, and production team member responsible for research and guest lineup. Most reported having performed at least two roles. For example, the hosts noted that they also did field reporting and necessary research for the shows when they were not hosting. Additionally, all hosts identified themselves as journalists performing the role of moderator while hosting debates. Navigating between the roles of hosting and reporting was observed as part of their work profile.

3.4.5.3 Sampling Strategy and Interview Process

Using the purposive sampling approach, the researcher approached individuals known to them in Indian academia and industry to seek access to journalists with hosting experience. As a result, nearly 12 journalists with hosting experience were identified and approached via their email addresses. Of the 12, only 6 (R3, R9, R10, R11, R14, R15) participated in the interviews after several rescheduled appointments. A few recommendations from the interviewees for potential host respondents did not transpire into a successful contact. The respondents, both hosts and the journalists approached, did not deny taking part; instead, they did not respond to the requests. Almost four hosts who agreed continued to reschedule until the communication ceased on its own. The six-month-long exercise of contacting, rescheduling and interviewing resulted in the participation of six hosts and nine journalists.

The journalists, either with former experience in broadcasting or active in the research team, were approached to acquire further insights. As a result, as shown in *Table 9*, eight respondents (R1, R2, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, R13) with no experience in hosting were further included in the interviews. All in all, close to 38 journalists, including the hosts, were approached by various means, of which only 15 could be interviewed. Interviews were conducted between February 2023 and October 2023. Journalists' convenience and their choice were considered when choosing the mode of interviews. While some interviews were conducted face-to-face, others were conducted via video conferencing using Zoom software. Recent studies have utilised video conferencing via Zoom as a method for conducting interviews in research (Stupart, 2023).

Most respondents preferred to participate remotely rather than meeting in person, primarily due to their busy schedules. As a result, except for three interviews, all were conducted via Zoom. Except for one, most respondents chose to participate in the interview after work hours, particularly between 6 pm and 10 pm, which allowed them the convenience of participating uninterrupted. Notably, prior appointments during the daytime resulted in several postponements, resulting in interviews being conducted during evening hours. This could potentially be due to privacy reasons. However, a busy schedule during work hours was often cited as a reason for delays and deferments. Two in-person interviews were conducted in cafes, and one was held at the participants' home. Except for being wary of naming influential individuals and expressing apprehensions over being

too vocal or critical of the state of politics and media in India, a point addressed in detail in the limitations section of this chapter, either in case of remote or in-person interviews, none of the participants appeared to be in discomfort or expressed discomfort. This is perhaps because they chose the place and mode of interviews according to their preference and convenience. The interviews were recorded with the prior consent of the interviewees for the convenience of transcribing the data during the data analysis phase. Most interviews lasted between one and one and a half hours, as "about one hour is considered a reasonable maximum length for SSIs in order to minimise fatigue for both interviewer and respondent" (Adams, 2015, p. 493).

Table 9: List of participants

No.	Name	Medium	Gender	Age	Organisation	Position or role	Mode of Interview	Location
1	R1	Hindi	M	28	Hindustan Times Web/Print division	Journalist/Formal broadcast journalist	Zoom	Home
2	R2	Hindi	F	28	News Click Webcast and Digital Platform	Journalist/Formal Broadcast Journalist	Zoom	Home
3	R3	English	F	26	AajTak TV	Journalist/host	Zoom	Home
4	R4	Hindi	F	33	India TV	Journalist	Zoom	Home
5	R5	English	F	35	The Times of India	Editor,	Zoom	Home
6	R6	English	M	37	Scoopwhoop	Journalist, formerly worked with Print and broadcast stations, very close association with Star hosts such as Arnab Goswami of Republic TV and Navika	Zoom	Home
7	R7	English	F	32	Formerly with NewsX	PR, a Former Journalist, works closely in	Zoom	Personal office

						coordination with News channels in the current profile.		
8	R8	English	M	34	Scoopwhoop	Journalist	Zoom	Personal office
9	R9	Hindi	M	30	-	Journalist/host	Zoom	Home
10	R10	Hindi	F	29	Aaj Tak TV	Journalist/Host	Zoom	Home
11	R11	Hindi	F	45	Former host of ZEE TV	Journalist/Host	In Person	cafe
12	R12	English	M	48	Former NDTV	Production team	In Person	home
13	R13	English	M	45	Former Times Now TV	Production team	In Person	cafe
14	R14	Hindi	F	35	India TV	Journalist/Host	Zoom	Home
15	R15	Hindi	M	37	News24	Journalist/Host	Zoom	Home

At the outset, the researcher sought to conduct interviews only with journalists who have experience hosting debate shows. However, due to their potentially busy schedules and the celebrity status they are accorded, gaining access proved to be a precarious exercise. Despite the efforts and researchers' initial optimism, the journalists on the shows could not be accessed due to their stardom. Due to this reason, none of the respondents in the sample, including the host, were directly involved in the ten debate shows that comprise the sample examined in the previous chapters, using conversation analysis or multimodal conversation analysis approaches. While this may be indicative of a key limitation in the sample, it did not, however, present a significant challenge, given that the participants reported being connected to or having worked with the hosts in the sampled shows, or were involved in hosting and producing the debates in some capacity. While this appears to be a limitation of this study, interviewing journalists who have been either involved in the management and production of the shows or have observed them from close quarters offered a more holistic insight from both within and outside of the shows. The data, thus, came from the perspectives of both the performers and their observers, who were active behind the scenes of the show.

3.4.6 Method of analysis, coding, and software used

The data collection process was followed by data analysis, which included transcribing the interviews verbatim. A similar approach to analysis can be found in Pantti (2010) and Kotisova (2017a). Using the MAXQDA software, the data were categorised into broad thematic categories aligned with the main objectives of this chapter, encompassing journalistic views and interpretations of emotions in debates, references to the presence of journalistic anger and aggression, and factors responsible for the presence of emotions in the debates. In between the broader themes, questions concerning the presence of interruptions and their impact on hosts' emotions were also captured. More specifically, thematic analysis, based on Kuckartz and Radiker's (2023) framework, was used to analyse the interviews and identify key themes related to emotions in the debates. The interview transcripts were read twice to capture the sense of recurring themes manually before delving into a more systematic process of identifying codes and themes. This was followed by applying Kuckartz and Radiker's (2023) approach to structure the themes and sub-themes, utilising a combination of inductive and deductive methods.

3.4.6.1 Use of deductive and inductive approaches to identifying themes

The use of both inductive and deductive approaches in thematic analysis, particularly in the context of Kuckartz and Radiker's (2023) approach, is often justified by the need for a comprehensive understanding of the data. Combining both methods allows researchers to be flexible, ensuring that both new insights emerging from the data and pre-existing theories or concepts are incorporated into the analysis. This combination enabled the study to draw on existing literature and better position the new findings within the broader context of the journalism literature.

3.4.6.2 Coding and Theme Development

- Deductive approach: The analysis was approached with a set of deductive themes derived from the existing literature on emotions in journalism, including emotions in TV debates, interruptions and overlaps, specific emotions, the host's emotions or journalistic emotions, and the host's emotions in the front and back regions.

- Inductive approach: The inductive approach to analysis was adopted, considering the possibility of new information and insights that could emerge from the interviews. This approach is particularly suitable for context-sensitive cases, as it enables the coding of “condensed descriptions of the phenomena” from the data (Kuckartz & Radiker, 2023, p. 68). For example, several factors influencing emotions in the debates could only be accessed through an inductive analysis of the data rather than from literature focused on emotions in the debates. Furthermore, while journalistic emotion is a prominent theme in the emotions literature, the potential presence of different types of emotions, explicitly identified or implicitly suggested, along with their causes and triggers, could only be ascertained from the lived experiences of the respondents. With some overarching themes, such as the journalistic experiences of emotions in the debates, the interview data were approached with an open mind to gain a rich understanding of their responses. Employing inductive analysis helped to reveal new, unanticipated yet recurrent categories and sub-categories, such as:
 - Anger and Aggression in Debates: A recurring theme was the prominence of anger, evident in both the hosts and the confrontational tone of the discussions.
 - The "Angry TV" template or model: The idea of an emotional template highlighted widespread anger and its theatrical presentation in debates characterised by inauthentic expressions of anger from hosts.
 - Commercial Influences: Factors such as political funding, editorial pressures, and nudges to emotionalise shows were identified as emotionalising factors.
 - Political Influences: Right-wing ideological leanings, direct interferences from the incumbent government, and political funding, including close associations between the station owners and right-wing politicians, were frequently identified.
 - Cultural Influences: Frequent references to the *Bollywoodization* of debates or *masala*-style presentations, as well as the need for debates to generate conflict for viewership, were also significant factors shaping the emotional tone of debates.

The analysis revealed that more than a thousand codes emerged, of which, given their repetitive nature, were reduced to close to 700 codes. Using Kuckartz and Radiker’s (2023) iterative process, the codes were merged into categories, which were then grouped into themes. MAXQDA was used to organise, manage, and cross-check the themes. It facilitated the classification of codes and

subcodes, allowing for the exploration of the transcripts. Additionally, the software helped categorise the codes into sub-categories and collate them under the various themes.

3.4.7 Limitations and challenges

Of nearly 40 journalists approached, very few responded to the requests for an interview. Among those who responded, many chose to refrain from participating by delaying the appointments and/or cutting communication midway. Those who agreed to participate expressed apprehensions about speaking freely and chose their words carefully. This was evident in the use of phrases, such as "I don't want to take names" of either political parties or influential individuals in the media [R10]. While another noted, 'you know how things are like in the country today,' [R2] referring to the relatively hostile political environment in which artists, journalists, academics, and intellectuals find themselves.

Similarly, a few respondents cited examples of fear of being laid off, citing cases where journalists were either sacked or taken off assignments for not adhering to the official line. In fact, in recent years, several well-known television journalists have launched their YouTube channels either after being laid off or parting ways with their broadcast stations due to ideological differences. The evidence regarding the challenges faced by journalists is illustrated in the World Press Freedom Index report², which reveals that India's media rank has fallen from 131 in 2012 to 161 in 2023 among 180 countries. This decline coincides with the rise to power of the right-wing party in 2014 (Neyazi, 2024). Nevertheless, a slight improvement in the ranking has been observed in 2024, with the country now positioned 159 out of 176 countries. However, concerns about press freedom persist, as underlined in the excerpt from The Wire³, for example.

With violence against journalists, highly concentrated media ownership, and political alignment, press freedom is in crisis in "the world's largest democracy", ruled since 2014 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and embodiment of the Hindu nationalist right," RSF stated while releasing the data.

² World Press Freedom Rank (see <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1364514/india-press-freedom-ranking/> Reterved on 30)

³ The Wire. (2024). 'Unworthy of a Democracy': India Ranks 159 of 176 Countries on Press Freedom Index. The Wire. Retrieved June 18, 2025, from <https://thewire.in/media/unworthy-of-a-democracy-india-ranks-159-of-176-countries-on-press-freedom-index>

Similar views have been captured in some recent studies, “seemingly evident biases in media reporting” in favour of the political party in power have been attributed to the concentration of media ownership and acquisition of media outlets by corporations with close ties to the incumbent government (Agarwal et al., 2024, p. 4752).

Similar sentiments were echoed by several journalists who reported operating in a constrained environment and underlined their intent to change their profession due to the uncertainties surrounding job security and their well-being. Owing to these reasons, most chose to remain as anonymous as possible, with little intention of sharing any personal details on record, which could lead to their identification by any means. Coincidentally, a recent article by Chandel (2024) provides a more detailed examination of this problem. Emanating from research exploring the online harassment of female journalists in India as part of her PhD project from an Irish University, Chandel (2024) outlined the challenges she experienced in seeking participation from journalists in her study. Among the challenges she outlined were "acute privacy concerns" among respondents, "distrust" in her research due to her affiliation with a Western university, and "direct hostility" and "confrontational reactions" from potential respondents (p. 1).

The interference of 'the foreign hand' has emerged as a well-entrenched and oft-stated view in the right-wing rhetoric in India. For example, Western observations and data on religious freedom, poverty index and press freedom, among other indices, are mostly rejected and slammed by the current establishment, calling it foreign propaganda against India. The media and academia are undergoing similar challenges. In recent years, PhD researchers, academics, and Universities have experienced a loss of autonomy, curbs on academic funding, and backlash for simply pursuing their academic interests. In several instances, academics have been 'trolled', lost jobs and faced scrutiny from the right-wing factions for producing works even remotely critical of the establishment. According to a report (Kinzelsbach et al., 2023) on academic freedom published in 2023, "India's decline in academic freedom started from a comparatively high level during India's democratic period and is now associated with rapidly accelerating autocratization".

The description above is worthy of consideration for several reasons. First, distrust and anxieties rooted in the current political sentiment, as observed by Chandel (2024), can be identified as a reason why most journalists chose not to participate and cut off communication midway. Second, this has had an impact on the responses from the participants, particularly the caution and apprehension that guided their responses and observations. Third, it has shaped the interpretation of findings from more vocal to muted so as to avoid any potential backlash to the researcher in the future. Third, it has shaped researchers' writing to an extent. Given the current socio-political atmosphere, the researcher in this study, for instance, exercised great care in using language that does not appear critical of the current establishment. While any such observations on the political environment are beyond the scope of the study, it cannot be denied that the very emergence of the emotionalisation in the study was greatly attributed to the current political environment, as references to the current right-wing sentiment and political establishment frequently appeared in the responses. This required walking a fine line where the political factors for emotionalisation in the debates could be captured in findings without being critical of the establishment. Fourth, given the sensitivity of the matter, the participants' data have been anonymised as much as possible to ensure their safety and well-being.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

4.1 Stage I: Extent of Turn Violations in Indian Television Debates

While the intersection between interruptions and emotions is addressed in the next chapter, where the content of the debates is examined, this chapter reports the findings derived from the Conversation Analysis of the political television debates. In this regard, it reports the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps involving the journalist/host in a sample corpus comprising ten Indian political television debates broadcast on national television during the prime-time segment. Conversation Analysis enables the empirical examination of talk-in-interaction and has been widely employed in applied linguistics, as well as in a handful of studies, for the examination of broadcast content (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Ekström, 2009; Rendle-Short, 2007).

This chapter reports findings related to two initial concerns in this study. First, it reports the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in political TV debates. Second, it examines the extent of cooperative and competitive interruptions and speech overlaps by and against the host in the political TV debates. To reiterate, given the focus on journalistic emotions in this study, the empirical inquiry into the debates primarily concerns measuring interruptions and overlaps involving the host.

The categories of investigation are strategically derived to enhance focus and limit the scope of the analysis to the actor central to both the inquiry and the debate shows. The chapter begins with an overview of cumulative interruptions and overlaps in the corpus, which includes data under the more specific categories such as a) the frequency of interruptions and length of overlaps by and against the host, b) the frequency of occurrence of the cooperative and competitive interruption by and against the host and c) frequency of the occurrence of cooperative and competitive overlaps by and against the host in the sample. The findings are followed by a discussion on the extent of interruptions initiated *by* and *against* the host.

4.1.1 Extent of Interruptions and Speech Overlaps

The ensuing sections examine the extent of speech interruptions and overlaps caused by turn violations in the debates, taking a multipronged approach. The data present the extent of host-centric interruptions, encompassing both the overall corpus and individual debates.

4.1.1.1 Overview of interruptions and overlaps in the corpus

As shown in Table 10, the total corpus length was 377 minutes, of which 122 minutes (32.36%) were found to contain the host's monologue. The host's monologue was typically found in the show's first few minutes, during which the host introduced the debate topic and the panellists. This did not involve any turns and was therefore removed from the analysis of turn violations. Upon excluding the hosts' monologue from the total corpus of 377 minutes, 255 minutes of content qualified for the debate, where panellists and the hosts interacted with each other. The corpus of 255 minutes was referred to as the actual corpus in the study for ease of distinguishing it from the total corpus. In other words, the total corpus included the host's monologue, while the actual corpus did not.

Table 10: Overview of cumulative interruptions and speech overlaps in the total corpus (n=10)

Total Corpus (in mins)	377
Total Monologue By The Host (in minutes)	122
Actual Debate Corpus Excluding Host's Monologue (in mins)	255
Total Interruptions in the Actual Corpus	745
Total interruptions by the host	506
Total interruptions to the host	239
Total Overlaps in actual corpus (in mins)	45
Percentage of overlapping speech in the actual corpus	18%

Of the total 255 minutes of the actual corpus, 745 interruptions were recorded, of which 68% (506) were initiated by the host, and 32% (239) were initiated against the host. The analysis found that of the total 255 minutes, 45 contained overlapping speeches, amounting to roughly 18% of the actual corpus. While this only reveals the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps involving the show host, the ensuing sections offer a more detailed insight into the types of interruptions and overlaps directed at and initiated by the show host.

4.1.1.2 Frequency of interruptions in the sample

Interruptions initiated by and against the host, as well as the cumulative time consumed in resultant overlaps, were examined for every debate.

Table 11: Frequency of interruptions and length of overlaps in political TV debates

Sample	Total length of the show (min/secs)	Actual length of the debate (excluding host's monologue)	Total number of interruptions	% when the host gets interrupted	% of the number of interruptions by the host	Speech overlaps
Debate show 1	37:29	26:15	89	24%	76%	16%
Debate show 2	46:05	38:47	68	22%	78%	6%
Debate show 3	40:23	24:19	86	39%	60%	17%
Debate show 4	27:17	19:02	74	36%	64%	16%
Debate show 5	50:32	31:06	72	35%	65%	36%
Debate show 6	21:02	11:09	70	34%	66%	36%
Debate show 7	30:03	22:22	76	38%	62%	15%
Debate show 8	22:45	18:11	54	31%	69%	18%
Debate show 9	53:54	34:00	86	29%	71%	10%
Debate show 10	48:01	30:09	70	31%	69%	9%
Total	377:31:00	254:40:00	745	32 %	68%	18%

Table 11 presents an overview of interruptions initiated by and against the host, including the total number of interruptions and the extent of speech overlaps in the corpus. The data⁴ reveals that every show in the corpus was found to have interruptions both by and against the host, although the interruptions caused by the host exceeded nearly three times (68%) the interruptions initiated against them (32%). In the individual samples, the interruptions by the host, for example, ranged from 60 to 80 per cent, while the interruptions initiated against the host were between 22 and 40 per cent. The analysis of the debates revealed that over a quarter of interruptions are caused by the

⁴ Percentages rounded to their closest whole numbers.

panellists, with nearly three-quarters initiated by the hosts. This underlines that turn violations are not unique to the host; the panellists also use them to retain their turns and violate those of others. The data is, to an extent, consistent with yet exceeds that of Voltmer and Brants (2011), who found that the interviewer initiates the majority of interruptions, while the interviewee "rarely interrupts the interviewer," with politicians interrupting journalists reported to be 9.5 per cent in the U.K. and 14.3 per cent in the Netherlands. In a completely contrasting finding, however, Ekstrom's (2009) analysis of press conferences revealed that interruptions by Presidents, at 86 per cent, greatly outnumbered those initiated by journalists, which stood at 14 per cent. Notably, both studies are concerned with formats different from debates, with Voltmer and Brants (2011) analysing interviews and Ekstrom's (2009) press conferences.

In addition to interruptions, every show in the corpus was also found to have speech overlaps. The extent of these overlaps varied depending on the show's length, ranging from 6% to 36% of the total duration. On average, the cumulative speech overlaps in the corpus stood at 18%. In summary, the data reveal that despite considerable diversity in the sample in terms of time, language, hosts, number of guests, and broadcast source, interruptions and overlaps are consistently present across the sample, albeit in varying degrees. For instance, while the average actual runtime of the show in the corpus was 25 minutes, there were, on average, 75 interruptions during that period, equating to approximately three interruptions per minute.

That said, however, the average does not imply that interruptions and overlaps were found in a similar measure in the shows. In that, the shows' length was not directly proportional to the frequency of the interruption or the extent of overlaps, contrary to a seemingly common-sense assumption that the longer the show, the more interruptions. For example, the show with 89 interruptions, the highest in the sample, was only about 26 minutes long, translating to approximately 3.5 interruptions per minute. On the other hand, the shortest show, with an 11-minute runtime, had 70 interruptions, which translates to approximately 6.3 interruptions per minute. Similarly, the longest show, with an almost 38-minute runtime, had 68 interruptions, approximately 1.8 interruptions per minute. Although for referential purposes, this indicates that interruptions are standard features of the show formats, their frequency is not necessarily proportional to the show's runtime.

A similar observation was found in the case of speech overlaps, where the shortest show, at 11 minutes, was found to have the longest speech overlaps at 36.4%, and the longest show, with 38 minutes and 47 seconds of actual runtime, was found to have the shortest overlaps at 6.2%. The average length of speech overlaps in the actual corpus, which is approximately 255 minutes, stood at 18%.

A more detailed examination of the two categories of interruptions reveals that hosts tend to interrupt more frequently than they are interrupted, a finding consistent with data from previous studies (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Coleman, 2013; Khan & Shahid, 2019; Hutchby, 1992). The bifurcation of types of interruptions by and against the host helps to understand the extent to which hosts engage in turn violations, causing interruptions. This is informative as turn violations are not only one-sided. On average, slightly more than a quarter of interruptions are initiated by the panellists against the host (32%), while nearly three-quarters are initiated by the host against the panellists (68%).

The data on the extent of interruptions and overlaps by and against the host is valuable as it reveals the potentially confrontational sections in the debates where the host and panellists spar against each other for taking or retaining a turn. However, it offers a limited ability to understand how interruptions shape the nature of interaction in these debates. This is because not all interruptions are intrusive, and not every overlap necessarily results in confusion. This caveat has been underscored by many scholars (Goldberg, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1983; Drummond, 1989; Bucy et al., 2020; Murata, 1994) and is of particular significance, as it offsets the possibility of declaring all interruptions inherently intrusive.

Therefore, to understand the nature of interruptions, the study now turns to data on cooperative and competitive interruptions, which will offer a more precise understanding of interruptions aimed at turn violations resulting in confusing overlaps. Examination of the two categories is the only way to reveal the actual extent of disorderly exchanges in the debates, as data on a large number of interruptions may be misleading. In other words, how can one establish whether the interruptions in these debates are particularly intrusive with negative implications for the flow of conversation or a turn? The ensuing section presents the data on cooperative and competitive interruptions when initiated by and against the host.

4.1.1.3 *Frequency of cooperative and competitive interruptions*

As shown in Table 12 below, the interruptions were further measured in terms of the frequency of cooperative and competitive interruptions initiated by and against the host. This data offers a more concrete understanding of the nature and extent of interruptions where both the host and the panellists seek to capture or violate each other's turns. Competitive interruptions, also identified as intrusive or violative interruptions, are aimed at "topicchanging, floor-taking, or disagreement, thus threatening the 'territory' of the speaker" (ibid. 387). Competitive interruptions, regarded as *a sign of dominance*, can be antagonistic and sustained, as two or more parties compete to take or retain a turn, resulting in short to longer speech overlaps. According to Bucy et al. (2020), power-related interruptions can be confrontational, resulting in longer and more confusing overlaps. Potentially caused by disagreement and/or conflict between the parties, competitive interruptions are more likely to act as a source of negative emotions caused by turn violation.

Conversely, non-power-related interruptions can be benign (Bucy et al., 2020), with an underlying intent to foster a rapport-building and active listening environment, resulting in shorter overlaps (Goldberg, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1983; Drummond, 1989). Murata (1994), whose categories this study considers, refers to cooperative interruptions as short or inadvertent interruptions, while competitive interruptions are sustained, intrusive or violative interruptions. Cooperative interruption does not intend to violate a turn; instead, it seeks to encourage the flow of conversation and often takes place "without any actual overlapping or threat" to an ongoing turn, using backchannel utterances such as "hmm," "true," and "I agree" (*see* Murata, 1994).

Measuring the extent of competitive and cooperative overlaps helps to observe the instances in which out-of-turn intrusions are initiated, resisted or facilitated. Data on competitive interruptions is particularly significant among the two forms of interruption, as it reveals the actual extent of a) confrontational talk, where the struggle for the floor occurs, and b) competitive overlaps, characterised by disorderly speech. Examples of competitive and cooperative interruptions can be found in the corresponding methods chapter.

Table 12: Frequency of the type of interruption in political TV debates (I=745)

Type of interruption	%Cooperative Interruption	%Competitive Interruption	Total
Host interrupts	23%	45%	68%
Host interrupted	6%	26%	32%
Total	29%	71%	100%

As shown in Table 12 above, the number of interruptions initiated by the host well exceeds the number of interruptions against them in both the competitive and cooperative categories. Notably, of the total interruptions ($I=745$) in the corpus, 71% of competitive interruptions reveal that nearly three-quarters of them are intrusive, implying sustained turn violations and the presence of competitive overlaps in the debates. Additionally, although the number of competitive interruptions initiated by the host (45%) is twice as much as against them (26%), the data shows that hosts are also subjected to competitive interruptions, which is regarded as a violation of the debating practices (Votmer & Brants, 2011; Bucy et al., 2020). Such a classification is insightful as it reveals that while the host initiates most of the competitive interruptions, he is also subjected to them by the panellists, implying that while the host seeks to exert his control over the show, he is also met with resistance by the panellists (Ekstrom, 2009).

Consequently, contrary to the predominant view in existing literature (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Lauerbach, 2007; Livingstone, 1996), the data underlines that not all interruptions can be attributed to the host and the panellists also use it against the host potentially "to control/regulate the allocation of turns...prevent a journalist from asking a follow-up question" (Ekstrom, 2009, p. 391). Notwithstanding its use by either party, competitive interruptions "represent violations of debate decorum and incursions on the opposing candidate's speaking rights" (Bucy et al., 2020, p. 642).

While competitive interruptions were much higher, in contrast, cooperative interruptions by the host were significantly higher (23%) than those against them (6%), resulting in a cumulative total of 29% in both categories. This highlights two moot points. First, both parties use cooperative interruptions as a means of building rapport or facilitating the conversation (West & Zimmerman, 1983). However, hosts seemingly use it more to maintain the flow of the discussion. Second, 71

per cent of interruptions in the show underline the presence of frequent confrontations, potentially resulting in longer overlaps.

The results of this study are consistent with those of previous studies, which reported a total number of interruptions by journalists ranging from 41% to 69.5% in the Netherlands and the U.K., respectively (Votlmer & Brants, 2011). A close resemblance to data in the analysis of political TV debates is found in Khan and Shahid (2019), the only empirical study to have examined studio-based discussions in the Global South⁵. The authors report that the host employed "fairly high" interruptions (73%) to take the floor. They also note that 80% of the total interruptions were found to be violative. In contrast, the extent of interruptions employed by the host, as reported in this study, was 68%, with competitive interruption at 71%. When translated into numbers, every hour of the corpus revealed 125 competitive interruptions.

Comparatively, in the analysis of the 2020 U.S. presidential debates, although different from television debates, one interruption per minute in the span of 90 minutes has been deemed "problematic" (Blake, 2020). Indicating hostility, such interruptions are "aggressive in intent and function to disrupt the continuity of the opponent's speaking turn while stealing time and advancing the interrupter's agenda" (Bucy et al., 2020, p. 641). While efforts to dominate and control the talk were readily observable in the corpus, they were not captured because they fell beyond the scope of this study. The precise categorisation of interruptions based on their violative or cooperative nature presents a more concrete set of data on interruptions, which may be worthy of further examination for its implications on the host and the nature of the discussion it may produce. Furthermore, this highlights the importance of examining the lengths of overlaps to measure the extent of confrontations between the two parties across the corpus in actual numbers in an effort to establish a robust rationale for examining emotionalisation in the debates.

⁵ Although purely inferential, the potential reason for similarity between the data in this study and Khan and Shahid (2019) which examines television debates on Pakistani TV could be the similarity in socio-cultural factors and media practices which in turn explains the stark contrast between data on interruptions in studies from the West and that of Global South.

4.1.2 The extent of overlaps in the debates

Table 13 presents an overview of the extent of speech overlaps in the individual debates involving the host within each sample. The overlaps were measured in minutes and seconds using the time counters in the show. Since the study focuses on the host, the percentage of overlaps involving only the host has been considered, excluding overlaps that occurred between the panellists.

Table 13: Length of overlaps in political TV debates

Debate #	Actual length of the debate (excluding the monologue)	Total overlaps (min/sec)	total overlaps
Debate Show 1	26:15:00	4:08	16%
Debate Show 2	38:47:00	2:53	6%
Debate Show 3	24:19:00	4:33	17%
Debate Show 4	19:02	3:42	18%
Debate Show 5	31:06:00	11:32	36%
Debate Show 6	11:09	4:06	36%
Debate Show 7	22:22	3:31	15%
Debate Show 8	18:11	3:43	18%
Debate Show 9	34:00:00	3:51	10%
Debate Show 10	30:09:00	2:58	9%
Total/average	255m	45m	18%

In the corpus of 255 minutes, the total duration of speech overlaps was 45 minutes, which is 18% of the total corpus. Some shows in the corpus, such as debate shows 5 and 6, had the most speech overlaps at 36% each. On the other hand, Debate Shows 2 and 10 were found to have the lowest at 6% and 9%, respectively. Further analysis of the data reveals that a show with an average runtime of 25 minutes in the corpus contains approximately 6 seconds of speech overlaps per minute on average. Since competitive and cooperative interruptions result in competitive and cooperative overlaps, the following section presents the data on the latter.

4.1.2.1 Frequency of the competitive and cooperative overlaps

Speech overlaps require a detailed analysis as not all overlaps are the same, as competitive overlaps caused as a result of sustained competitive interruptions are "disruptive" (Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016; p. 111) and more likely to result in confusing and garbled speech, while cooperative is "collaborative or supportive" used with an intent to contribute to talk (ibid. p. 115). While the data above presents a broad overview of the extent of speech overlaps in the corpus, a more detailed insight into the nature of these overlaps can be gained by further categorising them into competitive and cooperative overlaps. Generally caused by competitive interruptions, competitive overlaps involve two or more voices speaking simultaneously, yielding confusion due to garbled and inaudible speech. The cooperative overlaps, caused by cooperative interruptions, tend to be shorter and may involve two or more voices saying the same thing simultaneously, resulting in a chorus that makes it comprehensible. Therefore, 71% of competitive interruptions, as identified earlier, are likely to result in longer overlaps, while 26% of cooperative interruptions may result in negligible overlaps. Table 14 presents the results of competitive and cooperative overlaps caused by interruptions involving the host.

Table 14: Frequency of the occurrence of the type of overlaps in political TV debates

Types of overlaps	Total overlaps (min/sec)	Cooperative overlaps (min/sec)	Competitive overlaps (min/sec)
Debate Show 1	4:08	:18	3:50
Debate Show 2	2:53	:54	1:59
Debate show 3	4:33	:58	3:35
Debate show 4	3:42	:48	2:54
Debate show 5	11:32	:54	10:38
Debate show 6	4:06	:31	3:35
Debate show 7	3:31	:46	2:45
Debate show 8	3:43	:38	3:05
Debate show 9	3:51	:39	3:12
Debate show 10	2:58	:33	2:25
Total	45m:04s	6m:59s	38m:04s
	18%	15%	85%

Of 45 minutes of overlaps in the corpus, 85 % were found to be competitive, while 15% were cooperative overlaps. For example, the data underlines that of the 45 minutes of the speech overlaps, roughly 38 minutes of overlaps caused long, confusing and garbled speech where speakers not only speak over each other but also compete to retain or capture a turn while about 7 minutes of cooperative overlaps indicate very short, cooperative utterances that were easy to grasp and while not impeding the flow of discussion.

The findings on overlaps in this study significantly exceed those reported in previous studies on speech overlaps, reinforcing the assertion that violative interruptions result in longer competitive overlaps. Beattie (1982), for example, identified overlaps as the most common form of interruptions in a broadcast interview, although they accounted for less than 5 seconds of the total corpus. Adda et al. (2007), using machine-based analysis, reported an average of 3-4 instances of overlaps per minute in broadcast interviews, accounting for 5% of the total corpus. In this study, however, the overlapping speech was found to be approximately 18% of the total corpus. It is worth noting that previous studies measuring overlaps were based on political interviews, a genre distinct from political debates, which typically involve more than two parties.

Given that debates often include conflicting viewpoints and are characterised by confrontational talk facilitated by the host, the likelihood of longer overlaps is high. However, 38 minutes of competitive overlaps in the corpus ($n=255$), which amounts to approximately 9 minutes per hour, signify the presence of confrontational talk and conjure an image of chaotic and disorderly exchanges characterised by intrusive and chaotic turn allocations. Moreover, it presents a formidable rationale for analysing the content of the overlapping sections for the evidence of hosts' anger, an approach novel to this study.

4.1.3 Summary of Findings

The analysis of 255 minutes of data for interruptions revealed 745 interruptions involving the host. Upon further examination of the interruptions (I=745), it was found that competitive interruptions accounted for 71% (529), while cooperative interruptions accounted for 29% (216), as illustrated in Figure 5 below.

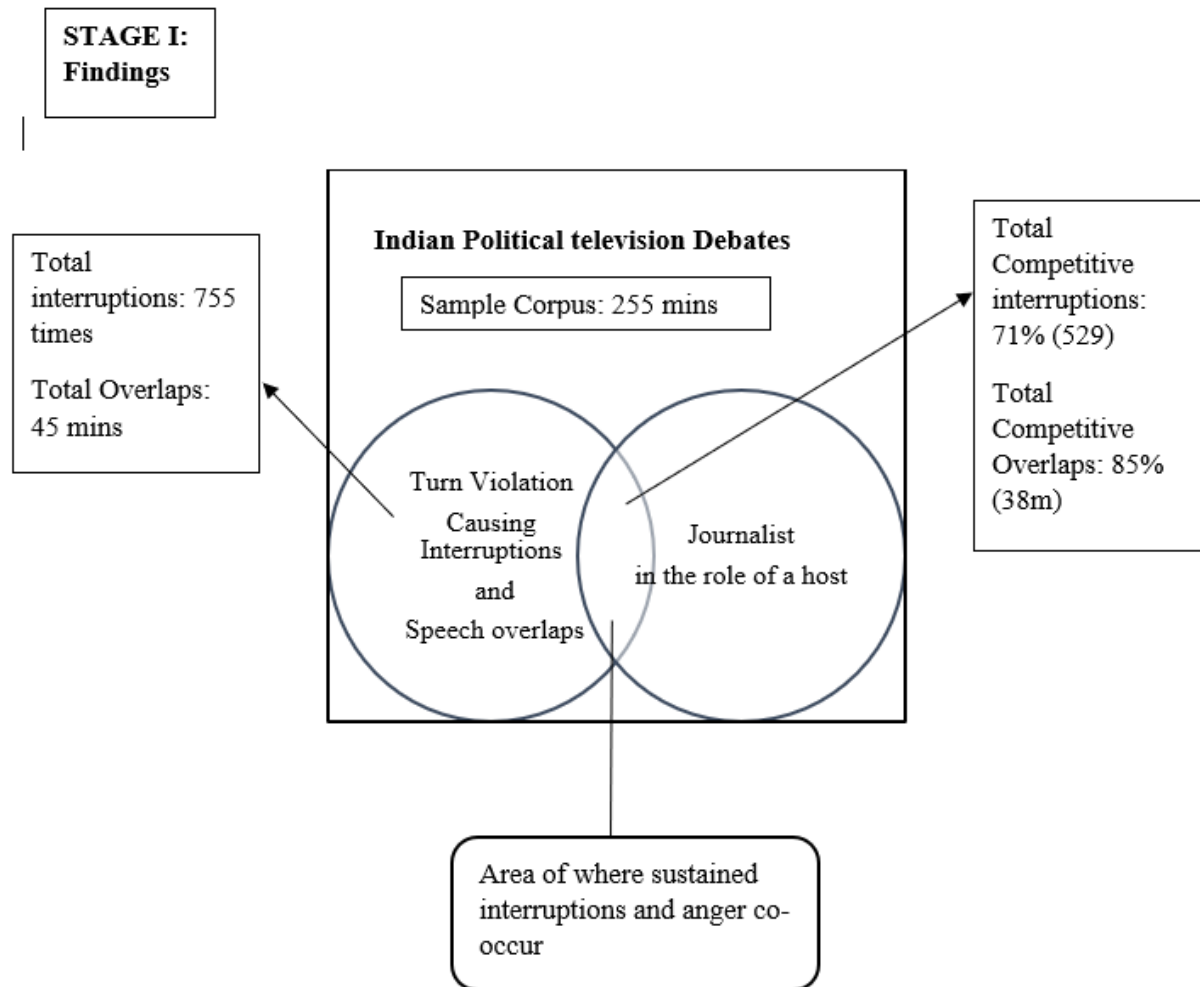


Figure 5: Findings derived from the application of CA in Stage I

The analysis of overlaps revealed that roughly 45 minutes (18%) of the corpus ($n = 255$) involved the host and panellists speaking over each other. Further analysis of the overlaps ($O = 45 \text{ minutes}$) revealed 38 minutes (85%) of competitive overlaps and 7 minutes (15%) of cooperative overlaps. In summary, across the 255-minute corpus, competitive interruptions occurred 529 times (71%), resulting in 38 minutes (15%) of competitive overlaps. As shown in Table 15, every hour of the corpus revealed 125 competitive interruptions, resulting in 9 minutes of competitive overlaps.

Table 15: Overview of findings [Corpus $n=255$ minutes]

Type	Interruptions ($I=745$)	Overlaps ($O=45\text{mins}$)
Overall, interruptions in the corpus	745 times	18% (45mins)
Competitive (cumulative)	71% (529)	85% (38m)
Cooperative (cumulative)	29% (216)	15%(7m)
Interruptions and overlaps per hour	176 times	11 min
Competitive interruptions and overlaps per hour	125 times	9 min

4.1.4 Discussion

4.1.4.1 *The extent of interruptions and overlaps in debates*

The findings in this section offer a multipronged insight into the extent of interruptions and overlaps in debates. The underlying intent of measuring interruptions as a starting point for investigation was to understand whether there is a noticeable amount of interruptions in debates that have spawned a sizable volume of critical commentary within political TV debates in the Indian media. In particular, observing interruptions and overlaps, both cooperative and competitive, by and against the host, aimed to capture the extent to which the hosts employ and experience interruptions. Beyond gaining an overview of the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debate, such a classification is insightful for two reasons. First, it shows the extent of turn violations the hosts employ and encounter during the discussion. Second, it provides insight into the functions of interruptions and overlaps, which, depending on their competitive or cooperative nature, may be either intrusive or non-intrusive.

Moreover, this chapter reveals the importance of measuring competitive overlaps caused as a result of violative or competitive interruptions necessary to acquire a deeper understanding of the violations of modalities of a talk, in particular, an insight into the confusing and incomprehensible sections, as longer overlaps undermine "mutual comprehensibility when participants in a conversation are talking at the same time" (Jefferson, 1973, p. 283). The analysis of 18% (45 minutes) of speech overlaps in the corpus revealed that nearly 85% (38 minutes) were competitive, while only 15% (7 minutes) were cooperative. The proximity of data between competitive interruptions at 71% and competitive overlaps at 85% reveals a decisive association between the two, and, as well, the extent of discursive confrontations, out-of-turn speeches, and attempts to dominate and resist turn grabs consistent with criticism of the debates in the Indian press (*see* Datar 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Daniyal, 2016).

This study makes a significant contribution to the empirical analysis of journalistic talk-in-interaction using Conversation Analysis (C.A.) and further extends into the field of emotion research in journalism studies. While adding value to the existing academic literature, it presents an effective intersection between applied linguistics and journalism research. First, it adds value by utilising a less-explored broadcast genre. The research in both disciplines has primarily focused on broadcast interviews and talk shows, whereas this study presents an empirical analysis of political TV debates, which have been empirically examined in fewer studies (Khan & Shahid, 2019; Votlmer & Brants, 2011).

Second, the data on turn violations is arguably noteworthy since it is consistent with (Votlmer & Brants, 2011; Khan & Shahid, 2019) and, in some cases, exceeds the data presented in the previous studies (*see* Beattie, 1982; Adda et al., 2007), emphasising the scope and agency of interruptions and overlaps in political TV debates. Third, the existing discussions on political TV debates, which effectively present a microcosm of the public sphere, have remained mainly limited to argumentative essays critical of their content and composition (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Lauerbach, 2007; Livingstone, 1996; Coleman, 2013). Fourth, in contrast to the widespread criticism of hosts for their indiscriminate use of interruptions in shows, this study revealed the extent to which hosts are interrupted. The empirical examination of interruptions against the host is comparatively less explored (Ekstrom, 2007; Hutchby, 1992; Ferencik, 2009), highlighting the confrontational stances that the host experiences.

Moreover, the data in this study are particularly insightful, as they reveal the extent and use of interruptions as a discursive device employed either to manage or violate the turns. Additionally, while interruptions were found to have a consistent and noticeable presence in the corpus, their presence in the individual debates is not uniform. The longer debates, for example, revealed fewer interruptions than the shorter ones. Two benign yet valuable inferences can be drawn from this. First, the extent of interruptions in terms of frequency and length may not be strategically planned or scripted. Second, shorter shows reveal several interruptions and longer overlaps due to time constraints, while longer shows reveal fewer interruptions due to a lack of time constraints.

However, a more significant point is the consistency of the presence of interruptions and overlaps across the corpus, albeit in varying degrees, which implies that they are part of the template that studio debates emulate. The volume and strategic use of interruptions by hosts and guests to manage and violate turns reveal how it is part of the discursive mix used to drive or scuttle turns and talk. The findings underscore a shift in the nature of studio-based multiparty talk, where violations of turns, interrupting, speaking over, and contesting with the host or vice versa are emerging as consistent and prevalent practices.

In the context of journalism, the analysis of interruptions and overlaps in this journalistic talk-in-interaction is of particular significance, as it highlights the avenues where challenges faced by the actors central to the analysis —journalists in this case — may experience. Second, given that violative interruptions are known to elicit negative emotions, studies examining emotions in audio-visual journalistic content may begin by examining competitive or violative interruptions to gain a concrete understanding of the potential presence of negative emotions in the talk. Third, competitive interruptions in talk-in-interaction deserve particular attention to examine the duress, either emotional or operational, that journalists may experience. Fourth, how competitive interruptions are utilised by the host and panellists to achieve a better understanding of interruptions in journalistic shows, especially political debates.

Notwithstanding the data presented here, these findings are particularly significant for examining journalistic content involving multiparty talk. It raises an array of questions, such as how interruptions may act as an underlying force in talk-in-interaction and be part of a discursive strategy in multiparty talk and how a host or show participants may employ interruptions to retain

or violate a turn, potentially to their advantage. Amid a host of significant questions from a journalistic viewpoint that fall beyond the scope of this study, the analysis and interpretation of interruptions by and against the host, vis-à-vis the existing literature, will offer an opportunity to deduce some meaningful insights about the interrupting and the interrupted journalist acting in the capacity of a host.

4.1.4.2. The interrupting host

The discussion on interruptions by the host spans criticisms and interpretations of interruptions used as a strategic discursive tool. Scholars critical of the hosts have deprecated them for interrupting the flow of discussion, cutting turns midway and acting as participants rather than moderators (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Coleman, 2013; Khan & Shahid, 2019; Hutchby, 1992), and have been "blamed" for "lack of coordination, simultaneous starts, and overlapping" (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1369). While the use of interruptions by an institutional representative has been disapproved of in most studies, its criticism has centred mainly on its use for competitive discussions or what Hutchby (1992) identifies as "confrontation talk", where a discussion involves conflicting viewpoints or positions. Analysing the caller/host argument on talk radio, Hutchby (1992) indicated that interruptions were "frequently" used in the form of "classically argumentative actions such as challenges, rebuttals and ripostes" (p. 344), and the host employs them "regularly" to instigate arguments, generate controversy and heighten the entrainment value of the show (ibid. p.344). A similar view is held by Luginbuhl (2007), who identified interruption as "an act of violence" and the host's interruptions as a form of "conversational violence". He notes, "If the host interrupts them after saying just a few words, this is an act of violence" (p. 1374).

Similar critical views of interrupting hosts can also be found in the Indian press. Jayaram (2008), for example, highlights how the viewers have deplored interruptions by the host, as he notes,

Most viewers — and participants — complain that anchors interrupt a speaker, move to another guest with a new question while the first participant is still voicing an opinion, or call for a commercial break in the midst of an answer.

More recently, Khan and Shahid (2019) highlighted that hosts use interruptions to manipulate the topic, enforce their views on the subject, and exacerbate conflict on the show to garner ratings. An excerpt drawn from debate three (see Appendix) of the sample is a case in point where the host, using competitive interruption, intrudes into a panellist's turn, causing competitive overlap to contradict and emphasise her viewpoint that the political rally led by the leader of the opposition is not being discussed in the debate for its significance but for the 'controversy' it caused. She uses interruption to advance her interpretation, given the institutional authority vested in her as a show host.

Host: ↑↑NOW TELL ME IS THIS LEGITIMATE

Panellist: = no it cannot be legitimate

Host: =↑↑ THEN

Panellist: its not [what I am saying ++but++ but++let me+++let+++let me answer]

Host: [I AM DISCUSSING IT THAT SO DON'T TRY TO LEGITIMISE THE DISCUSSION ON BHARATA JODO] BY GIVING YOUR OWN INTERPRETATION+ qed + point proved

(Debate show 3)

In the excerpt above, derived from Debate Show 3 (see Appendix), the host repeatedly interrupts and outshouts the panellist for 'supposedly advancing' his interpretation of an event, resulting in a competitive overlap as the latter attempts to continue with his turn.

Amid the criticism of interruptions, they have been observed as necessary interactional devices rather than irritants in journalism research, particularly when examined under the lens of journalistic antagonism or adversarialism. They have been observed as a source of maintaining journalistic adversarialism and antagonism (Rendle-Short, 2007; Voltmer & Brants, 2011), as well as a neutralistic stance during interviews (Rendle-Short, 2007). Used to maintain *control over time* and turn allocations by journalists (Voltmer & Brants, 2011), interruptions have been identified as a tool for asserting objectivity (Bowman & Ubayasiri, 2012), framing the talk (Boicu, 2012), agenda setting (Khan & Shahid, 2019) and challenging the interviewee and emphasising an aggressive stance (Rendle-Short, 2007). The previous studies attributing a high degree of interruptions to the host have called it a linguistic strategy "utilised by all hosts" to exert control (Haarman, 2001, p. 32), dominate, retain or regain control over the trajectory of the discussions (Khan & Shahid, 2019) and intervene to present "their point of view on the discussed topic."

(Allwood et al., 2012, p. 919). As the institutional representative, the host has been accorded the power to interrupt to maintain the debate's trajectory (Ekstrom, 2009).

Between the criticism and the seeming necessity of interruptions, an established yardstick for an acceptable level of interruption by the host is unavailable. Thus, it is unclear whether 70% of interruptions by the host, as reported in this study, would qualify as a strategic tool or account for the host's criticism. Although one academic study found that 73% of interruptions were regarded as "fairly high" (Khan & Shahid, 2019, p. 6), and the American press considered one interruption per minute over 90 minutes to be "problematic" (Blake, 2020), the data in this study — showing 176 interruptions per 60 minutes, 125 of which were competitive — could be deemed staggering by comparison. According to Ekstrom (2007), the answer may lie in a close analysis of the interruptions, as they are "complex activities" (p. 971), and their presence and use may differ across genres. In political debates, for example, "the conflict potential is high since the discussion of diverging ideas is the core of the activity" (Allwood et al., 2012, p. 918) with a likely high degree of confrontational speech and, thus, interruptions.

To assess the nature of interruptions in television debates, turning to commentary in the press could prove helpful in drawing opinions that may be otherwise unavailable in academic studies. In this context, the views in the Indian media are particularly insightful as it has dedicated significant critical commentary to these debates. In particular, the host's use of interruption has primarily received avid criticism from critics, where the interrupting host has been identified as a ratings-hungry, overly emotional journalist who is undermining the ideals of journalism as much as the quality of the public sphere (Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Daniyal, 2016).

These commentaries in the press highlight a range of charges against the show host, spanning from their 'unprofessional' behaviour to biased approaches, which point to the troubled state of journalistic practice (ibid.). Consider this excerpt from an article (Madhu, 2015) published in *The Hindu*, a national Indian broadsheet, for example,

If TV news conveys the message that ours is a bad, bad, bad world, the news debates are far worse — just ugly slanging matches between spokesmen of opposing parties. Pugilists and boxers would display greater courtesy. T.V. anchors, instead of moderating, add to the cacophony — by yelling, browbeating the panellists, and constantly interrupting them. A negation not just of the ethics of journalism but of the rudiments of good manners.

The data on the extent of interruptions in this study, when contrasted with the lamentations in the press, not only underpins the 'problematic' nature of the interruptions but also highlights the presence of aggression and anger in the shows. Moreover, using terms such as 'yelling', 'browbeating', and 'fishmarket' for the debates, alongside criticism of the hosts and their use of interruptions, insinuates a broader rejection of the hosts' emotionality in the press. It further emphasises the necessity and opportunity of analysing journalistic emotionality in such shows that have unnerved press commentators. Such criticism can also be found in some academic essays. Critical of emotions in television debates, Hess-Lüttich (2007), for example, notes that the pattern of the show is "always the same", where the host "creates an emotional atmosphere by issuing provoking questions and insinuating. (Hess-Lüttich 2007, p. 1369). Despite the evidence of interruptions being seen as a source of 'violence' (Luginbuhl 2007) 'confrontation' (Lauerbach, 2007) and 'emotions' (Hess-Lüttich, 2007) coupled with similar views in the press, this study does not seek to advance any interpretation or criticism of the host's use of turn violations except being limited to the key objectives of measuring the extent of a) interruptions and overlaps in the corpus and b) competitive interruptions and overlaps where confrontational talk may be occurring. Through this, the underlying intent is to ascertain the extent of turn violations and identify sections marked with simultaneous competitive interruptions and overlaps that can be empirically examined for negative emotions in the subsequent chapter. Such analysis can arguably offer conclusive evidence of emotionality, particularly anger, in confrontational talk caused by interruptions.

4.1.4.3 The interrupted host

In examining the interruptions against the host, the data revealed that hosts are recurrently interrupted by the panellists, and, in particular, competitive interruptions are much higher than cooperative interruptions. Of the total interruptions, 32% were found to be against the host, with 26% being competitive and 6% cooperative. This data underpins an often-overlooked fact that the hosts, too, are subjected to turn violations and may cause emotional duress. Interruptions against the host have been "regarded as a violation of the interactional conventions of a broadcast interview" (Votmer & Brants, 2011, p. 133). They could be interpreted as violations of speaking rights (Ekstrom, 2007), contestation, evasion, and verbal aggression, with potential implications for the journalist, journalistic practice, and journalistic content. With slightly more than a quarter of competitive interruptions against the host, it is evident that panellists also engage in power plays with the intent of grabbing the floor. Deemed as disturbing, offensive and impolite, interruptions have been perceived as a hostile act aimed at distracting the flow of communication (Hua & Sabri, 2019) and a cause of communication breakdowns (Clyne, 1996).

Beyond being an evident dominance tool, interruptions and overlaps can also be seen as a source of suppression, manipulation, and aggression, especially when used by those in positions of power to evade accountability, circumvent cross-examination, resort to *tu quoque* measures, and subdue the voices of marginalised sections. Ekstrom (2009) reported in his study that interruptions directed at journalists are a way of exerting dominance and evading or trivialising serious questions. Institutional talks, such as interviews and studio debates, are "driven by certain established goals, patterns of action, roles and norms" and managed by a turn-taking mechanism (Ekstrom, 2007, p. 966). The parties participating in the institutional talk are expected to fulfil their roles, with the journalist acting as a public proxy and the interviewee as a respondent responsible for answering the journalist's questions in the public interest.

Although it may seem like a straightforward process, studies have shown that it is not. Examining the Presidential press conferences, Ekstrom (2009) has shown that interruptions not only occur frequently, but a "large majority" of them are made by the President against the journalist and used as a "resource" to "control the allocation of turns, disagree and reject criticism, create hostile answers to hostile questions, demonstrate certainty and conviction, and makes joke with the

journalists" (p. 411). While interruptions are employed to dominate, jokes and laughter are used to create an affiliation with journalists questioning their role "as a watchdog and a neutral hard-hitting interrogator" (ibid. p. 411). A similar observation has been made by Ferencik (2009, p. 154), whose examination of the public participation in phone-in conversations on the radio has shown how akin to hosts, participants utilise interruption as "a resource to control both space and content of talk", to disagree with the host or to register disapproval and in a bid to advance and emphasise their viewpoint resulting in a confrontational argumentation.

While the content of the debates was not examined in this chapter, a definitive statement on how panellists used it against the host cannot be outlined. Using competitive interruptions, particularly against the host, highlights that panellists engaged in turn violations and employed them as a resource to interfere with turn allocations, resist floor grabs, and escalate confrontations. A recent analysis by Aaron Blake of the 2020 presidential debate between President Donald Trump and Joe Biden is a case in point. Blake analysed instances where the candidates interrupted the moderator and reported 71 interruptions by Trump and 22 by Joe Biden. Calling it "problematic", he reported that there was one interruption per minute in the debate, over 90 minutes.

While examining content is vital, even the data on the extent of interruptions against the host is equally valuable as it reveals the extent of contestation in debates and underpins the challenges concerning soliciting information, facilitating dialogue and affixing accountability. The interruptions against the institutional representative suggest that the debating process is fraught with numerous interruptions, with implications for the discourse it seeks to produce. In this sense, interruptions have a metaphorical value that can be observed in the challenges posed to news and information gatherers who are routinely interrupted by various means and agents, making the process more complex and taxing.

While these themes are worthy of further attention, the hosts' emotionality is a more evident and pressing implication of the confrontational discursive engagement characterised by competitive interruptions and overlaps. While interruptions have been linked to negative emotions and aggression (Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Bucy et al., 2020), similar views regarding hosts' emotions have been highlighted in the Indian press through expressions such as yelling, browbeating, and constantly interrupting the panellists.

4.1.5 Conclusion

Using Conversation Analysis, the chapter presents limited yet comprehensive empirical data on interruptions and speech overlaps caused by turn violations, both *by* the host and *against* it. Since not all interruptions are intrusive, causing long speech overlaps, the extent of competitive interruptions and competitive speech overlaps resulting in confrontational talk was further examined. In line with the findings in previous studies, this chapter found that while the host initiates the majority of competitive interruptions and overlaps, the panellists also initiate competitive interruptions *against* the host, albeit in smaller numbers. With approximately 125 competitive interruptions and 9 minutes of competitive overlaps for every 60 minutes of the corpus, it can be argued that turn violations resulting in interruptions and overlaps are prominent features of the debates occurring in tandem with the confrontational talk between the host and the panellists. A confrontational talk, due to interruptions, has been known to elicit an emotional response (Stets, 2006), which opens the avenue for further investigation into the content of these debates, particularly in sections where competitive interruptions and overlaps occur.

While the findings may be limited to this study and only applicable to multiparty conversations, such as debates that incorporate competitive speech, the data are nevertheless illuminating, particularly when considered in relation to existing studies on interruptions and speech overlaps in broadcast content. While it both confirms and is consistent with the data reported in previous studies, it could serve as a yardstick for similar studies in the near future. The investigation into the extent of interruptions while delivering the quantitative data illuminates the need to examine the content of the debates qualitatively from both linguistic and journalistic standpoints using a range of methodological tools.

A comprehensive overview of the extent of interruptions and overlaps in the debates was necessary to understand the challenges that violations pose to the show host and to underline the potential implications for the host's emotions, which this study aims to address in the subsequent chapter. Interruptions and overlaps have been identified as indicators of verbal conflict (Allwood et al., 2012) and sources of negative emotions, with anger being the most prominent negative emotion (Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006). Such an observation, as already noted, is

consistent with reports in the Indian press, where journalists' emotional outbursts while sparring with the guests have been duly underlined and critiqued.

While turn violations have been assessed from the lens of power and control in previous studies, their relationship with emotionality remains under-researched. The basis for such an inquiry stems from two factors. First, the Indian media reports that political TV debates have been observed as emotional battlegrounds, and in particular, the hosts' emotional conduct has been noted as a conspicuous and palpable attribute during heated exchanges with the panellists. Second, the findings in this chapter revealed a 'reasonably high' level of competitive interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates involving the host. The two indicators suggest a specific interplay between interruptions and hosts' emotions, which provides fertile ground for further analysis of the simultaneous presence of interruptions and emotions in the debates, one of the central objectives of the study. The next chapter, therefore, proceeds to examine the intersections between interruptions and emotions during competitive speech overlaps, seeking to ascertain whether hosts' emotionality can be discerned in sections of the debates marked by competitive interruptions.

4.2 Stage II: Intersections between interruptions and emotions

The previous chapter revealed the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps involving the host, highlighting their implications for journalistic emotions in the debates. While interruptions caused as a result of turn violations have been studied primarily in the context of dominance, their effect on negative emotions, primarily encompassing anger and aggression, has attracted limited empirical inquiry (Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Gottschalk et al., 2020, 3rd ed.; Chourdaki, 2021; Strukowska, 2019; Bucy et al., 2020). The growing critical media commentary on the interruptive and emotional television debates for over a decade in India (Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Bisht, 2016), recently on Presidential debates in the US (Associated Press, 2020) puts the intersection and association between the two in the spotlight and underlines the importance of examining their simultaneous presence and its implication for journalistic emotions. Building on the previous findings, this chapter uses the multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) approach coupled with Retzinger's (1991, 1995) categories of anger to examine two specific research concerns, which include a) the evidence of the simultaneous presence of anger and intrusive interruptions in Indian political television debates, and b) examination of hosts'

emotionality as a result of such interruptions. Since competitive or intrusive interruptions have been shown to cause anger, this exploration aimed to find evidence of their simultaneous presence and examined how turn violations act as a factor in the emotionalisation of journalistic talk.

Based on the evidence reported in the findings, the chapter delves into the centrality of interruptions in the emotionalisation of debates and their implications for journalistic emotions. At the outset, it is underlined that the scope of consideration of emotions in TV debates, as noted elsewhere, is limited to the host/journalist's emotions. Additionally, while the use of multimodal conversation analysis serves as a tool for epistemological inquiry into the debates that serve as research desiderata, the findings in this section remain limited to the above-stated research concerns. Moreover, any discussion on the underlying factors, causation, or correlation between interruption and emotions remains an area of further inquiry and is beyond the scope of this research, highlighting the need for future studies to delve deeper into these aspects.

4.2.1 Thematic organisation of the findings

According to the approaches identified above, the findings in the corpus were categorised under a set of themes that emerged in the units. The themes labelled "host interrupts" and "host is interrupted" were fundamentally confrontational and antagonistic. The interruptions were identified as intrusive, as the units under analysis included competitive interruptions that primarily resulted in extended overlaps. Intrusive interruptions are considered aggressive, aimed at changing the topic, taking the floor, or expressing disagreement, thus threatening the 'territory' of the speaker" (Murata, 1994, p. 389). The thematic discussion aims to capture (a) situations where the host used interruptions that led to competitive overlaps and (b) evidence of anger in verbal, visual, and vocal cues (Selting, 2010; Yu, 2011; Retzinger, 1995).

The analysis revealed four themes under which the interruptions were initiated by the host, along with their subsequent visual, verbal, and vocal elements that capture the emotionality in the units. As discussed in the next section, the analysis of the units revealed the nature and intent of the interruptions, which delivered some recurrent patterns of interruptions initiated by the host, identified under the thematic categories. In other words, the themes, as shown in Figure 6 below, emerged based on what caused the host to initiate an interruption, such as being instigated by the panellists, and the aim it sought to achieve, such as terminating a turn.

For instance, if '*mind your language*' appeared in a unit indicative of a confrontation between the host and the panellist, its visual and vocal data were captured *in situ*. Studies have shown that vocal cues and verbal expressions of emotions are unavoidably accompanied by embodied actions (Yu, 2011; Selting, 2010). Considering the apparent limitations associated with the extent of the use of visual data, only the most notable visual of the host during the unit is captured—a similar approach taken by Yu (2011) and Selting (2010). To better distinguish the specific motivations behind competitive interruptions, the units of analysis were grouped into categories or themes (as shown in Figure 6), each characterised by the nature of actions and interactions between the host and the panellists. These units were then examined for their verbal, vocal, and visual features in relation to the broader patterns of interaction.

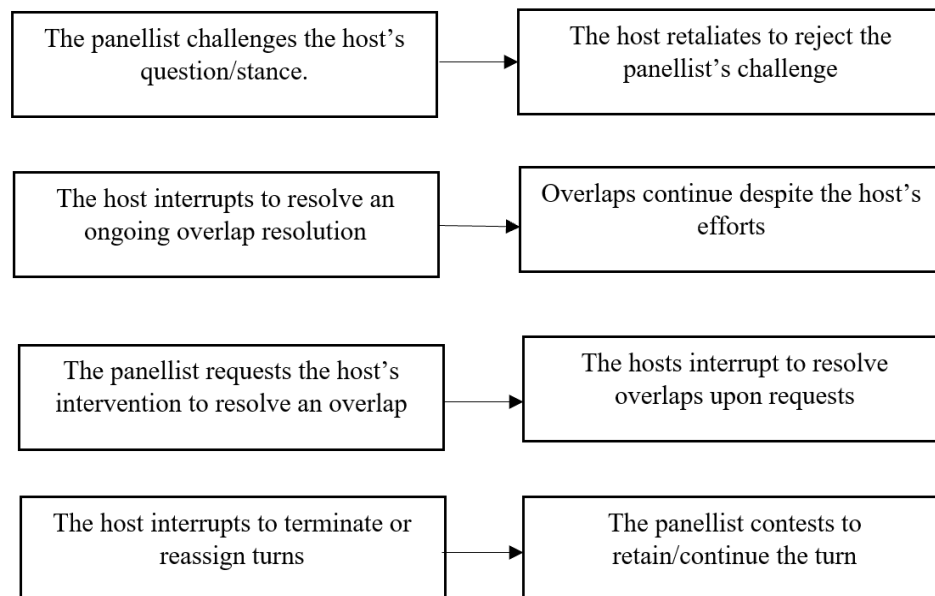


Figure 6: Thematic identification of intrusive interruptions.

Theme 1. Defend and dismiss: Intrusive interruptions by the host to challenge a panellist

This theme underpins confrontations where the host exercises authority through interruptions, revealing emotions in verbal, vocal, and visual cues to reassert institutional dominance when their credibility is challenged. These confrontational exchanges not only demonstrate how turn violations occur but also their implications for the host's actions and emotions through the simultaneous presence of interruptions and anger in the shows. The theme explores units where panellists engage in competitive interruption with the host, challenging and attacking his

institutional authority, journalistic integrity, and political affiliations. In a bid to defend their integrity, the hosts launched a rebuttal in the form of intrusive interruptions, often coupled with efforts to terminate the panellists' turn and reject their 'accusations.' Similar interruptions occur when panellists denounce the host's knowledge of a subject or their line of questioning. These units reveal a hostile confrontation between hosts and panellists, resulting in prolonged overlaps where both compete and contest for turn completion, marked by high-stress vocal registers and visual cues of anger, including aggressive gestures and facial expressions.

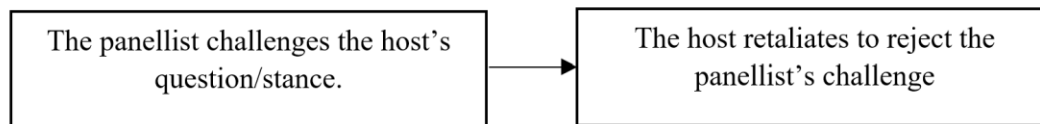


Figure 7: Panellist challenges, host retaliates.

A unit examined below illustrates competitive interruption and overlap between the host and the panellists. The unit shows the host first being interrupted and subsequently interrupting the guest, resulting in a series of interruptions followed by 45 seconds of continuous overlap involving four panellists. Drawn from debate show one (*see* table 16), the unit shows IR1, during his turn, launches an onslaught into the host's creditability and his institutional authority by underlining his ignorance of the subject using verbal cues of anger such as blame and criticism (Retzinger 1995, 1991) using phrases such as 'pathetic factor' and 'ignoring the reality', and 'being ridiculous'. As a result, the host initiates intrusive interruptions and retaliates with retorts, signifying disagreement, displeasure, and contention in response. The IR1, however, continues with his turn, resisting the host's attempt to floor change, which ensues in a nearly minute-long competitive overlap. The host then resists the IR1's attempt to dominate and continue with his turn. He launches further intrusions into IR1's turn to assert authority and control using words such as 'don't comment...', 'don't teach me', and 'you listen to me' in a display of dominance and authority. Meanwhile, IR2, IR3, and IR4 enter with their intrusions as the host continues to charge at IR1 with repeated interruptions until the floor change is achieved. Due to a series of interruptions and overlaps, the exchange appears as a verbal conflict, marked by challenges, counter-challenges, high-pitched voices, and aggressive turn-taking between the sparring parties.

Table 16: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 1



Host: Sanjay Sanjay [you know what

IR1: Listen, I am sorry Arnab] I would let you know that it is a ↑↑pathetic factor if you are going to make a trivial discussion on poverty [if you are going to ignore the reality if somebody of the panellist*... *I think this is ridiculous ((disappointment)) this is positively ridiculous]

Host: You know something I'll tell you >...< I'll.. I'll tell you something one sec one sec I'll..

↑↑((anger))YOU LISTEN TO ME
SANJAY JHA YOU LISTEN TO ME
SANJAY JHA first of all first of all first of all Sanjay Jha Sanjay Jha don't teach me [what is positive and what is negative] one second you know don't [don't comment *... * ↑↑ one second allow me, you] must sometimes listen to other people Sanjay. ↑↑PLEASE!!
HAVE LISTENED TO YOU++
 and↑↑ don't comment+ on the trivial level of discussion don't do that and I'll tell you why because I can discuss every every single statistic of the Planning Commission better than you

IR2: YOU TRIVIALIZE+ [YOU TRIVIALIZE THE POOR+ YOU MOCK THE POOR] + YOU TAUNT THE POOR



IR3: ° (inaud.) °

IR4: You have *...*

IR2: You are belittling the poor

IR1: No no one second how can
you not *...* country
Ok ok alright"

(Debate 1)

In addition to interruptions and overlaps, using repetitive phrases such as '*I'll.. I'll tell you something one sec one sec I'll...YOU LISTEN TO ME SANJAY JHA YOU LISTEN TO ME SANJAY JHA*', the host attempts to drown out the IR's voice in a bid to terminate his turn and continues with the competitive overlaps until the panellist abandons his turn. Seemingly agitated, IR1 continues to speak in an attempt to resist the host's interruptions, resulting in a further confrontation marked by high-pitched and high-stress vocal tones that indicate anger (Retzinger, 1995).

The corresponding visuals of the unit presented above show three members, including the host, speaking simultaneously. Although not immediately evident in the visuals, the third and fourth panellists make brief attempts to interrupt, resulting in multiple yet shorter overlapping portions within the unit. The host and IR1 appear to be engaged in a prolonged competitive overlap. As the host speaks, visual cues of anger, such as a hard glare and leaning forward in a challenging stance, coupled with hasty hand gestures, including finger-pointing directed at the subject of anger, can be observed (Retzinger, 1995). As IR2 spars with the host, his discontent at being interrupted and shouted down is evident in his embodied actions. As he pushes back to continue his turn and emphasise his views, he uses head tilt, expressing disappointment and hand gestures to emphasise his point. As this continues, IR2 intrudes to challenge IR1's views, adding further speech distortion to the ongoing overlapping sequence. The overlapping sequence, lasting approximately 45 seconds, may have a specific entertainment value, as it features the host and panellists sparring against each other.

However, it presents a seemingly challenging task for the viewer to make sense of the discussion. High-pitched voices combined with recurrent interruptions not only cause garbled, overlapping speeches but also qualify for "conversational violence" (Luginbühl, 2007), characterised by restraining and preventing the other from exercising their "conversational rights and possibilities" (ibid., p. 1374).

Using an upward vocal register shift (↑↑), very high stress (CAPS), and repetition in an attempt to scuttle and cease IR1's turn, the host attempted to hinder the panellist's turn, rendering it weak and resulting in many inaudible words, ultimately leading to the abandonment of the turn. The use of transcription codes suggests that both the host and the IR1 reveal the vocal cues of anger as they switch from an average to a high pitch, identified as an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) when engaged in competitive overlap. While the host uses interruptions to resolve the overlap and cut IR1's turn, IR1 also uses interruptions and an upward vocal register shift to continue his turn and have his voice heard, resulting in a competitive overlap that continues. The unit also reveals the start and resolution of several shorter overlaps with IR2, IR3, and IR4, causing interruptions while the central overlap between the host and IR1 continues throughout the unit. For example, amid an ongoing overlap, IR2 steps in with a high-pitched ((↑↑)), high-stress (CAPS) intrusive interruption accusing IR1 of being insensitive to the poor as she says 'YOU TRIVIALIZE+ [YOU TRIVIALISE THE POOR+ YOU MOCK THE POOR] + YOU TAUNT THE POOR'. The multiple overlaps also result in some inaudible portions in the units. With the use of verbal interruptions, criticism, blame, challenge, high pitch, stressed words, and embodied actions, the analysis of this unit revealed several verbal, vocal and visual cues of anger identified by Retzinger (1991) and Selting (2010), highlighting the angry confrontations between the host and the panellists.

In another unit drawn from the Debate Show 7 of the corpus, a similar sequence of competitive interruption and subsequent overlap between the host and the panellists could be observed, where the host intrudes into IR1's turn upon being challenged or provoked by the panellist (see Table 17). The confrontational and heated exchange between the host and the panellists, with a series of competitive interruptions and overlaps, lasts for over 120 seconds. The sequence begins with IR1 attacking the host's credibility by accusing her of bias, deception, and acting as a spokesperson for a celebrity. To that, the host steps in with retorts, resulting in a competitive overlap.

As the overlap continues, IR1 continues with her turn, requests for turn completion and accuses the host of impatience as she says, 'do not mislead your audience+ YOU HAVE TO LISTEN'. Revealing verbal cues of anger such as criticism and blame, IR1 uses an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) in combination with very high stress (CAPITALS) and increased tempo (<◇) to step up her confrontation with the host as she says "↑↑ + do not become spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan]+ YOU ASK QUESTION HAVE PATIENCE TO LISTEN TO THE ANSWERS+ [do not become Shahrukh Khan's+ SPOKESPERSON>". The use of verbal cues against the host, such as 'you have to listen' and 'you do not have the patience to listen,' are verbal indicators of anger, including blame, criticism, presumptive attribution, and prescription (Retzinger, 1991).

Table 17: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 7



IR1: As they say in English+ if you cannot stand the heat+ do not stand in the kitchen+ Shahrukh Khan [first said+ something else in Rajiv Jha's show and you have+ and you+ and you have shown only 20 seconds of the show as per your convenience and you did not show the main part of it to the audience+ you don't show your audience half-truth+ <you don't show your audience half-truth+ do not mislead your audience+ YOU HAVE TO LISTEN((distressed)) because you do not have the patience to listen+ you do not have patience to listen+ do not become spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan Anajana ji ↑↑ + do not become spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan]+ YOU ASK QUESTION HAVE PATIENCE TO LISTEN TO THE ANSWERS+ [do not become Shahrukh Khan's+ SPOKESPERSON> <...>+ the words which was used by Shahrukh Khan on twitter is very objectionable]+

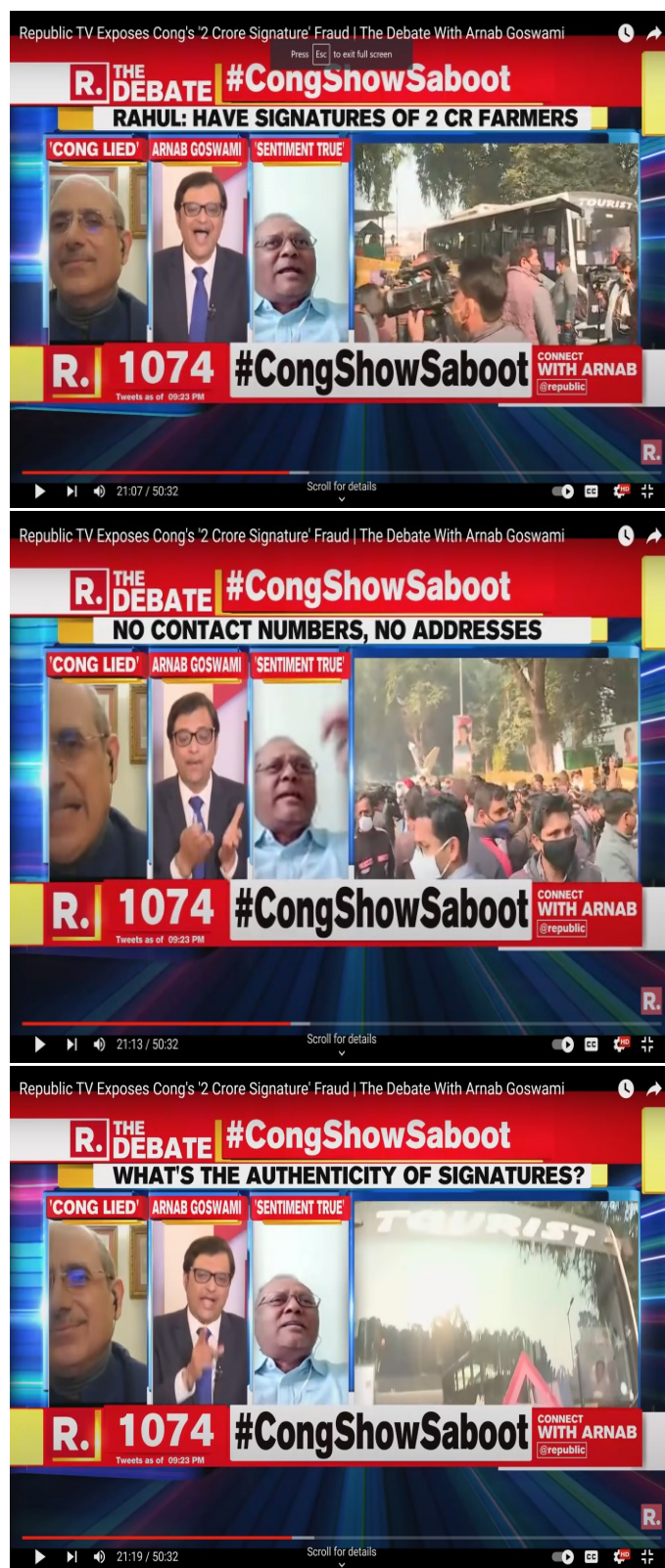
Host: [Sanju Verma ji+ one second one second one second you have crammed up the entire narrative very well ONE SECOND+ Sanju Verma ji one second you have crammed up the entire narrative very well but ↑↑WE ARE NOT SITTING HERE TO LISTEN TO YOUR SPEECH((seemingly irritated)) and also that I am the spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan]+ When questions are so sharp, people's tongues get tied((sarcastic))+ one second+ no+ stop shouting+ stop shouting and stop putting allegation on others++ Sardana ji+ Pradeep Sardana ji+++[SANJU VERMA(offended))+ I am a spokesperson of Democracy++ I am a spokesperson of Democracy+<...> you will not understand these types of talk Sanju Verma ji+ I am a spokesperson of Democracy and↑↑ such things are beyond your understanding keep shouting(angry)]++

(Debate show 7)

As the confrontation escalates, the IR1's attack on the host's integrity and her institutional authority results in repeated intrusive interruptions by the host to launch a counter-attack and terminate her turn. The interruption, which results in competitive overlap, reveals her anger and displeasure in verbal cues such as '↑↑WE ARE NOT SITTING HERE TO LISTEN TO YOUR SPEECH' and 'stop shouting' in a perceptibly irate speech. The use of repetition and verbal interruptions with phrases such as 'one second+ no+ stop shouting+ stop shouting' reveals the host's attempt to restrain IR1 from being able to use her turn. The use of vocal cues by the host, such as upward vocal register shift (↑↑) together with very high stress (CAPITALS), further emphasises her displeasure and an attempt to shun IR1's allegations. In the images shown above, the host's visual cues of anger could be observed in her frowns and hand gestures, such as finger-pointing and leaning in a challenging position while speaking over IR1. Meanwhile, IR1 reveals similar embodied gestures while confronting the host. The analysis of this unit also revealed visual, vocal, and verbal cues of anger, including frequent interruptions and speech overlaps, which indicated a heated confrontation and verbal aggression from both parties.

In another unit drawn from the debate show, five of the corpus, the host and two panellists appear to be engaged in a competitive overlap. However, in contrast to the units discussed above, this one reveals brief, light-hearted comments and a smile from the host (*see* Table 18). It begins with IR1 asking the host a question to challenge his line of questioning, as shown in the unit below. Resisting the simultaneous competitive interruptions from both the host and IR2, IR1, while repeating the host's and IR2's names to draw their attention to his question, asks both about their authority to seek evidence of a document handed by the leader of the opposition to the President of India.

Table 18: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 5



IR1: Arnab++ Arnab I want to ask one question (4s) Arnab I have a question+ Arnab+ Arnab who are you to ask++ no no you are+ I am saying Nalin Kohli+ Nalin Kohli no problem Nalin+ Nalin Kohli Nalin Kohli no issue Nalin Kohli+ I am asking Mr. Kohli that who is the channel or Arnab or you to question the signatures+ he gave it to the honourable President+ did the honourable [President asked him to bring the saboot of what you did+ the President did not ask for it *...* have you seen any comment from the honourable President to ask for saboot he did not ask for it]+ then who are YOU to ask for it+ who are you to ask for it(sarcastic)+ that's my question [I said who are you to ask for it+ does the honourable President asked for it then Rahul Gandhi would have responded+ simple]

Host: (laughs)Ok no no no you don't ask questions Ravi you are not the anchor+ Ravi listen you are answering you are not asking question haha ↑↑ (chuckle)WHY NOT+ WHY NOT+++ you made the public claim *...* you MADE THE CLAIM OBVIOUSLY WE'LL QUESTION YOU ON YOUR CLAIM > THAT'S NOT FAIR<

IR2: the only person who can ask questions is a *...* is [Mr. Rahul Gandhi+ so he has all the right to ask questions with no answers everybody else cannot ask questions](sarcastic)

IR1: No no I am I am very open+ I am very open my question is very simple are you reply me [who should ask the questions of validity it's the President Honourable President who are you to ask for it who are you to ask for it sir]+ (chuckles)

(Debate Show 5)

Upon his authority being questioned, as shown in the unit above, the host repeatedly interrupts IR1 and reminds him of his role as a panellist, not a host. The host further asserts his position by laughingly dismissing IR1's attempt to ask questions, saying, 'No, no, no, you don't ask questions, Ravi, you are not the anchor.' Meanwhile, IR2 intervenes in the ongoing overlap to support the host's offensive against IR1, further escalating the overlap.

In contrast to the previous units, this unit revealed verbal, vocal, and visual cues indicative of confrontation sans anger. The vocal data revealed tone switches with the use of an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) together with very high stress (CAPITALS), but instead of anger, it revealed a lighter mood and the use of sarcasm, derisive of the panellist's attempt to 'act as a host'. The host's verbal data revealed the use of repetition to cut short IR1's turn and potentially weaken his speech. The visual cues appeared to aid his use of words, as the host is seen chuckling and laughing off IR1's attempt to question him. While the unit reveals indicators of anger, such as derisive comments, loud and high-pitched speech, and visual cues like hand gestures, among others, it deviates from the larger corpus in that it unveils lighter moments rather than anger per se amid confrontation.

In another example drawn from a Hindi debate show 9 of the corpus, scenes of confrontation between the host and two panellists could be observed (*see* Table 19). The unit below shows them engaged in competitive overlaps lasting over 75 seconds, beginning with the IR1 targeting the host's journalistic integrity. In response to the attack, the host initiates an out-of-turn intrusion, followed by resistance from IR1 and an intrusion by IR2 in support of the host.

Table 19: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of a unit derived from Debate Show 9



IR1: people who walks out of jail on bail who are involved in murder case are becoming CM++ MAKES THEM CHIEF MINISTER((frustrated))+ THEY DON'T TAKE ANY ACTION ON THIS+ [should I make you count the names++ a a Yogi Adityanath++ 1999+ ATTEMPT TO MURDER CASE+ ON BAIL SINCE ↑↑ 2007]+ Malvika Avinash ji+ WHAT ACTION HAVE THEY TAKEN++[NO NO CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM+< you should put everyone inside+ check my bank account+ if there is difference of 100 rupees put *...* but Maya Kordnani+ Maya Kordnani*....*+ this prosecution+ is in HIGH COURT+ high court high court MAYA KORDNANI GOT IT FROM HIGH COURT HIGH COURT+ NOT FROM SUPREME COURT government's work is to go to the appeal but why they don't+ why they don't go+ this+ this Bhartiya Janta Party+ this is selective+ selective prosecution>]((angry))+++ they have taken six years((sarcastic))++ in seventy years Atal Vihari Bajpaaye, Morarji Desai+ all have come

Host: No what you are referring to what you are referring to++[which murder charge is on Yogi Adityanath+ no no no+ okay let Malvika Avinash come in(4s) no then like this then like this we then like this no no no one second one second one second Malvika Avinash++ ok Malvika Malvika come in]++ ok you have asked for ten seconds you got thirty seconds++[no no no it is not at all the matter of 100 rupees sir one second I I I I I+ ↑↑ <MAYA KORDNANI GOT BAI MAYA KORDNANI GOT CLEAN CHIT UHH THEN LIKE THIS AMIT SHAH SHOULD BE PUT IN BARS+ THEN LIKE THIS AMIT



SHAH SHOULD BE PUT IN BARS FOR KILLING TERRORIST
KILLING((ANGRY)) TERRORIST IS A WORK OF RESPECT>+
CRIMINAL CASE+ HOW CAN BE IT A CRIMINAL case one
 second *...* sir sir+] sir you are misusing your time
 now+ Nishant you are misusing your time now you
 have asked for ten seconds [and have taken fift secs+
 no no not done no no no not done not done you have
 taken SEVENTY YEARS then((sarcastic))+ that is the
 point+ no issues you have seventy years okay sev
 seventy years]+ Malvika

IR2: No let him complete [he taking the topic
 somewhere else+ this tactics will not work sir today we
 are talking on corruption so lets stay on this+ right++ you
 can't debate on the whole justice system nor you can++
 is this the supreme court or the criminal justice]p*...*++
 we are talking about economic offenses sir just stick to
 that](14s) Nishant ji let me speak you have spoken right+
 now let me speak

(Debate show 9)

The unit begins with IR1's criticism of the ruling party and lamentations about a specific national legal case of importance, highlighting delays and gaps in judicial proceedings. In the process, he accuses the host of bias. As he continues with his turn, he switches his voice tempo from low to high (◇) and vocal pitch from normal to an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) and very high stress (CAPITALS) upon being interrupted by the host in an attempt to reject his viewpoint. As IR1 continues to resist the host's attempt to floor change, he appears visibly distressed at being interrupted and maintains his pitch and tempo.

To reject IR1's views and terminate his turn, the host continues with competitive interruptions, resulting in high-pitched overlaps. The host accuses IR1 of 'misusing' his turn and exceeding the time allocated to him. IR1 rejects host accusations against the ruling party while reminding IR1 of his political party's weaknesses. The verbal analysis indicates the host asserting his authority in the allocation and termination of turns. He further reasserts his authority by seeking to terminate IR1's turn and attempting to reallocate the turn by calling in the other panellist. The use of repetitive words, such as 'one second, one second' and 'no no no', indicates the host's attempt to scuttle IR1's resistance to the host's interruption and to continue with his turn. This results in the host launching repeated interruptions, resulting in an intense confrontation between the two. The use of vocal cues

such as an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) and very high stress (CAPITALS), both by the host and IR1, indicates an intense and angry confrontation. The use of loud, heavy stress and staccato speech, evident in repetitive and fragmented sentences during competitive overlaps, confirms the host's anger in the sequence (Retzinger, 1995). The visual cues of anger can be seen in the host's facial expressions, including frowns and raised eyebrows, combined with hand gestures, which emphasise his irritation and anger as he seeks to assert his authority to dismiss the IR1 turn and seek turn reallocation.

Interpreting theme 1: Defend and dismiss

As outlined in the introduction to this theme, through examination of the units, the attempt was to learn how the host engages in competitive interruption and reveals cues of anger when panellists challenge his credibility and authority. The analysis of the units revealed a series of intrusive interruptions resulting in competitive overlaps between the host and the panellists. The multimodal conversation analysis of the three units in this section confirmed the presence of the hosts' anger when interrupting the panellists or when faced with interruptions. Their aggression is particularly evident when they are challenged, blamed, accused, or verbally attacked by the panellists for bias or pro-establishment views. As interruptions are strategically used by the hosts to defend and dismiss the panellist and attempt to terminate ongoing turns, their angry stance becomes evident in visual, verbal and vocal anger cues (Retzinger, 1995). In particular, visual cues such as lowered and drawn-together brows, narrowed eyelids, a hard, direct glare, and a challenging stance with leaning forward were observed in all the sequences. The attempt here is not to show how authority is exercised but to reveal how challenges and attacks that threaten the hosts' authority and credibility are more likely to be met with resistance, further escalating the confrontations, which are marked by both competitive interruptions, overlaps and angry reactions.

Similarly, verbal cues of anger, such as blame, criticism, presumptive attribution, and prescription, as well as repeated verbal interruptions, were observed. The verbal utterances were combined with vocal cues such as high-pitched, loud, heavy-stress, repetitive and staccato speech (Selting, 2010; Yu, 2011).

In an aberration to the presence of anger, analysis of the unit drawn from show number five of the corpus revealed a few moments of light banter between the host and the panellist, where the host was found to be smiling and chuckling while deriding a panellist. While displaying the anger indicators, the host revealed a combination of emotional stances, including lighter moments with undertones of sarcasm, amidst an angry confrontation with the panellist. Sarcasm, according to Retzinger (1995), is a verbal cue of anger where words and gestures are used to subdue an opponent or make them “look foolish” (p. 1109).

Theme 2: Resolve and Reprimand: Interruption for Overlap resolution, revealing emotions

The second theme examines the host's interruptions aimed at resolving ongoing overlaps between panellists. These interruptions occur in exchanges characterised by competitive turn-taking, where multiple speakers talk over one another. It illustrates exchanges marked by competitive overlaps between the panellists, the resolution of which requires the host to employ competitive interruptions that become inherently emotional. Resolving an ongoing competitive overlap requires the host to raise their voice, interrupt repeatedly in a bid to restore order, and reprimand the panellist for ‘unacceptable’ behaviour, stance, or comment. While such interruptions may appear necessary, they also reveal the emotionalised reactions of the host. This shows that hosts exert the authority vested in them through competitive interruptions, revealing negative emotions such as frustration, anger, or disorientation.

The units revealed that despite the hosts' efforts, albeit marked by an intrusive interruption, as illustrated in Figure 8 below, the panellists continued with their overlapping turns. The continuation of the overlaps instead of resolution led to high-decibel and irate speeches by the a) host to achieve resolution of the overlaps and b) panellist to resist the floor-taking attempt by outshouting each other and the host. The simultaneous speech by at least three or more members, including the host, resulted in overlaps being further intensified, causing much disorder marked with emotionally charged words, actions, and gestures.

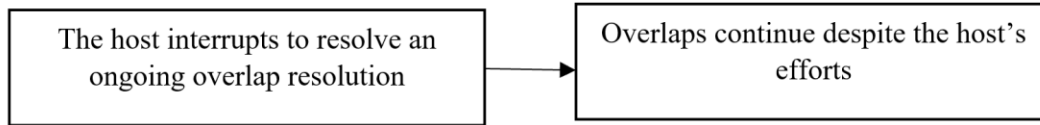


Figure 8: Host interrupts to resolve overlaps, overlaps continue

The unit sampled from the debate show seven illustrates the host's attempt to resolve an overlap between three panellists (*see* Table 20). As IR1 and IR3 spar with each other, nearly making the exchange inaudible, the host interrupts to resolve the overlap, but more so to reprimand IR1 for his poor choice of words. In a high-pitched and irate voice, the host attempts to sound both polite and agitated, using the repeated phrase 'please' and disciplinary phrases such as 'you should at least mind your language.' His attempt, however, does not resolve the overlap but extends it further. As the host continues, IR1, IR2, IR3, IR4, IR5, and IR6 all begin to speak over each other, creating a heated and hostile situation marked by a series of competitive interruptions and overlaps that last over 1 minute and 57 seconds. Thus, host interruption in a bid to seek resolution is only followed by more interruptions and overlaps, further amplifying the confrontation and resembling a verbal brawl.

Table 20: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 6



IR1: [and the solution to many things cannot be found in such a way if many things are written keep quiet KEEP QUIET ↑↑++ shut up++ SHUT UP((offended))+ shut up you quiet you keep quiet >...<+ one last time I am asking you to shut up+ I am asking you to shut up keep your mouth shut+ keep your mouth shut++ you listen+ you listen to me *...* legislature*...*]

IR2: Rohit brother I will give one answer

Host: No one second Maulana Sahab see+ she is talking rubbish she does not have brain+ using these type of words is not right+ [Please using this type of word you are lowering your dignity please keep this thing in mind+ you are Maulana lacs of people follow you, respects you+ [you should at least mind your language]+ PELASE + ↑↑[you are increasing your respect by what you are doing((sarcastic)) [PLEASE Sajid Rashid ji PLEASE+ Sajid Rashid ji Please don't sit and distribute certificates here+ Sajid Rashid ji you will not distribute certificate here of who is Muslim and who is not+ please+ Don't talk like Maula Barkati ↑↑here+ if you want to like that+ Maulana Barkati type talk then it's a BYE from my side((anger))]+ if you can keep your point of view with respect like Sufiya Nizami then keep it like that+ Nurman sahab is also sitting here and keeping his words with respect in front of everyone if you can talk like him then please talk otherwise it's a bye from





my side and I am not interested in knowing about your thing then[+ PLEASE+ No PLEASE+ I asked you clearly+ I asked you CLEARLY why only you got hurt with the study question and why not to Abdul Rehman Sahab and Sufiya Nizamin Sahab why did it hurt only ↑↑YOU WHY DID ONLY HURT YOU+ WHY+ WHY DID IT ONLY HURT YOU and why not to the other 2 Maulana who are sitting with you+ WHY IT DID NOT HURT THEM]

IR3: [Many good things are written this means many wrong things are also written in it+ Naik Hasan, is there many wrong things also written in it++ ↑↑you talk so rubbish on the channel+[is wrong things also written in Quran+ you are saying good things are written+ you are talking rubbish+ you are saying Quran is not right+ from which community do you come from+ who gave you the right to speak wrong things about Quran+++ Don't you feel ashamed talking like this on the channel]+++ you are not Muslim if you are talking like this+ Muslim does not *...*+*...* ROHIT JI ROHIT JI I WILL DEFINITELY SAY THIS I WILL DEFINITELY SAY THIS *...* NO not at all+ I WILL NOT KEEP QUIET ON THIS TOPIC+ I will not at all keep quiet Rohit JI IF SOMEONE WILL SAY QURAN IS WRONG THEN I WILL BLUNTLY GIVE THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION+ the person is UNEDUCATED and ILLITERATE who say Quran is wrong+ is there wrong things also in Quran *...* right now Dr. Shabnam was saying that how is our education *...* how are you controlling I can't understand++ no question is *...* our education is in this way++ Doctor Shabnam is sitting is she talking like a DOCTOR]

IR4: ° (inaud.) °

IR5: ° (inaud.) °

IR6: ° (inaud.) °

[Debate 6]

The verbal, vocal, and visual cues in the unit are indicative of a particularly hostile and emotional exchange involving the host and the panellists. The verbal examination reveals the repeated use of antagonistic phrases such as 'shut up,' 'keep quiet,' and 'talking rubbish' by the panellists against each other, heating the discussion. To resolve the overlaps, the host intervenes with words echoing his sentiment, such as 'mind your language' and 'please don't distribute certificates,' to express his displeasure with the panellists, further aggravating the situation. The repetitive utterances, such as 'YOU WHY DID ONLY HURT YOU+ WHY+ WHY DID IT ONLY HURT YOU' underline his attempt to corner IR1. When observed in combination with verbal cues, the vocal reveals the host's anger as he uses an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) along with very high stress (CAPITALS) to reprimand IR1's behaviour towards a female panellist. The visual analysis also indicates a volatile situation where the host's facial expressions, such as frowns, raised eyebrows, and hand gestures, insinuate his anger directed at IR1.

Drawn from Debate Show Ten, a unit from a Hindi debate show revealed the host interrupting to resolve a deadlock between two panellists. However, unlike the previous unit, evidence of highly emotionalised reactions from the host was relatively less evident (*see* Table 21). The unit below shows a series of three-way interruptions, including the host, IR1, and IR2. Throughout the sequence, the host interrupts twice to resolve the confrontation between IR1 and IR2. The host's first attempt to break the overlaps fails. As the competitive overlaps continue, the host steps in again to resolve the overlap between IR1 and IR2. Despite attempts to resolve the issue, the overlaps last for over 73 seconds as IR1 and IR2 refuse to relinquish their turns. With no resolution of the overlap in sight, the host requests the production team to arrange the screen display so that only IR1 and IR2 are visible side by side, saying, "keep both on the screen Jeetu Patwari one second one second Jeetu Patwari has challenged," as a final attempt to resolve the overlap.

Table 21: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 10



Host: One by one+ one second

IR1: Manak Gupta ji ask Shivam Tyagi to say down with Nathuram Godse++[ask Shivam Tyagi to say down with Nathuram Godse+ ↑↑ down with Nathuram Godse just say it once just say it once+ he is the one to kill Mahatma Gandhi](5s)[NATHURAM GODSE IS DOWN WITH OR NOT SHIVAM TYAGI JUST TELL this((angry))++ I am asking you Nathuram Godse is down with or not++ ↑↑ I am asking again Nathuram Godse is down with or not](10s)[he is trying to take Veer Savarkar and Nathuram Godse under one category]

IR2: No no this is unacceptable he is speaking in between I should get the opportunity keep my point of view+++ [it is a remarkable thing+ it is a remarkable thing+++ I am saying all the people who say against the country is down with people who say against the unity and integrity is down with]+ people who abuses martyrs in front of ONE LAC PEOPLE is down with and if you respect the martyrs of [this country so much then you also have to respect Veer Savarkar ji too]++ *...*+++ [↑↑ I said this+ I said this all the people who say against the country is down with+ ask him+ a a ask him to say who abused Veer Savarkar is down with ask him to speak ask him ask him to lodge FIR AGAINST RAHUL GANDHI JI why is he not doing that+ sir+ sir both the person has work for the independence of the country+ how can you believe Veer Savarkar ji is inferior tell me]

Host: [ONE SECOND ONE SECOND+ JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND KEEP THE SCREEN LIKE THIS ONLY]+ keep both on the screen Jeetu Patwari one second one second Jeetu Patwari has challenged [you and has asked you to say DOWN WITH NATHURAM GODSE and the topic is over+ say it by taking the name say it down with Nathuram Godse+ say down with Nathuram Godse and the work is over+++ you are comparing father of the nation and Veer Savarkar we are talking about father of the nation and Nathuram Godse] "

(Debate show 10)

The unit reveals the host using a combination of vocal tones such as high stress (underlining), very high stress (CAPITALS), and upward vocal register shifts (↑↑) to have himself heard and resolve the overlaps. Use of repetitive phrases such as [ONE SECOND ONE SECOND+ JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND KEEP THE SCREEN LIKE THIS ONLY] while calling out the panellist's name repeatedly to cancel his turn and draw his attention reveals his recurring attempt to achieve resolution. While the host's interruption causes the overlaps to deepen, his visual and vocal cues upon interruption reveal anger, potentially bordering on frustration, for his request being ignored. As his first interruption fails and the overlaps continue between panellists, he interrupts the second time, in a high-pitched tone, to request the production team to pull up images of two sparring panellists on the screen for a close contestation between them. The host's visuals reveal hand gestures, including a raised hand to draw the attention of both panellists, as well as a direct glare and a forward-leaning posture, indicating an angry stance. While this illustrates the presence of anger in the host's verbal cues, particularly as the panellists ignore his message, it also reveals a certain degree of frustration as he reaches out to the production team for backend support. This analysis suggests that emotional stances other than anger may also be present in units marked by a series of competitive interruptions and overlaps.

Interpreting Theme 2: Resolve and Reprimand

This section examined units where the host intervenes in competitive overlaps between the panellists to resolve or reprimand them for being ill-mannered or offensive to their fellow panellists. The host's intervention, however, as shown above, results in longer and more convoluted competitive overlaps rather than resolution. The units provide strong evidence of the host's anger in their verbal, vocal, and visual cues as they press to achieve resolution or termination of the turn. The first unit, drawn from debate seven, particularly revealed that as the host interrupted to reprimand the panellist, his interruption was met with retort and resistance, further deepening the overlap and intensifying emotional reactions. The analysis of the unit from debate ten reveals the host's attempt to resolve the overlaps and seek to turn compliance from the guests.

His use of embodied actions, such as hand gestures and a forward-leaning posture, along with high-pitched vocal and verbal cues, implies the presence of anger coupled with frustration, as evident in his requests made to the production team. The analysis illustrates that attempts to resolve competitive overlaps or reprimand a panellist through interruptions not only intensify the overlaps but also offer a window into the host's emotionality in talk-in-interaction. Moreover, rather than restoring order, these interruptions often escalate disorder, revealing the host's struggle to manage authority and control in the face of dispute and resistance.

Theme 3: Intervention upon request: Interruption for Overlap resolution upon request

The third prominent theme derived from the analysis showed that the host initiated interruptions only upon request from the panellists, in contrast to the more proactive interruptions observed in theme 2. Such units revealed the host taking cognisance and intruding into a prolonged confrontation between two or more panellists only upon being requested by the original panellists authorised for the turn. Besides, it signals how the host is looked up to as an authority with the expectation of intervening and restoring the turn allocation in case of violations that cause overlaps. While in some instances, the host's interruption resulted in restoring the turn orders, in other instances, their interruption led to contestation, further prolonging the overlaps and causing the host to appear disoriented and/or frustrated. While themes two and three appear similar, the key difference between them was that the former revealed the host taking *suo moto* action to resolve an overlap, and the latter involved the host stepping in only upon request from the panellist (*see* Figure 9). While the hosts' approach is intended to resolve overlap and reallocate turns, a key aspect of this theme is the underlying emotional strain on the host when intervention fails to restore order. Illustrated in the examples below, the efforts to overlap resolution required hosts to use high-pitched voices and disciplinary words bordering on anger or irritation.

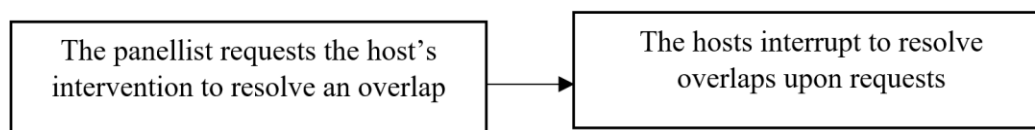


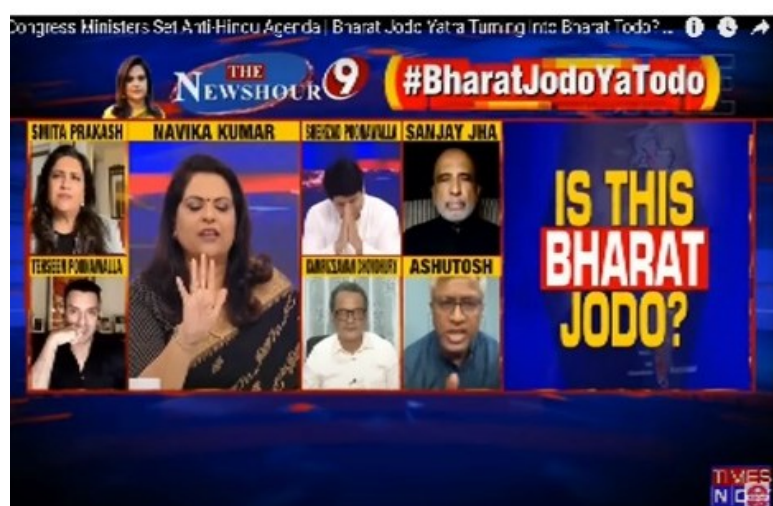
Figure 9: Host interrupts upon requests to resolve overlaps

The unit drawn from Debate Three below shows a competitive overlap between three members, including the host, with several intrusive interruptions and competitive overlaps lasting approximately 64 seconds (*see* Table 22). It illustrates how the panellist demands that the host intervene when interrupted by a fellow panellist.

Table 22: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from Debate Show 3



IR1: there are many criminals in the country who keep winning the election not one but many electors so should that that be [justified+ if+++ [Navika if if you if you if you can you ask him++ I think I think this fellow+ [Navika Navika ↑↑ I am I am withdrawing+ if he can't no no if he keep commenting on that+ this fellow+ no no *...* Navika I am *...* ↑↑ on your shows if this fellow speaks like this+ *...* no no I am not calling each other+ I did not no no *...* first ask him to shut up+ ASK HIM TO SHUT UP AND BEHAVE((Offended))+ *...* will you ensure that he will not speak?((Anger))



IR2: *...* satya hindi is+++ important]((sarcastic))++I am *...* ↑↑ satya hindi is more credible than elections are *...*(5s) [but I am saying writing *...* in satya hindi is more credible than elections++ I am only saying writing *...* satya hindi is more better] shut up((laugh)) [tolerance sir tolerance *...* tolerance *...* mute it]+ mute it



Host: *...* ok le[le lets not let not person](5s) no no a a a [I have said] o ok <...> ↑↑ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT SHEHZAD ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT++ OK OK ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT AND THEN YOU CAN RESPOND WELL LET'S [NOT CALL EACH OTHER NAMES ASHUTOSH+ ASHUTOSH YOU MAKE YOUR POINT] a a nobody will interrupt you you make your point+++ ya ya I am giving you the floor you make your point Ashutosh ji((seemingly irritated))++ yes ok aa please mute the studio Ashutosh Ashutosh is speaking after he is spoken there will be a right to reply by everybody else "

[Debate Show 3]

As IR1 continues with his turn, moments later, IR2 steps in with an intrusive interruption. As the overlap continues, IR1, in a high-pitched voice, threatens to walk away if interrupted and demands that the host intervene to ensure his right to speak. As he says, *"first ask him to shut up+ ASK HIM TO SHUT UP AND BEHAVE((Offended))+ *...* will you ensure that he will not speak?"*, IR1 appears seemingly irritated and upset at the floor grab attempt by IR2. The situation is further exacerbated as the host intervenes to resolve a heated deadlock between IR1 and IR2. The host, upon interruption, begins at an average pitch, tone, and tempo, but as her request becomes inaudible due to the overlap with parts of it, she steps up her effort to request IR2 to allow IR1 to complete his turn. As the competitive overlap persists, the host shifts from a low to a high vocal range and employs high-stress speech to resolve the overlap. Meanwhile, the two panellists continue with their overlapping speeches: IR1 with his pleas for turn completion and IR2 with his continued floor-grabbing attempt.

The vocal cues reveal a heated exchange as the host and IR1 and IR2 are seen switching their vocal tones to an upward vocal register shift (↑↑) along with high stress (underlining) and very high stress (CAPITALS) competing to have their voices heard. Additionally, the host can be seen using staccato speech as she says, 'ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT' in a high-pitched voice. The observation of verbal cues shows the host attempting an overlap resolution and pleading with the panellists to follow turn order in a high-pitched tone as she notes, 'ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT SHEHZAD ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT++ OK OK ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT AND THEN YOU CAN RESPOND WELL LET'S [NOT CALL EACH OTHER NAMES ASHUTOSH]'. Her embodied actions reveal visual cues, such as frowns, raised eyebrows, and hand gestures, emphasising her request to IR2 not to interrupt IR1. Meanwhile, IR1 (the first right corner) appears agitated, and IR2 (the third to IR1) seems to submit to the host's requests with their hands folded.

In 64 seconds, the host displays a range of expressions and hand gestures that may be interpreted as exerting authority to demand an immediate resolution to the overlaps, becoming irritated as they continue, looking astonished when not heeded, and pleading for a resolution. This emotional progression indicates that the host's attempts at overlap resolution are not only complex but also emotionally taxing. While the multimodal analysis reveals the presence of angry confrontations between IR1 and IR2, the host appears to be disoriented and frustrated, yet does not reveal anger per se. However, frustration may be a result of underlying anger, as Yu (2011, p. 2972) has shown that not being heeded in a confrontation can result in frustration for the speaker and can be observed in verbal expressions coordinated with embodied actions such as leaning forward and hand gestures "towards the target of anger".

A similar example can be found in another unit drawn from the Debate Show 7 from the sample (see Table 23). The unit shows IR1 and IR2 engaged in a heated confrontation, using rather impolite words against each other. As IR1 continues with his turn, IR2 intrudes, causing a competitive overlap. Amid the overlaps, IR1 steps up his vocal pitch to resist turn violation. As the overlap continues, seemingly irritated IR1 asks the host to intervene to foil IR2's attempt to floor grab. In so doing, he says, 'just hold on! Ask him to shut his mouth' before becoming inaudible due to competitive interruptions from both the host and IR2.

Meanwhile, IR2 also appears agitated as he speaks over IR1 and seeks clarification on specific facts. In seeking to dismiss IR2, IR1 uses words like 'uneducated soul', 'shut up', and 'ridiculous' and seeks the host's intervention to ensure his right to the turn. As the high-pitched overlap between IR1 and IR2 continues, the host steps in to resolve the issue, heeding the repeated requests from IR1. Such an attempt, however, causes the overlaps to deepen as the host becomes part of the competitive overlaps rather than achieving a resolution. As the three-way overlaps continue, IR1 and IR2 switch their vocal tones, employing upward vocal register shift (↑↑) and very high stress (CAPITALS) while sparring against each other. As a result, IR1, for having his turn violated, appears more agitated and displeased, which is evident in his frequent vocal shifts and choice of words against IR2.

Table 23: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 2



IR1: +he was going through an absolute stream of migrants coming historically into Assam+ lands+ he wrote to Nehru [it was the grouping aspects just please+++ it was 1946 capital mission plan[↑↑ just hold on! Ask him to shut his mouth+ to *... *] <...>PARTITION *... * PAKISTAN WAS DONE ridiculous+ oh my god! East Pakistan((seemingly irritated)) was created during that time there was streams of migrants before even partition happened for↑↑ GOD [SAKE!+ they were called it they were called it grow more muslim plan]+ [Nidhi I don't want deal with and debate with uneducated soul on this on this panel please Nidhi you need to understand NRC is an important issue+ Nidhi+ NRC is an important issue Tehseen NO let me finish my point Nidhi otherwise there's no point if I stand on this debate ((anger))I I humbly] suggest let me finish my point on NRC [NRC is a discussion which is happening today it is very relevant] no it is let me finish my point because this acquisition was made [now NRC+ please SHUT UP!] ((Offended))



IR2: what year was this?+ what year what year] just for my knowledge Correct!++ You know Bangladesh is not created [Bangladesh is not created there there+ there whatsapp history((chuckled)) this is there whatsapp history that's what I am saying+ was Bangladesh created?] ↑↑[Partition happened so people could transform++ partition happened so people could transform]*... * NRC *... *



Host: <let him finish arre(oh!) arre(oh!) let let let him finish let him finish let but↑↑ Tehseen let him finish there is Rajat one second Tehseen Tehseen one second >I[think Rajat *... * question no one one one Rajat I think I think no no I think think the point is the messaging+ the messaging from Amit Shah's one

second one second yes I just have a I
have a follow up question on same thing
so you can answer both ya alright go
ahead] ya
[Debate Show 2]

As the overlaps deepen, the host, upon repeated requests, steps in with intrusive interruptions yet struggles to resolve them, resulting in sentences packed with incongruent words and repetition. As evident from the unit above, the host repeatedly requests IR2 to withhold his interruptions, as she says '<let him finish *arre (oh!)* arre (oh!) let let let him finish let him finish let but↑↑ Tehseen let him finish there is Rajat one second Tehseen Tehseen one second >' to facilitate IR1's turn completion. She repeatedly interrupts to have herself heard with the help of repetition as '*no one one one Rajat I think I think no no I think think*' as both the panellists continue with the competitive overlap. The repetition here underlines the host's growing frustration, highlighting the emotional toll of failing to regain control despite repeated attempts. The host's effort to resolve the overlaps only deepens the overlaps further, resulting in inaudible and intelligible speech. Her repetition and resistance from IR2, as well as IR1's continuation of his turn, heighten the sense of disorderliness, albeit temporarily, in the show. To step up the effort and be heard, the host employs an increased speech tempo (<...>), high stress (underlining), and an upward vocal register shift (↑↑). Despite her efforts, the overlaps last for 72 seconds. The visual cues, such as raised eyebrows and hand gestures, with her right hand aimed at IR2, indicate the host's concerted effort to not only resolve the overlaps between the two panellists but also to make repeated attempts to reorganise and restore order.

The host's struggle to maintain order suggests a tension between authority and helplessness, which intensifies as the overlaps continue and the confrontation unfolds. The unit reveals that in such chaotic situations caused by sustained turn violations, the host's emotions may not necessarily manifest as anger per se but rather frustration, disorientation, and exasperation resulting from intense disorderliness. In such scenarios, an interruption may seem imperative to resolve an overlap, even if it adds to the confusion.

Interpreting theme 3: Intervention upon request

The units analysed under this theme revealed the presence of Retzinger's (1995) categories of anger. While both units revealed heated confrontations, anger was limited mainly to the panellists. Heeding the request for interventions, the hosts stepped in only to deepen the competitive overlaps rather than achieve immediate overlap resolution. Being unable to achieve order, the hosts continue with repeated intrusive interruptions, albeit taking a pleading stance. Despite revealing vocal, visual, and verbal cues of anger, the analysis of the units revealed that the hosts' emotions may manifest in the form of negative emotions, such as helplessness, frustration, and distress, rather than just anger, as they failed to achieve a resolution between the panellists. This interpretation emphasises that the host's role is not mechanical but deeply emotional, where their attempts to intervene often fail, reflecting the limits of authority in the context of television debates.

Theme 4: Assert and restore order: Interruptions to terminate turns, reallocate turns, and regain control of the debate

This theme examines how the host utilises interruptions to assert his authority and take decisive control of the show. Such out-of-turn interruptions were initiated to rescind or terminate a turn, reallocate turns, and regain control of the debate (Haarman, 2001) in an attempt to resolve ongoing overlaps, de-escalate confrontations between panellists, and restore turn order. As discussed in the examples below, this was evident in approaches where the host sought to a) terminate a panellist's turn for deviating, overusing time, and using inappropriate speech against fellow panellists, b) reallocate turns upon resolution of a long overlap, and c) attain order and control of the debate with a fresh line of questioning to a specific panellist. However, such attempts by the host were met with resistance, resulting in contestation by the panellists engaged in competitive overlaps. Despite interruptions being used for different purposes than those discussed in previous themes, the host's use of interruptions reveals the navigational challenges involved in managing the debates. Instead of stepping in with a request, the host is required to exert dominance, thereby revealing his emotionality. The emotional stances become more discernible in the visual, verbal and vocal cues as the hosts press to seek control, particularly in the face of further resistance.

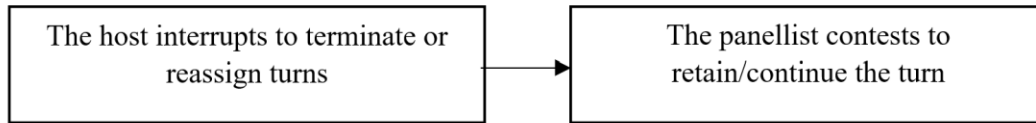


Figure 10: Host interrupts to terminate turns amid resistance from panellists.

The unit below illustrates the example where the host steps in to cancel ongoing turns, reallocate turns, and regain control of the debate (*see* Table 24). However, the attempt to achieve a resolution to a seeming logjam proves more daunting as the overlaps continue for over a minute, causing the host to demand that the production team mute the panellists' microphones.

Table 24: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 4



IR1: the lady who spoke before me she spoke as if+ she was spokesperson for+ a political party[or she was the representative of the+ of the meet((distressed)) *...* aspiration on the BJP or the good governance in the capital or the good governance in the country+ you people are turning this debate incidentally into communal overtone+ I would have *...* Congress we+ we+++ the way you were speaking Nandita+ I was I was+ shocked *...*++ you are putting political motives+ I am BJP guy+ I don't+*...*they will keep saying the truth and we keep on+ listening to them)((sarcastic))

Host: no she is a citizen please please+ please Mr Jolly [every citizen who criticises the government is not a spokesperson of a political party we have a lot of concerned citizens] also OK ONE SECOND++ [ONE SECOND+++ OKAY OKAY ONE SECOND I AM GOING TO SHUT DOWN BECAUSE I JUST HAVE A COUPLE OF MINUTES (5s) ya++ ya let's not get let's not do that let's not *...* political motive to citizens]++you know+++ that's fine your are BJP [and Abhishek is Congress but she's not right so let her have her view+ but Shadan Farasat just to get you on this on the] on the bigger sort of the bigger picture that's emerging from all of this guys come on can we *...* mics down++ guys have to do this please directors listen((requesting))

IR2: I am a resident I am a voter Mr Jolly+ so please PLEASE*...*[I was born in this city and I am*...*you party+ prime minister of this country she's in *...* foreign businesses here and you are telling me that you are]*...* the law by making personal attacks on people in this manner+ because you have nothing to defend+ I was born in this *...*+ I am resident of this city+++ no I am so sorry

IR3: Mr Jolly

IR4: *...*IR3: Nidhi can I please come in++ Nidhi

IR5: ° (inaud.) ° (Debate show 4)

As the host interrupts IR1, she begins by dismissing IR1's accusations of bias against IR2. A three-way overlapping sequence continues for over 62 seconds as the host targets IR1, IR1 accuses IR2, and IR2 challenges IR1. In a bid to seek an end to the ongoing turns, the host raises her voice to be heard due to the time constraint. Meanwhile, IR3, IR4, and IR5 initiate interruptions, further deepening the overlaps. When the host's attempt goes unheeded, she refers to individual panellists by their names to seek termination of their turns. Amid the overlaps, with repetitions and fragmented sentences such as 'ya++ ya let's not get let's not do that let's not *...* political motive to citizens]++you know+++', she appears disoriented and puzzled. Towards the end, however, she again makes a concerted effort to enforce the termination of the turns, saying, 'Mics down++ guys have to do this please directors listen,' which brings a forced resolution to the overlaps and termination of the turns.

The host's attempt to regain control of a seemingly chaotic situation caused by multiple overlaps is indicative of the challenging environment in which the interplay between the host's authority and the challenge to it manifests. The use of a request to the production team, asking them to cut the microphones of the sparring panellists, signals emotional distress as the host seeks support from the producers to reclaim order and reinitiate turn allocations. The significant element of this unit is the host's attempt to halt the verbal scuffle between the panellists, which is evident in her words, pitch, expression, and actions. The verbal cues in the unit indicate that the host is using words to request by her repeated usage of 'please', discipline by instructing IR1 to be reasonable to IR2, and assertive in using words such as 'mics down' 'bring an end to this...' to terminate the turns. The use of disciplinary words and reprimands against the panellists for being rude and/or unreasonable has also been outlined in previous themes. She uses varied vocal cues such as increased speech tempo (<...>) as she interrupts to chide IR1. As she steps up her effort to bring an end to the overlaps, vocal cues such as an upward vocal register shift (↑↑), high stress (underlining), and very high stress (CAPITALS) can be observed in her voice. While this continues, the visuals show her first charging at IR1, revealing anger cues such as lowered and drawn-together brows, narrowed eyelids, a hard, direct glare, and leaning forward in a challenging position. As she seeks to bring an immediate end to turns, visual cues such as closed eyes and both palms facing the panellists can be seen, along with an instruction to the production team to 'cut the mics'. This heightened effort to reassert control exemplifies not only the host's authoritative role but also their vulnerability as they attempt to force a resolution despite the panellists' defiance. In

this unit, the host briefly appeared angry but more perplexed and disoriented at times while trying to terminate the overlaps.

Analysis of a similar unit drawn from a Hindi debate reveals eight instances, as shown in Table 25 below, in the sample, illustrating the host's attempts to terminate turns, reallocate turns, and restore order as overlaps continue between four panellists. In this, IR1 is seen complaining about the television debates becoming 'increasingly aggressive' and driven by ideological biases that resemble 'violence occurring in day-to-day life'. Much of his speech becomes unintelligible as IR2 and IR3 interrupt him and speak over each other. Hearing IR1 complain about the nature of the debates, the host attempts to terminate his turn but finds herself unable to break through the overlaps.

Table 25: Visual, verbal and vocal analysis of the unit derived from the Debate Show 8



IR1: <Political discussions have become increasingly aggressive such incessant aggressive statements<> [coming in *...*political statements +++*... *a specific form of ideology ((continues speaking))... let me finish *...*++ I plea is () the violence occurring in] >day to day life<

Host: [You are [saying*...* not tolerance +so+see++ see+]



IR2: [NEHA JI++ NEHA JI + all *...* [in Kerela *...*[↑↑the question is, whenever BJP forms the government<...>↑↑]

IR3: [° (inaud.) °]

Host: [↑↑ok fine++whose shirt is more stained than ()↑↑ lets take this discussion further++ ONE MINUTE++↑↑WAIT+++ speaking aloud will not prove the point((sarcastic))+++sir"]

{14:56-15:22} (Debate Show 8)



As the three-way overlaps continue, the host makes one more, yet successful, interruption to bring the dialogue to a largely unintelligible end. In her verbal cues, she exerts her institutional authority by rebuking IR1 for speaking loudly to 'prove his point'. Her attempt to assert and enforce termination is met with resistance, as much of her speech is marked by repetitive, incomplete, and fragmented verbal utterances. As her attempts fail, she makes a final bid to terminate and turns in a loud pitch where she is heard [$\uparrow\uparrow$ ok fine++whose shirt is more stained than () $\uparrow\uparrow$ lets take this discussion further++]. While in her first attempt, she interrupts with a normal pitch, in the second attempt, she steps in with a higher pitch where both upward vocal register shift ($\uparrow\uparrow$) and high stress (CAPITALS) are employed. These vocal shifts not only highlight her attempt to attain order but also underline her frustration as her interventions fail to succeed. The visual cues reveal her anger through raised eyebrows, frowns, a hard, direct glare, a forward-leaning pose, and hand gestures that enforce interruption. The host appears to assert her authority by pointing her right hand at the panellist in an attempt to terminate his turn.

Interpreting theme 4: Assert and restore order

The emotional dynamics within these interactions illustrate the struggle between the host's institutional authority and the panellists' resistance. Similar to previous themes, the multimodal analysis revealed visual, vocal, and verbal cues of negative emotions, such as anger and disorientation, upon failing to restore order, highlighting the challenging nature of managing disorderly turn-taking. The analysis also revealed verbal and visual cues where the hosts are seen to assert their institutional authority in enforcing the order by demanding turn termination and directing the production team to mute the microphones of the sparring panellists. It further revealed the presence of hosts' emotions along with their assertive and dominating stance in seeking control of the shows. The host's vocal, visual, and verbal cues—marked by repetition, increased pitch, and frustrated gestures—underline how anger reactions are the likely outcome of managing a debate marked by resistance and confrontations. Moreover, the hosts' responsibility to manage effective turn allocation and ensure orderliness despite resistance also underscores the underlying inescapable emotional toll that they may experience in the form of anger, frustration, and disorientation.

4.2.2 Discussion: Intrusive Interruptions and Anger

The empirical analysis, enriched by the strategic themes identified above, reveals how intrusive interruptions function as both a tool for managing debates and a catalyst for emotional expression, particularly anger. Interruptions, far from being neutral or merely functional devices, serve as emotional stressors for hosts, eliciting anger, frustration, and sometimes helplessness. When examined through the lens of multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) and Retzinger's (1995) anger cues, it becomes clear that intrusive interruptions not only create turn violations but also intensify the emotional dynamics of interactions, particularly through verbal, vocal, and visual cues.

The analysis sheds light on the interplay between interruptions and journalistic emotions, offering a distinctive insight into the hosts' emotionality amid hostile confrontations. It highlighted how the host and panellists engaged in fierce exchanges, with recurrent interruptions and contested overlaps heightening verbal conflict and the emotional intensity of the interactions. In these instances, interruptions not only escalated the confrontation but also acted as triggers for anger and frustration, deepening the emotional stakes of the debate.

When captured in tandem, the multimodal cues offered insight into the interplay between the strategic use of intrusive interruptions and anger, with evidence of their precise occurrence based on the indicators of emotions and transcription conventions. The analysis of units allowed to capture a) the strategic intrusive interruptions and overlaps in the transcripts, b) the presence of verbal, vocal and visual anger cues, and c) the composition of the hosts' emotionality when navigating verbal confrontations. It revealed that intrusive interruptions not only have implications for hosts' emotionality but also that identifying emotional cues *in situ* can reveal their emotional stance during confrontations. Further examination of the relationship between the violations and emotionality requires an examination of a) the centrality of intrusive interruptions in verbal confrontations and their role in inciting emotional responses, and b) their implications for journalistic emotions and journalism research.

4.2.2.1 Intrusive interruptions causing confrontation

The main feature of the interaction arrangement in the debate context was the centrality of intrusive interruptions. The turn violations caused by intrusive interruptions revealed three commonly noteworthy features of the interactional arrangement during attempts, resistance, and efforts by the host or panellists to terminate and complete their turns. Intrusive interruptions either from or against the host led to a) resultant competitive overlaps between two or more speakers, b) repeated aggrieved pleas for turn completion or request for turn termination, and c) display of anger for being attacked and/or resistance to the attempt of floor grab. The verbal exchanges turned heated, resulting in contestations and confrontations marked by shrill and loud vocal tones, rude utterances, and embodied actions that revealed emotional reactions. While it is logical to assume that angry speech could cause turn violations, the analysis revealed that emotional speech occurred particularly due to intrusive interruptions resulting in competitive overlaps.

While this sequence was observed in much of the analysis, the corpus did not reveal sections where emotional speech triggered interruptions followed by overlaps. This can be argued because the centrality of intrusive interruptions in instigating verbal confrontations and emotionality was duly identified in the analysis of all units discussed above. For example, the sections with negligible turn violations did not reveal noteworthy emotional reactions from either the host or the panellists. While the sections devoid of intrusive interruptions appeared to have passionate speech for emphasising a point or an argument, they did not reveal noteworthy verbal, visual or vocal evidence of anger or any other negative emotion. This observation aligns with previous studies, which have argued that frequent overlaps and interruptions are indicators of conflict (Yu, 2011) and that "turn taking becomes more competitive during verbal conflict" (Schiffrin, 1985).

Consequently, any evidence of emotional distress in the speech was observed only when competitive interruptions were followed by competitive overlaps, resulting in verbal sparring between two or more members, including the host. In extension, the sections without the overlapping speeches did not show the host shouting down the panellist, pleas for turn completion, incoherent sentences, or repetitions, further asserting the centrality and role of interruptions instigating emotions. The analysis of the units thus revealed that competitive interruptions play a key role in the emotionalisation of the debates by instigating verbal spats between the sparring parties.

Taking a more nuanced view of the analysis, however, the presence of intrusive interruptions in the units revealed three key noteworthy insights about their strategic use and implications for hosts' emotions. Their presence amid the multimodal cues unveiled a) hosts' anger, b) their negative emotions other than anger, and c) strategic use of such interruptions in managing debate confrontations.

4.2.2.2 Intrusive interruptions and hosts' anger

The observation of multimodal cues in the units during the confrontation between the host and the panellists revealed how intrusive interruptions caused the hosts to act angrily and aggressively against a panellist. Such units were marked with recurrent verbal interruptions and long competitive overlaps involving two or more parties, including the host. However, in such cases, the intrusive interruption was not the only reason for the display of anger, but a vehicle through which the host and the panellists attacked and counter-attacked each other. For example, when panellists and hosts accused or attacked each other of false narratives and biases, such units revealed heated confrontations marked with frequent turn violations, intrusive interruptions and extended competitive overlaps between two or more parties. In such units, the host, in particular, took an aggressive stance to argue, counter-argue, defend, or launch an offensive against the panellist, while turn violations by both parties exacerbated the hostility and confrontation. However, in an exception, such as in Debate Show Five, a brief light-hearted moment was observed when a host smiled and chuckled while deriding the panellist for 'acting as a host'. In contrast to Luginbuhl (2007), the exemplars of interruptions examined in this chapter qualify for "conversational violence".

In examining interruptions in a Swedish TV show, Luginbuhl (2007) argued that interruptions in television debates qualify as acts of violence, whereby interruptions by a host to exercise institutional rights would be considered structural violence, and disagreement with the speaker would amount to personal violence (p. 1374). Enacted through language, conversational violence "drastically restricts" one's conversational rights and undermines one's "conversational efficiency" (ibid. p. 1374). However, conversational violence is not limited to hosts, as he notes, as allegations of incompetence and insincerity, as well as asking questions or giving advice by politicians, which may appear to be cooperative behaviour, also qualify as conversational violence (p. 1371).

If mirrored against this, the findings presented under themes in this chapter and illustrated in Figure 11 below are consistent with the patterns of conversational violence where both the hosts and panellists engaged in "structural" and "personal violence" against each other (p. 1374). These findings are consistent with the handful of studies that have illustrated how interruptions act as emotional stressors and can be a source of negative emotions such as anger, aggression, and distress (Jackson et al., 2003; Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008). For better clarity of their role in causing anger, two seemingly interspersed roles of intrusive interruptions come to the fore. First, the interruptions elicited the hosts' anger at being intruded upon and attacked. Second, the host uses it as a strategic tool when taking an angry stance in response to being challenged or challenging a panellist.

**STAGE II:
Findings**

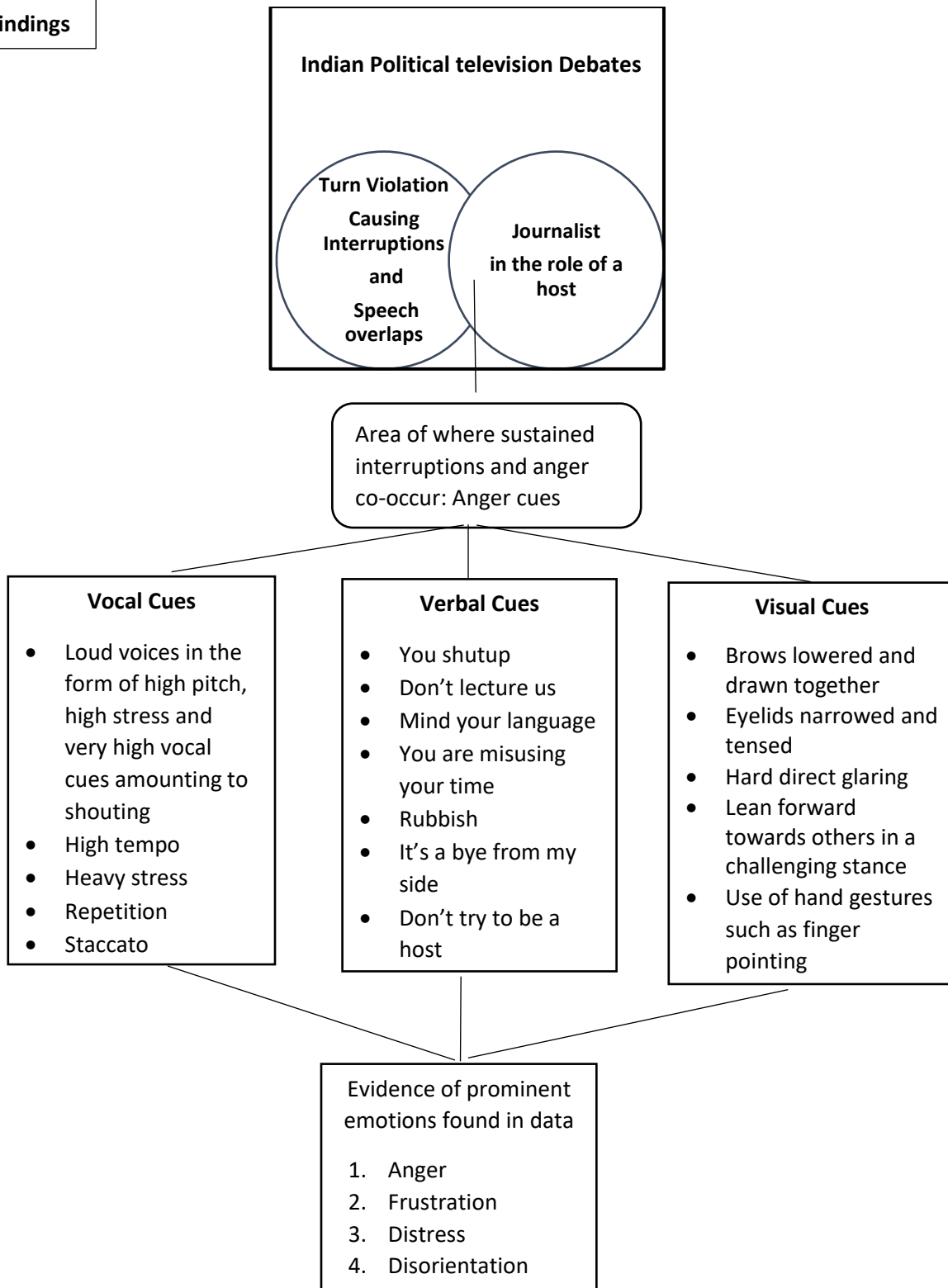


Figure 11: Findings derived from the application of MCA in Stage II

4.2.2.3 Intrusive interruptions and negative emotions

The second key observation of the confrontations was that, despite showing anger cues, the host revealed emotions other than anger itself. In such units, the host did not reveal anger because they were indirectly involved in the confrontation. Instead, angry confrontations were found to occur between the panellists, while the host used intrusive interruptions to diffuse tension, resolve overlaps, and regulate the turns. While the observation of multimodal units of anger was found to be present in these units, the host displayed helplessness and frustration rather than anger, as they were unable to take control of a seemingly chaotic confrontation. Emotions other than anger were evident in verbal cues, such as recurrent attempts to resolve multiparty overlaps while repeatedly intervening, requesting, and urging others to follow their turns. These efforts were evident in cues such as hosts' repeated turn starts, incomplete utterances, moments of pause and intelligible speech due to overlaps between the panellists. In sum, despite the presence of verbal, vocal and visual cues of anger, such as hand raises seeking an intervention, facial expressions such as brows lowered, eyelids drawn together and leaning forward in a challenging stance, in addition to vocal cues such as loud and high pitched voice, verbal interruptions and criticisms, among others, the host appeared frustrated rather than angry for being unable to resolve the overlaps. Although an individual displaying frustration "can be upset or angry" (Yu, 2011, p. 2964).

4.2.2.4 Strategic use of intrusive interruptions

The third key observation was regarding the hosts' use of interruptions as a strategic tool (Haarman, 2001; Wood, 2001). While intrusive interruptions cause negative emotions, they were seemingly used as a control device and to take an angry stance by the hosts. The hosts strategically employed intrusive interruptions to manage the interactional arrangement of the debates, such as resolving overlaps, dismissing allegations, negotiating and managing turns. Additionally, the host used them to assert their views, challenge the panellists, and terminate ongoing turns that revealed anger. Studies have shown that intrusive interruptions are used to manage multiparty discussions and talk-in interactions (Khan & Shahid, 2019). For example, the units in theme three show the host using intrusive interruptions when requested by panellists to block attempts to grab the turn or make floor changes and resolve overlaps. Similarly, as a strategic tool, the units in theme four show the hosts using intrusive interruptions to assert their dominance, enforce turn terminations

and reallocate turns. A typical strand of observation across themes was that the host employed intrusive interruptions when needed to navigate the complexities of turn management and allocation, revealing emotions such as anger, disorientation, and frustration.

4.2.2.5 Significance and Contributions to the Research Gap

The findings in this chapter illustrate the centrality of intrusive interruptions to hosts' emotionality and their strategic use in navigating the political debates on Indian television. On the one hand, it unveiled how sustained interruptions can elicit anger, distress, and frustration, and on the other, how the hosts employ interruptions as a strategic device while engaging in verbal confrontations. The findings are consistent with observations in previous studies in other disciplines where sustained interruptions have been identified as a cause of negative emotions (Beeftink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006), in particular, angry reactions (Retzinger, 1995; Selting, 2010; Sandlund, 2004; Gottschalk et al., 2020; Chourdaki, 2021; Strukowska, 2019; Bucy et al., 2020). Moreover, the analysis offered a discerning view into the host's emotional trajectory, revealing the challenges of managing talk-in-interaction. In applied linguistics research, studies examining presidential debates have shown that holding interviews and debates can be a challenging task for journalists owing to reasons such as the shortage of time, ensuring the fulfilment of the objectives and agenda of the show, and in dealing with difficult interviewees who may end up "wrong-footing interviewers and putting them on the defensive, such that they feel obliged to justify and even apologise for their role as interviewers" (Bull & Mayer, 1988, p. 45).

Studies examining talk shows have identified interruptions as a strategic tool the hosts use to enhance televisuality by provoking conflict and disagreement (Haarman, 2001; Wood, 2001). However, its interplay with emotions and implications for hosts' emotions within journalistic discourse have received limited attention. In addressing this gap, this chapter not only explores the relationship between interruptions and display of journalistic anger, but it does so particularly through the analysis of the broadcast data, where analysis of journalistic anger has remained limited to the examination of news text (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018) and journalistic experiences gathered through interviews (Stupart, 2021).

Moreover, this study serves as a point of departure to address the role of interruptions and other factors that may have implications for journalistic emotions and their broader implications for journalistic practice and the content. While talk shows have received some academic attention, this study is the first to reveal the presence of journalistic anger in naturally occurring journalistic talk, specifically in political TV debates that are considered unrehearsed, unscripted, and spontaneous. While journalistic anger is mediated through text and outsourced to the sources in news stories (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018) and managed and controlled to ensure objectivity (Stupart, 2023), TV debates, being dynamic talk-in-interaction formats, however, are a genre where management and suppression of emotional displays can be a complex and challenging exercise, particularly during confrontations.

While going beyond merely examining the interplay between interruptions and anger, this analysis captures the emerging practice of journalistic engagement with emotions in a popular broadcast format. It highlights both the normalisation, evident in the consistent presence across show formats, and the standardisation, reflected in the commonality of journalists' emotional reactions. Additionally, while it served as a fertile ground for investigation into journalistic emotions, it also emerged as an exemplar for the emerging discourse on emotions in academic texts and talk.

On the methodological front, it demonstrated how multimodal conversation analysis, combined with Retzinger's (1991, 1995) categories of anger, could be employed to examine journalistic content and occurrences of negative emotions, particularly anger, in journalistic content. A handful of studies based on a multimodal analysis approach have employed verbal interruptions as an analytical unit to examine emotions and, particularly, anger in the audio-visual content (Bucy et al., 2020; Selting, 2010; Strukowska, 2019; Yu, 2011), fewer have focused explicitly on the role of intrusive interruptions vis-à-vis journalistic emotions. Additionally, while multimodal research in journalism, particularly with computational technology, is on the rise (Soroka et al., 2015; Young & Soroka, 2012; Singh et al., 2021; Logaldo, 2017), the use of multimodal conversation analysis is only an emerging trend (Li et al., 2023; Tai, 2023), and rarely employed in combination with Retzinger's (1991, 1995) categories of anger. In the context of emotions in journalism research, this study highlights the immense potential of employing linguistic and methodological approaches to examine emotions in journalistic content, a practice evident to some extent in the examination of journalistic aggressiveness or adversarialism (see Voltmer and Brants, 2011). The

ensuing section draws parallels with literature on journalistic aggressiveness, where, on the one hand, an association has been drawn between interruptions and journalistic aggressiveness, adversarialism, and assertiveness; on the other, the terms bear a close resemblance, at least linguistically, to journalistic anger in talk-in-interaction.

4.2.2.6 Journalistic Anger and Parallels to Journalistic Aggressiveness

Since the literature on journalistic anger is limited, a potential direction to explore parallels is the research on journalistic aggressiveness, encompassing adversarialism and hostility (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Rendle-Short, 2007), which investigates journalists' aggressive stance in broadcast interviews. Studies on journalistic aggressiveness have unpacked it with an examination of either the format or the nature and content of the questions, control over resources such as time and frequency of interruptions to capture the enactment of antagonism and/or aggressiveness in political TV interviews (*see* Al Fahad 2015; Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Rendle-Short, 2007). With reference to terms such as aggressive, antagonistic, and adversarial, which are used simultaneously and interchangeably, the broader literature on journalistic antagonism comes closest to the inquiry into journalistic anger. However, despite the supposed association between the two, the literature on journalistic antagonism, while frequently referring to aggression and adversarialism, does not equate it with or make any references to emotions or anger. While the terms can be regarded as having an etymological relationship, given the lack of empirical studies, a definitive relationship between anger and aggression, antagonism, or adversarialism remains inferential rather than evidential. For example, A connection between anger and aggression can be found in linguistic anthropology, where language has been dubbed as the vehicle and outlet for expressing discontent and resentment (Eksner, 2015). For Eksner (2015), for example, anger and aggression are intertwined in linguistic enactments of anger through 'tough talk'.

Similarly, an association between the two can be observed in Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2011), where they note that anger has historically been discouraged due to its close association with aggression. In examining journalistic adversarialism, Voltmer and Brants (2011) have noted, for example, how journalists' aggressive style of questioning may be observed as "a manifestation of journalistic independence and assertiveness" (p. 129). While a seeming link between the terms in

the existing literature can be inferred, decisive evidence as to whether anger and aggressiveness or adversarialism are related or synonymous is lacking.

With a specific focus on interruptions and adversarialism in television interviews, Voltmer and Brants (2011) have demonstrated how interruptions are used to exert dominance and control, as well as to maintain an adversarial stance. Although not a direct inquiry into journalistic antagonism, Ekstrom (2009) has demonstrated how interruptions are used to control turns, express disagreement, reject criticism, counter hostility, and convey conviction. The journalistic adversarial or challenging approach, along with the use of interruptions, has resulted in British political interviews being regarded as "a battleground between two warriors" (Voltmer & Brants, 2011, p. 132). As shown in this chapter, the strategic use of interruptions coupled with emotional reactions by the host amid confrontations, resembling 'a battleground', could be inferred as the host's aggressiveness. In extension, one could argue that intrusive interruptions are employed as a resource to maintain both an aggressive and an angry stance by the host.

Even though this study is not an investigation into journalistic aggressiveness and only seeks to draw connections to the studies in this area, the episodes of confrontation and contestation between the hosts and panellists, as shown in the findings, are consistent with that of the political interviews analysed by Voltmer and Brants (2011) which they identify as "extremely contested encounters, resembling battlefields of verbal attacks and counter-attacks" (p. 143). Consequently, it can be argued that antagonism may involve embedded emotional elements, as this study's verbal, vocal, and visual cues revealed journalists adopting an adversarial stance on several occasions by asking repeated questions, interrupting, contesting, and sparring with the panellists. While aggressiveness may not be characterised by anger or similar negative emotions, it points towards a gap in addressing its relationship with anger and how the two may be intertwined.

Notwithstanding such observations in the debates, however, whether journalistic anger and aggressiveness are indeed related is a matter for further research and analysis. The brief discussion here, however, points towards a sparse yet significant body of work on journalistic antagonism or adversarialism that may be recognised as an antecedent to journalistic anger and, consequently, holds the potential to be integrated with or brought under the umbrella of research on emotions in journalism.

4.2.3 Conclusion

The central aim of this chapter was twofold. First, it sought to examine the effect of intrusive interruptions on hosts' anger in the Indian political television debates, and second, it aimed to explore the hosts' strategic use of interruptions and their implications in the emotionalisation of the debates. The multimodal conversation analysis, coupled with Retzinger's (1991, 1995) anger indicators, revealed the simultaneous presence of interruptions and anger, confirming the centrality of intrusive interruptions to emotional confrontations between the host and the panellists. The findings revealed that the host's use of interruptions and emotional display is deeply intertwined, as he strategically employs interruptions to defend and dismiss, resolve and reprimand, intervene upon request, and assert and restore order as part of his debate management strategies. Through a systematic empirical analysis, the chapter revealed how the host's strategic use of interruptions either caused confrontations or failed to diffuse them, resulting in an emotional toll evident in the form of aggravated and angry responses, as reflected in his verbal, vocal, and visual cues.

The findings are consistent with previous studies, which have identified competitive turn-taking and intrusive interruptions as sources of negative emotions (Beefink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006), anger (Selting, 2010; Retzinger, 1991, 1995), and frustration (Yu, 2011). These findings are particularly significant, as they offer a basis for empirically examining and highlighting the presence of journalistic aggression and emotions in debates, in line with Indian media criticism. The data from the visual analysis of the units were consistent with the vocal and verbal cues in capturing the interplay of emotions and turn violations.

When observed together *in situ*, the cues revealed negligible positive emotions, as most units were found to be confrontational, with recurrent turn violations encompassing multiparty interruptions and long, competitive overlaps. The methodological examination of the units not only presented evidence of journalistic anger in the debates but also highlighted its articulation through an examination of the modalities of anger. In addition to anger, the analysis revealed the presence of other negative emotions, such as distress, frustration, and disorientation, that journalists experience in response to hostility and verbal confrontation. Beyond their emotional implications, however, intrusive interruptions were also found to be employed as a strategic device by the hosts to assert authority, exert dominance, and resolve verbal conflict with or among the panellists. Arguably,

this analysis provides a novel insight into the complex emotional landscape that journalists navigate, where intrusive interruptions, when employed by them, can be a strategic device, and when used against them, can cause emotional distress. This study, through empirical analysis, highlights the increasing prevalence of negative emotions in journalistic content, contributing to the emerging scholarship on journalistic emotions, particularly anger. It reveals that journalistic anger can be found in content using the proper methodology, as Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) has demonstrated in the examination of journalists' mediated anger in news texts.

Moreover, it demonstrates that journalistic emotion can be examined in content rather than primarily depending on interviews. This approach contributes to scholarship on analysing political debate shows and journalists' talk-in-interaction in a naturalistic environment, offering new insights into the emotional dynamics present in journalistic practices. Against the backdrop of growing critical discourse on emotionalised political TV discussions in the media, the findings in this study underline that journalistic emotion is an emerging feature of broadcast talk-in-interaction and holds potential for further academic inquiry in emotions research. In elaborating on a potential antecedent, this chapter examined whether journalistic anger, identified as a key emotion in the debates, can be considered synonymous with journalistic aggressiveness or adversarialism (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Al Fahad, 2015; Voltmer & Brants, 2011), given its close resemblance. The discussion highlighted that, despite their linguistic proximity and synonymous usage, the direct connection between journalistic anger and journalistic aggressiveness remains unexplored, as neither the research on anger in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2023) nor the research on aggressiveness (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) establishes a link between the two.

The findings in this chapter, however, provide a formidable basis for extending this investigation and examining the debates and journalistic emotions using additional methodological approaches. While multimodal conversation analysis offers a rich understanding of emotionality and host behaviour, its findings are inherently limited to what can be observed, measured, and interpreted from the audio-visual content alone. In demonstrating its significance, however, the method revealed several key patterns such as a) interruptions are substantial and often coincide with visible signs of negative emotions such as anger and frustration, b) interruptions function not only as a communicative strategy but are also emotionally charged, c) and that the act of navigating

confrontations and resolving overlaps places a significant emotional burden on hosts, as their institutional authority is repeatedly challenged and their allegiances scrutinised.

However, relying solely on content analysis restricts the scope of inquiry to surface-level behaviours, potentially overlooking the underlying emotional and organisational dynamics that may be shaping the process. To address these limitations and enhance the depth and validity of the findings, the study extended its methodology to include interviews with individuals directly and indirectly involved in the production of the shows, such as hosts, producers, and journalists. This approach is supported by Cohen et al. (2002), who argue that combining methods allows researchers to capture “the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint” (p. 112). Besides, the social world involving humans, according to the interpretivist approaches, “can only be understood from the standpoint of the individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated” (ibid., p. 19). Interviews, therefore, offered an opportunity to cross-examine the observed emotional cues by directly exploring which emotions were perceived by insiders, their causes, and the extent to which interruptions contributed to feelings of anger or disorientation. As Cohen et al. (2002) further note, using interviews “in conjunction with other methods” allows researchers “to go deeper into the motivations of respondents and their reasons for responding as they do” (p. 268). Thus, building on the multimodal analysis, the incorporation of interviews enabled a deeper and more robust inquiry, enriching the findings with insider perspectives and revealing insights that would otherwise have been inaccessible through content analysis alone. The next chapter presents the findings on the presence and interpretation of emotions, as well as evidence of specific emotions in the debates and their underlying factors, drawing on interviews with Indian journalists.

4.3 Stage III. Emotions in Television Debates: The Journalistic Perspective

After examining the extent of interruptions in Indian political television debates, followed by an analysis of the intersections between intrusive interruptions and emotions and the presence of journalistic anger as a result of turn violations, this chapter presents findings drawn from the journalistic accounts for their interpretation, experiences, and the causes of emotionality in these debates.

While journalist's view on emotions (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2021; Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Kotisova 2017a, 2019; Richard & Rees, 2011; Voltmer & Brants, 2011) and more recently anger in journalism offer a useful framework (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2021; 2023), examination of emotionality in political television debates remains a blindspot, particularly amid the growing critical evaluation of mediated emotionality in the press (AP, 2020; Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Bisht, 2016) and the academic studies (Bucy et al., 2020).

Amid the existing literature on political debates—which remains limited to evaluating the moderator's role and argumentation (Luginbühl, 2007; Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Khan & Shahid, 2019)—and the examination of journalistic emotions based on journalists' "own views and narrations" (Pajnik, 2024, p. 183), including mediated anger in coverage of protests (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018), journalistic anger in investigative reporting (Stupart, 2023), and emotional expressions in broadcast news (Pantti, 2010), emotions research has yet to examine the diversity of journalistic content, including political interviews, political television debates, and the different genres of journalistic storytelling. To expand the scope of analysis, Kotisova (2019, p.5), for example, recently argued that examining how emotions shape journalistic narratives requires analysis of emotions both in the front and backstage, including "in newsrooms, on work trips, and in front of the monitors at which journalists sit to watch and edit graphic and violent videos and sounds".

The findings derived from the previous two chapters offered deeper insight into the nature of the shows. While conversation analysis revealed the extent of turn-violations and frequent use of interruptions by and against the host, multimodal conversation analysis presented an insight into the implications of competitive interruptions on hosts' emotions, the hosts' strategies of using interruptions, the nature and extent of confrontations in the debates, and the evidence of negative emotions such as anger, frustration and disorientation experienced by the host evident in their verbal, visual and vocal cues of the hosts. Building directly on these observations, data derived from the interviews allowed the study to expand the analysis based on the accounts of those journalists with first-hand experience of the debates or who observed them from close quarters. Additionally, their observations helped to gain interpretive depth to the findings obtained from conversation analysis and multimodal conversation analysis, offering insight into how journalists themselves experience and understand the emotional dynamics observed in the debates.

To that, this chapter answers the following questions;

RQ2. How do journalists interpret the emergence and presence of journalistic emotions in political TV debates?

- 2.1 Which specific emotions, according to the journalists, are present in the debates, and how do they interpret them?
- 2.2 What factors/influences do journalists perceive in relation to the presence and emergence of emotions in the debates?

To answer these questions, the chapter first presents the journalists' views and interpretations of specific emotions in political debates based on their firsthand experience of hosting, organising, or participating in the debates. Second, drawing from the responses, it reports their evaluation of the causes for the emergence and presence of journalistic emotions in the debates. In the final section, the chapter attempts to evaluate the phenomenon of journalistic emotions in debates in relation to the emotionality literature in journalism research.

Through the examination of emotions in the debates, this study presents an analysis of both journalistic emotionality (the host's emotions) and journalistic content (political television debates) in tandem. In this regard, the examination of journalistic emotions occurs through the analysis of debates, where hosts' emotions are articulated and exhibited. Since the study draws data from responses acquired from currently serving or former hosts and non-hosts engaged in or privy to

the production of the debates, in cases of striking dissimilarities between their responses, the findings are reported separately.

4.3.1 Findings

4.3.1.1 Journalistic Perception of The Debates

The discussion led nearly all respondents to identify emotions as a central element of the debates. A relatively unanimous view held by the respondents when discussing the debates was that debates are 'highly emotional' [R7], while several went to the extent of calling them 'over-emotionalised' [R1]. A vast majority of the respondents further emphasised the change caused by emotions in emerging media practices. As one respondent noted, there has been a 'drastic change' [RH9] in how debates are conducted, with past debates described as 'civil and objective', whereas currently, 'dramatisation is prioritized' [R4].

Comparing past and present practices in journalism, almost all respondents transitioned into criticising the debates, deprecating the current practices that involve emotions. When discussing and interpreting more generalised emotions in the debates, the references to anger and aggression appeared much earlier in the responses. In their responses, including those of the hosts, the majority adopted a critical tone, noting how emotions are not only present but also 'rampant' [RH9], with aggression being 'normalised' on TV, resulting in a fundamental change in how broadcast media operates [R6]. Highlighting the emergence of aggression in the debates, a host [RH9], for example, noted,

How people consume content has also changed in the last decade, and because of this, the media industry has had to change its outlook. So, this is how I look at these debates, in the last decade, in the last 10-15 years, debates have moved from discussion towards hard debates. I have experienced this; this has happened to me, but a couple of times, debates have turned violent right in front of me.

Criticism of emotionality in the debates was essentially a criticism of anger and aggression in the shows, which is evident in the respondents' views, underlining the shows' chaotic, noisy, and disorderly nature.

4.3.1.2 *Anger, as a dominant emotion*

In offering a deeper insight into emotions, every respondent, including the TV hosts, emphatically identified anger as the most prominent emotion in the debates. For example, in responding to the question of which emotion, according to them, is predominantly present in the debates, almost everyone promptly identified anger or aggression. In further attempts, some emotional states, such as journalists' helplessness, frustration and confusion, were identified by a few respondents, emanating from and bordering anger but not referring to any other emotion. In fact, the respondents' articulation of their responses greatly emphasised and underlined their reasoning for identifying anger as a primary emotion in the debates. According to a respondent, for example, debates have become 'a synonym for aggression... or loudness' [R7]. Another respondent argued that debates are used as a platform to peddle 'a lot of anger, a lot of pride, and fear' [R8] among the audience. The objective of the debates is not to organise normal discussions that involve clashes of ideas and thoughts based on points and counterpoints. According to a respondent, the idea is to 'get them (panellists) to shout and scream' [R6], resulting in theatrics to garner viewership. Numerous such responses appeared multiple times, illustrating the prominence and palpability of anger, leaving little scope for identifying other emotions.

Moreover, a macro view of the responses with anger as a central emotion emphasised the presence of a template of anger. This is also because several respondents explicitly used the terms 'template' or 'model' [RH3; R1, R2, R5, R6, R7, RH9, RH11, R12, RH14] when interpreting the aggression in the debates, particularly because it was observed to be an overarching framework embedded with specific characteristics emulated by networks. Amid frequent anecdotal and experiential references to the confrontational and angry exchanges in the debates, the responses revealed a set of consistent categories underpinning the epistemic presence of anger, as shown in Figure 12 below;

**STAGE III:
Findings**

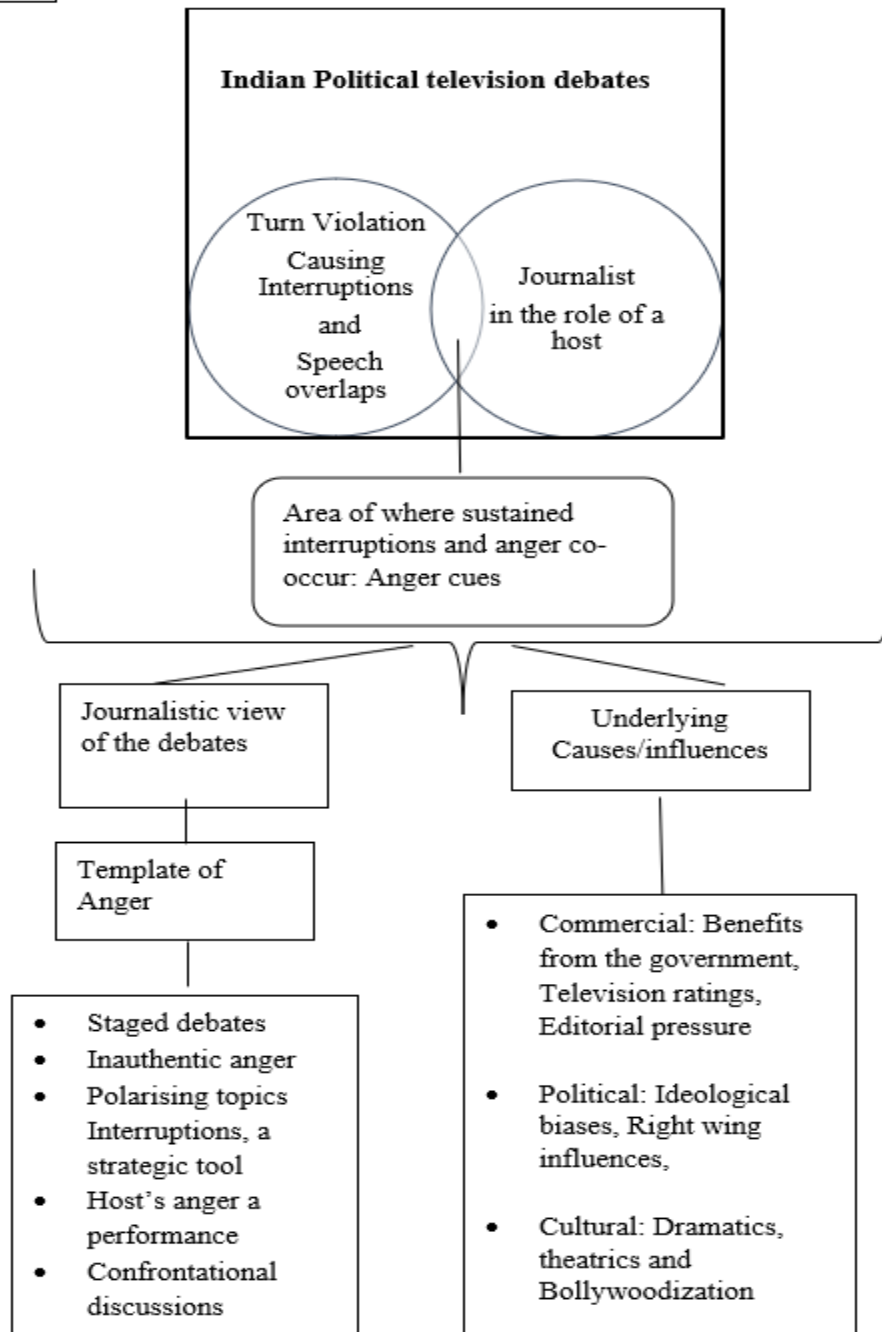


Figure 12: Findings derived from interviews in Stage III

As shown in Figure 12, the presence of anger in the shows was identified as part of a broader pattern in the shows, which many referred to as a template or a model in addition to the causes or influences underpinning its presence and emergence in the shows. While from the lens of the 'template' premise, the responses explain how anger manifests in the shows, the lens of 'influences or underlying factors' explains why anger is present in the shows.

The references to the template essentially sought to capture the various elements, including the hosts' anger, that together create the conditions to uphold the confrontational format of the shows. References to the template are also significant because journalistic anger could not be seen in isolation, as the respondents' descriptions included frequent references to features that were commonly identified. Seeing it in isolation would limit its comprehension of how it manifests and materialises. Thus, the descriptions of anger in debates concern anger as an overarching emotion in the shows as much as they concern journalistic anger, given its triggers and underlying factors that work in tandem to shape the conditions within which it manifests and sustains. The anger template is characterised by the presence of a) inauthentic displays of anger, b) polarising topics to appeal to the majoritarian public sentiment, c) frequent competitive interruptions to orchestrate confrontations and d) hosts' anger to maintain confrontation and volatility in shows.

The significant influences or causes for the presence of anger largely appeared to revolve around a) political factors emanating from the right-wing political ideology of the incumbent government, b) the commercial interest of the networks and c) the cultural factors which allow for confrontation in the shows to become consumable and palatable to the audience. The ensuing sections elaborate on the two key tangents and their features.

4.3.1.2.1 Template of anger

The uniformity of the responses to anger and aggression in debates underlined the presence of a standard design that may be visible to outsiders but can only be confirmed by those privy to the process. This was ascertained by one respondent, who referred to it as a 'model of shouting' [R2; R4, R5, R6], and others referred to it as a 'template' that the debates follow. A respondent identified angry debates as part of a profitable model of shouting, which is being copied as a template across TV channels. As she [R5] noted,

I think they're just copying one model somebody passed off as a very serious journalist by shouting at other people on his show, and that model worked. Good for them, but that model worked. Moreover, now people are just copying that model.

Shouting, interrupting, and making noise, identified as the features of the template, are interpreted as signs of "disrespect, frustration, and anger" (Frevert et al., 2022, p. 64). Emphasising the centrality of anger to the template, while several invoked the idea of an emotional TV model, others underlined its success, adaptability, commercial viability, and a market with sustained demand for the emergence of the template. Along similar lines, Berry and Sobieraj (2014) have highlighted the continued presence of an "outrage template" on American networks characterised by "its hallmark venom, vilification of opponents, and hyperbolic" (p. 5) rhetoric that has been successful given its commercial viability and popularity among the audience. Amidst the parallels between the two templates, however, the presence of cultural elements of Bollywood to keep the audience engaged was reported as a central element of the template.

Respondents observed that the anger model of the debates has emerged as 'a successful model' [as explicitly stated by R8; with similar views expressed by R6, R7, and RH9], comprised of elements such as politically polarising topics, angry hosts and panellists and frequent turn violations to invoke conflict amid both tacit approval and overt pressure of the editorial units. The templates of emotions emerge under institutional oversight where they prescribe the ways members should feel and navigate emotions while teaching them "which to express and which to eschew, at what intensity and through which kinds of behaviour." (Frevert et al., 2022, p. 4). These institutional templates stipulate norms of emotional practices through which emotions are "enabled, invited, incentivised, channelled, controlled, or prohibited" (ibid., p. 4).

The wider presence of this template was attributed to its adaptability. As one respondent stated, 'it is being copied because it works' [R6]. Commenting on its presence across networks, a respondent noted the 'fabric is the same' [R5] because the 'name of the channel might be different, but you won't be able to make the difference in the way the anchor is conducting it themselves, or the way those participants are conducting themselves' [R5]. Despite the broader acknowledgement of anger, the respondents viewed it as having little authenticity.

An analytical view into the template unpacked in the ensuing sections indicated that debates are a) staged where pseudo-anger and aggression are incited based on b) the polarising topics which serve the divisive narrative and facilitate confrontation between the panellists participating in the shows, while c) the use of interruptions predominantly employed by the host is used as a strategy to step up confrontational exchanges and d) hosts displays of anger to maintain a hostile stance in the shows.

i. Staged Debates and Pseudo-anger

Particularly among the non-hosts, a prominent view held by the respondents, including the hosts, was that emotions in debates are inauthentic. In particular, the respondents viewed anger in debates with great cynicism, calling them 'unreliable' [R1], 'fake' [as explicitly stated R6, R1, R7 with similar views expressed by R2, RH3, R8, RH9, and RH10], and 'a trap' [R7] for the audience. An editor with a web magazine and prior experience working in a TV studio referred to the presence of anger and aggression in the debates as 'staged' [as stated by R6 with similar views held by R12, R6, R7, RH3] and 'performative' [R11]. He [R6] noted: 'It's not authentic. Nothing is authentic. It's orchestrated for views. And everything about it is, in general, at least on the crazy end of the spectrum, very performative. ' In the responses, while performance was equated with inauthenticity, thus inherently unjournalistic, the literature on performance journalism, however, views journalistic performance as unjournalistic only when it is bereft of ethical values (Atkinson, 2011).

Performance literature deems journalists as "protagonists on stage" (Westgate, 2013, p. 998), and the authenticity of their performance is evaluated by their intent and commitment to the ethical, moral and normative values of the profession (Borden & Tew, 2007; Atkinson, 2011; Boudana, 2011; Tenenboim & Stroud, 2020). Amidst discussions on authenticity, a brief reference to emotionality in the literature on journalistic performance deems emotions as an element of theatrical performance and a source of manipulation with an underlying commercial interest in gaining and retaining the audience (Borden & Tew, 2007; Atkinson, 2011; Tenenboim & Stroud, 2020). According to Atkinson (2011), "theatrical performance" in journalism is 'unjournalistic' as they are characterised by a "persuasive theatrical display of journalistic roles", including "melodramatic roleplaying" aimed at advancing networks' commercial interests (p. 108).

Consistent with the discourse on performance journalism, concerns around performance, authenticity and emotions in journalistic content can be found outside performance literature. According to Hess-Lüttich (2007), political television debates are staged to target an audience (Hess-Lüttich, 2007), while the use of non-authentic emotions has been identified as a feature of yellow journalism and "a characteristic of lower quality news reporting" (Pantti, 2010, p. 178). The confrontation between politicians in the debates, according to Luginbühl (2007, p. 1386), is staged through performance to heighten the sense of conflict that may not be there or cannot be verified by the audience.

The presence of inauthentic emotions in the debates was largely attributed to the camera, which allows emotions to be enacted, a view held by both hosts and non-host respondents. As nearly all respondents noted, emotional displays are 'more evident on camera', where 'when the camera is on, emotions are on, when the camera is off, emotions are off' [R2]. Emphasising this further, one respondent, with behind-the-scenes experience, evoked the idea of an emotional 'on and off switch' [R4] akin to 'a mechanical process that drives emotions on and off camera' [RH9]. Referring to the metaphorical on-and-off switch, another respondent noted that hosts in the debates use this switch to manage their emotional displays where 'when the camera is on, their anger is on, and when the camera is off, they are back to their normal lives, being polite and simple, and talking about things that concern them, and sometimes gossiping' [as stated by R1 with similar views echoed by R2, RH3, R4, R6, R7, R8, RH9, R13]. While TV has been observed as "an emotional medium" (Pantti, 2010, p. 172), Borden and Tew (2007) viewed cable TV as a technology that facilitates performance journalism, altering journalistic performances to become "more sensational, ego-driven, trivial, entertaining, and manipulative" (p. 306).

The views about staged debates and inauthentic emotions were consistent in the hosts' responses. The "apparent authenticity" (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1364) of the shows have been critiqued in the previous literature, while emotive discussions have been labelled as inauthentic "performance" (Lauerbach, 2007, p. 1394). Confirming the presence of emotionality in the shows, nearly all hosts indicated emotions as part of a performance necessary to run the show. A host [RH3], for example, noted that sometimes emotions are used to add vigour to an otherwise slow-moving debate, ultimately asserting their inauthenticity. Adding further, she [RH3] noted,

...sometimes, when a debate is going in a monotonous manner, and you want to give a spark, then you have to intentionally bring such emotions in order to maintain the engagement and interest of the audience in the program. So, in that case, it's fake. It can be both real and fake.

According to the hosts, the role of the hosts in the debate is a 'performance' [explicitly stated by RH9, RH14, RH15] that is ultimately 'staged' [RH11] for the audience and, as becomes apparent in the later sections, is executed according to the directions of the production team. While the inauthenticity of emotions was a standard and outright view held by every respondent, other reasons, such as theatrical presentation for the purpose of entertainment, also appeared overwhelmingly in the responses.

Emotionality in debates, therefore, is not a happenstance but part of the planned performance, which invokes Goffman's (1974) idea of 'staged events' encompassing interviews and debate shows "performed for a live or mass media audience" (Lauerbach, 2007, p. 1395). The staging of shows infused with emotions also invokes Coleman's (2013) "pseudo-debate" concept, characterised by "dramatic spectacle and emotive expression" that are designed to distract the audience from rational reflections (p. 28). Their interrelationship has also been captured in Hess-Lüttich's (2007) concept of "pseudo-conversation", which illustrates "a pseudo-dispute of the adversaries with each other, of the adversaries with the journalists, and of all the participants with the 'implied public'" (ibid., p. 1363). Coleman's (2013) "pseudo-debate" or Hess-Lüttich's (2007) "pseudo-conversation" thesis offers a basis to underpin the staged nature of the debates; however, they only remotely acknowledge the centrality of emotions to such a practice. The findings here not only echo the views presented in the previous studies on the "apparent authenticity of the staged show(s)" (Hess-Lüttich, 2007, p. 1364) but also expand their scope by incorporating 'pseudo-emotions' argument to the discussion of the debates as hosts' anger, in particular, was overwhelmingly deemed as 'inauthentic' and 'unreliable' [explicitly stated by R1, R2, RH3, R6, R7, R8, RH9, RH10, R14, R15] by the respondents.

In Pantti (2010), *non-authentic emotions (italics in original)* in journalism have been observed as a feature of sensationalism in line with how respondents in this study viewed anger as a source of promoting ideological biases and agenda-driven narratives through sensationalist and polarising debate topics predominantly aligned to religious ideologies and far-right-wing narratives to appeal

to majoritarian public sentiment. Interestingly, similar observations can be found in several recent studies conducted by Indian academics who have closely examined the Indian political television debates and have critiqued their bias, incivility, sensationalism, right-wing rhetoric and declining journalistic standards (Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Garimella & Datta, 2024; Agarwal et al., 2024; Kumar et al., 2024).

ii. Polarising topics to appeal to the majoritarian public sentiment

The use of anger to promote 'hate' and 'divisive agendas' [as expressed by many of the respondents, R1, R2, RH3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, RH9, RH10, R12, R13] in debates emerged as a common theme central to the criticism. A reporter with prior experience managing debates outlined how emotions are used to 'spread hate, radical views, and target communities' [RH3]. This view, common among the majority of responses, highlighted the prevalence of majoritarian views across the shows. While a few openly expressed this view, others—more hesitantly—believed the practice was influenced by ideological biases and specific agendas, particularly a bias toward right-wing ideologies. This perception aligns with several recent academic studies analysing Indian political debates (Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Garimella & Datta, 2024; Agarwal et al., 2024).

The element of emotionality in agenda-driven rhetoric and speeches has been identified in the analysis of right-wing populist discourses (Betz, 2002; Rico et al., 2017; Bucy et al., 2020; Berry & Sobieraj, 2014; Bhat & Chadha, 2023), where public sentiments are stirred "primarily by appealing to emotions triggered by grievances" (Rico et al., 2017, p. 449). Furthermore, both populist politics and the media have been recognised for employing "righteous indignation...as a defining discursive strategy" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 41) to mobilise majoritarian public opinion and support by fuelling sentiments of injustice and distrust. In this context, a correlation between the hosts' ideological biases in favour of the right-wing populist agenda, as highlighted by the respondents, and the confrontational and emotional nature of the debates appears to be a plausible scenario.

Linking hosts' 'ideological biases' [as explicitly stated by R2 and RH3, with a similar view held by R4, R8, RH9, R13, RH15] with emotionalised discussion, respondents underlined that emotions are strategically employed to drive debates in line with a specific agenda. According to a respondent [R5], currently working with a national newspaper,

If an anchor is right-leaning, and the topic of conversation is related to the right wing. Then it's obvious that he will be leaning towards that. And if an anchor is of the left wing, he supports the left wing, and the issue is also similar, then there's a tendency that, if not directly, indirectly, take it that way. So yes, anchors have their ideology, and this affects their emotions.

Echoing this view, a host also viewed the role of the studio in 'generating a perception' [RH3] aligned to a specific ideology, asserting that 'it's all about ideology these days' [as stated by RH3 and underlined by several including R1, R2, R4, R5, R7, R8, RH9, RH10, RH11, R13, RH15]. The recurrent references to ideology and bias in the responses insinuated the centrality of political pressure, alignment, and influences on the content that respondents illustrated in detail when addressing the causes of the phenomenon (see section 2). This is consistent with Siaperas and Papadopoulou's (2021) view of 'hate journalism', where they demonstrate how the increase of far-right populism is linked to the production of and mobilisation of hate by alternative news journalism in Greece.

Extending the criticism, a majority of respondents noted that debates have 'too many' interruptions, are 'too noisy', 'agenda-driven', and 'peddle hate' [phrases used by R1, R2, RH3, R4, R5, R7, R8, RH9, RH10, RH11, R13, RH15]. Similar critical views of the debates 'not making valid points' [R5], lacking logic and sanity, were also underlined. A respondent [R5] employed with a national daily echoed a similar view:

It's (the debates are) very noisy. Everyone is speaking at the same time, and no one is making sense of it. They all have their agendas. Moreover, that is what they're doing. In my opinion, they're just spewing hatred.

Strategically organised confrontations in the debates were reported to be achieved by reprimanding the panellists and frequently interrupting them from completing their turns.

iii. Interruptions as a resource of confrontation

Interruptions were identified as a key element of the debate templates. To more than half the respondents, interruptions and overlaps serve as a means to an end, build tension and conflict in the debates, causing emotions and anger, and are used for dramatisation. It was recurrently referred to when critiquing the chaotic discussions in the shows. More specifically, the respondents observed it as a strategy and a resource used by the hosts to sometimes manage the debates while other times stirring conflict and confrontation to heighten the sense of dramatisation. This finding is consistent with observations in the previous chapter, where interruptions and anger were found to coincide, causing verbal skirmishes in the shows. One of the respondents identified interruptions as a 'source of emotions' [R1] as hosts and panellists used it as a resource to compete for turns, a view also echoed by RH3, R4, R5, R6, R7, and R8.

While the majority of respondents noted that interruptions are used to cut turns, causing an emotional stir among the panellists, overlaps are allowed to build tension and verbal sparring, which escalates emotional stress in the shows. In essence, interruptions and speech overlaps were broadly seen as a strategy to emotionalise the shows by cutting panellists midway, causing them to engage in verbal disputes either with the host or the panellist. Respondents noted that hosts use interruptions to 'cut speech' [R8] of the panellists 'to make them look insignificant'. Few argued that interruptions are 'strategic' [R4], used by the hosts to 'push a point of view' [R4] or 'an agenda' [R1] and 'to suppress the voice, especially that of the opposition' [as stated by R1, with nearly similar views echoed by R4, R5, R6, R7, R8]. A similar view [R7] emphasised the strategic use of interruptions in suppressing specific responses over others and stirring emotions,

There's definitely a relation between these interruptions and emotions because, again, like I said, you want one sort of emotion to overpower everything else. So, if you interrupt, or even if you don't interrupt. A lot of times, anchors will not interrupt when a panellist or somebody is giving very polarising views. On the other hand, and a lot of times, they interrupt too, they interrupt the other side because they are trying to rile up a certain emotion within people.

Other respondents attributed entertainment value to it, viewing them as tools to 'create conflict' [RH3] and evoke intense sentiments among panellists, thus enhancing viewership and ratings—a view underlined by several respondents, including R2, RH3, R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, and R13. The respondents duly noted that hosts use interruptions and resultant overlaps to launch confrontations with the panellists, which causes them to speak loudly over each other. The references to 'shouting' [R6] and 'screaming' [R12] that respondents mentioned are part of the confrontation that arises due to the interruptions.

While interruptions may not necessarily lead to emotional and confrontational responses, the findings in this study confirm that interruptions are a cause of emotional and angry confrontations in the television debates under investigation. This perspective aligns with the investigation in the previous chapter that sought to examine the intersections between interruptions and emotions, particularly those interruptions that lead to angry confrontations. This finding is consistent with the literature on turn violations, which has examined the link between interruptions, speech overlaps, and emotions (Votmer & Brants, 2011). Additionally, interruptions have been identified as a source of negative emotions (Beefink et al., 2008; Ekström, 2009).

Most hosts, however, emphasised its use for show management [RH3, RH 9, RH14] while not denying its use for causing confrontations. According to the hosts, interruptions are employed to 'steer discussions' [RH3], 'manage time' [R9], and maintain the overarching 'objectives of the debates' [RH10]. Illustrating its use, a host [RH9] noted,

So, we also want that the people who are with us, they speak on valid things, and which is related to the topic. But even after that, if they speak about invalid things, we have to cut them, tell them what they are saying is wrong, and ask them to take back your statement.

However, the host also asserted the use of emotions to add theatrical value, noting that the intent is to 'spark an argument' [RH3] among the panellists, causing conflict. The aim is to gain ratings through these fights, as, according to another respondent, 'Indian audiences have a tendency they like watching fights. So, that is why hosts adapt to this anger emotion, just for the audience's sake, so that they are shown what they like to watch' [R2]. Several respondents and hosts, including RH3, R4, R5, R7, R8, RH9, RH10, R13, and RH14, emphasised the importance of conflict-driven shows targeting the audience.

The use of interruptions for dominance was also identified, as the hosts noted that interruptions are used as a tool to maintain control throughout the discussion in the shows, manage time and objectives, and inhibit panellists from running their own agendas. As a tool of control, its use for steering the discussion, allocating turns, and disciplining the misbehaving guests was also identified, consistent with the findings in previous studies (Goldberg, 1990; Rendle-Short, 2007). Beyond its use as a control tool, the hosts [RH3, RH9, RH10] also overwhelmingly noted that, since dramatic presentations are a key priority of the shows, interruptions are used to stir up tensions and liven up the show.

4.3.1.2.2 The Angry Host

When discussing emotions in debates, respondents naturally switched to examining the role of the host, implying that the emotionality of the debates is primarily due to the hosts' emotions and their effort to emotionalise the shows. When discussing the host's emotions, the majority of respondents primarily mentioned their anger, highlighting it as the most dominant emotion on camera. This was indicated by most who spoke of hosts' tendency to 'peddle hate' [as stated by R4 and echoed by R5, R6, R7, R8, R13] through their shows.

Elaborating on hosts' anger in a critical tone, the respondents indicated that the hosts use anger to fuel public sentiment, citing views such as 'hyper-emotional' hosts are running a 'campaign of anger' [R6] and 'peddling anger and retribution' [R8] among the public at the behest of the ruling party. Similar critical views of the hosts' conduct, behaviour and emotions can be found in the Indian media criticism of the debates (Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Bisht, 2016). In academic texts, however, hosts have been criticised for being agenda-driven (Khan & Shahid, 2019), acting as participants (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016) and creating an emotional atmosphere (Hess-Lüttich, 2007) with no emphasis on their anger per se.

Extending their criticism, the non-hosts noted that hosts' tend to scream on camera, a behaviour seen as 'posturing' [R2] rather than genuine anger [R4, R5 and R6 too echoed similar views, doubting and dismissing hosts' anger as genuine]. Aligned with the recurrently noted view of inauthentic emotions, a unanimous view underlined that shouting and screaming are used to 'justify their points' [R2], 'mistreat the panellists' [R4], and 'aggravate tension' [R6] on screen. The respondents varyingly noted how shouting is 'normal' [R5] in the debates, with hosts being 'angry

all the time' [R4]. Along these lines, another respondent stated that in debates, the hosts and panellists don't talk, they 'scream their lungs out' [R4]. According to another respondent, 'it's used as a strategy to be popular', 'as the more you shout, the more you'll be popular' [R1; RH3, R8, R12]. These evaluations of the host in this study are not far from Berry and Sobieraj's (2014) view of the "outrage host" who are melodramatic, practice "ideological selectivity," portray themselves as champions of the underdogs, initiate lawsuits against others, create distortions that obscure rather than clarify issues, and "drive and capitalize on distrust, stoking fear and anger in the audience" (ibid., p. 56). Additionally, the dimension of the host's "theatrical performance" (Atkinson, 2011) becomes more evident, highlighting how journalistic emotions that border on "inauthentic" performance may result in an appearance of "unjournalistic" nature.

Amid the criticism, however, respondents appeared to be accommodating of their emotions, underlining the host's labour in acting emotionally on camera. One of the respondents, for example, noted that the hosts' scream but are not angry per se' [R2] and 'some hosts are not so angry but struggle because no one is listening to them' [R4]. Being privy to the production process, a respondent, for example, noted that she knows hosts who are instructed to show anger and strong emotions to 'create some drama' [R12], which 'people can relate to and they can forget about the real problems' [R4]. The consonance of similar views among several respondents and hosts — including R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, R13, and RH9 — was suggestive of external factors that enforced the performative display of emotions by the hosts to sustain conflict on screen. The pressure to act emotionally on camera further emphasises the view of 'inauthentic' emotions, albeit underlining the necessity rather than a choice to express anger. In other words, the pressure to act emotionally on camera was observed as one of the reasons for the hosts' anger.

Meanwhile, emotionality was also observed as a strategic tool evident in responses such as hosts' anger and strong tone are used to 'show dominance' [R4], 'sound/seem authentic' [R6], and 'seem assertive' [RH3], evident in frequently interrupting, outshouting and reprimanding the panellists. Invoking the 'authenticity' problem, another respondent, in an attempt to highlight hosts' emotional responses purely for the camera, noted that they act emotionally 'as if the camera is their story' [R2]. Ideas such as the hosts' showing anger to 'justify their role' [R13], 'justify their salary' [R1], and being 'paid more to shout more' [R1] were found to be recurring themes among a few respondents, underlining their perceived compulsion to act emotionally. This was further

established through a view into their back region emotion, where most were reported to be not angry off-camera. Nearly all respondents, including the hosts, indicated they are not angry or overtly emotional off-camera. Those who work with the hosts backstage identified them as 'very polite and friendly' [R2], 'totally cool off-camera' [R5], 'often seen gossiping'[R14], and 'rarely talking about politics' [R8]. A handful of others noted that hosts are 'not angry' [R12], 'generally very calm' [R13], and are 'chilled-out off the camera' [R1]. They 'don't argue' [R4], engage in 'small talks and gossip' [R8], and are 'silent and not loud' [R2].

Whether genuine or not, the hosts' anger, on camera, was deprecated by nearly all the participants. However, the degree of criticism of the hosts' anger was relatively much higher among the non-hosts. In contrast, hosts chose to justify their anger on the pretext of misbehaving panellists or the directions they received from the editorial team. Nevertheless, both agreed that anger on camera is purely for the camera, further invoking the concept of performativity and the hosts' views and evaluation of engagement with it. While the notion of performed anger has seeming implications for journalistic practice, it could seem more peculiar when evaluated by journalists who have been institutionalised through learning and practice to take a careful and critical view of the use of emotions in their work (Pantti, 2010; Pajnik, 2024; Stupart, 2023), and have been reported to adopt 'strategies of both avoidance and purposeful use of emotions' (Pajnik, 2024, p. 184).

While academically, the hosts' anger may be referred to as journalists' emotional 'performance' for the purpose of deeper conceptualisations, the repeated use of the terms 'fake' and 'inauthentic' for journalists' emotions by the very journalists' who perform it can be instead interpreted as dismissal, contempt and dejection emanating from being a witness and a (un)willing participant to the erosion of the normative values that govern the profession. Alternatively, the respondent's vehement criticism of the inauthentic displays of anger in shows can be interpreted as actual anger that journalists experience and express in their texts and talks, such as media commentaries and personal interviews. However, this does not mean that emotions have no place in journalism.

The respondents in this study did not identify journalistic anger as a problem if it is used to address social issues and invoke feelings of care and empathy in the audience. Attaching negative and positive valences to emotions used in favour of or against society, the majority of respondents approved of it for audience engagement and the betterment of the human condition, rather than for

being used for contrarian purposes, such as religious and caste-based polarisations. Respondent R5, for example, categorically distinguished between positive and negative anger—viewing it as negative when used by journalists to support the establishment and divisive ideologies, and positive when directed toward a social cause—a view echoed by other respondents and hosts, including R2, RH3, R4, R6, RH9, RH10, R1, and RH15.

The journalistic apprehension over the appropriate use of emotions and their underlying intent has been a recurring concern in journalism research (Pajnik, 2024; Pantti, 2010). For example, Wahl-Jorgensen's (2019, p. 12) observation of emotions as a "double-edged sword," Stupart's (2024, p. 2348) "normative goodness of the positive or negative use of anger", and Pantti's (2010, p. 178) categorical distinction between "'good' journalism and 'bad', sensation-seeking journalism" indicates that use of emotionality in journalism is laden with values judgments and carefully evaluated by the journalists before being employed. While Pantti's (2010) distinction between good and bad journalism is linked to the authentic or inauthentic and excessive use of emotions, Stupart's (2024) view on the positive use of anger is connected to a moral dimension and its normative appropriateness. Besides, the intent behind the use of anger is of key importance, as according to Wahl-Jorgensen's (2019, p. 12) notion of the "double-edged sword," anger could prove to be a threat to social order or serve as a tool for social causes or activism.

Along these lines, respondents deemed anger to be authentic and acceptable when it is used with the intention of addressing social issues. For example, a respondent [R5] noted that emotions in journalism are 'important', but their underlying purpose 'has to be considered' [R4]. Anger on stories about corruption, caste system, and social injustices is 'not wrong', [R2] but the problem arises when directed to peddle 'wrong things' [R1] such as polarising and divisive narratives. Such views were similarly emphasised by R2, R4, R5, R8, and R12, who expressed support for the journalistic display of anger when addressing legitimate social issues that align with journalistic values.

Referring to the coverage of the farmer protests against the government policies, a respondent illustrated how journalists revealed their anger, deeming it legitimate. According to the respondent, such anger is 'genuine' [as explicitly stated by R1 and referred to by R2, RH9] as it arises while reporting for a social cause.

Another respondent [R4] particularly noted that 'journalists off-camera are both angry and worried' [R4], which leads them to ask questions of the establishment, implying that those who appear angry on camera are feigning it. According to her, a journalist who is not emotional off-camera 'will not be concerned about others' pain' [R4]. She added that being worried leads the reporters to report positive news concerning the broader society as they are driven by anger against issues such as 'unemployment, job losses, undelivered promises, and rising inflation' [R4]. Such positive articulations of journalistic anger by respondents—including R1, RH3, R4, R5, R6, R8, RH10, and R12, as well as the hosts—were used as a basis to distinguish between justified and unjustified anger in both debates and reportage. In essence, journalists are not completely averse to the presence of emotions in journalism; rather, it is their inauthentic demonstrations that undermine journalistic values and the public's trust in the profession. A more well-rounded view of hosts' anger emerged by examining their self-evaluations of emotional displays in the shows, which can be approached with a question: what do the hosts think of their anger?

i. Hosts' interpretation of anger

Diverging from the non-hosts, the hosts' responses to their emotions appeared to eschew self-criticism while also acknowledging its strategic and wider presence in the debates. Referring to the formula-based presentation in the shows, insinuating conformity across networks, a host called it a 'trend', as she noted, 'turn on any channel, you'll find somebody overlapping, interrupting someone, shouting at someone, this is a trend. This is what is selling nowadays' [RH14]. According to another host [RH9], the public's appetite for emotional content has been effectively tapped by debate shows driven by the show hosts, which serves as a significant reason why the model works. Underlining the popularity of this model among the audience, the host [RH9] noted,

People really like that image of an angry young man. So, if you see, an anchor can't start crying on every topic, you will get TRP with crying, but he can cry on limited topics only where he can show his sorrow and sad emotions. So, anger is an easily available emotion which everyone likes. And Indian audiences have a tendency to watch fights. So, that's why anchors adapt to this anger emotion, just for the sake of the audience, so that they can watch what they like.

Unpacking it further, hosts appeared to attribute the onus of emotionality to external factors such as editorial pressure, commercial concerns, and political influences in an attempt to exonerate themselves of a supposed 'normative corruption'. A majority of hosts, for example, attributed the presence of anger on the screen to editorial influence or interference to emotionalise the shows. Hosts such as RH9, RH10, RH11 and RH15, for example, discussed how they are 'asked to show anger and emotions in debates' [RH3] and incite conflict to garner viewership for the show.

While the angry host neatly fits Berry and Sobieraj's (2014) description of 'outrage hosts,' the editorial pressures to act emotional raise the question of whether the host is a self-styled 'outrage host', similar to popular names on American television, such as Bill O'Reilly, Ed Schultz, and Lawrence O'Donnell, or a journalist acting emotional in line with the editorial expectations and the job requirement. One of the hosts, for example, maintained that she uses emotions sparingly and that it is a job requirement, so she has to do it, especially when prompted to do so by the editorial team [RH3]. Another host [RH10], for example, noted that she is asked to show anger but refuses to do so, yet is nudged to appear angry and incite conflict on camera. She stressed that showing anger 'gets good ratings, however, the emotions in this approach are fake' [RH10]. Similarly, another host highlighted the editorial pressure requiring them to speak and act in a way that cannot be defied. He noted [RH9],

...sometimes we have pressure from our editors to do this thing, or you have to highlight these things, or you have to show one thing more, and you have to make this point win, regardless of whether it's right or wrong. But we have to speak in favour of that. And these things happen. I won't deny that.

The hosts' views on emotions highlighted the compulsion to act emotionally and angrily on camera, lending credence to the 'inauthentic anger' argument despite some evidence of genuine anger caused by real confrontations with the panellists. According to a host, his anger is 'not always' because of the editorial pressure, but he gets 'genuinely angry' and 'it's fair to be angry over wrong things' [RH9]. Defending his anger, he noted that he sometimes gets angry because of misbehaving panellists rejecting opinions that may seem contrary to the public sentiment [RH9].

Referring to his actual anger when confronting an 'inappropriate behaviour', [RH15] a host noted,

Sometimes what happens is that a guest is being rude, and his language is not appropriate. So, if they don't listen to you even after interrupting a few times, then ultimately you have to show your viewers that you won't tolerate inappropriate behaviour on your TV channel. In that situation as well, we have to show anger.

Another host also held a similar view, mentioning that she gets angry when she hears something inappropriate and becomes embroiled in a verbal scuffle with the panellists. She stated, 'when someone says something wrong, I will feel anger for sure... it's actual anger; we get into fights. The host gets into fights with the panel as well' [RH10]. The hosts' references to actual anger, though fewer, offer a peek into a type of anger that remains overlooked by critics and external observers. Meanwhile, it indicates that not all anger in the shows is performed under pressure. However, distinguishing between real and contrived anger in the shows is undoubtedly more complex than separating the wheat from the chaff amid journalists' personal motivations, emotional autonomy, and the networks' commercial and political concerns, which are often enmeshed together.

Amidst editorial pressure, for example, commercial concerns were also highlighted as a source of emotions on camera, as a host noted that anger on camera is 'a type of strategy to attract an audience and thus ratings' [RH3]. Anger, according to another host [RH9], is part of the ratings model. Such responses revealed how journalistic anger can seem particularly inauthentic when driven by commercial interests. Emphasising commercial prerogative, one of the hosts noted if anger brings ratings, 'it doesn't matter if we have to hit our hands on the table forcefully, or we have to misbehave or raise our voice with any of the guests present, or even if we have to throw out any guest, then too we won't hesitate from that if we are getting good TRP for that' [RH9]. Similar assertions have been made in the context of outrage media and discourse, which have been observed as part of "a successful business model," marked by "unprecedented growth," and deemed "effective" in increasing advertising revenues (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 6). In the context of Indian media, Devi (2019) has identified the culture of ratings as one of the three most important factors driving the political television debate model.

While outrage discourse is characterised by emotions such as "anger, fear and moral indignation" (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014), anger, in particular, has been regarded as a populist emotion or an element of "angry populism" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 114) limited mainly to the political domains and political commentators (Bucy et al., 2020). However, as hosts articulate 'populist' anger, akin to that of political commentators on the TV screen, a question arises whether angry populism is making its way to the public through the journalists hosting the political TV debates. Moreover, to gain a better understanding of journalistic emotions, it becomes increasingly imperative to explore the implications of journalists expressing anger in favour of political ideologies, whether due to their own ideological leanings or external pressures.

4.3.1.2.3 Angry publics, Angry debates

The success of the anger template, however, relies on public sentiment receptive to such emotions through the media, as it not only resonates with the zeitgeist but also builds a sense of community by offering engagement and inclusion to the audience (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 8). To this, the hosts indicated that anger attracts more viewership because it reflects the broader public sentiment [RH9, RH10, RH14, RH15], aligning with the prevalent societal anger and majoritarian sentiments. This view was held by non-hosts as well [R4, R5, R6, R7, R8] who argued that the popularity of the debates among the audiences is because 'society is driven by emotions these days' [R5] and the 'ruling government plays with emotions for a lot of things' [R5] such as patriotism and religion.

Both sets of respondents noted that anger in debates is a result of anger in society with comments such as 'society is more angry and aggressive' [RH11], 'anger is growing in journalism because it mirrors society' [stated by R2 and echoed by R1, RH3, RH14], and 'TVD's are a reflection of society' [R6], implying that anger in TV debates is reflective of broader public sentiment which is mirrored in the strategy of the TV shows and their hosts. To this, a respondent [R4] noted,

Because we as a society have also grown aggressive, anger in general, and intolerance in general, are growing. You can see innumerable cases of road rage, murders, people killing each other, and kids killing their parents because they took their phones away. What you see in common here is anger. And I think TV debates, news channels, films, shows, they're just a reflection of what we are as a society or what we are becoming as a society.

With comments drawing parallels between anger in the debates and that of the public domain, the respondents seemed to underscore the longstanding 'media is a mirror' argument, reflecting broader societal trends. Consequently, it underlines that market logic is a formidable force in shaping journalists' institutional role rather than their interventionist values, espousing change in society (Hanitzsch et al., 2011). Adding to this, a host noted that the 'high decibel drama' [RH9] in debates indicates the growing 'intolerance' in society, where 'you see people throwing water at each other. You see people shouting at each other, screaming at each other' [RH9]. Growing anger and emotions in public discussions, including on social media, have been identified by many, suggesting that the anger and aggression displayed in TV debates mirror societal trends towards intolerance⁶ and conflict.

Such responses were indicative of the demand for conflict-driven content among the audience where debates serve as an outlet to mediate public anger and, in turn, achieve the commercial advantage of engaging with the audience, illustrative of a symbiotic relationship between anger in debates and angry publics which has been identified as a feature of "outrage media" (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014). Outrage media, according to the authors, are the media sources that use outrage discourse to provoke emotions and stoke anger and fear in the audience "through the use of overgeneralisations, sensationalism, misleading or patently inaccurate information, ad hominem attacks, and belittling ridicule of opponents" (ibid. p. 15). It draws interest from the audience, as outrage, according to Berry & Sobieraj (2014, p. 21), is "unusually engaging, creating political safe havens" for the viewers. One of the respondents, underlining the use of anger as a strategy to keep the audience hooked, noted 'it's a cycle of dopamine through anger' while elaborating on how the emotions serve as the 'dopamine shots' [R8] to the audience, 'either through happiness or anger'. He [R8] noted,

Basically, you keep feeding your audience dopamine, and that is something you can do through either happiness or, you know, rile up their anger or emotion. So, I think that constant dopamine shot, and the reason why they want to give a dopamine shot, again, I think it's a cycle.

⁶ Recently, media and public discussion have been abuzz with deliberations on whether the larger society is becoming more intolerant. (see The Wire Staff. (2023, January 8). India's 'atmosphere of intolerance' won't last long: Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen. The Wire. <https://thewire.in/rights/india-intolerance-wont-last-long-nobel-laureate-amartya-sen>)

The respondent's view of 'dopamine shots' being related to pride and prejudices was also found in other responses as fueling pride and polarisation. While outrage media through 'credible' TV networks serves as an "inexpensive distribution system" (Berry and Sobieraj's 2014, p. 181) of polarising views, anger has been known to abet polarisation and "encourages partisan views" (Weeks, 2015, p. 699)

4.3.1.3 Causes of Emotions in the Debates

When discussing the origins of the anger template, the respondents recurrently attributed its emergence to commercial, political and cultural factors. Working in tandem, these three factors were observed as underlying forces influencing, interacting and shaping the template.

i. Commercial Factors

Nearly all respondents viewed emotionalisation as a means to 'connect' with the audience to fulfil the commercial agendas of the broadcast networks. According to a host, using emotions and emotional topics helps emotionalise the public, which yields 'usually high' [RH10] ratings for the shows. For many, anger was observed as part of the emotional TV model, with commercial interests at its centre. The intense competition between broadcast channels to capture public attention and claim supremacy over others in the ratings race was identified as a contributing factor to the growing intensity of emotions in the debates. The underlying reason for intensifying competition between broadcast stations is that not only do every national and regional news network use the same show template, but they also devote considerable airtime to debate shows on a daily basis. One respondent identified it as 'a trend' [RH3], while a vast majority of respondents viewed anger as a means to score television ratings by garnering public 'attention' [R1]. Moreover, the emergence of the 'model of shouting' [R2] was attributed to the success of the commercial model, designed to rake in television ratings. Such a view, however, was overwhelmingly shared by the majority of respondents and the hosts, including RH3, R4, R5, R7, R8, R12, R13, RH14 and RH15.

Interestingly, the responses regarding the commercialisation of emotions or anger entailed very few references to market or advertiser influences, but there were frequent references to political advertising and financial support provided to pro-establishment networks. A respondent noted that

emotional topics are part of an approach as they resonate with audiences and evoke 'emotions in the public and the journalists' [R1] with 'usually high Television ratings' [as stated by RH3 and echoed by RH9, RH10, R2, R4, R7, R8, R9]. Political commentaries on TV, capitalising on public anger to garner viewership, have received some attention in the past (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014).

The views about commercial concerns are of particular significance as they were observed to be driven by the political influences and agendas of the party in power by a majority of respondents. In fulfilling commercial interests, such shows—according to the majority of hosts, including RH11, RH9, RH10, and RH14—attract government-funded advertisements, “because of the advertiser-led model in the news. A lot of your news, as I said, is governed by who's giving you advertisements” [RH11]. Anger mediated through television content driven by commercial interests and sustained by political patronage has primarily received attention in research on populist emotions and wider media practices (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009), and to some extent, in journalism, where it has been equated with sensationalism and yellow journalism. Pantti (2010), for example, identified the populist use of emotions as a factor contributing to lower-quality journalism (p. 178) and “often an indication of compromised journalistic quality” (Pantti & Husslage, 2009, p. 19).

In discussing the centrality of the audiences to the design and success of the shows, both hosts and non-hosts essentially criticised the networks for not acting in the interest of the audience. In emotions research, specifically, emotions have been viewed critically by journalists when used as a source of commercial interest (Pajnik, 2024). With ideas such as 'content-hungry TV channels' [R2] catering to the 'wildest of emotions' [R6] of their audiences and serving them 'what they want, not what they need,' [R8] respondents attempted to capture the intricate relationship between strategically programmed media content and audience engagement, emphasising the prioritisation of commercial interest over public service achieved via entertainment. Underlining the commodification of anger in the debates, the respondents indicated that anger in debates has emerged as a source of entertainment, and public receptiveness aligns with the networks' commercial prerogatives. A respondent, for example, noted that 'the public likes anger; volatility attracts attention.' TV debates, therefore, seek 'public engagement to content through anger' [R5].

In addition to the entertainment value, the presence and origin of anger were traced to public sentiment over controversial issues, a view discussed earlier in this chapter. Being the 'easily available emotion', [RH10] the hosts readily adopt anger because 'audiences enjoy watching fights,' [R1] thus they are served what they like, a view overwhelmingly shared by both hosts and the respondents, including R2, RH3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, RH9 and RH10. The amalgamation of anger and conflict in debates not only draws attention but is also engaging because it is characterised by the quest for justice that presents drama through performance and struggle, making it more entertaining than conventional commentary on political issues. Audiences find comfort as their worldviews are validated, and they feel a sense of inclusion within the viewing, listening, and reading community (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 8).

Another respondent indicated that people 'get bored' [RH3] with regular discussions; instead, they 'listen carefully if someone is shouting on TV or yelling' [R7]. Holding a similar view, another respondent noted that loud and angry discussions are popular because people think 'they must be saying something right when they are shouting in anger' [R4]. In emotions research, emotionality has been observed as a strategy for "engaging audiences" (Pajnik, 2024, p. 182), and among political researchers, anger is recognised as a source of mobilising public opinion and action (Rico et al., 2017; Wagner, 2014). While filling the 24/7 news gap, emotions help connect with the audience, bring better viewership, and keep the audience aligned with the current political establishment, thus fulfilling the commercial interests of the networks. To one respondent [R8], tapping on public sentiment to keep the audience engaged is a strategy of 'engagement economy',

I think this engagement economy, or just to get the audience glued to your content, has brought in this change in television news where because it's become 24x7 news. 24x7 you need to like, you know, keep on churning out content, which people will see. Because of that, you are catering to the basis of a person's emotions, so they are glued to your content.

Along similar lines, Pajnik (2024) recently noted that "audience engagement has emerged as a commercial and editorial strategy that requires news organisations and journalists to deal with emotions because of the commercial need for audience enticement" (p. 186). While the examination of emotions, specifically anger, to target the audience for commercial advantages has been addressed to some extent in political communication research, it has received limited

attention in emotions research. In particular, for journalism researchers, it provides an opportunity to explore how emotions are perceived by news networks and producers compared to journalists, against the backdrop of the emotions as a commodity versus resource conundrum.

ii. Political Factors

The references to political influences aligned with commercial interests were so frequently reported that a clear separation between the two could not be drawn. The centrality of anger to commercial interests, according to several respondents and the hosts, including R1, R2, RH3, R5, RH9, R12, R13, RH14 and RH15, is part of a political strategy that hosts use to 'polarise people' [R8] and align with a specific political agenda, particularly one that favours the establishment. Several views about attempts to polarise the public invoked a natural question about the hosts' interest in abetting polarising sentiments. This was viewed against the backdrop of the zeitgeist political atmosphere, characterised by anger and the hosts' proximity to the establishment. The role of news media aligned with specific ideologies in abetting polarisation among the news audience has been well captured by Iyengar and Hahn (2009). Respondents, including the hosts, noted that polarising topics, 'feeding into biases' [R8], are picked up for debates that can 'rile up emotions' [R12] and keep the audience 'glued' to their television sets [RH9], driving up viewership [RH14]. The greater acceptability of such content among the audience is also due to the fact that, in addition to confirming their political worldview, emotional debates offer them "entertainment, information, a sense of community, and validation" (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 27).

Another respondent noted that polarising topics that 'scare you or that fill you with fervour' [R8] are picked up because 'you are catering to the biases of a person's emotion so that he is glued to your content' [RH9]. Underlining a strategic approach to aligning with the 'current public sentiment' [R1], several respondents and the hosts indicated that polarising topics that can stir audience emotions are specifically chosen for the debates, implying the ease with which an angry audience can be mobilised [views echoed by R2, RH3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8].

The topics that invoke polarising sentiments, a host noted, are strategically chosen to 'mobilise majoritarian views' [RH9] and stir emotions, giving the public the sense of "an explosive discussion" on TV (Luginbühl, 2007, p. 1380).

Adding to this, another respondent noted that efforts to polarise through emotionalised discussions are part of this political strategy, as when a debate is 'highly emotional, you know, it is polarised' [R6]. Furthermore, political polarisation and commercial interests are symbiotically linked, as polarised audiences contribute to "market success" (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009, p. 33), as issues that are provocative, controversial, or sharply opinionated in the media garner more attention and engagement from the public than the actual issues on the ground.

While commercial interests ensure the constant flow of funds, political patronage ensures the legitimacy of shows that may otherwise receive an immediate backlash from the media watchdogs. The close associations between the media and the establishment also identified hosts' ideological leanings towards the establishment. These observations are not far from the criticism of pro-establishment hosts in the press (Daniyal, 2016). A respondent, for example, noted that hosts serve as party spokespersons in running their agendas [as stated by R8 and echoed by R1, R2, R5, and R6]. An overview of the comments on the strategic use of anger in debates suggests that anger on TV has become less of an emotion and more of a commercial and political commodity, packaged and mediated at the behest of the current political establishment. This assertion, common among the hosts and the non-hosts, gained more strength as they elaborated on the success of the model, attributing it to the 'ideological biases of TV owners and journalists' [as stated by R8 and emphatically noted by RH9, RH10, R13, R15] and the proximity between media houses and the government.

iii. Ownership-power dyad

The close 'proximity' [RH9] between owners and the establishment was observed as one of the significant reasons for a specific ideological viewpoint being eminently present on the screen by a majority of the hosts [R5, RH3, R4, R2, R7, R8, RH9, RH14]. Some hesitantly, others explicitly emphasised the 'close association between editors and the government', fueling the anger model as a 'profitable model that works' [RH10]. Similarly, another respondent noted that media houses are closely aligned with the party in power, seeking and extending favours to each other in a 'you scratch my back, I scratch yours' approach [R8]. A cursory examination of the changing landscape of cross-media ownership reveals how conglomerates considered close allies of the current government have rapidly acquired media houses critical of the government and now dominate the media scene in India (see Srinivasan, 2024).

Further emphasising the link between the establishment and the media, a host noted that 'these days government does not need to send a spokesperson, media is working as a spokesperson' [RH3], and the hosts are 'just spewing hatred' [R2] to fuel polarisation in society. Asserting similar views about prime-time news or talk shows, a recent report (Network of Women in Media, India, 2024) by a media monitoring group held similar views, as they noted, "aggression and competitive intimidation are rife in an atmosphere where hostile behaviour is not only tolerated but also applauded".

The hosts shared similar views, confessing to the close associations and direct influences of the political establishment in shaping content while underlining the presence of an ownership-power dyad that props up and promotes each other. A host [RH9], for example, illustrated how the current establishment engages in quid pro quo with media houses, where news scoops are exchanged for favourable government coverage. He [RH9] noted,

... much news is governed by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). There is a constant discussion between the chief editors of news organisations and the PMO. You know, Of course, everybody has their sources. Like all these news sources, where do these new sources come from. So, basically, you scratch my back, I scratch your back. So, PMO would provide your news organization, with a certain agenda to talk upon. And because of that, they would give a lot of, let's say, exclusive information, interviews, exclusive insight, and also money through ads.

Echoing a similar view, another host noted that profit, power, and the 'ownership's proximity with power' [RH10] drive the emotional model on TV, while similar views were held by other respondents too [R2, RH3, R8]. Elaborating on this relationship, he [RH10] noted in anguish,

I don't want to give the names of any political parties. But when see that the heads of our channels, MDs and CEOs have good relations with a political party and then we have to show them in a good light. And when we are asked to do this thing, we have to show them in a good way, and we can't say anything against them because we receive funds from them. So, we can't say anything against them because we receive funds from them.

Reconciling the political and commercial interests, a host noted that networks depend on the establishment to secure advertising⁷ revenue 'during elections and throughout the year' [RH3], causing them to support the establishment's political agenda in the debates. While such a move helps the network fulfil its commercial agenda as parties 'pay you for (political) advertisements' [RH9], it also helps the establishment advance its political goals. The examples and references to the 'strong connection' [R2] between the government and the media were frequently elaborated. Some argued, and others implied, that the emergence of the emotional debate model is, in essence, due to a tacit agreement between the two entities. To that, a host [RH14] noted,

So, this is the reason why a lot of content that you see is, of course, driven by the agenda of the government, or even who is in the power setting. So, that's why I think, a lot of news anchors and a lot of news organizations take this extreme path of being polarising, or guided by emotions. It's because you need to engage your audience.

A cursory examination of the current news discourse reveals the close associations between the media and the current political establishment. A recent article⁸ by the BBC highlighted how the ruling party during the 2024 elections not only dominated but also received favourable news coverage across both mainstream and new media. Amid the views on commercial and political factors in shaping the content, the popularity of the shows was attributed to cultural factors, drawing parallels with daily soap operas and Bollywood. The packaging of the format, prioritising entertainment through conflict, was observed as an effective design strategy.

4.3.1.4 Cultural Factors

i. Entertainment favoured over information

The view that emotionalisation is aimed at dramatisation and theatrics, with entertainment rather than information as its central objective, was emphasised by both hosts and non-hosts. Among the respondents, none noted that debates serve an informational purpose, even if they attempted to do so, which was also used as a rationale for debate avoidance [explicitly noted by several respondents

⁷ Expenditure on Political advertising by political parties has seen manifold rise in the last decade largely geared towards the friendly networks see Newslaundry Staff. (2022, December 15). Network18 leads news broadcasters in getting ad money from Modi government. Newslaundry. <https://www.newslaundry.com/2022/12/15/network18-leads-news-broadcasters-in-getting-ad-money-from-modi-government>

⁸ Explainer: Indian media's election coverage favourable towards PM Modi, BJP <https://monitoring.bbc.co.uk/product/b0001jlf>

and hosts, including RH3, R5, R6, R7, R12, and R13, as well as RH10]. One of the respondents [R6], for example, noted,

So that becomes an approach. You want views, so you play with gimmicks, you play with nationalism, you play with drama. You play with emotion. Because your objective is no longer the dissemination of information, the objective is eyeballs. How do we get more views so that our advertisers are happy.

The element of entertainment served as information naturally points towards the much-debated topic of 'infotainment' (Brants, 2005; Blumler, 1999) in journalism research and "confrontainment" (Luginbühl, 2007, p. 1371) when the element of confrontation is incorporated into the talk on television. While the use of terms such as theatrics, gimmicks, and dramatics in critiquing the debates corresponds to Coleman's (2013) "pseudo-debate" argument (p. 20), some of the comments went deeper to invoke cultural factors at play in the very design of the debates. In emphasising theatrics, parallels were drawn with Bollywood and daily soap operas, deprecating the role of the networks and the show hosts. As one of the respondents noted, 'we belong to a country of blockbuster masala movies. We want emotions, we want drama. Moreover, I think they somehow managed to get this right' [R5]. One of the respondents [R8], for example, noted that efforts are made to dramatise the debates, as the audience prefers tension and conflict akin to that found in daily soaps. The use of interruptions, for example, was identified as a dramatisation tool, as they particularly resulted in competitive speech overlaps, heightening the tension among the panellists.

According to another respondent, the debates are competing against the TV soaps for the same audience 'because right now, viewers like that, they enjoy it' [R7]. Adding further, another respondent noted, 'unless there is some drama involved, unless there is some cursing involved, they (audience) don't enjoy the debate. They need some spice. And I think these guys (show hosts) add a lot of spice' [R1].

Anger, for example, was observed as part of the entertainment mix in an attempt to keep people less informed and more entertained. In what would be dubbed infotainment, albeit mixed with pronounced emotions channelled through debates, according to Brants (2005, p. 112), it is "problematic" when used to hide, distort, or serve as a dominant mode of portraying politics.

Respondents echoed similar views, deprecating practices akin to infotainment in the debates and deeming it 'unfair to the audience' [R8].

A respondent, for example, noted that the 'drama and emotions' [R5] are being used to interrupt the news about real issues from reaching people. As a result, the actual problems in society are 'not getting resolved' [R5] and 'people are not even thinking about it' [R1]. Similar views were echoed by several respondents — including R2, R4, R6, R7, R8, and RH9 — who expressed their disillusionment with the lack of public and media interest in addressing serious issues, in contrast to the dramatised presentation and consumption of trivial matters. Such an assessment concerning theatrics over information further resonates with Brants's (2005) problematisation of infotainment when it is used by journalists to "mislead, or at least to hide something from the public, not to tell the whole story and thus to project an image which, if unveiled, might have made people decide otherwise" (p. 113). The commonality between Brants's (2005) infotainment and respondents' views of emotions mixed with infotainment is the responsible use of infotainment, aligned with journalistic values. However, with parallels drawn between the debates and the daily soap operas and Bollywood, the respondents appeared more cynical about the use of infotainment in the debates.

Additionally, beyond the views of drama and theatrics, frequent references to the Bollywoodization of debates emerged as a significant cultural insight into the nature of the debates against the backdrop of the Indian media system. Examining emotions in journalism involves evaluating the cultural and political dynamics that influence how emotions are produced and consumed within a particular media system (Pajnik, 2024).

Drawing parallels with Indian cinema, one of the respondents, for example, viewed this as the 'Bollywoodification of debates' [as explicitly stated by R8, while similar sentiments echoed by R5, R6 and RH9], which illustrated how debates are now designed around a hero-villain format with the host being the heroic figure bashing the 'villain' [R8] panellists with differing views. Adding further [R8], he noted,

...there is a lot of Bollywoodification or a lot of dramatization of news. Because, like I said a lot of interruptions and everything happens because you want one point of view to prevail, and that and that becomes your hero. The other point of view becomes a villain.

Bollywoodification of debates resonates with Thussu's (2010) thesis of "Bollywoodized journalism" (p. 128), which is "exemplified by the lifestyle segments of news channels and...glitterati party scene" (p. 129). The trend of Bollywoodization started, according to Thussu (2010), with the incorporation of "melodrama and spectacle, peppered with song and dance numbers, to gain new viewers or retain existing ones" (p. 128), and its implications were perceived as "a dilution of professional attitudes to journalism" (p. 130). Thussu's (2010) commentary on Bollywoodized journalism, however, appeared in the pre-debates era when it was "on the ascent" (p. 129) and limited mainly to close interactions between journalism and Bollywood, translating to page 3 content when neither the debates nor the confrontations of notable proportions were prominent features of television news channels. Frequent references to 'Bollywoodization' of the debates in this study are indicative of how such a cultural phenomenon has become concretised and well-integrated into mainstream journalistic content. Additionally, it reveals the ways in which the culture industry influences journalistic content in the way it is practised, performed and interpreted in a particular media system.

Moreover, with the predominance of conflict in the debates underlined by anger, the impact of commercial and political influences on the integration of cultural features into the debates must be considered in tandem. For example, if it were not for conflict and emotional confrontations in the debates fueled by right-wing political inclinations at the behest of the current political dispensation to mobilise populist emotions (Bucy et al., 2020) and network commercial interests, would the debates still be as dramatised and conflict-driven. In essence, while political and commercial influences drive the model, cultural influences make it palatable to the audience.

4.3.2 Discussion

This chapter analysed the interpretations of journalistic emotions and the presence of dominant emotions in political television debates. Additionally, it examined the factors influencing the presence of emotionality in the debates, building on responses from journalists with experience in hosting and organising the shows. Building on and feeding into the existing literature on emotions in journalism, the findings in this study, primarily centred on journalistic anger, offered deeper insights and the ability to raise newer questions concerning journalistic emotionality, particularly in the Global South.

4.3.2.1 Dominant Themes and the Anger Template

The analysis based on the first-hand accounts of the journalists, in particular, yielded five significant themes that are intertwined and typify the structure of the debate. The findings revealed that a) anger is the dominant emotion in the debates characterised by aggression, conflict and confrontation between the hosts and the panellists, b) the anger in the debates is primarily due to hosts' anger with its origins in editorial expectations, c) the hosts' anger is influenced by the political, cultural and commercial influences, d) referred to as performance, hosts' anger lacks genuineness and authenticity and f) the prominence of these features in the shows was dubbed as a template that networks emulate. Amid a rather bleak view of journalistic anger that these themes conjure, a benign yet prominent view that emerged on the sidelines is that of the 'moral dimension' of journalists' anger, asserting its importance. Consistent with Stupart (2024), it views journalistic anger as a source of social change if employed in line with the ethical and normative values of the profession.

4.3.2.2 Template-Driven Emotionality and Audience Manipulation

Given the prominence of anger and aggression in the debates, the shows were dubbed 'a model of shouting,' designed according to a specific template. While nearly all references to emotions, in essence, were related to anger, conflict, and aggression, the prominence of this view across the sample underscored the centrality of negative emotions to the template emulated by national TV networks. While many of the elements of the template, such as interruptions, conflict-oriented discussions, and hosts' effort to organise discussions in 'confrontation' format (Luginbühl, 2007) have been variously addressed in the previous studies (Luginbühl, 2007; Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Lauerbach, 2007; Khan & Shahid, 2019), the centrality of anger to the template employed as a strategy to dramatise shows for viewership and polarise the audience, however, emerged as a unique insight based on the responses from both hosts and the non-hosts. Keeping the audience entertained rather than informed was recurrently identified as a basis for choosing polarising and divisive topics that allow for emotional outbursts in the shows and resonate with the broader public sentiment.

4.3.2.3 Political influences and ideological biases

While anger was found to be a strategic emotion used to organise discussions in confrontational formats with the intent of increasing audience numbers, politically, anger was observed as a source of shaping the majoritarian public view at the behest of the current political establishment. Thus, the use of anger to achieve polarisation and dramatic presentation was inherently observed to hinge on political and commercial aspirations and influences of the network, respectively. While the templatisation of journalistic content has received some attention in previous studies (Krzyżanowski, 2014), journalistic anger or emotions as a key element of a template hinging on the commercial and political viability of networks, however, remains less addressed in journalism research.

The repeated emphasis on commercial and political dimensions highlighted the strong connections between the networks and the ruling political party, indicating a quid pro quo between the two. Such a relationship between the networks and the ruling political party was indicated as the reason for ideological biases among the hosts or the editorial team, resulting in tacit pressure on hosts to emotionalise the shows. The interconnections between anger in the debates, editorial influence on journalists to emotionalise the shows, and the ideological biases in the networks become evident in light of the fact that while anger has been recognised to be the dominant emotion in right-wing communication (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014), the current ruling dispensation in India represents the right-wing ideology. Effectively, the notion that anger is being pushed into the public discourse via the political television debates at the behest of the right-wing ruling party to achieve polarisation in favour of the majoritarian narrative was both explicitly and implicitly captured in the responses and has been reported in recent studies (Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Kumar et al., 2024).

4.3.2.4 Cultural Influences and Bollywoodization of Debates

Alongside commercial and political influences, references drawn from the Hindi film industry, popularly known as Bollywood, asserted the presence of cultural influences in the packaging and presentation of the debates. Consistent with Thussu's (2010) "Bollywoodized journalism" thesis (p. 128), several references to the "Bollywoodization" of content indicated the dominant presence of cultural elements that achieve dramatic spectacle and heightened emotions, thereby increasing

the entertainment value of the shows. Thussu's (2010) 'Bollywoodization' sought to capture the broad interaction between journalism and Bollywood, encompassing dance, drama, and action, as well as the prominence of content from the film industry in the news segments. References to Bollywood in this context were, in essence, used to underscore how the production of journalistic content now draws from 'masala' style packaging, with a prominence of emotionalised discussions and melodramatic presentation of the shows. In particular, it revealed how confrontational dialogue, structured around a hero-villain format and hinging on the conflict between hosts and panellists, is a well-entrenched practice in debates. Theatrical and dramatic presentations in journalistic roles, where journalists are portrayed as protagonists on stage, have been addressed to some extent, albeit without the journalistic emotions, in the literature on performance journalism (Atkinson, 2011; Boudana, 2011; Westgate, 2013). Consistent with the findings in this study, a few fleeting references to emotions in performance literature have regarded it as a source of theatrics and manipulation, with an underlying commercial interest in gaining and retaining the audience (Borden & Tew, 2007; Atkinson, 2011; Tenenboim & Stroud, 2020). The emphasis on journalistic anger, a common strand of interest between this study and the corresponding emerging literature, assumes particular importance here.

4.3.2.5 Engineered for entertainment

The editorial expectations to organise the shows in a "confrontainment" format (Luginbühl, 2007, p. 1371) were emphatically reported to be a key influence on hosts' anger amid lamentations about underlying political preferences and compulsions by both sets of respondents. The critical views of the debates and the hosts' emotions are consistent with the Indian media's criticism of the debates, which have variably been called fist fights, slugfests, and noisy mudslinging matches organised by journalists who are expected to uphold the principles and values of journalism (Datar, 2014; Sekhri, 2015; Siddiqui, 2013; Bisht, 2016). The criticism, voiced by both hosts and non-hosts, viewed emotions as a trivialising force that undermines the informational purpose of debates while prioritising entertainment, pointing towards the much-debated concept of 'infotainment' (Brants, 2005; Blumler, 1999). In journalism research, infotainment has been criticised for posing a threat to journalistic values and condoned if it does not harm the public interest (Brants, 2005). The evidence here, however, appeared to suggest that the use of anger in the shows, among other elements such as turn-violations resulting in interruptions and speech overlaps, biased selection of

topics (Garimella & Datta, 2024) and composition of debate panels, is part of a methodical approach to add drama, theatrics and entertainment to the shows. Competitive interruptions between the hosts and the panellists, for example, were observed as a strategy employed by the hosts to elicit emotional and angry responses, thereby heightening conflict and tension, with some evidence suggesting that the hosts' actual anger stemmed from verbal scuffles with the panellists. Deemed necessary to an extent by the hosts, the broader view identified interruptions as a source of building tension and conflict between the panellists.

4.3.2.6 The 'melodramatic' host

The hosts' role in dramatising and emotionalising shows has been addressed (Tolson, 2001) and received critical appraisals in previous studies (Khan & Shahid, 2019; Coleman, 2013). However, their use of aggression and anger in debates with underlying commercial and political motivations to establish connections with the audience is a novel insight into how journalists are assuming roles traditionally considered limited to the quintessential talk-show host. The parallels can be drawn with Berry and Sobieraj's (2014, p. 56) "outrage host" thesis, which examines how American talk-show hosts use melodramatic rhetoric, often rooted in right-wing ideological biases, to channel anger, fear, and moral indignation into their audiences. The "outrage host" thesis serves as an antecedent to the phenomena of hosts' anger in political TV debates, and its presence across networks is indicative of the emergence of "outrage media" marked by right-wing ideological leanings with political commentary tactically designed to polarise and provoke emotions in the audience (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014; Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Garimella & Datta, 2024; Agarwal et al., 2024; Kumar et al., 2024).

Despite the features consistent with Berry & Sobieraj's (2014) "outrage host", a fine distinction worth considering is that of the quintessential host, such as Bill O'Reilly, vis-à-vis a journalist in the capacity of a host bound by the values of the profession. The criticism of the host and their anger could be deemed inconsequential for journalism research if the host did not act in the capacity of a journalist moderating shows as an institutional representative of a journalistic network. However, journalists' anger in the debates has consequences both for the profession and the audience it claims to serve and represent.

In this context, the presence of journalists' anger in journalistic content requires unpacking within the scope of the existing and relatively 'romantic' discourse on emotionality in juxtaposition to its potential use in contravention of the public interest. It requires evaluating not only the emergence of journalistic anger but also of a) the 'neo journalist' who unhesitatingly channels populist emotions and b) the 'new genre' of journalistic content that serves as a platform for hosting populist emotions in favour of a specific political ideology, due to political and commercial interest or pressure. These questions deserve particular attention, especially against the backdrop of the questionable integrity of journalistic anger in the shows.

4.3.2.7 The Performance of Inauthentic Anger

Nearly all respondents, including the hosts, dubbed the anger in shows as inauthentic and contrived. This view assumes further credence as editorial instructions emerged as a direct influence in shaping the hosts' anger in the shows. Elaborating on the growing integration between market and editorial decisions, Deuze & Witschge (2018, p. 174) recently noted how market pressures are shaping content decisions characterised by "gradual breakdown of the wall between the commercial and editorial sides of the news organisation". The claims of 'inauthentic' anger were likened to journalistic performance indicative of a normative conundrum where both 'inauthentic emotions' and 'journalistic performance' exacerbate the rather unfavourable journalistic view of emotions in journalism. In relation to frequent references to performance alongside inauthenticity, the element of performance in journalism assumes particular importance, especially as the hosts' anger on camera was observed as a performance connoting inauthenticity. In the literature on journalistic performance, journalists have been referred to as news performers and protagonists on stage (Atkinson, 2011; Westgate, 2013), and their performance on camera has been deemed "closely related to drama than to the traditional role of the journalist" (Carroll, 1999, p. 87).

Despite comparisons to drama and theatrics, literature on performance journalism does not directly equate performance with inauthenticity. Instead, it has discussed the genuineness of performance, or its lack thereof, in relation to the professional moral dimension in the output. To Borden & Tew (2007), for example, the integrity of journalistic performance is tied to a journalist's moral commitment reinforced by correspondence between their intention and performance. If contrasted

with Atkinson's (2011) thesis on performance journalism, the performance of the hosts in TV debates is not necessarily unjournalistic if it coincides with the ethical mode/template of journalistic performance, which "represents genuine journalism" (p. 112). However, performance-oriented to the concomitant of commercial and theatrical templates is incongruent with the values of journalism, as, according to Atkinson (2011), those approaches qualify for "interlopers hiding their nefarious and essentially unjournalistic purposes behind the virtuous cloak" of public service-oriented journalism (p. 112). The 'template of anger' discussed in this chapter closely corresponds to Atkinson's (2011) commercial and theatrical templates of performance journalism, thereby confirming the findings that journalistic emotional performance in debates qualifies as 'interlopers' and undermines the integrity of journalistic values, rendering it inauthentic. Besides, the absence of discussion on journalistic emotions vis-à-vis performance journalism presents a scope to reconcile the two for a more conclusive interpretation of the (in)authenticity of emotions in news content or political television debates.

4.3.2.8 Influences shaping performance and journalistic emotional autonomy

Furthermore, inauthentic anger and journalistic performance take on particular significance, especially when observed in tandem with the editorial pressure exerted amid commercial and political influences. Performing inauthentic anger as a journalist in a political debate show raises questions about both the obligation to act emotionally and the autonomy of journalistic emotions, revealing the vulnerability of journalistic emotions. First, the pressure to act emotionally could be interpreted as a burden for the journalists, invoking questions of emotional labour, where, contrary to the standard notion, the labour involves performing rather than suppressing emotions. It raises questions about the distinction between feeling emotional and being obligated to act emotionally, a view held by many participants in differentiating between genuine emotions stemming from social issues and inauthentic emotions resulting from pressure or other factors. Second, it raises questions about the autonomy of journalistic emotions, which, as shown in this study, has the potential to be employed to mobilise public opinion in favour of a specific political ideology.

The findings, which highlighted the contrived nature of the hosts' anger, underscored its vulnerability to forces and influences from commercial and political quarters with vested interests in the narratives produced by news networks. To that end, while anger is commoditised for ratings and polarisation, journalistic anger serves as a vehicle to achieve these objectives in contravention of the journalistic commitment to society. While the influence of commercial and political factors in shaping media content has been well ascertained (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014; Deuze & Witschge, 2018), the implications of their influence raise questions about a) journalistic emotions being subject to market and political manipulation and b) their sustainable use of emotions in the profession. Admittedly, while journalistic anger can engage the audience and enhance political participation, exploring how it may undermine both journalistic and democratic values is a pressing question when employed at the behest of the political and commercial masters who may attempt to capitalise on it. The potential use or misuse of emotions in journalism has been underlined by Pantti (2010), who noted that "whether or not emotional expression presents a danger to journalistic quality depends entirely on how emotion is used and with what intentions" (p. 177). More recently, while Pajnik (2024) highlighted the journalistic concerns over the commercial exploitation of emotions, emotionality researchers need to pay close attention to the myriad ways in which emotions can manifest in journalism, for good or ill, beyond the standard notion of coexistence and conflict between objectivity and emotions.

4.3.2.9 A Normative Conundrum

Amidst criticism of anger, its template-based presentation, and the underlying political, commercial, and cultural influences, the journalistic assessment employed normative values as an analytical lens to critique the shows and the show hosts. Inasmuch as the hosts were seen as the willing or unwilling transgressors for using emotional posturing to extend benefits to invisible political and commercial forces. The hosts, being both a moderator and a journalist, were criticised for acting like debate participants in contravention of their journalistic responsibilities. Views such as the 'hyper-emotional host' using anger to fuel public sentiment, running a 'campaign of anger' and 'peddling anger and retribution' among the public were voiced by the respondents. Hosts were deprecated for 'weaponising' anger to keep the public sentiment galvanised in favour of the right-wing agendas of the establishment. While the hosts appeared to eschew self-criticism, they ardently expressed their self-criticism of the use of emotions incongruent with journalistic values

and public interest. Amid this, the hosts acknowledged the strategic use of anger to escalate conflict and drama in the shows and asserted their lack of emotional autonomy, as well as their complicity in using anger for commercial and political exploitation.

4.3.2.10 Journalistic or Unjournalistic Use of Anger

Respondents also echoed similar views concerning the journalistic or unjournalistic use of emotions. Amid criticisms of emotions in the debates, journalistic anger received a certain degree of positive appraisal, albeit with the caveat that it should be employed to address issues of social injustice and upliftment rather than pushing political agendas that abet polarisation. The criticism of emotions was primarily aligned with their negative rather than positive use. The distinction between positive anger or anger "as being normatively good" (Stupart, 2024, p. 2348) and negative use of anger was also employed to label it as authentic and inauthentic anger, respectively. The views on positive articulations of anger, or what was frequently referred to as 'positive anger' by respondents, align with Stupart's (2024) "moral dimension" argument of anger, where it is employed in response to "specific injustice of government or industry criminality and corruption" (p. 2348). Journalistic anger sans 'moral dimension', for example, was observed as negative and inauthentic, as respondents articulated their criticism, distrust and indignation towards its use for 'contrarian' purposes. The negative and positive articulations of journalistic anger find resonance with Wahl-Jorgensen's (2019, p. 12) "double-edged sword" view of anger, where the former could prove to be a "threat to social order" while the latter could be "seen as an emotion of activism".

Additionally, the positive and negative conceptions of the use of emotions in journalism closely align with Pantti's (2010) findings on 'good' and 'bad' journalism, where the latter was identified as excessive and inauthentic use of emotions in storytelling. These views resonate with the longstanding Aristotelian notion of anger as a virtue or a vice, where it is considered productive when used to address social ills and injustices and counterproductive when used against social values. Across social sciences and, to an extent, in emotions research, anger's value as a significant political emotion has been well recognised. The importance of positive anger aligns with the agonistic public sphere model, which recognises anger and resentment as a part of the public response mechanism to issues of socio-political concern (Tong, 2014). Meanwhile, in political communication research, anger has been observed as a sign of strength and force that impels action in change (Hess, 2014).

The findings in this study align with academic perspectives that view positive anger as having a moralistic dimension in journalism (Stupart, 2024). However, the excessive use of anger for theatrical purposes, its potentially inauthentic nature, and its susceptibility to political and commercial influences that threaten its normative integrity have yet to be thoroughly examined. Aside from brief acknowledgements of anger's negative side in Wahl-Jorgensen's (2019, p. 12) view of anger as a 'double-edged sword' and Stupart's (2024, p. 2348) view of the 'normative goodness' of anger, or its lack thereof, a detailed analysis of 'negative' anger remains a blind spot. Emotions research, therefore, needs to examine the implications of both 'negative' and 'positive' journalistic anger amid questions such as how it can be categorised and studied. Moreover, discourse on emotions in journalism needs to explore the significance of journalistic anger in relation to the contrarian views of emotions, which align with questions of performance, drama, and their (in)authenticity, rendering journalistic emotions vulnerable to exploitation and manipulation. In a recent study, however, a brief reference to the use of emotions for dramatisation and commercial gains was approached apprehensively and largely deprecated by journalists (Pajnik, 2024).

4.3.3 Conclusion

In the third stage of the study, interviews were conducted with hosts and journalists involved in producing political TV debates to address two main research questions: (a) how journalists interpret the emotions present in debates and (b) what factors influence and shape these emotions. Building on the earlier findings of journalistic anger, this stage aimed to explore in greater depth the role of interruptions and other factors in triggering emotions, such as anger, during the debates.

The examination of the interview data revealed several noteworthy findings. Firstly, the study found that the emotions displayed by hosts in the debates were largely inauthentic, with interruptions used strategically to heighten confrontation and tension. Anger, characterised by aggression and conflict, was identified as the dominant emotion in the debates, particularly in interactions between hosts and panellists. While interruptions were not observed as the primary cause of anger, they were seen as a deliberate tactic employed by hosts to provoke emotional responses and escalate conflict. Nevertheless, some evidence indicates that the hosts' genuine anger surfaced during verbal confrontations with panellists.

The anger in the debates was driven by a mix of editorial expectations and external pressures, including political, cultural, and commercial factors and was identified as a key influence in shaping the emotional tone of the debates. Some insights into the backstage of the shows revealed the presence of 'authentic' journalistic anger, which was not solely a result of external forces and influences but also tied to journalists' struggles to meet their professional standards. This indicated the journalist's engagement with emotional labour, as they had to suppress and manage their genuine emotions out of fear of backlash or reprimands.

The study also found that journalistic emotional autonomy was frequently undermined by dominant editorial, market, and political pressures. This lack of control over their emotions resulted in a sense of resignation among journalists, who felt constrained in expressing their true feelings. This stage of the study highlighted the complex dynamics between external pressures and journalists' emotions, both in the front and back regions, revealing their recurrent engagement with the emotional labour involved in shaping political debates.

Examining emotions in journalism is a complex exercise, as, in addition to the more evident and conspicuous factors shaping their presence in the professional role and the dynamics of the profession, a myriad of nuanced and subtle influences also affect the intricate process of navigating longstanding normative principles alongside emerging trends and practices. This becomes even more convoluted, particularly when attempting to disentangle processes that may seem deeply enmeshed. For instance, if one were to draw a clear distinction between journalists' or networks' political biases, it would require an examination of both journalists' political inclinations and networks' political connections and commercial interests. This process may appear even more complicated when journalists' personal and professional emotions from both the backstage and frontstage are taken into consideration.

Furthermore, evaluating the same processes across different media systems, where entirely different socio-political dynamics may underpin the practice, can yield varying results. Recently, Pajnik (2024) noted that when studying a specific media system, the 'historical contingencies and characteristics of media systems' must be considered alongside cultural and political factors, as they 'influence journalistic professionalism and emotionality' (p. 186). In this respect, this chapter has examined the relationship between emotionality in journalistic content and journalistic

emotions while also exploring the forces that shape these two aspects. Meanwhile, it has addressed some conspicuous and more nuanced perspectives drawn from journalistic responses regarding journalistic emotionality in television debates, targeting the unique challenges faced in examining emotionality, particularly within a cultural and media system in the Global South.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary

The central aim of this study was to examine journalistic emotions in Indian political television debates. Building on Indian media criticism of the debates and addressing the research gaps identified in the literature review concerning emotions in journalistic talk-in-interaction, this study adopted a three-pronged approach to uncovering the tangible and elusive factors underlying the prominence of journalistic emotions in debates that have attracted significant critical commentary in the Indian media.

The first stage of the study measured the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in television debates. It analysed ten political debates to measure the frequency and duration of interruptions and speech overlaps between the host and the participants using conversation analysis (CA) as a methodological framework.

Building on the findings from Stage I, the second stage of the study identified and examined units of analysis with extended overlaps and numerous intrusive interruptions in the sample. The transcribed units were compared with the corresponding audio-visual data of the debates to unveil the intersections between interruptions and journalistic anger, employing the multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) approach in conjunction with Retzinger's (1991) visual, vocal, and verbal cues of anger.

Drawing on evidence of hosts' anger triggered by intrusive interruptions, the study advanced to its third stage, where it analysed interview data gathered from current and former hosts and journalists regarding their perspectives and interpretations of the debates, with a particular emphasis on journalistic emotions, anger, and their underlying factors.

The sections below elaborate on the three stages, their rationale and the findings, followed by the section that outlines the research contributions of this study. Subsequently, it outlines the limitations and potential directions for future research.

5.2 Findings and Novel Contributions of this study

5.2.1 The First Stage: Conversation Analysis of the Political TV Debates

The first stage of the study examined the extent of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates using the conversational analysis approach, a method with its roots in applied linguistics. For this, a sample of ten political debates broadcast on national news television channels in India was selected and examined systematically. The overarching aim was to observe the cumulative extent of interruptions and speech overlaps occurring in the debates to establish a foundation for a deeper examination of journalistic talk-in-interaction.

The rationale for this stage of the study stems from the critical media commentary on the debates, where the frequent use of interruptions and speech overlaps by the host has been highlighted as a central element of criticism. Additionally, the media criticism also highlights the hosts' attempt to emotionalise the debate. Given the frequent interruptions, multiparty speech overlaps, and emotionally charged discussions, these are some of the palpable features of the debates, necessitating an academic inquiry into the phenomenon. The findings at this stage revealed a 'fairly high' amount of interruptions and speech overlaps in the debates. While the data exceeded the findings reported in previous studies, it was found to be consistent with two studies, to an extent, that examined political interviews (Votmer & Brants, 2011) and political television debates (Khan & Shahid, 2019).

The high degree of turn violations reported in this study not only indicates the complexity of journalistic talk-in-interaction, where interruptions play a significant role in shaping the interaction, but also suggests its ability to elicit emotional reactions. Interruptions disrupt the flow of dialogue and incite confrontations, which can have an emotionally charged effect on the actors involved, particularly the host—an implication explored further in the later stages of this study.

Since not all interruptions are intrusive and do not result in longer speech overlaps, the study examined the extent of intrusive and cooperative interruptions by and against the host. It focused on the host while leaving out other actors in the debates. The objective was to observe the extent to which intrusive as opposed to cooperative interruptions are a) initiated by and against the host and b) result in longer or negligible overlaps. The significance of such a bifurcation of interruptions and speech overlaps comes from studies in applied linguistics, where intrusive interruptions have been known to cause longer overlaps and are considered "problematic" (Hutchby, 1999, p. 4).

A more granular examination of interruptions revealed some insightful details where competitive interruptions and resultant competitive overlap significantly exceeded those of cooperative interruptions and speech overlaps. A high degree of competitive interruptions underscores the highly confrontational nature of the debates, "resembling battlefields of verbal attacks and counter-attacks" (Brants, 2011, p. 143), and thus of emotionally charged exchanges driven by the host, given the high degree of intrusive interruptions initiated by them compared to those against them.

Whether used by the host or against them, the two-way analysis of interruptions particularly highlights the dynamic and volatile nature of journalistic talk, characterised by a challenging environment that can potentially cause emotional pressure. It conjures a scenario where the host is under duress to exercise their authority and is challenged for doing so, with overt emotional consequences. This complexity reveals the potentially emotionalised nature of talk by peeking into the turn-taking mechanism and the precarity involved in managing it. Interruptions by journalists can provoke resistance, while interruptions against them signal breakdowns in authority, both of which contribute to a heightened emotional atmosphere in the debate.

While content is often observed as the main carrier of emotions, this insight reveals that emotionality can be a significant feature of an interactional mechanism that can be identified with the aid of an appropriate method, such as conversation analysis. By providing a view into the extent of resistance to the hosts' authority in talk-in-interaction, the data on interruptions against the host in this study particularly highlight the precarity concerning soliciting information, facilitating dialogue, and affixing accountability. In this sense, interruptions have a metaphorical value that can be observed in the challenges posed to news and information gatherers who are routinely interrupted by various means and agents, making the process more complex and taxing.

In the context of journalism, particularly, the analysis of interruptions and overlaps is of key significance as it highlights the pressing implications of confrontational discursive engagement involving journalists in political television debates. Besides, sustained interruptions are known to cause negative emotions (Zijlstra et al., 1999; Beeftink et al., 2008; Bucy et al., 2020). Similar views regarding hosts' emotions have been highlighted in the Indian press through expressions such as yelling, browbeating, and constantly interrupting the panellists. Studies examining emotions in audio-visual journalistic content may begin by focusing on competitive or violative interruptions, as these provide a concrete entry point into identifying the potential presence of negative emotions in the talk. Such interruptions also warrant attention for the insight they offer into the emotional or operational duress journalists may experience. Additionally, understanding how hosts and panellists use competitive interruptions as a strategic resource can contribute to a deeper analysis of interactional dynamics in journalistic shows, particularly political debates, a direction partially explored in the literature on journalistic antagonism.

5.2.1.1 First stage contributions

The most significant contribution at the first stage of this study is the analysis of turn violations using conversation analysis (CA), which systematically measures interruptions and speech overlaps in political television debates. Fewer studies in journalism research have examined turn violation, with the most notable coming from the research into journalistic antagonism (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Ekstrom, 2007; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Al Fahad, 2015), and a negligible number in television debates as research desiderata (Khan & Shahid, 2018). Using CA, the study adds to the limited research examining journalistic talk-in-interaction and addresses the calls for

integration into journalism research (Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016). The use of CA enabled a multipronged analysis of interruptions, offering insights into both intrusive and cooperative interruptions, as well as competitive and cooperative overlaps involving the host. The application of conversation analysis to examine turn violations in journalistic talk-in-interaction is limited to research in applied linguistics (Rafi'M & Al-Satori, 2016; Beattie, 1982; Bull & Mayer, 1988; Jorfi & Dowlatabadi, 2016).

Empirically, the significance of examining interruptions in journalistic content underscores the nature of confrontational talk involving journalists, the implications of interruptions on journalistic talk, the role of interruptions as emotional stressors and the dynamics of managing confrontational talk by journalists. Much of the media commentary in the Indian press and, more recently, in the American media regarding the recent Presidential debates highlights these issues (Blake, 2020), although in a rather critical tone. Therefore, one of the key contributions of this study is to present empirical data pertaining to the criticisms of the debates in the Indian press. While these critiques focus on the normative compliance of these debates, this study contextualises such concerns within broader questions about journalistic performance with emotional overtones. This is particularly significant, as it allows for critical reflexivity in viewing confrontational journalistic talk, characterised by interruptions, from an academic standpoint, especially in the context of emerging emotions studies in journalism. Moreover, by highlighting the extent of interruptions faced by journalists, the study not only offers insights into how interruptions interfere with journalistic work but also underscores the complexities involved in navigating the terrain of multiparty journalistic talk that a journalist may not be well-equipped to manage.

Additionally, evidence of the extent of interruptions against journalists adds an important dimension to the existing literature (Hess-Lüttich, 2007; Coleman, 2013), which focuses on interruptions as a strategic tool used by journalists, while overlooking the interruptions used against them. This added dimension not only allows for a distinction between cooperative and competitive interruptions but also offers insights into how interruptions can serve as a resource or a challenge. In essence, a granular examination of interruptions highlights that attributing the responsibility for turn violations causing interruptions solely to the host, rather than to all participants in the debates, can be a flawed approach.

By examining interruptions both by and against the host, the study highlighted the potential implications and how journalists both employ and experience interruptions. It revealed that a) while the host used interruptions the most, they were also subjected to interruptions by participants in the discussion, and b) intrusive interruptions may signify confrontation and the challenges posed by and against journalists, which may have implications not only for the quality of the talk but also for journalistic emotions.

These insights provide a deeper understanding of studio-based multiparty journalistic talk-in-interaction, where turn violations, interruptions, speaking over, and contesting with the host or vice versa are consistent and strategic practices. Highlighting these complexities reveals a gap in research, particularly regarding how journalistic emotions are experienced and expressed during such interactions. Furthermore, the findings from the first stage indicate the absence of a clear yardstick for acceptable levels of interruptions in journalistic talk—it remains unclear how much interruption constitutes 'too much.' Given this, further research is needed to (a) develop thresholds for interruptions and (b) interpret their impact on the quality of journalistic discourse.

Stage I of this study served as a platform for conducting an empirical analysis of the debate's text and discussing the presence of journalistic emotions, particularly anger, through a multimodal analysis approach. This methodological continuity ensures that the emotional implications inferred from turn-taking behaviour are later explored through visual, verbal, and vocal cues across the sample. In summary, Stage I directly addresses RQ1, RQ1.1, and RQ1.2, demonstrating that interruptions are not only structurally prevalent but also emotionally consequential in political news debates. The findings from Stage I also show that examining the structural arrangement of journalistic content can be a fruitful site of investigation. These insights into the structural arrangement therefore served as a foundation for a deeper exploration of the debates' content, examining the strategic and emotionalising effects of interruptions, with the aim of gaining insight into journalistic anger.

5.2.2 The Second Stage: Multimodal Conversation Analysis of the sampled debate transcripts

Based on the insightful evidence on turn violations derived from the first stage of the study, the second stage sought to examine debate content. This involved identifying parts of the shows that presented the most competitive interruptions, resulting in longer overlaps between the host and the panellists. Such parts, referred to as the units of analysis, were earmarked for further study, transcribed, and examined for emotional reactions by the host. More specifically, the objective at this stage was to investigate the units in the research desiderata to examine (a) the role of interruptions in the emotionalisation of the debates, (b) the hosts' strategic use of interruptions, and (c) the presence of negative emotions, particularly anger, in their verbal, visual, and vocal cues. The rationale for the investigation was based on observations from previous studies that intrusive interruptions result in negative emotions, particularly anger (Beefink et al., 2008; Stets, 2006; Selting, 2010; Retzinger, 1991, 1995; Yu, 2011).

Moreover, negative emotions, "such as fear, anger, hatred and disgust, are commonly mobilised to create hostility and divisions among groups" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Pantti, 2021, p. 7). The academic view of anger and Indian media criticism of the host's aggression in the shows presented an opportunity and rationale to examine the content in detail, taking a systematic approach.

The analysis at this stage also offered insights into the nature of strategic interruptions and their affective implications. While hosts use interruptions as a strategic tool to control the flow of conversation and manage or diffuse confrontation, they often lead to emotionalised responses such as anger, helplessness, and frustration, which can be seen as natural outcomes of the disruption caused by frequent interruptions.

Significant implications of the strategic use of interruptions were found for journalistic anger, as they often set the stage for emotional confrontations. Cutting off panellists mid-sentence or being challenged for interrupting a turn underlines how the host's authority is exercised or challenged, causing or deepening confrontation. This dynamic was highlighted in their strategic use of interruptions to manage the debates, resulting in the host's anger being amplified as the emotional stakes of the discussion increased due to the lack of space for dialogue. Hosts are thus positioned

to respond with increased aggression as they seek to regain control over the narrative, which only exacerbates emotional tensions.

As identified in the study, journalistic anger is closely linked to the tactical use of interruptions, which trigger emotionalised reactions in the debates. The findings reveal that these interruptions often lead to hostile exchanges, characterised not only by verbal aggression but also by visible and vocal signs of anger and frustration.

5.2.2.1 Second stage contributions

This stage made several valuable contributions to bridging the research gap in this study. It offered novel insights in terms of a) the use of multimodal conversational analysis to examine emotions in journalistic content, b) empirical evidence confirming the role of intrusive interruptions in causing anger in line with the conjecture in the previous studies, and c) insights into how journalistic anger can be identified in the journalistic talk in interaction.

On the methods front, this stage significantly advances the methodological framework by combining multimodal conversation analysis with Retzinger's (1995) framework of analysing verbal, visual and vocal cues of anger in television debates. It demonstrated how the emotional dynamics of the actors involved in journalistic talk-in-interactions in a naturalistic environment can be methodologically captured, providing a much-needed empirical lens for studying emotions in journalistic content. Together, these methodologies enabled a systematic view of the host's emotional expressions, revealing the complex interplay between verbal and non-verbal signals in conveying anger and other negative emotions. This combined approach enhanced the accuracy and depth of analysis of emotionalised talk, illustrating the value of integrating multimodal conversation analysis with established emotional cues in research. Few studies have attempted such an empirical application, combining multimodal conversation analysis with Retzinger's (1995) anger cues, with most limited to machine-based approaches to examine emotions. While machine-based approaches and language processing dictionaries are also evident in journalism studies, in emotions research, per se, the evidence of using multimodal conversation analysis is rare, and its application in combination with Retzinger's approach is nonexistent. Therefore, this stage makes a much-needed methodological contribution to a glaring gap in emotional research in

journalism by demonstrating that journalistic emotions can be identified in journalistic content using alternative methodologies and approaches.

Empirically, the contribution of this stage lies in capturing the simultaneous presence of interruptions and anger and confirming the centrality of intrusive interruptions to emotionally charged confrontations involving journalists. The evidence of the link between the two supports the conjecture reported in many studies, which suggests that intrusive interruptions provoke negative emotions. Beyond its ability to elicit angry reactions, sustained interruptions were also shown to evoke other negative emotions, such as distress, frustration, and disorientation, which often stem from hostility and verbal confrontation. Beyond simply highlighting the intersections between interruptions and anger, the study also revealed that confrontational talk in journalism could be a minefield for examining emotions, potentially encompassing variables beyond interruptions, such as repetitive and pointed questions.

This stage also highlights the hosts' strategic use of interruptions to manage the debates. While this can be seen as an effort to manage or diffuse confrontation, it often leads to emotionalised reactions. The host's interruptions, intended to assert authority or regain control of the debate, are frequently met with emotional responses from both the panellists and the host. These strategic interruptions reveal a complex emotional terrain where the host's authority is constantly negotiated, leading to a repeated escalation of tensions.

While putting the spotlight on journalistic anger and various negative emotions, the investigation in this study also highlights the role of intrusive interruptions as 'hostility stressors' (Ivask et al., 2024) that impact journalistic emotions. While research into various specific journalistic emotions is nascent, the study proved that journalistic anger can be captured in text and talk by employing effective methodological approaches, as Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) has shown in her examination of journalists' mediated anger in news text.

Another key contribution of this study is the use of political television debates as research desiderata. Fewer studies have examined this genre, and none in emotions research have investigated it to study emotions. However, it must be noted that the impetus to use such data emanated from the Indian press's criticism of the debates, and a lack of such a discourse may not render the debates an ideal site of inquiry.

Thus, while the study finds foundational support in press criticism, the empirical evidence in this stage offers both validity and credence to its foundation. Most importantly, the investigation highlights the suitability of journalistic talk-in-interaction as a site of investigation, the tangible and intangible variables that shape it, and the journalists' role as both actors and actants in such talks.

Furthermore, in contextualising the findings beyond emotions research in journalism, the study attempted to draw parallels between journalistic anger and the literature on journalistic aggressiveness or adversarialism (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Al Fahad, 2015; Voltmer & Brants, 2011), which bears a close resemblance. It underlined how the concept of journalistic adversarialism could be observed as an antecedent to the discourse of journalistic anger.

Ultimately, the study presents broader implications for emotion research in journalism, offering a compelling argument for the application of alternative methodologies. It underscores that emotions in journalism are not just about the content itself but also about how that content is delivered. By analysing the interplay of verbal, vocal, and visual cues, the study opens up new possibilities for structural and conceptual analysis of journalistic content for examining emotions.

In sum, the second stage of the study escalated the research into the examination of structure-content interplay while directly responding to RQ 1.3, RQ 1.4, and RQ 1.5 by a) presenting evidence of the effect of intrusive interruptions on journalistic anger in the debates, b) examining hosts' strategic use of interruptions revealing negative emotions in their visual, verbal, and vocal cues, and c) exploring the implications of interruptions on journalistic anger. The use of multimodal conversation analysis evidenced the emotional toll of sustained interruptions on journalists hosting the shows.

The MCA findings underscore the need to conceptualise interruptions as both strategic and affective acts, central to the emotionalisation of journalistic talk. It substantially demonstrated that examining the structural arrangement together with content could deliver more discernible insights into how emotions manifest in journalistic talk-in-interaction. For a more holistic view of the journalistic emotions in the debates, the study employed interviews, given their ability to offer insights beyond observation and allow for making sense of the social world from the perspective of the individuals central to the phenomenon under investigation.

5.2.3 The Third Stage of this study: Interviews examining journalists' views of the debates

Building on the evidence of journalistic anger in the second stage of the study, the third stage aimed to answer the second main research question, RQ 2, through two sub-questions, RQ 2.1 and RQ 2.2. With interviews from the hosts and journalistic insight into the production process, the main questions sought to examine two key aspects: a) the journalistic perspective on the presence of specific emotions and their interpretation in the debates and b) the underlying factors or influences responsible for and shaping the presence of emotions in the debates.

This stage was driven by the intent to extend the investigation of interruptions and negative emotions, such as anger, from those involved in hosting and producing the debates themselves. More specifically, it examined how hosts perceive the presence of emotions and anger, as well as the role of interruptions in triggering anger during debates. The transition from the second to the third stage was based on the informed conjecture that interruptions would emerge as the chief reasons for the hosts' anger in the debates, akin to the findings in Stage II. However, much earlier in the findings, interruptions were relegated to the peripheries, and several significant, albeit elusive, factors emerged as underlying reasons for journalistic anger to take centre stage.

First, the hosts' emotions in debates are largely inauthentic, and interruptions are used as a deliberate resource to heighten the sense of confrontation in the shows. Second, anger is the dominant emotion in the debates, characterised by aggression, conflict, and confrontation between the hosts and panellists. Third, competitive interruptions between hosts and panellists were seen as a deliberate strategy by the hosts to provoke emotional and angry reactions, intensifying conflict and tension. While there was some evidence of genuine anger during verbal confrontations, the hosts also considered interruptions as essential tools to escalate tension and cause conflict among the panellists. Additionally, although interruptions were not found to be a significant cause of anger, they were reported to be a source of emotionalisation in channelling the host's aggressive stances. Fourth, the hosts' expressions of anger in the shows were reported to be rooted in editorial expectations and influenced by political, cultural, and commercial factors. Fifth, the prominence of these features in the shows was dubbed a template that networks emulate.

In contrast to the overwhelming evidence of inauthentic anger and aggression in the front region, the investigation naturally delivered some compelling insights from the backstage debates about the presence of 'authentic' journalistic anger. While pressure from commercial and political forces was again identified as the root cause, the inability to meet their self-expectations, in line with the normative values of the profession, was equally underscored as an underlying source of myriad feelings that culminated in anger. In the same vein, however, a consistent effort to manage and suppress emotions—insinuating the presence of emotional labour, particularly due to the fear of reprimands and backlash—was emphatically captured in apprehensions and anecdotes. While several insinuations emerged from the accounts, the lack of journalistic emotional autonomy, due to overriding concerns, was frequently highlighted, indicating resignation to editorial, market, and political forces.

5.2.3.1 Third stage contributions

The third stage of the study makes several valuable overarching contributions to the growing discourse on emotions in journalism. At the outset, a significant observation emerges from the analysis of the literature on emotions research in journalism, which itself stands out as a notable contribution to the field. Based on a thorough examination of the literature, the study demonstrated how various important themes, such as 'journalism of attachment' (Bell, 1997), 'confessional culture' (Aldridge, 2001), 'commemorative journalism' (Kitch, 2001; 2003), media 'representation of death' (Hanusch, 2009; 2010), 'therapy news' (Mayes, 2000), and 'politics of pity' (Chouliaraki, 2004), which examined the emotionalised nature of media text and talk in the first decade of the 21st century, could be seen as the antecedents to a full-fledged emotions discourse in the following decade. They significantly shaped a fertile ground for initiating a concerted inquiry into emotions in journalism. It could be argued that attention to emotions in journalism and efforts to theorise it began close to the dawn of the 21st century, laying a concrete foundation for a more concerted inquiry to emerge in this area of research.

Additionally, given its epistemological approach, the third stage of the study made several significant contributions to the research gap and delivered an array of novel insights into the nature of journalistic emotions in debates, exceeding the researchers' own expectations. The first contribution is an examination of journalistic anger, a subject that has been studied in only two notable studies in recent years (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; Stupart, 2023).

In this study, journalists' performance emerged as one of the key findings, consistent with the 'performative' aspect of 'mediated anger' (Wahl-Jørgensen, 2018), which emphasises the difficulty of ascertaining the authenticity of emotions in mediated public discourse as an "impossible" task (p. 2074). While anger was established as a 'performance,' its underlying causes were also categorically identified and asserted, implying that although recognising anger as an authentic or inauthentic emotion is challenging, aggregated evidence from well-placed sources could enable the scope to address this difficult task of establishing its authenticity.

Thus, the second contribution lies in extending concerns around the 'inauthenticity' of anger by presenting evidence of performed anger. However, performance is not necessarily inauthentic or 'unjournalistic' unless explicitly demonstrated to be so. According to Atkinson (2011), it can be considered journalistic and thus authentic if it aligns with the ethical mode or template of journalistic performance, which "represents genuine journalism" (p. 112). Journalistic performance, particularly when embedded in the 'template of anger,' aligns with Atkinson's (2011) view of commercial and theatrical templates of performance journalism that act as "interlopers" (p. 112), undermining the integrity of journalistic values and rendering them inauthentic. At this stage, the analysis clearly revealed that journalistic 'performance' was deemed 'unjournalistic' because of commercial, political, and cultural influences.

Through firsthand accounts, these influences emerged as key enablers of emotionality in the debates, offering elusive insights that only an insider perspective can provide, while emphasising the 'unjournalistic' nature of the performance. Despite extensive critical commentary in the Indian media surrounding the debates, very little, if any, explores or underlines the political, commercial, and cultural forces driving journalistic anger during these debates. The distinction between 'journalistic' and 'unjournalistic' emotions is consistent with Wahl-Jørgensen's (2019, p. 12) conception of anger as a 'double-edged sword' and Stupart's (2024, p. 2348) notion of the 'normative goodness' of anger, or its absence. These ideas evoke mistrust in how journalists use emotions and highlight the potential dangers of misuse, which could undermine both journalistic values and social norms. This concern is particularly relevant when anger is mobilised by commercial and political interests, bringing the third contribution of this study into sharper focus. It highlighted the role of journalists' right-wing interests and ideological biases, which align with the commercial interests of the network, orchestrating angry and confrontational debates on screen.

This study makes an interesting and significant contribution to the literature by shedding light on the question of journalistic autonomy over emotions. The literature on emotions in journalism has yet to address the extent to which journalistic emotions are fully autonomous. For example, in addition to right-wing influences, the third stage of this study revealed the role of editorial nudges and pressure on journalists to present shows in a confrontational format, albeit rooted in the commercial imperatives of the network. In the broader literature on emotions research, deliberations related to commercial and political influences vis-à-vis the peculiarity concerning the emotional independence of journalistic practice are yet to gain momentum. While some references to journalistic apprehensions over the commercialisation of emotions were featured in a recent study (Pajnik, 2024), this study particularly problematises challenges concerning emotional autonomy. It emphasises the potential for political and commercial exploitation of journalistic emotions—an area that future research could investigate in greater detail.

While the main objectives at this stage were primarily limited to examining the front region of the debates confined to the studio, the factors underlying emotionality in the back region—spanning into the newsroom and the field—emerged naturally and were too compelling to be ignored. Thus, the fourth contribution comes from the newsroom, or the backstage of the debates, where the presence of authentic journalistic anger was identified. Commenting on the emotions in the shows, journalistic accounts naturally shifted focus to the back region, where news production forces play a crucial role in shaping content. In particular, although the debates featured much inauthentic anger, journalists highlighted the presence of ‘authentic’ anger in the newsroom—often accompanied by efforts to keep it invisible and suppressed—emphasising the emotional labour involved in managing this genuine anger.

The commercial and political forces were also underlined and insinuated as a source of authentic anger. The evidence of ‘authentic’ journalistic anger largely emerged from their experiences in the newsroom and their personal emotions due to “organisational and precarity stressors” (Löhmann & Hanusch, 2024) such as lack of satisfaction and displeasure concerning their professional autonomy, work pressure, the target-driven culture of the newsroom, and role expectations. Although an outlier, some evidence of helplessness, frustration and lack of satisfaction due to factors beyond the control of the journalists, such as the inability to stay true to their professional roles, was also outlined. This view is consistent with Löhmann and Hanusch (2024), who observed

that deteriorating emotional well-being and job satisfaction are resulting in "more and more journalists [are] leaving the profession altogether" (ibid. p. 4). It also underlines the peculiarity and centrality of journalistic emotions in relation to day-to-day journalistic activities and the undercurrents that shape the dynamics of journalistic professional roles, including their emotionality.

Moreover, it emphasised the importance of exploring journalistic emotions, especially anger in the back region, an effort that can be found to an extent in Stupart (2023). Additionally, the accounts of 'authentic' journalistic anger in the back region also underlined how it is constantly managed, suppressed, and avoided from being expressed in the newsroom due to fear of repercussions, flak, and reprimands from seniors, another significant emotion that was found to be present in the journalistic accounts. This study is among a few to highlight—if not fully engage with—the presence of journalistic fear within the realm of journalistic emotions, its potential implications for their work and conduct, and the underlying efforts to suppress emotions, suggesting their engagement with emotional labour. Although not in the context of emotional labour, an observation underlining the presence of 'fear' in Fijian female journalists has been made by Hanusch et al. (2024), where they reported how female journalists, due to fear of "reprisal and victimisation" underreported incidents of sexual harassment, and self-censored their reporting or left the profession (p.16).

While this stands out as one of the most significant contributions of this study, it empathically highlights the importance of the back region or the newsroom as a minefield of journalistic emotions that continues to remain under-researched despite significant efforts and calls for more research into it (Kotisova, 2019; Voltmer & Brants, 2011; Hopper & Huxford, 2015). Moreover, it reveals how journalistic anger is often present and, perhaps, more pronounced in the newsroom, where decisions regarding navigating emotions are made. Such insights into journalistic anger are rare and invaluable in expanding the scope of the investigation into emotions in the profession, as it problematises the discourse of emotionality beyond the objectivity-emotions conundrum.

Most studies to date have primarily focused on the journalistic inclination to express or suppress emotions, either to practice journalism of attachment or to maintain objectivity. This study, however, highlights the *futility* of journalistic will in the presence of commercial and political

forces that shape the production of the content. Beyond the objectivity-emotions dichotomy, it reveals that journalistic control over emotions may not be a choice for journalists when grappling with the forces of production and consumption. It makes a significant contribution to revealing that not just journalistic work but also their emotions are subject to political and commercial exploitation through commodification, over which they may have little to no control. It highlights the need to examine forces that could capitalise on emotions in journalism, such as right-wing politicians and corporations and their nexus with the media owners, to which some effort can be observed in emerging research in Indian academia (Bhat & Chadha, 2023; Garimella & Datta, 2024; Agarwal et al., 2024; Kumar et al., 2024)

5.2.4 Concluding the three stages

The three stages of the study were developed sequentially, serving as a foundation and providing evidence to support the rationale for the investigation in the next stage. The three stages in the study were developed sequentially, acting as a pedestal and offering evidence as a rationale for the investigation into the next. The application of CA in Stage I revealed the extent of competitive interruption and its 'frequent' use by the host, indicating the potential for confrontational discussions in the shows and opening up the scope to examine the debate transcripts and audio-visual content using multimodal conversation analysis (MCA). In Stage II, examining audio-visual content and debate transcripts provided insights into the presence of confrontation and emotions, systematically identifying anger in vocal, verbal, and visual modes, with interruptions as a causal factor. This stage also allowed for a deeper exploration of journalistic anger through interviews with journalists involved in the debates. Stage III introduced new evidence, highlighting commercial and political pressures, as well as editorial influences, as key sources of anger that are not immediately visible to outsiders. Together, the three stages offered a comprehensive, multimodal approach to analysing the debates, enhancing both the methodological and theoretical depth of the findings.

The three chapters derive their true strength and coherence from being viewed as interconnected components of a unified whole. When examined in isolation, however, their individual limitations and weaknesses become more pronounced, diminishing their overall impact. In Stage I, CA limits itself to insinuating the presence of confrontations and emotions in the debates based on the extent

of interruptions in the shows. Stage II, MCA, however, confirms the presence of anger in the confrontational segments due to interruptions, but does not reflect on the epistemic presence of anger in the shows. The third stage goes deeper to reveal that the anger identified in the earlier stages is deemed 'inauthentic' and an element of a template—rooted in commercial, political, and cultural forces—emulated by the networks. However, it does not address the role of influences such as interruptions in shaping the dynamics of the confrontation in the shows. Through the successive stages, the inquiry into and focus on journalistic anger become increasingly pronounced, offering rich and multipronged empirical insights into emotionality in the debates, encompassing both ontological and epistemological perspectives. Moreover, while Stages I and II confirm the critical analysis of the debates in the Indian media, the third stage sheds light on evidence that is not only absent from the media analysis but could only be provided by the hosts and journalists privy to the debates and their production process.

5.3 Limitations and Future Research

Despite some significant contributions, this study has several limitations. The first limitation concerns the research desiderata emanating from the small sample size. A larger sample size could have added more depth to the findings, both in the analysis of the debates and in the interviews with journalists. While a combination of interview participants, including journalists, hosts, and production staff, presented an enriching view into the nature of the debates, interviews solely with journalists performing in the host capacity could be considered in future studies.

On the methodological front, the use of conversation analysis in this study is limited due to its narrow application in terms of engaging with traditionally used thematic concerns, such as the examination of the use of interruptions to exert dominance, the dynamics of power relations in a multiparty talk, and journalistic adversarialism, among other established analytical lenses. However, its empirical integration for examining emotionality in journalistic text and talk adds a new dimension to the existing applications of CA. Besides, employing CA to examine debates, in particular, is a prolific albeit intensive and intricate exercise.

A key challenge encountered during the analysis is effectively counting interruptions and speech overlaps. While it may be easier to count interruptions and identify the length of overlaps between two members in an interview, counting interruptions and overlaps in multiparty discussions, such

as debates, which typically involve three to six individuals speaking simultaneously, is a somewhat complex process. This exercise required repeatedly watching the units to count the interruptions, identify who initiated them, measure the lengths of overlaps, record emotional reactions, transcribe units for analysis, and mark the audio-visual counters. This challenge underlines the rationale for a limited rather than a large sample size of the debates. CA, with nearly half a century of literature, offers a vast methodological framework, and future journalism research could benefit from the extensive use of CA to explore various forms of journalistic talk-in-interactions using a larger sample size.

Additionally, while multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) proved to be a highly prolific and valuable method in conjunction with Retzinger's anger codes for visual analysis of content, a relatively large-scale use of the two could not be realised due to a limited dataset. Journalistic emotions potentially shape journalistic content, yet fewer methodological tools are available to measure and document them. The use of multimodal conversation analysis in this study presents an exemplar to be emulated in future studies to achieve comprehensive integration between the two for analysing journalistic emotions in audio-visual content. Additionally, conversation and multimodal conversation analysis should be further integrated to examine the presence of anger and other emotions in journalistic content.

Some limitations to the study can be derived from findings in hindsight. While the study found strong evidence of backstage anger, it was unable to explore it further. Nevertheless, it opened avenues for examining backstage anger in conjunction with frontstage journalistic anger, which can be explored in future studies. In addition to anger, some evidence of fear among journalists can be inferred from this study. However, due to the primacy of anger in the responses, anger remained in the spotlight, with limited yet prominent evidence of 'fear' present in the backdrop. This, however, is a pressing and novel area of inquiry that may have started receiving attention in the context of the audience. In a recent study by Ihlebæk and Holter (2021), the connection between fear and anger was well captured. The authors found that "the strong fear expressed by informants constitutes an important element of the anger they feel towards the established news media" (ibid. p. 1).

On the theoretical front, one of the biggest challenges faced by the researcher was operationalising journalistic emotions and journalistic anger per se, given their broad spectrum of definitions that exist across various disciplines. Moreover, a confounding challenge was the lack of a clear distinction between emotions and feelings, as respondents often used aggression or frustration to refer to anger. While some efforts can be found in a few studies in this direction (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Kotisova, 2019), more concerted efforts are needed to formulate clear definitions of journalistic emotions and various feelings that characterise specific emotions in emotions research for the sake of clear operationalisations and measurements.

This study examined the presence of anger in the debates and offered some insight into newsroom anger. Overall, the responses concerning emotions in the newsroom depicted it as a minefield of journalistic emotions, with references to helplessness, frustration, and indifference among journalists arising from a range of professional factors. A deeper probe into the emotions in the newsroom could not be carried out due to the study's limited scope, which focused on the front stage of the debates. A detailed examination of the various emotions that arise from contentment and potential discontent with everyday roles and pressures should be conducted. Besides, while journalistic emotions have been examined to some extent in the last decade by the stalwarts, discourse on journalistic anger is still in its infancy and requires further theorisation. Future research could examine how it can be defined, the sources of journalistic anger, and how it emerges in both the front and back regions, as well as how journalists manage and navigate it. Moreover, a deeper theoretical analysis of how anger is managed, expressed and suppressed for reasons other than objectivity should be examined.

In addition to the presence of anger in the newsroom, the study also found evidence of journalistic engagement with emotional labour backstage for various reasons. Despite the lucrativeness of such information, the study was unable to conduct a deeper investigation into it, so as to avoid digressing from the primary focus. This presents the scope for examining emotional labour vis-à-vis journalistic anger backstage, as pressures and the fear of reprimands shape their emotions and the suppression of these emotions. Future studies could examine the questions about engagement with emotional labour in both front and back regions, as well as how it is performed.

While the study found strong evidence of commercial and political factors capitalising on journalistic emotions, it lacked a deeper and more diverse probe into how emotions in the debates may manifest in the relative absence of these two forces. Future research should therefore explore how commercial and political interests capitalise on journalistic emotions and how journalists navigate the complexities arising from this dual pressure. Of particular interest is the influence of these factors on journalists' emotional autonomy, which emerged as a critical insight in this study. Yet, little is known about how such a lack of autonomy impacts journalists' emotions and work practices. Additionally, research should investigate the limits of choices journalists face when confronted with options between submission and resignation to the forces of production and consumption. This study revealed that when faced with such dilemmas, some individuals were laid off, while others chose to resign. These concerns emphasise the need for emotions research to expand its scope beyond the romanticised view of emotionality, moving towards a critical scrutiny of journalists' emotionality, with particular focus on specific emotions such as anger in the media space.

Two key limitations pertaining to the issue of generalisability require attention. The first limitation concerns the comparability of journalistic experiences in the Global North and Global South. To address the geographical research gap, this study presents evidence of emotionality in journalism from the Global South. This contribution is particularly important as it emphatically addresses topical and conceptual gaps concerning journalistic anger, which is in its infancy even in Western scholarship. However, a significant limitation lies in the generalisation of the findings and the extent to which these can be extrapolated to journalistic experiences in the Global North. Such a limitation highlights a critical gap that can be addressed through comparative studies on emotions, particularly anger, drawing on journalistic experiences in both the Global North and Global South.

Second, many of the findings in this study are rooted in the zeitgeist and socio-political circumstances in India. The press in India is undergoing a challenging period, marked by declining press freedom and ongoing concerns about the safety and well-being of journalists. While evidence of journalistic anger is indeed pronounced in this study, the question remains whether similar experiences exist in countries with better socio-political conditions and the state of journalism.

More comparative studies from countries with varying press freedom records, both in the Global North and Global South, could provide a more holistic view of the subject.

Journalists, particularly in the Global South, have increasingly come under threat from political forces, with plummeting press freedom resulting in a state of fear, anxiety, and distress. Emotions research needs to go beyond merely examining journalists' willingness, or lack thereof, to employ emotions in journalistic work, to explore the precarious work conditions and the underlying emotions, such as fear and anger, that have come to govern journalistic work in the 21st century. For example, the impact of fear of reprimands, political threats, and termination of employment on the professional, personal, and emotional well-being of journalists deserves attention, in addition to identifying the sources of fear and how they influence journalistic content. Some evidence of these challenges was found in this study, highlighting a previously overlooked area of inquiry that warrants further investigation.

Furthermore, additional research from the Global South, with a focus on the local conditions of the profession and practice, is necessary to supplement the current understanding of emotions in journalism, which is predominantly informed by Western research. For example, some forces, such as political coercion and funding for the media houses, are more pronounced and present in non-Western democracies characterised by oligopolistic media ownership practices. Socio-political concerns and conditions within which journalists function should also be considered seriously in future studies to develop a more varied understanding of emotionality in the profession.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Conversation Analysis (CA)

Transcription notations

Category	Notations
Vocal pitch tune	Transcription codes
Upward vocal register shift	↑↑
Downward vocal register shift	↓↓
Increased speech tempo	< .. >
Decreased speech tempo	>...<
Very high stress	<u>CAPITALS</u>
High stress	<u>underlining</u>
Low stress	CAPITALS □
Interruptions	[
Overlapping speech	[]
Researchers' comments about people's gestures, gazes, and so on	((text))
part of the utterance omitted overlaps with part of another speaker's speech	*...*
Gaps in speech	+ ++ (1 sec, 3 sec)
Pause above 4 secs.	(4sec)
Inaudible	° (inaud.) °

Note: Adapted from Jefferson (2004).

Illustration of types of interruptions and speech overlaps

Type of interruptions and overlaps	Illustration from the transcripts
<i>Competitive Interruption</i>	Host: [You are [saying*...* not tolerance +so+see++ see+] IR2: [NEHA JI++ NEHA JI + all *...* [in Kerela *...*[↑↑the question is, whenever BJP forms the government<...>↑↑] IR3: [° (inaud.) °] [Ds8]
<i>Cooperative Interruptions</i>	CIR1 20:27 When any investigating agency does not give proper evidence then they are released, we have seen so many such cases+ now those who have been released what is their 20:38[political alignment+ and those+ and those++ see ++let me complete+ according to me]20:54+++I am saying Host: 20:40 your point is ab+ab+absolutely correct but the point is++ that political parties are declaring it [vendetta+++do you think this is appropriate [Ds9]
<i>Competitive Overlap</i>	IR1: 15:02 <u>No one has objected to anyones right to food and right to choices</u>, 15:07[but I compliment the South Delhi *...* as *...* as *...* as *...*]15:14 Host: [15:07] (↑↑)<u>offcourse you have if you are++if you telling meatshops to shut down firstly you are shutting down peoples livelihoods..</u> (↑↑)<u>you are shutting down peoples livelihoods and]</u> 15:14 <u>you are also denying people's right to eat meat</u> 15:19 [if they ((<i>incomplete sentence, turn abolished</i>)) IR1: (↑↑)NO ONE IS DENYING] 15:21 for a certain period of time [Ds4]
<i>Cooperative Overlap</i>	IR3: 23:10 ...that is the reason why unification is happening that is why they are 23:15[trying to buy time in elections they are only trying to create tension in Delhi] 23:17 Host: but you made a very important point, Abhishek Dutt] you+ you're saying [Ds4]

Appendix B: Intersections between interruptions and emotions

Transcriptions of the Units for each debate show

Debate Show 1 The Newshour Debate: The Rs 5 joke {24:15 to 25:00}

Host: Sanjay Sanjay [you know what

IR1: Listen, I am sorry Arnab] I would let you know that it is a pathetic factor if you are going to make a trivial discussion on poverty[if you are going to ignore the reality if somebody of the panelist*...*I think this is ridiculous((disappointment)) this is positively ridiculous]

Host: You know something I'll tell you >...< I'll.. I'll tell you something one sec one sec I'll..

↑↑((anger))YOU LISTEN TO ME SANJAY JHA YOU LISTEN TO ME SANJAY JHA first of all first of all first of all Sanjay Jha Sanjay Jha don't teach me [what is positive and what is negative] one second you know don't [don't comment *...* ↑↑ one second allow me, you] must sometimes listen to other people Sanjay. ↑↑PLEASE! I HAVE LISTENED TO YOU++ and↑↑ don't comment+ on the trivial level of discussion don't do that and I'll tell you why because I can discuss every every single statistic of the Planning Commission better than you

IR2: YOU TRIVIALIZE+ [YOU TRIVIALIZE THE POOR+ YOU MOCK THE POOR]
+ YOU TAUNT THE POOR

IR3: ° (inaud.) °

IR4: You have *...*

IR2: You are belittling the poor

IR1: No no one second how can you not *...* country

Ok ok alright"

Debate Show 2 The Big Fight | Appropriating Mahatma Gandhi: Congress vs Sangh? {39:23 to 40:25}

IR1: +he was going through an absolute stream of migrants coming historically into Assam+ lands+ he wrote to Nehru [it was the grouping aspects just please+++ it was 1946 capital mission plan[↑↑ just hold on! Ask him to shut his mouth+ to *...*] <...>PARTITION *...* PAKISTAN WAS DONE ridiculous+ oh my god! East Pakistan((seemingly irritated)) was created during that time there was streams of migrants before even partition happened for↑↑ GOD [SAKE!+ they were called it they were called it grow more muslim plan]+ [Nidhi I don't want deal with and debate with uneducated soul on this on this panel please Nidhi you need to understand NRC is an important issue+ Nidhi+ NRC is an important issue Tehseen NO let me finish my point Nidhi otherwise there's no point if I stand on this debate ((anger))I I humbly] suggest let me finish my

point on NRC [NRC is a discussion which is happening today it is very relevant] no it is let me finish my point because this acquisition was made [now NRC+ please SHUT UP!] ((Offended))

IR2: what year was this?+ what year what year] just for my knowledge Correct!++ You know Bangladesh is not created [Bangladesh is not created there there+ there whatsapp history((chuckled)) this is there whatsapp history that's what I am saying+ was Bangladesh created?] ↑↑[Partition happened so people could transform++ partition happened so people could transform]*...* NRC *...*

Host: <let him finish *arre(oh!)* *arre(oh!)* let let let him finish let him finish let but↑↑ Tehseen let
him finish there is Rajat one second Tehseen Tehseen one second >[I think Rajat *...* question
 no one one one Rajat I think I think no no I think think the point is the messaging+ the
 messaging from Amit Shah's one second one second yes I just have a I have a follow up question
 on same thing so you can answer both ya alright go ahead] ya

IR2: he is angry because Bangladesh is not created((sarcastic))

**Debate Show 3 Congress Ministers Set Anti-Hindu Agenda|Bharat Jodo Yatra
Turning Into Bharat Todo? {26:14 to 27:18}**

IR1: there are many criminals in the country who keep winning the election not one but many electors so should that that be [justified+ if+++ [Navika if if you if you if you can you ask him++ I think I think this fellow+[Navika Navika ↑↑ I am I am withdrawing+ if he can't no no if he keep commenting on that+ this fellow+ no no *...* Navika I am *...* ↑↑on your shows if this fellow speaks like this+ *...* no no I am not calling each other+ I did not no no *...* first ask him to shut up+ ASK HIM TO SHUT UP AND BEHAVE((Offended))+ *...* will you ensure that he will not speak?((Anger))

IR2: *...* satya hindi is+++ important]((sarcastic))++I am *...*↑↑ satya hindi is more credible than elections are *...*(5s) [but I am saying writing *...* in satya hindi is more credible than elections++ I am only saying writing *...* satya hindi is more better] shut up((laugh)) [tolerance sir tolerance *...* tolerance *...* mute it]+ mute it

Host: *...* ok le[le lets not let not person](5s) no no a a a [I have said] o ok <...> ↑↑ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT SHEHZAD ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT++ OK OK ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT AND THEN YOU CAN RESPOND WELL LET'S [NOT CALL EACH OTHER NAMES ASHUTOSH+ ASHUTOSH YOU MAKE YOUR POINT] a a nobody will interrupt you you make your point+++ ya ya I am giving you the floor you make your point Ashutosh ji((seemingly irritated))++ yes ok aa please mute the studio Ashutosh Ashutosh is speaking after he is spoken there will be a right to reply by everybody else "

Debate Show 4 Right To (M)Eat: Let People Choose What They Eat | No Spin
{24:25 to 25:27}

IR1: the lady who spoke before me she spoke as if+ she was spokesperson for+ a political party[or she was the representative of the+ of the meet((distressed)) *...* aspiration on the BJP or the good governance in the capital or the good governance in the country+ you people are turning this debate incidentally into communal overtone+ I would have *...* Congress we+ we+++ the way you were speaking Nandita+ I was I was+ shocked *...*++ you are putting political motives+ I am BJP guy+ I don't+*...*they will keep saying the truth and we keep on+ listening to them]((sarcastic))

Host: no she is a citizen please please+ please Mr Jolly [every citizen who criticises the government is not a spokesperson of a political party we have a lot of concerned citizens] also OK ONE SECOND++ [ONE SECOND+++ OKAY OKAY ONE SECOND I AM GOING TO SHUT DOWN BECAUSE I JUST HAVE A COUPLE OF MINUTES (5s) ya++ ya let's not get let's not do that let's not *...* political motive to citizens]++you know+++ that's fine your are BJP [and Abhishek is Congress but she's not right so let her have her view+ but Shadan Farasat just to get you on this on the] on the bigger sort of the bigger picture that's emerging from all of this guys come on can we *..* mics down++ guys have to do this please directors listen((requesting))

IR2:I am a resident I am a voter Mr Jolly+ so please PLEASE*...*[I was born in this city and I am*...*you party+ prime minister of this country she's in *...* foreign businesses here and you are telling me that you are]*...* the law by making personal attacks on people in this manner+ because you have nothing to defend+ I was born in this *...*+ I am resident of this city+++ no I am so sorry

IR3: Mr Jolly

IR4: *...*IR3: Nidhi can I please come in++ Nidhi

IR5: ° (inaud.) °

Debate Show 5 Republic TV Exposes Cong's '2 Crore Signature' Fraud {20:30 to 22:14}

IR1: Arnab++ Arnab I want to ask one question (4s) Arnab I have a question+ Arnab+ Arnab who are you to ask++ no no you are+ I am saying Nalin Kohli+ Nalin Kohli no problem Nalin+ Nalin Kohli Nalin Kohli no issue Nalin Kohli+ I am asking Mr. Kohli that who is the channel or Arnab or you to question the signatures+ he gave it to the honourable President+ did the honourable [President asked him to bring the saboot of what you did+ the President did not ask for it *...* have you seen any comment from the honourable President to ask for saboot he did not ask for it]+ then who are YOU to ask for it+ who are you to ask for it(sarcastic)+ that's my question [I said who are you to ask for it+ does the honourable President asked for it then Rahul Gandhi would have responded+ simple]

Host: (laughs)Ok no no no you don't ask questions Ravi you are not the anchor+ Ravi listen you are answering you are not asking question haha ↑↑ (chuckle)WHY NOT+ WHY NOT+++ you

made the public claim *...* you MADE THE CLAIM OBVIOUSLY WE'LL QUESTION YOU ON YOUR CLAIM > THAT'S NOT FAIR<

IR2: the only person who can ask questions is a *...* is [Mr. Rahul Gandhi+ so he has all the right to ask questions with no answers everybody else cannot ask questions](sarcastic)

IR1: No no I am I am very open+ I am very open my question is very simple are you reply me [who should ask the questions of validity it's the President Honourable President who are you to ask for it who are you to ask for it sir]+ (chuckles)

Host: No no one sec one sec okay okay Shantanu is coming in Rajat coming in let's get everybody in+ lets get everybody in night twenty four Nalin it's a good opening round we need to get everybody in one second Ravi now Ravi now transform back Ravi transform to your original avatar of a panelist+ give up your pretentious of being an anchor as long as I am sitting on this chair I'll make sure you'll never be an anchor+ so you continue to be a panelist now my question is this

IR2: I would not take irrespective of how attractive they were financially because then I have commitment to my family Mr. Mr. Ravi ji am I not a *...* one minute one minute *...* (chuckles) so Mr. Goswami you want to hide behind this window you wish to hide behind this window this screen you can't ask questions

Debate Show 6 SC begins hearing on validity of triple talaq

IR1: [and the solution to many things cannot be found in such a way if many things are written keep quiet KEEP QUIET ↑↑++ shut up++ SHUT UP((offended))+ shut up you quiet you keep quiet >...<+ one last time I am asking you to shut up+ I am asking you to shut up keep your mouth shut+ keep your mouth shut++ you listen+ you listen to me *...* legislature*...*]

IR2: Rohit brother I will give one answer

Host: No one second Maulana Sahab see+ she is talking rubbish she does not have brain+ using these type of words is not right+ [Please using this type of word you are lowering your dignity please keep this thing in mind+ you are Maulana lacs of people follow you, respects you+ [you should at least mind your language]+ PLEASE + ↑↑[you are increasing your respect by what you are doing((sarcastic)) [PLEASE Sajid Rashid ji PLEASE+ Sajid Rashid ji Please don't sit and distribute certificates here+ Sajid Rashid ji you will not distribute certificate here of who is Muslim and who is not+ please+ Don't talk like Maula Barkati ↑↑here+ if you want to like that+ Maulana Barkati type talk then it's a BYE from my side((anger))]+ if you can keep your point of view with respect like Sufiya Nizami then keep it like that+ Nurman sahab is also sitting here and keeping his words with respect in front of everyone if you can talk like him then please talk otherwise it's a bye from my side and I am not interested in knowing about your thing then[+ PLEASE+ No PLEASE+ I asked you clearly+ I asked you CLEARLY why only you got hurt with the study question and why not to Abdul Rehman Sahab and Sufiya Nizamin Sahab why did it hurt only ↑↑YOU WHY DID ONLY HURT YOU+ WHY+ WHY DID IT ONLY HURT YOU and why not to the other 2 Maulana who are sitting with you+ WHY IT DID NOT HURT THEM]

IR3: [Many good things are written this means many wrong things are also written in it+ Naik Hasan, is there many wrong things also written in it++ ↑↑you talk so rubbish on the channel+[is wrong things also written in Quran+ you are saying good things are written+ you are talking rubbish+ you are saying Quran is not right+ from which community do you come from+ who gave you the right to speak wrong things about Quran+++ Don't you feel ashamed talking like this on the channel]+++ you are not Muslim if you are talking like this+ Muslim does not *...*+*...* ROHIT JI ROHIT JI I WILL DEFINITELY SAY THIS I WILL DEFINITELY SAY THIS *...* NO not at all+ I WILL NOT KEEP QUIET ON THIS TOPIC+ I will not at all keep quiet Rohit JI IF SOMEONE WILL SAY QURAN IS WRONG THEN I WILL BLUNTLY GIVE THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION+ the person is UNEDUCATED and ILLITERATE who say Quran is wrong+ is there wrong things also in Quran *...* right now Dr. Shabnam was saying that how is our education *...* how are you controlling I can't understand++ no question is *...* our education is in this way++ Doctor Shabnam is sitting is she talking like a DOCTOR]

IR4: ° (inaud.) °

IR5: ° (inaud.) °

IR6: ° (inaud.) °

Debate Show 7. Halla Bol: Protest Against Shah Rukh Khan's 'Dilwale' {26:09 to 27:05}

IR1: As they say in English+ if you cannot stand the heat+ do not stand in the kitchen+ Shahrukh Khan [first said+ something else in Rajiv Jha's show and you have+ and you+ and you have shown only 20 seconds of the show as per your convenience and you did not show the main part of it to the audience+ you don't show your audience half-truth+ <you don't show your audience half-truth+ do not mislead your audience+ YOU HAVE TO LISTEN((distressed)) because you do not have the patience to listen+ you do not have patience to listen+ do not become spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan Anajana ji ↑↑ + do not become spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan]+ YOU ASK QUESTION HAVE PATIENCE TO LISTEN TO THE ANSWERS+ [do not become Shahrukh Khan's+ SPOKESPERSON> <...>+ the words which was used by Shahrukh Khan on twitter is very objectionable]+

Host: [Sanju Verma ji+ one second one second one second you have crammed up the entire narrative very well ONE SECOND+ Sanju Verma ji one second you have crammed up the entire narrative very well but ↑↑WE ARE NOT SITTING HERE TO LISTEN TO YOUR SPEECH((seemingly irritated)) and also that I am the spokesperson of Shahrukh Khan]+ When questions are so sharp, people's tongues get tied((sarcastic))+ one second+ no+ stop shouting+ stop shouting and stop putting allegation on others++ Sardana ji+ Pradeep Sardana ji+++[SANJU VERMA(offended)++ I am a spokesperson of Democracy++ I am a spokesperson of Democracy+<...> you will not understand these types of talk Sanju Verma ji+ I am a spokesperson of Democracy and↑↑ such things are beyond your understanding keep shouting(angry)]++

Debate Show 8 Big Debate: Did Anupam Kher dominate other speakers at the Telegraph National Debate 2016

{14:56-15:22}

IR1: <Political discussions have become increasingly aggressive such incessant aggressive statements> [coming in *...*political statements +++*... *a specific form of ideology ((continues speaking))... let me finish *...*++ I plea is () the violence occurring in] >day to day life<

Host: [You are [saying*...* not tolerance +so+see++ see+]

IR2: [NEHA JI++ NEHA JI + all *...* [in Kerela *...*[↑↑the question is, whenever BJP forms the government<...>↑↑]

IR3: [° (inaud.) °]

Host: [↑↑ok fine++whose shirt is more stained than ()↑↑ lets take this discussion further++ ONE MINUTE++↑↑WAIT+++ speaking aloud will not prove the point((sarcastic))+++sir]"

Debate Show 9 भ्रष्टाचार पर वार या बदला ले रही सरकार? | Takkar {33:42 to 35:01}

IR1: people who walks out of jail on bail who are involved in murder case are becoming CM++ MAKES THEM CHIEF MINISTER((frustrated))+ THEY DON'T TAKE ANY ACTION ON THIS+ [should I make you count the names++ a a Yogi Adityanath++ 1999+ ATTEMPT TO MURDER CASE+ ON BAIL SINCE ↑↑ 2007]+ Malvika Avinash ji+ WHAT ACTION HAVE THEY TAKEN++[NO NO CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM+< you should put everyone inside+ check my bank account+ if there is difference of 100 rupees put *...* but Maya Kordnani+ Maya Kordnani*...*+ this prosecution+ is in HIGH COURT+ high court high court MAYA KORDNANI GOT IT FROM HIGH COURT HIGH COURT+ NOT FROM SUPREME COURT government's work is to go to the appeal but why they don't+ why they don't go+ this+ this Bhartiya Janta Party+ this is selective+ selective prosecution>]((angry))+++ they have taken six years((sarcastic))++ in seventy years Atal Vihari Bajpaaye, Morarji Desai+ all have came

Host: No what you are referring to what you are referring to++[which murder charge is on Yogi Adityanath+ no no no+ okay let Malvika Avinash come in(4s) no then like this then like this we then like this no no no one second one second one second Malvika Avinash++ ok Malvika Malvika come in]++ ok you have asked for ten seconds you got thirty seconds++[no no no it is not at all the matter of 100 rupees sir one second I I I I I+ ↑↑ <MAYA KORDNANI GOT BAI MAYA KORDNANI GOT CLEAN CHIT UHH THEN LIKE THIS AMIT SHAH SHOULD BE PUT IN BARS+ THEN LIKE THIS AMIT SHAH SHOULD BE PUT IN BARS FOR KILLING TERRORIST KILLING((ANGRY)) TERRORIST IS A WORK OF RESPECT>+ CRIMINAL CASE+ HOW CAN BE IT A CRIMINAL case one second *...* sir sir+] sir you are misusing your time now+ Nishant you are misusing your time now you have asked for ten seconds [and have taken fift secs+ no no not done no no no not done not done you have taken SEVENTY YEARS then((sarcastic))+ that is the point+ no issues you have seventy years okay sev seventy years]+ Malvika

IR2: No let him complete [he taking the topic somewhere else+ this tactics will not work sir today we are talking on corruption so lets stay on this+ right++ you can't debate on the whole justice system nor you can++ is this the supreme court or the criminal justice]p*...*++ we are talking about economic offenses sir just stick to that](14s) Nishant ji let me speak you have spoken right+ now let me speak

Debate Show 10. Rashtra Ki Baat : धर्म संसद में Nathuram Godse की पूजा, Mahatma Gandhi को गाली क्यों? Manak Gupta {20:22 to 21:35}

Host: One by one+ one second

IR1: Manak Gupta ji ask Shivam Tyagi to say down with Nathuram Godse++[ask Shivam Tyagi to say down with Nathuram Godse+ ↑↑ down with Nathuram Godse just say it once just say it once+ he is the one to kill Mahatma Gandhi](5s)[NATHURAM GODSE IS DOWN WITH OR NOT SHIVAM TYAGI JUST TELL this((angry))++ I am asking you Nathuram Godse is down with or not++ ↑↑ I am asking again Nathuram Godse is down with or not](10s)[he is trying to take Veer Savarkar and Nathuram Godse under one category]

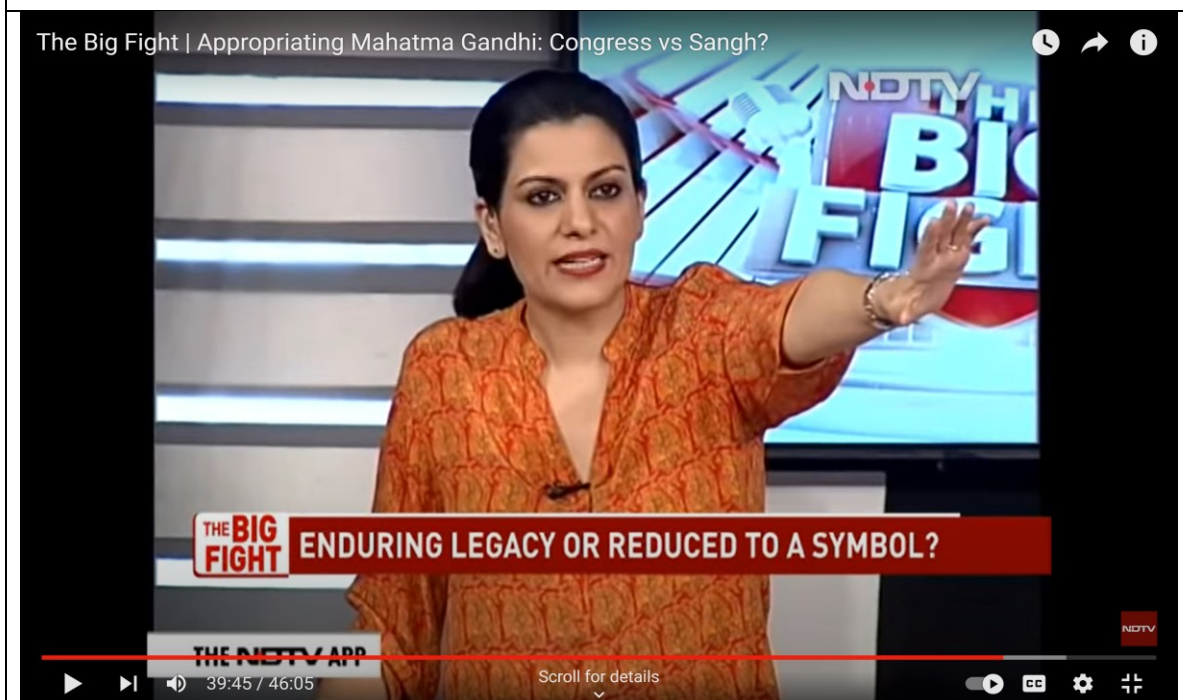
IR2: No no this is unacceptable he is speaking in between I should get the opportunity keep my point of view+++ [it is a remarkable thing+ it is a remarkable thing+++ I am saying all the people who say against the country is down with people who say against the unity and integrity is down with]+ people who abuses martyrs in front of ONE LAC PEOPLE is down with and if you respect the martyrs of [this country so much then you also have to respect Veer Savarkar ji too]++ *...*++++ [↑↑ I said this+ I said this all the people who say against the country is down with+ ask him+ a a ask him to say who abused Veer Savarkar is down with ask him to speak ask him ask him to lodge FIR AGAINST RAHUL GANDHI JI why is he not doing that+ sir+ sir both the person has work for the independence of the country+ how can you believe Veer Savarkar ji is inferior tell me]

Host: [ONE SECOND ONE SECOND+ JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND JEETU PATWARI ONE SECOND KEEP THE SCREEN LIKE THIS ONLY]+ keep both on the screen Jeetu Patwari one second one second Jeetu Patwari has challenged [you and has asked you to say DOWN WITH NATHURAM GODSE and the topic is over+ say it by taking the name say it down with Nathuram Godse+ say down with Nathuram Godse and the work is over+++ you are comparing father of the nation and Veer Savarkar we are talking about father of the nation and Nathuram Godse] "

Visual, Vocal and Verbal cues of anger in the units as revealed by the host

Debate Show 1			
			
Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
Host:...<u>YOU LISTEN TO ME</u> <u>SANJAY JHA YOU LISTEN</u> <u>TO ME SANJAY JHA...</u> <i>Interpretation:</i> challenging, forced turn termination, repetitive and interrogative questioning and threatening verbal expressions	Upward vocal register shift ↑↑ <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	vertical lines, narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, closed or tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and clenched or waving hand gestures	Confronting and rejecting the panellist's claim

Debate show 2



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
Host: <let him finish <u>arre(oh!) arre(oh!) let let</u> <u>let him finish let him finish</u> <u>let</u>> <i>Interpretation:</i> hostile interruption seeking turn termination, repeated requests to avoid confrontation and overlaps.	Increased speech tempo <u>high stress</u>	closed or tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and waving hand gesture	Mediating between the two panellists in an attempt to resolve the overlaps.

Debate show 3



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
... POINT++ OK OK ALLOW HIM TO COMPLETE HIS POINT AND THEN YOU CAN RESPOND WELL LET'S [NOT CALL EACH OTHER NAMES ... <i>Interpretation:</i> Disciplining, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, repeated requests to avoid confrontation and overlaps	Low stress (CAPITALS) <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	waving hand gesture	Mediating between the two panellists in an attempt to resolve the overlaps

Debate show 4



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
please Mr Jolly [every citizen who criticises the government is not a spokesperson of a political party we have a lot of concerned citizens] also OK ONE SECOND++ [ONE SECOND+++ OKAY OKAY ONE SECOND <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, blame to place the responsibility of fault, repeated requests to avoid confrontation and overlaps.	<u>high stress</u> <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	tense eyelids, hard fixed look, closed or tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, clenched or waving hand gesture.	Confronting and rejecting the panellist's claim. Reprimanding the panelist.

Debate show 5

Republic TV Exposes Cong's '2 Crore Signature' Fraud | The Debate With Arnab Goswami

R. THE DEBATE **#CongShowSaboot**

WHAT'S THE AUTHENTICITY OF SIGNATURES?

'CONG LIED' **ARNAB GOSWAMI** **'SENTIMENT TRUE'**

R. 1074 **#CongShowSaboot** **CONNECT WITH ARNAB @republic**

Tweets as of 09:23 PM

21:19 / 50:32 Scroll for details

Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
...why not+++ you made the public claim *...* you made the claim <u>OBVIOUSLY</u> <u>WE'LL QUESTION YOU ON YOUR CLAIM</u> that's not fair... <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, blame to place the responsibility of fault	Upward vocal register shift (↑↑) <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	hard fixed look, direct glare, and finger pointing	Dismissing and rejecting the panelists view.

Debate show 6



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
<u>↑↑YOU WHY DID ONLY HURT YOU+ WHY+ WHY DID IT ONLY HURT YOU...</u> <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, blame to place the responsibility of fault	Upward vocal register shift (↑↑) <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and pointing finger	Challenging the panelist in an attempt to corner him for his rude conduct.

Debate show 7



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
<u>ONE SECOND</u>+ Sanju Verma ji one second you have crammed up the entire narrative very well but <u>↑↑WE ARE NOT SITTING HERE TO LISTEN TO YOUR SPEECH</u>((seemingly irritated)) <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, blame to place the responsibility of fault, threatening verbal expressions	Upward vocal register shift (↑↑) <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	hard fixed look, tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and finger pointing	Reprimanding the panelist and dismissing her accusations against the host

Debate show 8

Big Debate: Did Anupam Kher dominate other speakers at the Telegraph National Debate 2016



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
[ok fine++whose shirt more stained than ()↑↑ lets take this discussion further++ <u>ONE MINUTE</u>++↑↑wait+++ <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination, repeated requests to avoid confrontation and overlaps	Upward vocal register shift (↑↑) <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and finger pointing hand gesture	Requesting the panelists in an attempt to resolve the overlaps

Debate show 9



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
↑↑<u>SHOULD BE PUT IN BARS FOR KILLING TERRORIST KILLING((ANGRY)) TERRORIST IS A WORK OF RESPECT>+ CRIMINAL CASE+ HOW CAN BE IT A CRIMINAL</u> <i>Interpretation:</i> criticism marked by negative evaluation of the speaker, challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination.	Upward vocal register shift ↑↑ <u>VERY HIGH STRESS</u>	narrowed, tense eyelids, hard fixed look, tense open mouth, direct glare, leaning forward, and waving hand gesture	Charging at the panelist to dismiss his views

Debate show 10



Verbal	Vocal pitch tune style	Visual cues	Interpretation
<[one second one second+ <u>Jeetu Patwari one second</u> <u>Jeetu Patwari one second</u>> <i>Interpretation:</i> challenging, hostile interruption seeking turn termination. repeated requests to avoid confrontation and overlaps	Increased tempo (<◇>) <u>high stress</u>	Waving hand gesture	Requesting in an attempt to resolve the overlaps

Appendix C. Interviews

Interview Questions

1. Could you tell me a bit about your background and experience in the journalism industry?

Warm-up

About the TV debates: Emotions and Anger

2. For how long and in what capacity, if at all, are you familiar with TV debates?

3. What's your experience/view of TV debates on Indian news channels?

4. In what ways have the debates evolved or changed since you have been working for them or watching them?

5. Since you mentioned emotions, what's your view of the emotions in TV debates?

6. What is your view of interruptions and overlaps in debates?

7. Do you see any specific emotions evident in the debates?

8. Why such an emotion [anger (or any other)] is so evident in the debates?

9. What do you think of hosts emotions and/or display of anger in debates?

10. Do you think emotions and anger we see are only formed in these debates/on camera or it has its origin in the back stage/off camera too.