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Loeb, Laura

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Talk Show Talk:

The Practices of Interviewing on Daytime and Late-Night

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

Laura Alison Loeb

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Talk Show Talk:

The Practices of Interviewing on Daytime and Late-Night

by

Laura Alison Loeb

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Steven E. Clayman, Co-Chair

Professor John Heritage, Co-Chair

In the last twenty-five years the media has undergone major changes, moving fully from a

broadcast model to cable and beyond. One effect of this change has been shifts in how politicians

reach voters, particularly when campaigning. This has lead to politicians seeking out voters in

venues that would have previously been considered beneath the dignity of their office. This,

along with other shifts, has lead some critics to suggest that news is becoming corrupted, but

others have suggested that news in merely evolving along with technology and culture. This

project seeks to understand some of these shifts by investigating both entertainment talk shows,

which have become a locus of political interviews, as well as interviews on cable news. Using

qualitative and quantitative methods this project seeks to chart the norms of the talk show

interview, how these norms shift in the face of a political interviewee, and how cable news

norms differ from or not broadcast news norms. Using conversation analysis, chapter three of

this dissertation finds two norms drive the talk show: personalization and congeniality. These contrast with the norms that drive news interviewing: neutralism and adversarialness. In the chapter four interviews are coded and compared statistically, showing that when a political guest appears on a talk show a mix of norms are used. The norm most closely associated with the genre, personalization, remains strong, while the norm more associated with the treatment of the guest, congeniality, is more likely to be dropped in favor of its news counterpart, adversarialness. In the fifth chapter, the same measures are used to compare broadcast and cable news, finding that there are few significant differences between the two.

The dissertation of Laura Alison Loeb is approved.

Edward T. Walker

Tim Joseph Groeling

Steven E. Clayman, Committee Co-Chair

John Heritage, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

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In memory of my father, my first professor, whose first and most important lesson was to love learning.

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VITA

Laura Alison Loeb

PREVIOUS EDUCATION

2010-2012, C. Phil. in Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, California

2008-2010, M.A. in Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, California

2004-2008, B.A. in Sociology, and Religious Studies, minors in Women's and Gender Studies, and Film Studies, University of Dayton, Dayton OH

PUBLICATIONS

Loeb, Laura, 2015. "The Celebrity Talk Show: Norms and Practices." in Discourse, Context & Media 10(2015), 27-35.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

In 2016 both major U.S. parties ran primary races to select nominees for the general

Presidential election. These races, particularly the Republican race, were highly contentious and

caused much discussion about the differences from primary races of the past. One frequently

discussed difference was the way in which the media covered the candidates, particularly

business mogul Donald Trump who led the Republican polls for most of the race, won the

majority of state primaries, and resoundingly dominated the news coverage (Confessore and

Yourish 2016, Silver 2015, Silver 2016). His prominence in the news prompted self-reflection

about the role of the media in his success, and the role of media in election campaigns more

generally (Kristof 2016, Shafer 2016, Taibbi 2016). A part of Trump's success in gaining

coverage was probably due to his past media experience, not only with news but entertainment as

well. Entertainment media has become an increasingly routine part of the election cycle (Molek-

Kozakowska 2013), with candidates working to reach viewers through talk shows, sketch

comedy, and online connections. This project will explore this shift, looking at a genre, the

celebrity talk show, which has taken on new importance, as well as considering how some types

of news may also be affected by the trend towards entertainment.

Shifting Media Landscape

In the past, voters learned about issues and candidates from the news and from news

interviews. Today, news interview programs find themselves in competition with entertainment

programs for viewers and for ownership of topics like political campaigns. Scholars and critics

alike have noticed that one way that traditional news programs have dealt with this new

competition is to take on some of the practices of entertainment television, creating a softening

of hard news (Allan 1999, Baym 2010, Langer 1998), and moving towards creating news

marketed towards particular partisans (Groeling 2008). This shift may have consequences for the

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quality and type of the information that voters are receiving, allowing ratings grabbers like Donald Trump to dominate news coverage over thoughtful policy discussions.

This shift is part of the larger trend of entertainment media playing an increasing role in the coverage of serious topics as the news not only becomes more likely to cover entertainment, but entertainment begins to cover the news (Baum 2005, Baum and Jamison 2006, Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Jones 2010). One reason for this important shift is the enormous increase in the number of television stations and public affairs programing outlets. In the past, when broadcast television was the norm, a candidate in the United States could feel fairly secure that he was reaching a large share of the television audience by appearing on the news programs of the three major stations (ABC, NBC, and CBS). Now however, with the rise of cable and satellite television, the three major stations no longer command a dominant share of the market, particularly in the case of news where cable news is winning the lion's share of ratings (Baum and Kernell 1999). Current viewers have sometimes hundreds of choices to pick from, and to counter this, politicians appear on many more programs, and on a wider range of programs. They can no longer confine themselves to the respectability of hard news programs, even including cable news networks, and politicians increasingly find themselves chasing audiences and demographics by appearing on daytime entertainment programs aimed primarily at women, and late-night programs with large youth audiences, resulting in political campaigns relying on a blending of serious news and entertainment.

This blend comes from not only technological shifts, but from larger cultural shifts, often tied to economic interests, that have occurred since the height of the broadcast news era. Williams and Delli Carpini argue that one major shift was driven by the end of the cold war (2011). With the belief that capitalism and markets had defeated communism and state economic control, came an increasing reliance on ideas of market populism. For the media this meant that

broader ideals about the public good fell away in favor of coverage driven by supply and demand. In this environment, news that was informative but not entertaining started to lose out to more sensationalistic or broadly appealing topics. Relatedly, a shift towards globalism meant that national interests no longer provided a solid basis for a determining the public good. What might be good for America might not be good for the large multinational media conglomerations, which increasingly dominate the media landscape (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). Together, with the technological innovations, which allowed for a broader range of media options, this created an environment where entertainment took on a new relevance, and eventually became an important part of larger cultural and political conversations in America.

The economic pressures created by the fragmented media landscape have been shown to create more sensationalistic and scandal driven reporting as companies try to outdo one another for the greater share of the profits (Benson 2004). However, the increased concentration of ownership also means that these competitions can be largely internal, with large media corporations catering to different perspectives while still being driven by an underlying unified perspective (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). Therefore one company can be responsible for both serious news reporting, as well as lighter entertainment, but unlike in the past where cultural values preserved the distinction between these two, now these forms compete and blend with one another. For some scholars and commentators this blend heralds the downfall of news we know it, and suggests serious consequences for the health of democracy (Allan 1999, Langer 1998).

In contrast to this perspective, Williams and Delli Carpini argue that instead of looking on the 20th century model of broadcast news, with its strict separation from entertainment, as the normative or correct form for the media, it should instead be viewed in historical context as just one of a succession of media models. Just as the media moved from the partisan press of early America, to the penny press, to the broadcast model of the 20th century, that model is now being

overtaken by a new model of the media (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). In this new model the distinction between news and entertainment is less clear-cut, with opinion media and infotainment talk shows becoming a more significant source of public affairs information (Jacobs and Townsley 2011). Indeed, some scholars have already begun to chart the interesting hybrid genres of entertainment news that are emerging in this new regime (Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013). As the 2016 election illustrates, society continues to move away from the broadcast media regime, making it more important than ever to understand entertainment programming as well as news programming.

Development of the News Interview

Although there are many possible ways in which to explore the changing face of the media, one particularly salient area of change for political communication is the interview. Interviews are clearly shifting along with the rest of the media, and while once it was uncommon for a political candidate to appear anywhere but a news program to be interviewed, now it is common for candidates to appear on a mix of news programs and talk shows (Farnsworth and Lichter 2007). Interviews are an important part of both traditional hard news and of entertainment (Montgomery 2008, Schudson 1994), both in gathering information behind the scenes, and as a way to directly convey information to viewers (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Televised interviews not only directly edify the audience, but may be the subject of reporting in other forms afterwards (Baum and Groeling 2010, Clayman 1991, Groeling and Baum 2008, Salem 1995). As a result, the average person receives a great deal of their information about the world through the process of watching interviews or reading about them later, and understanding the shifting range of interviews is key to understanding today's media, and the ways in which voters are informed.

Interviews contribute to the public sphere in an important way (Habermas 1989 [1962]), by not only providing information about the world that might otherwise be inaccessible to the average member of the public, but by allowing the interviewer to stand in for the public to address the issues of the day. Journalists and other interviewers have access to important figures, and can use the practices of the interview to ask them the questions that the public wants answered – from the vital to the mundane. While entertainment interviewers work to show off the interviewee as a person, more than seeking specific stances on issues, journalists frequently orient to the need to vet public figures, seeing themselves as the "watchdog" of democracy, tasked with making sure the public has access to important information (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011, Higgins 2010, Schudson 2008, Zelizer 2004). A major aspect of the debate about the role of the media in Trump's 2016 rise, was about whether or not journalists had failed in this duty (Kristof 2016).

It is not only reporters and other interviewers who worry about the lasting results of interviews, as they can be very consequential for those interviewed as well. A bad interview can have a permanent effect on a public figure's reputation, as actor Crispin Glover learned when he appeared on *Late Night with Dave Letterman* in 1987. His strange character, and particularly his high kick at Letterman is remembered years after the fact, while the project he was there to promote is forgotten (Salem 1995). This can be true in the political arena as well, for example Sarah Palin is thought to have seriously damaged her credibility as a Vice Presidential candidate due to her performance in interviews with Katie Couric and Charles Gibson (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). Less dramatic examples abound, both in the world of celebrities and in the world of politicians, and both groups are likely to avoid interviews that they feel could damage their public image (Baym 2007). However, a good interview can also resuscitate a reputation that

is flagging, or even a campaign, as when Bill Clinton successfully revitalized his 1992 run for the Presidency with a standout interview performance (Clayman and Heritage 2002b).

Historically there has been a divide between entertainment interviews and news interviews and the way they have been conducted. This divide was first entrenched in the early days of talk on radio. As radio developed, an association rapidly formed between formality of speech and seriousness of subject, with more formal speech being used for more serious subjects and more prestigious guests (Cardiff 1980, Scannell and Cardiff 1991). Eventually two broad types of interviews became common: news interviews, which featured restricted speech practices, public officials or experts, and serious topics (Clayman and Heritage 2002b), and talk shows of all types, which featured talk more closely resembling casual conversation, celebrities or members of the public, and topics mostly about personal life and the popular culture. Scholarly and public opinion alike tended to value the news over entertainment and to stress the importance of a strict divide between the two. However as discussed above, today some scholars argue that this represents less a universal ideal, and more the result of particular historical events and values, and that society is in the process of shifting to a new media regime (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011).

Certainly, regardless of the preferences of commentators, the 2016 election illustrates that entertainment and politics have become intertwined, with all the major candidates making talk show appearances. The prominence of entertainment interviews in the 2016 election is only the latest and most marked manifestation of a shift towards a blend of entertainment and politics that has been happening over the last twenty-five years of election history. For politicians these programs offer many possible advantages. On the most basic level, is the idea that these programs allow campaigning politicians to gain the attention of viewers that they might not otherwise receive. Politicians are faced with constraints including both the limited attention of

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viewers, and the limits of their own campaign budgets. Talk shows allow politicians to deal with both of these constraints, by first allowing them to insert themselves in a program with a pre-existing audience, thereby gathering attention that is, in a sense, already spent. Secondly, talk show appearances are what campaign managers think of as "free media" (Johnson 2011), meaning that an appearance can reach viewers without the cost a campaign advertisement. Additionally, because campaigns have been shifting from relatively bounded and short affairs, to years long near-constant events, it becomes difficult to maintain the attention of both media and viewers (Owen and Medvic 2011). Research shows that talk shows can help turn voter attention to campaigns at key points (Feldman and Goldthwaite Young 2008), making them one tool in the arsenal of the modern campaign manager.

Another reason that politicians turn to talk shows in campaigning is the power of celebrity. Talk show hosts interview celebrities, but are also celebrities in their own rights. During Obama's 2008 candidacy, he not only appeared on several talk shows, but also managed to earn the endorsement of talk show host Oprah Winfrey. Research suggests that this endorsement influenced viewers to see Obama as more likely to win the Democratic nomination, and also influenced viewers to be more likely to vote for him (Pease and Brewer 2008). Another study suggests that the eventual result of the endorsement was approximately one million additional votes for Obama (Garthwaite and Moore 2013). It is relatively rare to see a major talk show host endorse a candidate, and in fact there is some evidence to suggest that Oprah's favorability ratings dropped after the endorsement (Panagopoulos 2008). She ended her show before the next election, making it difficult to say if she would have had trouble booking guests from the Republican party, although fellow daytime talk show host Ellen DeGeneres has largely been confined to Democratic political guests after activism that has more closely associated her with Democratic candidates and policies. However, a host does not have to directly endorse a

guest to still have a positive effect. As discussed below in chapter three, talk show hosts generally have friendly and positive interactions with guests, which can be enough to leave their fans with positive feelings towards campaigning political guests (Baum 2005).

Talk shows also offer an ideal venue for personalized discussion. Personalization is a term used by this dissertation to discuss a specific way of communicating on talk shows, but it is a term with a broader usage in discussions of modern political campaigns. Research has noted a turn towards personalization in modern politics meaning a focus on the biography, and individual specificities of a candidate (Arbour 2014, Hjarvard 2013). Another thread of research uses the term to discuss the extensive ground game, involving thousands of volunteers making personal contact with potential voters, that is a major part of modern campaigning (Nielsen 2012). Both of these bodies of work argue that personalization, whether by the candidate or the campaign more broadly, is a result of the fragmentation of the media landscape discussed above (Arbour 2014, Nielsen 2012). Without the force of the old broadcast media regime, easily reaching many voters with a single interview, political campaigns have to find other ways to connect, whether that means door-to-door personal encounters, or allowing voters to feel as if they "know" the candidate through personal stories. Talk shows are understood to be an ideal place for politicians to show off personalized stories about themselves when campaigning (Marland and Lalancette 2014).

One advantage of this type of personalization for the politicians is that it allows them to establish credibility with voters. Candidates can use personalization to appear likable, to showcase their personal stories, and to allow viewer voters to find commonalities with them giving voters a sense of "who they are" and therefore their trustworthiness (Arbour 2014). Voters can then assess a politician's likeliness to follow through on campaign promises, or to look out for voter interests, by assessing them as persons in the same way they might also evaluate those

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with more proximate roles in their lives, such as friends, salespersons, and coworkers. Research has looked at how this can be done through campaign advertisements (Arbour 2014), but talk shows present an even more ideal setting for this type of work since they are in essence centered on this type of effort. For politicians, the shift to talk shows may have initially been occasioned by technological and cultural shifts, but today talk shows represent an important element of a modern campaign that no politician can afford to ignore if they want to come across as a complete candidate and persuade voters.

Previous Research on Broadcast Talk

To understand the importance of talk show interviews this project will explore in-depth the practices of interviewing. There has been much past research done on news interviews and their practices (examples include: Clayman 1988, Clayman 1991, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman 2010, Clayman and Romaniuk 2011, Ekström, Kroon and Nylund 2006, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Heritage and Roth 1995, Montgomery 2007, Roth 2005, Schudson 1994). This work shows that news interviews have a strict turn-taking system, organized into questions from interviewers and answers from interviewees (Heritage and Roth 1995, Tolson 2012). Within these constraints, both questions and answers tend to be long and complex (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Greatbatch 1988). Further, news interviews are organized by two primary norms rooted in the professional culture of broadcast journalism. The first norm, neutralism, leads news interviewers to present themselves as impartial catalysts, primarily engaged in eliciting talk from interviewees for the benefit of the overhearing audience (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). The second norm, adversarialness, leads interviewers to act as "watchdogs of democracy" by challenging political guests and their positions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). This research on the organization and practices of news

interviewing will help ground the exploration of talk shows and larger shifts towards entertainment interviewing that will be the focus of this project.

There has also been previous research into the talk show, but before delving into that research, it is important to note that within the genre of the talk show there is some variation. One type of talk show is the audience participation talk show (*The Jerry Springer Show, Ricki Lake, Dr. Phil)*, which features ordinary people as guests. This type of talk show has received substantial scholarly attention in recent years (Carbaugh 1996, Gamson 1998, Grindstaff 2002, Hutchby 2006b, Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Munson 1993, Thornborrow 2000, Thornborrow 2001, Tolson 2001). However, as illustrated by the 2016 election, it is a second type of talk show, the celebrity talk show (*The Tonight Show, The Late Show, The View*), which has become most prominent as entertainment and serious cultural considerations start to meet on these programs (Baym 2013b, Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Molek-Kozakowska 2013). In this version of the talk show guests are typically celebrities such as movie and television stars, musicians, etc. The main topics of discussion are popular culture, and the guest's professional and personal lives, although political topics may also be discussed.

One reason that politicians have chosen the celebrity talk show in recent years is the relative prominence of that genre of talk show. Audience participation talk shows grew in popularity throughout the 1990's and into the early 2000's, but after that time their popularity declined. This shift may indirectly be a result of the fragmentation of the media landscape. As more stations came into existence, networks struggled to find inexpensive material to fill that space, and one solution was the reality television show, a genre often perceived as covering many of the same topics as the audience participation talk show. As the popularity of the audience participation talk show declined many of the most famous went off the air entirely, and it wasn't until recent years that these shows began to experience a slight resurgence in the public

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eye, although this time with a more explicitly self-help orientation (*Dr. Phil, Doctor Oz).*

Meanwhile, the celebrity talk show grew in popularity, with late-night expanding from *The*

Tonight Show and *Late Night* to include the additions of *The Late Show* and *The Late Late Show*

in the 1990's (Carter 1994, Carter 2010) and a proliferation of new programs in recent years as

other broadcast and cable stations join the fray. Some of these new additions present variations

on the format for many years offered by *The Tonight Show*, for instance the satire of shows like

The Daily Show and *The Colbert Report,* or the "minority" perspectives proffered by *The Nightly*

Show with Larry Wilmore, or *Full Frontal with Samantha Bee*. Daytime talk shows, like *The*

View and *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, have also been culturally significant in recent years. These

celebrity talk shows have also received some scholarly attention recently with a significant

portion of the research focusing on the satire subset of program programs (Baym 2007, Baym

2010, Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Jones 2010, Tolson 1991), but also some research on the

backstage production and downstream reception of standard talk shows (Horton and Wohl 2006

[1956], Tuchman 1974), as well as some aspects of the interaction (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994,

Fairclough 1995, Tolson 1991).

The largest body of work looks at the effects of such programs. This work suggests the

importance of entertainment programs or "soft news" in providing voters with information on

political matters. Matthew Baum has found that soft news has several effects for viewers, in

particular for those viewers who are not politically engaged otherwise (Baum 2005). Politically

unengaged viewers of these shows are more likely to vote for a candidate based on a favorable

performance in these interviews, even if the candidate is affiliated with a different party than the

one with which the viewer typically identifies (Baum 2005). Significantly, these programs can

help less politically engaged viewers identify candidates who fit their political preferences and

allow them to vote in a manner that is consistent with those preferences (Baum and Jamison 2006).

Additionally, Baum has found that viewing these programs can have an effect beyond voting season. Viewers of these programs are kept more informed about foreign policy, particularly those who would not otherwise be engaged with such news (Baum 2002). Viewers also form opinions based on what they learn from these programs, which can shape how they see America's role in the world and the success or failure of its current leaders. Baum finds that those viewers who have less education are more likely to have isolationist policies when they view a significant amount of soft news. However, those who have high levels of education are likely to form the opposite conclusion when viewing significant amounts of soft news (Baum 2003, Baum 2004). These ideas, formed based on watching soft news, can have real effects on how people vote in the future and the policies that they support.

Scholars have focused a good deal of attention on one particular example of soft news, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. Although this project will not look at *The Daily Show,* the literature can give insight into the types of questions addressed by talk show scholarship. Most particularly, following polling in 2000 and 2004 that suggested that young people were as likely to rely on *The Daily Show* for campaign information as traditional news, scholars became interested in understanding the ways in which *The Daily Show* could affect viewers (Fox, Koloen and Sahin 2007). These researchers have examined *The Daily Show* viewers from a number of perspectives, for instance exploring the content of the programs with the analytical tools of literary traditions (Colletta 2009, Druick 2009, Goodnow 2011, Waisanen 2009) and more broadly discussing themes (Baym 2010, Jones 2010). One author examining the content of *The Daily Show* during the 2004 elections found that more hard hitting jokes were made at the expense of the Republicans during that time, but concluded that since Republicans were the party

in power, it may have been inevitable that this should be the case (Morris 2009). Another perspective on content finds that during the 2004 elections, programs such as *The Daily Show* gave more speaking time to candidates than traditional news programs, suggesting a reason why politicians may be seeking out interviews on entertainment programs (Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Fox, Koloen and Sahin 2007). Most of the literature is less focused on content, focusing instead on the potential effects of viewing the program.

One such body of work looks at specific ways in which viewers are likely to be influenced by watching *The Daily Show* and other late-night comedy, particularly during campaign season. The findings are mixed, suggesting that viewers who get their news from late-night comedy are likely to be more swayed by a likable personality in an interview, particularly if the candidate is not well known to the viewer (Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005a). However other findings suggest that some viewers are also more likely to absorb the negative stereotypes about candidates often employed by late-night comedians (Goldthwaite Young 2006). The idea that late-night shows like *The Daily Show* can make not only candidates, but particular topics more salient for viewers has support in research suggesting that viewers who are not otherwise particularly engaged are likely to know more about well-covered stories than non-viewers of otherwise similar levels of engagement (Cao 2010). This body of literature once again points to the persuasive power of soft news.

Other examinations of the viewers of *The Daily Show* has revealed a number of sometimes conflicting findings. Some have tried to test the often believed idea that young people get their news from the *The Daily Show,* but have found that young people are not tuning into *The Daily Show* as their primary news source (Goldthwaite Young and Tisinger 2006). They have also found that the order in which viewers watch news and *The Daily Show* can have an effect on viewer's perceptions of both programs (Holbert et al. 2007). Scholars have further tried

to test the idea that young people are learning from the *The Daily Show*. Some contest the idea that soft news provides meaningful learning (Prior 2003), while others suggest that only certain types of learning occur when watching *The Daily Show's* humorous presentation (Brewer and Cao 2006, Hollander 2005, Kim and Vishak 2008). This body of work is in line with previous research which has suggested that humorous stories at the ends of newscasts can cause viewers to downgrade the seriousness of the hard news stories that proceeded the humorous story (Zillmann et al. 1994). Another perspective on *The Daily Show* and learning falls in line with Baum's work on soft news, suggesting that the amount of learning that takes place when watching *The Daily Show* is affected by education and also age (Cao 2008). This body of work taken as a whole, suggests some viewers of *The Daily Show* do some learning, but perhaps not as many or as much as is widely believed.

Another body of research seeks to find out if watching programs like *The Daily Show* is correlated with increased political involvement. The work has produced a number of highly conflicting reports. Some researchers have found that watching *The Daily Show* has the potential to lead to greater political participation (Hoffman and Thomson 2009). Others found that viewers were more likely to increase their attention to national campaign news as the election approached than non-viewers, but not as likely as viewers of *The Late Show* and *The Tonight Show* (Feldman and Goldthwaite Young 2008). Some have found there is a positive effect of viewing late-night talk shows, but watching non-talk comedy shows actually reduced political involvement (Pfau, Houston and Semmler 2005). Others have found no correlation between *The Daily Show* viewership and increased political involvement (Cao and Brewer 2008). Still other researchers have suggested that the viewers of late-night programming who are showing increased political involvement are already highly politically knowledgeable, and that the humor of such programming may only be accessible to those who already have some basic knowledge of

political events (Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005b). Finally, other research suggests that, unlike watching *The Late Show* and *The Tonight Show,* watching *The Daily Show* can increase cynicism towards politicians and the political system, and therefore potentially reduce political involvement (Baumgartner and Morris 2006). This body of literature, while intriguing, presents many different pictures of how *The Daily Show* viewers are or are not affected by their habits.

Finally, some work has looked at how *The Daily Show* is understood by viewers in terms of partisan affiliation. One project suggests that while there is evidence for the hostile media effect, in which partisans from either side will see the same piece of media as biased against them, *The Daily Show* was perceived as more biased than clips from CNN or Fox News regardless of partisan identification (Coe et al. 2008). Interestingly *The Daily Show* spin-off *The Colbert Report,* which takes the form of a satire of right-wing pundits such as Bill O'Reilly, is understood as being liberal or conservative based on the viewers own political affiliation, in a reverse of the hostile media effect (LaMarre, Landreville and Beam 2009). The literature on partisan effects is therefore not wholly conclusive.

Although there has been substantial research on *The Daily Show,* which can give insight into talk shows more broadly, this project will focus on broadcast talk shows. Only a few of these studies have focused on the broadcast programs, despite their larger audiences (Baumgartner and Morris 2006, Feldman and Goldthwaite Young 2008, Goldthwaite Young and Tisinger 2006, Goldthwaite Young 2006, Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005a, Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005b). Furthermore, the research focusing on daytime talk show programming has been confined to the genre of debate programs, or programs featuring members of the public (Carbaugh 1996, Grindstaff 2002, Hutchby 2006a, Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Thornborrow 2000, Thornborrow 2001, Tolson 2001) despite the increasing number of politicians who are visiting these programs (Farnsworth and Lichter 2007).

The Present Study

This project will add to this literature on broadcast talk shows, focusing on the highly rated late-night programs *The Tonight Show* and *The Late Show* as well as two prominent daytime talk shows, *The View* and *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*. By focusing on these mainstream programs this project hopes to offer a baseline understanding of the typical talk show. Additionally, the focus of the first part of the research presented here will be on mapping the basic practices of the talk show in the same level of detail that previous research has applied to news interviews (Clayman 1988, Clayman 1991, Clayman 2001, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage and Roth 1995, Roth 2005). By mapping the basic norms and practices of these interviews this dissertation will provide a window into an area of broadcast talk that has only begun to be studied systematically, and provide a stepping off point for examining the more hybrid genres that draw from the resources offered by the practices of talk show interviewing.

In order to understand the changing practices of interviewing across news and entertainment this project employs two methodologies, conversation analysis, and, building off the findings of this work, quantitative comparison of different interview contexts. In chapter three, the project looks at interviews with celebrity guests on talk shows to map the norms that drive this type of interview using conversation analysis (CA). CA is a method focused on practices of interaction, and how people accomplish actions though talk (Heritage 1984a, Schegloff 1996, Schegloff 2007). This method is particularly relevant in understanding the implications of questioning, the main activity of interviewing (Heritage and Clayman 2010). For instance, in asking certain questions an interviewer can present an other that is or is not a suitable candidate for political office, and regardless of the answer offered by the interviewee the implication lingers (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). While CA is traditionally thought of as a

qualitative method, it works through the building of collections, searching for deviant cases, and seeking patterns of interaction, and the method can be understood as informally quantitative (Schegloff 1993). Once practices of interaction are understood they can be used as the basis for traditionally quantitative work (Clayman et al. 2006b, Clayman et al. 2007, Stivers and all 2009).

This project does exactly that, first tracing the norms of a typical talk show interview in chapter three and then building a coding scheme based on those findings, as well as previous findings on news interviews. Using this coding scheme, chapters four and five examine interviews on talk shows with politicians and celebrities, broadcast news interviews, and cable news interviews. These chapters take as their model past quantitative work on interviewing (Clayman et al. 2010, Clayman et al. 2006b, Clayman et al. 2007, Clayman et al. 2012). The coding scheme builds on the findings on talk shows, as well as previous findings on news interviewing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Tolson 2012). By bringing in a quantitative aspect, the project provides concrete indicators of the patterns that have been identified qualitatively, and allows for a clear picture of the shifts across contexts. In doing so, this dissertation provides concrete quantitative evidence about how these different types of interviews are structured, and what norms shape them. In this way, the dissertation can contrast in a more robust way, not only the talk show and the news program, but investigate what happens when politicians appear in a talk show environment. It also allows for comparison of different news contexts, testing the idea that CNN is less rigorous than broadcast news.

These findings can give insight not only into the practicalities of how certain genres of interviewing are organized, but can help us better understand the range of informational resources that voters have available to them. As discussed above, most voters do not have the time, resources, or knowledge needed to evaluate a politician's record fully, or decide which candidate they agree with and trust most. Instead voters often rely on information shortcuts, like

endorsements from trusted figures (Garthwaite and Moore 2013, Pease and Brewer 2008), or partisan affiliation. However, many commentators have noted that, for good or ill, modern voters often select candidates based on even more ephemeral ideas about the candidate's personality. This idea, often discussed in the media under the heading of who voters would "have a beer with," conceals more complicated ways of thinking about how voters make decisions. While the evaluation of a candidate as a potential drinking companion might not seem very relevant, it stands in for larger assessments of the trustworthiness of the candidate. A person that a voter can imagine spending time with, is a person that they likely feel they can trust enough to fulfill campaign promises (Arbour 2014). If they can imagine being able to hold a conversation with the candidate, this can stand in for having something in common with them, which may mean that the decisions the candidate will make once elected will represent the voter's interests.

Many people have recognized talk shows as the ideal place for candidates to create this type of impression (Arbour 2014, Craig 2016, Hjarvard 2013, Marland and Lalancette 2014, Wheeler 2013). Indeed, scholars have long suggested the success of talk shows is premised on their ability to foster these types of para-social relationships (Horton and Wohl 2006 [1956]). Whereas the hosts of news programs work to make themselves visible only as institutional actors, without personal investment in the proceedings, the role of the talk show host is to both appear as a distinct personality and to showcase the personality of their guest. This provides the opportunity for viewers to feel as if they "know" both host and guest, allowing candidates to connect with voters in a way that other media genres do not. Although other researchers have noted this possibility, even quantitatively showing how successful it can be (Baum 2005), in the third chapter this dissertation offers a concrete picture of the on-screen input into the process, and in particular the distinctively personalized interactional dynamics characters of talk show interviews by mapping the unique practices of the talk show, and showing how they contrast

with those of the news program. Additionally, in chapter four the quantitative measures show the extent to which these practices apply to political figures, giving grounded insight into the affordances this genre offers politicians, and the particular practices that hosts use which allow politicians to showcase their individuality and personal stories.

Because talk shows can foster not only the para-social relationships between guests and viewers, but the longstanding relationships that loyal viewers have with the hosts (Horton and Wohl 2006 [1956]), a candidate can benefit not only from their own connection with the audience, but also from the perception that the host likes the guest. Because (as discussed below in chapter three) one of the roles of talk show hosts is to positively feature the guest it might be expected that hosts will show a liking towards guests, but see chapter four for a discussion of the limits of this with political guests, with talk show hosts treating political guests differently on this front than non-political guests. Both this possibility and its limitation begins to raise another issue, which is the changing role of journalism, and who stands in the role of journalistic watchdog in today's media landscape.

In the new media era, journalism is no longer confined strictly to journalists as defined though training in the practices of journalism, earning specialized degrees, and working for serious news organizations. Instead, the role of the journalist has become diffused, with talk show hosts, citizen bloggers, and computer algorithms all playing a role in curating the news that ordinary people receive on a day-to-day basis. With this growth of journalism, what was once known about its practices and limitation needs expansion and updating. This project offers insight into one new direction of journalism, showing how entertainers and comedians have taken on the role of para-journalists and mapping the extent to which they draw on the traditional norms of journalistic interviewing, and the extent to which their own backgrounds shape their brand of journalism. Additionally, the fifth chapter of this project explores how journalistic

norms fare when taken from the broadcast setting to the setting of cable news. These chapters together begin to provide some answers for questions about how journalism is changing in the new media era, where news is no longer confined to the big three broadcast news programs, but instead has moved to cable, entertainment television, and beyond.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter two offers a detailed exploration of the data and methods chosen for this project. Following this methodological discussion there are three main substantive chapters. Chapter three looks at the celebrity talk show, tracing the norms that drive the interview (personalization and congeniality), and comparing them to the norms of the news interview (neutralism and adversarialness). In mapping the norms and the practices associated with them, the chapter offers a concrete picture of how the talk show works, and provides a base for the further explorations of chapter four.

Chapter four will expand the work on practices of talk shows from chapter three by examining how interviews change when political guests appear, and by implication how that might change the information presented to voters. This section will use quantitative methods to show the regular differences between three types of interviews: the typical talk show interview with a celebrity guest discussed in chapter three, the talk show interview with a political guest, and a typical news interview. By measuring differences between these three interview types, chapter four establishes benchmarks for both prototypical news and talk show interviews, and investigates the blended interview arising from political figures on talk shows. Chapter four finds that talk show interviews with politicians represent a blend of talk show norms and news norms, although norms of interaction related to the treatment of the guest shift more as the type of guest shifts.

Finally, chapter five explores the idea that journalistic interviewing on news shows is also being affected by the shifts in the media landscape, looking specifically at interviewing on CNN. Today more people get news from cable than the major networks (Baum and Kernell 1999, Coe et al. 2008, Gottfried et al. 2016). Much of cable news is specialized, for instance catering to particular partisan leanings, but CNN is generally viewed as simply mainstream news (Coe et al. 2008), bound by the same norms of objectivity that shape network news (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Despite generally being seen as non-partisan, other criticisms are regularly directed at CNN, which is popularly considered to be less rigorous than other forms of news, raising the idea that the structural differences between broadcast and cable news alone may produce lower quality content (Sambrock and McGuire 2014, Sorenson 2012). Although, cable news does no better or worse than network news in covering particular issues of note, such as climate change (Boykoff 2008), and does less explicit promotion for parent companies than similar network programs (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009), other evidence suggests the in the moment production of cable news may be fundamentally different from network news, which could be reflected in interview practices (Fico et al. 2008). To test the idea than CNN represents something less than the full throated embodiment of news norms, chapter five of this dissertation will quantitatively compare CNN interviews to network news interviews, as well as talk show interviews with politicians, using key measures designed to assess which norms are being enacted. If it is true that CNN is substantively different from network news, this should be reflected in the behavior of the journalists (Fico et al. 2008), leaving CNN interviews more like talk show interviews.

Together the three substantive chapters of this dissertation seek to answer broader questions about the changing media landscape, and how we can understand news and politics in today's world.

Chapter 2 - Data and Methods

In order to understand the changing practices of interviewing across news and entertainment this project employs two methodologies. First, in exploring the moment-by-moment practices of interviewing with qualitative methods. Second, by building on these findings, as well as those from previous research, to quantify the differences across interview contexts using statistical methods. The interviews for both parts of the project were collected from the UCLA Library Broadcast NewsScape archive, and cover the period of the 2011-2012 Republican primary, and U.S. Presidential general election. The list of shows analyzed are: *Anderson Cooper 360, The Ellen DeGeneres Show, Face the Nation, Fareed Zakaria GPS, John King USA, The Late Show, Meet the Press, The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer, This Week, The Tonight Show,* and *The View*. The selection of the data and methods are discussed in depth below.

The first part of the project looks at interviews with celebrity guests on talk shows in chapter three, using conversation analysis (CA). CA is a method focused on practices of interaction that draws from the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel (Heritage 1984a, Schegloff 1996, Schegloff 2007). CA takes from Goffman the idea of an interaction order (Goffman 1983) and the idea that a person's utterances and other actions present a self and furthermore present an other (Goffman 1959). This idea is particularly relevant in understanding the implications of questioning, the main activity of interviewing (Heritage and Clayman 2010). For instance, in asking certain questions an interviewer can present an other that is or is not a suitable candidate for political office, and regardless of the answer offered by the interviewee the implication lingers (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). In CA, interactions are transcribed and analyzed according to the standards of the field (Jefferson 2004) to find patterns of interaction. While CA is traditionally thought of as a qualitative method, it works through the building of

collections, searching for deviant cases, and seeking patterns of interaction, and the method can be understood as informally quantitative (Schegloff 1993). Once practices of interaction are understood they can be used as the basis for traditionally quantitative work (Clayman et al. 2006b, Clayman et al. 2007, Stivers and all 2009) as in the next part of this project. This type of building on past work allows for both external validity and, due to the careful case-by-case analysis, internal validity.

Chapters four and five use quantitative coding and analysis to measure the relevant differences between different interview contexts (news, entertainment, and a blending of the two in chapter four, and different news contexts in chapter five), taking as its model past quantitative work on interviewing (Clayman et al. 2010, Clayman et al. 2006b, Clayman et al. 2007, Clayman et al. 2012). The coding scheme builds on the findings on talk shows, as well as previous findings on news interviewing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Tolson 2012). By bringing in a quantitative aspect, the project provides concrete indicators of the patterns that have been identified qualitatively, and allows for a clear picture of the shifts across contexts. Combined, these two methods allowed this dissertation to explore shifts in interviewing in a qualitatively rich, but also quantifiable manner.

Selecting Shows

Choosing to study talk shows opens a broad range of possibilities. Talk shows take on many forms over the many cable and broadcast channels available. These programs air throughout the day, and in many countries. This project cannot study every possible variation of these programs or even all the programs in the UCLA Library Broadcast NewsScape archive, and so narrowed to a few programs chosen to best answer the questions proposed by this paper. As stated above these programs are *The View, The Ellen DeGeneres Show, The Late Show,* and *The Tonight Show*. Likewise, there are many options for news, but this project chose two types,

Sunday morning broadcast interview programs (*Face the Nation, Meet the Press,* and *This Week)* and CNN interview programs (*Anderson Cooper 360, Fareed Zakaria GPS, John King USA,* and *The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer*). These shows are a handful of the many plausible choices for this project, so why pick these?

One way of choosing talk shows is to attempt to cover wide ground within the boundaries of the project. To that end, two of the programs (*The View* and *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*) are daytime programs, while the other two are late-night programs (*Late Show with Dave Letterman,* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*). Daytime programs tend to be aimed at women, and are generally perceived as covering topics in which women are particularly interested, and as having more emotionally driven interviews. Late-night, on the other hand, tends to have a larger male audience than female, and is generally perceived as being more driven by comedy. These shows also appear on different channels, with *The View* appearing on the broadcast station of ABC, *The Tonight Show* on NBC, and *The Late Show* on CBS. *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* is syndicated, potentially appearing on any of these stations, as well as others like FOX, and the CW. On one level, these four shows do cover a lot of ground in a relatively small number of programs, but it might also be possible to think of a project that cast the net still wider including morning, prime-time, and what are sometimes called late-late-night programs.

Another factor that can help make the decision of which talk shows to explore is the success of the program. On this front television ratings suggest that the four programs that have been selected are also good choices. At the time of sampling, *The View* had recently celebrated its fifteenth year on the air and regularly is one of the top rated programs for women in daytime (Seidman 2011). As the chart below shows, it is in fact the top rated daytime talk show for the week from which the data is drawn.

Table 2.1 - Top 5 Daytime Programs in Women 18-49 (based on rating for the Week of Oct. 24, 2011)

Program	Network	Rating/000s
The Young & The Restless	CBS	1.5/943,000
The View	*ABC*	*1.2/745,000*
One Life To Live	ABC	1.1/684,000
General Hospital	ABC	1.1/679,000
Bold and the Beautiful	CBS	1.0/636,000
Days Of Our Lives	NBC	1.0/611,000

(Seidman 2011)

The Ellen DeGeneres Show has been on the air since 2003 and often ranks in the top 25

syndicated programs. As the chart below shows for the week of February 12, 2012 it was in fact

the highest ranked general talk show to make the top 25 syndicated programs (Seidman 2012).

Table 2.2 - Top 25 Syndicated Shows for the week of February 12, 2012 (scripted shows removed):

Rank	Program	Dist	Day	Rating	Viewers (000)
1	Wheel Of Fortune	CTD	MTWTF..	7.7	12324
3	Judge Judy	CTD	MTWTF..	7.6	10506
5	Jeopardy	CTD	MTWTF..	6.4	10097
10	Wheel Of Fortune Wknd	CTD	......S	4.1	6525
12	Entertainment Tonight	CTD	MTWTF..	4.0	5788
13	Dr. Phil Show	CTD	MTWTF..	3.5	4585
16	Inside Edition	CTD	MTWTF..	3.3	4815
17	Family Feud	2/T	MTWTF..	3.2	4745
18	Dr. Oz Show	SPT	MTWTF..	3.1	4043
19	Judge Joe Brown	CTD	MTWTF..	3.1	4308
23	*Ellen Degeneres Show*	*WB*	*MTWTF..*	*2.7*	*3615*
24	Live With Kelly	DAD	MTWTF..	2.7	3616

(Seidman 2012)

The battle for late-night ratings has long been fiercely fought particularly between *The Tonight*

Show and *The Late Show* which premiered over twenty years ago (Carter 1994, Carter 2010).

The Tonight Show, in addition to being the longest running entertainment program in America,

tends to be the top rated program in that time slot followed by *The Late Show* (Bibel 2012). As

the chart below illustrates, that makes these programs the top rated late night talk shows for the

week in question.

Table 2.3 - Ratings and Total Viewers Late Night for the week of February 13-17, 2012

Program	Network	Rating/Viewers
Nightline	ABC	0.9 /3.9 million
Tonight	*NBC*	*0.8/3.8 million*
Late Show	*CBS*	*0.8/3.3 million*
The Daily Show	CC	0.8/1.9 million
Kimmel	ABC	0.5/1.8 million
Late Night	NBC	0.6/1.8 million
Late Late Show	CBS	0.5/1.6 million
(Bibel 2012)		

These numbers cannot fully justify why these programs are a good choice for this project, but do suggest these programs are influential and prominent. Additionally, the length of time these programs have been airing suggests that they have been important for some years.

The final reason to study these programs stems from something all of these shows have in common, which is that politicians have chosen to appear on them. In addition to standard news interview appearances, President Obama appeared on all four of these programs while making his successful bid for the presidency in 2008. In fact, he has since appeared on all of them again as sitting president. If successful candidates and Presidents are appearing on these programs it is a good argument for why researchers need to understand them better. In the changing media landscape these are islands whose terrain needs to be mapped.

For the news comparisons the Sunday morning programs (*Face the Nation, Meet the Press* and *This Week*) were chosen as the most prestigious and rigorous examples of news interviewing in the U.S. television landscape. The CNN programs (*Anderson Cooper 360, Fareed Zakaria GPS, John King USA,* and *The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer*) were chosen as cable parallels to these programs. From the CNN line-up programs were selected that focus on live or live-to-tape interviews, and those that are perceived as the most serious news programs on the station (as opposed to more commentary-based programs, or those designed to function as parallels to morning shows). Although the longevity of these shows varied quite a bit, from over sixty years on the air for *Meet the Press,* to only a year at the start of sampling for *John King*

USA, each was hosted by a highly respected journalist with a long career in television journalism, making these programs excellent examples of their kind.

Sampling Episodes

For chapter three, which as discussed above is concerned with interviews on celebrity talk shows, a sample was collected of the programs (*The View, The Ellen DeGeneres Show, The Late Show with Dave Letterman,* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*) from five weeks of programming at the end of 2011, spaced over five months. The day of the week was different each week of the sample to avoid systematic differences based on filming and broadcast schedules. Interviews from the Sunday morning programs of each week sampled were also collected for comparison. The sample of the entertainment programs was also coded to contrast with to the political interviews of chapter four. The political interviews on talk shows in chapter four were gathered through a convenience sample, taking interviews from both the primary and general U.S. presidential election of 2011-2012. Comparison hard news interviews with the same guest from both CNN and the Sunday programs were matched from a two-week radius to control for the overall news environment. Only if both a news interview and a talk show interview with a particular politician were available within that time frame could either be included in the project. This allowed for direct comparisons to be made if needed. For chapter five, 12 additional randomly selected Sunday Morning programs that aired in the same 2011-2012 timeline were gathered.

The result of this sampling was a total of 30 talk show interviews, and 19 hard news interviews for analysis in the chapter three. For chapter four a total of 54 interviews were collected: 30 talk show with celebrities, 15 talk show interviews with political guests, and 9 traditional news interviews. In chapter five a total of 49 interviews were collected: 13 CNN interviews, 21 Sunday network interviews, and 15 talk show interviews with politicians.

All interviews were transcribed according CA conventions (Jefferson 2004) and for the quantitative sections were then coded using a coding scheme created using previous research on the norms of talk show and news interviewing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Loeb 2015). Each line of transcript was examined in concert with the video recording of the interview for elements like broad topic (political or not), grammatical forms (question or statement), and responses (receipt tokens such as *mmhm, really, wow*). The author coded each of these interviews, and shortly after initial coding a twenty percent recode was done to verify the accuracy of the coding for a total of just over 8,000 lines of coding. The coding is discussed in more detail in chapters four and five below, and the codebook is attached as appendix.

Chapter 3 - The Celebrity Talk Show: Norms and Practices

Talk shows are a part of daily life in America. From early in the morning as people get

ready for work until late at night as they slide into sleep, celebrity talk shows play on television.

These shows are not just a steady background hum to American life, but are an influence on

public discourse. As with other forms of broadcast talk, a particularly interesting event or

interview on one of these programs can become a focus of both mediated and interpersonal

discussion long afterward (Clayman 1995, Ekström and Johansson 2008, Salem 1995). Since

clips or entire episodes are often posted on the internet, their potential influence reaches beyond

the 3.8 million people who may watch *The Tonight Show* in a given night (Bibel 2012) to

encompass those who watch and share online later. Because of the way technology is changing

the media landscape, the talk show has played an expanding role in cultural life attracting

performing artists, cultural icons, and increasingly campaigning politicians (Baym 2013a,

Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Just et al. 1996, Molek-Kozakowska 2013).

To some scholars and public commentators this shift in emphasis from traditional news to

talk shows is a symptom of the corruption of the media landscape (Allan 1999, Langer 1998).

For other scholars it is merely indicative of a shift to a new "media regime" (Williams and Delli

Carpini 2011). Williams and Delli Carpini argue that instead of looking on the 20th century

model of broadcast news, with its strict separation from entertainment as the normative or correct

form for the media, it should instead be viewed in historical context as just one of a succession of

media models. Just as the media moved from the partisan press of early America, to the penny

press, to the broadcast model of the 20th century, that model is now being overtaken by a new

model of the media (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). In this new model the distinction between

news and entertainment is less clear-cut, with opinion media and infotainment talk shows

becoming a more significant source of public affairs information (Jacobs and Townsley 2011).

Some scholars have already begun to chart the interesting hybrid genres of entertainment news that are emerging in this new regime (Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013).

The divide of the broadcast model was first entrenched in the early days of talk on radio. As radio developed an association rapidly formed between formality of speech and seriousness of subject, with more formal speech being used for more serious subjects and more prestigious guests (Cardiff 1980, Scannell and Cardiff 1991). Eventually two broad types of interviews became common: news interviews, which featured restricted speech practices, public officials or experts, and serious topics (Clayman and Heritage 2002b), and talk shows of all types, which featured talk more closely resembling casual conversation, celebrities or members of the public, and topics mostly about personal life and the popular culture. This sharp demarcation between entertainment and news came to characterize the broadcast media regime (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011), and scholars and public opinion alike tended to value the news over entertainment. However, as society moves away from the broadcast media regime it becomes more important to understand entertainment programming as well as news programming. Whereas once entertainment programs were merely the home of celebrity and domestic concerns, they are now also becoming home to political and cultural conversations (Baym 2013b).

Due to this historical penchant for serious news media, journalistic or hard news interview programs have received substantial scholarly attention compared to entertainment interviews on talk shows (examples include: Clayman 1988, Clayman 1991, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman 2010, Clayman and Romaniuk 2011, Ekström, Kroon and Nylund 2006, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Heritage and Roth 1995, Montgomery 2007, Roth 2005, Schudson 1994). There are many entertainment interview

programs, but this paper will distinguish two main types. In recent years, the first type, audience participation talk shows, featuring ordinary people as guests, have received scholarly attention (Carbaugh 1996, Gamson 1998, Grindstaff 2002, Hutchby 2006b, Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Munson 1993, Thornborrow 2000, Thornborrow 2001, Tolson 2001), particularly as it has become clear that talk shows of all types are starting to have political effects, even having the power to shape voting behavior and foreign policy positions (Baum 2002, Baum 2003, Baum 2004, Baum 2005, Baum and Jamison 2006). However, the second type of talk show, the celebrity talk show, has become more prominent as it is here where entertainment and serious cultural considerations are starting to meet (Baym 2013b, Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Molek-Kozakowska 2013). In this version of the talk show typically guests are celebrities such as movie and television stars, musicians, etc. The main topics of discussion are popular culture, and the guest's profession and personal lives, although political topics may also be discussed. These celebrity talk shows have also received some scholarly attention with research focusing on satire (Baym 2007, Baym 2010, Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Jones 2010, Tolson 1991), backstage production and downstream reception (Horton and Wohl 2006 [1956], Tuchman 1974), and some aspects of the interaction (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994, Fairclough 1995, Tolson 1991). This paper will add to this last body of research, identifying key norms of conduct in the typical celebrity talk show interview. To set these norms in relief the paper will contrast them with the well-researched norms of the news interview. Although these two sets of norms represent two extremes of interviewing, and in other contexts such as morning programs, or cable news talk shows, or even celebrity talk show interviews with politicians, there may be a blend of such norms, it is the perspective of this paper that to understand these blends first the poles must be explored. To grasp how entertainment genres and serious news are merging in the new media

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regime it is important to understand both in their pure state, which will in turn add depth to the literature on hybrid genres (Baym 2013a, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013).

In exploring these two types of interviews and their contrasting sets of norms it is useful to begin by considering the interests and motivations that parties bring to the encounter. For the case of the hard news interview, Clayman and Heritage propose we can think of the interaction as premised on an underlying "contract" (2002b). Journalists need politicians to explore the issues of the day, and politicians need access to publicity to promote their platforms. This idea can also apply to celebrity talk show interviews where talk show hosts need celebrities to draw interest to their show, and celebrities need talk shows to draw interest to their products. The confluence of interests that shapes both types of interview is much the same, but also shaped by different historical economic constraints. News interviews have historically been understood to be non-commercial enterprises with the FCC limiting the effect of the market (Epstein 1973). Although today market pressures are increasingly heavy (Starr 2012), journalistic professionalism is still valued (McChesney 2003, McChesney 2012). The professional norms of journalism require journalists to be seen as neutral, and also as independent from their political sources as adversarial watchdogs of democracy (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Market pressures are one force behind the rise of hybrid genres, where such norms are bent or blended (Thussu 2007), but prestige programs still adhere to the historical norms of news interviewing. In contrast, celebrity talk show hosts do not have the same professional codes and public service ideals, and market pressures are a driving force in the talk show environment. Guests are there to promote their current book, film, television show, album, and selves in an appealing way, and the hosts are concerned with ratings. In order to schedule favored guests, and earn ratings, hosts work to help guests achieve their goals, thereby coming to be seen as a good stop for publicity. Hosts can also be a selling point of a show, a familiar face to draw in viewers. This leads to a

mode of interviewing on celebrity talk shows that is both personalized to feature the host, and relatively congenial to showcase the guest.

Personalization and Congeniality

The result of these pressures is two interactional norms: the norms of personalization and congeniality in the talk show interview, which contrast with neutralism and adversarialness in news interviewing (summarized in table 3.1). The norm of personalization leads talk show hosts to present themselves as personally invested in the interview (Horton and Wohl 2006 [1956], Langer 1981), at times expressing their own views as a resource for questioning and reacting to guest's answers. Their questions also often cover personal subjects and perspectives (Lauerbach 2010, Tolson 1991)[1]. Hutchby has shown that in some hybrid genres personalization is a resource for aggressive or adversarial questioning (2011b), but in the celebrity talk show personalization is generally not drawn on for this purpose. The practices of personalization, however used, contrast dramatically with traditional hard news interviews where the norm of neutralism restricts interviewers from taking a similarly personalized stance (Clayman and Heritage 2002b).

Table 3.1 - Contrasting Norms of Celebrity and News Interviews

	Celebrity Interview	News Interview
Interviewer Stance	Personalization	Neutralism
Treatment of Interviewee	Congeniality	Adversarialness

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[1] This places the celebrity talk show interview closer to the type of news interview Martin Montgomery calls the experiential interview, but guests on a talk show need not have witnessed any remarkable event, they are understood to be remarkable already (Montgomery, Martin. 2007. *The Discourse of Broadcast News: A Linguistic Approach*. London: Routledge, Montgomery, Martin. 2010. "Rituals of Personal Experience in Television News Interviews." *Discourse and Communication* 4(2):185-211.).

The second contrasting norm in celebrity talk show interviewing is the norm of congeniality, which leads hosts to build a predominantly friendly environment that features the guest and their product in a way that will be interesting for the audience and flattering for the guest. Practices that are geared to the norm of personalization can also enact the norm of congeniality. For instance while a host is offering support for a guest's answer and showing him or herself to be personally engaged, he or she may at the same time portray the guest as interesting. This norm of congeniality goes beyond the type of cooperativeness and affiliation typical of ordinary conversation (Tolson 2001) and entails active work to showcase the guest. This contrasts with news interviewing, where the norm of adversarialness leads the interviewer (IR) to disagree with, criticize, or otherwise challenge their interviewees (IEs) (Clayman and Heritage 2002b).

Data and Methods

The primary for this paper database is drawn from the highest rated and longest running celebrity talk shows in the United States: *The View, The Ellen DeGeneres Show, The Daily Show, The Late Show* and *The Tonight Show.* Their high ratings (Bibel 2012, Seidman 2011, Seidman 2012) and longevity suggest they are influential examples of the genre. A week's worth of each program was collected from five weeks of programming, staggered across the last five months of 2011. To avoid systematic differences, each week sampled a different day of the week, Monday through Friday. By focusing on one day of each month the sample largely avoided multiple interviews with the same guest, or multiple interviews promoting the same product. Because *The Daily Show* only airs four days a week, the fifth program was selected from an additional Monday. After the initial sample was collected all interviews with non-entertainment guests (such as authors of history books, ordinary people with strange talents, and politicians) were set aside for future research. Narrowing the sample to the prototypical guests

for celebrity talk shows allows for a focused analysis of the norms of a typical interview. After

this procedure, *The Daily Show* was largely dropped from this analysis because the typical guest

is not a celebrity. In fact, in 2011 only 40% of *Daily Show* guests were celebrities. A comparison

sample of hard news interviews was taken from the Sunday morning news interview programs

(*Face the Nation, Meet the Press,* and *This Week)* of each week of the sample. This sampling

procedure resulted in 30 talk show interviews, and 19 hard news interviews. This project draws

on the method of Conversation Analysis (CA), which is both qualitative in its detailed analysis of

individual cases, and informally quantitative in its systematic analysis of general patterns across

cases (Heritage 1984a, Schegloff 2007). All interviews were transcribed according CA

conventions (Jefferson 2004) and then analyzed using CA methodology. The analysis

incorporates a comparative dimension, drawing on the well-studied practices of news

interviewing as a benchmark for describing the celebrity talk show interview.

 The next three sections of this paper will examine the two pairs of contrasting norms in

action, in three distinct moments of the interviewing process.

Asking Questions

 The norm of personalization informs the design of questions. Talk show hosts recurrently

use their own views or experiences as a frame for eliciting the guest's response. A prototypical

example may be seen in this excerpt from *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*. The host, Ellen

DeGeneres, is asking actor Armie Hammer about Clint Eastwood, who directed the film

Hammer is there to promote.

```
Excerpt 3.1 - Ellen 11-10-2011, Armie Hammer

 1 EDG:     So you met him on the set, And he must be: I mean I adore him.
 2          He's our neighbor here, An' an' [we s- we see him a lot, And=
 3 ArH:                                    [Yeah,
 4 EDG:     =he's just is the greatest guy isn't he?
 5 ArH:     He's fantastic, And he's so much better than you would think, I mean
 6          .h everybody has an idea of Clint Eastwood as like this #Dirty #Harry
 7          tough mean old guy [but .h he's so: ^nice, he's so funny. He's just like=
 8 EDG:                        [Mmhm,
 9 ArH:     =y'I: .h  -You know they say don't meet your heroes but if your hero is
```

```
10          Clint Eastwood meet your hero [because he's awesome,
11 EDG:                                   [Yeah,
12 EDG:      I agree, [I agree, He's- He's an exception to that rule,
13 ArH:              [Yeah,
```

At line 1 she starts with the upshot of what he's just said (data not shown) and it appears that she

is going to be offering a possible characterization of Hammer's perspective ("And he must be:"),

but aborts this action in progress and restarts the turn by offering instead her own perspective of

Eastwood ("I mean I adore him"). She then explains their relationship (line 2) and therefore how

she is able to assess Eastwood, and then she presents another favorable assessment ("he's just is

the greatest guy"). After this elaborated display of her own perspective, she solicits a response

with a tag question ("isn't he?"). Hammer, in response, agrees with Ellen's favorable assessment

of Eastwood, while also preserving epistemic authority by offering his own independent

assessment (line 5-7 and 9-10) (Heritage and Raymond 2005, Pomerantz 1984). In response

DeGeneres overtly agrees with Hammer's second assessment (line 12), offering yet another

positive assessment of her own. Throughout this extract the norms of personalization and

congeniality are evident in her offering of her own perspective, which is decidedly favorable.

This single example is typical of the personal and congenial manner in which questions

are designed. The following extract is from a hard news interview and it highlights the

contrasting set of norms. In the hard news context where the guiding norms are neutralism and

adversarialness, questions are asked in such a way that anything that could be understood as

personal is stripped out, and they are often critical of guests. So while news interviewers also

assess, their assessments are often negative, and recurrently are attributed to others. One way of

doing this is what is known as a footing shift (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Goffman 1981a), in

which an IR attributes the evaluative component of a question to some third party, which allows

them to maintain the norm of neutralism. The substantive content of these evaluations is

frequently adversarial rather than congenial.

The following example from an interview with Rick Santorum on *This Week* when he was running in the 2012 Republic Presidential primary illustrates both how a footing shift works, and more generally how the norms of neutralism and adversarialness build a very different style of interaction in hard news interviewing. Christiane Amanpour begins her question by summarizing Santorum's prior remarks (line 1), and then does a footing shift that neutralistically attributes the following views to "a lot of people." This allows her to voice an opinion ("we are very concerned") without being heard as stating her own opinion (lines 2 and 4). Instead she does so in the "voice" of the concerned parties by using direct reported speech.

```
Excerpt 3.2 - This Week, 12-4-2011, Rick Santorum

1 Ama:     You talk about a strong .h consistent conservative message,=And a
2          lot of people [do say .h yes he does, However: .h we are very=
3 San:                   [Mmhm,
4 Ama:     =concerned, He lost his election in Pennsylvania: by a landslide
5          twenty points: he's not electable, (0.2) Everybody's hab:- had a
6          bit of a boomlette but not you,
7 San:     Well that's: that's a good thing. Uh:: it's a great thing not to
8          have had it, Uh we still have almost- we have a month to go before
9          the election...
```

At lines 4-5 she continues to list concerns still speaking neutralistically on behalf of unspecified "people," which is underscored by referring to Santorum as "he." As she finishes her question she briefly switches back to her own voice (lines 5-6), referring to Santorum as "you" just as she winds down her question (line 6). The end result for Amanpour is that she is able to ask a question in which she highlights Santorum's prior campaign losses, expresses unspecified concern, and suggests he's not electable, all by attribution to unspecified skeptics.

This question works to build the norms of both neutralism and adversarialness. It is neutralistic by attributing the controversial material to unspecified "people," and yet at the same time it is adversarial by virtue of its critical content. Question formation is one of the most recurrent ways that hosts have to shape the interview encounter, and the norms that inform this talk are strikingly different in the talk show as compared with the news interview.

Responses to Answers

It is clear that how questions are asked, both in form and content, can work to build personal and congenial norms of interaction, but another fundamental part of enacting these norms comes outside of questioning. In celebrity talk show interviews, hosts use a variety of supportive responses such as acknowledgement tokens (*uh huh, yeah,* etc.), news receipts (*oh really*), agreements, and assessments. Recall in extract 3.1 DeGeneres responded to Hammer's answer to her question with "I agree, I agree." These practices work both to involve the host as the primary recipient of guest's talk, as well as creating a congenial environment in which the guest is supported as they speak.

The following extract from *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* illustrates these forms of support and the frequency with which they are displayed. Here Leno is asking actress and musician Zooey Deschanel, who is promoting her recent Christmas album, about her views of Santa Claus (lines 1-3). Note that he draws on their prior relationship in formulating the question, which is another way of building a personalized context. When she responds that she's a huge fan of Santa Claus (lines 4-5), he offers various forms of support (lines 6-7 and 9), and follows up by asking how long she believed in Santa. His ongoing credulity regarding *her* claimed credulity during the interaction plainly embodies a congenial stance. When she responds that she believed in Santa until she was twenty-six (line 10), the audience laughs but Leno does not, instead receiving it as remarkable (line 12). As she continues, joking that she still believes in Santa (line 11) he offers a succession of supportive acknowledgments (lines 12, and 16) continuing through her transition to telling a story about Santa from her childhood (lines 14-15).

```
Excerpt 3.3 - Leno 10-12-2011, Zooey Deschanel

 1 Len:    Cuz I remember the last time you were here: we talked- I think
 2         we talked about Santa,
 3         And you were a [huge (.) [proponent of the Klaus: [philosophy,
 4 Des:                  [Yeah.    [Luh- huge fan.          [Love him,
 5         [Mister Klaus? [Yeah sure?
 6 Len:    [Yeah,         [Yeah yeah, And you believed in Santa until you
 7         were like,
 8 Des:    Yeah, [Old.
 9 Len:          [Twenty two or something, [(wasn't that right)
```

```
10 Des:                                        [Yeah, Twenty six,
11             [Yeah, I still believe in Sant[a.=.h Um: Yeah: yeah:; Yeah I=
12 Len:        [Y- Wow wow wow.              [Yeah, yeah.
13 Aud:        [((laughter))
14 Des:        =actually thought that I found proof that he existed, When I
15             was: you know uh- (.) ten or: [eleven? Because .h I got two=
16 Len:                                       [Right,
17 Des:        =chemistry sets for Christmas. One from my parents and one from
18             from Santa [Klaus and I was like .h -they can't be that stupid,
19 Len:                    [Whoa;
20 Aud:        [((laughter))
21 Len:        [Right. Right [no.
22 Des:                      [hhah hah hah
23 Aud:        [((applause))
24 Len:        [Wow, Yeah no: that['s: (I understand),
25 Des:                           [.hh So I was like it can't be my parents,
26             [Why would they get two:[:?
27 Len:        Well yeah [of course not-        [Why would they get two
28             chemistry >s=you're right you're right,<
```

As she develops the story regarding her youthful proof of Santa's existence (lines 17-18) he

receives it as astounding (line 19). As she presents the conclusions of her childhood self (line

18), Leno agrees (line 21) and then does so again, more explicitly (line 24). Her continuation of

the story (lines 25-26) receives still more supportive responses and explicit agreement (lines 27-

28). Offering this type of support works to build the norm of personalization in two ways. First

by offering this support the host suggests he, and not the mass audience, is the primary target of

the talk. Second, assessments and agreements require taking a stance, which is inherently

personal. In a larger sense, by encouraging and positively assessing her story the norm of

congeniality is also enacted.

In news interviews receipt tokens of all kinds are systematically avoided (Clayman and

Heritage 2002b, Heritage 1985), thus responding to interviewee talk is never undertaken as a

primary action in its own right, any such response is embedded in the next question. Refraining

from turns other than questions, even from continuers, reduces the chances that the IR can be

heard to be taking the IE's side and builds the norm of neutralism in hard news. In the following

extract Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has appeared on *Meet the Press* and the IR

David Gregory asks an adversarial question (1-9). The adversarialness of the question is evident

in the long preface which works to portray Israel as isolated and vulnerable (lines 1-8), as well as

in the question format ("how can you", line 8) which Clayman and Heritage classify as markedly

adversarial or "accusatory" (2002b).

```
Excerpt 3.4 - Meet the Press, 9-25-2011, Benjamin Netanyahu

 1 Gre:    Let- let me ask you this  question, .h Israel is uh as arguably as isolated
 2         as it's ever been. .h Uh in the midst of -Arab spring, .h uh Turkey
 3         has turned against you, .h Uh the Arab world has moved away
 4         from dictators who supported Israel had peace treaties with
 5         Israel .h and is now uh e-more negative toward Israel, .h
 6         Uh in this day and age at this particular moment despite
 7         Israel's .h um: well known and substantial security
 8         concerns how can you occupy Palestinian territory at this
 9         momen[t.
10 Net:         [.h Well #y-you've got two assumptions in your
11         questions that I wanna uh parse out and actually suggest
12     ->  that they're wrong,
13         .h The first one is that we're eh
14     ->  isolated,
15         Well we're not isolated in this country .h which
16     ->  happens to be the strongest country on earth.
17         I walked yesterday in the: in- in Central Park, .h You know people
18         met me, uh- e-Jewish Americans but many non-Jewish
19     ->  Americans.
20         .h And they said keep the faith we're strong be strong we're with you,
21         ...
```

In his response Netanyahu shows considerable resistance, but the main focus of this section is on

what Gregory does or does not do. Unlike Leno, Gregory withholds all responses, constrained by

the practices of news interviewing. At the end of each arrowed line there is a place where

Gregory could have potentially used a continuer, agreement, or assessment in another

interactional context (lines 13, 14, 16, and 19). Here however, it would not support the norms of

neutralism. Looking at these two extracts clearly shows the power of norms of interaction, and

specifically how the norms of personalization and congeniality drive the interaction of celebrity

talk show interviewing. Even something as simple as a continuer works to build an institutional

style by its presence or absence, and in doing so works to aid the host and guest in meeting their

goals.

Assessing the Guest and their Product

Finally, the last practice of building the norms of personalization and congeniality in

celebrity talk show interviews that this paper will discuss is that of assessing the guest and

whatever new venture (recent movie, book, TV show etc.) they are there to promote. The celebrity talk show host recurrently will positively assess both the guest and the product. The following extract shows an example of a profuse assessment of the product. Actress Katie Holmes has appeared on Letterman to discuss *Jack and Jill*, her most recent film. The interview is starting to wind down where the extract starts. Letterman suggests they view a clip from the film (a common end of interview activity) and asks Holmes to provide context (line 1), which she does (lines 2-3). Letterman further clarifies, beginning to suggest he has some personal knowledge of the film (lines 4-5). He laughs at the premise as explained by Holmes and himself, and positively assesses the film in advance of the clip (line 7).

Excerpt 3.5 – Letterman 11-10-2011, Katie Holmes

```
 1 Let:     Let's take a look at a uh: clip of the uh film. What will this be,
 2 Hom:     .tch This is uh: at the: Thanksgiving table:, Where uh my character's
 3          talking twin power[s,
 4 Let:                      [Mmhm, .tch And this is uh Adam Sandler playing himself
 5          .h and his twin sister,
 6 Hom:     Jill.
 7 Let:     heh heh heh heh hah hah .hh It's tremendous,    [All ri(h)ght here, Take=
 9 Hom:                                              [Ye[(h)ah,
 8 Let:     =a look,
10 Aud:                                                    [((laughter))
11          ((clip))
12 Aud:     [((applause))
13 Let:     [Ow th(h)is- heh heh heh (.) hah hah
14 Hom:     heh
15 Let:     It's tremendous,
16 Hom:     heh heh
17 Let:     And the kid has a pepper grinder taped to his head,
18 Aud:     [((laughter))
19 Hom:     [Yes,
20 Let:     Yes. [Yeah- Y-
21 Hom:          [He likes to tape things.
22 Let:     Yeah. And this is just early in the movie, We're not even e-out of
23          the driveway yet, [.hh Um:
24 Aud:                      [((laughter))
25 Hom:                      [(hmh hmh)
```

After the clip has played he laughs and assesses it positively again (lines 13 and 15). He then highlights a piece of the clip (line 17), which she explains further (line 21). Letterman suggests that the clip only begins to show the greatness of the film (lines 22-23). This whole exchange shows how a congenial context is built through positive assessments. Letterman, generously and on his own behalf, assesses a film that was so critically panned that at the time of this writing it

had a 3% favorable rating on the film review aggregating website *Rotten Tomatoes* (2015). In

doing so he builds a context of congeniality, which allows Holmes to successfully promote her

film as well as building the personal norm that casts himself as invested in her promotion work.

In contrast the next extract is from a *Meet the Press* news interview with Herman Cain at

a time when he was surging in the polls for the Republican Presidential primary. A keystone of

his campaign was his tax plan, which he was actively promoting on the campaign trail. David

Gregory spends nearly the entire first half of the interview critically interrogating the plan. This

exchange is the very beginning of that line of questioning. Gregory introduces the topic of Cain's

tax plan (lines 1 and 3-4), before moving into the meat of the preface, summarizing the plan

(lines 6-9), and then beginning to suggest potential issues with it (lines 11-12).

Excerpt 3.6 – Meet the Press, 10-16-2011, Herman Cain

```
 1 Gre:    Your big idea is to throw out the tax co[de.
 2 Cai:                                           [Yes.
 3 Gre:    Tax reform as a way to create jo:bs and spur economic
 4         growth, [.h=
 5 Cai:            [Yes.
 6 Gre:    =The reality of the nine nine nine plan is this I'll put it
 7         up on the screen it is to .tch have a nine percent
 8         corporate income tax nine percent personal income tax .h
 9         nine percent sales tax .h everything else is gone:, [.tch=
10 Cai:                                                        [Yes.
11 Gre:    =.h The reality of the plan (.) is that some people pay
12         more some people pay l:ess, This is how the Washington Post
13         reported it on Friday we'll put it up on the screen, .hh
14         Experts see surprise in Cain's nine nine nine plan .h the
15         nine nine nine plan that has helped propel businessman Cain
16         to the front of the GOP presidential field .h would stick
17         many poor: and middle class people with a hefty tax
18         increase while cutting taxes for those at the top tax
19         analysts say, .hh Roberton Williams a senior fellow at the
20         nonpartisan tax policy center is working on an analysis of
21         Cain's signature proposal, .h Although the plans details
22         remain sketchy Williams said it would increase taxes for
23         the poor and middle class .h despite Cai:n's statements to
24         the contrary .tch for starters about thirty million of the
25         poorest households pay neither income taxes .h nor social
26         security or medicare levies so for them he says doing away
27         with the payroll tax doesn't save anything .h and you are
28         adding both a nine percent sales tax and nine percent
29         income tax .h so we know they be worse off. .h That's the
30         reality Mister Cain, Without making a judgment about it why
31         do you think that an acceptable reality for the overall
32         goal of reform,
```

As he begins to discuss the possible implications of the plan (line 12), Gregory shifts footing and attributes the subsequent critiques to the *Washington Post* (lines 12-13). He reads an extended quotation that is also featured on the screen, and refers to Cain by his name rather than "you," thereby underscoring that he is not speaking in his own voice, but instead neutralistically quoting.

Most interesting for this paper's purposes is the contrast in how the assessment of the product is done. Cain's tax plan is in some sense his *Jack and Jill,* and Gregory deals with it very differently than Letterman. Letterman offered an assessment on his own behalf, whereas Gregory neutralistically attributes his assessment to the *Washington Post*. Another obvious difference is the tone of the assessment. Although both *Jack and Jill* and Cain's tax plan were generally regarded as flawed, Letterman gushes about the film, while Gregory aggressively (although neutralistically) criticizes Cain's tax plan. Here we have a striking illustration of the contrasting norms of interviewing. First the celebrity talk show where the norm of congeniality suggests the guest and their products should be featured in a positive manner. Second, the hard news program where the norm of adversarialness means that guests and their products or policies are generally treated with skepticism. Comparing these two extracts once again highlights how norms lead to the particular interactions of the celebrity talk show as specific institutional goals are met. What may appear as simply chat is the result of guiding norms just as much as the talk in any other institutional setting.

Deviant Cases and the Boundaries of the Norms

Norms shape typical interview interactions in both the celebrity talk show and hard news context, but norms are not laws of nature. By exploring a comparison case where the norm of congeniality is not followed this paper throws the typical celebrity talk show norms into relief. At the same time participants are careful of norms, breaking them rarely and generally only one

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at a time for very specific purposes. In the following example even though the norm of congeniality is broken, the others are maintained, showing that participants respect normative frameworks even as they depart from particular aspects of them.

This extract is taken from a Letterman interview with Paula Abdul who is on the program to promote her new singing competition program *The X-Factor.* Even before she is introduced Letterman jokes with the band that he shouldn't be interviewing her because the show will be on FOX which is his station's, CBS's, competition. Once she is seated the interview moves to the topic of *The X-Factor.* Prior to this extract he lists all the singing or talent shows currently on television (along with some joke programs, one of which she mentions in lines 9-10). The data extract picks up when he finishes reading the long list of programs already airing with a summary statement (line 1) that emphasizes how many there are already. Then he adds her show to the list, with the implication that no new show was needed (lines 1-2). After a lengthy pause (line 3) she pushes back against the implication by suggesting she sees nothing amiss with the situation (line 5). Letterman tries again, suggesting that there are too many programs (lines 6-7). Abdul does not directly deal with this, but does jokingly point out that at least one of the shows on the list wasn't real (lines 9-10).

Excerpt 3.7 – Letterman 9-20-2011, Paula Abdul

```
 1 Let:     All of those shows and then you have the new (.) show, Which is
 2          uh x-factor,
 3          (1.1)
 4 Aud:     [((laughter))
 5 Abd:     [Uh- Yeah, Prec[isely,
 6 Let:                    [That's a- that's a lotta
 7          [(.) That's a lotta shows
 8 Aud:     [((applause))
 9 Abd:      I- You know I- I'm sorry but I never caught the wasp, the singing
10          wasp, [but (you know)
11 Let:           [Mmhm, .tch Now I saw a-a sneak preview of the x-factor
12          after the superbowl: or somethin' I don't know what it was. .h
13          And uh: it looks just like American Idol,
14          [(1.5)
15 Aud:     [((scattered chuckles))
16 Abd:     It's so not?
17 Aud:     [((laughter))
18 Let:     [But it- but- okay, .h How is it not, You have uh: uh Simon .h
19          Uh[:-
20 Abd:       [There you go.
```

```
21 Let:     Right.
22 Abd:     It's not d- [and-
23 Let:               [Ye- An- an' you:,
24 Abd:     Well-t=hh fantast[ic, ((grabs desk))
25 Let:                      [Right, And then- and a guy who looks exactly
26          like Randy Jackson, [((slaps desk)) How is it not?
27 Aud:                         [((applause))
28 Abd:     ((shaking head)) You know,
29 Aud:     ((applause))
```

He moves on to the specifics of her program (lines 11-13), drawing on his own experience to evaluate it as being "just like American Idol," the most famous of the singing programs he's listed, and the one Abdul is well known for judging. After a lengthy pause Abdul responds by flatly denying the comparison (line 16). Letterman begins to present his evidence, pointing out that the show has another famous former American Idol judge (line 18). Abdul attempts to treat this as counter evidence, presumably on the principle that American Idol no longer has Simon (line 20), which Letterman acknowledges (line 21). Abdul appears to start a new line of argument (line 22), but is overlapped by Letterman pointing out that she is also a judge on the new program (line 23). She does not refute the point, but evaluates her own presence positively (line 24). Letterman claims that the third judge on the new program resembles the third judge on the old program, and then he challenges her again to distinguish her show from its predecessor (lines 25-26).

Here we see that while Letterman is clearly drawing on the norm of personalization ("I saw a-a sneak preview of the x-factor after the superbowl: or somethin'"), he is not being congenial. By building a long list of programs already on air he strongly suggests her program is unnecessary, he also suggests that her program is a knock-off of her earlier successful (still running) program, and he pursues this second implication at some length past the data extract shown. All of this is quite adversarial, but while Letterman leaves behind congeniality at the same time he maintains all the other norms of celebrity talk show interaction. The interaction is still personalized, it remains "conversational" and does not revert to the stricter question and

answer of hard news interviewing. In momentarily violating the norm of congeniality he is maintaining his own reputation as a wildcard interviewer, and therefore a somewhat distinctive personality. The audience shows their appreciation for this with laughter (lines 4, and 15) and applause (lines 8 and 27). This laughter can be understood as an instance of laughing "at" rather than laughing "with" (Glenn 2003). Audiences are open to this more aggressive humor in talk show interviews, just as they are open to the jokes that mock celebrities and other public figures in the opening monologues of late night. A non-congenial line of interviewing, may still be humorous or enjoyable for audiences. Not all television hosts have entirely charming reputations (Timberg and Erler 2002) and Letterman's fans expect occasional moments of edginess. Even so he ends the interview on a congenial, self-deprecating note ("I'm <u>ki</u>lling CBS with this").

A violation of the norm of congeniality is particularly problematic when directed toward guest's products. The boundaries of the norm can be stretched in regards to the guest, but because selling the product is the main goal for the guest the boundaries are firmer here and it is not as common to see hosts criticize the product. In the database for this project, including the proceeding example, there are only two cases of extended criticism focused on the guest's product. Most variations on the norm of congeniality look more like the example below, with the guest as the focus of a brief tease. Here actor James Franco is appearing on *The View* to promote his latest film along with two of his co-stars. He has just been asked about his tweeting habits (data not shown) and he explains that when he tweeted he preferred to tweet images and video (lines 1 and 3). One of the hosts of the program, Sherri Shepherd, bends the norm of congeniality by teasingly comparing his image tweets to Anthony Weiner (line 4) who had been forced to resign from congress a few months earlier for tweeting pornographic images to women.

Excerpt 3.8 – The View 8-29-2011, James Franco, Frieda Pinto, Andy Serkis

```
 1  JF:     Cuz I never tweeted words,[I always did like images: a:nd uh:=
 2  ??:                               [(    )
 3  JF:       =vide[os,
```

```
 4  SS:         [Oh like Anthony Wiener,
 5             (.)
 6  JF:        [What is it- [what-
 7 Aud:        [((laughter and applause))
 8  SS:                    [Like Anthony Wiener, You [tweet the [images n'_
 9  AS:                                             [heh heh heh
10             heh           hah hah
11  JF:        heh    heh .hh No,        [N:o I: uh: [heh heh
12  JB:                                  [heh ha hah
13  WG:                                             [Say that was pretty damn rude
14             Sher,
```

Franco starts to respond by seeking clarification (line 6). The audience laughs and applauds (line 7) and Shepherd repeats the comparison and drawing out the similarity (line 8). Co-star Andy Serkis begins to laugh (line 9), and then so does Franco (line 10). He also begins to work to deny the comparison, in overlap with laughter from another host Joy Behar (line 12). All this laughter from hosts and guests makes it fairly clear that this is understood as a teasing, not serious, comparison, but even so another host, Whoopi Goldberg, suggests that Shepherd may have gone too far (lines 13-14). It may be stretching the norm of congeniality a bit too much to compare a guest to a famous sexual predator. After this brief tease there is an immediate return to a congenial tone.

These examples show that the norms of celebrity talks shows are not inelastic, but the boundaries are nonetheless recurrently, if not universally, observed. Normative departures are infrequent, and when they do occur they are particularistic, and leave much of the normative framework in place.

Discussion

Examining these extracts has shown some of the basic practices of celebrity talk shows, and how they are shaped by a distinct set of interactional norms. Hosts design their questions, responses, and evaluations in ways that enact norms of congeniality and personalization, and therefore support the guest in furthering their goals and interests in appearing on the show, while fulfilling their own professional objectives. In understanding participants' goals it becomes

possible to understand the practices they use and therefore the shape of the celebrity talk show as a whole.

Talk shows are designed to appear as though they are casual conversation. Hosts, producers, and editors expend a significant amount of effort to project the idea that the people on the television screen are having a genuine friendly chat. Even the practices of talk examined in this paper work to build that impression. Talk shows use a wider range of conversational practices than more restricted, and therefore more formal, interviews such as news interviews, which can build the impression that talk shows are a form of conversation. However, the talk show is *not* a casual conversation. This paper has shown that these practices, though wider ranging than a news interview, are used to do specific forms of work that are not a concern in ordinary conversation.

As society moves into a new media regime (Thussu 2007, Williams and Delli Carpini 2011) where entertainment media and media covering serious cultural and political topics are no longer separated, it is important to understand the structures of both the serious (Clayman and Heritage 2002b), and of pure entertainment. With a clear understanding of these norms it becomes possible to understand a new media world where political candidates seek out talk shows to communicate with voters (Baum 2005, Molek-Kozakowska 2013), as well as presenting a strong base from which to explore new hybrid genres such as morning shows, and cable news talk shows (Baym 2013b, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013) in future research. Research thus far has looked to news interviewing and radio call-in shows as resources that are being drawn on to construct these new hybrid genres (Hutchby 2011b), and this paper, in the form of celebrity talk show norms, presents another key pole that is being incorporated into these emerging forms. For instance, research by Ian Hutchby details the ways in which cable news talk shows diverge from the norms of news interviewing, pointing to personalization as one aspect of

hybridization (2011b). In understanding the norms of the talk show this paper can propose an origin point for a resource like personalization. With this understanding it becomes possible for us to view the new media regime dawning around us with clear eyes, and to begin to consider the effects this new regime will have on the flow of information, and society as a whole.

Chapter 4 - Politicians on Celebrity Talk Shows

In the fall of 2015, at the opening of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election the candidates for both party's nominations were already jockeying for position, trying to catch the attention of viewers and distinguish themselves. In the particularly large Republican field attention was at a premium and one candidate dominated the news coverage (Silver 2015). It seemed that Donald Trump's experience as a reality TV star, spending years doing rounds of publicity for his television show, gave him a better sense of how to grab the attention of today's media, while some of the other candidates floundered. Trump wasn't the only candidate to capitalize on other ways of presenting himself to the public however, candidates from both parties appeared on talk shows well in advance of any primary voting. These appearances sparked, now routine, election season think pieces on how talk shows became a part of the election process (Johnson 2015). Popular and scholarly thought generally traces this trend back to the appearance Bill Clinton made on *The Arsenio Hall Show* in 1992. Commonly credited with saving a campaign that was at the time flagging, this appearance marked the start of a gradually increasing trend in talk show appearances for major political candidates. In the 2012 Presidential election all the major candidates appeared on talk shows, including sitting President Barack Obama, despite the fact that previously such appearances were considered beneath the dignity of the office. Plainly talk show appearances are no longer a fringe part of the election season, but instead a commonplace and thoroughly routinized component of contemporary campaign strategy (Molek-Kozakowska 2013).

This shift can be attributed in part to technological changes. In the past, when broadcast television was the norm, a political candidate in the United States could feel fairly secure that they were reaching a large share of the television audience by appearing on the news programs of the three major networks (ABC, NBC, and CBS). Now however, with the proliferation of cable

channels and the rise of satellite television and the internet, the three major networks no longer command a dominant share of the market, particularly in the case of news (Baum and Kernell 1999). In this fragmented media landscape viewers can have hundreds of programs to pick from and many viewers do not pick news or politics. To counter this problem, politicians must appear on a wider range of programs. They can no longer confine themselves to the respectability of traditional news programs, and increasingly find themselves chasing their audience by appearing on talk shows. Clips from talk shows are often shared online in the days following interviews, which allows guests a chance to reach an even wider audience.

Despite the advantages of appearing on such programs, for some scholars and public commentators this shift in emphasis from traditional news to talk shows is a symptom of the corruption of the media landscape (Allan 1999, Langer 1998). For these thinkers the prevalence of entertainment in the political process signals a decline in serious thought and serious candidates. For other scholars it is merely indicative of a new "media regime" (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). Williams and Delli Carpini suggest that the common understanding of "news" and "entertainment" must be rethought. They argue that the 20th century model of broadcast news, with its strict separation from entertainment is neither and ideal or necessary form for the media; instead this should be viewed in historical context as just one of a succession of media models. Earlier in history the media moved from the partisan press of early America, to the penny press, to the broadcast model of the 20th century, and now that model is being overtaken by a new model (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). In this new model the distinction between news and entertainment is less clear-cut, with opinion media and infotainment talk shows becoming a more significant source of public affairs information (Jacobs and Townsley 2011). Today the journalistic role has become more diffuse, played by both traditional professional journalists, and a variety of para-journalists such as talk show hosts.

Additionally, scholarly research has already showed that these programs, and related infotainment programs are not without benefits for the viewers. Matthew Baum has found that politically unengaged viewers of these shows are more likely to vote for a candidate based on a favorable interview performance, even if the candidate is affiliated with a different party than the one with which the viewer typically identifies (Baum 2005, see also Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005a). These programs can also help less politically engaged viewers identify candidates who fit their political preferences and allow them to vote in a manner that is consistent with those preferences (Baum and Jamison 2006). Entertainment programs can increase viewer attention to national campaign news as the election approaches (Feldman and Goldthwaite Young 2008), and may also increase political involvement (Pfau, Houston and Semmler 2005) for viewers (but see also Moy, Xenos and Hess 2005b). Beyond election season, consumers of soft news are kept more informed about foreign policy (Baum 2002), which can shape how they see America's role in the world and the success or failure of its current leaders (Baum 2003, Baum 2004). Ideas, formed based on viewing soft news, can have real effects on how people vote in the future and the policies they support.

This paper will examine the actual practices of interviewing on talk shows in an effort to understand how interviews change when political guests appear, and by implication how that might change the information presented to voters. The goal of this work is to better understand the celebrity talk show as a forum for broadcast talk, as well as a forum for political communication.

Theoretical Background: Interviewing Norms on Talk Shows and News Programs

Despite the growing body of work on the increasing frequency and political impact of talk show appearances by politicians, the production and content of these programs is just beginning to be explored (Baym 2013b, Eriksson 2010, Jones 2010). This paper will work to add

to this literature by showing what practices of interaction shape these interviews. Previous research on talk shows (Loeb 2015) and political interviews (Clayman and Heritage 2002b) suggests a range of possibilities for the structure of talk show interviews with political guests. This paper will briefly outline these possibilities, starting with news programs.

News interviews and their practices have been often researched (examples include: Clayman 1988, Clayman 1991, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman 2010, Clayman and Romaniuk 2011, Ekström, Kroon and Nylund 2006, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Heritage and Roth 1995, Montgomery 2007, Roth 2005, Schudson 1994). This work shows that news interviews have a strict turn-taking system, organized into questions from interviewers and answers from interviewees (Heritage and Roth 1995, Tolson 2012). Within these constraints, both questions and answers tend to be long and complex (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Greatbatch 1988). Further, news interviews are organized by two primary norms rooted in the professional culture of broadcast journalism. The first norm, neutralism, leads news interviewers to present themselves as impartial catalysts, primarily engaged in eliciting talk from interviewees for the benefit of the overhearing audience (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). The second norm, adversarialness, leads interviewers to act as "watchdogs of democracy" by challenging political guests and their positions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). The following extract illustrates both of these norms, as well as the distinct turn taking system of news interviews. In this extract Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is on *Meet the Press* to discuss Israel's relationship with Palestine.

```
Excerpt 4.1 - Meet the Press, 9-25-2011, Benjamin Netanyahu

 1 Gre:  Let- let me ask you this question,
 2       .h Israel is uh as arguably as
 3       isolated as it's ever been. .h Uh
 4       in the midst of -Arab spring, .h uh
 5       Turkey has turned against you, .h
 6       Uh the Arab world has moved away
 7       from dictators who supported Israel
 8       had peace treaties with Israel .h
 9       and is now uh e-more negative
```

```
10        toward Israel, .h Uh in this day
11        and age at this particular moment
12        despite Israel's .h um: well known
13        and substantial security concerns
14        how can you occupy Palestinian
15        territory at this momen[t.
16 Net:                         [.h Well #y-
17        you've got two assumptions in your
18        questions that I wanna uh parse out
19        and actually suggest that they're
20   ->   wrong,
21        .h The first one is that we're eh
22   ->   isolated,
23        Well we're not isolated in this
24        country .h which happens to be the
25   ->   strongest country on earth.
26        I walked yesterday in the: in- in
27        Central Park, .h You know people
28        met me, uh- e-Jewish Americans but
29   ->   many non-Jewish Americans.
30        .h And they said keep the faith
31        we're strong be strong we're with
32        you,...
```

The norm of neutralism is enacted in a variety of ways. The host, David Gregory, refrains from doing anything that cannot be seen as part and parcel of "asking questions." He does offer several declarative assertions (lines 1-10), but these are preliminary background to an eventual question (lines 10-15). Although there are places in Netanyahu's response where a receipt token (e.g. *mmhm, uh* huh) could have been produced by the interviewer if this had been an ordinary conversation (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Gardner 2001, Heritage 1985), here they are strictly avoided. In maintaining neutralism the interview is restricted to only questions and answers, a very different structure than the conversational talk show interview seen below. The norm of adversarialness is enacted by mobilizing the question preface to portray Israel as isolated and vulnerable (lines 1-13), as well as in the question format ("how can you", lines 14-15) which Clayman and Heritage classify as markedly adversarial or "accusatory" (2002a, 2002b). This extract exemplifies a typical news interview.

Turning to the talk show, it is worth noting that among the various talk show genre varieties, politicians are more likely to visit celebrity talk shows, where guests are typically cultural celebrities such as movie and television stars, musicians, and comedians (Baym 2013b,

Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Molek-Kozakowska 2013). The main topics of discussion concern aspects of popular culture, and the guest's professional and personal lives, although political topics may also be introduced. Research into celebrity talk shows has been relatively underdeveloped compared to other types of talk shows, but some research has focused on satire (Baym 2007, Baym 2010, Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Jones 2010, Tolson 1991), backstage production and downstream reception (Horton and Wohl 2006 [1956], Tuchman 1974), and some aspects of the interaction between guest and host (Bell and van Leeuwen 1994, Fairclough 1995, Tolson 1991).

Talk show interviewing practices differ markedly from those of the news interview. Whereas news interviews consist of long questions and answers, talk show interviews tend to be more conversational, with a shorter back and forth between host and guest, not restricted to questions and answers (Greatbatch 1988, Loeb 2015). Previous research has found that these interviews are organized by two key norms (Loeb 2015). The first is the norm of personalization (Hutchby 2011b, Landert 2014, Lauerbach 2010, Thornborrow and Montgomery 2010), which leads the celebrity talk show host to convey a sense of personal investment in the discussion. The second norm is the norm of congeniality, which leads celebrity talk show hosts to showcase the guest and the product they are there to promote in a predominantly positive light (Loeb 2015). Both norms are illustrated in the following example, as well the generally conversational turn taking. Here Zooey Deschanel is appearing on *The Tonight Show* to promote her new Christmas album.

```
Excerpt 4.2 - Leno 10-12-2011, Zooey Deschanel

 1 Len:  Cuz I remember the last time
 2       you were here: we talked- I think
 3       we talked about Santa, And you were
 4       a [huge (.) [proponent of the=
 5 Des:    [Yeah.    [Luh- huge fan.
 6 Len:  =Klaus: [philosophy,
 7 Des:          [Love him,
 8       [Mister Klaus? [Yeah sure?
 9 Len:  [Yeah,         [Yeah yeah, And you
```

```
10       believed in Santa until you were
11       like,
12 Des:  Yeah, [Old.
13 Len:        [Twenty two or something,
14       [(wasn't that right)
15 Des:  [Yeah, Twenty six, [Yeah, I still=
16 Len:                     [Y- Wow wow wow.
17 Aud:                     [((laughter))
18 Des:  =believe in Sant[a.=.h Um: Yeah:=
19 Len:                  [Yeah, yeah.
20 Des:  =yeah:; Yeah I actually thought
21       that I found proof that he existed,
22       When I was: you know uh- (.) ten
23       or: [eleven?
24 Len:      [Right,
```

The quick back and forth between the host, Jay Leno, and Deschanel illustrate the conversational style typical on these programs. The norm of personalization is evident, first, in the opening of the extract (line 1-3) where Leno invokes their previous relationship. It also informs the way that Leno takes on the role of recipient by providing receipt tokens (lines 9, 16, 19, and 24). These receipt tokens can also do the work of supporting her story as it unfolds, which is one way in which the congeniality norm is enacted. Congeniality is also particularly notable when he appreciates (line 16) her claim of belief in Santa Claus until age twenty-six (line 15). Although the audience laughs at this claim he takes it at face value, and evaluates it positively. This short extract illustrates the personal, congenial, and conversational style of the celebrity talk show.

Table 4.1 - Contrasting Dimensions of Celebrity and News Interviews

	Celebrity Interview	News Interview
Turn Taking Structure	Conversational Q&A	Formal Q&A
Interviewer Stance	Personalization	Neutralism
Treatment of Interviewee	Congeniality	Adversarialness

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Table 4.1 shows the contrasting dimensions of interviewing on talk shows and news interviews. This research suggests a puzzle that is very salient in the contemporary media landscape: What happens when political figures appear on talk shows? It is possible to imagine several answers. Perhaps interview norms are shaped entirely by the genre of the program, or perhaps the type of guest is critical to how the conversation unfolds[2], or maybe genre and guest type both shape the interview in a subtle dynamic blend. Some research is already exploring the ways in which different programs have blended practices from more than one genre (Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b), such as the partisan cable news talk shows which combine news norms and radio talk norms (Hutchby 2011a, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013), or morning news programs where personalization influences interviews (Roca-Cuberes 2014). The present study brings quantitative data to bear on this question, while also adding to the understanding of both news and talk show interviews, as well as answering this question.

To begin to understand the shape of talk show interviews with politicians we turn to an extract from *The Tonight Show* where the guest is Michelle Bachmann, who in 2011 was running for the Republican nomination. This extract shows Leno asking Bachmann about the Christian reparative therapy clinic she owns with her husband, and by implication her stance on gay marriage. Bachmann tries to dodge the question with a failed attempt at humor (lines 3-6, and 8), but Leno does not align with it (line 9) and pursues the question at length (lines 9, 11-16, and 18-25).

Excerpt 4.3 - Leno, 9-17-2011, Michelle Bachmann

```
 1 Jay:      Well that whole pray the gay
 2           away thing what- I don't get that,
 3 MiB:      .hhh Well uh see um when I heard
 4           that I really thought it was like
 5           a kind of a mid-life crisis line,
 6           [uh r- pray awray the grey.=
 7 Jay:      [mmhm,
 8 MiB:      =that's what I thought it was.
```

---

[2] For more on the role of the guest type in shaping interviews see: Montgomery, Martin. 2008. "The Discourse of the Broadcast News Interview: A Typology." *Journalism Studies* 9(2):260-77.

```
 9 Jay:     Oh. [Well:: no you know what I'm=
10 MiB:         [Yeah,
11 Jay:     =saying, .hh But you see to me:
12          when I was a kid they used to try
13          to teach me ((slaps hand)) to be
14          right handed; you're left handed
15          ((slaps hand)) that's the hand of
16          [the devil >(thy'd be like<)=
17 MiB:     [Yeah,
18 Jay:     =((slaps hand)) And to me: it's
19          the same thing w::ith gay. I don't
20          get why- yiknow gay marriage why:
21          be against=I've been married
22          thirty-one years, .hh first wife:
23          very happy: Two gay guys get
24          married: how does that affect
25          my(h): my marriage.
26 MiB:     Well the whole thing is with our
27          clinic whatever issue anyone has:
28          [we don't discriminate.
29 Jay:     [mmhm,
```

This extract provides an initial illustration of the way that talk show interviews with politicians fall somewhere in-between the talk show and news interview prototypes. Structurally, the question Leno asks in pursuit (lines 11-16, and 18-25) is long and complex as might be expected in a news interview, but it is already evident that he is not sticking purely to questions and answers by the response tokens when she gives her answers (lines 7 and 29). Furthermore, he reacts to her joke (lines 3-6 and 8) with "Oh" as if it conveyed information (Heritage 1984b), something which news interviewers avoid systematically (Heritage 1985). Moreover, his second version of the inquiry is grammatically a question (lines 24-25), but his first version relies purely on an appeal to his own ignorance (line 2). A question is to be expected in the news interview, but drawing on the self is to be expected in the talk show environment. Further, this is hardly the only place where he draws on the norm of personalization, it is quite evident in the long preface to the second version of the question, which draws on his own childhood experiences (lines 11-16), and of course the final question which is ultimately about his own marriage (lines 24-25).

The rest of the paper will look at more formal measures of these differences, which will support the impression of the blend of the two interview forms. This paper measures differences between three groups of interviews, talk show interviews with celebrities, talk show interviews

with politicians, and journalistic news interviews, establishing benchmarks for both prototypical news and talk show interviews, and then use them as a references for investigating the potentially hybrid interview arising from political figures being interviewed on talk shows. This comparison provides quantitative support for the qualitative findings on talk shows and news programs, as well as an understanding of talk show interviews with politicians.

Data and Measures

The database for this paper consists of three samples collected from the University of California, Los Angeles *NewScape* archive. Talk show interviews with celebrities make up the first sample. The shows chosen for this project have some of the highest ratings (Bibel 2012, Seidman 2011, Seidman 2012) and longest history of their genre in the United States: *The Ellen DeGeneres Show, The Late Show, The Tonight Show,* and *The View.* Additionally, then candidate Barack Obama visited all of these programs in his successful run for the Presidency in 2008, and so at the time of sampling they seemed likely to play a role in the upcoming 2012 election. A week's worth of each program was collected across five weeks of programming, staggered across the last five months of 2011. To avoid systematic differences based on filming schedules, each week sampled a different day of the week, Monday through Friday. By focusing on one day of each month the sample largely avoided multiple interviews with the same guest, or multiple interviews promoting the same product. After the initial sample was collected all interviews with non-entertainment guests (such as authors of history books, ordinary people with strange talents, and politicians) were set aside for future research. Narrowing the sample to the prototypical guests for celebrity talk shows allows for a focused analysis of the norms of a typical talk show interview.

The second sample collected consisted of interviews from the same programs, but featuring political interviewees during the time period of the 2011-2012 Republican primary, and

general election. Matching interviews with the same interviewees were collected from the

Sunday morning news interview programs (*Face the Nation, Meet the Press,* and *This Week*),

creating the third sample. These matching interviews were chosen from within two weeks of the

talk show interview to control for differences in the news environment and progress of the

election. A total of 54 interviews were collected: 30 talk show with celebrities, 15 talk show with

political guests, and 9 traditional news interviews. All interviews were transcribed according to

CA conventions (Jefferson 2004) and were then coded using a coding scheme created using

previous research on the norms of talk show and news interviewing (Clayman and Heritage

2002b, Loeb 2015). Each line of transcript was examined in concert with the video recording of

the interview for elements like broad topic (political or not), complexity of turn, (number of turn

constructional units, or TCUs), grammatical forms (question or statement), and responses

(receipt tokens such as *mmhm, really, wow*). The author coded each of these interviews, and

shortly after initial coding a twenty percent recode was done to verify the accuracy of the coding

for a total of just over 8,000 lines of coding. Table 4.2 briefly summarized the codes relevant to

this paper, showing that there were high ranges of coder agreement across this set of variables

(Landis and Koch 1977).

Table 4.2 - Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Description	Kappa	Strength of Agreement
Initiating Turn Complexity	Number of TCU's	.73	Good
Initiating Action Type	Question or Statement	.84	Very Good
Receipt Tokens	*mmhm, really, wow*	.82	Very Good
Use of Personal Experience	*I think we should… I heard…*	.89	Very Good
Praise of Guest	*Your new film is wonderful*	.86	Very Good

Table 4.3 - Indicators and Dimensions

Dependent Variables	Turn Taking Structure: Conversational Q&A v. Formal Q&A	Interviewer Stance: Personalization v. Neutralism	Treatment of Guest: Congeniality v. Adversarialness
Initiating Turn Complexity	X	.	.
Initiating Action Type	X	X	.
Receipt Tokens	X	X	X
Personal Experience	.	X	.
Praise of Guest	.	.	X

Dependent Variables

Table 4.2 shows the dependent variables that will be discussed throughout the remainder of the paper, and table 4.3 shows how they connect with the dimensions of interviews discussed above. These variables allow the paper to tease apart a fundamental difference between a talk show interview, which is meant to be viewed as a conversation between two or more people, which just happens to be overheard by an audience, versus a news interview which is meant to be heard as a formal interview, with one party acting on behalf of the overhearing public. Although both versions are in essence interviews done for an audience, the presentation and practices differ significantly as seen above.

The first variable "initiating turn complexity" refers to turns at talk by the host that require a response from the guest. In extract 4.3 above, Leno's two attempts to ask about Bachmann's stance on gay rights (lines 1-2 and 9, 11-16, and 18-25) would both represent initiating actions. To measure the complexity of these initiating actions each was coded for how many turn-constructional-units (TCUs) it contained. A TCU is the smallest piece of talk that can be considered a free standing entity (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), but in non-technical terms could be ordinarily considered something like a sentence. In total 1,512 initiating actions were coded. Of these nearly 49% contained one TCU, but the longest turn measured contained seventeen TCUs. As seen in table 4.3, this is associated with turn taking structure. More complex initiating actions are associated with the formal Q&A style, while less complex actions are associated with conversational Q&A.

The next variable, "initiating action type," codes initiating actions as statement or questions. In extract 4.3 Leno switches between these two strategies, eliciting response by conveying incomprehension (line 2) to motivate Bachmann's response (Heritage 2012) and then

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moving to a formal question (24-25). Leno's second version relies on interrogative syntax to be heard as questioning, but there are other ways of formulating a question, which the coding for this project also includes. This includes B-event statements where a speaker makes a statement about something within the recipient's realm of knowledge ("You worked on this film for two years") (Labov 1972), question substitutes ("Tell us about this film"), and third party attributed statements ("Bob said you worked on this film for two years"). Each initiating action was coded as either one of these types of questioning, or for straight declaratives. The norm of neutralism suggests that most initiating actions in the news interview should be questions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b), while in the talk show environment hosts are free to make statements. Table 4.3 shows that this indicator can speak to both the Q&A structure and to interviewer stance.

The next structural measure that can be considered is how often a host uses receipt tokens (here the coding includes tokens like *mmhm, right, oh wow*). In the extract above Leno quickly switches into the recipient role both times that Bachmann starts to answer his question (lines 7 and 29), signaling this through his use of the continuer "mmhm" (Gardner 2001, Schegloff 1982). This is structurally very different from news interviews where receipt tokens are avoided everywhere except transition to closing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). In using these receipt tokens Leno is not only creating an interview environment structurally like the talk show, but he is also drawing on personalization by presenting himself (rather than the overhearing audience) as the recipient of Bachmann's talk (Goffman 1981b, Heritage 1985), in contradiction to the news norm of neutralism. Certain tokens can also be congenial. Therefore, it would be expected for talk show interviews with celebrities to have a fairly frequent use of receipt tokens and news interviews to have almost no receipt tokens, and the presence of receipt tokens speaks to each dimension as shown in table 4.3.

For the fourth variable, "use of personal experience," all initiating actions were coded as either containing personal experience or not. To count as personal experience the turn must contain a personal pronoun, including references to personal history as in extract 3, references to personal motivation for asking the question ("I've been hearing that you like books, is that true?"), or taking a stance ("I thought that was wonderful"). Conventionalized ways of asking questions such as "I was wondering" and "Let me ask you" were not included. In extract 4.3 although Leno does end by asking a complex question, it is not neutralistic and instead draws heavily on his personal experiences (lines 9, 11-16, and 18-25). It would be expected that talk show interviews with celebrities will employ more instances of personal experiences, while news interviews will employ relatively few in keeping with the norm of neutralism (table 4.3).

Finally for the fifth dependent variable, "praise of guest," the paper considers a measure that can give insight into the treatment of the guest. To count as praise of guest an initiating action had to contain an evaluative statement, that was direct rather than implied, and it could not be merely the statement of some fact, such as good or bad poll numbers. Praise is associated with congeniality, and its presence suggests an absence of adversarialness (table 4.3).

Independent Variables

To examine these dependent variables this paper will see how they are shaped by the two independent variables discussed below. The first is the type of guest, making two types of distinctions. First broadly between non-political guests (actors, musicians, and comedians) and political guests (candidates, elected officials, retired formerly elected officials), and then later taking a closer look at the distinctions between different types of political figures.

Table 4.4 - Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Description	Kappa	Strength of Agreement
Type of Show	Talk Show, News Program	.99	Very Good
Guest Type	Candidate, Actor, Elected Official, etc	.99	Very Good
Topic of Turn	Political or Not	.87	Very Good

The second independent variable looks at the topic of the talk. Each action in the data set was coded for topic: not political at all, mostly not political, mostly political, or completely political. For this comparison only the completely political turns were counted as political, while jokes about Washington, and stories from the campaign trail bus were grouped with non-political turns.

Mixed-effect Poisson regressions were run to test initiating turn complexity, mixed-effect logistic models were used for initiating action type, personal experience, and praise of guest, and a standard regression model was used to test receipt tokens. First all tests were run with the differences between talk shows with celebrity guests, talk shows with political guests, and news interviews as the independent variables, and then a more granular perspective was taken by running the initiating turn complexity tests with differences between different types of political guests, and topic of talk. All tests were run in Stata (StataCorp 2015).

Findings: Initiating Turn Complexity

Chart 4.1 - Average number of TCU's per Initiating Action

Talk Show with Celebrity — 1.77
Talk Show with Politician — 2.1
News Program — 3.33

It should be expected that a typical initiating action on a talk show will be relatively non-complex, and a typical initiating action on a news interview will be relatively complex reflecting turn-taking differences. Looking at chart 4.1 it can be seen that this is the case. The average number of TCUs for a talk show interview with celebrities is 1.77, while on a news program it is

nearly twice as many at 3.33. Meanwhile the talk show interviews with politicians falls in-

between these two measures at 2.1 average TCUs per initiating action. Regressions compared

news, talk show celebrity interviews (TSC), and talk show interviews with politicians (TSP).

These tests show that each group is significantly different from the next, not only talk shows

with celebrities and news (line 3), which would be expected, but there is also a highly significant

difference between talk show interviews with politicians and both other types of interviews

(table 4.5, lines 1 and 2).

Table 4.5 - Mixed-effects Poisson regression of TCUs per Initiating Action

	Coefficient	Standard Error	P Value	N
TSC v. TSP	-.163	.049	.001***	1,369 (45 groups)
News v. TSP	.459	.080	.000****	638 (24 groups)
TSC v. News	-.627	.057	.000****	1,015 (41 groups)

This demonstrates that, at the level of turn taking, talk show interviews with politicians differ

from both of the interview prototypes and lie somewhere in between them.

Findings: Initiating Action Types

Given the structural differences between talk shows and news interviews, as well as the

norms around interviewer stance, it would be expected that news interviews are more likely to

rely on questions when framing an initiating action. Chart 4.2 illustrates what percentage of

initiating actions fall in the category of questions (with the reminder being declaratives). This data shows the same pattern that appeared in the last measure. As expected news programs have a fairly high percentage of questions (85%), which matches findings from other scholars who find that questions and interrogatives make up the majority of interview turns, even across time and different national contexts (Clayman and Heritage 2002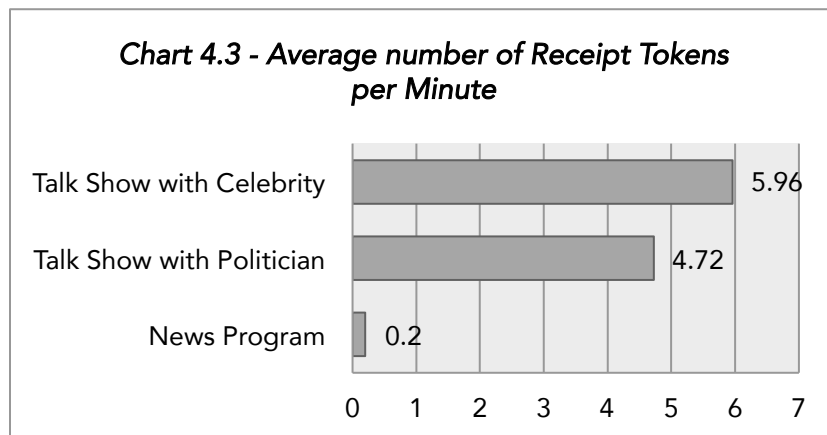b, Heritage and Roth 1995, Tolson 2012). while talk shows with celebrities are less driven by questions (60%). Meanwhile talk show interviews with politicians once again fall in-between these two measures (nearly 70%). A mixed-effects logistic regression was used to test the differences between the types of programs, once again, the differences between each type of interview are significant (table 4.6).

Table 4.6 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Questions

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
TSC v. TSP	.666	.096	.005**	1,369 (45 groups)
News v. TSP	2.351	.631	.001***	638 (24 groups)
TSC v. News	2.773	.071	.000****	1,015 (41 groups)

These findings suggest that the norm of neutralism is strong on the news program as expected, but that politicians bring some of this pressure with them when they appear on the, otherwise less neutralistic, talk show creating structural differences. These numbers also show that while there is variation in these different types of interviews, at their heart they are all interviews, with even talk shows with celebrities containing over 60% questions.

Findings: Receipt Tokens

Chart 4.3 - Average number of Receipt Tokens per Minute

Talk Show with Celebrity	5.96
Talk Show with Politician	4.72
News Program	0.2

Given structural differences, as well as differences in both interviewer stance and

treatment of the guest, it would be expected that talk shows would have many receipt tokens and

news programs would have very few. Looking at chart 4.3 this is exactly the pattern that emerges

from the 2,090 receipt tokens coded. On talk shows with celebrity guests receipt tokens average

nearly six per minute, while on the news program a viewer would have to watch five minutes of

interviewing on average to see one receipt token. Meanwhile in this regard talk show interviews

with politicians appear to be much closer to talk show norms with 4.72 per minute on average.

Linear regressions were used to compare these different contexts, revealing no significant

difference between the two talk show contexts (line 1), and unsurprisingly the difference

between the talk show interviews and traditional news is highly significant (table 4.7, line 2 and

3). This begins to suggest that talk show interviews with politicians may be more like typical talk

show interviews in some ways. It is important to note that receipt tokens work to create the norm

of personalization, suggesting that this norm may hold regardless of guest type.

Table 4.7 - Regression of Receipt Tokens per Minute

	Beta Coefficient	Standard Error	P Value	N
TSC v. TSP	.202	.625	.182	45
News v. TSP	-8.47	.583	.000****	24
TSC v. News	.772	.703	.000****	39

Findings: Personal Experience

The next norm that can be evaluated is the norm of personalization. Talk show hosts are

more likely to personalize initiating actions by drawing on personal experience to frame ideas,

while news interviewers are likely to avoid it systematically.

Chart 4.4 - Percentage of Initiating Actions containing Personal Experience

Talk Show with Celebrity	24.60%
Talk Show with Politician	22.90%
News Program	6.30%

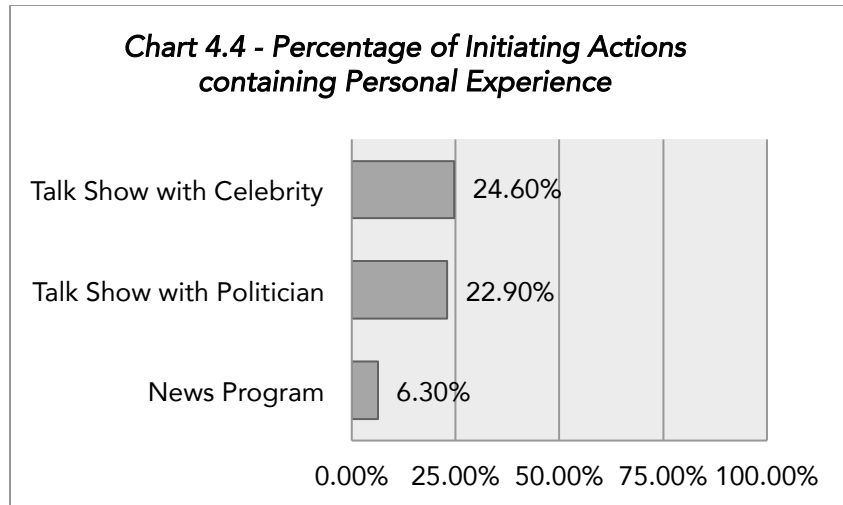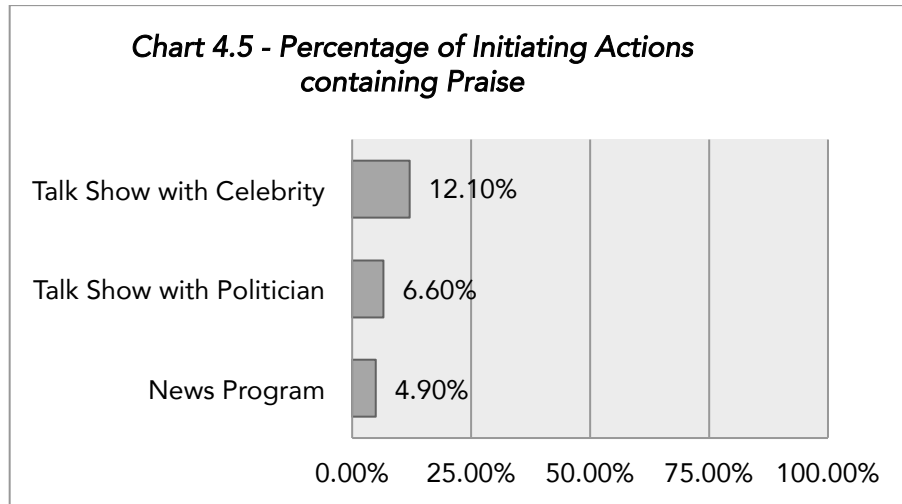0.00%   25.00%   50.00%   75.00%   100.00%

Chart 4.4 shows that while, news programs and talk show interviews with celebrities do show a marked differences from one another in terms of what percentage of initiating actions contain personal experience (6% and 24% respectively), talk shows with politicians are hardly any different from talk shows with celebrities (almost 23%). The evidence in table 4.8 supports this, showing that there is no significant difference between the two types of talk show interviews (line 1), while news interviews are significantly different from both types of talk show interview (lines 2 and 3).

Table 4.8 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Personal Experience

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
TSC v. TSP	1.089	.170	.585	1,369 (45 groups)
News v. TSP	.206	.085	.000****	638 (24 groups)
TSC v. News	4.964	1.816	.000****	1,015 (41 groups)

In this case it appears that, as suggested by the use of receipt tokens, the norm of personalization holds strong on talk shows even with political guests. As illustrated by extract 4.3 even the most politically relevant questions can be asked in a personalized manner. With this example it is possible to see how the two sets of interviewing norms are coming together in a complex blending that is more intricate than simply a middle road between the two, with personalization holding strong.

Findings: Praise in Initiating Actions

Chart 4.5 - Percentage of Initiating Actions containing Praise

- Talk Show with Celebrity: 12.10%
- Talk Show with Politician: 6.60%
- News Program: 4.90%

(axis: 0.00%, 25.00%, 50.00%, 75.00%, 100.00%)

Given the norm of congeniality it would be expected that praise would be more common on talk shows with celebrities and less common on news interviews, where adversarialness reigns. Examining chart 4.5 shows that this is the case, 12% of initiating actions on talk shows with celebrities do contain praise, while only 4.9% of news interview initiating actions contain praise. Like many of the previous measures discussed above, talk show interviews with politicians fall somewhere in-between with 6.6% of initiating actions containing praise. A mixed-effects logistic regression shows that this is significantly less than talk show interviews with celebrities (table 4.9, line 1), but not significantly different from news programs (table 4.9, line 2).

Table 4.9 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Praise

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
TSC v. TSP	1.940	.426	.003**	1,369 (45 groups)
News v. TSP	.693	.339	.454	638 (24 groups)
TSC v. News	2.910	1.358	.022*	1,015 (41 groups)

This suggests that there is significantly more congeniality on talk shows when the guests are not political figures. This contrasts to the findings above on personalization, suggesting that personalization may be more integral to the talk show environment, or congeniality more
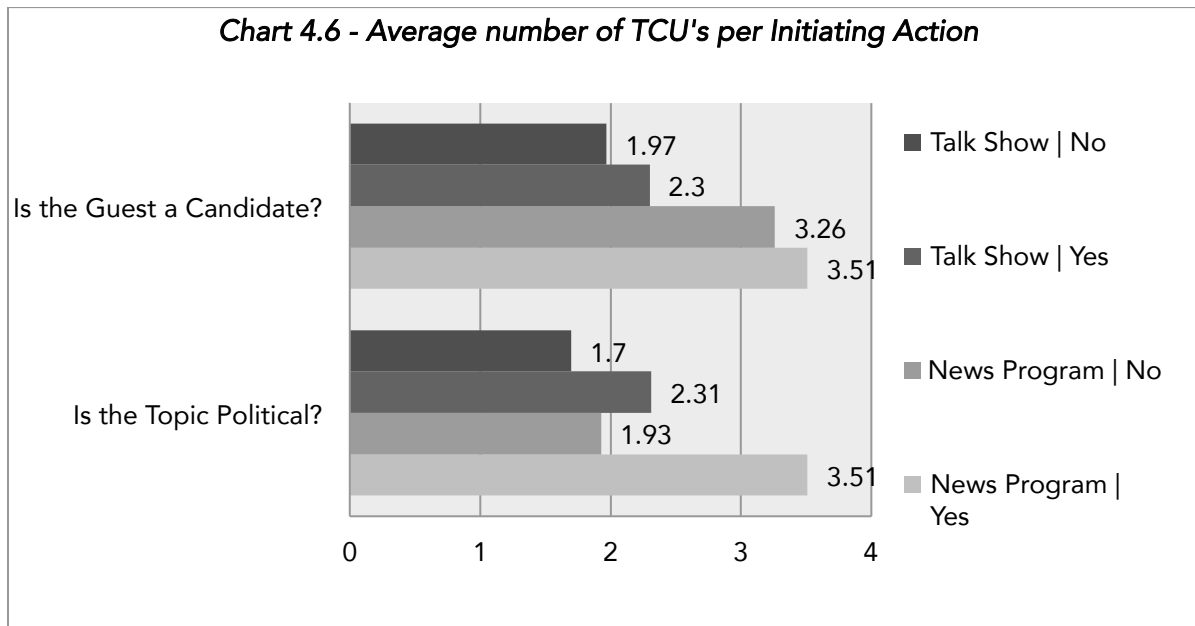
problematic for political interviews, or perhaps both. It appears a talk show host can easily ask their political questions in a personal way, but they cannot easily praise a political figure. Although nothing concrete can be said on adversarialness from this test, the difference in congeniality does begin to point to differences in what motivates celebrity and political interviews. Both celebrities and politicians are there to promote, both themselves and their products, but the promotion of a film has rather different implications than the promotion to president. Even talk show hosts, who are expected to actively sell the film to the public, may feel the pressure to act as a "watchdog of democracy" and if not adversarially challenge the guest (but see extract 4.3 above for evidence that they may do that as well), at least not actively promote the guest in the face of such high stakes.

More fundamentally, these findings suggest that interviewer stance (personalization or neutralism) may be the most basic building block of genre, unlikely to shift with guest changes. In news interviews hosts are nearly always neutralistic, but not every turn must be adversarial. Personalization seems to play a similar role in talk shows, while the norms having to do with the treatment of guests (congeniality and neutralism) may shift as the guest type shifts. This suggests that a truly significant shift in genre comes when the interviewer stance shifts, while guest treatment may be more open to bending.

Other Influences

Before concluding, consider one more piece of evidence that this blend is not merely a halfway point between talk shows and news, but is instead sensitive to the local context of the situation. To do this the paper will briefly examine two ways in which interviewers on both news and talk shows adjust their behavior depending on situation by looking at how both guest identities and topical content can affect practices of interviewing.

So far this paper has been discussing political guests as a group, but of course there are different types of political guests. One of the most salient distinctions is between a presently or formerly elected or appointed political official, and a currently campaigning politician. In the case of a currently campaigning politician the pressure to act as a watchdog and to challenge the guest might be expected to be heavier. Another dimension of context is the topic of initiating actions. An interviewer may draw on different norms as they move back and forth between personal topics (e.g. jokes, family life, opinions on popular culture) and political topics. One way to measure these possible differences is to return to the first measure of the paper, complexity of initiating actions. If this pressure to challenge candidates truly exists, and interviewers are sensitive to it, initiating actions should be more complex (contain more TCUs) when the guest is a campaigning politician, and likewise if news norms are stronger in political contexts, initiating actions should be more complex when the topic of a turn is political.

Chart 4.6 - Average number of TCU's per Initiating Action

In fact, this is exactly what chart 4.6 reveals. Here two contrasts are applied to interviews with politicians on talk shows and news programs, leaving behind the celebrity comparison for the moment. The first cluster on the chart has to do with the type of guests. Although table 4.10

shows that this is not statistically significant, chart 4.6 does show that candidates receive more complex initiating actions on both type of programs.

Turning to the level of the topic of the initiating actions, it might be expected that political topics will be dealt with in a more complex way than other topics. The second grouping on chart 4.6 shows that when the topic becomes political, both in the talk show environment and the news environment, turns become more complex. The second line of table 4.10 shows that this difference is highly significant, suggesting that context is more nuanced than simply type of program or guest. However, it is also worth noting that even the most complex average talk show turn (2.31 TCUs) is only marginally more complex than the least complicated average news turn (1.93 TCUs), and falls far short of the most complex news average (3.31 TCUs).

Table 4.10 - Mixed-effects Poisson regression of TCUs per Initiating Action

	Coefficient	Standard Error	P Value	N
Candidates v. Non	.096	.119	.419	639 (24 groups)
Political Topic v. Not	.366	.065	.000****	639 (25 groups)

While talk shows remain less complex it is worth noting that talk show hosts adjust greatly to meet the standards of the watchdog role, and act as a para-journalist. For instance, talk show hosts are significantly more likely to bring up political topics with campaigning guests (76% of initiating actions) than with other political guests (57%, table 4.11). However, 88% of initiating actions on news interviews have a political topic regardless of guest type.

Table 4.11 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Topic of Initiating Actions to Candidates on Talk Shows

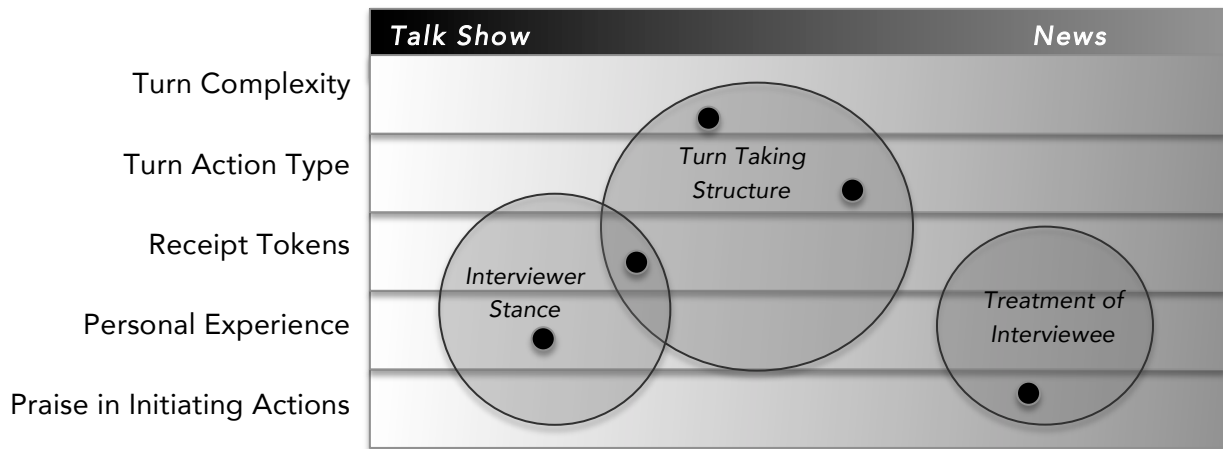|	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
Candidates v. other Politicians	2.222	.354	.024*	497

These measures show that hosts are sensitive to contextual differences, whether that is throughout the interview with a political candidate as a guest, or on a moment-by-moment basis as topics shift during the interview. These differences suggest that to truly understand these

interviews broad measures can be helpful, but it is also important to trace changes in how these norms are drawn upon (or not).

Discussion

This paper has shown that talk show interviews with politicians use a mix of both talk show norms and news norms. When a political guest arrives on the set they bring with them a collection of considerations that change the goals of the interview and therefore the practices of interviewing. It has also shown that not all political guests are equal, some bringing with them stronger pressures to conform to the more challenging news norms. However, this transformation is not total, with the norm of personalization working with the new set of goals, creating an interview that is still measurably a talk show interview.

Chart 4.7 - Contrasting Dimensions of Celebrity and News Interviews Mapped

The final chart above returns to the contrasting dimensions of celebrity and news interviews discussed at the beginning of the paper. What the various measures in this paper have shown is that when a politician appears on a talk show some the measures reveal interviewer practices that are closer to the proto-typical talk show interview, and others that are closer to the proto-typical news interview. As discussed briefly above, these differences suggest that some practices are more closely linked to the genre of the program (turn taking structure, and interviewer stance),

while those that have to do with the guest shift as the guest type shifts (treatment of interviewee). However, the final section of the paper has also shown that that hosts are sensitive to considerations beyond the identity of the guest whether that be political or not, or candidate versus retired politician, and are capable of shifting with the moment-to-moment consideration of the topic. Interviewers are therefore not locked into one genre or set of skills, but can apply these skills to new contexts.

This also suggests that "genre" is a continual accomplishment, which brings a new light to the study of hybrid genres that is emerging (Baym 2013a, Baym 2013b, Hutchby 2011a, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013). Hybrid genres themselves can change from moment to moment as guests and topics shift. Genre itself is created and recreated through interaction, so some hybrid genres could be seen as simple shifts between genre norms as contingencies require, while others may be in fact more complete blends as with personalization in talk show interviews with politicians. In fact, this research shows that even within a seemingly stable genre like news, where norms have long been seen as constitutive (Gans 1979), norms are context sensitive, invoked on a moment by moment basis. To understand which process is taking place it is important to understand the norms of each genre, and in what ways they can work together, and in what ways they are contradictory.

Although this research suggests that genre, and norms are enacted and built in the back and forth of interaction, it is important to note that larger technological trends have given rise to the existence of this new form of interaction. In the past serious topics were treated to formal interviews (Cardiff 1980, Scannell and Cardiff 1991) and quarantined in serious news programs (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011), but, due to the shift from broadcast to cable and beyond, new types of people are serving as political gatekeepers. This points to the ripple effect that changes

in one realm can have on others, politics affecting technology as with the FCC's recent reclassification of the internet as a common carrier, or in this case technology affecting politics.

As these shifts occur the candidates and other political figures must adjust to a new way of presenting themselves to the public. A successful candidate in the 2016 election will almost certainly have skills that were not required of a candidate from twenty-five years earlier. President Obama's success in 2008 and 2012 was perhaps due in part to his ease with the type of interviewing done on talk shows. To succeed in today's elections requires an ability to shine in these circumstances, but at the same time to present one's policies and positions in a clear manner, and handle the type of personalized challenges that are evident in Leno's question to Bachmann in extract 4.3. Just as genre is fluid so are interviewee identities, and candidates must be able to operate as political figures or individual persons as these moment-by-moment shifts occur. Those who master this process can reap the benefits of the oft-discussed humanizing aspect of the talk show, while those who fail seem one dimensional and purely political.

In addition, new responsibility is given to media figures who in the past might not have had such powers, while journalists may be left with less influence over the process than in the past. David Letterman had the power to publically shame John McCain over a last minute cancellation in 2008, particularly when McCain chose instead to do a news program in the same time slot. McCain's subsequent apologetic appearance on Letterman's program speaks to the new power invested in those who might have been primarily figures of fun in the past, while the helplessness some journalists have claimed in the face of Donald Trump's domination of the 2016 Republican primary suggests a loss of power for those who have been previously seen as gatekeepers.

In short, these trends and the evidence presented in this paper suggest that in understanding today's politics it is important to realize how politics are intertwined with media,

and how both are enacted in face-to-face interaction. In some sense the back and forth of a talk show interview represents a microcosm of where U.S. politics stands today, and in tracing these smaller patterns, we can begin to chart the larger tides of political fortune.

Chapter 5 - Cable and Broadcast News: An Examination of Interview Practices

President Obama at the 2016 White House Correspondents Dinner
"I won't lie - look, this is a tough transition. It's hard. Key staff are now starting to leave the White House. Even reporters have left me. Savannah Guthrie, she's left the White House Press Corps to host the Today show. Norah O'Donnell left the briefing room to host CBS This Morning. Jake Tapper left journalism to join CNN."

In the last thirty-five years, television news has become more diversified. Like all television, news used to be contained on the three major networks, but since the advent of CNN and its successors, television news has many outlets. Today more people get news from cable than network news (Baum and Kernell 1999, Coe et al. 2008, Gottfried et al. 2016). Much of cable news is specialized, for instance catering partisan audience segments but CNN is generally viewed as simply mainstream news (Coe et al. 2008), bound by the same norms of objectivity that shape network news (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Despite generally being seen as non-partisan other criticisms are regularly directed at CNN, raising the idea that the structural differences between broadcast and cable news alone may produce lower quality content. The idea is common enough for President Obama to make a joke about it in the quote at the top of this chapter. This perception has been tested in various ways (Bae 2000, Boykoff 2008, Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009), but research has not yet explored whether these structural differences play out in the interviews done by CNN journalists, despite the fact that interview practices are an important locus of news norms (Clayman et al. 2006a, Clayman 1988, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). This paper seeks to test CNN for differences in the interactional form and topical content of news interviewing practices using a quantitative comparison with broadcast interviews.

Two main deviations from network news standards are pointed to by critics of CNN. The first has to do with the contrasting financial models of network and cable news, suggesting that there might be something fundamentally different in the way they approach news reporting (Bae 2000). Since the rise of cable news, the news industry as a whole has been under more financial

pressure than in the past, when television news was an investment supported by a network's other programs (Auletta 1992, Epstein 1973, Starr 2012). A result of this pressure may be a focus on more popular, entertaining topics, leading to a "softening" of news coverage (Allan 1999, Langer 1998, Thussu 2007). However, cable news does not need to seek the raw numbers of a network program, and instead has historically sought a niche audience of highly engaged viewers (Bae 2000), although today more people get their news from cable news than the broadcast networks (Baum and Kernell 1999, Coe et al. 2008, Gottfried et al. 2016). This history has lead to cable news taking a slightly different approach in how it reports on topics. One difference is that individual stories are allowed to present a more favorable picture of one side of an issue or candidate, which can be interpreted as bias. However, these stories are aired with the understanding that in the longer time allowance of cable news, the next story may favor the other side or candidate (Fico et al. 2008). Although the overall effect of this particular practice is balanced, it does indicate that the in the moment production of cable news may be fundamentally different from network news, which could be reflected in interview practices.

Another line of criticism, perhaps most often aired in the popular press, is that the twenty-four hour format of cable news leads to entertainment stories and other space filling topics, but also that even serious stories being covered at such length that irrelevant and shallow details begin to take on the same significance as meaningful ones (Sambrock and McGuire 2014, Sorenson 2012). These critiques paint a picture of television where ratings grabbers are covered in exhaustive detail, while meaningful news is buried or skipped if it's deemed insufficiently popular. However, research examining such claims has not always supported these popular perceptions, with cable news doing no better or worse than network news in covering serious issues of note, such as climate change (Boykoff 2008), doing less explicit promotion for parent companies than similar network programs (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009), and showing no

more overall favoritism for particular candidates in an election than network news (Fico et al. 2008). What has not been explored is if this supposed trend towards the irrelevant is affecting interviewing practices, perhaps leading to interviews that differ from the rigor of broadcast journalism.

Overall, these concerns place CNN in the context of larger critiques of the overall "softening" of news discussed above (Allan 1999, Langer 1998). Commentators argue that, due to rising competition and intensifying commercial pressures, news across the board is becoming blended with entertainment, leading to results like campaigning politicians increasingly appearing on programs like *The Tonight Show* as well as serious news like *Meet the Press* (Farnsworth and Lichter 2007, Loeb forthcoming) and the divide between those programs weakening (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011). CNN may then be a bellwether on this type of shift, and, despite the absence of much supporting research, there is certainly a popular perception from media commentators and Presidents alike that CNN diverges from the serious news prototype and may include some elements of infotainment. There are a variety of ways to test this idea, and much of the research above has looked at the content of edited news reports, but one important locus for news norms is the news interview, and it is here that this chapter will focus its attention. If the economics or time pressures of CNN lead to major differences in how they approach news, this may be reflected in how their journalists conduct interviews, and this paper seeks to test this hypothesis.

News interviewing has been well studied (examples include: Clayman 1988, Clayman 1991, Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Clayman 2010, Clayman and Romaniuk 2011, Ekström, Kroon and Nylund 2006, Greatbatch 1988, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Heritage and Roth 1995, Montgomery 2007, Roth 2005, Schudson 1994), and it has been established that serious journalists are guided by norms of neutralism and adversarialness,

shaping how they ask questions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). Other research has shown that on the other end of the spectrum, talk show interviews are conducted differently, driven by contrasting norms of personalization and congeniality (Loeb 2015), although this changes to some degree when the guest is a political figure (Loeb forthcoming). To test the idea that CNN represents something other than the pure embodiment of news norms, this paper will compare CNN interviews to network news interviews as well as talk show interviews with politicians, using key measures designed to assess which norms are being enacted. If it is true that CNN is substantively different from network news, this should be reflected in the behavior of the journalists (Fico et al. 2008), leaving CNN interviews more like talk show interviews. However, if CNN is statistically no different than network news, this suggests that journalistic norms may be able to operate in a variety of structural conditions, and that such norms are more robust than generally believed for the case of cable news.

Interview Practices Overview

To make these comparisons three types of television interviews will be examined quantitatively. However, before turning to the statistics, a quick illustration of the types of interview being examined will ground the findings going forward. The following examples are representatives of the types of interviews that will be the focus of the paper: CNN interviews, network interviews from the Sunday morning news programs, and talk show interviews with political guests. Each interview extract in this section features former Vice President Dick Cheney. In each excerpt he is asked a question about possible regrets from his time as Vice President. Holding the guest and the general content steady allows for a more direct comparison of the interview style of each type of program.

The first example is from CNN's *The Situation Room,* and interviewer Wolf Blitzer asks Cheney about the financial policies of the Bush administration, and their negative outcomes.

```
Extract 5.1 - Situation Room, 9-6-2011, Dick Cheney

 1 BLI:    When you: took office you and President Bush: the
 2         Bush administration .h there were budget
 3         surpluses (.) [as far as the eye could=
 4 CHE:                  [hnh
 5 BLI:    =see. .h When you left office th-the national
 6         debt had doubled: and the economy was teetering
 7         potentially on depression, .h How much
 8         responsibility do you personally take for seeing
 9         that .h economic disaster potentially unfold,
10 CHE:    .tch Well like most administrations Wolf we had
11         to deal with .h the circumstances that we
12         inherited...
```

News interviews have a strict turn-taking system, organized into questions from interviewers and answers from interviewees. Both questions and answers tend to be long and complex (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Greatbatch 1988). Further, news interviews are organized by two primary norms rooted in the professional culture of broadcast journalism. The first norm, neutralism, leads news interviewers to present themselves as impartial catalysts, primarily engaged in eliciting talk from interviewees for the benefit of the overhearing audience (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). The second norm, adversarialness, leads interviewers to act as "watchdogs of democracy" by challenging political guests and their positions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). The proceeding extract illustrates both of these norms, as well as the distinct turn taking system of news interviews. Blitzer's inquiry is complex, involving a preface that contrasts the economy before and after the Bush administration (lines 1-3 and 5-7), and then asks Cheney to comment on his role in the "economic disaster" that followed the Bush years (lines 7-9). The preface makes the question adversarial, but it adheres to the norm of journalistic neutralism by relying on well-known facts in its construction (Clayman and Heritage 2002b).

Likewise the next example, which is from a *Face the Nation* interview with Bob Schieffer, contrasts the expectations going into the invasion of Iraq with the reality of occupying it, and asks if Cheney's position may have changed with time.

```
Extract 5.2 - Face the Nation, 9-18-2011, Dick Cheney

 1 Sch:    You don't write much about what happened
 2         after the fall of Baghdad, Because uh:
```

```
 3           a lot of people in the administration were
 4           thinking this was gonna be a walk in the park
 5           and it turned out to be anything but. Do you
 6           [think uh: .tch .h in retrospect you could have=
 7 Che:      [mm,
 8 Sch:      =done something different or some things could
 9           have been better [than they were,
10 Che:                       [.h Well I think uh (.) first
11           of all in terms of what I chose to write .hh I
12           had enough material Bob for four or five
13           books...
```

Like the prior question, it relies on a preface to set up the question (lines 1-5), and create

a challenge, and then asks Cheney to comment on that challenge (extract 5.2, lines 5-6, and 8-9).

Both questions adhere to the norms of neutralism and adversarialness through their use of

challenging prefaces, and avoidance of personal stances by the journalist (Clayman and Heritage

2002b).

In contrast, in the next question, taken from an interview on *The View,* Barbara Walters

asks a very similar question to the *Face the Nation* example about regrets of the Iraq war, but

one that takes a different shape by also drawing on talk show norms.

```
Extract 5.3 - The View, 9-13-2011, Dick and Lynn Cheney

 1 BW:      Okay I=I want to talk about the most
 2           controversial aspect of- of your career and that
 3           is uh: the support of the >Iraq war.< .h The- I wanna
 4           say that there is much in this book called in my
 5           time: .h that is funny: and personal: um: and
 6           history beyond the Iraq war. But of course that's:
 7           .h you know, That's the one that everybody says
 8           how does he feel, You have been unapologetic about
 9           it .h in your book and in uh other statements
10           you've made .h because you say we got rid of
11           Saddam Hussein:: and .h that was the most important
12           thing, -On the other hand .h we still do not have
13           democracy -um in Iraq? .h Uh they are closer to
14           Syria or Iran e-then they have been before: .h we
15           lost over four thousand men and women a hundred
16           thousand dollars over a- >a hundred thousand dollars<
17           .h [trillions of dollars spent, A hundred thousand=
18 WG:          [heh heh
19 BW:      =Iraqis okay. .h And we got rid of Saddam Hussein,
20           But it hasn't done that much, There are still other
21           dictators, .h It's hard for me to understand: w-I
22           hate people with all due respect .h but with all
23           due respect Mister Cheney it's hard for me to
24           understand that all this was worth it .h just to
25           get rid of Saddam Hussein.
26 JB:      [mm,
27 Aud:     [((applause))
28 Che:     [Well let me go back and- (2.0) and take you back to
29           where we were prior to nine eleven...
```

In this example, Barbara Walter's question is adversarial, using a long challenging preface (lines 1-17 and 19-21), but it is not quite neutralistic, instead drawing on the norm of personalization. Personalization leads talk show hosts to draw on themselves as a resource, as well as generally making personal topics relevant for questioning (Loeb 2015). Walters's final question revolves around her own negative assessment of America's actions in the Iraq war, and the worth of the money and lives spent in that cause (lines 19-25). She also conforms to the second norm of talk shows, congeniality which suggests hosts should help guests promote themselves and their products, by stopping in the midst of what is an otherwise very adversarial question to praise Cheney's book (lines 3-6).

These examples suggest that whatever structural differences exist between CNN and the Sunday morning programs, their journalists conduct interviews in broadly the same manner, which can be contrasted with the way in which interviews are done in the soft news context of talk shows. The rest of the paper will illustrate this claim with more quantitative evidence.

Data and Measures

To test these ideas interview samples were collected from the University of California, Los Angeles *NewScape* archive, covering the time period of the 2011-2012 U.S. Presidential election season. The first sample consists of CNN programs that regularly feature live or live-to-tape interviews with political guests, excluding daytime talk programs. The programs sampled are *Anderson Cooper 360, Fareed Zakaria GPS, John King USA,* and *The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer*. The second sample consists of interviews from the Sunday morning network interview programs, *Face the Nation, Meet the Press,* and *This Week*. The final sample consists of interviews from celebrity talk shows where political guests are featured, taken from *The Ellen DeGeneres Show, The Late Show, The Tonight Show,* and *The View*. A total of 49 interviews were collected: 13 CNN interviews, 21 Sunday network interviews, and 15 talk show interviews.

All interviews were transcribed according CA conventions (Jefferson 2004), and were then coded using a coding scheme based on previous research on the norms of talk show and news interviewing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b, Loeb 2015). Each line of transcript was examined in concert with the video recording of the interview for elements like broad topic (political or not), complexity of turn (number of turn constructional units, or TCUs), grammatical forms (question or statement), and responses (receipt tokens such as *mmhm, really, wow*). The author coded each of these interviews, for a total of nearly 2,500 lines of coding. Shortly after initial coding, a twenty percent recode was done to verify the accuracy of the coding. Table 5.1 briefly summarized the codes relevant to this paper, showing that there were high ranges of coder agreement across this set of variables (Landis and Koch 1977).

Dependent Variables

Table 5.1 - Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Description	Kappa	Strength of Agreement
Initiating Turn Complexity	Number of TCU's	.73	Good
Initiating Action Type	Question or Statement	.84	Very Good
Receipt Tokens	*mmhm, really, wow*	.82	Very Good
Use of Personal Experience	*I think we should… I heard…*	.89	Very Good
Topic of Turn	Political or Not	.87	Very Good

Table 5.1 shows the dependent variables that will be tested throughout the remainder of the paper. Each of these variables can help map if an interview is drawing on the norms associated with news, or the norms associated with the talk show, which helps in determining if CNN is as rigorous as other news programs, or more like entertainment programming.

The first variable "initiating turn complexity" refers to turns at talk by the host that require a response from the guest. To measure the complexity of these initiating actions each was coded for how many turn-constructional-units (TCUs) it contained. A TCU is the smallest piece of talk that can be considered to be complete (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), but in non-technical terms could be considered something like a sentence. In total 971 initiating actions

were coded. Of these nearly 40% contained one TCU, but the longest turn measured contained seventeen TCUs. On average, more complex initiating actions are associated with the norms of news interviewing, while less complex actions are associated the norms of talk show interviewing (Loeb forthcoming), although extract 5.3 shows how talk show norms can shift in the presence of political guests.

The next variable, "initiating action type," codes initiating actions as either statements or questions. Interrogative syntax (as in extracts 5.1 and 5.2) can be heard as questioning, but there are other ways of formulating a question, which the coding for this project also includes. This includes B-event statements where a speaker makes a statement about something within the recipient's realm of knowledge (Labov 1972) ("You worked on this bill for two years"), question substitutes ("Tell us about this legislation"), and third party attributed statements ("Bob said you worked on this bill for two years"). Each initiating action was coded as either one of these types of questioning, or for straight declaratives. The norm of neutralism suggests that most initiating actions in the news interview should be questions (Clayman and Heritage 2002b), while in the talk show environment hosts are free to make statements (as in extract 5.3).
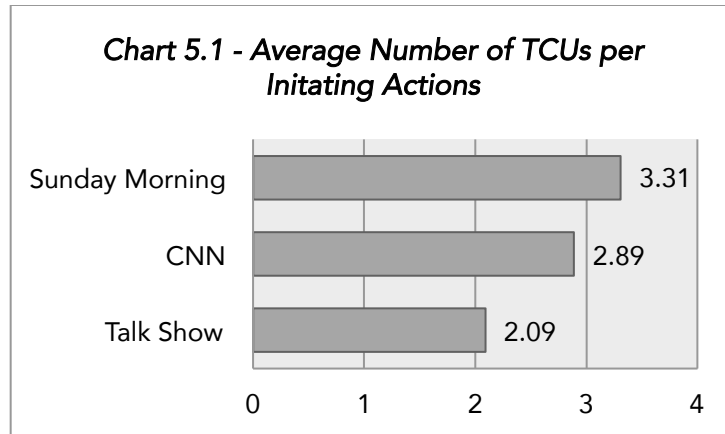
The next structural measure that can be considered is how often a host uses receipt tokens (here the coding includes tokens like *mmhm, right, oh wow*). Talk show hosts commonly use receipt tokens (Loeb 2015), while on news interviews receipt tokens are avoided everywhere except transition to closing (Clayman and Heritage 2002b). In using receipt tokens a host presents themself (rather than the overhearing audience) as the recipient of the guest's talk (Goffman 1981b), in a personalized manner that is contradictory to the news norm of neutralism. Certain tokens can also be congenial. Therefore, it would be expected for talk show interviews to have a fairly frequent use of receipt tokens and news interviews to have almost no receipt tokens.

For the fourth variable, "use of personal experience," all initiating actions were coded as either containing personal experience or not. To count as personal experience the turn must contain a personal pronoun, including references to personal history ("As a mother"), references to personal motivation for asking the question ("I've been hearing that you like books, is that true?"), or taking a stance as in extract 5.3. Conventionalized ways of asking questions such as "I was wondering" and "Let me ask you" were not included. It would be expected that talk show interviews will employ more instances of personal experiences in keeping with personalization, while news interviews will employ relatively few in keeping with the norm of neutralism.

Finally with the fifth dependent variable, "political topic," the paper considers a measure that can give insight into the content as well as the form of talk. Each action in the data set was coded for topic: not political at all, mostly not political, mostly political, or completely political. For this comparison only the completely political turns were counted as political, while jokes about Washington, DC, and stories from the campaign trail bus were grouped with non-political turns. It would be expected that news programs are more likely to heavily feature political topics, while talk shows may cover non-political topics frequently.

Mixed-effect Poisson regressions were run to test initiating turn complexity, mixed-effect logistic models were used for initiating action type, personal experience, and political topic, and a standard regression model was used to test receipt tokens. All tests were run in Stata (StataCorp 2015).

Findings: Initiating Turn Complexity

Chart 5.1 - Average Number of TCUs per Initating Actions

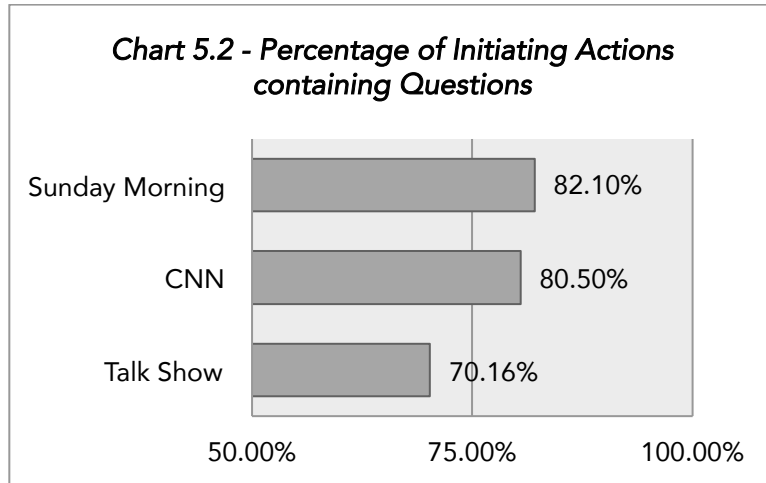| Program	Average Number of TCUs
Sunday Morning	3.31
CNN	2.89
Talk Show	2.09

It should be expected that at one end, a typical initiating action on a talk show will be relatively non-complex, and at the other, a typical initiating action on Sunday morning program will be relatively complex reflecting their structural differences. If CNN is not adhering to news norms it should be expected to fall in between the two extremes. Looking at chart 5.1 it appears that this is the case. The average number of TCUs for a talk show interview is 2.09, while on a news program it is more than a full TCU more at 3.31. Meanwhile CNN falls in-between these two measures at 2.89 average TCUs per initiating action. However, when using regressions to compare CNN, Sunday programs, and talk shows, the tests show that while talk shows are significantly different from both types of news programs (table 5.2, lines 2 and 3), there is no significant difference between CNN and the Sunday programs (table 5.2, line 1).

Table 5.2 - Mixed-effects Poisson regression of TCUs per Initiating Action

	Coefficient	Standard Error	P Value	N
CNN v. Sunday	-.084	.102	.412	474 (35 groups)
CNN v. Talk Show	.337	.106	.002***	656 (28 groups)
Sunday v. Talk Show	.430	.070	.000****	732 (35 groups)

This demonstrates that, at the level of turn taking, CNN is not statistically less complex than the Sunday programs, or prestige news interviewing.

Findings: Initiating Action Types

Chart 5.2 - Percentage of Initiating Actions containing Questions

Program	Percentage
Sunday Morning	82.10%
CNN	80.50%
Talk Show	70.16%

Given the norms of news interviewing, it would be expected that news interviews are more likely to rely on questions when framing an initiating action, Likewise, if CNN is offering rigorous news interviewing their interviews should be heavily question based. Chart 5.2 illustrates what percentage of initiating actions fall in the category of questions (with the reminder being declaratives). This data shows a similar same pattern as the last measure. As expected Sunday programs have a fairly high percentage of questions (82%), while talk shows with celebrities are less driven by questions (70%). Meanwhile CNN is very close to the Sunday programs (80%). A mixed-effects logistic regression was used to test the differences between the types of programs. Once again, the differences between talk shows and the other news interviews are significant (table 5.3, lines 2 and 3), but there is no significant difference between CNN and Sunday morning network interviews (table 5.3, line 1).

Table 5.3 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Questions

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
CNN v. Sunday	.918	.220	.723	474 (35 groups)
CNN v. Talk Show	1.803	.410	.010**	656 (28 groups)
Sunday v. Talk Show	1.953	.387	.001**	732 (35 groups)

These findings suggest that the norm of neutralism is strong on both types of news programs as expected. These numbers also show that while there is variation in these different types of

interviews, at their heart they are all interviews, with even talk shows with political guests containing 70% questions.

Findings: Receipt Tokens

Chart 5.3 - Average Number Receipt Tokens Per Minute

- Sunday Morning: 0.176
- CNN: 0.202
- Talk Show: 4.507

Given the norm of neutralism on news programs, and the norm of personalization on talk shows, it would be expected that talk shows would have many receipt tokens and serious news programs would have very few. Looking at chart 5.3 this is exactly the pattern that emerges from the 772 receipt tokens coded. On talk shows receipt tokens average 4.5 per minute, while on either type of news program a viewer would have to watch around five minutes of interviewing on average to see one receipt token. Linear regressions were used to compare these different contexts, revealing no significant difference between the two news contexts (table 5.4, line 1). Unsurprisingly the difference between the talk show interviews and news interviewing is highly significant (table 5.4, line 2 and 3).

Table 5.4 - Regression of Receipt Tokens per Minute

	Beta Coefficient	Standard Error	P Value	N
CNN v. Sunday	.026	.144	.854	34
CNN v. Talk Show	-4.355	.522	.000****	27
Sunday v. Talk Show	-4.382	.388	.000****	35

This suggests that the journalists of CNN respond to guests in the neutralistic manner associated with serious news interviewing, and avoid the practices associated with entertainment interviewing.

Findings: Personal Experience

The next norm that can be evaluated is the norm of personalization. Talk show hosts are more likely to personalize initiating actions, while news interviewers are likely to avoid it (Loeb forthcoming).

Chart 5.4 - Percentage of Initiating Actions containing Personal Experience

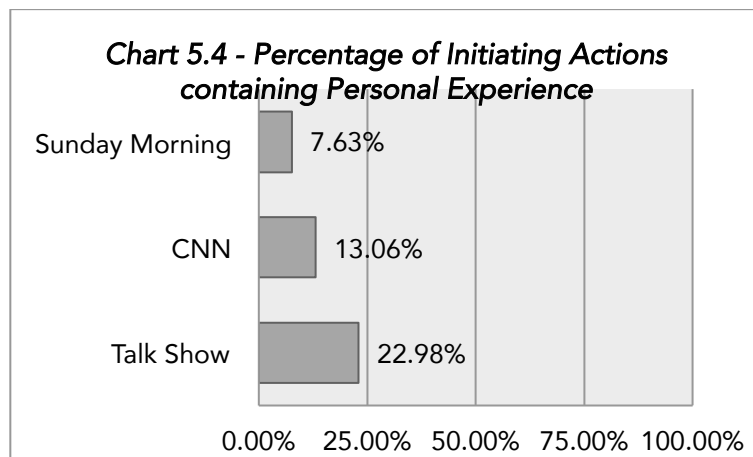|	
Sunday Morning	7.63%
CNN	13.06%
Talk Show	22.98%

0.00% 25.00% 50.00% 75.00% 100.00%

Chart 5.4 shows that talk show interviews do regularly have initiating actions contain personal experience (23% of the time). Sunday programs are less likely to formulate initiating actions in this way (just under 8%), and CNN interviewing falls somewhere in between (13%). However, the evidence in table 5.5 shows that again there is no significant difference between the two types news interviews (line 1), while both types of news interviews are significantly different from talk show interview (lines 2 and 3).
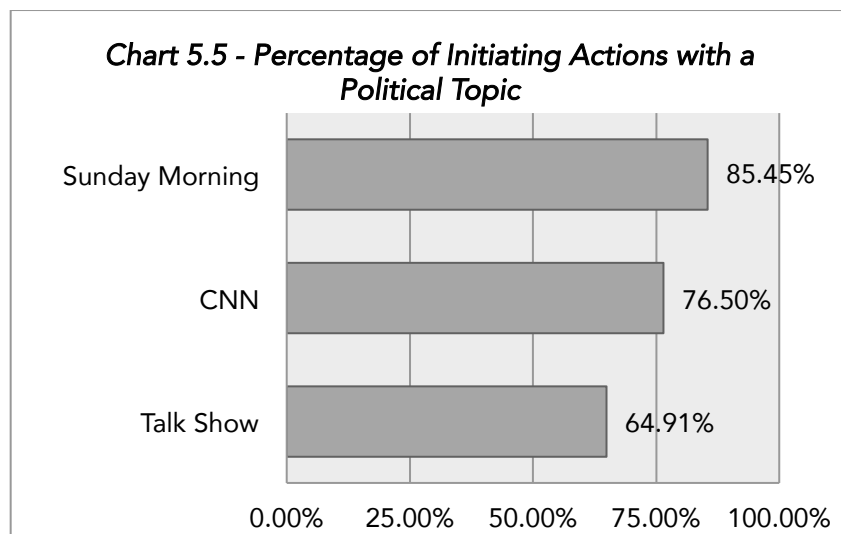
Table 5.5 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Personal Experience

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
CNN v. Sunday	2.158	1.024	.105	474 (35 groups)
CNN v. Talk Show	.459	.142	.012**	655 (28 groups)
Sunday v. Talk Show	.239	.072	.000****	731 (35 groups)

In this case it appears that CNN is once again statistically no different from prestige news interviewing, although this measure comes closer to statistical significance than any examined thus far, suggesting that if there is a difference it may be in the practices related to the norm of personalization.

Findings: Political Topic

Another measure is the content of the initiating action. Interviewers may ask purely political questions about policy and stances on the issues of the day, or they may ask questions about family life, pop culture and personal preferences, or use their initiating action to tell or prompt jokes. Measuring how often interviewers stick to the purely political can illustrate something about the seriousness of the interview, and it would be expected that news interviews focus mostly on political topics, while talk shows are more likely to cover non-political topics.

Chart 5.5 - Percentage of Initiating Actions with a Political Topic

Sunday Morning	85.45%
CNN	76.50%
Talk Show	64.91%

0.00%   25.00%   50.00%   75.00%   100.00%

In chart 5.5, it is clear that Sunday morning interviews are highly focused on political topics (85% of the time), while talk shows interviews with political guests are less likely to focus purely on the political (65% of the time), and CNN seems to fall almost exactly midway between the other two (76% of the time). Turning to table 5.6, a different pattern emerges than in the

previous measures examined by this paper. The Sunday programs and talk shows are unsurprisingly significantly different (table 5.6, line 3), but in this case so are CNN and the Sunday programs (table 5.6, line 1). Further CNN is not quite significantly different from the talk show interviews on this measure (table 5.6, line 2), although it is close.

Table 5.6 - Mixed-effects logistic regression of Initiating Actions containing Political Topic

	Odds Ratio	Standard Error	P Value	N
CNN v. Sunday	.523	.142	.017**	474 (35 groups)
CNN v. Talk Show	1.712	.540	.089	656 (28 groups)
Sunday v. Talk Show	3.374	.973	.000****	732 (35 groups)

These findings show the one major difference between CNN and the Sunday programs revealed by this project is the topic of the talk, which may explain why some commentators feels that CNN is less rigorous. One possible explanation for this difference may have to do with a stronger reliance on personalization, and therefore personal topics, as hinted in the prior findings. One way this manifests, is in questions to guests about personal history while promoting memoirs, which is supported by other research suggesting that promoting books is more common on cable than network programming (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009).

A Closer Look at Topic

The statistics above suggest that CNN is more likely to cover non-political topics (although 76% of talk is still political), and this does fit with the tendency to see CNN as less rigorous than other forms of news, particularly the network news. The following example (extract 5.4) shows a piece of the type of interaction that would have been coded as non-political. Here Michelle Bachman, at the time a candidate for the republican nomination, is being interviewed on *John King, USA*, and at the close of the interview he asks her about sports (lines 1-8).

```
Excerpt 5.4 - John King, 9-9-2011, Michelle Bachmann

 1 Kin:    .tch Uh you mentioned the straw poll
 2         let me close by asking you a question
 3         that might be about as risky to answer
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 4          as anything about what are you gonna
 5          do about social security and Medicare,
 6          .h Uh you're gonna go to the Iowa
 7          state Iowa game (.) this weekend uh who's
 8          your team,
 9          (1.6)
10 Bac:     .h Well e- I was [born in Waterloo=
11 Kin:                      [heh            [mm
12 Bac:                       =Iowa and l:[and
13          I love being back in my state, I- as a
14          matter of fact I'll be there a little
15          bit later tonight, .h A woman: John you
16          will love this offered to sew a shirt
17          for me .h and she's taking half of one .h
18          teams e-shirt and half of the other
19          teams shirt and she's sewing it
20          together and so that's what I'll be
21          wearing tomorrow at the game.
22 Kin:     .h Splitting the difference, Uh safe
23          politics in Iowa I would guess, heh
24          Congresswoman Michelle Bachmann
25          [thank you for you t(h)ime heh heh
```

Both his question and her response are clearly meant to be heard as playful, or non-serious.

This extract illustrates one possible type of non-political talk that may appear on CNN.

However, although it is notable that this type of interaction is about 9% more likely to appear

in the CNN context (flipping the focus in chart 5, appearing about 24% of the time on CNN

as compared to 15% on network news), this type of light, humorous question is not unlike

those found in the Sunday morning network context. These light questions are fairly

recurrent at the end of interviews, particularly longer ones.

In the following extract (extract 5.5), which is taken from the end of a twenty minute

Meet the Press interview with Marco Rubio at a time when he was assumed to be being vetted to

be Mitt Romney's vice presidential nominee, Rubio gets asked a very similar question about his

opinion on music (lines 1-8, and 9-10).

```
Excerpt 5.5 - Meet the Press, 6-24-2012, Marco Rubio

 1 GRE:     I tried to save the toughest for last, You
 2          know we have our own vetting process here
 3          as we try to get to know you better and
 4          help the American people get to know you
 5          better, .h And rooting through- going
 6          through your book and understanding uh
 7          your interest in music .tch uh in rap in
 8          hip-hop the critical [question is East=
 9 RUB:                          [heh heh
10 GRE:     =Coast or [West Coast Biggie Smalls or=
11 RUB:               [hah hah
```

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12 GRE:     =Tupac [which is it Senator,
13 RUB:            [Yeah I was more of a West Coast fan
14         I guess from uh- during that time, You know
15         that- that distinction has gone away now,
16         [And we have our own Miami-based=
17 GRE:     [(       )
18 RUB:     =[(.) rap industry,
19 GRE:      [But we're the same age, So that's
20         [right (We know all those guys)
21 RUB:     [Yeah (we are) But I was more of a West Coast guy
22         [And that'll probably hurt me on the East Coast
23 GRE:     [Heh heh
```

The content of the extracts is similar with a potential candidate being asked to weigh in on a dividing preference in popular culture. The framing of both questions is similarly playful (King frames his question as "risky," while Gregory suggests he's saved "the toughest for last") and both questions lead to laughter (extract 5.4, line 11 and 25, and extract 5.5, lines 9, 11, and 23), and the answer receives a rebuttal from the interviewer (extract 5.4, lines 22-23, and extract 5.5, lines 19-20). If anything, the Sunday morning version of the question from Gregory is more personalized, as it is rooted in Rubio's own biography (lines 5-8), and the follow-up references the similarity between Gregory and Rubio (lines 19-20).

This comparison suggests that while there may be statistically more of these interactions on CNN the way in which they are done falls within the range of acceptable interviewer interactions even within the more strictly confined world of network prestige interviewing, although note that Gregory does much more work to account for his asking of the question than King does (excerpt 5.5, lines 1-5). However, other research showing that CNN may spend more time on book promotion (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009) may do more to help explain this difference. While book tours can explain the appearance of certain political figure on both network and CNN shows, on CNN these books are given more direct attention, more in line with the type of promotion to be found on talk shows.

An example of this type of promotion goes back to the first three extracts, which were occasioned by Dick Cheney's 2011 promotion of a memoir of his life. The book was heavily

promoted and Cheney appeared on *Face the Nation, The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer,* and *The View* as shown, but also *John King, USA* and *The Tonight Show*. These shows took different approaches to discussing the book. The talk shows mixed discussion of the politics of the book with personal stories, while Bob Scheiffer on *Face the Nation* stuck strictly to asking about the political stances taken by the book, and the reactions from Cheney's political peers. On CNN the approach was more in line with the talk shows. Both John King and Wolf Blitzer asked Cheney extensively about his personal struggles with heart disease, and about the personal reflections included in the book. The following extract shows King touching on both of these subjects, as he asks Cheney about his sense of mortality.

```
Excerpt 5.6 – John King, 9-20-2011, Dick Cheney

 1 Kin:    As you were writing this book
 2 Che:    Right,
 3 Kin:    Now you obviously: you have: I'm not even quite sure what to call it
 4         [at- attached to you, Um (0.8) when you were writing this=
 5 Che:    [khh heh True.
 6 Kin:    =book I don't mean to sound morbid=
 7 Che:    [Mmhm,
 8 Kin:    [but were you thinking you know my days could be numbered and I need
 9         to get this right, This could be my last work,
10 Che:    Well: I: uh .h I e-eh-it wasn't directly linked to the book .h but I
11         was uh very much aware that uh .h um h: my days are numbered? uh so
12         are yours...
```

Incidents like these are not uncommon, nor are they confined to retired politicians. In the same time frame, Nikki Haley, Governor of South Carolina, and also at the time being considered a potential Vice Presidential nominee by some members of the press, was given a very similar treatment on both *The Situation Room* and *The View*. Her appearances from around this time on the network shows were completely concerned with her potential vice presidential nomination and her endorsement of Mitt Romney, and her book was not mentioned at all (although see extract 5.5 for a brief bit of book promotion as done in a network news context). These incidents may explain the different amount of time spent on non-political topics on CNN, and the qualitatively different feel these interviews can sometimes have.

Discussion

These findings show that while CNN spends more time on topics that are not strictly speaking political, suggesting slight variation in the content (although less than 10% of the time), the forms of interaction charted by this project seem to be overwhelmingly the same, with no statistically significant variation between CNN and the Sunday programs. This suggests interviewers on CNN are guided by the same basic standards and norms of interviewing as those on the network programming. Indeed, this assertion is further supported by the exchange of interviewers between the networks and CNN, as in the case of Jake Tapper, who is now at CNN but formerly worked for ABC.

Although, the findings of this study show that on all measures except topic, CNN and the Sunday morning programs do not differ from one another statistically, it is worth noting that CNN does trend in the direction that would be expected given the perception that it is less strictly attending to news norms. In each measure, except perhaps receipt tokens, CNN seems to be less rigorous than the Sunday morning programs. It is possible that with a larger sample, CNN would begin to emerge as statistically significant on some of these measures. However, this study shows that, despite the over whelming popular perception, this difference is not large or significant at this level.

One possible explanation for the sense of major differences may be the sheer number of programs on CNN that deal in news. The programs that have been studied in this project were deliberately chosen as corollaries to the Sunday Morning journalistic interview programs, but CNN also runs programs designed to be in line with network morning programs and daytime talk shows (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009). These programs are likely to reflect the norms and standards of those "infotainment" genres. However, CNN's reputation as a news network may make it difficult for the average viewer to weigh the difference between a daytime talk show and

a serious interview program, and conflation of the two may offer another explanation for why CNN seems less rigorous to some viewers. This problem is not necessarily easily dismissed by saying these are different programs, as the programs become functionally the same if a viewer cannot distinguish between them.

Another complicating factor is the claims that all news is becoming less rigorous (Thussu 2007, Tolson 2006). If network news interviewing is significantly changing then the fact that there is no difference on most measures between CNN and Network interviewing has little meaning. However, the results of this project show strong support for the robustness of the norms of news interviewing described by Clayman and Heritage (2002b). In the news contexts explored here, initiating actions are complex, overwhelmingly take the form of a question, and avoid personal experience, and receipt tokens are avoided in response to answers. These findings suggest that these norms are still a driving force in journalistic questioning, and therefore can be relevantly compared to other forms of interviewing. More research over time may be needed to verify if shifts are happening however, and, if so, how CNN fits into this larger picture.

Finally, the evidence of this project, as well as previous work on the talk show environment, suggests that news norms are robust enough to survive in different contexts. The different time and financial constraints of CNN have been theorized to create major differences in content, but in interviews this is generally not the case. Likewise, these norms can be drawn on even in contexts, which are generally driven by quite opposite norms such as the talk show, as found in previous work (Loeb forthcoming). This suggests that news norms have the ability to thrive even in new environments; raising the idea that "news" may be less a product of film, finance, and print, and more a moment-by-moment process of interaction.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

The three intertwined projects of this dissertation both raise and answer questions about the changing face of the media. On the one hand, they suggest new ways in which consumers of the media are receiving information, particularly about political actors. Talk show interviews present a new way in which viewers can assess candidates and policies, and offer different types of insight into our political leaders. The question then remains, is this news? This is a question for pundits and scholars alike to wrestle with in the coming years as the media continues to evolve. Some would argue that this is not news, or not true news (Allan 1999, Langer 1998), while others argue that our definition of news is always situational and must change as our technology and practices change (Williams and Delli Carpini 2011), while still others might simply point to the utility of such programs apart from any moral assessment (Baum 2002, Baum 2005, Baum and Jamison 2006). News as it has been defined comes from a particular set of historical circumstances and values (Schudson 1978), but is it something that we can or even should be attempting to preserve in the face of evolving historical circumstances and changing values?

On the other hand, a finding that stretches over both the second and third substantive parts of this project suggests that the practices of news interviewing are relatively robust. Although other longitudinal work on press conferences has shown that these practices have become more aggressive over time, (Clayman et al. 2006a, Clayman et al. 2010, Heritage and Clayman 2013), suggesting that change has occurred, this research shows that the norms of news interviewing manifest even in contexts that differ greatly from their original home. From a nearly identical presentation on cable, to the more flexible manifestation in the talk show context, these norms have a certain stability that allows them to adapt to new contexts, and to challenge politicians even as they sit on the soft sofas of the talk show world. Perhaps this begins to answer

the question of the true core of news. Perhaps news is a moment-to-moment achievement that can slide in between discussions and spaces that a viewer might not immediately classify as news. In that light, the findings of these projects add to the already growing body of work on hybrid genre, first by tracing in detail the practices of the talk show in the first substantive section, and then quantifying one form of hybrid that had previously been explored in a more qualitative manner (Baym 2013b, Montgomery 2008). With the norms of the talk show charted it may now be possible to find other places in which these norms are employed, in televised talk, but perhaps also online.

The research presented in this dissertation also raises some possibilities for the ways in which these shifts may affect the actors in broadcast journalism, changing who is involved and the costs and benefits of these roles. One shift is that celebrity talk show hosts now occupy the role of para-journalists. These hosts, mostly drawn from the ranks of stand-up comedians and sketch comics, now serve on the frontlines of journalistic accountability. This raises questions about not only the changing meaning of news, but the changing meaning of journalism as a profession. What does it mean when a profession with specialized training and education is now being practiced by comedians whose main form of training was learning quick changes for live comedy sketches, or how to deal with audience hecklers? Although the evidence of this paper shows that these comedians are able to draw on the norms of journalistic interviewing, do they have the same larger concerns and ideals of a typical journalist, or are they bringing new concerns to the table? Do they understand themselves as journalists of a sort, or see themselves as beholden to the public, or are ratings and laughs the bigger priority?

While this research has shown that these entertainers and comedians are be able to pick up the tools of journalism in their interviews, they are also not fully constrained by them, and in fact the affordances of the talk show may give them new tools with which to pursue politicians.

In the Jay Leno and Michelle Bachmann exchange in chapter four he presses her on her anti-gay stance, but he does so using tools that would be totally unavailable to the classically trained journalist. Personalization gives talk show hosts an extra piece of leverage that journalists almost never employ. Bachman struggles to push back against Leno's experiences and opinions in a way that she might not have struggled with a typically neutralistic news interview. Although this project does not look at *The Daily Show* or Jon Stewart as an interviewer, in chapter one it does review the enormous amount of literature that arose from the idea that there was something different about both the show and the interviewer. One of the things that Jon Stewart does in his interviews that make them stand out is the consistent use of personalization, married with a more adversarial style rising from the show's origins as a parody of a news program more than a traditional talk show. It is in part this use of personalization, of his opinions and personal experiences, which allowed Stewart to build a reputation as an aggressive, incisive interviewer. The possibility of using personalization to pursue a point means that talk show hosts can press where journalists may not be able. A limitation does exist in terms of what hosts have personal access to, it is doubtful that most talk show hosts have personal experience relating to more subtle aspects of trade policy or the debt ceiling. However, while this tool maybe limited to certain topics (different perhaps for each host), it does place additional pressure on political guests that they might not be fully prepared to handle.

Therefore, the political guest may face additional pressures and new challenges, not only in terms of being pressed in new ways on their politics, but in terms of needing to appeal in a format designed to showcase personality not policy. However, as discussed in chapter one, this is considered an advantage for many modern politicians who are eager to showcase their personalities and selves, which would not otherwise be revealed in a dry policy discussion. For those politicians who are able to easily adapt to this format (Obama for instance, Trump for

another), it offers great benefits, allowing them to connect with voters in ways that would have been difficult in the past. Of course, for politicians who may be less able in this format (Hillary Clinton or Ted Cruz perhaps), the new requirements of the modern campaign may seem less of an advantage and more of a challenge.

Another possible advantage for politicians appearing on talk shows, is the chance, like all public figures, to use these programs for image repair. Just as Bill Clinton appeared managed to right a sinking campaign with his 1992 saxophone performance, other politicians have tried, including Rick Perry's 2011 attempt to come back from forgetting the third part of a three part list during a debate by appearing on *The Late Show* (Collins 2011). It seems likely that the hosts of entertainment programs have the freedom to offer forgiveness or an upside, in a way that journalists cannot, which could explain the popularity of talk shows for celebrities and politicians seeking a reparative interview. By being able to frame their absolution of the error as a personal opinion, entertainment interviewers have resources that journalists, who are bound to standards of neutrality, do not. Further, the norm of congeniality may make hosts more likely to offer this absolution, while the norm of adversarialness makes it likely that journalists would withhold such absolution, even if the norm of neutralism would allow them to offer it. As such, these reparative interviews are a unique affordance of the talk show environment.

These ideas raise the possibility of several potential paths that future research could take to expand the findings of this project and begin to answer the questions it raises. One space for further research would be to look at other areas where norms might be blended, such as the morning program. Some research has already begun to look at this (Cleary and Adams-Bloom 2009, Roca-Cuberes 2014), although not exploring the interviews with the type of coding scheme presented here. Morning programs are hosted by people with a mixture of backgrounds, but many with news backgrounds, and yet they are also expected to offer something lighter than

traditional news fare. Using the coding scheme presented in this project it would be interesting to see where these interviews fall in relationship to other forms of news, or to talk show interviews. Do these journalists draw purely on news norms, or do they draw on talk show norms as well? If so that would make an interesting comparison case to talk show hosts interviewing politicians, as interviewers who are trained in talk show norms, but draw, on as this project has shown, also news norms.

Another possible place to see journalists trained in news interviewing faced with this type of challenge would be to find cases of interviews from standard news programs where non-political guests, particularly celebrity guests, are interviewed (for instance politically involved celebrities like Rosario Dawson, Angelina Jolie, or Susan Sarandon). While it has been shown that interviewers adapt their behavior based on the type of guest (Montgomery 2008), the question still remains if a journalist in this situation is drawing specifically on the norms of talk show interviewing, that is treating the guest with a particular set of norms associated with their status as happens with politicians across genres, or merely softening the norms of news interviewing to accommodate a guest with lower stakes.

Another context that has the beginnings of an interesting body of research exploring it is the partisan talk show, such as those found on FOX or MSNBC (Baym 2013b, Hutchby 2011a, Hutchby 2011b, Hutchby 2013). One possible question is if the two "sides" of American politics use the same blend of interviewing practices, or if there is variation. Likewise it would be interesting to compare how interviews in each context are done with guests who are both aligned with the partisan affiliation of the network, and opposed. Are there differences in interviewing practices, and if so what are they?

Finally, returning to the talk show, celebrity talk shows are now a regular part of the election landscape, but until 1992 political guests did not appear on these types of programs.

Another place for future research would be a longitudinal study looking at the rise of these types of interviews. On the one hand, merely charting the rise in frequency can give some insight into when they became standard, but another possible level would be to examine the practices of interviewing during this twenty-five year span. Did the very first talk show interviews with politicians rely on news interviewing practices, or did these practices become more a part of the talk show host's repertoire as they became expected to do the work of a political gatekeeper, acting on behalf of the public? Both finding that hosts instantly applied news norms to political guests, and finding that there was some sort of rise in this practice would give insight into how news norms are mobilized.

One way to understand this enterprise is as an attempt to map the interactional platforms that constitute the contemporary mediated public sphere, and in this way shed light on the norms that shape and constrain participation and public discourse. Public discourse can take many forms, but broadcast talk remains one of the most fundamental and by understanding the various affordances and constraints of its many formats we are presented with the opportunity to learn about the media industry, about political communication, and about human communication more broadly. To understand the formats that shape our modern political discourse is to gain insight into possibilities and limitations of our abilities to make decisions as a nation.

Each of these potential projects suggests one way that news and entertainment might be shifting as technology and culture shifts. The 2016 election cycle has illustrated how important it is for scholars and commentators to be aware of the ways in which these shifts allow for different modes of communication, and different political actors to thrive. As entertainment becomes more important we move away from a world where those who are uneasy in front of the camera, and who lack the ability to talk about their personal lives and opinions can succeed in the political sphere. Whether or not they "want to have a beer" with the candidates, part of the process for

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voters is now forming a para-social relationship their candidate. Understanding the changing

genres of television is just one part of this picture, as twitter, snapchat, and other forms of more

instantaneous communication are also playing a large role in politics. This project has tried to

give some insight into our changing media world, but it is an ever-expanding topic and the work

of several lifetimes awaits.

APPENDIX - CODE BOOK

Organizational - Pink

These codes are designed to specify what program or show is being coded, which specific interview, what type of guest is on the show, and what line number is being coded.

Show

Code each show with the correct number, as listed below.

1 – The Daily Show
2 – Ellen
3 – Letterman
4 – Leno
5 – The View
6 – Anderson Cooper 360
7 – Face the Nation
8 – Fareed Zakaria GPS
9 – John King
10 – Meet the Press
11 – Situation Room
12 – This Week

Interview Number

This column should be filled in with the interview number which is marked at the top of the transcript and in the video file title.

Guest Type

Code each guest type based on the list below.

1 – Presidential Candidate   6 – Comedian
2 – Elected Official   7 – Musician
3 – Former Elected Official   8 – Other Celebrity
4 – Non-elected political figure   9 – Two guests
5 – Actor

1 - Only count guests that are *currently* running as Presidential candidates, if they ran earlier in the season but are no longer running code according to if they hold office, or used to hold office. If neither code as 4.

2 - Likewise only *currently* elected officials count towards code 2 (count officials who have been elected, but not yet inaugurated in this category).

3 - Any political figure that was once elected (or appointed to a cabinet level position), but no longer holds official political office should be counted in category 3 (unless appointed to another office, eg DNC/RNC chairs). If they were once in the line of presidential succession they belong here, rather than category four.

4 – Non-elected political figures include think tank employees, activists, those appointed to a political office (Examples, Grover Norquist, Sandra Fluke, Reince Priebus). In this category include former appointed officials as well, (eg Michael Steele). Do not include anyone currently in the line of presidential succession, they should be included in 2.

5 – Actors not working in a political capacity would be included here, IE Kal Penn working for the Obama administration goes in category 4, Kal Penn promoting a new Harold and Kumar goes here. If an actor is also known as a comedian, or a musician use your judgment in deciding what category to place them. If they are promoting an acting project, chose acting. If they are promoting two projects chose the role for which you think they are best known (Eg, Zooey Deschanel on Leno is promoting both an album and a show, but is best known as a actor so is categorized as number 5).

6 – If an actor is known as primarily a comedic actor place them here.

7 – This category is for those best known as musicians. If an actor also performs music but is best known for their acting place in 5, unless they are here to promote only their music. Likewise if a musician sometimes acts, but is best known for their music place here unless only promoting an acting project.

8 – Any famous person not known primarily for politics, acting, singing, or comedy should be placed here. Reality TV stars go here.

9 - If there are two guests (eg a politician and his wife, an actor and her husband) code only the main guest. This also includes first guests that stay for the second interview on Leno, code only the second/main guest. If there is more than one main guest, but they all can be coded with the same code do that (eg two or more actors from the same film get a 5). If two different types of guest appear that are not the same type of guest (not including first guests who stay for the next interview on Leno/Letterman) code with 9.

Line Number

Code first line of relevant turn if more than one line.

Line number are on left side of transcript.

If this is the second codable on the line mark with .2 (eg, first instance = 100, second instance = 100.2, third instance = 100.3, and so on).

Notes: - Do not code hellos, but do code how are yous.
    - Don't code outros directed purely at audience. If they are directed towards guest code them.
    - Don't code interrupted/incomplete turns. It's all right if there is overlap and the first speaker comes to completion, but don't code partial turns.

Pol – Is this in the context of political talk?

1 – Yes
2 – Yes, but this is a non-political aside
3 – No, but this is a political aside
4 - No

If the topic of the turn or surrounding talk is about politics code as 1. Examples include: questions about the campaign, questions about former or current political office, questions about political policies, questions about past votes or policies, questions about other politicians. Minimal non-political jokes should go in this category.

If the topic cannot be defined as political (questions about the family, favorite foods and movies, childhood stories, adventures, media preferences) code as 0.

IR or IE Turn: Interviewer or Interviewee Turn

1 – Turn Initial Token   – Go to **Periwinkle** Section
2 – Interviewer Initiation   – Go to **Green** Section
3 – Interviewer Response   – Go to **Blue** Section
4 – Interviewee Initiation   – Go to **Purple** Section
5 – Interviewee Response   – Go to **Purple** Section
6 – Laughter   – Go to **Yellow** Section
7 – Talk to non-guest   – Go to **Orange** Section

1 – If the interviewer uses a turn initial token before starting a longer turn code as 1 and move to the periwinkle section. Examples include turn initial continuers, agreements, and assessments. Code the rest of the turn separately.

2 – If the interviewer initiates a new action code as 2 and move to the green section. Examples would be asking a question, or making a statement.

3 – If the interviewer is responding the guest mark as 3 and move to the blue section. Examples include responding to questions and telling second stories in responses to a guest's first story. Other examples include continuers (mmhm, uh huh, etc), agreements (I agree, yes), and assessments (wow) to a story in progress. If these occur but are immediately followed by a question or statement that goes beyond their action (eg, Wow, so do you like working with him?) code this as a 1.

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4 – If an interviewee initiates code with 4, and move to the purple section. This includes asking questions or making statements on a new course of action from the previous turn.

5 – Interviewee response. In this category only include response tokens such as mmhm, uh huh, I agree, wow, that are delivered to an in-progress turn of the hosts or otherwise treat the hosts turn as incomplete (eg, a continuative mmhm followed by nothing else from the guest).

6 – Stand alone laughter from either host, guest, or both (ie not laughter that is interspersed in words) should be coded as a 6, and move to the yellow section.

7 – Either the guest or the host directs their talk to someone other than the other, eg production team/band, or audience, or guests talking to other guests. If so code with 7 and move to the orange section.

These codes are mutually exclusive. If something fits into the yellow section only yellow codes will be applied. Something will not require more than one sections worth of codes, eg you would never use both green and purple coding for the same instance.

Turn Initial Tokens by Interviewer – Periwinkle

Anything coded 1 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

Tokens - Turn Initial Tokens

1 – Continuer
2 – News Receipt
3 – Agreement
4 – Assessment
5 - Disagreement

Anything coded in this column is not to be counted in the number of TCU's for the following turn.

If there is more than one token produced in quick succession ("mmhm mmhm") code as one turn.

1 - For the purposes of this project continuers include: mm, mmhm, uh huh, yeah, all right, and okay. Variations on these also count.

2 - For the purposes of this project new receipts include: Oh, Oh yeah, Oh really, really, and full or partial repeats of the guest's previous turn. Variations on these also count.

3 - For the purposes of this project agreement includes: Yes, Right, I agree.

4 - For the purposes of this project assessment includes: Wow, good, nice, fantastic. Variations on these also count. Also include longer, more expanded assessments prior to a subject change.

5 – Disagreement includes: No, I disagree **Initiating Turns by Interviewer – Green**

Anything coded 2 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

Que Char: Question Characteristics (Last Question)

1 – Straight Interrogative + Question Substitutes
2 – B Event
3 – Declarative assertion
4 – Third party attributed
9 – Not Applicable

If there is more than one question or statement in a turn code only the last question. Remember, last question not last TCU.

1 – If the question is a straight interrogative (such as a wh-question like, "What do you like about working at Columbia," or a polar or yes/no question like, "Do you like working at Columbia") code with a 1. Also code with a 1 for question substitutes such as "Tell us about working at Columbia."

2 – A b event statement is a statement about something primarily in the recipient's epistemic domain or area of knowledge. An example would be, "You like working at Columbia" or "You work at Columbia." This invites the recipient to expand. Code these with 2.

3 – Declarative assertions such as "I worked at Columbia" or "I like that you work at Columbia" are coded with 3.

4 – Third party attributed statements credit their content to an outside source. Examples include, "Experts have said your plan will cause hardship to the poor" or "The Senator says your idea is flawed." These are coded with 4.

9 – If none of the above categories apply code with 9.

If 1, 2, or 4 move to #Pre and answer all following questions

If 3 move to #TCU and fill in 0 for #Pre, #Post, #Que

 # Pre: Number of TCU's in the preface

0 – No preface
1 and up – number in preface

A question preface is any information that proceeds the question, either providing context for the question or shading the meaning of the question. An example would be, "Columbia has had plummeting sales numbers in the last year. You work at Columbia." The first sentence is the preface and the second is a B event statement.

A question that is quite different from the last question is not counted as part of the preface, but if it is a question cascade where the questions are versions of each other (narrowing the scope of the question for instance) it should be counted as a preface TCU.

Video clip quotes prior to questions should be counted in the preface.

0 – Code with a 0 if there is no preface. Also code 0 if Que Char was 3.

1 and up – If there is a preface count the number of TCU's in the preface.

Post: Number of TCU's in the postface

0 – No postface
1 and up – number in the post face

A question postface is any information that follows the question, either providing context for the question or shading the meaning of the question. An example would be, "You work at Columbia. Columbia's sales numbers have been plummeting in the last year." The first sentence is a B event statement and the second is the postface.

0 – Code with a 0 if there is no postface. Also code 0 if Que Char was 3.

1 and up – If there is a postface count the number of TCU's in the postface.

Que: Number of Questions

0 – no question or question substitute
1 – only one question
2 – more than one question

Is there more than one question or question substitute, if so code as 2, if only one code as 1. Code 0 if Que Char was 3, if 0 and Que Char was not 3, reevaluate.

A question that is quite different from the last question is counted as a second question rather than part of the preface, but if it is a question cascade where the questions are versions of each other (narrowing the scope of the question for instance) it should be counted as a preface TCU and not a second question.

TCU: Total number of TCU's in turn

What is the total number of TCU's in the coded turn? This includes preface, postface, and question or statements.

Experience: Draws on Personal experience in creating question or statement

0 – No
1 – Yes

In taking the turn does the host draw on personal experience or opinion? Examples could include, "I love Columbia," "I would hate to work at Columbia," "I used to work at Columbia." If they do this mark with a 1, if not mark with a 0.

Restrict coding to only instances of personal pronoun use, do not include general assessments like "That was brave."

Formulaic institutional references to the show (Thanks for being with us) should not be counted, but plurals that are not institutional should still be counted.

Avoid formulaic turns like "I mean" or "Can I ask you" or "Let me ask you."

However, more cognitive turns like "I was wondering" or "it occurred to me" should be counted.

Do not include formulaic uses of "thinking," but do include if the host is expressing an opinion.

Code "I know," and "I don't know" on a case by case basis.

Do code evidentials like, "I heard" or "I read."

Previous Relationship: Mentions Previous Relationship with Guest

0 – No
1 – In context of Show
2 – Outside Show

Does the host mention a previous relationship with the guest in their turn. Examples include, "Last time you were on the show..." "When you were at my house..." or mentions of events they've done together, or being facebook friends.

Mark 0 if this does not happen, 1 if the only mentions involve previous visits to the show, 2 if there are mentions of meetings outside the show. If both show and non-show references occur in the same turn code as 2.

Praise: Praise of Guest or Product/Policy

0 – No
1 – Yes, personally framed
2 – No frame
3 – Other framed

Praise of guest occurs when the host says something positive about either the guest, or the product they are promoting, or past projects. Examples include things like, "I love your movie," "Here's one of the best actors out there," "Did you like filming this movie, because I just think it's so funny."

0 – If no praise mark with a 0.

1 – If the praise is personally famed (eg, "I love your new film") code as 1.

2 – If there is no frame (eg, "This film is great") code as 2.

3 – If the praise is framed as coming from another source (eg, "I've heard this film is great," "The New York Times said this film is one of the best of the year") code with 3.

Don't worry if praise appears to be a joke/non serious just code according to the surface content.

Criticism: Critism of Guest or Product/Policy

0 – No
1 – Yes, personally framed
2 – No frame
3 – Other framed

Criticism of guest occurs when the host says something negative about either the guest, or the product they are promoting, or past projects. Examples include things like, "I didn't like your movie," "Here's one of the worst actors out there," "Did you like filming this movie, because I just think it's so dull."

0 – If no criticism mark with a 0.

1 – If the criticism is personally famed (eg, "I hate your new film") code as 1.

2 – If there is no frame (eg, "This film is awful") code as 2.

3 – If the criticism is framed as coming from another source (eg, "I've heard this film is terrible," "The New York Times said this film is one of the worst of the year") code with 3.

Don't worry if criticism appears to be a joke/non serious just code according to the surface content.

H Th – Host Thanks Guest during initiating turn

0 – No
1 – Yes

If the host thanks the guest code with a 1, if no thank you is present code with a 0. This code should be used along with other codes in the green column.

Include other ways of doing thanks, such as appreciations ("how sweet") in this code.

Responsive Turns by Interviewer – Blue

Anything coded 3 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

Continuer: Mm, mmhm, uh huh, yeah, all right, okay

0 – No
1 – Yes

For the purposes of this project continuers include: mm, mmhm, uh huh, yeah, all right, and okay. Variations on these also count.

If there are two or more continuers produced back to back as one turn, count these as one. If there is a pause, such that allows more talk from the guest or a noticeable silence count them separately.

0 – If no continuer is present

1 – If a continuer (or two or more in close proximity) is present.

News Receipt: Oh, Oh yeah, Really, Repeats

0 – No
1 – Yes

For the purposes of this project new receipts include: Oh, Oh yeah, Oh really, really, and full or partial repeats of the guest's previous turn. Variations on these also count.

If there are two or more news receipts produced back to back as one turn, count these as one. If there is a pause, such that allows more talk from the guest or a noticeable silence count them separately.

0 – If no news receipt is present

1 – If a news receipt (or two or more in close proximity) is present.

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Agree: Yes, I agree, Right

0 – No
1 – Yes

For the purposes of this project agreement includes: Yes, Right, I agree. Variations on these also count. Also include longer, more expanded agreements here.

If there are two or more agreements produced back to back as one turn, count these as one. If there is a pause, such that allows more talk from the guest or a noticeable silence count them separately.

0 – If no agreement is present

1 – If an agreement (or two or more in close proximity) is present.

Assess: Wow, Good, Nice, Fantastic

0 – No
1 – Yes

For the purposes of this project assessment includes: Wow, good, nice, fantastic. Variations on these also count. Also include longer, more expanded assessments here.

If there are two or more assessments produced back to back as one turn, count these as one. If there is a pause, such that allows more talk from the guest or a noticeable silence count them separately.

0 – If no assessment is present

1 – If an assessment (or two or more in close proximity) is present.

Co-Construction: Co-chorals, co-completion, inferences

0 – No
1 – Yes

For the purposes of this project co-construction include: co-chorals (saying a guest's turn along with them), co-completions (finishing a guest's turn with or for them), and inferences (drawing out the implication of a guest's turn, eg, "So you loved it.")

Count the different types separately even if the occur close to one another. One except to this would be a co-choral that doesn't match and might therefore be seen as a co-completion, count this as a single event.

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0 – If no co-construction is present

1 – If co-construction is present.

2nd Stories: Responsive stories

2nd Stories: Responsive stories

0 – No
1 – Yes

0 – code as 0 if no story is present

1 – Code as 1 if a second story is present. Second stories are stories told in response to a guest's first story. An example might be a guest telling a story about a hard time they had traveling, and a host following up with a story about a traveling incident of their own.

Answering Questions

Code by providing the number of TCU's in the answer. An answer can be very short ("Yes") or long (stories for instance).

The answering questions code can be used along with other codes such as agreeing/assessing. Code with both if appropriate. Note: this does not apply to continuer code which should only be used when a guest's turn is incomplete, or treated as such.

H Th – Host Thanks Guest during responsive turns

0 – No
1 – Yes

If the host thanks the guest code with a 1, if no thank you is present code with a 0. This code can be used along with the answering questions code.

If the thank you is stand alone it most likely belongs here, but take sequential position into account.

Include other ways of doing thanks, such as appreciations ("how sweet") in this code.

Guest Actions – Purple

Anything coded 4 or 5 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

_____

G Que: Guest Initiating Action

0 – No
1 – Straight Interrogative + Question Substitutes
2 – B Event
3 – Declarative assertion
4 – Third party attributed
9 – Not Applicable

Guest initiating actions include any turn that is directed at the host, requiring a response from them. This includes repair ("What did you say?") or questions for other purposes ("Did you like my movie"), it can also include statements ("The show is really good tonight").

Code as initiating if it clearly interdicts a question or turn in progress from the host.

0 – Code with a 0 if there is no guest initiating action (Note if you coded with a 3 for the "IR or IE turn" category you should not be able to code a 0 here).

1 – If the question is a straight interrogative (such as a wh-question like, "What do you like about working at Columbia," or a polar or yes/no question like, "Do you like working at Columbia") code with a 1. Also code with a 1 for question substitutes such as "Tell us about working at Columbia."

2 – A b event statement is a statement about something primarily in the recipient's epistemic domain or area of knowledge. An example would be, "You like working at Columbia" or "You work at Columbia." This invites the recipient to expand. Code these with 2.

3 – Declarative assertions such as "I worked at Columbia" or "I like that you work at Columbia" are coded with 3.

4 – Third party attributed statements credit their content to an outside source. Examples include, "The New York Times says you work at Columbia" or "I've heard that you like working at Columbia." These are coded with 4.

9 – If none of the above categories apply code with 9.

_____

G P R: Guest Mentions Previous Relationship

0 – No mention of previous relationship

1 – Mentions a previous relationship in the context of the show

2 – Mentions a previous relationship outside of the show

This code can apply to things coded either 3 or 4 in the IR or IE turn code, ie either initiating or responsive actions from guests.

If there is no mention of previous relationship code with 0. If there is a mention of a previous relationship due to a prior visit to the show code as 1 ("That's what you said last time I was here!"). If there is a mention of a previous relationship outside the show code as 2 ("When you and I were in that movie together we had so much fun."). If it is ambiguous or unstated code as 1.

G Praise: Guest Praise or Criticism of Host or Show

0 – Neither
1 – Praise
2 – Criticism

0 – If there is no evaluation of the host or show code with a 0.

1 - Praise of guest occurs when the host says something positive about either the guest, or the product they are promoting, or past projects. Examples include things like, "I love your movie," "Here's one of the best actors out there," "Did you like filming this movie, because I just think it's so funny." Code this with a 1.

2 - Criticism of guest occurs when the host says something negative about either the guest, or the product they are promoting, or past projects. Examples include things like, "I didn't like your movie," "Here's one of the worst actors out there," "Did you like filming this movie, because I just think it's so dull." Code this with a 2.

Don't worry if either praise or criticism appears to be a joke/non serious just code according to the surface content.

This code can apply to things coded either 3 or 4 in the IR or IE turn code, ie either initiating or responsive actions from guests.

G Response: Guest Response Tokens (mmhm, I agree, wow, co-completion)

0 – No
1 – Yes

0 – If a guest does not respond to an in progress host turn with a response token code with 0 (Note if you coded with a 4 for the "IR or IE turn" category you should not be able to code a 0 here).

1 – A response token is a continuer, news receipt, agreement or assessment, and co-construction.

For the purposes of this project continuers include: mm, mmhm, uh huh, yeah, all right, and okay. Variations on these also count.

For the purposes of this project new receipts include: Oh, Oh yeah, Oh really, really, and full or partial repeats of the guest's previous turn. Variations on these also count.

For the purposes of this project agreement and assessment include: Yes, Right, I agree, wow, good, nice, fantastic. Variations on these also count.

For the purposes of this project co-construction include: co-chorals (saying a guest's turn along with them), co-completions (finishing a guest's turn with or for them), and inferences (drawing out the implication of a guest's turn, eg, "So you loved it.")

If there are two or more response tokens produced back to back as one turn, count these as one. If there is a pause, such that allows more talk from the guest or a noticeable silence count them separately.

G Th – Guest Thanks Host

0 – No
1 – Yes

If the guest thanks the host code with a 1, if no thank you is present code with a 0.

Include other ways of doing thanks, such as appreciations ("how sweet") in this code.

Laughter – Yellow

Anything coded 6 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

Note: Only code standalone laughter, do not include laugh tokens in words. However, do code laughter that either proceeds or follows a turn.

Audience laughter will not be coded.

If it is an example of co-laughter, code from the first line of laughter from either party.

1 – Host Laughter
2 – Guest and Host co-Laughter
3 – Guest Laughter
4 – Multiple Guest co-laughter

1 – If the host laughs without accompaniment from the guest code as 1.

2 – If the host laughs and the guest laughs along (either at the same time or in response) or vice versa code as 2.

3 – If the guest laughs without accompaniment from the host code as 3.

4 – Guests laugh together, but without the host. If the host joins in the laughter session code instead as 2.

Talking to Non-Guests – Orange

Anything coded 7 in the "IR or IE Turn" category falls into this section and no others.

IR non G: Interviewer talks to non-guest

0 – No IR talk to non-guest
1 – Talks to production team/band
2 – Talks to Audience

Only include turns that are directed primarily to someone other than the guest. If the guest is the main recipient of the talk go back to the green section.

0 – Code as 0 if the interviewer does not direct talk to someone other than the guest.

1 – Code as 1 if the host talks to their production team, another host or band.

2 – Code as 2 if the host talks to the audience directly.

IR Ch: Characteristics of IR Turn

If the previous code is 1 (IR not G) code for these characteristics; if it is 0, code this as 0 as well.

0 – If non of the following codes apply code as 0

1 – If the host praises the guest

2 – if the host criticizes the guest

3 – if there is a mention of a previous relationship either on the show or outside the show

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IE non G: Interviewee talks to non-guest

0 – No IE talk to non-guest
1 – Talks to production team/band
2 – Talks to Audience
3 – Talks to other Guests

Only include turns that are directed primarily to someone other than the host. If the host is the main recipient of the talk go back to the purple section.

0 – Code as 0 if the guest does not direct talk to someone other than the host.

1 – Code as 1 if the guest talks to the production team or band.

2 – Code as 2 if the guest talks to the audience directly.

3 – Code as 3 if the guest talks primarily to other guests.

IE Ch: Characteristics of IE Turn

If the previous code is 1 (IE not G) code for these characteristics; if it is 0, code this as 0 as well.

0 – If none of the following codes apply code as 0

1 – If the guest praises the host

2 – if the guest criticizes the host

3 – if there is a mention of a previous relationship either on the show or outside the show

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Timing - Pink

Length of Interview

In this section the timing of the interview is provided in seconds.

Timing starts from the first turn at talk directed to the audience (this excludes introductions before guest arrives on stage, and semi-private hellos between guest and host that are drowned out by music).

Timing ends with last comment directed to audience (often reference to commercial break).

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