

The “Listening Shot” as a Collaborative Practice for Categorizing Studio Participants in a Live TV-Production

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This text considers the ways in which a crew of TV-professionals work in order to transform an interaction taking place in a studio into an intelligible programme. Basing my analyses on a video recording of the production of a programme having as its central theme the conflict in the Middle East between Palestinians and Israeli, I will particularly focus on the specific ways in which the crew manages to make these two national categories relevant in their interaction and in their communication with the audience of viewers.

In Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, there has been a long-standing interest in “membership categorizations” (Sacks 1972, Bonu *et al.* 1994). These two fields respecify the notion of “identity” as a members’ phenomenon, and demonstrate, basing their analyses on naturally occurring interactions, the emergent and dynamic character of social identities. Identity is thus seen as an interactional accomplishment, rather than something static that could exist outside any specific context (see e.g. Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, Broth 2002, Garfinkel 1967, Mondada 2002, Hester and Eglin 1997, Sacks 1979). To a large extent, this research has traditionally studied identities as constituting different forms of “institutional interaction” (see e.g. Drew and Heritage 1992), but more recently there has also been some work on membership categories and national identity (Hester and Housley 2002).

There is currently also a growing interest in video production as a situated practice. Macbeth (1999) has studied the reflexive relation between shooting practices and

what is being filmed: the person who operates the camera simultaneously creates a sequential and categorical analysis of what is happening. The camera operator’s orientations are preserved in the film, which can be seen as a record of what was seen as relevant at the moment of the shooting (see also Mondada 2003 and 2007). Concerning the editing practices, whereby different shots are organized in a sequence, Jayyusi (1988) has shown that they respond to a visual “socio-logic” that allows editors and viewers alike to produce the meaning of sequences of film shots.

These observations have been taken into account in some analyses of TV-communication (Broth 2004, Mondada 2007, Relieu 1999). Consequently, these studies do not see the images of TV broadcasts as direct and neutral representations of what is happening in the television studio, but rather as reflecting a sequential and categorical analysis by the team working to put it on the air as an intelligible sequence of shots. This analysis is not only interactional, but also professional. For interviews, the choice regarding who to shoot, by camera operators, and who to put on the air, by the director, is made both in relation to an understanding of what is happening in the studio interaction and an orientation to the particular team member’s professional task within the team¹. In their work, the team can, for instance, choose to broadcast an image of the speaker or, alternatively, of one of those who listen to the speaker, thus (re)producing the relevance of, or “highlighting” (*cf.* Goodwin 1994), the particular “discourse identity” (Zimmerman 1998) of the filmed participant.

The present paper will particularly concern itself with what is known by the members of the team as “*plans d’écoute*”, translated here as “listening shots”. The listening shot is a close-up shot of one of the participants in the studio who is not talking, but listening to what the current speaker is talking about.² As we shall see, this visual relevance-making, identifying the addressee, can be seen as a method for producing a particular understanding of the filmed studio reality. Indeed, the listening shot accomplishes, upon its insertion in the sequence of shots constituting the TV-programme, a unique and single addressee of the current speaker’s talk. This addressee can, among other things, be categorized as representing a particular nationality.³

Both the actual programme as it was broadcast and (aspects of) the TV-production were video-recorded during the full 90 minutes of the programme. The recordings of the TV-production were made by three different cameras, producing three different perspectives. A first view produced a long shot of the studio (Image 1); a second view shows the screens communicating the camera operators’ shots in the control room and the personnel working in front of these screens (Image 2); and a third view focused exclusively on only the screens, in order to get a better view of what the control room personnel could actually see in them (Image 3).



Image 1



Image 2



Image 3

Before considering the importance of the listening shot for visually representing national categories, I will try to demonstrate analytically that the members of this team may orientate to the listening shot as a particular kind of shot, i.e. as a professional member’s phenomenon.

The listening shot as a professional category

The “close-up shot” is without doubt the most frequently used kind of shot in broadcast TV-interviews. This particular type of shot accomplishes effectively a focalization on only part of the emerging studio interaction, most often one of the participants. As a result, the close-up shot excludes, at least for the moment, all the other participants from the TV-audience’s view. Whereas a close-up shot of the current speaker underscores, visually, the relevance of the discursive identity of this participant, a “listening” close-up shot shows one of the participants listening, and makes visually available, for the audience of TV-viewers, how this participant takes or reacts to what she or he – as well as the audience – hears.

Close-up shots of the speaker and listening shots are frequently combined to form an unfolding sequence of shots that visually categorizes one of the participants as speaker and one of the others present as recipient of the speaker’s turn. In order to present the two interacting parties as being placed opposite one another and not side by side – which is particularly important regarding shots alternating between the interviewer and the interviewee – they are filmed from complementary angles. If the

the name of the new guest available to the entire crew. As soon as the operator has accomplished a stable listening shot of this person in the studio, the director puts it on the air. As this happens while the moderator is still elaborating on his question, the listening shot shows the recipient of the question, listening carefully (Image 4 and Image 5).

This first extract shows how the production crew produces this shot through close collaboration. It is not before the camera operator has achieved a stable and “broadcastable” shot (Broth 2004) that the director puts it on the air. Inserting an image of the new guest at this precise point in time is also something that is treated as particularly relevant by the members of the crew. The camera operator and the script collaborate in producing it, and they can also be considered to assist the director in establishing the relevant camera (the panning that is observable on monitor two can be understood as projecting the production of a close-up shot of the new

guest, and the script also formulates this verbally (“léonard la deux”). The way in which camera operator two modifies his shot displays an orientation to the locally relevant contingencies of the situation in which he acts (i.e. the studio interaction and his role in producing images of it for the TV-production). His action has important consequences for the control room context, where the panning movement makes visible studio phenomena that were invisible just before.⁶

Mentioning a co-present participant

Another situation in which the team treats the insertion of a listening shot as the proper thing to do is when the current speaker refers to someone who is likewise present in the studio. After such a mentioning, a listening shot is regularly put on the air. See extract (2) for an example of this systematic and recurrent practice in the collaborative work of producing *Rideau Rouge*:

(2) RR030610 [22.58:31 – 22.58:35]

1. IEE: (0.2) euh:: (0.5) (tsk)
2. IEE: (0.2) comme l'a dit monsieur erekat,
as monsieur Erekat said
3. IEE: (0.4) il fa{ut espérer},=
we have to hope
4. Scr: {erekat (.)}
Erekat
5. IEE: ={que* cela} ne ne ne fasse pas TROP de mal
that this doesn't have too many bad effects
6. Scr: { U:*N E +}
(Camera) one
7. Sw: [4]*[1]



Image 6. [4]



Image 7. [1]

At line 2, the interviewee explicitly names one of the other participants to the studio interaction. In the distant control room, this action is immediately followed by an identification of this participant (Saeb Erekat) among those who are visible on the monitors, and, immediately thereafter, the shot of this participant is put on the air

(Image 6 and Image 7).

For the team to be able to put a shot of a participant in the studio on the air *immediately*, at least two conditions need to be fulfilled: 1) that the team knows what the named person looks like, and can identify him; 2) that this person is already

filmed by one of the camera operators, and thus made visible on one of the monitors in

the control room. By way of contrast, in (3), neither of these conditions is fulfilled:

(3) RR030610 [23.27:36 – 23.27:53]

1. IEE: on pourra jamais faire la paix,
it will never be possible to make peace
2. IEE: .hh entre palestin- et israéliens.
between palestin- and israelis
3. IEE: .hhhhh euh::: saE::B,
SaEB
4. IEE: et::: (.) et bo:b, ils étaient:--
and and Bob they were
5. IEE: .hhhh euh:: (.) à camp da:{ v i d , }
at camp david
6. Scr: {(attends)}
wait
7. IEE: {ket- euh::: }{(.) saeb ét}a{it à à taba:??}
ket- Saeb was at at Taba
8. Scr: {bob c'est qui::}ç
Bob that's who
9. Dir: { (qui c'est) bob}.
who is that Bob
- 10.Scr: {c'est robert malley}.
it's Robert Malley
- 11.Ca2: (CU Ratzon)
- 12.IEE: (0.4) on a {(0.3) d}écidé:,
it was decided
- 13.Scr: {on l'a pas::}
we don't have him
- 14.Ca2: _____
- 15.IEE: { (.) °euh° } donner en .hh{ h au au au au = }
to give to to to to
- 16.Dir: {°ouais°.= }putain ils s'appellent comment: ils}=
yeah shit how do they call one another they
- 17.Scr: =ouais.}
yeah
- 18.Ca2: < < < < < < < < < < < < < < < < <
- 19.IEE: {=aux collaborateu:rs, }
to the collaborators
- 20.Dir: {=bouffent tous xxxx }
swallow all xxxx
- 21.Ca2: < < (CU Malley)
- 22.IEE: {dèjà* (le jeune) collaborateurs} palestino-israéliens,
already the young palestino-israeli collaborators
- 23.Scr: {ah:: (.) c'est des copains}.
oh they're all friends
- 24.Ca2: _____ +R
- 25.Sw: 3*2

At the beginning of this extract, the guest currently speaking (Miguel-Angel Moratinos) utters two first names, “saE:b” and “bo:b”. As these verbal objects for referring to persons are accompanied by

gestures (not shown in transcript) pointing in different directions, the participants to the studio interaction can immediately identify who these persons are (and maybe also learn at that particular moment that

these two persons can be verbally identified using these verbal forms). However, as the people in the control room do not have direct access to the studio's spatial ecology (Broth 2006 and forthcoming, see also Heath and Luff 1993), they can't understand who the guest was talking about. The screen in the control room in which Moratinos can be seen displays a close-up shot that only shows that participant. The shot of Moratinos thus cuts the visual continuity between his gestures (visible in the shot) and the people that these gestures referred to (invisible in the shot). However, the gestures nevertheless indicate that the visually inaccessible participants are present and thus to be searched for in the studio.

In stead of announcing the identity of the person of whom it is now relevant to produce a listening shot, the script first says "attend" (wait), and shortly thereafter "bob c'est qui::ç" (Bob that's who), a question that is immediately repeated by the director "qui c'est bob" (who is that, Bob). This question it answered rather quickly by the script, just after having looked at one of the papers in front of her: Bob turns out to be the same person as Robert Malley, one of the former president Bill Clinton's advisers, and who is indeed present among the people in the studio.

Roughly 0,6 seconds later, now looking at the screens in front of her, the script says "on l'a pas:::" (we don't have him), thus affirming that there is currently no shot of Robert Malley and that, consequently, the director could not put that participant on the air immediately. However, as the script begins this unit of talk, one of the five cameras, whose shots are visible in the monitors in the control room, starts to move to the left. The movement by camera 2 is at first quite slow, but soon very quick, producing a very imprecise and blurred image. In the midst of this quick movement, the director and the script both

say "°ouais°." (yeah), one right after the other. From this point onward, the problem of the missing participant is no longer relevant. Clearly, the team understands what the camera operator is going to show even before he has completed his panning movement. The panning thus acquires its local meaning as an action in the reflexive relationship between the panning and the conversational logic of the interaction that is being filmed. A couple of moments later, when the operator has stopped panning and now zooms in on Robert Malley, the director comments on the way the participants call each other, thus shifting from an activity focused on producing a close-up shot of a participant not yet accessible to the control room personnel, to a joking one.

The three extracts that we have seen so far show how different relevancies in the studio interaction can be (re)produced in and for the team's work of filming and editing it. If someone is made relevant in the talk of one of the participants in the studio – as a recipient to a question or merely happens to be mentioned in the talk of the current speaker – the relevant operator will shoot that participant and the control room will orient to putting her or him on the air as soon as possible. If the director already has a close-up of the person made relevant, he can put that participant on the air without delay. If not, i.e. if no operator currently produces a shot of the relevant participant, the situation is treated as in need of repair.⁷ These observations can thus be seen as some first arguments in favour of the local and endogenous relevance (for professionals of TV-production) of the category "listening shot".

"Free" listening shots

The editing of shots in a sequence is underpinned by ordinary sense-making practices. Thus, the director could not, in all of the cases that we have already seen, show a close-up of anybody else than the

28. IEE: .h h} h h h h h h }h j'en perds mes mots.
I don't know what to say
29. Dir: sur}} la femme °là::°.}
with the woman there
30. Scr: ::.]} (°ouais°)
yeah
31. Ca1: , , , , , , , , , ,
32. Ca2: =R
-

During the whole extract, camera 2 is producing a stable shot of the current interviewee (France Lebé-Nadav, Image 9). At line 3, the shot of camera 1 is stabilized to produce a listening shot of one of the participants in the studio (Diana Buttu, Image 8). The director puts this shot on the air shortly afterwards, and he then also says “c’est BIEN” (it’s good), most likely addressing camera 1.⁸ When camera 1 is once again off the air, a couple of seconds later, that camera’s operator initiates a change of shots. However, the director attempts to stop him, almost from the very beginning of the camera movement, but as the operator does not immediately stop his movement, the director makes his reasons for wanting the operator to keep the previous shot explicit. This account involves a categorization uniting the participant shown in the shot and the current speaker in the studio “c’est une solidarité de femmes” (it’s a solidarity between women). These two participants are thus treated as “femmes” by the director at that particular moment in his work of putting the studio interaction into images.

Interestingly, the woman that is listening is simultaneously categorized by the script in terms of a completely different categorization device.⁹ Looking at the current set of shots that are produced by the camera operators and that are thus possible to broadcast, the script proposes another reason for keeping the earlier shot of the female guest. As she completes the turn constructional unit (or TCU, Sacks et al. 1974) that was started by the director by “c’est les deux palestiniens” (lines 18-19 and 24-25), she makes relevant the

categorization device that might be referred to as “the principal antagonists in the Middle East conflict” and its category collection “Palestinian” and “Israeli”. We will shortly see that, very frequently, it is precisely this last categorical opposition that is carefully maintained and oriented to by the members of the team throughout the production of the show.¹⁰

Contrary to the shots of participants who are already made relevant (as addressed or mentioned) in the studio interaction and then shown by the team, in this last case the relevance of the participant in the broadcast show is produced by the team in a more autonomous way. Even if it is not possible to demonstrate just how TV-viewers understand the subsequent appearance of the woman that is shot by camera 1 (as “woman”, “Palestinian”, or maybe something else), the last extract shows how the people in the control room publicly categorize, differently, that particular listening shot.

Showing the “principal antagonists in the Middle East conflict”

The studied show is exclusively organized around the political situation in the Middle East, which makes the categorization device “the principal antagonists in the Middle East conflict” along with its categories “Palestinians” and “Israelis” omni-relevant. (see Jayyusi 1984, Hester and Fitzgerald 1999). In this section, I will first describe the publicly displayed orientations to the device by the members of the crew, after which I will consider two important issues for the visual presentation

of the unfolding studio interaction: presenting that interaction as a “confrontation”, and maintaining a balance between Palestinians and Israelis as recipients of a third party’s talk.

Categorizing the participants in the studio

The show is introduced by the moderator, standing by himself in front of the camera

in the studio. After having reintroduced some essential elements of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he hands over the turn to a journalist in the control room, who presents the invited guests for this night’s show. This presentation is transcribed as extract (5) (translation in footnote¹¹):

(5) RR030610 [22.28:24 – 22.29:05]

Jou: Saeb (.) Erekat. (.) ancien ministre (.) de l'autorité palestinienne+. (0.3) .hhh Nissim (.) Zvili:. (.) ambassadeur d'ISrae:l (.) en Fran:ce:. (0.3) .hhh Diana (.) Butto:. (.) collaboratrice du premier ministre palestinien Mahmoud Abass:. (0.4) .hh Michael Ratzon. député du Likoud, (.) Israë:l. (1.0) .hh Miguel-Angel Moratinos:. (.) représentant de l'Union Européenne au proche-orient. (0.6) .hhhh Robert (.) Malley. (.) ancien conseiller de Bill Clinton (.) pour le proche-orient. (0.7) .hh France (.) Lebee-Nada:v. (.) association fenêtres ouvertes (.) Israë:l. (0.6) .hh Gilles Darmon. (0.2) président de l'o en gé la tête, (.) Israël:. (0.9) .hhh et en duplex+ de Jérusalem, Charles Enderlin, journaliste. (.) auteur du rêve: brisé.

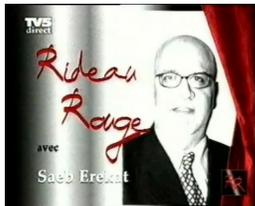


Image 10

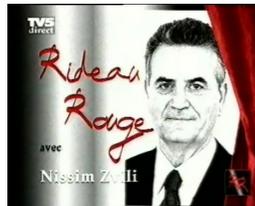


Image 11



Image 12



Image 13

In this presentation, each guest is verbally described by her or his name and the role he or she plays or has played regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The name of each guest is visible in white letters at the bottom of the image showing a black-and-white photo of their face (Images 10-13 show the two Israeli guests and the two Palestinian ones). The way in which this presentation is done thus affords the viewer not only the first possibility to learn who each guest is, but also to learn how to categorize the guests in relation to the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There are two guests representing Israel, two Palestinians, two commentators from countries not directly involved in the conflict, and two representatives from voluntary organizations.¹²

The members of the production crew often publicly orientate to the nationality of the invited Israeli and Palestinian guests. This can be seen in the two extracts that are to follow. Let’s first consider (6):

(6) RR030610 [22.50:24 – 22.50:29]

1. Rea: donc ÇA c'est:: is[r a ë l =]
So that is Israël
1. Scr: [pour la tr]=
For camera thr-
2. Rea: [tu me] GARdes elina,=
Keep that for me Elina
3. Scr: =[ois:]
ee
4. Rea: =t'es bien là:.
You're fine there
5. Scr: (0.4) erekat c'est: >ouais<.
Erekat it's yeah
6. Dir: (0.2) °°ouais°° (0.2) [c'est bien la quatre.
Yeah that's good four
7. Scr: [I s r a ë l]



Image 14

These words are spoken during the first turn of a newly introduced guest in the studio, Michael Ratzon. At line 1, the director first identifies – using a deictic pronoun, “ÇA” (that) – the current speaker in the studio and that can be seen in a close-up shot that is visible in the monitor of camera 2 (Image 14). He ties this identification by “c’est” (it’s) to the name of the state of Israel. The director thus categorizes the current speaker as “Israel”,¹³ which in fact makes this participant the very incarnation of that country. The establishment of the relevance of the categorization device “the principal antagonists in the conflict in the Middle

East” by mentioning one of its omni-relevant categories, also permits an understanding of why the director considers that Elina is currently in a good place. By “tu me GARdes elina, t’es bien là:.”, the director assures that he has access to a listening shot of a participant representing the opposing omni-relevant category of the device.¹⁴

Extract (7) underscores that the visual categorization of participants in the studio is also an interactional achievement. In this extract, the camera operator produces the relevant shot, without having been asked to do it.

(7) RR030610 [23.01:01 – 23.01:14]. During the greater part of the extract, no one is speaking in the control room. One of the invited guests, Miguel-Angel Moratinos, is in the middle of a lengthy turn:

1. IEE: mais il fallait donner,
But it was necessary to give
2. IEE: (0.5) de la confian:ce
3. IEE: (0.6)*(0.1) à l'autorité palestinienne,=
to the Palestinian authority
4. Ca2: +R(CU Erekat)
5. Sw: 3*2

6. IEE: =au premier ministre palesti*nien::,
to the Palestine prime minister
7. Ca2: =R _____ -R
8. Sw: _____ 2*1
9. IEE: (0.7) du temps,
time,
10. IEE: (0.5) et des moyens:.
and means
11. IEE: (0.6) confiance israélienne,
Israeli confidence,
12. IEE: (0.5) TEMPS,
time
13. Ca2: _____, , ,
14. IEE: (0.4) et moyen:s.
and means
15. Ca2:
16. IEE: (0.4) et je CROIS qu'on a {pas donNÉ},=
And I think that we haven't given
17. Ca2: , , (CU Zvili)
18. Dir: {AH- VOILÀ}
Oh that's it
19. IEE: {=NI la conf}*iance ni le temps.
neither confidence nor time
20. Ca2: _____ +R
21. Dir: {C'EST BIEN:}.
That's fine
22. Sw: _____ 1*2

Camera operator 2 goes on the air at line 4 with a listening shot of Saeb Erekat. After getting off the air a little later, he first keeps his shot stable, but shortly thereafter quickly redirects his camera to propose a shot of Nissim Zvili. The timing of the beginning of his movement – just after having heard the phrase “confiance israélienne” (Israeli confidence) – indicates that the operator takes an active part in the collaborative work of (re)categorizing the participants in the studio in terms of their national identities. By producing his new shot at that very moment, he creates a visual link between the image of a particular person (Zvili) and a verbal description comprising a national category (“confiance israelienne”). The operator thus participates in the creation and maintenance of this tying of persons to national categories, that is crucial for the categorical logic of the show.

The director shows that he appreciates the camera operator’s work,¹⁵ and puts that shot on the air shortly after the panning has stopped (line 22). The listening shot that the TV-viewer can observe is thus manifestly the outcome of collaborative work. The shot stands in a reflexive relationship to the unfolding events in the studio: the shot of an Israeli as a listening participant is introduced right after an Israeli categorization in the current speaker’s turn, and, by inserting the shot at that very moment of the broadcast, the team can visually present the shown participant to the viewers as linked to that category.

The team also orients to particular ways of presenting the relation between the two omni-relevant national identities, Israel and Palestinian, which I will consider in the following sections.

Creating “confrontation”

Through their interaction, the participants in the studio often make the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis relevant. The crew can then visually (re)produce this conflict, at the level of the broadcast show, by inserting alternating shots of the opposing parties. However, there are also moments when this conflict is not directly and locally relevant in the studio, in which

case the team still has the possibility to make it relevant for the viewers by the insertion of listening shots of the principal antagonists.

Extract (8) shows the transcription of what is said in the studio just before, during, and after the part of the control room interaction that has already been presented as extract (6) (the part that overlaps with extract (6) is framed at lines 15 and 16):

(8) RR030610 [22.49:42 – 22.50:38]

1. Mod: .HHHH monsieur ratzon. vous Êtes euh membre du: (.) du likOU:D+,
Mister Ratzon. You are a member of the Likud party
2. Mod: (0.2) .hh est-ce qu'il y a pas DEUX likoud+.
Aren't there really two Likud parties
3. Mod: (0.5) un likoud qui: euh:: (.) est pour la paix: ,=
One Likud that is for peace
4. Mod: =et qui: euh: fait un discours euh: .hhhh à akaba: ,=
and that makes a discourse at Akaba
5. Mod: et:: un likoud, qui:: euh:: non seulement: , euh supporte les colons: ,=
and one Likud that not only accepts the settlers
6. Mod: =mais: surtout? .h euh VEUT qu'il y AIT une suite aux assassinats ciblés.
but more importantly really wants a continuation of the assassinations.
7. IEE: (2.9) ((Begins answer in Hebrew, simplified transcript of interpreter))
8. Int: bonsoir
Good evening
9. Int: (2.0) bonsoir à tous+
Good evening to all
10. Int: (1.4) il n'y a pas deux likoud il n'y a qu'un likoud
There are not two Likud parties, there's only one
11. Int: (0.6) le likoud c'est le parti majoritaire
Likud is the majority party
12. Int: (0.5) leader en israël
leader in Israel
13. Int: (1.5) le premier ministre est (.) le: (0.5) leader du likoud
The prime minister is the leader of the Likud party
14. Int: (0.5) et naturellement la décision qui a été prise+
and of course the decision that has been taken
15. Int: (0.6) au gouvernement (0.5) est très difficile
by the government is very difficult
16. Int: (2.7) c'est un changement (0.5) de conception (0.3) historique
It is a historical change of understanding
17. Int: (3.0) euh:: la 2*1 décision est une décision (.) historique
the decision is a historical decision



Image 15. 2



Image 16. 7

From line 8 onwards, Michael Ratzon (Image 15) answers the moderator's question regarding the possibility of there being “two Likud parties”. At line 17, a listening shot of the Palestinian Saeb Erekat is introduced (Image 16), thus making this participant, and the national category that he represents, relevant as

recipient of Ratzon's turn. Even if what Ratzon says is of course to be understood in relation to the conflict between Palestinians and Israeli, this listening shot is *not* introduced in response to a direct relevance-making of that participant in the studio interaction. Rather, it is the very insertion of the listening shot of Erekat that

24. Dir: (0.4) *reste+ large c'est bien.*
Stay wide that's good
25. Dir: (1.0) *bouge plus.*
Don't move (anymore)
26. Scr: (1.1) *ÇA c'est Israë:l+.*
That is Israel
27. Dir: (0.4) *2*5 (shot of Zvili)*
28. Scr: (0.6) *°voilà°*
that's it

In this extract, the director asks camera 5 to produce a shot of the ambassador of Israel (lines 2-3). This time, he manifestly orients to the device of the “antagonists” in the specific way in which he continues his turn. By saying “palestinien” (line 4), he completes the device’s category collection. The remainder of the extract shows that this orientation indeed underpins, during these moments, the work of broadcasting shots of the studio interaction in a particular sequence. The team works for quite some time to produce a listening shot of Zvili, and as soon as that shot is accessible, the director puts it on the air. This time, the insertion of this particular shot categorizes the Israeli participant (Zvili) as (unique) recipient of Robert Malley’s turn.

One might ask why the director would need a shot of “l’ambassadeur” at this particular point and what kind of practical problem he could resolve if he had access

to such a shot. When considering what happens just before the current extract, it is discovered that the last listening shot to go on the air was a shot of Diana Buttu, who represents the Palestinian side. Among the shots that are available to the director at the time he asks camera 5 to find the ambassador one finds a shot of Saeb Erekat, also a Palestinian, but no sign of any of the two Israeli representatives. It would thus seem that the director, by asking for a shot of the missing category, orients to accomplishing a kind of balance in the visual presentation of the two national categories as listening to a third party’s turn.

Much later in the show, we find what will be our second example of the director’s orientation towards such a balanced visual presentation of the two national categories, (12):

(12) RR030610 [23.41:42 – 23.42:03]. Gilles Darmon, president of the voluntary organization “La Tête” is in the middle of an extended turn:

1. IEE: *dans la région, tout le mon{de utilise aprèsç }*
In the region everyone uses after-
2. Dir: {*il me faut le- il faut*}-
I need the we need
3. IEE: {*. h h h h c h a c u n m e t*} *sa définition {derrière le mot paix}*
Everyone puts their definition behind the word peace
4. Dir: {*il (me) faut l'a[mbassadeu:r]*}.
I need the ambassador
5. Scr: { [*d'acco::rd*]. } *{>c'est pour léonard<}*
All right it's for Léonard
6. IEE: *il y a une une une VO:lonté de de Vi:vre:--*
There is a a a desire to to live
7. IEE: (0.1)*(0.3) *NOrmalement, de vivre: dans le bonheu:rç=*
normally to live in happiness

8. Cmn: 1*2
9. IEE: =>et {j*e crois que c'est l'attente de tout le monde<},=
and I think that this is what everyone is waiting for
10. Cmn: 2*1
11. Dir: { il me faut : euh le : : : le : : }=
I need the the
12. IEE: =(>et c'est ce que veulent les deux} populations<,
and this is what the two populations want
13. Dir: ={: [e r e k a t]¿ }
14. Scr: { [x x x]: °xx°}

At line 4, le director asks for a shot of the ambassador (of Israel). As soon as this shot gets stabilized, the director puts it on the air, thus making the person that is visible in the shot relevant as recipient to the current speaker's talk. Immediately after putting the shot of the ambassador off the air again, the director asks for a shot of Erekat, who represents the opposite nationality, thus projecting an upcoming insertion of a shot of that participant. Interestingly, he begins the description of the next participant using the definite article, and thus grammatically projects a title or a national category, but not a personal name. Even if the director finally identifies Erekat by naming him, he manifestly orients to broadcasting alternative shots of the participants representing the two opposing categories in the Middle East conflict, and to put these participants on the air in a balanced and equal way.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have described the work of a TV-production team as it is live broadcasting an interview taking place in a TV-studio. In the studied show there were eight participants in the studio interaction, invited as representatives of different interested parties in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I have tried to show how the members of the team collaborate in producing so called listening shots of particular participants in the studio, and thus also demonstrate the listening shot as

a professional member's phenomenon in TV-production.

The listening shot is treated by the members of the team as a resource for shaping, at the level of the broadcast programme, the understanding of the studio interaction. As we have seen, this understanding can concern the relations between different participant identities. The ways in which the team produces listening shots, and puts these on the air, displays, for this particular show, a recurrent orientation to a specific device for categorizing participants in the studio interaction: "the principal antagonists in the Middle East conflict", and its national categories "Palestinian" and "Israeli". Inserting listening shots of the opposed national category to that of the current speaker is treated as (re)producing the relevance of the opposition between them for the TV-viewers. The team thus works systematically to be able to show a Palestinian in a listening shot when the current speaker is an Israel, and vice versa. In those of the analyzed extracts where the current speaker is neither a Palestinian nor an Israeli but representing a third party, the director orients to a balanced visual presentation of the two opposing national categories. In that situation, the director alternates between broadcasting listening shots of Palestinians and Israelis.

The orientations to such national categories and considerations are thus manifestly what underpins how the crew producing this particular programme choose to frame

and sequentially organize the shots that they put on the air. In the sense that what is shown of a studio interview is also exploited by TV-viewers for understanding what they see (using ordinary sense-making practices), this study has described some situated practices through which the members of a television crew can use their power over how reality is understood, when this reality is broadcast on television.

... camera movement towards person/object (high/slow speed is marked by high/low density of characters)
 ... camera movement away from person/object
 <<< zooming in
 >>> zooming out
 CU close-up shot
 MS medium shot
 (Mod) filmed participant

Appendix: Transcription conventions

Mod: moderator
 IEE: interviewee
 Int: interpreter
 Ca(n): camera operator(n)
 Dir: director
 Scr: script
 Jou: journalist
 Com: transcriber's comment
 Sw: director's switch
 (.) micro pause (0.1 seconds or less)
 (n.n) timed pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
 = latching between two lines (no pause and no overlap)
 [] overlapping speech
 { } simultaneous events in the studio and in the control room
 . falling intonation
 , slightly rising intonation
 ¿ clearly rising intonation
 ? high rise
 - - unfinished intonation unit
 °words° words pronounced more silently than surrounding speech
 <words> words pronounced more slowly than surrounding speech
 >words< words pronounced more quickly than surrounding speech
 WORDS words pronounced louder than surrounding speech
 .hh breathing in, each "h" corresponding to 0.1 seconds.
 : lengthening of sound
 (words) uncertain hearing
 * exact location of switch in relation to ongoing talk or other action
 n*n switch from camera (n) to camera (n)
 n*[n] the framed number refers to an image that is also shown in the text.
 =R "le Rouge" (red light), image on the air at the beginning of an extract
 +/-R image that goes on, or leaves, the air
 — steady shot

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Notes

¹ The members of the production crew are distributed in different places. A technological

system is thus necessary both for communicating within the team and for perceiving the studio interaction in the control room. See Broth (2004) for a study on the mediated interaction within this particular team.

² TV-viewers "naturally" relate a shot of a person who is not talking and the talk that an invisible person produces during that shot. This method of interpretation can be exploited in editing work for accomplishing a temporal connection between a sequence of shots that were in fact recorded at different times. Putting a continuous sound track over the discontinuous sequence of shots often does the trick!

³ National identities can of course also be made relevant in the categorizing activity of the studio interaction (cf. Hester and Housley 2002). Even if this activity does not interest us primarily in the present study, it is nevertheless of crucial importance, because of the reflexive relation between the studio interaction and the ways in which that interaction is put into images.

⁴ The relative position of the moderator, the invited guests and the camera operators in this particular show can be seen in image 1 above.

⁵ See Appendix for transcription conventions.

⁶ These phenomena are of course not observable in the TV-programme that is broadcast. Even if the data used for the present study make it possible to observe some phenomena that were not broadcast, they cannot give access to the "whole" situation. As the decision was made to record in the control room, the view of a great many participants to the interaction within the crew is very limited. The camera operators, for instance, can only be seen at some distance in the "contextual" recording of the studio.

⁷ "Repair" is thus here used to refer to an activity that aims at normalizing the set of shots that the director has at his disposal. The video recordings that make up the corpus for the present study contain some very long searches for appropriate but missing shots. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reproduce transcriptions of these within the space limits of this paper.

⁸ See Broth (2004) on the importance of timing in the accomplishment of mutually recognizable actions in this particular context.

⁹ A categorization device consists of a category collection and a set of rules for the application of these categories (Sacks 1972, see also Bonu et al. 1994, Hester and Eglin 1997).

¹⁰ See Bovet and Terzi (2007) for a study proposing a "polarized situation" as one of the hallmarks of mediated political discourse.

¹¹ Translation of extract (5): "Saeb Erekat, former minister of the Palestinian authority; Nissim Zvili, Israel's ambassador to France; Diana Buttu, working with Palestine's Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas; Michael Ratzon, Likud member of

parliament, Israel; Miguel-Angel Moratinos, representative of the European Union in the Middle East; Robert Malley, former councillor to Bill Clinton regarding the Middle East; France Lebé-Nadav, association Fenêtres ouvertes, Israel; Gilles Darmon, president of NGO La Tête, Israel; and with us live from Jerusalem, Charles Enderlin, journalist, author of *Le Rêve brisé*.”

¹² It is also interesting to observe the sequential order in which the guests are introduced: first the two Palestinians and the two Israeli in mixed and alternating order, second the two state officials, third the two voluntary workers, and last the journalist, participating via technology from Jerusalem.

¹³ The script, on the other hand, orients to another categorization device when continuing the director’s turn. The device she is orienting to groups together different shooting angles (“seen from left”, “seen from right”), and she identifies the camera that should be used for the moderator – out of the two that are currently producing close-ups of him – to show him from a complementary angle of that of the currently speaking guest.

¹⁴ See Watson (1997) for considerations of the sequential and categorical aspects of interaction, and of their reflexive relation.

¹⁵ By his pan, the camera operator also returns to the guests that he should cover according to the plan for the show, among whom is not Saeb Erekat, that he had been shooting until then. According to the subsequent action within the team (not shown in transcript), the director’s positive evaluation also responds to this fact.