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Professional-amateur cooperation in reality-based TV productions: investigating TV professionals’ endeavours and tensions

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ABSTRACT

Mainstream television increasingly launches productions which utilise volunteer narratives and presentations. This article focuses on TV professionals who were responsible for artistic content and expression in this kind of production: how they organised their communication and cooperation with amateur volunteers and how they reflected on their practices and aims in their creative work. The data was collected from three Finnish new-generation reality-based TV productions, targeting broad audiences and, at least implicitly, following the Nordic public service tradition. The study applied activity theory-based methodology in examining the motivated activity of TV professionals. According to the findings, the professionals in question eagerly adopted audiovisual means from documentary expression in creating attractive multivocal programmes, where the amateur presenters had access to suitable opportunities to address audiences. The TV professionals reported feeling curious about the views of their presenters and audiences, although they still took for granted their positions as strict gatekeepers of amateur selection, technology, and performance. For future reference, the article finds it possible to advance the reciprocal emancipatory learning of the production participants by deepening documentary practices and amateur participation, with co-productions used to enable real negotiations on meanings put forth by TV professionals and dedicated volunteers.

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Introduction

Television companies have absorbed the creative contributions of amateurs for years, in order to reform the expression and narration of their own industrialised programme production (Caldwell 1995). The performances of ordinary people have been essential for the economic success of television, and they have also helped to maintain television’s emotionality and attractiveness (Williams (1974) 2003). A great deal of research has been published on the different genres and roles through which TV companies most often utilise ordinary people (Livingstone and Lunt 1994; Holmes and Jermy 2004; Hill 2005;
Palmer 2008; Turner 2010). Journalistic practices have in many ways controlled how citizen activity has been used and shown on screen. Still, deepening professional cooperation with diverse amateurs is regarded as a promising source of innovation, offering possibilities to utilise distributed cognition and sense-making for creating content more relevant to their audiences (Küng 2008).

Thus far scarcely any research has been conducted on the interest and opportunities of TV professionals themselves in carrying out professional-amateur cooperation. The research project Television professionals reflecting on their practices while cooperating with amateur participants (2015–2018) attempts to address this lack. It draws on the history of TV production and refers to the ideal or utopian view of citizen participation from media theory.

**Historical layers in TV production work**

Even early TV reportages and TV news programmes utilised eyewitnesses and vox populi segments. As soon as the programming hours were multiplied and programme budgets became tighter, ordinary citizens were also invited as featured guests on full-length talk shows outside primetime (Livingstone and Lunt 1994). By the 1980s daytime or audience participation talk shows were among the most-watched TV broadcasts. In digital television, ordinary people have been exploited as amateur actors in the reality and lifestyle genres (Holmes and Jermyn 2004; Hill 2005; Palmer 2008; Turner 2010). Concurrently, professional television production is leaning on attractive formats and suffering from a lack of money.

Five developmental phases in the development of TV production practices have been identified (Victor and Boynton 1998), in the context of the general history of labour and production. At the earliest phase of work, craft – inventing and creating novel products useful for customers – was paramount. Consequently, labour qualifications were based on knowing the person who would use the utility. In mass production the way to make a profit was to establish low-cost production processes and sell more units. In process enhancement and mass customisation, the forms of labour became more knowledge-intensive, requiring greater levels of coordination, with the aim of making tailored products and services. Today profitable production requires personalised productions and services, and working life relies increasingly on co-configuration or co-creation, where customer feedback or cooperation are needed to add extra value to commodities and services (Ramaswamy and Gouillart 2010). Meanwhile, the nature of both teamwork and professional expertise have been under continuous change (Engeström 2008; Edwards 2010).

In this regard, audiovisual labour as a craft or film art was premised on creating unique audiovisual compositions with ambiguous meanings to induce strong and unique impressions in audiences (Bordwell 1993). Documentary practices have their origins in craft-based communities (Lave and Wenger 1991) in audiovisual work, and their fundamental aim is to represent reality, or the meaning-making of the real-life characters (Nichols 2001). However, television was originally born in a society based on mass industry and mass delivery, and it had to use time-saving production practices and formats designed to mould the artistic craft-type work to more closely resemble work processed on a conveyor belt. Television companies have surely been thoroughly audience-oriented or audience-dependent from the beginning (Gitlin 1994), but in a peculiar way: they
established separate research units for surveying and framing audience behaviour respectively (Napoli 2010).

In these circumstances most members of professional TV teams have become labourers who do not have a time slot or means to encounter their audience or their amateur presenters. Caldwell (2008) argues that the practices of mass production force TV professionals to lean on industrial reflexivity: TV professionals have resources only for imitating the repetitive parts of the previous popular genres and formats, and transferring them to other productions. Television has helped to advance the many expectations of its audiences, but still today ordinary people are invited to engage in unpaid work in TV productions, where they are only afforded subcontractor roles (Hesmondhalgh 2010).

The related – perhaps utopian – vision that highlights the advantages of co-creation between the producers and the customers is to be found in media theory. According to Carpentier (2011, 67–68) real citizen participation requires that citizens have access to decision-making in media productions and media organisations, or that they are able to share their views in public debate, or acquire opportunities for public self-representation through media. The key question is the extent of the impact citizens have in choosing viewpoints and creating meaning(s) during the media production process, and how the agency and activity of regular people has been shown and treated in media products (Lunt 2009). In critical media research (Holmes 2005; Winston (1998) 2003; Williams (1974) 2003) different media forms are understood as possible tools for emancipatory change in society, but often they have utilised their potentials in very restricted ways.

Digital media with its countless potential connections has surely encouraged the self-expression of ordinary people, but has also threatened different people’s opportunities to encounter different perspectives (Jakubowicz 2010). When audiences called for personalised content, it was an invitation for digital television to increase the amount of niche programmes and distribute them via targeted channels, but this trend ended up isolating sub-audiences (Hujanen 2016). The case study at hand took place at a new turning point, where the investigated TV companies had reached the conclusion that continuously growing niche volumes require too much effort for too little return, and they again sought to develop general audience programmes.

Inside the current convergence or participative culture (Jenkins et al. 2009), the motivation for overhauling work practices arises from conflicting demands. According to Deuze (2007, 2008) current media professionals have been left in between many technical, financial, and cultural pressures, which often run in different directions. Historical conventions make it difficult to implement elaborate changes in work arrangements, although the changing culture impacts both the structure and subjectivity of media workers’ professional identities.

Finnish TV production trends often comply with main trends in worldwide mainstream television service providers such as the BBC (Hujanen, Weibull, and Harrie 2013). Parallel programme types and genres appear in many countries and utilise similar means of expression. However, this research also draws from the peculiarities of the Finnish television landscape, which has its historical background in the Nordic public service tradition, valuing informative programmes and ordinary people’s life stories. Furthermore, the domestic Finnish TV market is small, as the country has a population of just five million
inhabitants. As in many other countries, distribution channels in Finland increasingly buy productions from specialised commercial production companies, but Yle (the Finnish Broadcasting Company) still employs some experts. Regarding innovation and change, the Finnish TV market is competitive but it doesn’t necessarily demand extensive production assets; it rather facilitates innovations for small production units utilising advanced technology.

One essential definition is still needed. The concept of ‘social television’ is generally used to refer to the integration of television and new social media means. According to Keinonen and Klein Shagrir (2017) TV producers, especially in non-commercial Finnish companies, require much more from ‘social television’ than mere technical means such as mobile technology, through which audiences are asked to respond to professionally produced content on screen. In this article, professional-amateur co-productions, complete with social media tools, are seen as a mode via which to implement social television.

Investigating the practices and aims of TV professionals

This research project belongs to TV production studies (Mayer, Banks, and Caldwell 2009) focusing on observing workplace practices in situ, as well as investigating the meanings given to labour by its practitioners (Schatzki 2001). Among these studies, cultural-historical activity theory – and its Finnish application on developmental work research (Y. Engeström 1987) more particularly – has its specific focus on TV professionals’ own interests and possibilities in changing and developing their practices.

In developmental work research, the focus is on the learning process wherein the workers experiment with new solutions and reflect on them. The ultimate aim is that the workers become more conscious of the consequences of their solutions. New perspectives may emerge, especially through participative, collective action, which is why researchers facilitate interventions by arranging team reflections (Virkkunen and Newnham 2013). During these interventions, detailed work ethnography data is collected and used as mirror material for employees’ reflections. However, many previous activity-theoretical studies are rather examinations of current work practices, wherein activity-theoretical analytic tools are used to attain deeper interpretations of the involvement and motivations of TV employees (Engeström and Mazzocco 1995).

In this study the teams participated voluntarily, and the circumstances for utilising this methodology were auspicious: the new programme types or Finnish versions of international formats – already in distribution – were appreciated as topical homemade innovations, and the production teams conducted live experiments to reorient themselves to new challenges, and discover new aims for their work.

The article approaches three research questions:

(1) How did the executive TV professionals organise and reflect on their cooperation with their amateur partners during production and how were certain technical tools harnessed to enable cooperation? The activity-theoretical approach studies how new technical and organisational tools are used to enable more adequate or participative novel procedures (see also: technologically enhanced professional learning, Littlejohn and Margaryan 2014).
(2) What approaches and skills did the TV professionals prefer in their work with amateurs, and whom did they ask for support in developing their know-how? In the activity theory tradition, Vygotsky’s (1978) concept of ‘the zone of proximal development’ is used to refer to skills the workers themselves want to advance and put to use by asking for advice from somebody or by drawing on their education or work traditions. The TV professionals in question tried to put their best foot forward in those areas available to them.

(3) What tensions did the professionals bring up during their working process and how did they reflect on them? The activity-theoretical approach argues that if it is not possible for the TV professionals to use their skills adequately, they will face tensions, which show that there are more viewpoints to take into account when cooperating with amateurs.

Research data and analysis

The research project included two inseparable parts – production ethnography and reflective interviews. The researcher conducted background interviews with the representatives of the TV channels and production companies, observed the entire production process, and examined the materials used and produced during the production: production plans, correspondence between professionals and amateurs, and finally, a sample set of end products. Furthermore, the studies analysed the dramaturgical structures, different modes of audiovisual expression, and various ways of narrating in the final cuts.

Simultaneously the researcher interviewed executive TV professionals in teams; in one case individually in authentic surroundings; and step-by-step during the production process to collect their thoughts concerning their cooperation with the amateurs (Heyl 2001). The end projects were utilised as ethnographic material for participant reflection in video-based stimulated recall interviews (Lyle 2003; Tochon 2007), which were occasionally used: the professionals chose relevant episodes from the projects and used them as visual stimuli when describing their specific solutions, for instance, in addressing the audience (Rautkorpi 2012). The interview sessions were recorded and transcribed.

The use of mixed data gathering methods increases both the reliability and validity of the study. Reflective interviews and video-based stimulated recall interviews were made without time delay (Lyle 2003), and their findings were compared with the findings of the analysis of the end products and with the researcher’s own observations on the working processes of the interviewees. The TV professionals mentioned their aims and tensions spontaneously; the number of reflective responses and considerations was limited. The most interesting findings came from the scriptwriter-directors and the key cinematographer, who actually planned and composed the artistic content of the programmes, while the producers acted as a helpful resource for them.

The research data was collected from the following three productions: The primetime music entertainment series Soundtrack of Love includes weekly 60-minute episodes and a few 90-minute extra episodes. The series features ordinary people as presenters who are ready to share their life stories and consequently fulfil their musical dreams. The production requires heavy equipment, sophisticated facilities, and numerous specialists to
achieve top sound and picture quality; each episode comprises studio and documentary scenes, where the music is always performed by top Finnish professional artists and bands. The series is an original Finnish format, already in its sixth season and now sold abroad. The research data was collected between the second and third seasons in 2016–2017. The interview data comprises three group interviews with two scriptwriter-directors and one producer.

*The Night Patrol* is a daily police reality series that is filmed in Finnish cities and based mainly on dialogue rather than action. The series has followed the same repertoire for years, but during the data collection (at the beginning of the ninth season in 2016) it underwent several changes. The 30-minute episodes are created at a rapid rate by a lightweight and decentralised professional team, and their style resembles direct cinema. One cinematographer stays with two police officers in a police car to capture their night shifts, and the documentary material is edited afterwards. The interview data comprises one interview with two of the programme’s producers and one separate interview with the most senior cinematographer.

*To Nightwish with Love* was a multiplatform documentary about the global fans of the world-famous Finnish symphonic metal band Nightwish. The production included one 58-minute TV documentary and an 18-episode webseries, totalling 160 min, available via the Yle Areena streaming service. Two scriptwriter-directors used a kind of crowdsourcing: the volunteer members of fan communities from 50 countries were asked to film their own segments, representing their relationship with the band. The scriptwriter-directors instructed the amateur video creators via a Facebook group and selected the end products, which were edited by professionals. The data collection period started in late 2015, and the final team reflections were conducted in 2018, long after the premier on 20 August, 2016. The interview data comprises three group interviews with two scriptwriter-directors and one producer.

The next three sections introduce the findings of each of the three research questions.

**Harnessing production tools for selection rather than cooperation**

In all the productions, the programmes’ ability to hook divergent target audiences was ensured by using a large variety of real-life presenter personalities. In *The Soundtrack of Love*, the production team comprised of younger professionals and the dramaturgical structure – which led audience emotions from fear and sadness to relief and joy and vice versa – was planned before the programme was launched. The scriptwriter-directors sought fervently to find the most suitable stories and affable presenters, and ensure top visual quality for this premeditated structure. People were interviewed and filmed as families/households or friend groups to reach audiences of all ages. Still, the series self-evidently utilised fast-paced TV expression and popular music, because the production company wanted to engage young viewers as the most strategic audiences.

At the time of this research, the series has an audience of at least half a million; one million is the highest realistically possible, half of which counts among the highest average viewing figures for Finnish primetime series. It became popular especially among new TV audiences, namely young men and young couples. The production team used about 80 citizen stories per season, while they received 2,500–3,000
applications. They needed to employ an extra person to make the phone calls, and only 10 percent of the applicants received a call.

In the final stage of the selection process, the scriptwriter-directors themselves wanted to interview the volunteers to ensure that the stories and presenters were interesting enough for the camera. It was impossible for them to follow any equal admission criteria for the applicants, or to film regularly in far-flung locations. The scriptwriter-directors resorted to complicated classification systems to justify their actions and to reassure themselves. They used specific colour codes for classifying the stories suitable for bright and faster parts of the dramaturgy, and other codes for the dark and slow parts.

*To Nightwish with Love* attracted hundreds of fans, who sent in their video materials and drawings. The production policy pursued public service broadcasting (PSB) objectives such as equal engagement (Scannell 1989; Born 2005; Mäntymäki 2009), and the scriptwriter-directors indicated their desire to engage with the maximum number of different fanhood angles. This kind of amateur-shot production was still a rare exception in Finnish production culture, and the professionals were under pressure to succeed in their experiment. They repeatedly problematised non-professional picture quality, which they had to accept to some extent. Instead, they applied PSB standards to control the end product: thanks to the high-quality professional editing process, it was possible to select a versatile set of amateur performances and compose them in the most adequate way.

The two scriptwriter-directors had free rein over how to utilise Facebook, and they explained their desire to engage fans and to source ideas from the fan communities. However, according to their detailed reflections, the TV professionals used this new tool mainly as an agile means to acquire materials for their own purposes. Moreover, they utilised Facebook as a kind of teaching platform and justified their side role as media educators for the fan communities by appealing to the amateurs’ needs: for example, they issued detailed orders as experts in picture composition and gave encouraging artistic feedback. Implicitly they surely followed one of the oldest PSB ideals, citizen enlightenment (Mäntymäki 2009).

For the *The Night Patrol*, finding interesting patrols with distinctive members who could hold discussions with one another and with whom the different members of the audience could identify was the leading principle in casting, as the production tried to reach both dedicated and casual viewers. The director selected five police crews from five towns per season, and after eight seasons there were no difficulties in finding volunteers. The key cinematographer could not interfere with the casting, and during filming his primary obstacle to real cooperation with the two officers and their changing anonymous clients – with faces blurred for confidentiality – on the locations was clear: he alone was responsible for picking and recording the mutable and sometimes threatening chains of events. In his reflections he cited the documentarian’s tacit knowledge when highlighting his supreme role in making shooting decisions on time. He eagerly explained how he kept his broad range of technical equipment available for use, supposing that it helped him concentrate on observing and listening to the police officers talk.

To conclude, many compulsory productive reasons limited the TV professionals’ actual possibilities in selecting and utilising the life stories of amateurs. In all cases, the professionals took nearly self-evident control over the digital production tools in shooting and editing. The scriptwriter-directors harnessed the new social media tools at their
disposal for selecting or evaluating the applicants based on predetermined criteria than for communicating with them. Neither did the TV professionals negotiate with the amateurs about how to advance and to democratise communication. Conversely, they seem to not even be aware that the volunteers may have wanted to bring up their own opinions concerning the frustrating selection systems.

**Building multivocal presenter-audience communities on screen**

All the productions followed contemporary ideals of live television (Marriott 2007) and the volunteer presenters had a close and emotional contact with the TV audience. Liveness refers to elements that resemble live broadcasts, and these elements acquire new forms and are growing in number in today’s TV; they are at the core of new media modes, as well (Couldry 2003). The documentary parts were based on face-to-face narration and reverse shots. In *The Night Patrol* the direct cinema-esque narration gave the impression that viewers were following the incidents as if they were happening in their own neighbourhood and the encounters were shown through the eyes of the police officers. In *The Soundtrack of Love* and *To Nightwish with Love*, the participants shared how they faced their fears and challenges during turning points in their lives and received help from their families and friends or from the band, which they cited as their passion. *The Soundtrack of Love* also utilised a specific studio design to build the stimulating or occasionally even ecstatic sense of community with a ‘must-see’ feeling: the segments were recorded in 360-degree amphitheatres, so that the MCs, music performers, and ordinary people as the interviewees were all capable of addressing the audience directly.

The liveness gave even more scope to elements of authenticity. The TV professionals said they wanted to show the volunteers’ personal expressions and body language, adding that they highly valued the originality of the videos. They also wanted to allow the amateur performers to express their personal opinions and views as well as feelings of hesitation, doubt, and disagreement. *To Nightwish with Love* resembled a live-person gallery or a scrapbook for the viewers to identify with the inspiring fandom. The two scriptwriter-directors instructed the fans to upload emotional selfies and confessional videos on Facebook, where they spoke about their commitment to the band directly and expressed their fandom through symbolism on their physical bodies and everyday items. They argued that the volunteers’ contact with the viewers is more authentic and intimate, and the fans spoke more openly about their passions with no external camera crew present.

In *The Soundtrack of Love*, the two scriptwriter-directors prided themselves on their ability to disturb the amateur presenters as little as possible during recording; the team wanted to give them space during filming, and in the studio scenes the crew decided not to use heavy lighting. They also commented that deep emotions are very much needed in television, the core problem being that Finnish participants don’t always have very conspicuous reactions to either difficult or delightful moments in their life stories, or to the musical surprises their friends or relatives organise for them. In this situation, TV professionals said that they started to use numerous close-ups to highlight the citizens’ smaller physical reactions and make sure that the Finnish TV audience could better receive and interpret the ‘stormy feelings’ of the people on screen.
To sum up, the scriptwriter-directors and the key cinematographer put their efforts into building multivocal presenter-audience communities on screen. Surely the amateur presenters’ authenticity is mediated through the virtual televisual world (Enli 2015), and these virtual communities are built for enhancing audiences’ emotions (Grindstaff 2002). Even so, this kind of work required skills needed in craft-based documentary work. The TV professionals took responsibility for their solutions in content and expression and adapted high-quality audiovisual and documentary means from film history: various means of documentary expression are still widely taught in Finnish film and media schools. The professionals expressed a desire to broaden their creativity and to self-direct their work: it was definitely impossible for them to lean on any mechanistic division of labour, and they assumed exceptionally broad job descriptions. All the screenwriter-directors turned initially towards reciprocal cooperation to share the workload. They also tried to arrange time for carrying out more elaborate encounters especially with presenters they picked from the flood of applicants.

**Tensions in the reflections of professionals**

During the interviews, the scriptwriter-directors and the key cinematographer often implied how they had to combine different aims. They openly celebrated their own artistic possibilities and justified their leading role in programme-making by arguing that their aim was to respect both the volunteers and the audience by making high-quality products, by ensuring high visual and sound quality during filming. They also paid tribute to their collaborators, on whom they are reliant for their own artistic purposes. Moreover, they were curious about the reactions of their viewers, and they collected this feedback directly from their relatives and friends.

The production team on *The Soundtrack of Love* brought up a few frustrating encounters with the volunteers and audiences. They challenged the preset orders and restrictions of the productions, and the team cohesion seemed to provide cover for them to alienate themselves from conflicting demands. After efforts to be polite to the amateurs, the scriptwriter-directors were annoyed when they collectively reflected upon situations where persons invited to be thanked on television refused to appear. They wondered rhetorically ‘where they had gone wrong’, since they felt that citizens didn’t want to take part in the TV show despite its high quality. The team also reflected comments which they received from their older relatives, who are supposed to belong to the general audience as well. The young scriptwriter-director described jokingly that his grandmother probably felt young again listening to such noisy music, and a colleague replied how another grandmother actually made a joke about the non-stop pace of the series. The team reacted to the arisen confusion with a collective laugh.

The lone cinematographer stated that his main interest was to watch the police work as if they were his friends. He reported feeling that he reached his maximum capacity when trying to follow dialogue and action at the same time and simultaneously capture understandable and homogeneous visual narratives: he spoke at length about his personal wellbeing. When he reflected on a specific state of change, when producers gave him the production company’s renewed expectations on how to maintain the narrative pace, he problematised his own power to revise his filming.
Perhaps the most complicated articulation of the constitutive tension occurred during one team reflection in *To Nightwish with Love*. The two scriptwriter-directors provided the amateur participants with detailed exercises, and they evaluated and guided amateur outputs according to their own preferences. Simultaneously they argued that diverse viewpoints were what contributed most to the quality of the programme; along with ordering the materials, they prevented the amateurs from seeing each others’ suggestions on Facebook. During one exercise, the scriptwriter-directors expressed disappointment because they felt that the amateur output imitated professional TV expression, which they called ‘too ordinary’. In this specific situation, they highlighted the reciprocal dependence between the capabilities of amateurs and professionals.

The findings showed that tensions came to the fore situationally through encounters where the executive TV professionals had to react to the actions or claims of their cooperating partners in meaning-making (Suchman 1987). In these situations the individual audience members, performers, or representatives of the production companies questioned the strategies through which the professionals tried to cope with their work. These tensions referred to wider shortages in mass-produced day-to-day productions mentioned in the second section: they have proven extremely restrictive for directors and cinematographers.

**Conclusions**

Finnish TV professionals seem to find creativity and freedom by balancing between top-down industrial practices and bottom-up documentary practices. They justified their work by following ethical and democracy-supporting principles from the Finnish and Nordic PSB tradition, but they couldn’t actually advance fresher PSB values more relevant in the participation culture, such as audience empowerment (Lunt 2009; Mäntymäki 2009). Consequently, they felt confused when they met situational tensions that reminded them that there were still aims beyond their reach.

However, the TV professionals were able to produce multivocal documentary-based narration, imitating Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1991) ideas, applied by Matusov (2009) in dialogic pedagogy. The investigated programmes introduced amateur participants as subjects of their own lives, and provided a background for their emotions and opinions. The amateur presenters were able to reveal their intentions to the audience, creating an inalienable possibility for viewers to identify directly with the performers’ life stories and to examine and question the meanings that the performers provided for them (Holland et al. 1998). This is in parallel with the findings of earlier television research (Livingstone and Lunt 1994; Lunt 2009; Williams (1974) 2003), showing that television with its multipotent audiovisual means has been able to form a lively public sphere that integrates fragmented reflections and enables the building of multilevel but collective identities.

In the activity-theoretical framework, the ultimate aim is to release the potential for activity in both professionals and ordinary citizens. This study concentrated only on the practices and views of TV professionals. The aims and skills of the amateur participants and their ability to take advantage of opportunities accessed within the cooperative production process remained uninvestigated. Detailed analysis on how the investigated programmes appealed to the sensitivities of the amateur participants was not included.
A TV production staff’s professional development toward more inclusive and emancipatory production practices can be built on the relevant strata of their current skills (Vygotsky 1978). Their abilities in planning multivocal TV narration can be transferred (Tuomi-Gröhn and Engeström 2003) into face-to-face cooperation with amateurs and applied in all encounters during the production process, starting with volunteer selection and expanding and delivering the current means professionals have of controlling the production process.

It is even possible to build a co-production or collective learning platform based on emancipatory documentary practices, for TV professionals and amateurs alike, and consequently for TV audiences as well. In today’s perceptions of emergent learning, the sense-making of all participants comes into being through various forms of participation and is formed through negotiations between multiple professional and amateur groups (R. Engeström 2013). Social television of this kind gives room for participants to negotiate social meanings, and for splintering and converting non-conscious, automated, and repressive meanings and practices into something new, relevant, and more productive for social action (Bakhtin 1991; Holland et al. 1998; Shaw 2002; Matusov 2009). Furthermore, it could be a place to develop transformative agency in the participants, which is defined as their capacity to take purposeful action to change their activity (Engeström 2013).

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Television Programmes

