

Conversation and Genre Analysis of a Political News Debate

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Abstract

The author uses spoken discourse taken from a live television political news debate to reveal the techniques and strategies used by three interlocutors as they attempt to achieve their goals and agendas. Frameworks from the fields of conversation analysis (henceforth CA) and genre analysis are used to analyse the data. The data show how the interaction starts within the constraints of a television news interview before becoming combative as the interlocutors jostle to achieve their personal goals and agendas. The paper also notes audience involvement and who the interlocutors are addressing during their turns.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, Conversational analysis, Genre analysis

1. Introduction

This paper will set out to detail how interaction often fails to meet its anticipated format as described through the frameworks of CA and genre analysis. This is particularly common when additional variables come in to play that make it more challenging for the interlocutors involved in the interaction to achieve their goals. The data in this paper comes from a live television political news debate. The author aims to reveal the specific agendas and goals of the interlocutors. Furthermore, the author observes audience involvement and whom the interlocutors are addressing during their turns. The analysis details how the participants set about achieving their goals and agendas as the interaction unfolds. Also, due to additional factors such as time constraints and the interviewer's political position, the author will detail reasons why the interaction fails to fulfil the criteria of various frameworks within the areas of CA and genre analysis.

2. Data

2.1 Source

The data comes in the form of spoken discourse from a live American political television debate. It is taken from Fox and Friends, a morning show summarizing the latest news which is broadcast on Fox News Channel. It was broadcast on April 7, 2010. This US cable channel is owned by the Fox Entertainment Group, and broadcasts across the United States and the rest of the world via satellite television. It is argued that the channel promotes a politically conservative view in particularly favoring the Republican Party in the United States (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2007).

2.2 Participants

The data includes three American participants. Gretchen Carlson, the only female, was the host of the program and is argued to have a bias towards Republican politics. Evidence of this was witnessed on January 10, 2007 when she accused opposition Democratic U.S. senator Ted Kennedy of being a "hostile enemy" of the United States live on air. In the data she holds the position of interviewer (henceforth IR). The interviewees are; firstly, Richard Grenell (henceforth RG) who is a member of the Republican Party and the longest serving U.S. Spokesman in United Nations history, serving under George W. Bush. And secondly, Joseph Cirincione (henceforth JC) who is the President of Ploughshares Fund which is a foundation focused on nuclear weapons policy and conflict resolution. He was also an informal advisor to Barack Obama's Presidential campaign advocating his Democratic political agenda.

2.3 Additional Factors

It is important to note that the participants were all in different locations. This means they probably could not see each other, which rules out the use of non-verbal cues during interaction. Furthermore, at least some of the overlapping interaction noted in the data may have occurred due to this reason. The topical agenda focused on a treaty that U.S. President Obama was about to sign in Prague the next day, which vowed the US would reduce its number of nuclear weapons. The data is transcribed in full from the IR's introduction through

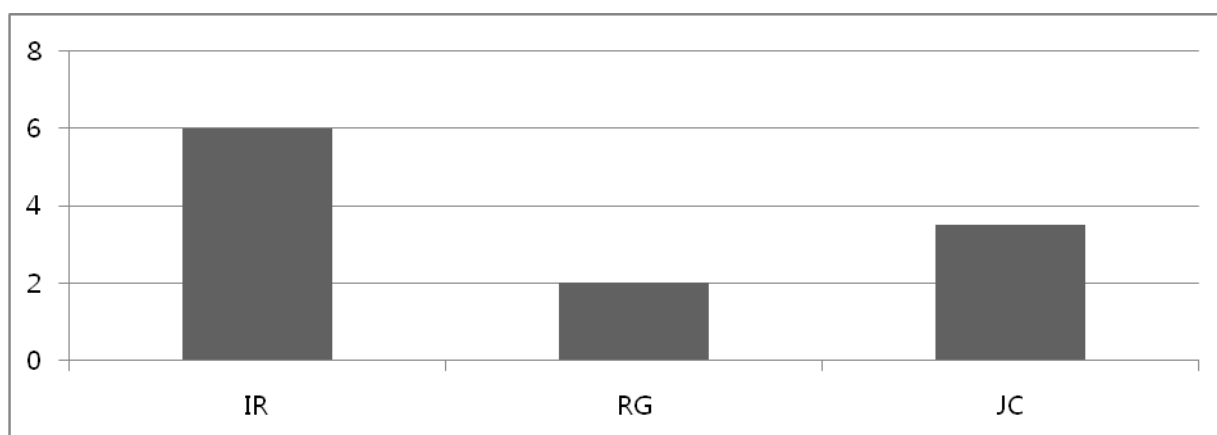
to the point when she ends the debate and moves on to the next news story (see Appendix 1). There are 971 words in the transcribed data. 311 of those were spoken by the IR, 361 by RG, and 299 by JC.

3. Analysis

3.1 Interviewer's Role

To acknowledge the genre of my data as television political interview discourse it is wise to highlight previous work in this area. From CA and advancing on Sacks et al's (1974) influential paper into the dynamics of turn taking in conversation, Drew and Heritage categorize the terms 'ordinary conversation' and 'institutional talk'. The author's data is classified as the latter as it is 'goal orientated', under 'special and particular constraints', and finally associated with 'inferential frameworks' (1992, p. 22). Greatbatch (1988) applied the findings of Sacks et al (1974) with regard to broadcast news interviews in the UK to reveal distinct differences between the systematics of ordinary conversation and television news interviews. Although the author's data is taken from American television, it is acceptable that certain comparisons can be drawn. He notes television news interviews operate under particular constraints. For instance participants 'operate with respect to the institutional identities interviewer (IR)/interviewee (IE) and specify that the incumbents of these roles should confine themselves to asking questions and providing answers, respectively' (1988, p. 404).

The author's data involves three participants and Sacks et al. explain 'with the introduction of a third party 'next turn' is no longer guaranteed to (or obliged for) any current non-speaker' (1974, p. 712). However, these conventions apply to ordinary conversation and under Greatbatch's findings the author's setting follows the constraints of a 'multi-interviewee interview'. Within this format there are two ways an IE can acquire a turn. First, 'an IR may direct a question to a specific IE and thereby select that IE to speak next. Alternately, in the event of an IR opting to produce an undirected question, IE's may self-select in order to respond' (1988, p. 414). Therefore, it would be reasonable to expect that only the IR in my data posed questions. The table below contradicts this demonstrating the number of questions asked by each participant.



Despite the IR asking most questions it is noticeable that the IE's also posed questions. To better understand these results the author can establish where the questions occur. Early in the data the author witnesses the vast majority of the questions coming from the IR as should be expected. However, from line 84 the interview becomes combative and it is from this point there is a significant increase in questions from the IE's. Furthermore, the types of questions asked by the IEs' are generally rhetorical unlike the IR's which attempt to elicit a response. Below in bold are the three questions posed by JC.

- 89 JC: only way its (*inaudible*) Hey man don't smear me (.) **who**
- 90 **the hell] do you think you are** (.) talking to me like that (.)
- 93 JC: =Defense the Joint Chiefs of Staff (.) **are you calling Bob**
- 94 **Gates na[ɪe] do you think [Ge(.)General Cartwright who=**
- 96 **=who endorsed this fully(.)is na ɪe](.)**you don't know what=

The rhetorical nature of these questions is further supported by the fact JC does not pause after each question to allow RG a turn, instead he continues with his turn. Of course, the reason JC does relinquish his turn is that this would only serve to weaken his position in the debate. The IE's questions are all directed at the other IE and they are used to challenge the other's comments. RG's second question also follows this trend.

- 112 RG: [no come on (1) **does**]
- 113 **Hillary Clinton support this** because she has certainly not

Additionally, the text that follows in all four cases is in fact an answer to the question by the individual who posed it. The remaining question by RG in line 21, which functions as a tag question, ('right') is in fact a discourse marker, used to represent shared knowledge and again spoken rhetorically. The IR generally follows Greatbatch's framework within interview constraints as she attempts to elicit responses without providing great reaction.

3.2 *Interlocutor's Agendas*

As noted in sub-section 3.1 the IR generally fulfils her role. However, there is one exception when she appears to take offence to JC's accusation that her previous argument was 'phony'.

- 78 IR: [what's a phony argument]

She overlaps JC's turn in a combative nature, which opposes normal interview conventions and questions her agenda.

From genre analysis Bhatia (2008) highlighted agenda issues when he evaluated written text

in the form of company letters sent out to shareholders. He found companies were manipulating their own agendas in these letters and labeled this investigation as critical genre analysis. This opens up the relationship between discourse and professional practice. McCarthy highlights ‘goal-orientation in interaction’, which represents the desires of participants to achieve their goals during interaction. He states with this view ‘we are able to integrate more satisfactorily the transactional elements of conversations and the relational/interactional elements’ (1998, p. 30). All of the interlocutors have potential agendas and they are restricted by time constraints, meaning they face pressure to achieve their goals within their limited turns.

Crow’s (1983) study of couples’ conversations explains how participants shift the topic of conversation to suit agendas. Crow put forward four types of topic shift which emphasize the nature of the shift in terms of its relationship to the previous utterance. First, a ‘coherent shift’ involves topic initiation, and an attempt to bring up a new topic, after speakers close a previous topic, and ‘topic shading’ which introduces a new topic by relating it to the current topic. Second, Crow highlights a ‘renewal’ or ‘shift back to an earlier topic after one or more other topics or topic shifting attempts have been intervened’ (1983, p. 144). Third, ‘non-coherent shifts’ are abrupt shifts unrelated to the current topic. Finally, ‘inserts’ resemble non-coherent shifts in terms of abruptness although speakers do not advance them. Linking this to my data we witness the interlocutors making a number of agenda shifts. Below in bold the IR sets the ‘topical agenda’ and next underlined RG responds with a discourse marker (‘well look’) to topic shade rather than answer the question directly.

14 IR: alright Rick let me start with you (.) **safer now that up to**

15 **the President is going over to Russia to sign this treaty**

19 RG: (1.5) well look (.) Americans have watched enough

Next, the author observes JC agree with RG’s previous utterance then use the discourse marker ‘but’ to move onto his own agenda, which in fact disputes RG’s view.

32 JC: (.)**R-Rick is absolutely**

33 **right** but but that is not at all what the President is doing

During JC’s turn the IR attempts a coherent shift to a new related topic whilst also maintaining her role of authority by assigning the next turn to RG.

43 IR: =[but bu] but isn’t the whole point Rick here (.)

44 **th-that we are trying to stop these rogue states which by**

Up to this point the shifts are quite coherent and in general the structure of the interview has

been maintained. There is also an attempt to mitigate any face threatening actions (FTAs). However, when the interview becomes combative there are non-coherent shifts. This can be witnessed in line 89 when JC takes offense to RG interrupting his turn. First, he makes a FTA with no redress towards RG then abruptly shifts the topic to highlight who supports his argument to aid his agenda.

- 89 JC: only way its (*inaudible*) **Hey man don't smear me (.) who**
90 **the hell] do you think you are (.)** talking to me like that (.)
91 this is somet[hing that's] got the support of Secretary of=
93 =Defense the Joint Chiefs of Staff (.) are you calling Bob

Another example is when RG abruptly shifts the topic to question whether Hillary Clinton supports the issue. Again, this tactic is used by RG so he can achieve his goals, whilst threatening JC's face.

- 112 RG: [no come on (1) does]
113 Hillary Clinton support this because she has certainly not

The IR shows glimpses of a personal and/or television network agenda when she uses sarcasm towards JC during a renewal or shift back question to the main topical agenda.

- 71 IR sign this treaty (.) does that mean Kim Jong Il in North
72 Korea (.) and Ahmadin[ejad in Iran are gonna] suddenly
74 just go (.) oh yes now we get it (.) we're not gonna do
75 [nukes] anymore

There are other examples, but word constraints make it impossible to list them all. However, it is possible to conclude that topic shifts are used as a mechanism by all of the participants as a means to achieve goals and agendas. It is known that the broadcaster, IR and RG hold a right wing political agenda and that pattern also appears in the text as it does with JC's apparent left wing agenda. This links back to Bhatia (2008) who concluded that 'generic resources are being creatively exploited to bend some of the socially shared generic norms to achieve what could be regarded as 'private' corporate intentions' (2008, p. 176).

3.3 Audience Involvement

Assuming the interlocutors are locked in their beliefs, it is viable to speculate that it is in fact

the television audience that the participants are addressing. We must consider that the function of this political debate live on television is to provide the audience with the opportunity to make their own decision upon which argument they support. In a sense they are vicariously involved in the interaction. O'Keeffe (2001) studied the roles of the participants and audience on an Irish radio show using data from a phone-in program. She observed that the audience has a role that shifts between 'addressee' and 'hearer' which forms part of the overall 'participation framework'. The audience as addressee is observed below in bold and as hearer in plain text.

- 4 IR: (.) **with us for a fair and balanced debate are Rick Grenell**
- 5 (.) **former spokesman for the US Representative to the**
- 6 **United Nations (.) and Joseph Cirincione (.) President of**
- 7 **Ploughshares Fund he is also former Director for**
- 8 **Non-Proliferation (.) at the Carnegie Endowment for**
- 9 **International Peace** phewf those are some big titles (.)[hey=
- 10 JC: [(laughter)
- 11 IR: = good morning gentlemen]
- 12 JC: = (continued laughter)](1) good morning
- 13 RG: good morning

Despite their differences of opinion and agenda the audience, IR, RG and JC are all part of the participation framework, within the location of 'American society'. This is highlighted by the implicit understanding to who terms such as 'our', 'President' 'we', and 'this administration' are referring to. These terms have concrete values within this participation framework as we can witness from the following examples.

- 17 IR strike back (.) and we want to reduce **our** nuclear
- 33 JC right but but that is not at all what the **President** is doing
- 37 JC drawing down the arsenals together (.) **we** have a cold
- 38 war arsenal (.) of about 10,000 nuclear weapons **we** just

56 RG **this administration** has done anything at the UN (.) or

O’Keeffe also referred to the notion of ‘centering’. Centering can be achieved by using the pronoun ‘we’ which distinguishes between a ‘we/you’ and ‘we/they’ dichotomy as a means of speaker identification. Wales argues that interpersonal pronouns are rarely neutral in their reference, having a 'diversity of ever-changing roles and functions (and) flexibility in the minds and mouths of the users of English' (1996, p. 50). It is possible to supplement the argument that the IR has a particular agenda that is opposed to President Obama and his administration.

44 th-that **we** are trying to stop these rogue states which by

45 the way **they** don’t ev-even call them rogue anymore (.)

46 under Obama **they** call them outliers (.) but isn’t (.) isn’t (.)

3.4 *The Role of Discourse Markers*

Now the author shall look at discourse markers used throughout the data in more detail. Schiffrin (1987) is credited with the first detailed report on discourse markers. By observing various types of discourse she identified how certain terms or phrases indicate understanding or coherence in conversation. Schiffrin concluded that each marker has a function, depending upon the situation of the speaker. For instance RG’s discourse marker ‘well’ in the following sentence according to Schiffrin acts as a qualification to the IR’s question.

19 RG: (1.5) **well** look (.) Americans have watched enough

Whereas JC’s discourse marker ‘but’, acts as a connective marker as he attempts to shift across to his agenda.

32 JC: (.)R-Rick is absolutely

33 right **but but** that is not at all what the President is doing

Fraser later argued Schiffrin was ‘very broad in what counts as a discourse marker’ (1999, p. 933), leading him to disqualify examples such as ‘now’ and ‘I mean’. Discourse markers help organize talk, but they can also be used strategically for example as a means to shift the conversation or even as a face-threat mitigator. ‘Well’ is a commonly used discourse marker in my data. It is used as a tactic by the interlocutors on five occasions. Jucker explains that;

well has four distinct uses in Modern English: as a frame it introduces a new topic or prefaces direct reported speech; as a qualifier it prefaces a reply which is only a partial answer to a question; as a face-threat mitigator it prefaces a disagreement; and as a pause filler it bridges interactional silence (1997, p. 91).

In the author's text it is witnessed in three of the uses identified by Jucker. First as a 'frame maker', which indicates a topic change as the IR attempts to bring the debate to a close. Initially she says 'right' to acknowledge the speaker's comment and then she uses 'well' to signal the topic change. This is not successful though as the interaction has become highly combative by this stage.

108 IR: [right (.) **well well** guys]

Next, 'well' is used to some extent as a failed pause filler by RG as he attempts to secure his right for the next turn. However, it turns into a false start as the IR completes her turn.

49 IR: =Korea (.) and does [this] mission stop that

50 RG: [**well**] (1.5) well look (.)

The third is a face-threat mitigator which Jucker explains indicates 'some problems on the interpersonal level. Either the face of the speaker or the face of the hearer is threatened' (1997, p. 94). Here 'well' attempts to mitigate the threat to the IR's face 'of course not' will have as JC shows his disagreement to her previous utterance.

76 JC: [Well] (1) well of course not (.) but that's a phony

These examples again highlight strategies that help participants to achieve their goals. Firstly, through frame making the speaker can change the topic to suit his/her agenda. Secondly, through pause filling the speaker can attempt to win the next turn or even wrestle a turn from the existing speaker. Finally, 'well' can be used to mitigate FTAs when a speaker is about to highlight disagreement.

3.5 *Combative Nature of the Data*

American popular culture is famous for programs such as Jerry Springer which welcomes combative debate and this is reflected by audience ratings. Combative discourse breeds FTAs and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory which expanded on Goffman's (1955) work on 'face' to create the notion of FTAs. FTAs are defined by Brown and Levinson as 'those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker' (cited Eelen 2001, p. 51). The author witnessed through the use of the discourse marker 'well' how strategies can be used to limit the damage of an FTA. However, in the data there are examples of the interlocutors using FTA's with no attempt at redress, which is particularly evident when the interview becomes combative.

78 IR: [**what's a phony argument**]

84 RG:

[That is

85 **a left wing fantasy (.) that is a left wing fantasy that we (.)**

89 JC only way its (*inaudible*) **Hey man don't smear me (.) who**

90 **the hell] do you think you are (.)** talking to me like that

FTAs with no redress represent no attempt to mitigate the threat to the speaker or listener's face. It highlights an attempt to discredit the participant they are referring to, whilst hoping to improve their position to achieve one's goals. Furthermore, it is noticeable JC uses a significant amount of FTA's towards the end of the interaction as he clearly becomes dissatisfied, perhaps in relation to the fact he didn't achieve his goals.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, whilst not exhausting all, the author has established some of the strategies and techniques used by the interlocutors to achieve their specific goals and agendas. Despite the belief that the IR should be neutral, through O'Keefee's (2001) work on centring the author was able to represent a potential agenda. Also, it was established that it was the audience that the participants were addressing for the most part rather than each other. Furthermore, the author noted how the discourse began tightly within Greatbatch's (1988) news interview constraints before becoming highly combative as the participants fought to achieve their agendas. The author highlighted that contrary to Greatbatch's framework the IE's asked each other questions, although these were rhetorical and strategically used. Finally, the author highlighted the use of FTA's and how attempts were made early in the discourse to mitigate FTAs; whereas, towards the end there was far less attempt at mitigation.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Transcript

Fox and Friends Nuclear Policy Debate Turns Nasty (2010)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RL8ts9phCOU>

Key:

IR – Gretchen Carlson (interview)

JC – Joseph Cirincione (Interviewee)

RG – Richard Grenell (Interviewee)

(.) – Pause of less than 1 second

(1) – Pause of 1 second

= - Signifies speaker's continued turn despite interruption

[] – Overlapping talk
 (*laughter*) – Laughter
 (inaudible) - Inaudible

Line	Speaker	Comment
1	IR: fifteen minutes after the top of the hour (.) does President	Introduction
2	Obama's new strategy (.) of limiting the use of our nuclear	
3	arsenal leave the US more vulnerable (.) or make it safer	
4	(.) with us for a fair and balanced debate are Rick Grenell	
5	(.) former spokesman for the US Representative to the	RG nod
6	United Nations (.) and Joseph Cirincione (.) President of	JC nod
7	Ploughshares Fund he is also former Director for	
8	Non-Proliferation (.) at the Carnegie Endowment for	
9	International Peace phewf those are some big titles (.)[hey=	RG smile
10	JC: [(<i>laughter</i>)	
11	IR: = good morning gentlemen]	Phatic talk
12	JC: = (<i>continued laughter</i>)](1) good morning	Phatic talk
13	RG: good morning	Phatic talk
14	IR: alright Rick let me start with you (.) safer now that up to	Topic
15	the President is going over to Russia to sign this treaty	Introduction
16	and basically saying (.) that (.) uh the US is not going to	
17	strike back (.) and we want to reduce our nuclear	
18	arsenal	
19	RG: (1.5) well look (.) Americans have watched enough	
20	movies to understand that the good guys don't lay down	
21	their weapons first (.) right (.) the good guys usually say	
22	to the bad guys (.) lay down your weapons and then we can	
23	talk (.) this this announcement from the Obama	
24	administration is based on (.) the erroneous assumption	
25	that if we Americans will lay down our weapons first (.)	
26	that others are just gonna follow suit n n that's an (.)	
27	academic argument that may work in a law school	
28	classroom[(.)]but it doesn't work when dealing with=	
29	IR: [mm]	
30	RG: =terrori[sts (.)]it's very naïve	
31	IR: [Joseph] (2) Joe	IR controls turns
32	JC: (.)R-Rick is absolutely	
33	right but but that is not at all what the President is doing	
34	(.) nobody is talking about unilateral disarmament (.) the	
35	President's got a step by step plan (.) what he's gonna be	
36	doing in Prague tomorrow with the Russian President is	
37	drawing down the arsenals together (.) we have a cold	Hand motion
38	war arsenal (.) of about 10,000 nuclear weapons we just	

39		don't need them (.) for the threats of today to stop	
40		nucl[ear terrorism (.) stop] new stat[es (.) so you] draw=	
41	IR:	[yeh but bu bu bu isn't](.) [but isn't this uh](.)=	Interruption
42	JC:	=down to[gether]	
43	IR:	=[but bu] but isn't the whole point Rick here (.)	IR Wins Turn
44		th-that we are trying to stop these rogue states which by	
45		the way they don't ev-even call them rogue anymore (.)	
46		under Obama they call them outliers (.) but isn't (.) isn't (.)	RG air intake
47		[isn't that the whole mission here] to stop Iran and North=	RG wants turn
48	RG:	[yeah well that's that's the point Gretchen]	RG nods head
49	IR:	=Korea (.) and does [this] mission stop that	
50	RG:	[well] (1.5) well look (.)	
51		[it's a great point two] two (.)wait let me let me just finish=	Overlapping
52	JC:	[(inaudible)]	JC wants turn
53	RG:	=there's two things (.) one (.) if we are going to deal with Iran and North	
54		Korea (.) then let's deal with them and let's	
55		(.) let's bring the UN in its been a year and and a half since	
56		this administration has done anything at the UN (.) or	
57		brought any ally on board to (.) to have some strong	
58		measures against (.) Iran or North Korea so put that aside	
59		(.) the real problem is with non state actors we've got	
60		people who don't (.) work through their governments trying	JC nods head
61		to attack us (.) the good guys and the bad guys here (.) the	
62		bad guys are not going to just lay down their weapons (.)	
63		it's it's not a negotiation this isn't a law school classroom	
64		this is real world with terrorists [(.) and] they're not going=	
65	IR:	[right]	Acknowledge
66	RG:	=to follow suit[we can't just hold hands and sing=	
67	IR:	[so so so Joseph (.) Joseph Joseph] (1)	Interruption
68	RG:	=Kumbayah] (1) this is so na ðe and dan[gerous]	
69	IR:	[Joseph] just because	
70		the President (.) and and the Russian President tomorrow	
71		sign this treaty (.) does that mean Kim Jong Il in North	
72		Korea (.) and Ahmadin[ejad in Iran are gonna] suddenly	
73	JC:	[(laughter)]	Sarcasm
74	IR:	just go (.) oh yes now we get it (.) we're not gonna do	
75		[nukes] anymore	
76	JC:	[Well] (1) well of course not (.) but that's a phony	
77		argument and Ricks argument is totally na ðe[by itself]=	
78	IR:	[what's a phony argument]	
79	JC:	=maybe he hasn't read (.) read the posture review (.)	
80		this is not designed (.) to (inaudible) get get Kim Jong Il	
81		to follow our example (.) this is designed exactly the	

82		(.)opposite (.) to build up the international cooperation you		
83		need to put a cage (.) around Kim Jong II (.) to cont[ain=		
84	RG:		[That is	Overlapping
85		a left wing fantasy (.) that is a left wing fantasy that we (.)		
86		are ever gonna have some sort of agreement with		
87		terrorists]		
88	JC:	=(<i>inaudible</i>) to get all the states (<i>inaudible</i>) (.) that is the		
89		only way its (<i>inaudible</i>) Hey man don't smear me (.) who		
90		the hell] do you think you are (.) talking to me like that (.)		
91		this is somet[hing that's] got the support of Secretary of=		RG laughs
92	RG:	[<i>laughter</i>]		Sarcasm
93	JC:	=Defense the Joint Chiefs of Staff (.) are you calling Bob		
94		Gates na[ive] do you think [Ge(.)General Cartwright who=		
95	RG:	[well] [well let me just say that (.) that=		Overlapping
96	JC:	=who endorsed this fully(.)is naïve](.)you don't know what=		
97	RG:	if you read the real]		
98	JC:	=you are [talking] about [man]		
99	RG:	[well] [well] read (1) well read read the		
100		background on this (.) because Gates was dragged to this[=		
101	IR:		[mm]	
102	RG:	=(.)] this was not so[mething (.) that he wanted to=		
103	JC:	[baloney (.) absolutely baloney (.) he		Overlapping
104		was the first one out on the] podium yesterday (.) he=		
105	RG:	=happen (.) that's (.) that's]		
106	JC:	=endorses this 100% coz he [understands about (<i>inaudible</i>)=		Overlapping
107	RG:	[(<i>inaudible</i>) the secretary of=		Overlapping
108	IR:	[right (.) well well guys]		Overlapping
109	RG:	=state Hillary Clinton]		
110	JC:	=not a right wing fant[asy about what the soviets look like]		
111	IR:	[guys I gotta guys guys I gotta wrap it]		Attempt to close
112	RG:	[no come on (1) does]		
113		Hillary Clinton support this because she has certainly not		
114		been on [board from from the beginning either]		
115	JC:	[the entire national secretary team endorses this]		
116	IR:	[that would that would be interesting to get		
117		her opinion on this (.) guys I] gotta wrap it up unfortunately		Closing
118		Rick and Joseph thank you very [much for the very=		
119	RG:	[Thanks Gretchin(<i>laughter</i>)]		
120	IR:	=spirited] debate (.)[appreciate it especially so early in=		
121	JC:	[serious this was insulting]		Raises hand
122	IR:	=the morning] (1) [thank] you very much (.) coming up=		
123	RG:	[sure]		
124	IR:	=the IRS launching a new program		New topic

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