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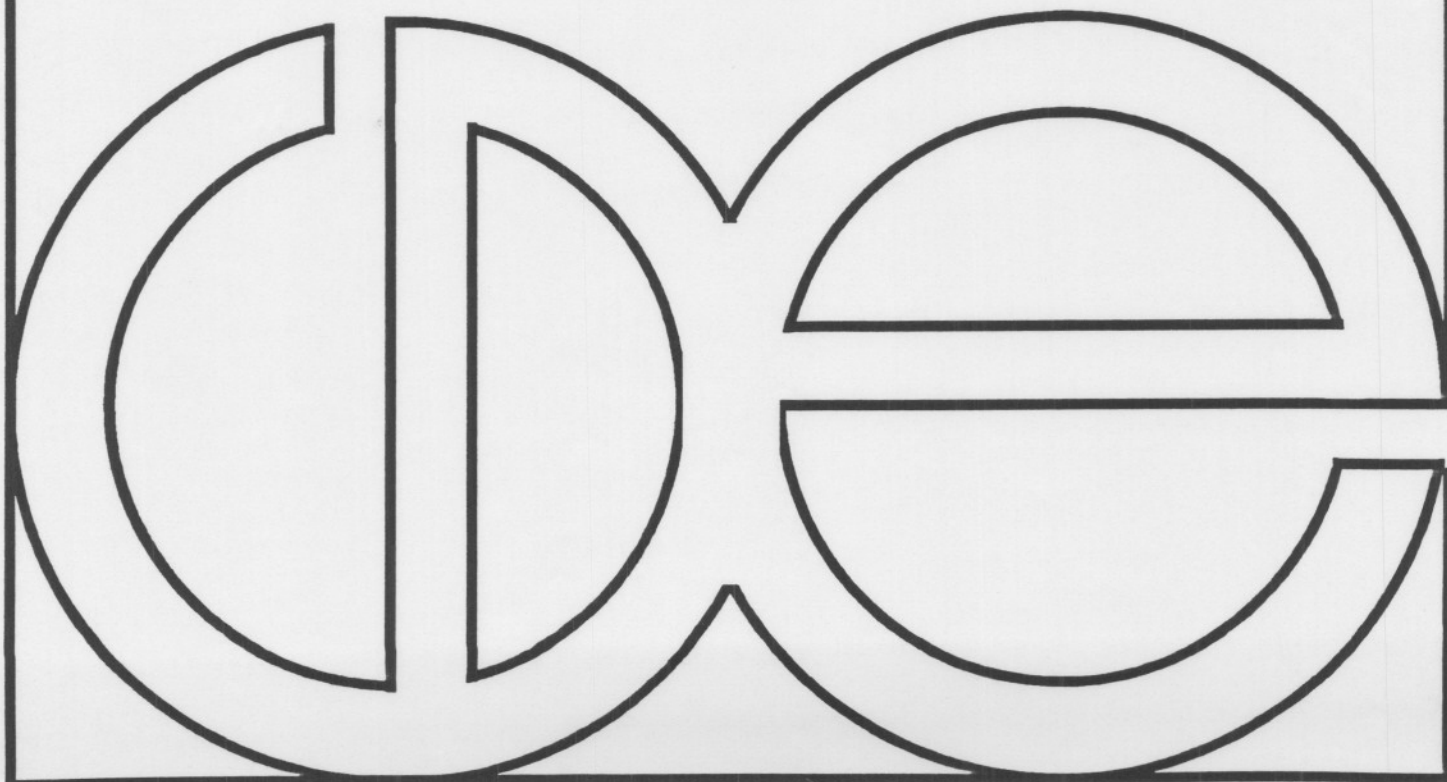
**NEGOTIATING CERTAINTY:
UNCERTAINTY PROPOSALS AND THEIR DISPOSAL
IN STANDARDIZED SURVEY INTERVIEWS**

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Introduction

The "objective" data obtained by survey interviews are negotiated in the interaction between respondents and interviewers. Understanding how data are negotiated in interaction, and what these negotiations imply for researchers' measurement theories, requires examining the interactional substrate in standardized survey interviews (Maynard and Marlaire, 1992). The interactional substrate consists of those basic interactional skills that interactants use to arrive at an "accountable answer." In standardized interviewing, an accountable answer is one that interactants can treat as reasonable, objective, verifiable, or properly achieved. Whether or not an answer is accountable, and how it is accountable, depends upon an organization of practical activities that constitute the interaction. These skills, which make up the interactional substrate of the interview, are presumed by and yet largely ignored in the rules of standardized interviewing (Marlaire and Maynard, 1990; Maynard and Marlaire, forthcoming). By discovering the structure in this interactional substrate, a close examination of interaction in the interview may lead us to insights about the practice of interviewing, and thereby to ways of improving interviewing and measurement theory (see Schaeffer, 1991; Suchman and Jordan, 1990).

In this paper we present an initial analysis of some issues and practices in situations where respondents seem to display what might be broadly characterized as uncertainty. Standardized survey questions constrain acceptable answers (compare Fowler and Mangione, 1990; Suchman and Jordan, 1990). Questions may be designed and formatted to obtain a "yes" or "no" answer, a specific number or piece of information, one of a set of response categories, or a relatively free-form description (see Dohwrenwend, 1965). These can be thought of as different question-answer "idioms" (Marlaire and Maynard, 1990), which are familiar to most survey respondents from other interactional contexts. Interactional displays--what is said and how it is said--that signal a respondent may be uncertain are potentially problematic for several reasons: they may signal that the respondent's "true value" will be measured with error and, because such displays may occur at "unpredictable" times and in unscripted ways, they challenge interviewers attempting to maintain standardization.

Our study examines displays of possible uncertainty in pretests of revised questions about labor force participation from the Current Population Survey (CPS). Questions in the CPS are primarily about behaviors, events, and statuses, and respondents are asked both about themselves and about others in the household. For this reason, the proposals of possible uncertainty with which we are concerned here are likely to be about (a) limitations of respondents' knowledge, (b) limitations of respondents' memories, and (c) problems with survey concepts as operationalized in survey questions.¹ Respondents' limited knowledge introduces uncertainty most obviously when the respondent is reporting about others, that is, when she or he is providing proxy reports. However, respondents' "knowledge" about their own lives may also be limited. For example, a respondent may never have calculated the number of hours she worked in a given week, and so this number is not recallable "knowledge." Respondents' limited memories produce uncertainty in reports about both the self and others. When memory or knowledge is uncertain, respondents may round, estimate, or guess at an answer either initially or when pressed. Survey concepts generate uncertainty because a respondent may be uncertain what information--out of all the information he or she can recall--is actually sought by a question. That is, the point of a question, and what might be a relevant answer, may be ambiguous or vague.

Uncertainties that arise during the course of the interview are negotiated by both participants, but the interviewer's behavior in those negotiations is constrained. Several of those constraints, which can be thought of as requirements of the interviewer's role, are of particular

¹We ignore here "hearing" problems, which may generate a check of the "channel," or a transmission check, such as a request that information be repeated, and which may introduce another kind of uncertainty.

relevance to us here: to read the question as worded, to obtain an answer that can be seen to be produced by the respondent and not the interviewer (compare Button, 1987), to probe nondirectively, and to maintain a cooperative relationship for the duration of the interview (see, for example, Brenner, 1981; Fowler and Mangione, 1990). These constraints interact with the respondent's limited knowledge and memory and the ambiguity of survey concepts to produce tensions in the interview--and uncertainty about how to proceed on the part of the interviewer.

The sources of uncertainty outlined above are familiar to survey researchers, and they are generally thought of as originating with the respondent. Good questionnaire design, interviewer training, and field procedures provide interviewers resources to use in locating a knowledgeable respondent, cuing respondents' memories, and clarifying survey concepts. It is less common to think of uncertainty in the standardized interview as an interactional achievement of both participants to the interview. We use this perspective, taken from conversation analysis, to analyze one phenomenon that arises in negotiating survey data: the proposal or display of uncertainty about an answer by a respondent, the response to that proposal or display (if any) by the interviewer, and the disposal of the uncertainty by negotiation of an adequate, codable answer. Our analysis examines how respondents and interviewers display these uncertainties and tensions, and what their collaborative disposal or resolution look like.

Data and Methods

We examine this phenomenon in tapes of interviews by U.S. Bureau of the Census interviewers for a pretest of the redesigned labor force participation questions in the Current Population Survey. This initial analysis is based on approximately 24 pretest interviews (some of them partial interviews) available to us. The Census Bureau pretested two different versions of the labor force participation questions, and the two interviews from which we draw most of our illustrations use different forms. The audiotapes we analyzed include only the revised questions about labor force participation. Because we are analyzing audiotapes, we do not have the nonverbal behavior of either participant available to us for examination. Because our data come from telephone interviews, however, the information available to us approximates that available jointly to the participants. The analysis describes the details of the interaction to improve our understanding of how interviewers and respondents dispose of uncertainty. We cannot estimate how these negotiations affect the reliability or validity of the resulting data because we do not have criteria for evaluating the accuracy of respondents' answers, but the discussion draws on the analysis for testable suggestions about how to improve interviewing procedure and question design.

Conversation analysis provides a mode of practice and a body of prior research that we use to analyze interaction in the interview. Conversation analysts study how conversationalists structure their talk. Topics relevant for the study of standardized interviewing include, for example, how participants signal and recognize places at which the speaker may change (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1984), how they deploy response tokens--particles such as "um hmm" "hmm" or "oh" that are placed as a response to something that has been said (Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 1984)--or how they express disagreement (Sacks, 1987). But to understand how respondents and interviewers collaborate in arriving at answers that participants--and later analysts--treat as "objective" answers, we also draw on ethnomethodology, the study of "members' practices" (Maynard and Clayman, 1991). By understanding the constraints on interviewers' and respondents' behavior and decisions in other situations, we have a basis for making inferences about those constraints in the particular situations we observe. Although survey researchers are practiced in identifying how task structure affects answers (e.g., Schuman and Presser, 1981 provides a variety of examples), and have considered how interviewers' behavior in general may affect data quality (e.g., Fowler and Mangione, 1985) we have less practice in identifying more precisely interactional influences on answers (but see Marquis, 1971 for an

early example, and Dijkstra, 1987 for a more recent, experimental, example).

Together, conversation analysis and ethnomethodology provide a set of relevant research findings and a method for the careful examination of the structure of interaction in the interview. Other sociolinguistic approaches, such as discourse analysis and communication studies (see discussions in Briggs, 1986 and Mishler, 1986) also have the potential to contribute to understanding the survey interview. But conversation analysis provides us a method for examining more details of interaction in the interview than are usually made visible. This close examination aims to identify conversational practices--elements of the interactional substrate--that persist in the relatively constrained environment of the standardized interview. The conversation analytic examination of these practices shows how the visible interaction itself contributes to the production of social science data, without recourse to the psychology or motivation of the participants--factors that cannot themselves be directly observed.

We identified direct displays of possible uncertainty by the presence of words or phrases that mark estimates (e.g., "about," "round," etc.) or phrases such as "I don't know" or "I guess." This classification uses our commonsense knowledge of the usage of such phrases and is probably quite reliable. We also examine instances in which the respondent, instead of giving a properly formatted answer (e.g., "yes" or "no" to a question formatted for one of these answers) provides some other type of response or information. Such sequences may indicate that the respondent is unable to provide an answer in the format requested and, thus, may indicate that the respondent is uncertain about something. Such answers might be considered latent "don't knows" because the respondent is not able to answer the question in the requested format--at least initially.

Our characterization of the sources of uncertainty as knowledge, memory, and comprehension problems does not come from the respondents themselves, but will be familiar to most survey researchers. For example, a question rating sheet developed to obtain feedback from CPS interviewers during pretesting asked interviewers to rate questions included the following categories: Respondent had difficulty understanding the question/concepts, Respondent didn't know the information, Respondent couldn't remember the answer (memo for Child Support Supplement Debriefing Session, April 1992). Our classification of relevant types of uncertainty is partially based on an analysis of the types of cognitive problems posed by the content of these CPS questions. Some of these problems have been addressed by research that seeks to improve question design, for example, by providing memory cues or suggesting what information proxy respondents can provide (e.g., Eisenhower, Mathiowetz, and Morganstein, 1991; Blair, Menon, and Bickart, 1989). "Don't know" answers of any type can be problematic: this category may be quite heterogeneous and such answers may increase interviewer variability (for illustrative comments see Duncan and Stenbeck, 1988, p. 515 and Schuman and Presser, 1981, p. 146). But analyses of the sources of uncertainty and the development of methods for recording different types of uncertainty are underdeveloped (see Schaeffer and Thomson, 1992).

Our analysis presumes, but does not analyze in detail, the basic three-part structure of the question-answer-receipt sequence (see Cannell and Kahn, 1968, p. 572). Research about interviewing has examined the contents of the receipt position because it potentially provides feedback to the respondent and can be used this way either purposefully or inadvertently (e.g., Cannell, Miller, and Oksenberg, 1981). This structure or variants characterize other highly patterned forms of interaction within social institutions, such as instruction (Mehan, 1979, pp. 52-53) and standardized testing of children for disabilities (Marlaire and Maynard, 1990, p. 89). In survey interviews, the sequence could also be considered as having a four-part structure: question-answer-receipt-silence. The final silence appears predictably as the interviewer records one answer and prepares to ask the next question. Respondents' displays of uncertainty expand this basic three-part structure and require further expansion by the interviewer's probes before a codable answer is given and the receipt is issued.

The Collaborative Disposal of Uncertainty

Respondents may explicitly propose that they are uncertain when producing an answer requires consulting detailed knowledge or memories. To provide a comparison for latter illustrations, we consider first a simple example in which the respondent displays little, if any, uncertainty:

Segment 1: 006C0204, 36:

- 1 I: Taking into account any extra hours worked or time taken off
- 2 last week (.) how many hours did Nancy Gill actually work
- 3 at her job
- 4 R: Uh (0.4) forty
- 5 I: And now I have...

In this exchange, the respondent immediately provides a direct answer to the interviewer's question, preceded only by "uh" and a brief pause (line 4), which may indicate that the respondent is processing the question and engaging in limited recall. The interviewer treats the answer as unproblematic by proceeding with the next question (line 5). But this is not always, or even usually, the case.

Segment 2: 004C0202, 114:

- 1 I: .h taking into account any extra hours worked or time taken
- 2 off last week .hh how many hours did Peter King Junior
- 3 actually work at his job
- 4 R: Round fifty
- 5 I: .hh Now I have a few questions...

In this example, the respondent's answer "Round fifty" (line 4), which is produced without hesitation, has two elements. The first, "Round," presents the answer as an estimate; and the second element, "fifty," provides the numeric answer the question is designed to obtain. In contrast to Segment 1, the answer here provides the interviewer grounds to question the answer as an estimate. By accepting the number fifty and proceeding to the next question, the interviewer treats the respondent's answer as adequate.

These two episodes have few indications that the respondent has any uncertainty about answering. When such indicators are minimal, and the interviewer accepts an answer, that answer appears as the respondent's own. Such routine sequences may camouflage the actual collaboration involved in producing an acceptable answer. The following excerpt, in which the process of achieving an answer is more complex, makes the collaborative nature of the "respondent's" answer visible.

Segment 3: 008C0301, 60

- 1 I: And taking into account any extra hours worked or time taken
- 2 off last week how many hours did you actually work at your
- 3 job?
- 4 R: .hhhhh Uhhhh hhhhh let me think here (.) I dunno fffffifty
- 5 hours maybe?
- 6 I: Kay then (1.0) it would (.) be correct to put in fifty?
- 7 R: nyeah I suppose so
[]

- 8 I: uh huh
- 9 I: *okay* (3.5) Now I have...

The respondent displays thinking and then precedes ("I dunno") and follows ("maybe") the number with expressions that clearly mark it as uncertain (lines 4-5). The interviewer questions the correctness of the answer, using a general probe (line 6) that incorporates two elements of the respondent's answer, the number of hours and, by implication, the number's correctness. (Compare the interviewer's behavior in Segment 1 and Segment 2 where the respondents give few indications of uncertainty, and so do not provide this topic.) The rules of standardized interviewing would allow the interviewer to suggest the level of accuracy she actually wants or ways the respondent might improve the answer (e.g., "Please be as accurate as you can," "Be sure to consider any time you may have taken off or any overtime you might have worked," etc.), but the interviewer does not. Moreover, the interviewer's question "prefers" (in the sense used by conversation analysts) a confirmation (Sacks, 1987); in the language of survey interviewing, it is a directive probe.

The respondent's answer, "nyeah," (line 7) conveys continued uncertainty and is achieved as ambiguous (Jefferson, 1978). It presents the hearer with the opportunity to make a choice and help actualize the item's valence as positive or negative. The respondent adds suppositional weight to this ambiguous item ("I suppose so," line 7), in a way that further displays uncertainty. However, the interviewer overlaps this display with the start of her receipt ("uh huh okay," lines 8-9). The receipt proposes closure of the sequence and silence ensues, as the interviewer enters the answer and waits for the next screen. By staying silent after his answer is receipted, the respondent appears to accept the interviewer's proposed termination of the sequence. If the proposed termination "prefers" acceptance (Sacks, 1987), the respondent could have reopened discussion of his answer, but at the expense of doing a "dispreferred" and therefore potentially sanctionable activity.

Overall, the interviewer has clearly played an active part in obtaining a "correct" and codable answer in an environment of palpable uncertainty on the part of the respondent. The answer is very much a collaborative achievement. Furthermore, the collaboration has succeeded in making it possible to see a definite answer as having been "produced by" the respondent--it is "accountably" the respondent's own answer (cf. Marlaire and Maynard, 1990).

These segments all display the basic structure of the question-and-answer sequence. Segments 1 and 2 present truncated sequences in which the acknowledgement is omitted, but in Segment 3 the acknowledgement is augmented by a trailing silence, produced by the interviewer entering the answer, waiting for the next screen to appear, and preparing to ask the next question.

Knowledge and Memory

When a respondent displays that uncertainty results from limited knowledge or memory, there may be an implication, or an explicit display, that the respondent is unable to resolve the uncertainty. This limit, in combination with constraints on the interviewer's behavior, may complicate the interaction, as can be seen in the following extended illustrations drawn from two interviews. Segments from the first interview expand on our initial illustrations by showing a respondent signaling that she is providing an estimate about which she is uncertain, and then improving on that estimate, but with ambiguous results. Segments from the second interview present a respondent who explicitly declares that her knowledge is insufficient to provide an answer, and who is relatively impervious to attempts to coax an answer from her--she appears fairly certain that she is uncertain.

Proposals of Estimation

When a respondent marks a candidate answer as an estimate, the answer signals that the respondent has at least some relevant recallable information,

but that its accuracy can be questioned. It may be unclear whether problems of knowledge or of memory are implicated.

Segment 4: 019C0502, 172-233

Segment 4 presents an extended sequence that covers five questions in the interview schedule: the usual number of hours worked, whether the person wants to work full-time, and three questions about the actual number of hours worked. In response to the question about usual hours of work, the respondent marks her answer as an estimate, using "about." She also provides a "per day" estimate, whereas the interviewer's schedule demands a "per week" estimate. The request for a revised estimate at line 175 corrects the interviewer's original misreading of the question, which specifies "per week." After a silence, the respondent gives such an estimate (line 179), and it is accepted by the interviewer at line 180.

In response to the next question, however, the details of which are discussed below, the respondent revises her estimate of the usual number of hours per day to four and a half (line 201), which would give a total of twenty-two and a half hours per week. The respondent greets the interviewer's reading of the question about the actual number of hours worked (lines 224-225) with a very long silence (line 226) and then a soft "Un" (line 227). After this display of possible uncertainty, the interviewer herself offers a candidate answer that presents the respondent's initial estimate as a definite number, which she implicitly attributes to the respondent ("the" twenty hours, line 228). The interviewer also asks for confirmation (line 228), which the respondent appears to give (following a silence at line 229). Note that the respondent's answer (line 230) is constructed with less definition than the interviewer's candidate answer (line 228) ("maybe about twenty" vs. "the twenty hours") or her own previous estimates. Furthermore, following another silence (line 231), the respondent produces a different, larger, estimate, which is also marked as an estimate and uncertain. Despite this, the interviewer quickly accepts the second answer (line 233), and it is not clear which number she does or should record.

We wish to point out two further features of this excerpt. First, the respondent does not display uncertainty throughout the excerpt. Rather, displays of both certainty and uncertainty are fitted to the interviewer's ways of producing questions. Thus, the interviewer's initial request for "usual" hours (line 172) seems to ask for an estimate. When the respondent answers with "about" four hours a day and "about" twenty hours a week, the answer is fitted to the request. The following questions, at lines 216-221, are prefaced with the announcement that the interviewer has "questions about the exact number of hours...worked" (our emphasis), and the subsequent questions about losing hours and working overtime ask for precise measures of time. Here, the respondent's quick, definite replies (lines 220 and 222) display no hesitation--and perhaps certainty--about these answers. Indeed, the second of these answers ("No, not") begins at a "recognition point" (Jefferson, 1976, 1986) in the interviewer's question and is in overlap with subsequent portions of the interviewer's querying utterance. The interviewer, in fact, truncates her reading of the question from the interview schedule ("that he doesn't actually work" is omitted). Our first point, then, is that displays of both certainty and uncertainty may not reflect psychological states of respondents so much as respondents' interactions with interviewers and their ways of asking questions. Once again, we are confronted with the collaborative nature of the interview.

A second feature of this excerpt is the continuation of what appears to be the respondent's own uncertainty. This, however, may result from a contradiction with which the respondent has been presented. At lines 224-225, the interviewer asks the respondent for how many hours Mark Roland "actually" worked at his job. This contrasts with the query at line 172 about how many hours he "usually" works. Whether this change is a source of trouble for the respondent we cannot say, but after the question there is a very long silence of 4.5 seconds (line 226), and then the "uhh" (line 227). The interviewer

responds to the nonvocal and vocal markers of hesitation with her candidate answer. Because it uses the respondent's initial estimate of "four hours" (line 201), this probe clearly contradicts the more recent solicitation for exactness (line 216). Like other probes we have seen, it "prefers" agreement, and the respondent's answer as constructed from lines 230-232 actually disagrees and is produced in a way that observes this preference system. That is, it is an agreement-prefaced disagreement. So, what might be taken as continued indications of a respondent's uncertainty may derive from the "interactional substrate" in which both the interviewer and the respondent are embedded.

It is unclear whether the respondent's "twenty-fo" is the result of poor arithmetic (it is not evenly divisible by five, for example) or a further improvement of the estimate in response to implied and direct requests for greater accuracy. What is clear is that the sequence of questions provides contradictory requests (for an accurate answer and for any answer), that the respondent does not spontaneously resolve the contradictory results, that the interviewer provides no guidance for the respondent in doing so, that the interviewer appears to resolve the possible answers peremptorily, and that the respondent accedes to this.

Proposals of Limited Knowledge

Segment 5: 002C0102, 33-95

In this extended sequence, the respondent is asked to provide a proxy report about the actual number of hours worked by another member of the household. When asked if Mary Lee usually works thirty-five hours or more per week, the respondent's "Ee:Ye:es" is elongated (line 35). The next question, about the actual number of hours worked (lines 36-38), is greeted first with silence (line 39), and then with "Well now," followed by a declaration that the respondent does not know (line 40). The interviewer's probe is delayed by "Um:." after which he speeds up his delivery (line 41). The probe itself lowers the threshold of knowledge required for an answer by asking for "your best guess." The probe is again met with silence (line 42) and then a discursive answer that does not match the format of the probe (lines 43-47). The answer includes embedded silences (lines 44 and 46) and a self-repair in which the respondent corrects "she was off a (0.8) coupla" to "she was off one day last week" (lines 45-47). This "halting" delivery ends with a declaration that what she has just said is something the respondent "knows" (line 47).

The interviewer's next probe begins by misstating that the respondent "said" Mary Lee worked thirty-five hours or more (lines 48-49)--but the respondent has agreed that Mary Lee "usually" works thirty-five hours. The interviewer aborts this probe before it is completed (line 50), restarts with "alright" (line 51), and provides a probe that lowers the threshold of knowledge required for an answer further still to "your best guess that that you would think" (lines 51-52). Both probes include signs of hesitancy: "um" (lines 48 and 49), and false starts (lines 51-52), and segments that are said quickly (lines 48-49 and 51). The completed probe is followed by a very long silence (line 53), "Well," and a declaration that the respondent "really" doesn't know (line 54).

The interviewer's next probe follows a silence (lines 55-56), begins with "Uh" and a repeat of "di-" (line 57). The respondent begins slowly (lines 58-60). Her answer matches the question's format, begins with "Well," and repeats what the respondent said she knew (at line 47), but "maybe" marks her "not" as uncertain. A brief silence (line 62) delays the interviewer's receipt, which is drawn out, "Oka::y" (line 63). The next silence (line 64) is followed by the respondent adding a further declaration that she "is not sure" (line 65). This addition by the respondent, a "dispreferred" return to a receipted answer, may be facilitated by the interviewer's drawing out of "okay," which the respondent may hear as tentative.

The interviewer's receipt this time begins with "Uh" (line 67), and the inbreath and particle "Um" (line 67) may signal that he will continue

speaking. He does continue after a silence (line 68), again speeding up his delivery to ask when Mary Lee "would be in and then we could call back just to make sure." The respondent begins to say that "she'll be home when she gets-" and then restarts her answer, "(.) any ti:me afta fou:r" (lines 72-73). The interviewer's receipt at line 74 is very similar to that at line 67, and is followed by another probe for "a guessed amount of hours you think she worked (.) until we can call back maybe: (.) get those hours from her" (lines 76-79). There is another long silence, before the respondent restates ("Well like I said") that Mary Lee "works five days a week," adding signs of continued possible uncertainty, both in her delivery and in what she says: "but I woul-I'm (.) but now that I thank back I don't know if was last week she was off or not" (lines 81-83). The interviewer's receipt is again drawn; his inbreath and "Um" (line 84) are followed with another silence (line 85).

The probe at lines 86-87 does not include the signs of hesitation of previous probes and receives an immediate definite "Yeah" (line 88). The interviewer's receipt is then followed by a statement that characterizes the respondent's answer as provisional ("so I put thirty-five for now," line 89). The interviewer's addition that ">and the next time<) we'll get back to her and (1.0) we'll uh (0.8) check to make sure on that one" (lines 89-94) has embedded silences and speeded portions, and is acknowledged by the respondent (line 95).

Several overall features of this sequence are useful to consider. The respondent proposes that she does not know the information requested several times, with varying degrees of emphasis (lines 40, 54, 65), but also makes several attempts to provide an answer, with contradictory results (43-47, 61, 81-83). The interviewer uses several strategies:

- (a) He attempts to lower the "threshold" of accuracy that an adequate answer must meet (lines 41, 51-52, 76-79).
- (b) He reformulates direct questions about the hours worked, varying the threshold of accuracy requested (lines 57, 86-87).
- (c) He restates information previously provided by the respondent, although with distortion (lines 48-49 omit the qualifier "usually" which appeared in the question that elicited the answer the interviewer is restating, lines 33-34).
- (d) He offers to consult the person being asked about instead of the respondent (lines 69-74).
- (e) He offers to consider the respondent's answer provisional until confirmation can be obtained (lines 76-79, 86-94), although the occasion proposed for the confirmation shifts from calling back when the person returns from work (lines 69-74) to "next time," which could be the next monthly interview (lines 89-94).

Some of these are variants of standard probing techniques, and the interviewer combines and alternates among them. The end result is an affirmative answer, again produced in response to a question that prefers agreement (lines 86-88), followed by the interviewer's assurance that the answer is provisional (lines 89-94).

The respondent's answers suggest that a declaration that she "doesn't know" is delayed either by a longer than usual silence (line 39, 64) or by words or speech patterns that can serve as markers of uncertainty, for example, drawing out words (line 35), or a "well" placed early in a turn (lines 40, 54, 61). She gives answers produced despite uncertainty a halting delivery including embedded silences (lines 43-47, 59-61).

Although the interviewer's delivery of the initial question is quite smooth (lines 36-38), his probes suggest that the effect of the respondent's uncertainty is contagious. The interviewer speeds up his delivery several times when he invites the respondent to produce an answer anyway (lines 41, 51, 76-79). An initial "um" or "uh," presumably gives the interviewer time to formulate his probes (lines 41, 48, 57, 67, 74, 84--compare the interviewer's launching of the resolution at line 89)--as do the silences embedded within the probes (lines 48-52, 55-57, 67-70, 76-79, 84-87). The probes also exhibit false starts and self-repairs, which sometimes result in confused constructions (lines 51-52, 57, 76-79). A respondent who does not have an

answer presents a failure of the assumptions of standardized interviewing, and the practice of standardization appears to fail here as well.

Segment 6: 002C0102, 119-127

Segment 7: 002C0102, 128-143

Figure 1: Question 25E-1, version B

Two subsequent questions about the same household member are shown in Segments 6 and 7. Segment 6 has a simple structure: the respondent expresses uncertainty using the features noted above: an initial pause followed by "well" and a declaration that she does not know (lines 121-122). This time the interviewer accepts the declaration immediately (line 124).

The interviewer substantially alters the standard wording of the following question, which appears in Segment 7, and he produces the truncated question that appears at line 128. Figure 1 shows the question with which Segment 7 is concerned.² The respondent immediately supplies a negative answer, but follows it with a tag phrase expressing doubt ("I don't think) about the answer. The interviewer overlaps this tag phrase and does not respond to it. The interviewer probes with truncated versions of the possible response categories that follow "An employee of a PRIVATE company, business, or individual for wages, salary, or comm" on the screen. The presentation of the alternatives appears to aggravate the respondent's doubts, and she gives a full expression of uncertainty at line 134 that includes an initial delay, "well," and is drawn out not by silences, but by the pronunciation of "I." (The respondent's initial laughter may point to her repeated "don't knows" and is not reciprocated by the interviewer.) The interviewer's probe at lines 135-136 includes many of the elements already described: an initial "um," embedded silences, false starts (one of which begins by distorting the respondent's previous statement in a directive probe and is then repaired by the interviewer), and a confused construction. When the respondent does not respond to the probe (line 137), the interviewer "diagnoses" the silence as problematic and tries again. The interviewer lowers the threshold of knowledge requested, "wouldja wouldja happen to know," again quickening his delivery. The probes at lines 131-132 and 138-139 treat the respondent's answer at line 129 as though she had definitely rejected "private company." Thus, it is possible to see the uncertainty elicited by those probes as products of the interaction, rather than of the respondent's state of knowledge.

Segment 8: 002C0102, 146-159

Segment 8 illustrates that the features we have just described are absent when this respondent is reporting about her own occupation, where she displays no sign that her knowledge is inadequate.

The Ambiguity of Survey Concepts

The concept of the "number of hours worked" held by most respondents is probably similar to the concept intended in the CPS. And whether or not their concept is the same as that in the CPS, most respondents hold the "number of hours worked" as a "native construct," which they can use in constructing an answer to questions about their work lives. But many survey concepts are less familiar to respondents, do not have native equivalents, or are inherently even more ambiguous than the number of hours worked. Surveys questions attempt to operationalize such difficult concepts in simple terms, but are not always successful. This occurs even when the information the questions

²This question was redesigned in the final version of the revised CPS, partially because of the type of problems illustrated here.

request is known to the respondent and available for recall, because the respondent does not understand the point of the question.

How a respondent might come to see the point of a question is illustrated by Segment 9.

Segment 9: 002C0102, 257-264

The interviewer formulates the question as formatted for a yes or no answer using a truncated version of the first response category that appears on the screen (see Figure 1 for the full category). After a long pause, the respondent, who has said she does cleaning in a private home, gives a very definite negative answer. The interviewer then probes with a summary of the next response categories, and the respondent revises her answer, but marks it as uncertain ("I guess," line 263). If the interviewer had read the first response category in its entirety, the respondent could have heard that this category is meant to include "individual" employers. As it happens, it requires the unfolding interaction to teach the respondent how to understand the initial category: if the alternative is working for a government, then "private company" seems to be a better description of her situation, but she remains unsure.

Segment 10: 019C0502, 151-159

A similar problem seems to be on the verge of occurring in Segment 10. This interviewer produces a version of the question similar to that considered in Segment 9, and the respondent begins to respond similarly--with a long silence, which she then follows with "uh:..". The interviewer treats the silence and particle as indicating a potential problem and produces a probe based on the next response categories. Although we cannot tell what the respondent would have said without the probe, her answer takes into account both the initial question and the probe. The respondent has made information about "contract work for the government" available for the interviewer to use in correcting her initial choice of a category.

Providing potentially relevant information appears to be a strategy respondents sometimes use when confronted with a question that does not give sufficient guidance about the type of answer sought. A similar, but more developed example, appears above in Segment 4 (lines 182-216). In response to the question about whether the person wants full-time work, the respondent produces a long silence, "uh:..", another long silence, and slowly begins a negative answer. As in Segment 10, the interviewer appears to perceive a potential problem and probes by modifying a category from a subsequent question (Q20F-4, "Full time work week < 35 hrs"). The interviewer's choice of category is probably incorrect (based on the specifications in the interviewer's manual), and her selection projects that the respondent's likely choice is "no" (a "no" answer is routed directly to Q20F-4). The probe elicits a "long" but somewhat halting recitation with several embedded silences. The answer presents a detailed description of the person's work arrangements and proposes that the recitation summarizes the available relevant information, "and that's it" (line 204). The interviewer's balanced probe, which includes a self-repair (...to work full time (1.0) a full time work week of...) signals that the recitation has not provided her with a satisfactory resolution. The respondent's final formulation, "That's all the work there is at the job," is an answer the interviewer can code for the subsequent question about the main reason the person is working part-time ("Hours for the job are less than 35"),³ if the answer to whether the person

³The interviewer's manual states that "Full-time work week under 35 hours is to be used "when a person's occupation calls for a full-time work week which is usually less than 35 hours. Although fairly rare, such cases occur most commonly among airline pilots, and flight attendants whose hours are often limited by regulation." "Hours for the job are less than 35" is

wants a full-time job is "no." The interviewer's acceptance of this answer suggests that this is what she does.

Segment 11: 019C0502, 248-257

What appears to be a similar phenomenon appears in Segment 11 with a question formatted for a choice among categories. Following a long pause (line 250), the respondent provides general information about the person's job rather than choosing one of the response categories, but this time the interviewer accepts the information and proposes terminating the sequence (lines 255-257). The interviewer's receipt overlaps the respondent's answer, perhaps suggesting she has heard sufficient information.

In all three of these examples, a question using formal constructs elicits a colloquial recitation of facts rather than an answer that fits predefined categories. In effect, the respondent, after hesitating, offers candidate information for the interviewer to review in translating the respondent's experience into the survey's concepts. The interviewer can either accept the information (as in Segment 11) or further press the respondent to formulate the answer herself (Segment 10, lines 206-209).

A fuller illustration of this strategy at work is presented in Segment 12.

Segment 12: 019C0502, 10-45, 65-86

In this segment, a person who appears to be a farmer ends up recorded as being unemployed.⁴ The problem apparent in this segment may begin with an initial small reading error, which the interviewer self-repairs (lines 10-12): The interviewer begins to ask whether anyone "owns" a farm, but changes that to the (correct) "operates." Because the person asked about farms land that he "rents" (line 32), the respondent may have been cued to answer the initial question with "no" (line 14). Our main interest is in the question about "work related activities last week" (lines 16-19). The respondent describes what Robert Roland "did" (line 24) and further characterizes this work in a hesitating fashion (lines 25-32) before asking "Am I making myself clear?" Thus, the respondent appears to offer relevant information to the interviewer so that the interviewer might select a response. Instead the interviewer in her subsequent probe (lines 37-39) enacts the standardized interviewing rule that the answer be provided by the respondent. Asked to use her own terms, the respondent says "N:o" (line 41), but displays that there may be more to be said ("not that work (.) he wasn't"). However, the interviewer partially overlaps the respondent, using the "okay" token to propose a closure of the sequence (lines 44-45), and thereby ignoring this display.

This is not the end of exhibited uncertainty about the categorization of Robert Roland's work. After three questions that establish that he was not employed at a part-time or full-time "job," was not unemployed because of a layoff, and was not looking for work in the last four weeks, the interviewer asks whether he has looked for work during the last 12 months. Here the respondent not only answers "no," but offers a formulation, "No he's- he's a farmer" (line 68), that would seem to give a reason for her hesitant responses. Still the interviewer persists with a question about retirement (line 72), and about his "main status or activity" (lines 76-77), which is

"intended to cover responses such as 'that's all the job requires'" (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990, p. 3-12).

⁴The speculation that the respondent should be classified as a farmer is based on the information that the person "farms" land that he "rents" and instructions in the CPS interviewer's manual. Our statement that the respondent is recorded as unemployed is based on the question sequence the interviewer follows.

greeted with a long silence (line 78). Here, the interviewer recognizes the delay and starts an utterance at line 79. In initial overlap with this, the respondent repeats the formulation of line 68, but with considerably more emphasis and a preface that formulates it as a repeat: "Like I said he is a far:mer" (lines 80-82). This is followed by the interviewer's terminal "okay" at line 83.

How the interviewer records the results of this episode is not available in the transcript. But across two environments of questioning, the respondent gives ample evidence of uncertainty in her responses. These appear to be ignored. In part, this is probably due to the constraint the interviewer feels to have the respondent provide a categorical response, and it seems that such a constraint interferes with her using proffered information in a corrective way.

Eliciting an Interviewer's Response: Further Illustrations

The examples already examined suggest that interviewers may treat at least two respondent behaviors--providing an unformatted answer, and leaving a silence after the completion of a question--as problematic. That is, when respondents provide one of these two elements, the interviewer may react to it in some way. Furthermore, the interviewer's reaction may lead her away from the standardized script. In giving an unformatted answer, the respondent uses a turn to provide information that may be of use in constructing an answer, but does not itself constitute an answer. By leaving a silence where she might begin a turn, the respondent provides information of a different kind--or at least provides something that interviewers sometimes treat as informative. The following excerpts illustrate some of the contexts in which these elements appear, and some of the types of responses they elicit from interviewers.

The scripted question in Segment 13 asks the respondent to classify his job in one of four categories (lines 78-80). The respondent provides an unformatted answer--a category that is not offered, "service industry." This answer suggests that the question itself can be heard in one of two ways: as offering a set of four categories from which to choose, or as offering 3 specific categories and one general category that requires further specification. Rather than being heard as simply selecting a category that is not offered, the respondent's answer could be heard as implicitly selecting "something else" and projecting a follow-up question. But the interviewer's probe "So it'd be under" (line 84) treats the respondent's answer as improperly formatted--one of the offered categories must be selected--and returns of the task of selecting which category to the respondent. In lines 86-91, the respondent eliminates at least two categories, but ends by saying "I don't what what you'd (.) classify it" (lines 90-91). This formulation supports our characterization--and interviewers' treatment--of unformatted answers as possible indicators of uncertainty. After the respondent eliminates most of the categories with the global characterization "or anything like that," line 88), the interviewer can probe with the remaining category "something else" (line 92), without detracting from the accountability of the answer as the respondent's own.

The exchange in Segment 14 is similar in that the use of an unformatted answer precedes a display of that the respondent does not know what the standardized question means, in this case a direct question, "Uh what do you mean by private company?" (lines 201-202). In response to a question asking whether the respondent's wife works for a private company (lines 188-192), the respondent produces the unformatted answer, "Just the businesses we have" (line 193). The interviewer responds with the query, "Scuse me?" (line 194), which elicits a slightly expanded version of the respondent's first answer (lines 195-196). The interviewer's probe, "Okay: and she is an employee of a private company then?" (lines 197-199) makes explicit a possible implication of the respondent's statement, one that he may be asking the interviewer to record as an answer to the question. But by producing a probe, the

interviewer treats the respondent's answer as requiring further clarification. The aptness of this action is confirmed at lines 201-202, when the respondent explicitly asks what the category "private company" means. The interviewer's response, "Well as opposed to a federal government employee" defines one category "private company" by contrast with another, and yields a properly formatted answer, "yes" (line 206).

The unformatted answer in line 98 of Segment 15, "She works at the medical centuh," actually provides some of the information that the name of an employer typically conveys--the type of business. In this case, the respondent may be answering what she takes to be the question "behind" the interviewer's question. That is, the respondent answers as if she has inferred that such highly local information as the actual name is not really the information sought. The routine assurances of confidentiality given at the beginning of the interview may contribute to the respondent's constructing a model in which local, identifying, information is unlikely to be asked for. The interviewer produces a halting probe (lines 99-100), once again asking for the name. The silence at line 101 is followed by another turn by the interviewer, in which she appears to be about to construct another probe like that in lines 99-100 until the respondent interrupts with the requested information (line 103). This example shows both how an unformatted answer may be taken to indicate uncertainty--in this case about the purpose of the question--and how interviewers may interpret the respondent's silence as indicating a problem.

In all of these cases, the interviewer responds to the content of the unformatted answer, but also to the fact that it is not formatted. The interviewer's pursuit continues until a formatted answer is obtained.

Conclusion

Whether or not a respondent displays uncertainty depends both on the question that has been asked and on the respondent's own store of information and understanding, that is, it depends both on the survey task and on the respondent's unobservable "state" (see discussion in Schaeffer and Thomson, 1992). In addition, however, it depends on the enactment of the interactional substrate during the interview. Task uncertainty and state uncertainty, as developed in interaction, can result in "don't know" responses or errors in variables. This detailed examination of respondent's uncertainty proposals illustrates how uncertainty and certainty are mutual, interactive, accomplishments. The signals of uncertainty that respondents produce can be seen as a use of tentativeness as an interactional resource (Marlaire and Maynard, 1990, p. 93). Respondents may use this tentativeness to invite further collaboration from the interviewer in the construction of an answer. This collaboration may appear as the interviewer's proceeding with the next question and thus treating the respondent's talk as providing an adequate answer. Or the collaboration may take an extended form, occurring over several turns.

The analysis suggests several directions for further investigation. One is that answers directly or indirectly displaying uncertainty are often delayed, frequently by an initial pause or speech particle or both. These displays become part of the "common ground" of the interview (see discussion in Schaeffer, 1990). In support of our speculations that respondents display uncertainty in characteristic ways, we have also seen some evidence that interviewers themselves use these as evidence of a problem. The transcripts also suggest, however, that an initial pause may occur regularly in other situations, such as at the beginning an answer to an "open" question (data not shown). Further analysis may help to identify when "response latency" might be a useful indicator that the respondent is uncertain (e.g., when a temporal delay is joined with an initial "uh" or "well"). A close examination of interaction can begin to distinguish "mutually accomplished" uncertainty from that which is more clearly due to a respondent's lack of knowledge, memory, or understanding. Furthermore, respondent's displays of uncertainty may identify where interviewers have made errors, for example, in asking questions. In addition, questions that elicit "potentially relevant information" rather

than an answer formatted as requested by the question may prove to present respondents with conceptual problems that require redesigning the question for a given respondent (see discussion in Suchman and Jordan, 1990). Finally, observing the behavior of respondents and interviewers when uncertainty arises may suggest how question design and interviewing technique can improve respondents' understanding of what a question is asking for and thereby simplify the interaction between the interviewer and respondent.

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Figure 1

Q25-E-1. Are/Were you:

An employee of a PRIVATE Co., business, or individual for wages, salary or comm

A FEDERAL government employee

A STATE government employee

A LOCAL government employee

SELF-EMPLOYED in OWN bus., prof. practice, or farm

Working WITHOUT PAY in family business or farm

[blind] Don't know

[blind] Refused

Segment 4: CPS T5_I2, 172-233

172 I: O:kay how many hours does he usually work at his job
{q20E}

173 R: Uh::: about four hours a day

174 (1.0)

175 I: Four hours a day? so how many hours a week?

176 (0.5)

177 R: Uh

178 (0.6)

179 R: he works about twenty hours a week

180 I: Oka:y

181 (2.0)

182 I: D- Uh does he want a full-time? (.) uhhh work (.) week
183 of thirty-five hours or more per week? {q20F-1}

184 (2.5)

185 R: Uh::

186 (4.5)

187 R: (Nah he-)

188 (0.8)

189 I: Or are his hours considered full-time

190 (2.5)

191 R: Well he works for: a janitorial service he just cleans
192 uh this one

193 (1.0)

194 R: clinic [(B and N)] clinic

195 I: [Uh huh]

196 (1.5)

197 R: Just uh after the closin hours of this clinic an:
198 [usual]ly

199 I: [.hhh]

200 (1.0)

201 R: (it's) just a- about four and a half hours (.) a day

202 I: Uh hu:h?

203 (1.0)

204 R: And that's it.

205 (2.0)

206 I: so would you say that he wants to work full-time?

207 (1.0)

208 I: A full-time work week of thirty-five hours or more per
209 week or not↓

210 (0.7)

211 R: Well [(that's-] it's-)

212 I: [((sniff))]

213 (1.5)

214 R: that's all the work there is at the [job].

215 I: [hhh] Okay .hhh Now
216 I have some questions about the exact number of hours
217 Mark Roland worked last week .h last week did he lose or
218 take off any hours .hh from work for any reason such as
219 illness vacation holiday (.) labor dispute or layoff.
{q20G}

220 R: No↓

221 I: .h Did he work any overtime or [extra] hours [No]
{q20H}

222 R: [N::o] [No]

223 (1.5)

224 I: Okay fr- so for last week how many hours did he actually
225 work at his job {q20I}

226 (4.5)

227 R: °Un:::°=

228 I: =Would that be the twenty hours?

229 (2.0)

230 R: Maybe about twenty:

231 (2.0)

232 R: mighta worked about twenty-fo hours

233 I: O::kay::

Segment 5: CPS T1_I2, 33-95

33 I: Ka:y ((typing)) .hhhh An:d does Mary Lee usually work
34 thirty-five hours or more per week at her job. {q20E}

35 R: Ee:Ye:es↑

36 I: Nka:y .hhhh And taking into account any extra hours
37 worked or time taken off last week (.) how many hours
38 did Mary Lee actually work at her job. {q20G}

39 (2.0)

40 R: Well now that I don't know

41 I: Um:: >Whawouldbe< your: best guess.

42 (1.5)

43 R: Well she work(s) (.) five days a week↑

44 (1.0)

45 R: Although she was off a

46 (0.8)

47 R: coupla () she was off one day last week I kno:w

48 I: Okay um .hhhh you said she worked (.) >thirty-five hours
49 or< mo:re um

50 (1.5)

51 I: >alright w- w- just a m- (w- w-)< what would be your
52 best guess that that you would think↓

53 (3.8)

54 R: Well now I really don't know=

55 I: =HHH .hhh

56 (2.0)

57 I: Uh di- didshe work thirty-five hours last week?

58 (0.5)

59 R: Uh

60 (0.8)

61 R: Well maybe not because she was off one day

62 (0.8)

63 I: Oka::y

64 (2.5)

65 R: But now I'm not sure about that

66 (1.0)
67
68 I: Uh ka::y .hhhhh Um
69 (1.5)
70 I: >when would she be in and then we could call back< just
71 to make sure
72 (0.5)
73 R: Well she'll be home when she gets- (.) any ti:me afta
74 fou:r
75 I: Uh ka:y .hhh Um
76 (0.8)
77 I: w- jus- just for now till we get ahold of her >could you
78 do you think you could could you give me< just a guessed
79 amount of hours you think she worked (.) until we can
80 call back maybe: (.) get those hours from her
81 (3.0)
82 R: Well like I said she works five days a week but I woul-
83 I'm (.) but now that I thank back I don't know if it was
84 last week she was off or not
85 I: Oka::y .hhhhh Um
86 (2.0)
87 I: ((tch)) Would you say she worked at least thirty five
88 hours last week?
89 R: Yeah=
90 I: =.hh Okay so I put thirty-five for now (>and the next
91 time<) we'll get back to her: and
92 (1.0)
93 I: we'll uh
94 (0.8)
95 I: check to make sure on that one [.hhhhhhh] Okay now I=
R: [(uh huh)]

Segment 6: CPS T1_I2, 119-127

119 I: .hhhh An:d (.) what are Mary Lee's usual activities or duties at
120 this job. {q25D}
121 (2.0)
122 R: Well now I have no idea about that either
123 (0.5)
124 I: Okay um:
125 (1.5)
126 I: .hhhh
127 (18.0) ((typing begins after about 5 sec))

Segment 7: CPS T1_I2, 128-143

128 I: And is she an employee of a private company? {q25E-1}
129 R: No it's not a private comp[ny I don't] think=
130 I: [Okay is this]
131 I: =Is it a:: fedral goverment? state goverment? local
132 goverment?
133 (1.0)
134 R: Heh heh well now really I::: don't kno:w↓
135 I: .hhh Uhkay um: so it's it's not a it's not a govern- uh
136 is it (.) govermen- is it a (.) phhh goverment employ:ed
137 (2.5)
138 I: >Wouldja wouldja happen to know if it would be< either
139 if it would be local state or (er) federal goverment?
140 R: I- I don't know you would just have to check back with
141 her=
142 I: =O:ka:y
143 (1.0)

Segment 8: CPS T1_I2, 146-159

146 I: And last week did you do any work for pay or profit {q20}
(1.0)
147
148 R: I work at a private home
149 I: Ewka::y↑
(0.6)
150
151 I: .hh and last week did you have more than one job (.) or business
152 including part-time evening or weekend work? {q20C}
R: No I didn't↑
153 I: Oka::y↑
154 (1.5)
155 I: .hh And do you usually work thirty-five hours or more per week at
156 your job? {q20E}
157 R: N:o I don't
158 I: Uhka:y
159

Segment 9: CPS T1_I2, 257-264

257 I: .hhh And are you an employee of a privately owned company? {q25E-1}
258
259 (3.0)
260 R: No I'm no:t↑
261 I: Okay is this a:: federal government? (.) state government? local
262 government?=
263 R: =y'know I guess it must be privately owned
264 I: Owkay↑ (.) Okay

Segment 10: CPS T5_I2, 151-159

151 I: And are you an employee of a private company? {q25E-1}

152 (2.5)

153 R: Uh::=

154 I: =As opposed to government puh- (.) company?

155 R: It i:s a private company we are doin some

156 (0.5)

157 R: contract work for the goverment[()]

158 I: [Uh huh]

159 (2.5)

Segment 11: CPS T5_I2, 248-257

248 I: Ohhkay (uh:) would this be considered (.) retail trade
249 whole(.)tale (.) trade or something else. {q25B-2}
250 (3.5)
251 R: Well (.) Like I say it's just a janitorial service that
252 cleans (.) businesses
253 (0.5)
254 R: [when they]'re closed
255 I: [Uh Okay]
256 (3.0)
257 I: O::::kay::

Segment 12: CPS T5_I2, 10-45, 65-84

10 I: Do you or does anyone in this household
11 (0.5)
12 I: own their um operate their own business or farm {q19A}
13 (2.0)
14 R: ((tch)) No::
15 (2.0)
16 I: Okay now I'm going to a:sk a few questions about work
17 related activities last week .hh by last week I mean the
18 week beginning on Sunday .hh December ninth and ending
19 on (.) Saturday December fifteenth {q19B}
20 (1.7)
21 I: Last week .hh did Robert Roland do any work at all↓
22 include work for pay or other types of compensation
{q20}
23 (2.0)
24 R: Uh: he did some fa:ll plow:ing uh::
25 (4.0)
26 R: not
27 (0.8)
28 R: not for pay: I mean
29 (0.4)
30 R: he he farms some land
31 (1.0)
32 R: [land] that he rents
33 I: [Mm hm]
34 R: But
35 (1.0)
36 R: Am I makin myself clear? ((laugh))=
37 I: =((laugh)) .hh well this is based on (.) how you
38 perceive this uh (.) would you say that he worked (.)
39 for pay or- um other type of compensation?
40 (2.0)
41 R: N:o not-

42 (0.5)
43 R: not that work (.) ([he]wasn't)
44 I: [O↑kay]
45 I: O↑kay
...
65 I: Has he looked for work at any time during the last
66 twelve months {q23}
67 (1.2)
68 R: No he's- he's a farmer
69 (3.0)
70 I: Okay:
71 (1.0)
72 I: .hh Is he retired from a job or business {q27A}
73 (0.6)
74 R: No
75 (2.5)
76 I: O↑kay. hh how would you describe his main status or
77 activity at this time {q27B}
78 (3.0)
79 I: Uh[hhh]
80 R: [Well]
81 (2.8)
82 R: Like I said he is a far:mer
83 I: O:kay↓
84 (1.0)
85 I: .hh
86 (2.5)

Segment 13: 007C0205, 78-95

78 I: Is this business or organization mainly manufacturing
79 retail trade wholeta- wholesale trade or something
80 else? {q25B-2}

81 (1.0)

82 R: It's a service industry

83 (1.8)

84 I: So it'd be under::?

85 (2.0) ((3rd voice whispers "something else"))

86 R: Well: it wouldn'- wouldn't be manufacturing or retail or

87 (0.9)

88 R: or anything like that it's:

89 (0.7)

90 R: I don't know how- I don't know what you'd (.) classify
91 it=

92 I: =Under something else=

93 R: =Yeah:

94 (1.0)

95 I: And what kind of work do you usually do at this job that

Segment 14: 009C0302, 182-207

182 I: Alright we'll take a minute
183 to make a note of that
184 (1.2)

185 I: and then go on

186 (1.5)

187 I: to ask the next question
188 which would be .hh is she
189 an employee of a private
190 company business or
191 individual for wages
192 salary or commissions?
{q25E-1}

193 R: Just the businesses we have

194 I: Scuse me?

195 R: Just the ones that we have
196 that's all

197 I: Okay: and she is an employee
198 of a private company
199 then?

200 (2.2)

201 R: Uh what do you mean by private
202 com[pany]?

203 I: [.hh] Well as
204 opposed to a federal govern-
205 ment employ[ee or a]

206 R: [Oh yes] [yes]

207 I: [Okay]

Segment 15: 002C0102, 94-106

94 I: check to make sure on that one [.hhhhhhh] Okay now I=

95 R: [(uh huh)]

96 I: =have a few questions about the job at which she worked
97 last week (.) What is the name of her employer. {q25A}

98 R: She works at the medical centuh↑

99 I: .hhh Okay >does that have an< uh what- what- was there a
100 name to that?

101 (1.5)

102 I: Is there is [this a]

103 R: [U- A-] M- C

104 I: Excuse me?

105 R: U- A - M - C: =

106 I: =Uhka:y↑

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