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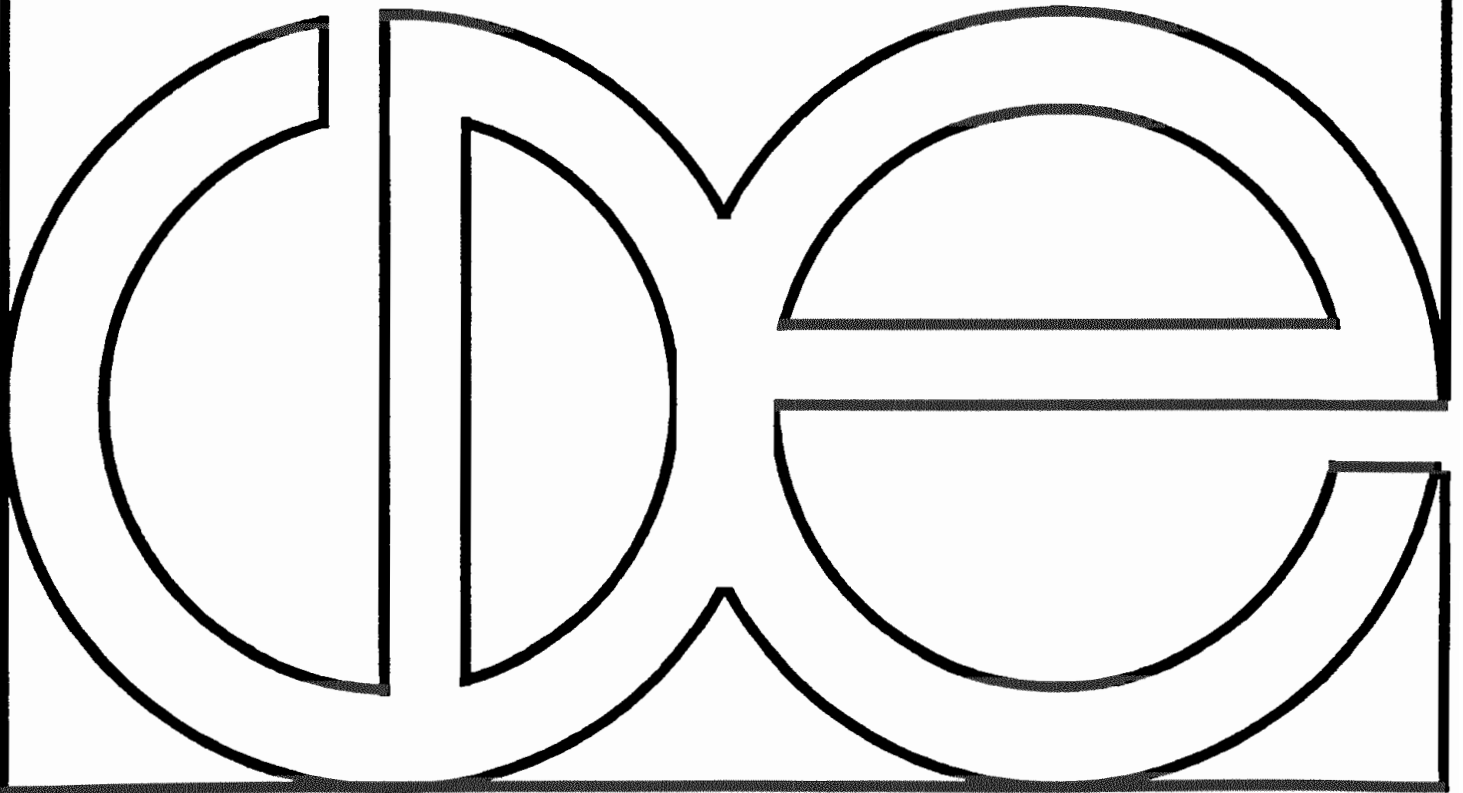
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TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY INTERVIEW**

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I. Introduction

Requests to participate in survey interviews have notoriously high rates of refusal. Given the practical concern this presents, it is surprising how little attention there is to the interactional dynamics of the initial, brief encounter that potentially results in an interview but so often does not. Our study, part of a broader inquiry into interaction in the survey interview,¹ is an effort to understand these dynamics, and has two main purposes. First, we have an interest in interactional structure and are intrigued with the orderliness exhibited in the opening portions of the telephone survey interview. Despite the brevity of particularly those encounters where no interview eventuates, they are dense with social action and organization. We describe and analyze this organization according to conversational sequences that accomplish the activities of requesting, accepting, declining, identifying self and other, introducing closure, terminating the encounter, and others. In short, we wish to explicate facets of the interactional substrate (Maynard and Marlaire, 1992:) that makes interviewing possible in the first place. By interactional substrate, we refer to the organized concerted practical actions of interviewer and respondent that allow them to arrive at "accountable," or objective, verifiable, valid, and properly-achieved answers to survey questions. Our second purpose relates to the practical concerns of the survey enterprise. As we analyze actual, participant-produced orderliness in survey phone call openings, we will better comprehend the materials of which such phenomena as refusals consist. This is bound to be informative for survey design, interviewer training, and the like (Schaeffer,

¹Our studies are also related to previous interaction-based research on the survey interview. See Suchman and Jordan (1990) and Houtkoop-Steenstra (1992, forthcoming).

1991).

Our data consist of declinations of an Interviewer's request to participate in a telephone survey. As discussed in section IV below, these declinations occur in particular places, either "earlier" or "later" in the unfolding interaction. In section V, we describe the placement of earlier declinations, as they reveal how participants originate and mutually construct the request-response sequence of action as an elementary interactive device that permits progression to commencement of the interview or (in our data) halting that progression.

Declinations can either be "minimalist," in that there is only a formulaic display of its basis. Or they can be "expressive," in that before the declination, there is a question or series of questions to the Interviewer that display some concrete concern about the interview. These matters are discussed in Section VI.

After considering the early or late placement of declinations, and minimalist and expressive styles, in section VII we examine how such declinations simultaneously operate to implicate closing of the encounter. According to the declining/closing device used, participants build different "trajectories of termination." We identify three such trajectories: those that are disabling and strongly implicate termination, those that are structured to produce "call backs," and those that occasion Interviewers' "appeals" or efforts to convert resistance to cooperation.

II. Data and Methods

The data in this report are taperecordings and transcripts of

conversations between Interviewers and Recipients of the Interviewers' calls.² The tapes were collected at the Letters and Science Survey Center (LSSC) at the University of Wisconsin. In this paper, we examine primarily those calls that result in no interview "for the present." Some declinations are only temporary; Recipients may permit a later interview. Because we had no a priori method of determining whether any given declination was a firm refusal or a temporary avoidance, and because we were interested in how declinations are interactively organized regardless of participants' intentions, we made a decision to analyze all declinations in our LSSC data. Our corpus of such declinations is 58, and the preliminary analyses in this paper are based on scrutiny of all 58 cases.

Our analytic orientation derives from the sociological subfields of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (cf. Maynard and Clayman, 1991). Briefly, our strategy is to identify patterns of interaction according to participants' own displayed meanings, categories, and understandings. Whether some phenomenon is a "request," "declination," "answer," etc. is not resolved by reference to an independent body of theory, or a list of necessary features, but by examining how the participants exhibit the phenomenon's features in their actual, ongoing behavior and conduct. For further discussion, see Atkinson and Heritage (1984), Maynard (1984:18-21), Schegloff and Sacks (1974), and Sacks (1992).

²Throughout this paper, we call those participants who answer an Interviewer's phone call "Recipients" because they do "receive" the call and this term is descriptive of the "discourse identity" they adopt for the duration of the call (cf. West and Zimmerman, 1985). We avoid the term "respondent" because that identity is only a potential outcome of the interaction. It might be said that participants are "Answerers" (in that they answer a telephone summons), but they also become answerers of specific questions. "Recipient" is not without its difficulties as a description of discourse identity but it seems to have the least pitfalls in comparison to alternatives.

III. Requests to Participate: A Sequence of Action

We are using two terms—request and declination—that require explication. As noted, we mean to ground these terms in the analyses and characterizations that participants in these exchanges themselves make. For instance, our phrase “request to participate” (or “request,” for short) derives from the way that call respondents deal with the opening utterances of interviewers:

(1) LSSC121

1. MR: Hello?
2. I: .hh Ah hello: I'm Greg Sanders calling from the University of
3. Wisconsin .hh as: part of our national public opinion study? .hh
4. an:d we are trying to reach people at their home telephone numbers
5. is: this a residential number?
6. (0.8)
7. MR: Uh yes it is but I'm sorry I d- I don't have any time to (.)
8. answer any of your questions [right now]
9. I: [O:::] (.) kay well we'd like to
10. try you back at another time then would that be alright?
11. MR: That'd be fine
12. I: O::kay well thank you very much [sir]
13. MR: [(thanks)] bye [bye]
14. I: [mm] bye bye

At lines 8-9, MA responds positively to the Interviewer's inquiry about having reached a residential number and then displays an understanding that the Interviewer's opening utterance projects a series of “questions,” and that his time is being solicited to “answer” them. Such displayed understandings are our basis for treating these openings as “requests to participate”; that is how call recipients respond to them. Note also that, after acknowledging MA's utterance with “Okay” (line 10), I suggests trying “...back at another time,” exhibiting his analysis of MA's utterance as implicating closure and thus as declining his request (section VII). As already alluded to, we use the term “declination” rather than “refusal,” which in survey research refers to a final determination that the Recipient is not going to participate. In the above episode, the Respondent is at least declining participation now; some

Respondents genuinely mean to, and do, accept a return call and request but others use such declinations as covers for or polite ways of refusing to participate altogether.³

Finally, although our interest here is primarily in declinations of the request to participate, we consider these to be part of a requesting sequence consisting of two parts, the first being the request to participate and the second being a turn in which the Recipient grants or declines the request. How grantings occur and are features of the ongoing interview is a topic in its own right, but provisionally we can note that they involve some sort of "go ahead" signal(s) on the part of respondents (see arrows below).⁴ This next excerpt takes up after the interviewer has introduced himself, checked the call recipient's telephone number, and randomly selected the "man of the household" as the interview target:

(2) LSSC/Nov. 26/Call A1

1. R: What is this in regard to=

³Furthermore, our term "declinations" should be understood as shorthand for "projected declination," because declination of the request to participate is an achievement, the outcome of practical interactive work. Sometimes, for instance, call recipients project declination by saying that they have little time for an interview (a matter that we discuss at length in Section VII):
LSSC 12/3/91 B12

R: Do you know how long this is gonna take I- I'm have to leave in about two minutes

After hearing this, the Interviewer offers to call back; then, nevertheless, the Recipient allows him to ask about the number of people in the home, and invites him to explain the survey and how it was funded. After this, the Interviewer suggests that they can do the survey "kinda quickly," and the Respondent allows it to proceed to completion. So apparent or projected declinations may result in de facto acceptances of the request to participate.

⁴A complexity to grantings of the request to participate is that Answerers often just produce "continuers" (Schegloff, 1981) such as "uh huh" and "okay" or token answers (such as "yes") in response to initial statements and questions that allow Interviewers to progress to a point at which they explicitly ask for permission to proceed. Thus, the granting of a request to participate is not necessarily accomplished in a single request-response sequence but involves a chained series of sequences.

2. I: =.hh sure .hh uh >like I said I'm calling< from the University of
 3. Wisconsin and we conduct national public opinion studies all the
 4. time on a variety of topics .hh=
 5. R: =(>Is it gonna be<) long? or-
 6. (0.5)
 7. I: Uh well it dep- it depends from person to person, the shortest
 8. interviews I've done have taken about ten minutes but (.) a lotta
 9. people ta[lk longer be]cause they enjoy the questions
 10. R: [(on the phone? or-)]
 11. (0.5)
 12. R: On the phone you mean?
 13. I: .h Yes
 14. (0.4)
 15.-->R: Okay go ahead=
 16. I: Okay yeah d- we don't come to your house we don't have any
 17. [i- ide- that's-]
 18.-->R: [(you)] wanna do it right now let's do it
 19. I: Okay terrific .hh Awl::right an"d before we begin I want to assure
 you ...

In this excerpt, after asking for and receiving some explanation about the survey, the Recipient says "go ahead" (first arrow) and, upon the Interviewer then providing another component of explanation, seems to urge the Interviewer to get on with it (second arrow).

IV. Placement Considerations: Earlier vs. Later Declinations

Not all declinations of the request to participate occur at the same point in the telephone encounters. Approximately half occur "earlier" and half occur "later." To appreciate what we mean by earlier and later, it is useful to consult the Appendix, which contains the sequence of CATI screens that the Interviewer reads. When Recipients place their declinations later, it may be after the residential verification question, phone number verification question, the statement of needing to select an adult in the household, the statement of needing to know how many adults there are, the questions about how many men and women live there, the announcement of having selecting the man or woman, the statement about confidentiality, or the question about permission to tape record the interview. There are clusters of declinations

particularly after questions regarding respondent selection, but otherwise we presently do not see any strong patterning. We can observe, however, that later declinations occur after a call recipient, through the Interviewer's statements and questions, has had an opportunity to hear more about what participation requires in terms of giving demographic information and of the capacity in which one will be answering subsequent questions. We will return to this point in the conclusion to section V.

Early declinations show some very definite patterning. They are positioned at one of two points in the opening of a call, and show something of how the request to participate is constructed and heard. Recall from the Appendix that when interviewers telephone potential respondents, they have before them a computer screen that has certain information on it:

(3) Computer Screen

RESIDENTIAL VERIFICATION SCREEN

Hello, I'm (: I) calling from the University of Wisconsin as part of our national public opinion study. We are trying to reach people at their home telephone numbers? Is this a residential number ?

1. YES : residential only
2. YES : but also non - residential
3. NO : non - residential
7. DON'T KNOW

Early rejections occur before or immediately after Interviewers can finish this screen. Here are two examples of what we are calling early rejections:

(4) LSSC116

1. FR: Hello?
2. (0.6)
3. I: Hi:::: (0.2) [I'm-]
4. FR: [Hi.]
5. (0.5)
6. I: [I'm-]
7. FR: [Who-]
8. (0.6)
9. FR: Hello?
10. I: Hi: Can you hear me okay?
11. (0.2)
12. FR: Yes

13. I: Oh Okay .hh I'm (.) Karen Smith? and I'm cal[ling]
 14. FR: [You're] who?
 15. (0.5)
 16. I: Karen. Smith?
 17. FR: .h Oh you just called a few minutes ago
 18. (1.0)
 19. I: [Oh]
 20. FR: [Re]garding Penney's?
 21. (0.5)
 22. I: No:: I'm calling from the University of Wisconsin
 23. (0.8)
 24. I: And (.) we're doing a national (0.4) public opinion study?
 25. (0.5)
 26. FR: Oh no I don- I'm not interested
 27. I: Oh Okay=
 28. FR: =Thank you
 29. I: Alright [bye bye]
 30. FR: [bye bye]

(5) LSSC146

1. FR: Hello?
 2. I: Hello I'm Joseph Lewis calling from the University of Wisconsin?
 3. as: part of our national public opinion study? .hh Um we're not
 4. [tryin-]
 5. FR: [I'm sor]ry we- we don't have the time right now=
 6. I: =Oh really? Okay we'll try you back thank you
 7. (0.5)
 8. FR: [((hangup))]
 9. I: [Bye bye]

In both episodes, a Recipient declines participation almost immediately after the utterance, "we're doing a national public opinion study."⁵

There is a related type of early declination, which nevertheless occurs at a slightly different point. Excerpt (1) is an example; in it, the Interviewer is able to ask the residential verification question at lines 5-6. Notice, however, that the Recipient gives a quick reply to this question and then immediately moves to decline the request to participate. In formal terms, the difference between (1) and excerpts (4) and (5) is the mode of turn-taking

⁵In excerpt 4, the declination takes place slightly later than completion of the turn that ends with "...national public opinion study." However, it interrupts the Interviewer's turn-in-progress ("Um we're not tryin-"), which is abandoned, so that the declination is clearly responsive to the prior turn.

by which rejection is done. That is, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) have described a turn-taking system in which, at any "transition relevance place" or analyzable completion of an utterance, there are three basic and ordered options for taking at turn of talk: (1) a current speaker selects the next, (2) a next speaker self-selects, or (3) current speaker continues. In excerpts (4) and (5), in order to perform a rejection turn, the recipient self-selects at an identifiable transition relevance place. In excerpt (1), the Recipient waits as the Interviewer completes an utterance—a question—that selects Recipient for the immediate next turn (Sacks et al., 1974:716), and, in that turn, performs the declination. By simply waiting to be designated as next speaker rather than self-designating, it's as if the recipient in (1) is slightly more polite than call recipients in excerpts (4) and (5). Nevertheless, declination is the operative act performed and it appears to be done in relation to the same turn after which Recipients sometimes self-select in order to decline.

Recipients do give evidence of parsing the interviewer's opening turn into smaller components, after which they could perform a declination. An example is excerpt (4), where the Recipient responds to the Interviewer's name by claiming recognition on the basis of it. Another example of such parsing is in the same excerpt after the Interviewer corrects the recipient's proposed identification of her, as being from "Penney's", by offering the identification that she's "from the University of Wisconsin" (line 22). Sometimes recipients will simply say "yes" or otherwise acknowledge this utterance (see line 5, arrowed, below):

(6) LSSC117

1. FR: Hello:?
2. (0.5)
3. I: h Hi:: (0.2) I'm Karen Smith and *I'm* (.) calling from the
4. University of Wisconsin?

- 5.--> FR: [Yes?]
 6. I: [.hhh] An:d we're doing a national public opinion study
 7. (0.4)
 8. I: and we're try[ing to r-]
 9. FR: [I'm just] on my way out the door
 10. I: [Oh okay]
 11. FR: [(thank you) for calling]
 12. I: I'm sor{ry }
 13. FR: [((hang up))]

In excerpt (4), the Recipient at line 23 waits for more talk from the Interviewer before doing or saying anything. So recipients do parse the Interviewer's opening series of utterances into discrete components and they place their declining turns at a precise lateral point in that series.

V. Analysis of Earlier Declinations: How They Are Responsive

To repeat and summarize, we do not have declinations happening any earlier than after the utterance "...we're doing a national public opinion study," and approximately half of our declinations occur just after it. The question is, "why there?" The high number of earlier declinations has been observed in other research (Groves and Couper, 1992; Oksenberg, Coleman, and Cannell, 1986; Smit and Dykstra, 1991), but without precise characterization of where and how, during the interaction, such declinations actually happen.

To answer the "why there" question, we wish to consider how participants structure the openings of phone calls generally, for two interrelated reasons. Firstly, by reviewing the opening of ordinary phone calls, we shall be able to characterize more adequately the position at which these early declinations occur. This is because, secondly, for those who engage in a survey interview, it is not an ordinary phone call, at least in the sense of containing the quotidian inquiries, reportings, arrangement-makings, and the like, which regularly occur among acquainted or related parties. Yet, that the survey openings differ from ordinary calls is something that emerges, in part, out of the same social interactional material as any phone call does (Schegloff,

1986). Therefore, the declinations and openings of phone calls in which they transpire both deploy and depart from the routines of regular telephone openings.⁶

According to Schegloff (1986), a set of four "core" orderly sequences in the opening of telephone calls provide for their routine nature and the alternative directions these calls can take:

1. The summons-answer sequence is directed to making interaction possible for the two parties and consists of the ring of the phone as a summons, and a "Hello" or some other object as the answer.
2. Next is the identification/recognition sequence, where parties make their identities evident. In calls between acquainted persons, a Recipient's initial "hello" presents a voice-sample for the caller to inspect, so that identification/ recognition can be of immediate relevance in caller's first turn of talk. Subsequent to such a turn, which reciprocally provides caller's voice sample to recipient, it is possible for recipient to show recognition of the caller. However, this second turn of talk also allows Recipients to simply confirm their own identity, whereupon caller can self-identify.
3. Greeting sequences are interwoven with identification/recognition, for it is through greetings that the parties claim or affirm identification/ recognition. Following Goffman, Schegloff (1986:129) notes that greetings help put participants into a "state of ratified mutual participation" such that "the talk can proceed."
4. Finally is a "howareyou" sequence, which can develop into something fairly extended if one of the parties, in responding to the question, issues something other than a relatively neutral "fine." Regularly, the sequence involves an exchange between the parties. Upon completion of the how-are-you sequence, the parties have positioned themselves to start the first topic of talk.

In all, participants build the routine character of phone call openings through these sequences and the series of turns comprising them. This does not mean that participants enact "pre-scripted routines" (Schegloff, 1986:116-17), however. For one thing, each of the sequences itself is a potential site for

⁶For comparative purposes, specifically in regard to the openings and routines of 9-1-1 calls to emergency centers, see Zimmerman (1992), Whalen and Zimmerman (1987), and Whalen, Zimmerman, and Whalen (1988).

accomplishing distinctive kinds of interactional work.⁷ For another, participants can pre-empt the sequences and/or turns in order to proceed to variously urgent "tellables," topics, or reasons for calling.

In the survey telephone calls, participants implement two of these core sequences. In line with ordinary phone calls, there is a summons-answer sequence, consisting of the ringing phone and the respondent's answer. After that answer is an initiation of identification-recognition sequence. As in ordinary conversation, this occupies the second turn of talk, or caller's first turn.⁸ The identification-recognition sequence is of central importance in the openings of phone calls because of its generic relevance to parties' gatekeeping decisions about whom to further engage in interaction (Schegloff, 1979:71). Regularly, Recipients are expected to show recognition of a caller, either from the caller's voice sample or caller's self-identification. In our survey calls, an Interviewer's offering of a personal name is constituted not as asking for personal recognition but as providing for who it is that is calling in a nevertheless institutional or organizational capacity. In this respect, the Recipient's claiming to recognize "Karen Smith" in excerpt (4) (lines 17-20) is not only a substantive mistake (Karen Smith is not from

⁷ See, for example Jefferson's (1980), Sacks' (1975), and Schegloff's (1986:129-30) discussions of the possibilities for developing how-are-you sequences.

⁸In ordinary conversation, second turns that initiate identification-recognition fit into nine collections, according to Schegloff (1979:32), with the "overwhelming majority" being either collection 1 (greetings--"hello"), collection 2 (other's name interrogative--"Jim?"), collection 3 (other's name declarative--"Jim."), or a combination of collections 1 and 2 ("Hello Jim?") or 1 and 3 ("Hello Jim."). Given the predominance of these collections in Schegloff's (1979) corpus, it can be suggested that most of the calls people receive are from acquaintances, friends, or relatives, who exhibit their relationship to a co-participant by proposing their recognition of the recipient's turn 1 voice sample and by implicitly asking for recognition in their turn 2. Type 7, "self-identification," is a rare event (cf. also Schegloff, 1979:45), and this is the collection into which survey calls fit.

Penney's) but a sequential one as well. That is, the Interviewer ends up presenting her institutional identification (line 22) as a correction to the Recipient's claim of recognition rather than as part of her (the Interviewer's) self-identifying utterance as would have happened had that utterance proceeded to another completion point (as occurs in (6), for instance). Put still differently, while the Recipient in (4) attempts a show of recognition at a point that would be relevant in more ordinary conversation, in this call such a show "gets in the way" of the Interviewer displaying her institutional identification.

The import of this is that at a very early point these calls, recipients can obtain a sense of what type of call it is simply because Interviewers, in the second turn of talk, and just after the call recipient's answer, self-identify in a way that only asks for recognition in a relatively impersonal way, recognition not of the person who is calling but of the institution or organization under whose auspices the call is initiated. That recognition of this identification still can be an issue is evident in the following excerpt. This is a "call back"—contact has already been made with this particular recipient:

- (7) LSSC155
1. R: °Hello.°
 2. (1.5)
 3. IV: uh hello may I speak with Lottie please?
 4. R: ((tch)) Who's callin?
 5. IV: .hh uh this is Greg Sanders calling from the University of
 6. Wisconsin?
 7. (0.4)
 8. R: From where?
 9. IV: hh The University of Wisconsin in Madison Wisconsin
 10. (1.3)
 11. R: Kay: speaking? =
 12. IV: =0::kay .hh well on an earlier call to this household we
 13. selected you .hh as the adult with- that we would like to
 14. speak with for our national public opinion study (.)

When the Interviewer asks to speak to a specific member of the household (line 3), the Recipient asks the Interviewer to self-identify, whereupon he produces a standard version of that action (lines 5-6). Subsequent to a silence (line 7) that may indicate a problem of recognition, R asks him (line 8) to repeat the institutional identification, which he does (line 9). There is a longer silence, and then R acknowledges (line 8) that she is the "Lottie" for whom he asked in the first place. Thus, the Recipient's own self-identification and furthering the interaction are produced as contingent on her being able to inspect the Interviewer's institutional affiliation; allowing the call to proceed would seem to indicate hesitant acceptance/recognition of the proffered identity.⁹

If Recipients do inspect the Interviewer's self-identification, it suggests that they could immediately (after this identification) move to close or terminate the call. At this point (after an Interviewer's self-identification), Recipients are under no particular obligation to continue, as they might be in other circumstances. When parties are acquainted and personally identifiable to one another, Schegloff (1979:26) and Goffman (1963) have both observed, they may be required to enter into interaction with one another. That basis for an interviewer to expect further interaction and for a recipient to feel compelled to continue has been removed by the time that the Interviewer has produced, and call recipient has heard, caller's self-identification. And yet, interestingly enough, we have no occurrences of termination occurring just there.

When the Interviewer's self-identification is not at issue (as in almost all of our data), it is coupled with an utterance that provides a

⁹Despite this being a call-back, the recipient ultimately declines participation in the interview.

"reason" or purpose of the call: "...as part of our national public opinion study." As compared with ordinary phone calls, this means that interviewers regularly move into first topic or the reason for the call in a way that shows the other two core opening sequences—"how are you's" and greetings—not to be relevant for the type of call these are constructed to be (cf. Schegloff, 1986:141). That is, in the survey calls, Interviewers self-identify in a way that marks the call at an early point (turn 2), which is caller's first opportunity to talk, as involving a "business" rather than personal matter (Schegloff, 1986:122; cf. Whalen and Zimmerman, 1987). In short, subsequent to the self-identification, Interviewers immediately produce a characterization of the particular matter at hand, and it is after this "reason for the call" that Recipients overwhelmingly place earlier declinations. This is true even for instances of early "hangups," in which the Recipient unilaterally terminates the call:

(8) LSSC205

1. R: Hello?
2. I: Hello my name is Bill Collins and I'm calling from the
3. University of Wisconsin as part of our: national public opinion
4. study .hh we aren't: selling anything at all it's purely academic
5. public opinion [research] .hhh and=
6. R: [((hangup))]

Here, the Interviewer completes the reason for the call and starts to add an unscripted explication of that identification, when the call recipient hangs up. Thus, in that the most immediate prior transition relevance point is after the reason for the call utterance (line 4), where there is also an inbreath, the hangup seems to dealing with that utterance.

That our earliest terminations and opening up of closings occur at or just after this point is due, we think, to two interrelated reasons. First, what we are calling the request to participate is probably not hearably complete until this point. That such a request is hearably complete at this

point is evidenced, as noted earlier, in such replies to the interviewer's opening as occur in excerpt (1). At lines 8-9, MA's declining turn displays an understanding that I's opening utterance projects a series of "questions," and that his time is being solicited to "answer" them. It is these displayed understandings that are our basis for treating these opening turns as "requests to participate" in the first place. If the interviewer's turn is not understood as a request until this point, any earlier declination therefore would not be turning down such a request per se. Rather, in terms of gatekeeping, something different would be transpiring. For instance, if declinations were initiated after the interviewer's name, it might suggest that answerers would refuse encounters with anyone whom they did not recognize or have previous acquaintance with. Or if closing were initiated after the institutional or organizational identification, it would mark withdrawal from a relatively open domain of projectable activities that one might have with an organizational caller. Instead, by timing the start of withdrawal later, call recipients show themselves not to be hostile to any or all encounters involving unknown and/or organizational callers, but to specific ones.

A second reason for declinations being initiated at a point after a formulation of the call's purpose, then, is that interviewers therein provide some specificity as to the possibly ensuing activities. For instance, it may be that the reason-for-the-call formulation makes visible the capacity in which recipient has been called. Whereas when interviewers have only produced a self-identification, it does not yet propose an exact identity for the caller nor for the call recipient, the addition of an utterance like "as part of our national public opinion study" makes visible an inferentially-rich "membership categorization device" (Sacks, 1972) for classifying both parties to the encounter. From the utterances in which an identification and the

reason for calling are displayed, a Recipient can infer that the interlocutor is an "interviewer" who will be asking questions. And just as the caller's identity, capacity in which he or she is calling, and activities are projected, so the Recipient's identity, capacity in which he or she is called, and complementary activities are also projected. Earlier declinations are produced at precisely that point where Recipients can infer that they are being solicited as members of a national public, to answer questions as research subjects.

To conclude this section, we have three observations. First, the request to act momentarily as a member of the national public and to reveal one's knowledge or opinions regarding issues germane to that group, is enough in approximately half of our corpus for Answerers to decline a request to be interviewed. Second, we might conjecture that, insofar as one's duties as a member of the public—or "citizen," for short—and as a research subject are diffuse, and/or ill-defined, and/or heavily volitional, as compared with those duties that accrue to being summoned into interaction as a friend or relative, the social motivation to continue the encounter is very weak. Finally, using this analysis of earlier declinations, we wish to comment on those that are produced "later." We said that the later declinations are spread across questions having to do with such things as whether the interviewer has reached a home or residence, has reached the correct phone number, can randomly select and speak to a particular member of the household, and so on. These questions appear to increasingly make visible the "anonymity" with which the Recipient is being approached. This may mean that as these preliminary statements and questions proceed, the Recipient's identity for this encounter as a citizen is reinforced with other abstract qualities that further loosen the social motivation to grant the request for participation.

VI. Minimalist and Expressive Declinations and Their Placement

Our analysis shows there to be three devices for declining the request to participate in a survey interview. Our way of identifying these devices is both in terms of how they are produced and in terms of their "sequential implicativeness" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1974) or the range of consequences they project for subsequent talk and interaction. In section VII., we will discuss in detail the topic of sequential implicativeness. For now we wish to concentrate on the produced nature of these devices and further consider how they are placed in the developing stream of talk.

One device for declining a request to participate is somehow to disable pursuit of the interview, as by hanging up:¹⁰

(9) LSSC276

1. FR: Hello?
2. I: .h ((tch)) uh hello ma'am my name's Edward Price? and I'm calling
3. from the University of Wisconsin? as part of our national public
4. opinion study? .hh uh we're tryin to reach people: at their home
5. {numbers (.) is this a residence ma'am?}
6. FR: [((phone ding & hangup))]
7. (1.4)
8. I: Don't hang up on me

There are other ways of disabling the interview, which we will discuss subsequently (section VII). These declinations regularly raise protests from the Interviewer (as in line 8 above), which, from the Interviewer's point of view, show the objectionable and violative nature of such acts.

When declinations are done more "politely," Recipients employ some relatively abstract or formulaic device that also represents the first move toward closing the phone call encounter. These formulaic devices comprise our second and third declination devices. That is, considering the disabling declination as a type 1 device, then a type 2 device is contained in excerpt

¹⁰Also see excerpt (8).

(1) in which the Recipient exhibits the bad timing of the call. There, the Recipient apologizes and says he doesn't "...have any time right now." A type 3 device is comprised of Recipients' displays of not being interested. Recall the latter part of excerpt (4):

(10) LSSC116 (Partial)

I: ...And (.) we're doing a national (0.4) public opinion study?
(0.5)

--> FR: Oh no I don- I'm not interested

I: Oh Okay=

FR: =Thank you ((slightly sarcastic))

I: Alright [bye bye]

FR: [bye bye]

When disabling, bad timing, and not interested declinations occur by themselves—i.e., with no questioning or declarative preamble on the part of a Recipient—they are what we call "minimalist" declinations.

In contrast to minimalist declinations, "expressive" ones are preceded by the Recipient's inquiry (or inquiries), or contain elements in the declining turn itself, which Interviewers take as exhibiting some particular concern that can be addressed in their own next turn of talk. Although excerpt (2) results in granting an interview, the Recipient's inquiries are also typical of calls wherein declination occurs. The Recipient asks "What is this in regard to?", "Is it gonna be long?", and "On the phone you mean?". Such questions, that is, often precede Recipients' declining utterances and thus initially provide an opportunity to the Interviewer for addressing whatever specific issue the question raises. Here is an example in which a declination has such an expressive antecedent:

(11) LSSC159

1. IV: O::kay uh this is Greg Sanders calling from the University of
2. Wisconsin as: part of our national public opinion study?
3. .hh[hh] an:d we are=
4. FR: [Uh huh]
5. IV: =trying to reach people at their home telephone numbers is: this a
6. residential number?

7. FR: .hhh Ye::s?
 8. IV: An:: to be sure I reached the number I dialed is this (.)
 9. are[a code]
 10.-->FR: [(This:)] this is some type of survey that's gonna take a
 11. while? or hheh [hh]
 12. IV: [Y::]eah it it takes about ten to fifteen minutes
 13. [.hh di- di- (i-)]
 14. FR: [uh huh? I'm I']m just got home from work and I'm really tired
 15. and really hungry an[::d eh heh heh]
 16. IV: [O::kay hh] .hh um:: [we-]
 17. FR: [(prefer)] for you
 18. to try another number

The Recipient initiates a question-answer sequence about duration at line 10 (arrow), and it is after the Interviewer's temporal formulation (line 12) that Recipient produces a declination (lines 14-15, 17-18).

In addition to showing concerns about the purpose, time, and place of the interview, Recipients display other apprehensions, and they sometimes do so in the declining turn of talk rather than in a preceding question:

(12) LSSC180

1. I: Uh hello ma'am my name is Edward Price an: I'm calling from the
 2. University of Wisconsin? as part of our national public opinion
 3. study? .hh ((tch)) Uh we are trying to reach people at their home
 4. numbers is this a residence?
 5. (0.5)
 6. FR: Yeah
 7. (0.3)
 8. I: Okay .hh and to be sure that I didn't mis-dial then this is four
 9. eight seven two one four nine?
 10. (0.4)
 11. FR: Yeah
 12. I: <Okay> .h uh we want the results of our study to represent the
 13. opinions of people all over the country so we need to select one
 14. adult to speak with in your household .hhh and just (that) we
 15. can make our selection scientifically and randomly we first need
 16. to know how many adults eighteen or older live there?
 17. (1.0)
 18. FR: Uh:::
 19. (0.5)
 20. FR: We do not like to give out this kind of information sir
 21. I: Uh pardon well all w- like I said ma'am it's just an academic
 22. study r- that's being [done] by=
 23. FR: [Yes]e
 24. I: =University [of Wisconsin]
 25. FR: [()] understand

26. I: And we're not asking any personal type questions we're basically
 27. just after your opinions?
 28. (0.5)
 29. FR: Yes=
 30. I: =Uh and it is a' of course confidential (0.3) .h [uh the]
 31. FR: [()]
 32. I: only reason we ask how many adults live there is because we have
 33. to gew (.) and get a random sample so we get a- (.) bout a equal
 34. number of men and women so: we don't ask for names or anything
 35. (0.6)
 36. FR: No (0.4) But I'm sure- my husband and I don't like to give out
 37. that information
 38. (0.7)
 39. I: Okay you can't just (.) tell me how many (.) people live there so
 40. we can just pick one? and then we can just try the questions?
 41. FR: No I'm sorry
 42. (1.0)
 43. FR: Thank you
 44. (0.6)
 45. I: Okay (0.4) Have a good day
 46. ((hang up))

In this excerpt, the Recipient's "we do not like to give out this kind of information sir" (line 20) shows a concern for privacy. Typically, such expressive declinations provide the Interviewer with some concrete basis for making an appeal, as the Interviewer does in lines 21-34, by suggesting that sought-after information is not "personal" (line 26), is "of course confidential" (line 30), and that the question regarding number of adults in the household has to do with random sampling (lines 33-4). Following that appeal, the Recipient provides another version of her expressive declination (lines 36-7), which the Interviewer also appeals (lines 39-40), whereupon Recipient gives a firmer declination (line 41) and the call is brought to termination.

Of the 58 declinations in our data, fully 83% of them are minimalist, while only 17% are expressive (see table 1). This means that in the overwhelming bulk of instances, Interviewers are presented with formulaic declinations that are relatively presumptive and ambiguous in terms of the

Recipient's actual concerns or basis for declining to be interviewed. To explicate this proposal about the presumptive and ambiguous nature of minimalist declinations, we wish to reconsider both "bad timing" and "appealable" declinations.

That "bad timing" declinations are ambiguous has to do with the way they are structured to produce arrangements for a call back, a matter pursued in the next section (VII.) of our paper. Suffice it to say here that when a Recipient produces a version of "I don't have any time...right now," that is ambiguous as to whether it is really true and whether the call-back arrangement is sincere or whether Recipients mean they do not ever want to participate and are simply using this device as a somewhat "soft" refusal.

Pertaining to the presumptiveness of these declinations, let us compare a "bad timing" declination, such as "I don't have any time to answer any of your questions right now" (excerpt 1), with "Is it gonna be long?" (excerpt 2). The first utterance claims knowledge regarding the projected interview--i.e., that it will be longer than the Recipient presently can afford to give--and is based on inference. The second utterance delays granting or declining the request to participate until the Interviewer reveals information relevant to a response, which will then be based on actual, acquired knowledge.

The presumptiveness of minimalistic "appealable" declinations is similar to that of "bad timing" ones. That is, when a Recipient suggests not being interested, it is a claim based on inferential knowledge about the nature of the interview, and displays no tie to particular features of the interview that may be objectionable.

(13) LSSC269

1. I: Okay .hh um I was saying m::y name is Edward Price? an:d I'm
2. calling from the University of Wisconsin? in Madison
3. Wisconsin? as part of a national public opinion study we do?
4. .hh uh we're dialing random numbers trying to reach people at

Interviewers must guess at the basis of Recipients' resistance because the latter have provided no exhibit of that basis. The contrast between formulaic "not interested" declinations and an expressive one such as in (12) above is strong. Via the deictic reference ("this kind of information") the Recipient's "we do not like to give out this kind of information" displays a particular concern with the Interviewer's just prior query regarding number of adults in the household. Thus, the declination is neither presumptive—it is tied to that question—nor ambiguous; it occasions the Interviewer's subsequent particularistic appeals, which, rather than guessing at the basis of the Recipient's resistance, are designed to alleviate the Recipient's displayed concern.

We have mentioned that the large majority of declinations (83%) in our data are minimalistic rather than expressive (17%). Table 1 cross-classifies declinations according to this dimension as well as the earlier/later distinction.

Table 1
Placement and Types of Declination

	Earlier	Later	Earlier and Later
Minimalist	28 (93%)	20 (71%)	48 (83%)
Expressive	2 (7%)	8 (29%)	10 (17%)
Totals	30 (100%)	28 (100%)	58 (100%)

Table 1 further shows that almost all (93%) of the early declinations are minimalist; when Recipients decline later, they are about four times as likely to produce an expressive declination, although the large majority of later declinations are still minimalist. One more thing is of interest in Table 1: 28 out of 58 or 48% of our declinations reside in the "earlier minimalist"

cell. Thus, almost half of the declinations are done relatively abruptly according to "too busy" or "not interested" formulas that are both ambiguous and presumptive. This provides a stark view of what Interviewers are up against when attempting to solicit participation.

VII. Declinations and Their Responses

Recipients produce "minimalist" and "expressive" declinations, as we have seen, at precise times and places in the unfolding of these phone calls that aim for obtaining a survey interview. Thus, even early and minimalistic, as well as later and expressive, declinations are orderly achievements in terms of the work that the interviewer does in making the request to participate and that the call recipient does in analyzing the nature of the call, ascertaining what it projects, and fashioning a declining reply to the request. We now wish to concentrate on these declinations and responses to them.

Participants appear to use three different devices for declining. We have classified these devices according to how they are fashioned and what they occasion and obtain in terms of interviewers' responses. So far, we have seen that they are fashioned so as to disable the interview, to claim the present bad timing of the call, or to show disinterest in the interview. Where others, such as Groves and Couper (1992) have described the frequent use of bad timing and not interested declinations together with other devices, we wish to examine them (along with disabling declinations) separately and

according to their sequential implicativeness. We shall do this in some detail, but there are two preliminary matters.

First, Table 2 shows the distribution of these devices for declination. The preponderant one is type II.

Table 2
Distribution of Declination Devices

I. Disabling	II. Bad Timing	III. Not Interested	Total
11 (19%)	29 (50%)	18 (31%)	58 (100%)

In addition to analyzing the sequential implicativeness of each of these devices, our task in this section of the paper is to explain the preponderance of Bad Timing devices in structural terms.

As a second matter preliminary to the detailed discussions of sequential implicativeness, a general observation about the endings of conversational encounters is they are achievements. As such, they represent a solution to the problem of how to arrive "...at a point where one speaker's completion will not occasion another speaker's talk, and that will not be heard as some speaker's silence," or, as in excerpt (10) above, a rude or brusque act (Schegloff and Sacks, 1974:237-8). When done in a relatively polite way, termination represents the lifting of "transition relevance," which, as mentioned earlier, occurs at the end of any conversational utterance and means that interactants are obligated to select another or self-select for producing a next turn (Sacks et al., 1974:237-8). "Terminal exchanges"—i.e., the use of goodbyes (arrowed below)—are prototypical devices for lifting transition relevance.

However, Schegloff and Sacks (1974:256-7) also note that terminal exchanges cannot occur just anywhere when two parties are talking, and require

proper initiation, through what they term a "closing section." Closing sections, like terminal exchanges, regularly comprise two turns of talk. Thus, when closings occasion termination, it is possible to characterize the two events as an "archetype closing" consisting of four turns of talk (Button, 1987:102):

(14) NB:III:5:10 (Button, 1987:102)

Guy: I'll be down there, oh en you'll- you'll be aroun' then when
I [(come in)

Emma: [Yeah.

1--> Guy: Okay.

2--> Emma: Okay dear,

3--> Guy: Buh bye,

4--> Emma: Bye bye,

Turns 1 and 2, the closings, employ terms such as "okay" and "all right," which, as Button (1987:102) are "bereft" of specific topical implicativeness and in that way provide a "free turn" and opportunity for a co-participant to return to topical talk. In this respect, as Schegloff and Sacks (1974:248) argue, the initial "okay" (arrow 1) is a "pre-closing" whose status as a "closing" is only accomplished when it is treated with a return closing-item rather than with a device that re-occasions topical talk. When a pre-closing is reciprocated, that provides for the relevance of a terminal exchange (arrows 3 and 4 above).

This analysis of archetype closings in ordinary conversation is relevant to an examination of survey interview declinations:

(15) LSSC222

1. FR: Hello

2. I: ... my name's Susan and I'm calling from the University of

3. Wisconsin? as part of our national public opinion study .hh

4. we're tryin to reach people at their home telephone numbers

5. .is: this a residential number?

6. (0.5)

7. FR: Yes it is [but] I do not have time for this [()]<--1

8. I: [((tch)) Oka-] [Okay]<--2

9. we'll get back to you another time=

10. FR: =Bye <--3

11. I: Tha:nk you bye bye <--4
 12. (0.6)
 13. ((hangup))

Declinations (as in line 7) can interlock two sequence types. They answer the request to participate, and simultaneously constitute the first move in closing the conversation (as per arrow 1). Then, the turn that responds affirmatively to the opening (line 9) is a second move (arrow 2) in the closing section and prompts turns 3 and 4, a terminal exchange (lines 10-11).

As we shall see, the organization of conversational exit in (15) is more complex than this. Nevertheless, the notions of conversational closing and terminal exchange are useful in appreciating the orderly fashion whereby declinations eventuate in ending an encounter between an Interviewer and a call Recipient. Put briefly, declination devices are distinguishable in the way that they engender particular avenues toward closing and/or termination.

A. Disabling Declinations.

The distinguishing feature of disabling declinations is that they result in immediate or almost immediate termination. For an example of immediate termination, see excerpt 9 above, wherein the Recipient hangs up after the reason for the call utterance and during the Interviewer's question about having reached a residence. Besides hanging up immediately, there are other ways in which a Recipient can disable the call and thereby bring about termination. We include in this category such things as a Recipient's engaging in "silly talk" (LSSC103) and leaving the phone (LSSC 123) such that the Interviewer cannot pursue any sensible interaction; then, after the Interviewer's efforts at making sense, the Recipient's phone is hung up. Also in this category are verbal claims that the Recipient cannot hear (LSSC147) or the Interviewer has reached the "wrong place" (LSSC228) or "wrong guy," as in the next example:

(16) LSSC248

1. MA: Hello? =
2. I: =H:i I'm Mary calling from the University of Wisconsin? .hh as
3. part of our national public opinion study .hh and we're tryin to
4. reach people at their home telephone num[bers]
5. MA: [I'm] sorry you got the
6. wrong guy
7. (0.5)
8. I: Okay is this a: re[sid-] phh oh my-
9. MA: [((Hangup))]

Characteristically, such disabling actions occasion the Interviewer's stumbling effort at appeal (as at lines 7-8 here) and precede the Recipient's hanging up the phone (line 9 here) before the Interviewer can proceed to completion of the appeal.

B. "Bad Timing"

The predominant mode for recipients to decline is through announcing involvement in a state or activity that is competitive with participating in the survey interview. Examples we have seen so far include (1), (5), (6), (11), and (14). Regularly in such calls, the recipient (1) invites the interviewer to call back, or (2) the interviewer proposes to call back.

(1) Invitations to call back. Our first example occurs relatively deep in a phone call, which a child first answered. With the child, the interviewer verified the telephone number as residential, found out how many adult men and women lived in the household, and selected the "man of the household" to interview. The interviewer then asked to speak to him and the child assented to the request, after which there were 22 seconds of silence with an audible "click" near its end. Then the man came on the line:¹³

(17) LSSC215

1. MR: Hello?

¹²Despite the length of this call, we classified it as an earlier declination because, after answering, the "man of the household" does not permit the call to progress beyond a re-statement of the identification and "reason for the call" sections of the interviewer's standard opening:

2. I: ((tch)) .hh Hello I'm Marty Jameson calling from the University of
 3. Wisconsin? (0.2) .h as part of our national public opinion study?
 4. 1> MR: Okay you'll have to call back later I'm on another line right now.
 5. 2> I: Okay
 6. 3> MR: Okay
 7. 4> IV: Thanks a lot (0.3) Buh bye
 8. (0.4)
 9. ((hangup))

The Recipient's rejection proposes that the Interviewer "call back" and gives a reason (line 4). The Interviewer accepts this proposal/declination (line 5) with what Davidson (1990:161-3) calls a "finalizer". As Davidson (1990:160) has shown, just as a request sets up acceptance/declination, so a declining move also occasions a display of (a) agreement/acceptance or (b) rejection. Here, the Interviewer's "okay" at line 5 appears to accept the declination and thus finalize it. Now, back to line 4, simultaneously with declining the request to participate, this utterance also initiates a closing sequence; that is, it is the first part of a closing section (thus arrow 1). And the Interviewer's finalizer at line 5 is a return close component (arrow 2). Next, it appears that the Recipient produces a first terminal ("okay," arrow 3) that is followed by the Interviewer's appreciation and return salutation which constitute a second terminal component at arrow 4.

As a technical matter, it is better to regard these items as possible close components and possible terminal components whose actuality is only accomplished according to the unfolding of the interaction. For example, consider that the Interviewer's gratuity ("thanks a lot," line 7) shows appreciation for the "favor" that has been granted in arranging a call-back, and itself might occasion an acknowledgement and then a terminal component (cf. Button, 1987:123). However, upon the gratuity's completion—a place that makes the transfer of speakership relevant—a silence develops (line 7), which the Interviewer can interpret as the Recipient's refusal to talk, and as

inviting a terminal component from the Interviewer. Then, in part through the silence at line 8 and the Recipient's hanging up after that, it becomes hearable that the Recipient's "okay" at line 6 was serving to initiate termination and that the Interviewer's "buh bye" in line 7 is therefore a second part of a terminal sequence rather than itself initiating termination.

Such an analysis is consistent with Button's (1987:135) arguments about how participants can "foreshorten" conversational closings, using a first closing turn also as a first terminal component. Indeed, the Interviewer's entire turn at line 7 has a shape consistent with the way that recipients of a dual closing/terminal utterance respond. A close component is in turn initial position, and a terminal component is in lateral position.

Foreshortening a closing section, Button (1987) argues, is to handle a problem to which these sections are vulnerable. Participants can occasion moves out of closings and thereby delay termination. This happens in the next excerpt, which is a call-back from an earlier contact; despite being a call-back, the Recipient declines the request to participate by announcing an involvement and inviting yet another call-back. The tape starts with the utterance at line 1; we do not have tape of the earlier part of the call.

(18) LSSC161

1. I: ... I'm Greg Sanders calling from the University of Wisconsin .hh
2. an:d on an earlier call to this household we selected you as the
3. adult we would like to speak with there or our national public
4. opinion study? .h[hhh]
5. R: [You] know what? (0.2) I'm just headed out
6. do you mind calling another day? <--1
7. I: N:o no that would be fine we could call back .hh= <--2
8. R: =Okay <--3
9. I: an::d um if I can just verify the number then to make sure
10. that I did reach the number I dialed .hh is it area code
11. four oh eight? .hh uh seven six seven four three one two?
12. (1.5)
13. R: Yep
14. (1.0)
15. I: O::kay well we'll try to reach you another: time then .hh= <--2r

16.	R:	=Thanks	<--3r
17.	I:	Thank you bye bye	<--4
18.		((hang up))	

Lines 5-6 comprise three interlocking actions: declining the request to participate, inviting a call-back, and initiating closing (as per arrow 1). Then, at line 7, the Interviewer accepts the declination and invitation, which would also be a second close component (arrow 2). When the Recipient produces the "okay" at line 8, then, it starts a terminal exchange (arrow 3). At this point, however, the Interviewer moves out of the closing section by interjecting a query about Recipient's phone number (lines 9-11). With a silence at line 12, the Recipient delays his confirmation of the number (line 13), which may be taken as resistance to the move out of closing and may strongly occasion a return to closing rather than the insertion of any more interview-relevant matters. In any case, at line 15, the Interviewer re-accepts the earlier-invited arrangement (cf. Button, 1987:106-7),¹⁴ thereby returning to closings. It would seem that this turn is a re-do of a second close component (thus arrow 2r). The recipient's turn at line 16 is an appreciation and, as in excerpt (17), appears to operate simultaneously as a terminal device—albeit in this case a re-do of an initial terminal component (arrow 3r). The Interviewer, at line 17, returns the appreciation and produces a responsive terminal component, which is the fourth part of a closing section.¹⁵

(2) Proposals to Call Back. Recipients sometimes announce an involvement

¹³In Button's (1987:106-7) data and discussion thereof, it appears that the introduction or re-introduction of arrangements precedes the opening of closing sections, whereas in this data, such talk seems to coincide with such openings.

¹⁴It is in part by reference to the subsequent hang up that the component at line 16 can eventually be heard as having initiated termination rather than as having initiated a separate sequence of appreciation.

but do not invite a call back. Interviewers then respond with a declination finalizer and either request or claim the right to call back. Because both requests and claims require an acceptance or rejection from the call Recipient, we refer to them as "proposals." A request occurs in excerpt (1); here we reproduce the transcript:

(19) LSSC121

1. MR: Hello?
2. I: .hh Ah hello: I'm Greg Sanders calling from the University of
3. Wisconsin .hh as: part of our national public opinion study? .hh
4. an:d we are trying to reach people at their home telephone numbers
5. is: this a residential number?
6. (0.8)
7. MR: Uh yes it is but I'm sorry I d- I don't have any time to (.)
8. answer any of your questions [right now] <--1
9. I: [O::::] (.) kay well we'd
10. like to try you back at another time then would that be
11. alright?
12. MR: That'd be fine <--1r
13. I: O::kay well thank you very much [sir] <--2
14. MR: [(thanks)] bye [bye] <--3
15. I: [mm] bye bye <--4

We have again arrowed the four base components of a closing section. The declination (lines 8-9) initiates closing (as per arrow 1), and does not get a second close component until line 13. The request to call-back (lines 9-11) starts an insertion sequence (Schegloff and Sacks, 1974) which is a move out of the closing section initiated with the declination. When the request is granted (line 12; arrow 1r), that may be a way of re-entering the closing section; the Interviewer then responds to the initiation with a return close component and appreciation (arrow 2), which occasions a terminal exchange (arrows 3 and 4).

In the Center where we collected data, interviewers are encouraged not to ask permission for calling back and, instead, to put the matter in a positive fashion, or to announce the intention to call back rather than request permission. Nevertheless, as noted, such announcements or claims

operate like requests because, in the turn subsequent to the announcement, Recipients can be heard to produce grantings of one sort or another. Excerpt (20) shows this, and is a little like (17) in the way that foreshortening occurs through contingent actions that provide for how it is that possibilities for closing and termination become actualized:

(20) LSSC271

1. FR: eHello?
2. I: ((tch)) uh hello ma'am my name is Edward Price and I'm calling
3. from the University of Wisconsin as part of our national public
4. opinion study? .hh uh we're trying to reach people at their home
5. numbers is: this a residence ma'am?
6. FR: .h Ye- uh yes it yes it is uh I'm sorry uh I won't be able
7. to keep my phone tied up tonight oka:y? <--1
8. I: Okay we'll just try another time then <--2
9. FR: Okay thank [you] <--3
10. I: (((tch))) Su:re bye <--4
11. ((hang up))

Here, the Recipient's announcement of involvement is implied in the formulation that she is unable to keep her "phone tied up tonight" (lines 6-7). This is a first close component (arrow 1). The temporal formulation "tonight," and her appending of a tag question seem to provide for the relevance of the Interviewer's line 8 proposing the intention to "try another time then." This is accomplished as a second close component (arrow 2) in part through the Answerer's next turn (arrow 3) which, in granting the request and using an appreciation, is also a possible terminal component. The Interviewer's acknowledgement and salutation at line 10 is accomplished as second terminal component in part through the caller subsequently hanging up.

Excerpt (21) is similar:

(21) LSSC229

1. R: Hello?
2. I: .hh hello I'm Betty Halliday calling from the University of
3. Wisconsin as a part of of our national public opinion study .hh
4. this is a purely academic study we're not trying to sell anything
5. or anything like that .hh and we are trying to reach people at
6. their home telephone numbers is this a residential number?

7. (0.6)
 8. R: .hh yes it is I don't have time I'm on my way out to work= <--1
 9. I: =Oh all right we'll try another time. <--2
 10. (0.2)
 11. I: [Thank you] <--3a
 12. R: [Okay thank] you <--3b
 13. I: Bye <--4
 14. ((hang up))

The excerpt differs from (20) in that there is a slight delay (line 10) after the Interviewer's call-back claim (line 9). Subsequently, the Interviewer and Recipient simultaneously initiate a terminal exchange with appreciative tokens (arrow 3a and 3b), but it is the Recipient's turn (line 12), which grants the Interviewer's prior claim (line 9), that goes beyond the overlap and achieves sequential implicativeness; it receives a return terminal component (arrow 4) in line 13.

Largely, call recipients are affirmative in their response to call-back requests and claims. In the next section (VII.C.), however, is an instance where, when such a request is made after several other types of "appeals" have been declined, that request is also denied.¹⁶ And in our next excerpt (22), the Recipient's response to a call-back claim appears declining even though there is no overt denial. Recall excerpt (14):

(22) LSSC222

1. FR: Hello
 2. I: ... my name's Susan and I'm calling from the University of
 3. Wisconsin? as part of our national public opinion study .hh
 4. we're tryin to reach people at their home telephone numbers
 5. .is: this a residential number?
 6. (0.5)
 7. FR: Yes it is [but] I do not have time for this [()]<--1
 8. I: [((tch)) Oka-] [Okay]<--2
 9. we'll get back to you another time=
 10. FR: =Bye <--3
 11. I: Tha:nk you bye bye <--4
 12. (0.6)
 13. ((hangup))

¹⁵See excerpt (27) and analysis below.

When the Interviewer proposes calling back at line 8-9, the Recipient responds with the terminal component "bye" (line 10) rather than an "okay" or other tokens, such as "fine," "okay," and "thank you" as in excerpts (19) through (21). This appears to decline the request to participate because it involves the initiation of another activity or sequence—a terminal exchange—in the slot where a rejection of a proposed arrangement would otherwise be placed.

Whether this is a declination cannot be settled with finality here, but line 10, at the very least, is not as affirmative compared to such components as "okay" and "thank you" in excerpt (20), for instance. Observe how the Interviewer treats the line 10 terminal component by prefacing a return salutation ("bye bye") with an appreciation (line 11), thereby possibly suggesting that the proposal to call back has virtually been accepted.

That Interviewers may try such ploys is a little more evident in the next excerpt, where the Interviewer's proposal to call back (line 6) is met with silence (line 7) and the Recipient's hanging up (line 9). Recall example (5):

(23) LSSC146

1. FR: Hello?
2. I: Hello I'm Joseph Lewis calling from the University of Wisconsin?
3. as: part of our national public opinion study? .hh Um we're not
4. [tryin-]
5. FR: [I'm sor]ry we- we don't have the time right now=
6. I: =Oh really? Okay we'll try you back thank you
7. (0.5)
8. FR: [((hangup))]
9. I: [Bye bye]

Notice that the Interviewer appends an appreciation to the call-back proposal (line 6), so that his turn embodies two actions—claiming and thanking—where the latter presupposes acceptance of the former. Furthermore, by it's positioning, "thanking" is the action which is sequentially implicative, specifically of an acknowledgement ("you're welcome" or even "okay" would

serve in this regard), which would in a post hoc way ratify the Interviewer's claim. If the Interviewer's turn construction is, in this way, a ploy to gain call-back rights, the Recipient who does not desire to grant such rights may have to do exactly what this recipient does, and that is to be silent and/or hang up.

The latter two excerpts, (22) and (23), would suggest that not all announcements of involvement are meant to imply that since "now" is a bad time, "later" would be a good time for the Recipient to participate in the interview. Nevertheless, because of the temporal formulations used to fashion such declinations, they naturally occasion either the Recipient's own invitation to call back or the interviewer's request or proposal to call back. That is, a feature of announcements of involvement as declinations of the request to participate in a survey interview is the effort to make arrangements for later engagement in the interviewing task. This effort is either Recipient-initiated, when the Recipient invites a call back, or Interviewer-initiated, when the Interviewer proposes calling back. Furthermore, the effort at making arrangements can be relatively mutual, as when the Recipient delivers and the Interviewer accepts an invitation to call back, or the Interviewer initiates and the Recipient grants an Interviewer's request or proposal. Or the effort can be unilateral on the part of an Interviewer, when the Recipient appears to merely "go along" with a call-back request or proposal, or declines such an initiation, and yet the Interviewer treats such items as if they were full-blown acceptances.

In any case, making arrangements for a call-back represents, as Button (1987) has put it, a "minimal" movement out of the closing which a declination of the request to participate otherwise initiates. Indeed, in this data, a more accurate term might be that making arrangements minimally moves away from

closing. In that an invitation or proposal to call back expands a turn that is otherwise preoccupied with closing, and requires acceptance or declination in next turn, participants become involved with other things than bringing the conversation to termination. Nevertheless, participants couple arrangement-making with close components so that the closing section itself is unexpanded even if the turns within it are expanded. Call 222, reproduced in both (14) and (22) above, is prototypical; in (22), arrow 1 indicates a first close component, arrow 2 the answering close component with a call-back proposal, arrow 3 an initiation of a terminal exchange, and arrow 4 the responding terminal component. Even in (19), an insertion sequence comprised of a request and its response, can be heard as "on the way" to completion of a closing section. Clear movement out of closing occurs only in our excerpt (18), when the making of arrangements occasions a different activity, the verifying of the Recipient's telephone number. This also is hearably related to closing and termination, and closings are re-entered upon completion of the verification sequence. Whether the technical term is movement "out of" or "away from" closings, it remains that this movement is minimal. In terms of the structure of close and termination, announcements of involvement, in a relatively polite way, effect efficient exit from the social encounter between Interviewer and Recipient.

C. Not Interested Declinations

Announcing an involvement—i.e., in some manner displaying that this is a bad time for the call—involves a generalized practice for declining invitations, and that is to "give a reason" for the declination.¹⁷ There is

¹⁶As Heritage (1984:264-80) observes, the declining of a request is a "dispreferred" action; hence, declining turns of talk contain accounts or reasons as design features. See also Drew (1984), Labov and Fanshel (1977:86-8), Levinson (1983:334-5), and Wootton (1981).

another class of such reasons—that recipient is “not interested.”.

Interviewers treat this “reason” for declination differently from the “bad time” one. Recall excerpt (13), reproduced here:

(24) LSSC269

1. I: Okay .hh um I was saying m::y name is Edward Price? an:d I'm
2. calling from the University of Wisconsin? in Madison Wisconsin? as
3. part of a national public opinion study we do? .hh uh we're
4. dialing random numbers trying to reach people at their homes? is:
5. this a residence?
6. (3.0)
7. FR: I: don't think I'm interested thank you=
8. I: =Well it's not a sales pitch or anything [ma'am]
9. FR: [((hang up))]

Earlier, we said that the Interviewer responds to the Recipient's declination with an appeal. Appeals consist of a “modification” or “addition” or some other revision to the original request to participate. As Davidson (1990), following Pomerantz (1984), argues about such components, they exhibit the inviter's analysis of possible inadequacies or troubles with the original. Appeals show that interviewers are not taking a declination as final (Davidson, 1990:165-6).

Recipients, for their part, monitor responses to their declinations, and when they are not initially accepted—an interviewer produces no “finalizer”—the recipient may take corrective action, such as revising the declination, to achieve finality (Davidson, 1990). Above, presumably upon hearing the appeal after her declination, call recipient hangs up. A similar happening is in the next excerpt:

(25) LSSC265

1. IV: ... name is Mike Baker I'm calling from the University
2. of Wisconsin as part of our national public opinion
3. study .hh and we're trying to reach people at their
4. home telephone numbers .hh is this a residential
5. number sir?
6. MA: Uh: <no thank you not intrested>
7. IV: Uh well sir? [We're] not tryin to sell any°thing::
8. MA: [((hangup))]

In this, however, the Interviewer manages to issue only a preface to the appeal before call recipient hangs up, which suggests that recipients can closely monitor response to the declinations for some token of acceptance, and that hangups occurring after a declination but with no terminal salutations, like declinations themselves, are the outcome of interactive positioning-work rather than immediately-placed rebuffs on the part of recipients.

It is the case that interviewers do produce finalizers after hearing "not interested" declinations, as the resolution in excerpt (4) above showed:

(26) LSSC116 (partial)

24. I: And (.) we're doing a national (0.4) public opinion study?

25. (0.5)

26. FR: Oh no I don- I'm not interested

27. I: Oh Okay=

28. FR: =Thank you

29. I: Alright [bye bye]

30. FR: [bye bye]

The Recipient produces a declination at line 26, after which the Interviewer issues a finalizer (line 27), whereupon FR initiates an "appreciation sequence" with the "thank you" at line 28; that, then, occasions the Interviewer's acknowledgment and a terminal sequence whose components overlap one another (lines 29-30).

"Not interested" declinations, therefore, do not automatically engender modifications or appeals. They may be accepted or finalized and lead straightforwardly to a terminal exchange. However, they do appear vulnerable to non-acceptance in a way that announcements of competitive activities do not. In our data, appealing a "not interested" declination is much more frequent than accepting it, and there can be extended cycles of modifications or additions to the original request to participate, each one occasioning yet another opportunity for recipient response, and specifically acceptance. In the next excerpt, the interviewer appears heroic in his effort to obtain

acceptance; the Recipient is equally stouthearted in the patience with which he responds to each appeal with another declination. This is a call-back, and the transcript takes up where the interviewer has asked the first Recipient for, and obtained, the person in the household who had been previously selected for the interview:

(27) LSSC163

1. MA: He::llo hh
2. I: uh: hello:: may I speak with Jim please?
3. MA: Uh who:'s this?
4. I: uh this is Greg Sanders calling from the University of Wisconsin?
5. (1.6)
6. MA: Univ- ((away from phone)) Jimmy there's somebody from the
7. University of Wisconsin (.) who's callin ya
8. (5.2)
9. MR: Yello
10. I: Uh hello this is Greg Sanders calling from the University of
11. Wisconsin as: part of our national public opinion study? .hh
12. (0.3)
13. MR: Uh huh? [uh] I'm not interested
14. I: [an:-]
15. I: O::kay well um .hh it's awfully important that we: get the
16. opinions of everyone in the sample otherwise the results won't be
17. very useful=
18. MR: =Well: I (.) don't wanna (0.3) give ya any (0.2) o' my opinions
19. I: O::ka:y well uh uh we think that the survey's very important
20. because the questions are ones that people in .hh universities and
21. in the goverment want to know answers to so .hh [(we'd-)]
22. MR: [Oh] I don't
23. have any opinions to give you so I don't wanna answer any o'
24. [your questions]
25. I: [O::ka::y] w- well [y'know]
26. MR: [I don't] mean to be rude about it
27. that's the way I am=
28. I: =Yeah w- well if you don't have o- an opinion about something we
29. can just skip it .hh y'know or or:: or put down that you don't
30. have an opinion
31. MR: Well my dinner's getting cold so: [I don't] feel like talking=
32. I: [°O:kay°]
33. I: =Yeah um well is it okay if we call you back at another time?=
34. MR: =N::o hh I'd- n- wish that you not call me back
35. I: O::ka:y well [thank] you anyway=
36. MR: [Tha-]
37. MR: =Thank you
38. I: Mm bye bye
39. ((hang up))

Following MR's "not interested" declination (line 13), there are three appeal sequences (cf. Jefferson and Schenkein, 1977). Each starts with an acknowledgement of the declination, and contains a formulaic response. The first one (lines 15-17) stresses the "importance" of the sample, to which the Recipient replies by showing reluctance to give his opinions. Second, the interviewer shifts ground slightly by characterizing the "importance" of the survey and the questions (lines 19-21). The Interviewer appears to start another piece of his appeal when, in overlap (lines 24-5), the Recipient starts a turn (line 22) exhibiting stronger reluctance about answering; i.e., there are two interconnected components to his declination—(a) not having opinions to give the interviewer and therefore (b) not wanting to answer his questions. The interviewer appears to begin another appeal (line 25), producing, in overlap, another acknowledgment ("okay") and preface ("well y'know," line 25); here, the Recipient produces a mild apology (lines 26-7) and then the interviewer finishes his third appeal, proposing that they could "skip" or put no opinion for some questions (lines 28-30). The Recipient now (at line 31) announces a competing activity, thus shifting to a different type of declination and one that, as we already have seen, can be interpreted as not a refusal per se but as indicating the bad timing of the request. Thus, at line 33, the Interviewer produces request to call back, which is also declined, and the participants then close and terminate the call (lines 38-42).

This call shows that, in response to "not interested" call recipients, interviewers can produce cycles of appeals before an initial declination is finalized and the participants close and terminate the call. Put differently, such declinations are vulnerable to non-acceptance and to radical moves away from or out of closing. Also this call shows that the "bad timing" device, in

being the last one that the Recipient uses, is the one that is most successful in reinvigorating movement toward closure and termination, even though the announcement in (27) prototypically occasions a request to call back. The effectiveness of the bad timing device may be one reason that call recipients invoke it in the first place, independently of their actual involvements in competitive states or activities. In other words, announcing an involvement is a strong form of declination in terms of its effectiveness for reaching closing and termination. This provides a structural reason for recipients to invoke that form of declination. Moreover, because "bad timing" announcements contain temporal formulations as an embedded feature, that naturally occasions the effort at making arrangements for a call back, however mutual or unilateral. In a variety of ways, the "bad timing" device as a form for declination is at least somewhat spurious in terms of a Recipient's intentions; the high number of arrangements for a call back is at least partly an artifact of the structures of interaction.

VIII. Conclusion

In interview contexts, the "interactional substrate" refers to those skills of the participants that allow them to ultimately generate answers as accountable items (cf. Maynard and Marlaire, 1992). That is, the proper recording of attitudes and opinions for social scientific purposes is an achievement that depends upon an organization of Interviewers' and Recipients' concerted practical actions. From this substrate both successful interviews and unsuccessful ones as well are consummated. The specific skills we have examined include primarily linguistic ones for opening encounters, making requests, declining requests, and closing and terminating the encounter. Through these skills, official representatives mount a society's effort to monitor itself, and citizens cooperate with or resist such monitoring efforts.

Harvey Sacks once observed that language ought not to be part of our analytic enterprise until it had itself been described. That is perhaps an idealized version of how the sociology of talk and interaction should proceed. It could be modified to say that we can better understand other analytic enterprises, such as survey research, by intensively analyzing those linguistic and interactive practices that make such abstract enterprises possible. Those enterprises are in fact grounded in the lifeworld of everyday talk and interaction as the site of a panorama of orderly activities increasingly being brought to social organizational account. Our research offers a number of intriguing possibilities for probing the connection between actual society and its more abstract products, including survey-based propositions and findings.

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