Presentation of vox pop in public media broadcasts

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Abstract. My dissertation project, written in the *English Linguistics* doctoral programme, focuses on the investigation of the presence of "vox-pops", sound-bites and fragmented interviews with members of the public in TV news broadcasts, as part of the tendency towards the "conversationalization" of public discourse. This article introduces the aims and methods of the project, outlines the theoretical points of departure and presents a preliminary small-scale study performed within the project, focusing on the strategies used for representing voices of citizens in TV news broadcasts on a public-service Czech and British channel and a commercial Czech channel.

Keywords. Vox pop, media discourse, TV news, conversationalization

1. TV news discourse and conversationalization

Despite the ever-growing number of media platforms and sources of information, traditional TV news broadcasts are still watched by a significant number of viewers. Being broadcast on television, which is an institution belonging to the public sphere, they are traditionally perceived as representing the institutional talk. Television is, however, a mass medium at the same time, producing content for an audience, and thus there is the unrelenting need to attract the audience, adapt to their needs and strive for high viewer ratings. This phenomenon goes in hand with the theory of audience design. Based on the accommodation theory by Giles and Powesland (1975), it asserts that the way people speak is dependent on whom they talk to (Bell, 1984, 2001). Similarly, everything in the discourse of radio and television is also motivated by the type of the audience (Scannel, 1991). What is therefore characteristic of TV discourse is not only its institutional nature, but also the tendency towards tabloidization, consumerization and conversationalization (Fairclough, 1994, Esser, 1999, Franke, 2011). The overall format of the broadcasts, their structure, contents and topics as well as the discourse that is used in them tend to be designed in a way that puts more emphasis on increasing the entertaining value, in an attempt to arouse the audience's interest and to successfully "sell" the produced contents. Conversationalization attempts to simulate intimacy with the audiences by adopting features of informal, conversational language; it "imitates the audience's own informal ways of speaking" (Franke, 2011) and involves a "restructuring of the boundary between public and private orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1994). It permeates all types of TV broadcasts, with TV news programmes being no exception. Institutional talk and private talk, which from their nature constitute two different "speech exchange systems" (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974, Franke, 2011), are combined and blended in these television formats, giving them

a kind of a hybrid nature with the information and entertainment functions mixed and often resulting in so-called "infotainment" programmes (Wittwen, 1995).

Some of the typical manifestations of conversationalization employed in TV news formats are e.g. addressing the target viewers, asking them questions, using colloquial or slang language. Another frequent and powerful strategy is the inclusion of interviews with and sound-bites of various speakers. Interviews and sound-bites have become a common occurrence in TV news broadcasts and an inseparable part of almost every news report. Due to the hybrid nature of the news formats, combining institutional and conversational elements, news interviews show features typical of the public sphere, such as the journalists' practices for preserving objectivity, maintaining the power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee, specific rules of turn-taking etc., and, at the same time, they represent the conversational sphere by their dialogic nature, by the language included which can imitate the conversational practices in the private sphere, and also by including voices which the audiences can identify with easily. My dissertation project focuses on such interviews through the lens of conversation analysis and discourse analysis, drawing on previous research by e.g. Tolson, 2006, Hutchby, 2006, Montgomery, 2007, Myers, 2004, Ekström, 2001, Ekström & Patrona, 2011, Ekström & Tolson, 2017 etc. The aim is to understand the role of such sound-bites in the TV news broadcasts and their orientation towards the target audience - in accordance with the theory of audience design, it can be expected that channels with differing target audiences might use differing strategies in including and treating the voices in interviews and sound-bites. My main focus is on the voices of actors that can be considered "ordinary" and that the target audiences can potentially identify with the most easily. However, defining an "ordinary" voice represented in the news broadcasts turns out not to be easy at all and the boundaries between the "categories" of speakers that appear on TV screens are not always clear-cut.

2. Voices in TV news

Previous research offers approaches to distinguishing the voices included in TV news broadcasts. Many scholars use traditional dichotomous distinction between elite/official and non-elite/unofficial sources (e.g. Bennett, 1990; Lee, 2001; Raeymaeckers et al., 2015; Vandenberghe, d'Haenens & Van Gorp, 2015; Splendore, 2020). Beckers and Van Aelst (2018) propose a more detailed and useful 4-fold distinction between representatives of government and politics, professionals and experts, representatives of civil society organizations, and citizens (the categories with their more specific representatives are illustrated in the Figure 1 below).

Figure 1, Actor classification across issues (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018)

Montgomery (2007) proposes another useful categorisation of speakers in TV news broadcasts, based on the types of interviews in which they appear:

- In "affiliated interviews", journalists of the same institution deliver their commentaries (Montgomery 2007, p. 118);
- in "accountability interviews", public figures, such as politicians, are questioned about their acts for which they are "held accountable" (Montgomery, 2007, p. 148);
- in "experiential interviews", people describe their personal experience with the reported events (Montgomery 2007, p. 155); and
- in "expert interviews", experts express their knowledge about the reported issue and elucidate it (Montgomery 2007, p. 170).

The category of speakers that has the greatest capacity of offering the audience a chance of identification and that can be interpreted as representing "ordinary" people, who at the same time form the major part of the viewership, is the category of "citizens" based on Beckers and Van Aelst's distinction. Beckers and Van Aelst further divide the category of "citizens" into "involved citizens" that are affected by the news event, such as victims and eye-witnesses of a crime. In Montgomery's categorization, this group would correspond to speakers involved in "experiential interviews". However, this type of interviews is not the only one in which "citizens" can and do appear, as it is not only their experience with the reported events that they express. Involved citizens should be distinguished from "uninvolved citizens" that do not have a specific representative function regarding the news event (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018). These uninvolved citizens are often labelled as "vox pops".

The definitions of vox pops appearing in literature usually include the following characteristics: vox pops are brief edited reactions of ordinary people,

the speakers are usually not introduced, they are typically interviewed on the street, they answer unheard questions and typically express their opinions and attitudes (cf. Montgomery, 2007, Myers, 2004). These features would describe a prototypical case of a vox pop, however, the data collected from TV news broadcasts show that the real appearance of sound-bites does not always fall within such clear characteristics and it is difficult to find a vox pop which would meet all these conditions. As has been mentioned above, it is problematic to define who is an "ordinary" person; what is more, the majority of speakers in TV news broadcasts on some channels tend to be introduced – there seems to be a tendency to individualize the citizens and present them as unique personalities; the speakers are not necessarily interviewed on the street as often they are preselected for the report and are filmed in their homes; often the sound-bite is not fragmented to the extreme extent that no question of the interviewer is heard, and more turns are presented; the voices also express not only opinions and attitudes, but also give testimonies by describing their actions and sharing their experience, offer explanations for the reported events and their own motivation to participate in them etc. There are therefore very few cases that would meet fully all the characteristics outlined above, but at the same time they do not really fall within any other categories of actors in TV news broadcast introduced above, either. My preliminary analyses of collected data have shown already that there are many voices in TV news broadcasts which could be either considered vox pops which deviate from the prototypical vox pop case, or a different type of (fragmented) interview which on the one hand treats the speakers in a way similar to experts, politicians and other actors, and on the other hand resembles vox pops just in some features.

A similar problem arises when other definitions of vox pops are applied. For example, De Swert (2013) refers to the concept of replaceability as an important characteristic of a vox pop. He emphasizes that for vox pops it is not important who speaks, as any other person can easily replace the interviewee since the interviewee does not own any exclusive information. However, again the collected data show that just a minority of speakers can be replaced by literally any other speaker. They are often bound to the news event due to the locality which they come from, the social group they belong to etc. It is also problematic to say that vox pops represent the "public opinion". They might be used to make such an impression, but naturally they cannot be representative of it as they are always only a selection.

What proved to be useful for the treatment of fragmented interviews and sound-bites in TV news broadcasts is Myers's (2004) "membership categorization" approach to analysing the voices in broadcasts. His findings are in line with what my collected data show: the speakers tend to represent certain categories; either they themselves or other discourse strategies applied in the TV news report construct their affiliation to a certain group of citizens and they speak on behalf of this group. Myers (2004) defines the "public" as "the category of participants not assigned to other categories, the category assignable when other attempts at categorization have been for practical purposes exhausted"; it "is constructed by the negation of other possible categorization devices, so that what is left is a category that is taken to be no particular category" (p. 208). Based on such a definition and the tendencies found in the collected data, it can be said that

just a minority of sound-bites represent "the public" in this sense - most speakers speak on behalf of just a part of the public; they speak on behalf of groups rather than the public in general.

3. Research aims and methods

Based on the observations outlined above, I believe this area is worth further exploration. My dissertation project strives to answer the following research questions:

- How are the voices of "citizens" presented and represented in TV news broadcasts?
- How is their "ordinariness"/lack of "ordinariness" constructed?
- What discourse strategies are linked to such presentation? Do these strategies differ from those utilized for presenting voices of experts, politicians and other publicly known personalities?
- Does the presentation of voices of the "citizens" differ between public service and commercial channels? If so, how?
- Can any conclusions be drawn concerning how the way the voices of the "citizens" are presented relates to the channels' target audiences?

In order to answer the set research questions, I have been collecting recordings of TV news programmes on selected channels, transcribing and tagging their relevant parts and subjecting them to a closer analysis depending on the specific research questions. So far, I have focused on collecting data from prime-time evening news programmes on British and Czech channels, where I exclude weather forecasts and sport sections and analyse just the rest of the reports devoted to domestic and foreign affairs. My main interest consists in the interviews, which usually do not appear in the news broadcasts as complex units with all the question-answer exchanges. Rather, they are included as de- and re-contextualised fragments or sound bites (Ekström, 2001; Montgomery, 2007, 2010) and therefore, attention needs to be paid also to their framing and preceding and following passages. Transcribing and tagging these relevant parts prepares the data for the subsequent analysis through the lens of discourse and conversational analysis. Especially the introduction and contextualization of the (fragmented) interviews, presence and character of questions, turn-taking, the room the speaker is given, the issue and topic, the speakers' construction of their relevance for the report, and also other discourse features, are studied. With regard to the multimodal nature of TV news broadcasts, also the visual aspect of the fragmented interviews as well as written elements present on the screen and the interplay of various modes need to be taken into account.

So far, I have performed mainly small-scale preliminary studies which map the tendencies and discourse strategies in the data and can serve as a basis for further exploration. Currently, analyses are being conducted which should shed light on the tendency of the actors to represent categories and speak on behalf of certain groups of the public, and analyses which should compare involving the voices of the citizens on commercial and public service channels. The following

section briefly outlines findings from a preliminary small-scale study focusing on the way the voices of "involved and uninvolved citizens", also referred to as "ordinary" people (with the knowledge of the problematic nature of such a label), are represented on a commercial and public-service Czech channels and a public-service British channel, and on the similarities and differences between these channels.

4. Voice of people in British public-service and Czech public-service and commercial TV news broadcasts

The data for the preliminary analysis of how the voice of people is represented in TV news were taken from BBC News channel's 8 p.m. news programmes broadcast in the period of 29 January to 4 February 2021, Czech public-service channel ČT1's 7 p.m. news programmes broadcast in the period of 16 August to 22 August 2021 and Czech commercial channel Nova's 8 p.m. news programmes broadcast in the period of 16 August to 22 August 2021[1]. The 7 news programmes from BBC News, 7 news programmes from public-service ČT1 and 7 news programmes from commercial Nova were scanned for interviews with "ordinary citizens" and their fragments, which were then transcribed together with the introductory passages and created a small corpus. (By the introductory passage I mean the passages uttered by the reporting journalist or the voice-over before the interview/interview fragment/sound-bite).

The interviews, interview fragments and sound-bites that are included in the corpus involve voices of people that could be considered "involved" citizens and "uninvolved" citizens based on Beckers & Van Aelst's definition outlined above; voices of people obviously identifiable as politicians and government representatives, spokespeople of organizations, journalists and experts were not included. The analysis of sound-bites with any type of citizens that could be considered "ordinary" should offer space to explore what the boundaries are between sound-bites that correspond to the definition of "vox-pops" and sound-bites which also present the voice of "ordinary" people, but whose form departs from the vox-pop prototype.

The research questions the study was supposed to answer are the following:

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[1] The analysed TV news broadcasts on the Czech channels ČT1 and Nova were broadcast on the same day, at the same daytime. These conditions are therefore the best for making a comparison between the representation of the voice of people on these two channels, as the events and affairs going on in the world that the news coverages might report on are the same. The differences found can be ascribed to the public-service/commercial nature of the channels. The analysed broadcasts on BBC News channel come from a different period, which is, however, not so distant from the period of broadcasting of the Czech analysed material and it can be expected that BBC News has not changed its company policy about presenting the voice of people between January/February and August 2021. Therefore, the material taken from BBC News is compared to the Czech material in this study even though it was not broadcast in precisely the same time period; it serves as an example of a British public-service channel that can, in comparison to the Czech material, show if the way the voice of people is represented is dependent on the company policy or particular cultural context.

- How is the voice of people represented in Czech commercial and public-service news broadcasts and British public-service broadcasts?
- Can any differences be found concerning the practices of representing the voice of people between public-service and commercial channels?
- Can any differences be found concerning the practices of representing the voice of people between Czech and British news broadcasts?
- Do the practices of representing the voice of people correspond to the vox-pop format prototype?

In terms of the correspondence to the vox-pop format prototype, especially the *anonymity* and *replaceability* of the voices was investigated. I looked into whether the voices are left anonymous, or are introduced and referred to with their name (either written on the screen or spoken in the introductory passage by the newsreader/reporter/voice-over) or with so-called identifier. The term *identifier* was taken from Montgomery (2007) and is defined as "a specification on the grounds of which the person speaks for the purposes of the interview at hand" (p. 151). In this study, the term is understood as basically any specification of the speaker's identity other than their name, typically a specification of their role in society, job position, affiliation to a specific locality etc. The discursive practices used for introducing and referring to the voices also construct how replaceable the voices are: if the voices are presented as representatives of a specific group (cf. Myers's membership categorization), they are replaceable only by voices belonging to the same group/category.

The findings answering the set research questions are presented in the following section.

4.1. Found instances of the voice of people in Czech and British TV news broadcasts

In total, 120 instances of fragmented interviews and sound-bites with the "voice of people" on the Czech commercial channel Nova were collected, 51 instances on the Czech public-service channel ČT1 and 50 instances on the British public-service channel BBC. The following table breaks the found instances down indicating the individual broadcasts in which they appeared.

Date of broadcast	Number of sound-bites on ČT1	Number of sound-bites on Nova	Date of broadcast	Number of sound-bites on BBC
16 August 2021	10	10	29 January 2021	7
17 August 2021	6	20	30 January 2021	4
18 August 2021	9	30	31 January 2021	4
19 August 2021	7	11	1 February 2021	9
20 August 2021	7	17	2 February 2021	7
21 August 2021	6	22	3 February 2021	9

Date of broadcast	Number of sound-bites on ČT1	Number of sound-bites on Nova	Date of broadcast	Number of sound-bites on BBC
22 August 2021	6	10	4 February 2021	10
Total	51	120	Total	50

Table 1: Found instances of sound-bites with the voice of people,
broken down by channel and date

The found numbers of sound-bites with the voice of people indicate, even in this small corpus, differences between the practices of public-service and commercial channels. In the same number of prime-time TV news broadcasts, the numbers of found sound-bites with the voice of people on the public-service channels (ČT1 and BBC) are comparable (51 and 50, respectively), whereas the number of sound-bites with the voice of people on the commercial channel is more than twice as high (120). The significance of this difference would need to be verified on a larger corpus and on more commercial channels, nevertheless, the present findings hint to the preference of commercial channels to represent the voice of people in a larger scale than public-service channels.

The following table outlines the topics of the reports in which the sound-bites with the voice of people appeared:

Topic	Number of sound-bites on ČT1	Number of sound-bites on Nova	Topic	Number of sound-bites on BBC
Covid tests and vaccination, restrictions	5	51	Covid tests and vaccination, restrictions	20
Economic problems, inflation, investments	20	3	Economic problems, inflation, investments	12
Free time activities and cultural events	4	19	Free time activities and cultural events	5
Decisions and scandals of politicians		3	Decisions and scandals of politicians	4
Therapeutic programmes, medical prevention	4		Therapeutic programmes, medical prevention	4
Sensations, discoveries, unusual events	1			2
Riots, protests				3
Natural disasters	2	11		

Topic	Number of sound-bites on ČT1	Number of sound-bites on Nova	Topic	Number of sound-bites on BBC
Traffic restrictions in specific localities	3	12		
Travelling and tourism	8	6		
Pensions	2	7		
New traffic and employment regulations	2	1		
Crop production		5		
Weather		2		

Table 2: Found instances of sound-bites with the voice of people,
broken down by channel and topic

Some of the topics covered in the table and appearing on one channel were not included in the analysed news broadcasts on the other channels at all (e.g. a report on unusual weather conditions was included only on the Nova channel) and thus the overview of topics in some cases points to differences between what the individual channels decide to cover in the news broadcasts rather than to differences between how they present the voice of people. However, the reports on topics which are shared among the channels can be investigated in more detail and it can be compared how much the channels allow the voices of people speak on those topics. For example, in reports on vaccination against Covid-19 and people's interest in it, all three channels gave room to the voices of people, but the Nova channel let more such voices to be heard. That was not because of a higher number of reports on this topic broadcast in Nova's news, but because Nova presented more voices of people speaking on the topic in one report and accumulated them after one another, whereas ČT1 and BBC tended to nominate fewer voices but often devoted them more space. This is a notable difference between the practices of the commercial channel and the public-service channel and is worth further exploration. This difference is also connected to the way the voices are introduced and referred to on the individual channels.

4.2. Anonymity of the voices of people in Czech and British TV news broadcasts

A prototypical vox-pop format includes a voice which is left anonymous. In the collected data, anonymity of the presented people's voices was predominantly utilized by the Nova channel, whereas on the ČT1 and BBC channels it was not a strategy preferred to other ways of introducing and presenting the voices of people, as illustrated by the following table.

	ČT1	Nova	BBC
Number of voices left anonymous	1	90	13
Out of total	2 % (out of 51)	75 % (out of 120)	26 % (out of 50)

Table 3: Voices of people left anonymous

The anonymous voices were not introduced with their name (neither spoken nor written on the screen) and there was not even an identifier on the screen that would present them by referring to their role in society etc. On the Nova channel, such voices were mostly accompanied by the caption "survey" appearing on the screen. As mentioned in the previous section, there were often multiple voices following one another, all arranged under the label of a "survey". When voices were left anonymous on the ČT1 and BBC channels, there was no caption on the screen at all and the voices were left to be interpreted just based on the preceding introductory passage.

As opposed to anonymity, for many voices of people who would be considered ordinary citizens the strategy to introduce them with their full name was used. The table 4 summarizes the numbers of such instances.

	ČT1	Nova	BBC
Number of voices introduced with their name	48	12	26
Out of total	94 % (out of 51)	10 % (out of 120)	52 % (out of 50)

Table 4: Voices of people introduced with their name

It can be seen that both on the Czech and on the British public-service channel, this strategy of presenting the voices was used for the majority of sound-bites with the voices, even though for the Czech ČT1 channel the number is much higher. On both these channels, these voices were introduced with their names even though the names are not known to the general audience, because they belong to speakers who are not publicly known figures and can be considered ordinary citizens. It could thus be argued that their name bears no particular relevance to the report. Still, especially for the ČT1 channel, presenting the speakers' names seems to be the dominant strategy: the voices often speak on the same topic as the anonymous voices on another channel (as e.g. in the Examples 4 and 5 below) but a choice is made to present their name, which gives them a unique-personality status.

The voices which were not left completely anonymous and neither were presented with their full names were mostly presented using the strategy of introducing them with their identifier only and thus classifying them as members of a specific group of citizens (e.g. "citizens affected by the tornado", "a visitor of the festival" etc.) which corresponds to Myers's findings concerning the membership categorization.

4.3. Replaceability of the voices of people in Czech and British TV news broadcasts

De Swert (2013) names replaceability as an important characteristic of a prototypical vox pop. Most of the voices of people found in the analysed corpus of ČT1, Nova and BBC news broadcasts, however, cannot be easily replaced by *any* other voice. The examples of those which can, can be found in this particular corpus just among the voices included on the Nova channel, as in the Example 1 below:

Example 1 (Nova 21 August 2021, 8 p.m.)

1 REPORTER Zeptali jsme se lidí, jestli by využili možnost online testování
   We asked people if they would use the possibility of online testing
2 WOMAN Je to lepší:: (.) bude to rychlejší e: nemusí člo člověk nikam chodit
   It is better:: (.) it'll be faster e: you don't have to go anywhere

In this Example 1, the introductory passage spoken by the reporter refers to "people" who were asked about their approach to online testing for Covid-19. What follows is a sound-bite with the voice of an anonymous woman. In the context of the reporter's introductory passage, she is just "one of the people" and thus any other "one of the people" could replace her and their voice would still be relevant for the news report. However, among sound-bites with anonymous voices found in the corpus there are also such that cannot be replaced by literally anybody else's voice; even though the names are not mentioned, the identity of the people whose voices are heard is constructed by their affiliation to a certain group, locality, by their experience with an event etc., as in the Example 2 below:

Example 2 (BBC News 4 February 2021, 8 p.m.)

1 REPORTER   The team here (.) are confident they can get <u>through </u>all their
2   housebound patients in <u>priority</u>
<u>3</u>   groups (.) by the middle of this month but in <u>other</u> areas (.) it
4   seems to be proving <u>more</u> difficult.
5 MAN   The thing is she <u>cant'</u> walk.

In this Example 2, the anonymous man is in the house of an immobile elderly lady that was visited by NHS staff to receive vaccination. He describes the condition of the lady and through that he confirms the reporter's statement that "in some areas, getting to patients is more difficult". This man's relevance for the report consists in his experience with the reported issue and presence in the locality that is reported on. Therefore, his voice is replaceable only with a voice of a person having similar experience and connection to a similar locality.
Such replaceability of the voices only with voices which belong to the same category/represent the same group is very common in the corpus and applies to most even anonymous voices. Similarly, it applies to voices which are introduced with an identifier or with their full name. The fact that their full name is presented

does not mean that they cannot be replaced by anybody else because they would speak on behalf of themselves as a unique person in the world, rather than that they still speak just as representatives of a group of similarly affected people and can be replaced by other individuals from the same group, as illustrated by Example 3.

Example 3 (ČT1, 18 August 2021, 7 p.m.)

1 REPORTER   Třeba 80letá Markéta Hužerová má důchod necelých <u>10 300</u>.
                 For example 80-year-old Markéta Hužerová's pension is <u>10 300</u>.
2   Když zaplatí bydlení (.) zbyde jí na všechno kolem 3000 měsíčně.
                 When she pays for housing (.) she has about 3000 a month left to pay for everything.
3 MARKÉTA HUŽEROVÁ si musíte vypočítat na ten tejden co můžete spotřebovat…
                 You have to count for the week what you can spend…

This Example 3 is taken from a report about the possible increase in pensions. It wants to show that the current height of pensions is not sufficient for some people. The reporter introduces the sound-bite by identifying the speaker with her name, which is preceded by the phrase that could be loosely translated as "for example", and describing her unfavourable financial position caused by the low pension. Such phrases similar to "for example" (e.g. "also" etc.) present the speaker as "one of more people equally affected". Nevertheless, the strategy to present the speakers' names and often also further details from their life bears significance; it can be argued that it suppresses the mass character of groups and categories into which society is divided and highlights the individuality of each of the group's member. Such treatment of the speakers representing certain categories of ordinary citizens makes them look formally similar to elite speakers in the news broadcasts. As certain members of the audience can identify themselves with the speakers in the broadcasts in cases when they could replace the speakers, the audience might feel that their identity and personality is important for the news broadcast. In a way, such a strategy can thus be interpreted as the TV company policy's attempt to show the audience that "every citizen matters".

4.4. The approach of the analysed channels to presenting the voice of people

As has been outlined above, there are similarities and differences between how much the individual channels involve the voice of people in their reports as well as between how they tend to introduce and present it. The following Examples 4-6 are selected to illustrate the individual channels' prominent approaches to presenting the voice of people in reports on the same topic. The reports cover the topic of vaccination against Covid-19, which divides both Czech and British society as it has its supporters as well as opponents.

Example 4 (ČT 1, 22 August 2021, 7 p.m.)

1 REPORTER	74letá Božena Mužíková (.) dnes dostala teprve 1. dávku.
	74-year old Božena Mužíková (.)got only the <u>first</u> jab today.
2	Očkování se dosud bála (.) Nakonec ji přesvědčila známá.
	She was afraid of vaccination until now (.) At the end, a friend of her persuaded her.
3 BOŽENA MUŽÍKOVÁ	Nedala si říct (.) a dovezla mě sem a <u>bylo</u> to.
	She wouldn't budge (.) and brought me here and that <u>was</u> it.

Example 5 (Nova, 18 August 2021, 8 p.m.)

1 REPORTER	Většina očkovaných odpověděla, že s 3. dávkou nemá problém.
	Most vaccinated answered that they didn't mind the third jab.
2	Ale najdou se samozřejmě i lidé (.) kteří by si pro ni už <u>nešli</u>.
	However, there are naturally also people (.) who would <u>not</u> take it.
3 SURVEY	já bych to:: neschvalovala tu třetí dávku (1.5) třetí si myslím
	I wouldn't:: approve of the third jab (1.5) the third is I think
3	zbytečná že (1) člověk by se už tomu měl bránit sám
	useless (1) one should protect by oneself against it
4 SURVEY	No když už jsem dostala dvě tak proč bych si nevzala i tu třetí
	Well when I've already got two why wouldn't I take the third too
5 SURVEY	Já su pro (.) já jsem byl dvakrát a kdyby bylo potřeba tak
	I am for it (.) I've had two and if it was necessary then
6	potřetí jo
	the third too
	…

Example 6 (BBC News 3 February 2021, 8 p.m.)

1 REPORTER	Down the road from the mosque (.) in this diverse part of
2	Birmingham (.) a number of people have told me (.) they <u>don't</u>
3	totally <u>trust</u> the vaccine(1) but they <u>don't</u> want to be <u>named</u>.
4 MAN	The hesitance is eee (1) cos i wannna see: (.) how other people
5	and their immune systems reacted to it.

The voices included in the Examples 4-6 all represent ordinary citizens giving their opinions on vaccination, but each is introduced and presented differently. Example 4 illustrates the ČT1 channel's preference for introducing the speakers with their name and including them in the report as selected representatives of a group whose identity and personality is highlighted and who basically serve as a model case. On the contrary, Example 5 shows the Nova channel's tendency to leave the speakers anonymous and present them rather as parts of the mass, which is supported also by accumulating more voices after each other without any further specification. This approach corresponds the most to the prototypical vox-pop format. Example 6 illustrates anonymous presentation of a voice on the BBC channel (although more voices on the BBC channel were presented with their

names than left anonymous and were closer to the ČT1's tendency). What is notable about the Example 6 is the fact that the reporter draws attention to the fact the speaker's name is not mentioned. It is typical in the data collected for the corpus that the strategies of introducing/not introducing speakers are not explained or justified in any way. Here, however, it is explicitly explained why the speaker is not introduced with their name and the fact that they do not want to be named is stressed. This explanation attracts the viewers' attention and it might be argued that this has a specific function – its intention may be to lead the viewer to wonder if the speakers were ashamed for their opinion and therefore did not want their name to be revealed etc.

4.5. Summary

This small-scale preliminary study offered insight into how the voice of people is represented on public-service and commercial channels. The collected data from a Czech public-service, a Czech commercial and a British public-service channel hinted to certain tendencies towards presenting the voice of people in the prototypical vox-pop format as well as a format that departs from the vox-pop prototype. A brief comparison of the strategies applied by these channels also helped to address whether they are culture/channel specific, although a larger corpus, including more public-service and commercial channels would be necessary for confirming the indicated tendencies.

The analysis revealed the tendency towards departing from anonymity of the presented voices, especially on the public-service channels. The data from BBC and mainly from ČT1 showed the preference for introducing the speakers with their names and presenting them as unique personalities, who, however, speak on behalf of a group they represent, and serve as model cases with whom similarly affected people can identify. Anonymity of the voices was preferred by the commercial Nova channel, whose strategies for presenting the voice of people corresponded to the vox-pop prototype the most. What is more, it was found out that most of the voices are not arbitrarily replaceable with any other voice, as they do not represent just the broad homogenous "public", but rather than that they mostly represent specific groups and categories of the citizens who are somehow involved in the event.

A brief comparison of the commercial channel's and public-service channels' strategies hinted to more similarities between the Czech and British public-service channels (preference for naming the voices, including fewer of them in the reports, suppressing their mass character and highlighting their personalities compared to the commercial channel). These tendencies need to be verified on a larger corpus, but the similarities between the data coming from different cultures promise the applicability of findings gained from a national corpus transnationally.

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