The Role of Prosodic Features in Showing Interactional Negotiation among Participants in Selected American Political Interviews

ABSTRACT

In this study the relationship between prosodic features and interactional relations, turn taking, and sequence organization has been investigated. In any speech situation there are particular prosodic cues used by the speakers in communication to have their turns. These cues are just like signals to tell others that the speaker is having his/her turn in speech. The researcher has investigated the expected signals determined by the speakers and recognized by the listeners to have turns. It is significant to show that some prosodic patterns reveal the turn completion or continuation. It is hypothesized that prosodic orientation like intonation, pitch register, and stress patterns display information about participants whether they have matching and non-matching of a previous turn. The repeated use of the same pitch height shows that the participants have an agreement about a particular situation. Two selected interviews are analysed using the strategy of opening and closing conversation, as well as discussion part and question-answer pairs. The prosodic analysis is carried out by using a computer program called Praat for doing acoustic analysis following E. Couper-Kuhlen’s model. It is concluded that prosodic orientation presents a remarkable background domain to reveal information about participants’ interaction. It is not only used in collaboration with other conversational accomplishments, but it represents an interactional domain in its own realm.

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.25130/jtuh.28.1.2021.25
1. Introduction

The use of prosody in interaction is employed by participants to reveal their reactions to each other in communication. It is used to convey information in different communication contexts. Therefore, participants can create changes in pitch or rhythm to show the end, beginning of a turn, or make interruption. Reed (2011:13) clarifies that in many varieties of English, prosody as well as other interactional resources are used to give indication that turn-related activities can be formulated easily according to the intention of the participants. Many studies like (Local et al., 1985, 1986; Wells and Peppe, 1996) have supported their investigation with actual analysis of speech in different situations. The most prominent prosodic features which are associated with turn taking are pitch, intonation, and stress patterns. There are certain prosodic patterns which are used either to act as turn starting or ending, but actually in communication participants can employ a various norm of patterns related to turn taking activity. It is one aspect of turn-taking that can be completely or always be related to prosody which is called participant’s ‘split-second precision’ in the way of timing or choosing the exact time for naming the beginning of their next turn as a previous speaker has completed his/her speech (Jefferson, 1973). According to Couper-Kuhlen (1993),
the ability to cooperate in using speech rhythm among participants frequently lies in ‘split-next precision’. In her work about rhythm, she has observed that some rhythmic patterns can be maintained by next speakers. If a first speaker starts with a particular rhythmic pattern the next one continues with the same pattern. For example if a next speaker makes stressed syllable on the first rhythmic pattern, it can be equivalent to the one initiated by first speaker.

The news interview is a distinctive genre of interaction. It belongs to identifiable genre of broadcast talk. Public figures (politician) or journalist are interviewed and have a discussion about specific topics, and to have an influence on the audience. So it is not very relevant to the ordinary conversation especially in the selection of topics and distribution of roles, but at the same time the nature of interaction can be directed by the participants in the interviews to a certain extent (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 7).

1.1 Prosody and Sequence Organization

Research in interactional linguistics has explored the relationship between prosody and sequence organization not only in terms of the continuity or finality of participant’s turn but recognized many further details. It seems that interactional linguists approve that beginning of a new sequence is associated with a rising tone, or high pitch or a change in the rhythmic pattern (Reed, 2011:14). However in her research about new beginnings Couper-Kuhlen (2004) has observed that new conversational sequence is connected with high pitch or large shifts in pitch, whereas a sequence continuation is almost equivalent to the previously established pitch register.

1.2 Prosody and Interactional Negotiation

It is interesting to focus on the role prosodic patterns plays in the participants’ collaborative completion of conversational activities. Throughout exploring the literature written about interactional linguistics it is found out that many studies have dealt with single issues of prosodic patterns to convey specific actions. Freese and Maynard (1998), for instance, have studied the prosodic features related to
sending and receiving good and bad news. Couper-Kuhlen (1996), on the other hand, has distinguished participants’ recognition and distinction between “prosodically quoting and mimicking another speaker”. Ulmann (1996) also has investigated prosodic features which are associated with assessment sequences in talk-in-interaction in the German language. Therefore prosody can be considered to be valid universally among participants’ conversational activity in the concept of interactional negotiation. Some salient examples of second-position turns reflect the continuity in the pitch register, stress patterns, and lengthening especially in adjacency-pairs that requires a rigid and direct reaction from the receiver. Other prosodic features can also be associated but that depends on the nature of the data and the interaction as well as the context in which participants are engaged in.

1.3 Acoustic-prosodic Analysis

A number of prosodic features are selected for analysis, namely intonation, syllable lengthening and stress patterns, considering them to have effect on how informative and efficient reflections are formed by the listener as a result of using them accurately by the speaker. The selected features are related to each other, but are not identical, some features require integration with other conversational activities others can convey explicit meaning for example, high pitch, therefore each extract is analyzed according to the previous context to which it belongs. Praat acoustic program is selected to show acoustic details for each utterance. It is a free software program and can be downloaded at www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/.

1.4 Political language and Political Interviews

Political speech constitutes a major domain of language use. Researchers have paid much attention to political language because it is rich with different types of conversational activities in interaction. Politics can work as a documentary of facts including both domestic and foreign issues (Goffman, 1986). The media can create lively, influential and flexible tools to produce news by using interactions with public figures in political news interviews (Goffman, 1986; Montgomery, 2007). News interviews can be defined as “information about current or recent events,
happenings, or changes taking place outside the immediate purview of the audience and which is considered to be of likely interest or concern to them”. The language used in the interviews is used as a significant device for persuasion, for this reason politicians utilize appropriate linguistic resources in their political discussion and impose authority in the political arguments (Aristotle, 2012).

In the discussion a politician is predominantly has the main target in telling the audience about his/her plans, and opinions concerning specific issues. Political speech is an oral presentation by which the politician hopes to influence the public (Montgomery, 2007). According to Nauckūnaitė (2007), politics can be an emotional subject, which involves arguments that have a strong effect on the mind and feelings. In addition, political speech depends on paralinguistic such as body language, facial expression, gesture, dress, and voice quality, which are important in the flow of speech that involves face to face communication. According to Antczak, Coggins, and Klinger (2002), political speech is a collection of spoken sounds, which carry the thoughts and prosodic features that give power to the politician’s speech (Antczak et al., 2002). Bourdieu (1991) claims that

“we are aware of the many ways in which linguistic exchanges can express relations of power. We are sensitive to the variation accent, intonation, and vocabulary which reflect different positions in the social hierarchy. We are aware that individuals speak with differing degrees of authority, that words are loaded with unequal weights, depending on who utters them and how they are said, such that some words uttered in certain circumstances have force and conviction that they would not have elsewhere”

1.5 Interviewee Identities and Interview Genres
Clayman and Heritage (2002: 68) denote that most elements of ordinary conversation can be fulfilled by interaction between two participants. However, in political or news interview there is a substance to follow. In most instances openings display the forthcoming topic of the discussion and who will be the speaker; whereas some openings give preliminaries about form of the discussion and how it will be implemented. Several genres are there which are related to interview discourse, and hence audience members can guess the nature and type of the interview to observe and follow by recognizing the way in which the interviewees are introduced. Although interviews are commonly presented as having the authority to discuss, comment, and argue on the subject matter, “authority is not a binary, all-or-nothing characteristic”.

Stangert (2005: 340) observes that in political interview the speaker seems very fluent and there are variations in the use of her/his tempo and some pauses are inserted frequently. In addition to those variations the overall speech is dynamic and is associated with tonal and loudness categories which are utilized to emphasize specific positions of speech. The style is generally energetic, lively, and direct, and the listener will have the impression of being very committed and a convincing speaker is having rather a rich rhetoric repertoire at his/her role. The speaker’s rhetoric role includes prosodic and other expressions. Some examples are repetitions in forms in which prosody plays the major role in having an effect on the listener. There are some factors that can determine the speaker’s role in the reduction of the interviewer’s interruption. These factors can be power, or skills of the speaker which are devoted for the purpose of the discussion. Political discussions are generally argumentative, and rich with changes in prosody and other interactional attitudes.

1.6 Openings and Closings
Conversation includes particular patterns of starting and closing. These patterns are different from one context to another. Most researchers in conversation analysis have focused on opening and closing in telephone calls. In telephone calls, for instance, as Schegloff(1968) has observed it is the recipient(answerer) who talks first then the caller speaks. Telephone call opening and closing provide an essential and useful framework for further exploration in other talk contexts. A regular framework in the opening of conversation occurs in telephone calls in the sense that there is a limitation in talk category ".. a small set of possible utterances". Linell(1998: 188) says that “topics are always in motion, in a constant flux”, so topics are based on the notion of 'responsive-initiative principle'. Therefore topics need 'maintenance' and 'progression' and that is through discussion of 'initiation' and 'response'. Some backchannels or 'response tokens' are necessary for the sequence and continuity of talk, like hm, oh, yes, etc.

However Clayman and Heritage (2002: 58) have clarified the nature of interaction in the interviews as:

“Interviews are prearranged for the benefit of an overhearing audience, interaction within them is comparatively formal and impersonal, and should be completed within a fixed time limit. Given these special and in some respects peculiar circumstances, special work is required to launch a news interview and to bring it to a close. At the same time, because opening and closing practices here are so very distinctive, they combine to mark the interaction at its boundaries as something other than a casual conversation, as in essence a distinctive genre of media discourse.”

So it is the institutional environment which can determine (to a certain extent) the interview pattern. It is the role of the participants to make adaptation for the context and the events in which they are dealing with as well as the topics raised. There are brief interactional episodes at the beginning of opening a conversation, or a
tradition followed by an interviewer and it is supposed to be adopted by the
interviewee, but that cannot be identical in all interviews. It depends on the context,
topic of discussion and the interviewee personality and style of speech.

2. Methodology

The study of prosody in relation to conversation requires information about
prosodic features and interactional details. Qualitative method of research is
adopted and the selected utterances are analyzed according to integrated model of
analysis related to prosody and interaction. Each utterance is analyzed by using
Praat program as an acoustic-prosodic device.

2.1 The Data

The data for this study come from the recorded political interview for Obama on
American politics and economy in 2015 in The Vox Conversation / part one. The
second interview is Eric Edleman (former Foreign Service Officer) (2017) in:
Conversations with Bill Kristol. The selected utterances are chosen from the
beginning and the discussion part. It is largely based on question/ answer pairs.
Both interviewer and interviewee’s utterances are analyzed selectively. Short
utterances are selected and the long ones are avoided for the benefit of the study
and to be practical in using praat program. The total number of selected utterances
is fifty, twenty five from the first interview and twenty five from the second one.

2.2 Model of Analysis

-Couper-Kuhlen’s Work on Prosody, Sequence Organization and Interaction

Model of analysis for this study is E. Couper-Kuhlen’s (1993) and (2001; 2004)
works on prosody and interaction. It is adopted because it is relevant to the
investigation of prosodic features like pitch, rhythm and stress in relation to
interaction: turn-taking, interactional negotiation, and sequence organization. In her
study of prosody and sequence organization Couper-Kuhlen realizes that the
prosodic events can never be separated from various interactional activities. Prosodic parameters work together to present a particular meaning for the listener or receiver. However, not all prosodic features can be investigated in a single paper, so pitch, intonation, and stress are the main focus of this study. Transcription symbols are not purely phonological ones, rather used in CA context; so general knowledge is required about these symbols.

3. Analysis of Data

-The First interview: Barak Obama’s Interview

In this political interview the interviewer Ezra Klein is asking and arguing about American political and economic status. Obama as interviewee is discussing America's political and policy problems as well as domestic policy and politics.

Extract 1

1 Ezra Klein: How have we got to a point where business can be doing so well but workers don't necessarily SHAre in that prosPErity?

2 Barak Obama: Well (1.33) this has been at least a three-decade-long TREnd;

3 And this was a ↑ MAjor topic in my STAte of the Union address,

4 We ↓obviously (1.25) came in at a time of en ↑ ORmous crIsis,

5 and the FIrst tAsk was making sure we DIDn’t HAve a complete global economic meltdown;

6 Ezra Klein: does that put us in a place where redistribution becomes, in a sense, a poSItive good in and [of itself?

7 Do we need the government playing the role not of POWering the growth engine (1.27)

8 but it is enSURing that enough of the<<l>> gains and(1.65) prosperity is↓ shared;
9 Barak Obama: That's always been the ↓CAse;

10 I DON't think that's entirely ↓ new;

11 The fact of the matter is that relative to our post-war history, TAXes now are not particularly high or PARticularly proGREssive compared to what they were;

12 Ezra Klein: When you drill into that pre-tax↑ PORtion,

13 One thing you can find in W Ages is ↑health-care COSTs?
14 Barak Obama: ↑ YEAH
15 Ezra Klein: Why do you think Americans pay so much↑ HIGHer health-care PRIces than folks in other countries?
16 Barak Obama: Well (1.34) you know there are <<h>> a LOt of theories (2.31) about this issue
17 But I think the evidence points to a COUple of key Factors;
18 One is that we've got a third-party↑ system.
19 Mostly we've got a system where EV'rybody gets their health insurance through their employers
20 Obviously the Affordable Care Act, Obama care, HELps to cover <<l>> the gap for those who aren't in that SYStem;

21 Ezra Klein: What specifically from what you↑ WANted in there originally or
22 what we've learned since it's ACtually been in operation?

23 How would YOU like to see it↑ improved?

24 Barak Obama: Well (1.22) ↓I'm not sure Ezra;

25 that we've got enough years of it being in place to know (0.6) PERfectly what needs to be improved↓ where there's still gaps;”

In the above analysis it is obvious that the transcription symbols used are adopted for showing emic approach which does not require professional knowledge about phonetics and phonology. Rather they are used to show conversation analysis tradition incorporated with prosodic analysis following Couper-Kuhlen model (see appendix 1). So these transcriptions are used to acknowledge prominence of the
syllable: stress; or high pitch, low pitch tone and so on. Analysis of political interviews requires observing and listening carefully to each extract. So both recorded material can be revised from time to time. Hence the researcher surveys the beginning and middle as well as the last part of the interviews; and for practical purposes some lines are selected. However, the interviewer seems to manage the situation in most sequences by using a particular pattern of prosody, but the interviewee intervenes, unexpectedly, to impose his role or opinion in the course of the discussion.

Observe for instance, the first four lines in which Ezra Klein (the interviewer) is asking Obama about workers’ live conditions with a particular emphasis on ‘share and prosperity’ as:

1 Ezra Klein: How have we got to a point where business can be doing so well but workers don’t necessarily **SHAre in that prosPErity**?

Obama, in turn, has a very brief pause then answers with a focus on the words: trend, major, state, and enormous crisis, as having primary stress, as:

2 Barak Obama: Well (1.33) this has been at least a three-decade-long **TREnd**;

3 And this was a ↑ **Maj**or topic in my **STAt**e of the Union address,

4 We ↓ obviously (1.25) came in at a time of **en **↑ **ORmous crI**sis,

5 and the **FIrst tAsk** was making sure we **D**Idn’t **H**Ave a complete global economic meltdown;

Obama here has a prolonged turn, as expected, to support his opinion as well as showing the focus of the talk. In this part intonation is demarcated in relation to particular positions so Ezra Klein ends with rise-to-high tone which is indicated by ‘?’ ‘**SHAre in that prosPErity?’’ Obama answers with fall-to-mid and high-to-
mid tones respectively ‘; ,’ as in: ‘this has been at least a three-decade-long TREnd;’ and ‘MAjor topic in my STAte of the Union address,’

In most positions interviewer and interviewee continue relatively the same pitch pattern. It is observed that most significant parts of interactions come at the end of the turn, particularly those associated with primary stressed words. Some weak syllables occur at the beginning of the turns which have no significant informative part.

-The second interview: Eric Edelman’s Interview

In this political interview, the interviewer Bill Kristol is arguing and asking the interviewee Eric Edelman (former Foreign Service Officer) about different political topics in his political career in TV interview entitled Conversations with Bill Kristol. As a former officer of the USA he held several positions recently as ambassador to Finland, Turkey, and in the White House. Opening part as well as discussion and the end of conversation is included below.

Extract Two

“1 Kristol: Hi I’m Bill Kristol

2 Welcome to converSAtion

3 I’m very pleased to be joined↑ today by my good FriEnD Eric Edelman

4 I really do think one of our ↑ MOST thoughtful<<h>> commentators and analysts of foreign and deFENse policy?

5 Edelman: well Bill (1.55) first of all THAnk you for having me

6 it is a GREAt to be with you for this ↑ConverSAtion

7 Kristol: In the Foreign Service, as an American Foreign Service Officer there.
8 So that’s something people should (1.38) will be interesting to talk about.

9 But let’s begin with ↓Turkey;

10 Edelman: So I may just try and<<h>> FRAME the issue about↑ TURkey in the following sense?

11 One of the MAjor political events of the 20th century was the<<h>> colLApse of the Ottoman EmPIRe, which had been the sick man of Europe<< through the 19th century?

12 Kristol: WAS this immediately after(1.32) in the↑ aftermath of the ↑ World War I?

13 Edelman: This was in the (2.45) ↑yes, this was in the early 1920s. If you read some of the<<h>> WRItings of Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, they will frequently date things from the ↑END of the CALiphate?

14 but TURkey recently comes to be a MEember in of the North Atlantic Treaty a treaty ally of the United States;

15 FOUGHT side by side with us in the↑ KoREAN War;

16 that ex↑PERiment is coming to a close and being undone by the CURrent President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan?

17 Kristol: so that’s a big ↑DEAL

18 Edelman: it’s a big ↑DEAL

19 Kristol: and how far along is this aTEMpt to close that off? How successful was he being? And how↑ WORried should we be about THAT?

20 Edelman: He’s been very↓ successful [in the sense;

21 Kristol: sense that] he took over (1.54) he was↑ eLEcted,
22 Edelman: his PARty was elected in 2020 (1.23) he became PrIme minister in 2003

23 Kristol: well (0.43 ) may be this converSAtion wil help insPIRE a few people to get to work;

24 Edelman: I HOPe so;

25 Kristol: and Thank you Eric for Everything you’ve done as a public SERvant and thank you for TAking the time for this conversation;”

Discussion of Results

From the above analysis it is interesting to shed light on some significant points. In the first interview, Obama is as interviewee and the interviewer is Ezra Klein. It is shown that the atmosphere is very calm and the interviewer gives much opportunity to the interviewee to answer, argue, and even to interrupt in specific contexts. However it is characterized by pauses used as a tool may be to retrieve information. Syllable lengthening and strong or accented syllable are clearly presented and signaled according to Selting et al (1998) conventions of transcription. Couper-Kuhlen (1993) and (2001) is used as a model of analysis which carries much emphasis on prosodic features and their role in clarifying interactional activities. Klein uses very clear attitudes in directing the questions to Obama. The distribution of various prosodic features can be discovered by using different turn-taking positions. Using Praat program makes the task of focusing on specific prosodic features (like pitch) easy. It is possible to observe the frequency of the interview and interviewer that equals pitch register. Observe for instance lines8,9 and 10 as follows:

8 Klein: but it is enSURing that enough of the<<l>> gains and(1.65) prosperity is↓ shared;

9 Barak Obama: That's always been the ↓CAse;

10 I DON’t think that's entirely↓ new;

The end of every turn is falling tone (pitch step -down). The interactional negotiation between Klein and Obama involves matching of a previous turn. However Obama continues in the same prosodic orientation of the interviewer turn.
That is shown clearly in the following figures of praat as acoustic-prosodic analysis:

Figure (1.1) Praat Analysis of Utterance 8 (Klein’s turn)

In the above script it is clear that Klein ends with low pitch register. That is followed by Obama’s turn which continues in the same orientation as:

Figure (1.2) Praat analysis of Us 9 and 10 (Obama’s turn)

The interviewee (Obama) continues in falling pitch which reaches (121.4 Hz) as a fall to mid tone. The blue line in the above figure refers to frequency (which is acoustic category) it is relevant to pitch (which is perceptual category). The yellow one refers to intensity (as an acoustic property) and it is relevant to loudness (which
is perceptual property). Although the above are referred to as matching turns, there still are non-matching turns like lines 23 and 24.

It is so evident also that prolonged turns are attributed to the interviewee and the prevalent pitch register is high one. Most turns start predominantly with high pitch. Some pauses exist in the turns frequently in the middle of utterances like the following:

![Figure (1.3) Praat Analysis of U16 a Turn Associated with a Pause](image)

In the above figure the interviewee is having a pause as is signaled by an arrow to show that participants have pauses to either retrieve or emphasize a subsequent notion.

In comparison with the second interview Eric Edelman as interviewee and Kristol as interviewer the turns are somehow brief and the interviewer presents a different atmosphere less formal than the first interview and some laughter are associated. There exist some matched and non-matched turns. The prosodic orientation is not steady. The rhythmic arrangement of the syllables is predominantly associated with final stressed syllables. Examples of matched turns are line 17 and 18 as:

17 Kristol: so that’s a big ↑DEAL

18 Edelman: it’s a big ↑DEAL
Some non-matching turns are as follows, line 20 ends with fall to mid pitch whereas line 21 ends with rise to high pitch.

20 Edelman: He’s been very↓ successful [in the sense;

21 Kristol: sense that] he took over (1.54) he was↑ eLEcted?

Brief pauses are also presented in the second interview, as it is show in the below figure:

Figure (1.4) Praat Analysis of U14 Edelman’s turn (2nd interview)

It is worth mentioning that praat scripts are randomly selected because it will not be practical to post them all in this study. All utterances are analyzed in praat to prove and support the analysis.

Conclusions

Though out the previous information and discussion it, it is possible to state the following concluding points:

1. Interaction requires cooperation among participants that sort of cooperation is clearly carried out by prosodic orientations which help the participants to reveal their purposes and reactions.

2. Certain pattern of intonation contour (high-high), (low-low) display mutual perspectives between participants, e.g matched turns in the previous lines of
both interviews. That shows an agreement between them upon specific issues.

3. Political interviews require informative as well as argumentative impressions to be drawn by the interviewer who always seeks information from the interviewee. So if a turn requires further speculation he may rephrase his question again for the benefit of the interaction. So continual and prolonged turns are sometimes interrupted by the interviewer, but the interviewee is frequently trying to keep his turn and try to direct the interaction by focusing on the issues from his perspective.

4. Although political interviews are institutional and is predominantly characterized by formality, it is discovered that it is not always so. Some laughter exist, some fun and humor are raised by both participants upon specific issues. So not all parts of discussion are predetermined.

5. Some weak syllables display unnecessary information, whereas stressed syllables carry the main idea of the interview. The rhythmic pattern is prevalently shows stressed syllables which are indicative of high or low pitch accent.

6. Some prosodic features display the participants’ attitudes, e.g., agreement or disagreement. However in political interviews the use of prosodic orientation is noticeably used just like ordinary conversation. Some second position-turns display a specific form of orientation to the former turns, pauses, overlapped speech and reasoning are frequently used in political interviews.

7. Both interviews are similar in the structure (first interview of Obama, and the second of Eric Edelman: both as interviewee), but the use of prosodic features carry variation.
References


**Online Sources**


Appendix (1)

Transcription Conventions

Transcription conventions are adopted from Selting et al (1998)

1. [ ]: overlapped speech.
2. (2.85): measured pause in seconds.
3. Aspiration: aspirated pronunciation of individual sound.
4. <<laughing>>: laughter accompanying speech.
5. ACCent: primary stress.
7. ↑: pitch step up.
9. <<l>>: low pitch register.
10. <<h>>: high pitch register.
11. ? : phrase final pitch accent rise-to-high
12. . : phrase final pitch accent rise-to-mid
13. - : phrase final pitch accent level pitch.
14. ; : phrase final pitch accent fall-to-mid.
15. . : phrase final pitch accent fall-to-low. Latching.
16. (( )) unintelligible passage.

Appendix (2) Transcripts of the Interviews

-The First Interview

1 Ezra Klein: How have we got to a point where business can be doing so well but workers don't necessarily share in that prosperity?

2 Barak Obama: Well this has been at least a three-decade-long trend

3 And this was a major topic in my state of the Union address,

4 We obviously came in at a time of enormous crisis,

5 and the first task was making sure we didn’t have a complete global economic meltdown

6 Ezra Klein: does that put us in a place where redistribution becomes, in a sense, a positive good in and of itself

7 Do we need the government playing the role not of powering the growth engine?
but it is ensuring that enough of the gains and prosperity is shared;

Barak Obama: That's always been the case

I don't think that's entirely new

The fact of the matter is that relative to our post-war history, taxes now are not particularly high or particularly progressive compared to what they were;

Ezra Klein: When you drill into that pre-tax portion,

One thing you can find in wages is health-care costs

Ezra Klein: Why do you think Americans pay so much higher health-care prices than folks in other countries

Barak Obama: Well you know there are a lot of theories about this issue

But I think the evidence points to a couple of key Factors;

One is that we've got a third-party system.

Mostly we've got a system where everybody gets their health insurance through their employers

Obviously the affordable Care Act, Obama care, helps to cover the gap for those who aren't in that system

Ezra Klein: What specifically from what you wanted in there originally or what we've learned since it's actually been in operation?

How would you like to see it improved?

Barak Obama: Well I'm not sure Ezra

that we've got enough years of it being in place to know perfectly what needs to be improved where there's still gaps

-The Second Interview

Kristol: Hi I’m Bill Kristol

Welcome to conversation

I’m very pleased to be joined today by my good friend Eric Edelman

I really do think one of our most thoughtful commentators and analysts of foreign and defense policy
5 Edelman: well Bill first of all thank you for having me
6 it is a great to be with you for this conversation
7 Kristol: In the Foreign Service, as an American Foreign Service Officer there.
8 So that’s something people will be interesting to talk about.
9 But let’s begin with Turkey
10 Edelman: So I may just try and frame the issue about Turkey in the following sense
11 One of the major political events of the 20th century was the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which had been the sick man of Europe throughout the 19th century
12 Kristol: was this immediately after … in the aftermath of the World War I
13 Edelman: This was in the ..yes, this was in the early 1920s. If you read some of the writings of Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, they will frequently date things from the end of the caliphate
14 but Turkey recently comes to be a member in of the North Atlantic Treaty a treaty ally of the United States
15 fought side by side with us in the Korean War
16 that experiment is coming to a close and being undone by the current president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
17 Kristol: so that’s a big deal
18 Edelman: it’s a big deal
19 Kristol: and how far along is this attempt to close that off how successful was he being? And how worried should we be about that?
20 Edelman: He’s been very successful in the sense
21 Kristol: sense that he took over he was elected
22 Edelman: his party was elected in 2020 he became Prime minister in 2003
23 Kristol: well may be this conversation will help inspire a few people to get to work
24 Edelman: I hope so
25 Kristol: and thank you Eric for Everything you’ve done as a public servant and thank you for taking the time for this conversation