Cultural industry workers who produce

Reality TV in Germany:

Motivations, skills and identity work

Master Thesis

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Foreword

When it was time to decide what to write the master thesis about, I already knew my topic. Why? Right before starting the master's program I had worked at a German TV production company. I enjoyed the work very much but struggled with two things: identifying with the TV format's content I was working for and keeping myself motivated despite missing identification. My master thesis should eventually be about cultural industry workers, their motivations and identification in the field of TV production. Since I considered employment in a production company as a future professional prospect, the idea for this master thesis came up and encouraged me further to analyze the individual themes. This research has accompanied me now for almost an entire year.

Fortunately, I have never been alone on my journey. Several people have been by my side and I would like to thank them in this foreword. My thanks go to my supervisor Janna Michael who has been overseeing my progress or at least my attempts at progressing over the past months. I will remember the meetings we had because they were always pleasant, inspiring and effective. Janna knows how to motivate and to keep you thinking positive even if you are feeling down. An additional fun factor of the meetings was Janna's and my struggle to discuss academic terms in German. At times we did not come up with the appropriate German words. I also would like to dedicate big thanks to the eleven respondents who have told me about their professional lives in German TV production. Their opinions, values and beliefs have not only helped me realize the research but have given me valuable personal insights as well. I owe a special thank you to those respondents who brought me into contact with their colleagues or suggested further possible interview partners. In the time I have written this thesis, I have received support from my family and friends as well. I would like to thank Sabine Jansen, Reinhard Jansen, Julia Jansen and Christioph Kowalewski for always believing in me and motivating me. They also knew how to calm me down when necessary and reminded me in moments of doubt that I could finish this thesis. I dedicate this foreword to all my family and friends who have been a great support because they could cheer me up, distract me whenever I needed a break and also gave advice. I especially thank Matthi Heinen, Elisabeth Späth and CRIZLL for their support. Dankeschön!

Now, the final version of my master thesis is finished. Hopefully, it will give pleasure for the readers inasmuch as it has been a delight (and sometimes pain) for me to write it.

Abstract

Cultural industry workers make compromises in terms of their cultural capital, their attitudes towards lowbrow culture, and their creative skills to work for Reality TV formats in German production companies with a commercial orientation. They find means to motivate themselves despite some inconvenient working conditions and also find ways to uphold their artistic integrity by either consciously or unconsciously applying identity work strategies. How they (attempt to) accomplish this in spite of possible gaps between their personal standards and the cultural products they produce is subject of this thesis and point of origin for the call of a new conceptualizations which are not only valid in the case of TV production but also transferable to all sectors of the culture industries. This can best be established with the support of concepts and theories from different academic disciplines because analyzing motivations and strategies of cultural industry workers goes beyond the scope of a single discipline. I argue that it is high time for an interdisciplinary approach which is due to the fact that the decisions persons make before starting and during the course of professional lives depend on multiple factors. For instance an individual's cultural capital might be the trigger to enter this profession and could explain the willingness to compromise potential discrepancies. Testing to what extent cultural capital understood as possessing knowledge in the field of culture and having creative skills exerts an influence is the point of origin. Yet, the sociological concept by Bourdieu, that has been introduced to studies of cultural industries alone are not sufficient to get the full image of what motivates. I am convinced that motivation theories, generally applied in the field of psychology, can assist in exposing the incentives to work for in TV companies. Cultural capital and motivation theories are suitable enough to explain the motivations to work but on their own do not suffice to explain how to maintain artistic integrity whilst producing for Reality TV which next to their lowbrow status often receives disapprobation from the public. Particular identity work strategies complete the innovative approach, namely distancing and evaluative tweaking as well as drawing symbolic boundaries. In order to check all theories and concepts for their applicability, I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews with the creative staff, editors and authors, of TV production companies. Based on the results derived from their comprehensive replies, I make suggestions for how the findings can effectively be employed in this context and how they can their conceptualizations transferred to other domains of

the culture industries with comparable patterns. By having realized the rationale of grounded theory, this research will have contributed to invigorate interdisciplinary approaches among sociology, psychology and media studies. The cooperation will expand any type of field research.

Terms: cultural and social capital, cultural industry workers, identity work strategies, lowbrow, motivation theories, Reality TV

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1. Introduction

Reality TV has become an integral part in today's worldwide TV landscape. Every year, new productions are conceptualized and come into the market. This circumstance does not only have an influence on the consumers' viewing habits but also affects those people who work for television. In this master thesis, the focus is on the employees working for particular TV production companies which develop or produce Reality TV productions in Germany. Further emphasis is on their motivation for and views on their careers. It is about finding out how these employees are personally engaged with the 'lowbrow' cultural products they produce for a mass audience, especially when they themselves possess a high cultural capital in terms of having accomplished a university degree. One wonders if they only work for the money or if they tend to be more convinced of the value of their 'products' and might not even classify them as 'lowbrow' themselves. Further examinations of their motivations to work in this profession where they are on the one hand creative, yet at the same time they are also restricted by the demands of the German market, the wills and wishes of the superiors and broadcasters. In addition, the employees should be creative and have a sense for what content attracts the consumers otherwise nobody will watch the shows and low ratings inevitably lead to cancellations.

1.1 Research question

All these problem statements combined lead to the overall research question: how do employees of TV production companies motivate themselves to produce 'lowbrow'/'popular' content and which strategies do they apply to upkeep their artistic integrity? The concepts of lowbrow and popular are a complex issue and will be thoroughly addressed in section 3.3 of the theoretical framework. Artistic integrity shall be understood in the same fashion as Wei (2012) uses it, namely to keep the level of creativity high whilst producing cultural products which succumb to commercial demands and may even go against their aesthetic dispositions.

It is the anticipation to find answers with the combined application of an innovative and interdisciplinary theoretical framework. I argue that the combination of a couple of sociological concepts with motivation theories from the academic discipline of psychology is

applicable in this regard. The sociological concepts include Bourdieu's (1996[1992], p. 142) conception of what forms of capital are helpful in the mass production sector of the culture industries. In order to grasp Bourdieu's ideas, one needs to understand his (1984[1979]) notions of the forms of capital and his division in the four types: cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital. Bourdieu's categorizations matter inasmuch as Hesmondhalgh (2006) wishes to continue and extend the applicability of the forms of capital in the field of cultural production, more precisely media production. I intend to contribute to this by testing which role cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984[1979] & 1986) matter-of-factly has in the TV production business. The workers can make and do make use of this form of capital, in particular creativity which according to Bourdieu & Passeron (1977[1970]) is a part of cultural capital. It shall be investigated how it affects their attitudes, beliefs and values about the cultural products they create. In their cases, they work or have worked for Reality TV genres for which it is unknown to what extent cultural capital matters. During production, a discrepancy between one's aesthetic disposition and the cultural product and problems with identification can emerge. Certain motivation theories might offer explanations how this apparent dissonance can be overcome. The cultural industry workers can also apply strategies for compensations, either consciously or unconsciously. There is a range of identity work strategies which would go beyond the constraints of this thesis. So, only strategies from two researchers (Weber, 2000 & Wei, 2012) who have researched cultural industry workers albeit in different contexts are considered. Wei (2012) mentions two forms of identity work strategies, distancing tweaking and evaluative tweaking whereas Weber (2000) uses the term symbolic boundaries. Only research which incorporates such a diversity of theoretical concepts can lead to results that illuminate insights for the workforce of TV production appropriately.

Moreover, the methodology, videlicet qualitative semi-structured interviews shall support and guarantee a well-founded research. The focus is on the employees of German TV production companies and their views on working in one sector of the cultural industries. There are more points why it is high time for the conduction of this specific research. In accordance with Hesmondhalgh (2008) and Wei's (2012) claim, research on the feelings of cultural industry workers so far has been rare. This is in spite of the fact that the number of the workforce in artistic labor and the cultural industries keeps on rising steadily (Menger,

2006). Hence, it is important to get authentic insights with the support of interviews with those employed in this sector. The cultural industries exist everywhere in the world and consistently expand. It is important to be aware that every country's television culture has its unique history and how the operations take place varies as well. So, it would be a too ambitious task to analyze the employees worldwide or the so-called "Western world". One specific case study is selected and shall function as a transferable example for comparable counterparts around the globe and for similar sectors of the cultural industries. To my knowledge, such an in-depth research has not been done before in Germany and this makes one eager to discover more in this realm. Thus in this thesis, one primarily considers aspects of the production side of a particular cultural industry which shall be recognizable for the reader to be easily transferable to any other cultural sector with a commercial orientation. In so doing, one can uncover both societal and theoretical relevancy and formulate expectations.

1.2 Societal relevance

I adhere to Wei's (2012, p. 445) argument why he finds the investigation of cultural industry workers who produce 'lowbrow' content necessary in order to understand their (assumed) everyday tensions between their personal creativity and the powerful and decisive commercial demands. Analyzing this potential[1] area of conflict in the context of German TV production has not been undertaken before, and that is why the insights gained into the modern conditions of the cultural industries will provide a societal relevance, at first with the scope for Germany. Regardless of whether this country's cultural industries distinguish themselves from other ones, societies worldwide can receive an impression of the interdependence of creativity and commerce in modern TV production. Analyses of this topic can be undertaken in the contexts of countries or similar cultural fields as well.

What is more, Reality TV enjoys popularity worldwide (Nunn, 2013) and is predicted to be one of the staples of TV (Magder, 2004, p. 151). According to their statements, Reality TV programs cannot be thought away from today's (Western) television cultures and investigations into this field of media studies enlightens the public about them.

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[1] I added 'potential' because I am not sure if the tensions which Wei mention also apply in the case of German cultural industry workers at this early stage. In the analysis chapters, I attempt to disclose the hypothetical tensions are

1.3 Theoretical relevance

The research can enhance further information of how artistic labor in a capitalist society looks like nowadays. Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2008 & 2010), Ursell (2000), Weber (2000) and Wei (2012) have made significant contributions in the field of workers in the cultural industries. They use or have developed themselves theories, strategies and concepts in regard of these industries. For the theoretical relevance, I intend to revisit several[2] of those and check the applicability in the field of German TV production.

Furthermore, the findings of the research could present incentives for international scholars to take the theoretical framework and execute the research in their respective countries and/or compare country-specific differences. Research in specific areas helps scholars from all over the world to get better qualitative insights in the cultural industries, their workers, their motivations. It further encourages them to conduct comparative analyses in related cultural fields whose alignment is with the commercial market. Hence they can compare and juxtapose findings, and add alterations when applicable. In addition, they eventually can review if their results are probable and justifiable.

An interdisciplinary approach has been chosen for the conduction of this research. Differing concepts and theories from the academic disciplines sociology, media studies and cultural sciences become strengthened by the additional application of motivation theories usually applied in the field of psychology. Those theorems have been commonly conceptualized by scholars of psychology to investigate opinions and feelings of employees within many different types of professional environment. Connecting scholarly knowledge and achievements from these two disciplines enriches the world of academia inasmuch as it reminds us of the unity and flexibility of knowledge and it may breach communication gaps between the disciplines (Nissani, 1997, pp. 210-213). Nissani (1997) joins a squad of eminent researchers (inter alia Gusdorf, 1979, pp. 123-160) who all together take a strong stand for interdisciplinary approaches in the social sciences and its related disciplines.

Another conceptual contribution occurs in the scholarly and general discussions about the definitions of 'lowbrow' and popular which still enjoy prominence in the fields of sociology and media studies. Many articles in journals that are specialized for either one of those disciplines address the presentation of the dilemma of the relevance of such debates

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[2] Inter alia one can mention: *identity work strategies, symbolic boundaries*

in today's societies. All the above mentioned reasons would be the theoretical relevance and the contribution of this research for the academic world.

1.4 Expectations

I expect to gain better insights in regard to why highly-educated individuals decide to find employment in companies which produce popular content that most associate with or label as 'lowbrow'. Furthermore, I anticipate that most employees are in principal motivated and, even if they cannot completely identify with the content, fill the gap by applying the strategies of identity work which means that they have found personal justifications that upholds their artistic integrity. Furthermore, they could enjoy high cultural activities in their spare time and do not need this at their workplace.

But at the same time, the CIWs might feel constraints and at least some form of pressure from the broadcasting stations which demand content that attracts the consumer and the market in general. In addition, they have to deal with the unknown success of their work, (Zabel, 2009), an uncertainty that is best described by Richard Caves (2003) and his *nobody knows principle*. Despite these worries, I also expect that their precarious labor conditions, which are typical of professions in the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), induces them to work harder and on top of that lets them forget about their stance on the content they currently produce. Since one, however, cannot foretell their attitudes, only interviews will provide answers and might reveal divergent results.

2. Theoretical framework and previous research

This theoretical framework is structured in a particular manner. First, television production overall and in Germany is explored. Then the cultural industry workers are presented and previous research about them is elaborated. Next, the field of attention is the role *cultural capital* and also other forms of capital plays in cultural production. Due to the vast amount of literature about and the varieties of *cultural capital*, I confine it to Bourdieu's conception in 'Distinction' (1984[1979]) and the three forms of it (1986[1983]) of which the *institutionalized cultural capital* matters most. This is done because of the expectation that a homology of the aesthetic disposition and the final product is difficult to be upheld by the employees since their official institutionalized cultural capital should be high[3]. Consequently, it focuses on work in German TV production companies and so the German TV landscape demands elaboration. Up next, the emphasis on the specific Reality TV genre and scholarly debates and theories about the applicability of the definition of lowbrow' in the regard of popular cultural production follow. Therefore, common definitions of the entities lowbrow, popular, TV production with a commercial market orientation, and Reality TV require clarification. Studies and articles relevant or related for this particular research are consulted. After this section, the emphasis is on the units of analysis of this research, the CIWs. This part introduces innovative interdisciplinary concepts and theories from the disciplines sociology, media studies and psychology that all possess relevance for the examination of cultural industry workers and their employment. The use of motivation theories, the application of identity work strategies and symbolic boundaries are explained and referred to in the context of the cultural industry workers. By having elaborated these concepts and theories, three external factors, namely the demand of the market, cultural intermediaries of TV production and the consumers, the targeted audience, gain signification for the fact that they form external factors for the editors/authors' working life and accordingly need to be included.

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[3] High means: successfully accomplished university degree

2.1 Television production and television studies

At first, elaboration of the field of television, its production and its significance for today's (Western) societies and the German society in particular is necessary since this will facilitate the understanding of the working environment of cultural industries workers. Television has become a medium without which today's society cannot be imagined and which is the transmitter of cultural goods (Bignell, 2008; Miller, 2013). Being considered a new cultural medium since it has not existed a century ago, television has strongly shaped and changed the perception of today's world and accounts for the creation of hundreds of thousands employments worldwide[4].

Originally conceptualized to transmit information (Bignell, 2008), television has developed and extended into the most popular medium for entertainment, leisure time or simply pastime (Hartley, 2008, p. 1). Although new emerging forms of media, most prominently the Internet, gain more and more importance, it remains the medium which most people receive the news and consume culture (Bignell, 2008; Kleiner & Rappe, 2012). By explicitly stating the significance and immense importance of television as one can deduce from numerous statistics of how many people watch it in Germany alone (inter alia presented by Zubayr & Gerhard, 2014) and in the entire world, one needs to take into account those who produce for television; those who are responsible for informing and/or entertaining the masses. Research on the production side is performed much less than on the content or the audiences according to Bignell (2008).

Therefore, the field of television studies assists with several and the most common critical theories in this "new, dynamic, and rapidly changing field of work" (Bignell, 2008, p. 1). Both Bignell (2008) and Miller (2013) primarily focus on U.S-American and British television production, yet theories are seen as universal and transferable by Bignell (2008, p. 3). Television Studies foremost revolve around broadcast television (p. 14), everything that is shown on TV – also called small screen by Bignell (2008) – with some off-screen exceptions which are not relevant for this thesis. The first academic thoughts about TV have been formulated in the 1930s, the early phase of television, and the medium was viewed upon

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[4] According to 'statista', more than 288.000 people were employed in TV programming in the EU; more than 600.000 in total in the EU: http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/373903/umfrage/beschaeftigte-in-der-fernsehindustrie-in-der-eu-nach-taetigkeitsbereich/

with a perspective of realism (p.30) as offering information should have been its primary function and value.

Nowadays, analyses about television have significantly altered due to the enormous technological advances, changing societal structures and the consequent new procedures in the television production processes. As mentioned earlier, television is not only regarded as the provider of information any more but also fulfils the function to entertain. Since this is the case, internal structures within TV production needed to adapt to these constant changes and so, the working environment for all the employees is in a constant flux as well.

2.2 The German TV landscape

How overall television production is structured and interconnected across Germany requires more insights because it shapes the framework where the units of analysis, the cultural industry workers find employment. But first a historical overview of Germany's TV landscape demands elaboration because it shapes the framework conditions of this research. Certain transitions have had major impacts on how television is structured and considerable shifts within the TV landscape have altered the processes and operationalizations decisively. With the official establishment of the Federal Republic Germany in 1949 a new era of television began which has gone through tremendous changes in the almost seventy years since then, from one single program on air in the 1950s to the multi-channel landscape reality it composes as of today.

As it is the case in most Western countries (the United Kingdom and Austria are other representative examples), Germany's television landscape is divided in the public sector which receives significant funding by the state[5] and the private sector that possesses a commercial orientation. This means the sector mainly finances their programs by receiving money from companies which can advertise their products in commercial breaks. This division exists in Germany since 1984, the year in which the first private channels began their broadcasting.

According to inter alia Karstens and Schütte (2010, p. 385), the establishment of private broadcasters was initiated and monitored by "economic interests" and "political wishful thinking". Whereas economic interests are more or less self-explicable, political

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[5] In Germany and Austria a yearly license fee called "Rundfunkbeiträge" also applies.

wishful thinking implies the thought about television as being supportive of the state and with commercial channels, the execution of indirect power was believed to continue. Despite the influence of politics on this division, the economic aspect of a commercial orientation and capitalist profitability possesses the greater significance in this thesis. Political influences on German TV media most likely persist to this day but analyzing these is not apt here. More important is the common claim of scholars (e.g. Reichertz, 2008) that at the beginning not many could imagine that the private broadcasters would supersede the public sector by attracting more viewers with their mainly entertaining shows.

Since higher viewing figures are assumed to generate more potential buyers for the advertised products/services, the number of ratings and reaching the most viewers as possible is more important than creating content with an informative value for the private sector. In Germany, the most successful television channel networks in terms of ratings and economic revenues are the *Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland* located in the media region Düsseldorf & Cologne and the *ProSiebenSat1 Media AG* whose headquarters are in Munich.

One can only comprehend the German TV landscape today if one knows about its particular past and the events which made it to the landscape it is currently: diverse with multiple channels and facing growing competition from the Internet or extending its status digitally and the increasing number of companies, in particular German TV companies.

2.3 German TV production companies

The emphasis is now on the workplace of the cultural industry workers. Further descriptions of the operations of the TV production companies in Germany with a primary focus on the commercial market occur. Next to the broadcasting television stations themselves, these production companies are the principal provider of employment for thousands of people in Germany. TV production companies, as their name already suggests, produce and in some cases conceptualize all kinds of formats for the broadcasters of the TV channels. The broadcasters then function as cultural intermediaries by overseeing the results, providing comments and feedback, and eventually being the decisive force behind the realization of a program. So, the production companies' employees are usually dependent on the wishes of the broadcasters (Karstens & Schütte, 2010).

It needs to be stressed that, due to the focus on the employees of companies that mainly produce 'popular', entertaining content (similar to Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010 &Wei, 2012), the investigation in this thesis is narrowed down to the kind of TV production produced by those production companies and meant solely for commercial purposes. That exclusion counts for TV companies which produce Reality TV formats for public television stations as well because there is no commercial orientation but rather the informative and 'educational mandate'[6] should have priority.

More information about today's processes the networks and the operations in German TV production companies with a commercial orientation is provided by several scholars (Moßig, 2004; Sydow & Staber, 2002; Sydow & Windeler, 2001, Zabel, 2009) and they help to perceive this particular cultural industry in the German context. Moßig (2004), Sydow and Staber (2002), and Sydow and Windeler (2001) elaborate the project networks of the TV production companies. In the German context, the concept of project networks and outsourcing the production to a specialized company is relatively new (Sydow & Staber, 2002) in comparison to the United States for example. Before having production companies do the groundwork, the broadcasting station itself employed producers of their programs. This procedure keeps being the standard model of public channels. Yet, outsourcing has been more strongly practiced since the 1990s (Zabel, 2009, p. 21), and nowadays, it is the common practice of commercial broadcasters (Sydow & Windeler, 2001) which changes the working conditions of the employees insofar that they rather produce for projects instead of continually working for a channel's content. Outsourcing has fostered project-based work and demands a stronger sense of networking (Sydow & Staber, 2002; Sydow & Windeler, 2001). Close relations and successful productions[7] with the broadcasters promote the reputation of the production company and often lead to the realization of more projects.

As has been shown in the section of the German television landscape, project work creates divergent prerequisites for the employees. Long-ranging contracts that used to be and still are the norm at Germany's public channel broadcasters *ARD* and its regional outlets, and *ZDF* have been replaced by temporary and short-term contracts (Zabel, 2009). These kinds of contracts are the rule in the majority of cultural industries businesses

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[6] In the German TV landscape, the public channels officially have an educational mandate, the 'Bildungsauftrag".
[7] In regard of ratings

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(Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008) and underline the procedure models of the production companies: hiring employees for a short term and/or when necessary and depending on the length and profitability of projects. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) have analyzed working conditions at different cultural industry sectors, among others television production companies. After having interviewed the cultural workers themselves, the two scholars have come to the conclusion that those conditions "[…] led to expressions of victimisation and anger on the part of many workers; a sense of being on the receiving end of harsh and aggressive treatment", (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010, p. 17). The rather precarious situation the employees are in presents a dilemma for the employees. One could conclude from Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) finding that the motivation for working for popular formats is born out of necessity in order not to lose one's occupation.

2.4 Cultural industry workers in TV production

The workplace of the employees, the production companies, has been elaborated and it is time to dedicate the focus on the cultural industry workers. First, one may wonder who is meant by 'cultural industry workers' (CIWs). Since the 'cultural industries' or 'creative industries' are broad terms and encompass a varying number of professions depending on whom defines these industries and whom one includes as a cultural industry worker (Hirsch, 1972). Hence, pinpointing who and what is part of the cultural industries is open to debate but in the broadest sense, every profession aiming at producing in order to contribute to an entity's culture, e.g. a nation's society, can be included according to Hirsch (1972). Hesmondhalgh (2012), in his work about cultural industries regards three aspects as the most important features. He (p.4) states that within these industries, products are made and produced that influence our knowledge, understanding, and experience. They have the role as systems for the management of creativity and knowledge and affect economic, social and cultural change. In line with Hesmondhalgh, the 'core cultural industries (p.17) include areas such as broadcasting, film industries or music industries.

Those people who play a pivotal role in providing content for the TV formats and thus take a crucial part in the creative process of them are meant in this thesis. Thusly, it is only one particular type of a cultural industry worker. Employees in the TV sector can work in various positions which include editors and authors, either with a temporary contract with

the option for renewal or as freelancers who only occasionally work for TV companies or a certain TV company. In academic articles with the specific focus on these employees, they are primarily labeled as *being cultural industry workers for* example by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2008 & 2010), Mayer (2009) or Wei (2012) and several more.

Several of the television production companies' employees occupy the positions which are officially called producers but the term cultural industry workers (CIWs) is more suitable and encompasses all employees who are part of the creative process of a TV production. In their everyday work life, CIWs at TV production companies are responsible to come up with content for all sorts of varying TV formats or write the scripts for those. Thus, the CIWs I am most interested in are part of the pre-production process. Another group of interest are those who evaluate their colleagues' work and the cultural 'goods' overall and these are in the majority of cases senior producers, chief editor and head authors. Hence, all the CIWs, who once started as editors or authors and have received promotions over the years. That selection naturally excludes most professions of the cultural industries that concern the actual production[8] and the post-production process.

Whereas some researchers have scrutinized the cultural industry and its employees in various contexts, only a very small number of scholars (inter alia Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008, 2010; Ursell, 2000; Wei, 2012) has dedicated their research on TV production companies in particular. While Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2008 & 2010) emphasize emotional pressures and the importance of social networks within this industry in general, Ursell (2000) focuses on the employees within the project-based structure of production companies in the United Kingdom and how networks determine or increase one's professional success in this business. In the context of U.S.-American TV production, Wei (2012) examines the employees' motivation to work for Reality TV projects and how they balance the tensions between creative labor and commercial demands. Therewith, he is one of the very few who have exclusively concentrated on what Karstens and Schütte (2010, p. 80) name employees on the production and project side of Reality TV formats. Wei (2012) has also focused on the CIW's strategies to uphold their artistic integrity. Since I find the sole application of identity work strategies not sufficient to answer the research question about motivations, an innovative theoretical framework with the CIWs as the focus of attention

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[8] e.g. make-up artists or property masters

needs to be created. To analyze them better, their forms of capital, their motivations and also their identity work strategies require elaboration. It begins with the

2.4.1 Cultural capital and other forms of capital

Pierre Bourdieu's (1984[1979]) conceptualization of cultural capital which they introduced in the work Distinction' (1984[1979]) marks one of the innovative parts of this theoretical framework. Introducing the concept is useful despite the fact that Bourdieu primarily uses *cultural capital* in regard of cultural consumption and connects it to the respective levels of education. Moreover, Bourdieu (1996[1992]) mainly discusses cultural production in respect to 'high culture' such as the fields of photography and art galleries. His understanding of cultural production hence leaves out major parts of the actual cultural production in today's society.

Relying solely on Bourdieu's distinctions (1984) or on his other earlier works would thus be insufficient because he is barely focusing there on the media and the production mechanisms (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, pp. 217-219) which are of importance in this research. Yet, together with his additional sociological research (1996[1992]) on the complexity of cultural production and his remarks on television productions (2001) – although his emphasis is almost exclusively on media journalism – Bourdieu's texts prove to be an appropriate starting point for a discussion about working in the cultural industries. His overall cultural capital theory has taken an enormous influence on the academic world, in particular the sociological world in Western Europe and non-Anglo American sociological traditions. In addition to that, secondary literature in which Bourdieu's theory is criticized and extended (i.e. Lamont & Lareau, 1988) specifically on the sphere of media (i.e. by Hesmondhalgh, 2006) contributes to realizing this thesis. Lamont & Lareau's (1988) explanations of how Bourdieu used cultural capital differently over time emphasize the confusion which might be created if one does not define how one intends to apply this concept in one's research. How then can we understand cultural capital in the context of this research?

The interviewees all have a degree in higher-level education and that is why they are assumingly in possession of a high cultural capital, at least the institutionalized form of this concept (Bourdieu, 1986[1983]). According to Bourdieu's (1984[1979], p.31) firm conviction,

those with a high cultural capital mark their cultural distance and proximity and monopolize their privileges. In addition, they (should) have a high level of creative skills which are also seen as a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977[1970). Yet, the CIWs produce 'lowbrow' products and 'work' for the masses where the ratings matter most, since the production companies' main clients – the broadcasters and the advertising companies paying for commercials – demand a commercial, market-oriented mindset of them. Cultural capital is thus not necessarily the only form of capital which matters in the working lives of the CIWs.

So, Bourdieu's (1984[1979]) other forms of capital might also possess significance why cultural industry workers choose this profession and might feel motivated. The conception of the institutionalized cultural capital or creativity as a form of cultural capital can thusly not be seen as a single unit. Baumann (2002) names two common factors for the production companies to hire staff, either through networks and recommendations or through qualifications which comprises character traits. Cultural capital is strongly interconnected and entangled with the other form of capital, namely the social capital as well as the several dimensions of cultural capital. The two other sorts of are embodied cultural capital which is internalized in the socialization process and the objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986[1983]). It follows that the concept of cultural capital shall be applied in its institutionalized state, its incorporation of creativity and it shall be examined in relation with other forms of capital. The institutionalized state has been introduced by Bourdieu (1986) as one kind of understanding of cultural capital. Moreover, the more nuanced form of cultural capital as described by Throsby (1999) possesses significance in this research, too. He (1999) states that the embodied state of cultural capital is an indispensable part of employees' working strategies and of their skills to assert themselves at the workplace. Throsby might not specifically have the cultural industries in mind but his conception concerns all kinds of workers in the economy. Furthermore, according to him, employees do not only apply their economic or social skills but connect those with the cultural capital they have accumulated over the years. He further quotes Zweigenhaft (in Throsby, 1999, p. 5) who has tested the importance of using both cultural and social capital at work. Zweigenhaft's (in Throsby, 1999, p.5) conception of the cultural capital incorporating knowledge and skills whereas social capital represents networking is applied. This has also

been done by Lee (2011) in the context of CIWs in independent TV productions. Hence, the use of the forms of cultural capital in the analysis of CIWs is not a new practice but it has not been seen in relation with the two other themes of this theoretical framework, the motivation theories and the identity work strategies.

2.4.2 Motivation to work in production companies

Another part of the innovative framework contains theories about motivation applied in the case of TV production companies. Kimmel & Violet (2010) state that motivation approaches can approach in the field of culture and the decisions to work in this sector. I take into account several motivation theories that have been elaborated in psychological researches in which scholars usually apply them either on the personal and individual (intrinsic) or on the organizational (extrinsic) level (e.g. Kimmel & Violet, 2010; Locke, 1968; Locke & Lantham, 2002). That is why a selection of the most noteworthy motivational techniques is undertaken.

2.4.3 Motivation theories

The historical overviews of the most prominent motivational theories emphasize that a big amount of variations exist and disputes prevail how they can explain a person's motivation to work. On the one hand, there are the proponents of *expectancy theory* (Wanous et al., 1983) of which *reward theory* is an influential part. Moreover, there are *goal-setting theories*, first coined by Locke (1968) and analyzed further in academia (Gómez-Miñambers, 2012; Lantham, 2007, Locke & Lantham, 2002).

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Table 1

Overview of motivation theories

Goal-setting – clear objectives support one to be motivated (Locke, 1968, Locke & Latham,
    2002)

Expectancy Theory – expectations towards the working environment; the workplace as a
    motivation (Wanous et al. 1983)

Rewards – the goals one would like to achieve and the accompanied outlook of rewards in
    form of appreciation by the employer (Kalleberg, 1977)

Advocates of the goal-setting theory proceed on the assumption that income irrelevant goals are important determinants of the employees' motivation (i.e. Gómez-Miñambers, 2012). Money could still be one goal but according to goal-setting theorists, others exist as well. For the CIW in a production company, a more important motive or objective could for example be the wish to entertain the viewers in front of the screens. The reward theory proponents (i.e. Kalleberg, 1977) emphasize the individual satisfaction as primary motives for doing one's job. Several content factors such as social factors or hours of work (Kalleberg, 1977, p. 125) influence the individual's job performance and eventually their personal motivation. Whereas goal-setting and reward theories foremost revolve around oneself, thus one's own motivation, the expectancy theory promotes the idea of explaining "[…] how much effort is expended to do a job, how individuals decide to enter (or leave) both occupations and organizations and, less often, how satisfied people are with their jobs", (Wanous et al., 1983, p. 67). In correlation with this research, the focus on external factors such as the expectations the CIWs have for their working environment is the most important contribution of the expectancy theories.

What needs to be added to the motivation theories in the case of production companies are two further aspects. Next to individual goals of self-realization, a social dimension is of high relevance. How much the work is appreciated by the employer, the public or fellow co-workers matter as well as the motivation to have a positive working environment.

However, motivation does not only revolve around positive factors. How to deal with negative aspects also plays a significant role for one's motivation. Uncertainties might be intriguing factors. The CIWs might feel constraints and at least some form of pressure from the networks which demand content that attracts the majority of consumers. In addition, they have to deal with the unknown success of their work that is typical in the case of TV production, especially in the case of private channels with their commercial orientation. Although the employees might have performed satisfyingly and sufficiently in terms of their tasks, the public might not be interested (enough) in the format and does not watch it. Low ratings are frequently the reason for a program to be abruptly canceled. The overall uncertainty of high ratings in the creative processes of TV productions is best described by Richard Caves' (2003) *nobody knows principle*. Caves' (p.74) principle refers to the

fundamental uncertainty that faces the CIW in view of the economic success of the created cultural good. According to Caves, there is only a minimal predictive value of what the audience/the viewers will like in the end and their viewing patterns decide if a program becomes a success or is (immediately) canceled. These insecure conditions might affect the CIW's motivation substantially and particular strategies might help to overcome such worries. An argument against uncertainties could come with the growing number and popularity of Reality TV formats.

2.5 Reality TV

The notion 'lowbrow' requires elaboration before research about the Reality TV genre can occur. Only then can a connection between the classification of 'lowbrow' and the genre be established. The consulting of previous research on 'lowbrow' cultural production and the Reality TV genre is necessary because there is a correlation which has become evident in researches (Kleiner & Rappe, 2012).

2.5.1 The use of 'lowbrow' in sociology

The two terms popular culture and lowbrow culture may possess similar features, yet they do not mean the same – further because the terms' use varies among researchers as it becomes evident when consulting scholarly debates. Prior to the

One of the early and most influential works on this conceptualization is Herbert Gans' (1974, 1999) critical work on popular culture He was one of the first who searched for a definition in Western, heterogeneous societies (p. 3). More recently, Grindstaff with her listings of various categorizations (2008), and Kleiner & Rappe (2012) have dedicated their works to the analysis of popular culture but come to the conclusion that several definitions are commonly applied and associated to it. Grindstaff (2008) reflects upon the distinctions made by Williams (1983), who divides popular culture into four categories. On the other hand, Kleiner & Rappe (2012) divide popular culture in only two strands, the one definition sees the popular as a form of rebellion and the other one regards it as appealing to the masses or simply most popular. It becomes apparent that the term 'popular' is disputable and can be understood in multifarious ways. Amongst others, Gans (1974) or Grindstaff (2008) have observed some scholarly tendencies towards equating popular culture with less

worthy culture, yet this is just one possible label and several other interpretations exist alongside. Gans himself advocates cultural democracy (1974, vii) which means that popular culture is not inferior in comparison to other cultural forms that are generally associated with 'high culture'. But to facilitate matters, it is hereby applied with the definition of attracting the majority of the people and of being considered of less quality by the public than other cultural products.

Moreover, the division of 'highbrow' (or simply high) or 'lowbrow'/popular has been commonly undertaken or discerned (e.g. by Bourdieu, 1984[1979]) but this notion is strongly disputed and shall be considered to be outdated according to Kuipers (2006b). Nonetheless, the notion of 'lowbrow' persists to be in use in academia which is shown by the use of it in many scholarly works even (i.e. Feuer, 2015; Kuipers, 2006b).

As described in the introduction, particular focus is on CIWs and their personal relation to their produced lowbrow cultural goods. But what exactly does lowbrow imply in the concrete case of TV? and *lowbrow* as one possibility to evaluate TV formats in the sense of it appealing to the inferior or culturally less valuable[9] tastes of the masses. Wei (2012) establishes a connection to the application of the term for the TV as a medium in general but also, and more importantly, for certain TV formats, in his case Reality TV formats.

Scholarly research views the most content produced for television as popular. Instead of dismissing the mass of popular as not worthy enough to be intriguing for further research, most scholars (inter alia Andrejevic, 2004, Biressi & Nunn, 2013) propose that especially those forms of popular culture must be more thoroughly researched. Mass culture had not been an academic discipline before the 1970s (Alasuutari, 1992) and that is why more focus is indispensable to also comprehend TV programming and all the procedures which occur in this cultural industry. Yet, specific categorizations are difficult to be made and one is required to differentiate amongst individual formats, even within a genre or among the productions with a commercial orientation.

2.5.2 TV formats with a commercial orientation

All the formats – which the TV production companies, at which each of the respondents work for, produce – can be considered 'popular' because they are forms of the Reality TV

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[9] This is not my belief nor that of most scholars but how the general public interprets this type of cultural product (see Gans, 1974 or Seiter, 1999, p.1-6)

genre or related shows that serve the commercial market. They have all been sold to commercially-oriented broadcasting channels and have been broadcast. These shows are intended to please and entertain a mass audience.

On the one hand we have those shows, which are original and not taken over by another international format. The development process (Keane & Moran, 2009) is thereby in the hands of the producers of the company and they have a 'freedom' to create and realize their own ideas. The authors and editors assist in this scenario and it consequently is the producers' responsibility to be as creative and innovative as possible. On the other side, there are those formats which in the most cases are adapted from an international precedent (e.g. Frauentausch > based on British show Wife Swap). Taking over a TV project from another country is a common and widespread practice – primarily because it is cheaper for the broadcasters to take over foreign formats than having their own shows conceptualized (and its meaning and consequences) (Frau-Meigs, 2006) are evaluated differently in the academic world. Yet, no matter how it is generally viewed, one can argue that it is also possibly another constraint for the cultural industry workers' decision-making to freely choose what they would like to do.

With the background knowledge of the term lowbrow more can be said about the lowbrow/popular cultural goods. Defining a TV program as popular is quite common (Kleiner, 2012) whereas lowbrow is a much more complicated term. It could be seen as derogatory because it is portraying some formats as inferior in its cultural value in contrast to other programs. Alasuutari (1992) has conducted an in-depth analysis on how people differentiate among TV programs in terms of their cultural value and Kuipers (2006b) has focused on a specific genre, comedy shows and the associated cultural tastes. Both show with their researches that a differentiation between high and lowbrow culture goes on to this day and influences the consumers (Kuipers, 2006b) and also the formats' producers (Alasuutari, 1992 & Kuipers, 2006b).

2.5.3 Reality TV formats – popular or 'lowbrow'?

The literature about Reality TV formats has accumulated since it first was used in the 1980s in the United States (Hill, 2005). Due to the great amount of various genres, the research about Reality TV is extensive. Scholars Murray & Ouelette (2009) make various classifications

such as the gamedoc, dating programs or docusoaps and even subgenres (Murray & Ouelette, 2009, p. 5). What is more, Hill (2005) stresses that "[…] Reality TV is associated with everything and anything, from people to pets, from birth to death", (p. 41) and therewith points out the main difficulty any researcher concerned with analyzing this part of the television medium needs to deal with, the diverse range of what can be classified as Reality TV.

Agreement exists among scholars that Reality TV is a form of factual programming and is labeled by Hill (2005) as factual entertainment and popular factual television. It shares some elements taken from documentaries such as being non-fictional in essence and other genres such as news programming or sports broadcasting (Williams, 2005, p. 639). Researchers (Feuer, 2015; Williams, 2005) from various disciplines commonly classify Reality TV as 'lowbrow'. Scholars might make distinctions among the many different Reality TV formats like Feuer's (2015) hierarchy within the genre into highbrow formats and truly lowbrow emphasizes.

What unites Reality TV formats is that they supposedly represent reality with people who are real and who are accompanied by cameras. In terms of representation then, the Reality TV genre is discernible and separable from other programs. Many scholars (i.e. Hill, 2005) pursue the question to what extent Reality TV is in matter of fact depicting 'reality' and how much content is made up by the persons in charge, the producers, editors and/or authors. Hill (2005, pp. 57-78) elaborates this 'paradox' of performance and authenticity and reaches the conclusion that the perception of realness varies from production to production and depends on factors such as the viewer's opinion. Still, Grindstaff (2009) terms Reality TV an oxymoron because in most cases, reality is not mirrored but rather a pretended version of reality is delivered by the protagonists who follow the guidelines of the producers' contracts. Consequently, there is no definite answer if Reality TV is real or not. Debates and the discord about the (degree of) 'reality' of Reality TV carry great weight for this thesis since the work of editors and authors in television production companies is affected by the setup of these productions. It makes a difference if they invent the whole content or merely add to it and accompany the procedures.

Furthermore, Reality TV is often labeled by the public as trash TV[10] (Biltereyst, 2004). At the early stage of its use in the 1990s, trash TV has rather been applied to formats like talk shows and newsmagazines (Keller, 1993). Keller (p. 195) discusses the adequacy of the label which has been attributed to those TV programs and reaches the conclusion that the term's usage is problematic in a scientific context. That is because no one can tell which formats belong in this category and which characteristics precisely determine 'trash TV'. Keller's inference from over 20 years ago has barely changed. Daniel Biltereyst (2004) describes the still prevalent opposition between quality and trash TV in wider Reality TV debates. He discusses the 'Trash position' and comes to the conclusion that "this position cannot grasp the potential of the wide variety of reality programmes, both as an instrument for social representation and as a forum for new forms of information, participation and debate", (p. 119). Biltereyst's (2004) conviction is also mirrored by Feuer (2015) who stresses the growing significance of a hierarchy among individual TV formats. This has an impact for the CIWs' motivations and identity work strategies. If Reality TV is not viewed as lowbrow or trash

2.5.4 The market, cultural intermediaries and consumers

The everyday work and motivations of the CIWs' work depends on several external factors as well. As a general rule, the CIWs must show their ideas and concepts to the employees of television networks who thoroughly scrutinize and evaluate the presented content. The networks' employees on the other hand are cultural intermediaries or cultural gatekeepers who play a key role in the cultural industries as Hirsch (1972) already pointed out forty years ago and which he (2000) still emphasizes later on. Karsten & Schütte (2010) focus on the TV broadcasters and their working operations in Germany. They (2010, p. 22) emphasize that the private German television market is highly competitive because it is difficult to impress the German audience. Broadcasting stations need to ensure high quality standards in the production and the content of its programs. Consequently, the cultural intermediaries in the field of television production have direct influence on the content of the Reality TV shows but they are in turn being restricted by the demands of the market. The market as an entity is dictated by the consumers' viewing habits which are at times difficult to predict. It follows

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[10] Trash is often used in German to describe undemanding and dull TV shows.

that the dependence on multiple agents is another variable which exerts influence on the motivation at the workplace because all of those entities want to be satisfied. One can argue, however, that with the support of their apparently high institutionalized cultural capital, the CIWs can compensate this pressure and create their own identity work (Wei, 2012) to establish their own strong identity and integrity in which they believe in.

2.6 Maintaining artistic integrity - Identity work strategies

Identity work strategies are applicable in all kinds of working environments in the cultural industries and gain significance in occupations where there might be a discrepancy between one's own artistic integrity and the cultural product. Research (Becker, 1963; Paterson, 2001; Wei, 2012) exists of how certain groups within the cultural industries apply strategies to overcome potential discrepancies. Wei (2012) has conducted research on CIWs in working for a Reality TV production in the United States. Similarly, identity work strategies will be deployed here in connection with German CIWs and their tactics to uphold their artistic integrity. In the setting of cultural industries, this concept implies the individuals' active construction of their identities in social contexts to sustain coherent and positively valued identity traits (Wei, 2012, p. 446). This is evidenced by Wei (2012) that they employ various identity work strategies to maintain artistic integrity when distorting reality to create the drama and conflicts they consider marketable.

2.6.1 Distancing and evaluative tweaking

Wei (2012, p. 455) distinguishes between distancing and evaluative tweaking. The strategies of distancing tweaking involves mental activities such as how they form an understanding of their self but also physical ones like the "selective association with other individuals and groups" and the verbal construction and assertion of personal identities. Evaluative tweaking as a strategy describes the CIWs action to "tweak the artistic standards by which they judge their work (Wei, p. 456). The CIWs then might not produce something which they personally would advocate or that might even go against their moral and ethical mindsets. It is an objective of this thesis to figure out to what extent they make use of these identity work strategies and what their further thoughts in regard of such an identity construction are.

2.6.2 Symbolic boundaries

The main reason for why knowledge about commercial 'popular' television production, specifically Reality TV production, matters a lot is because the respondents, who are the units of analysis, all work or have worked for Reality TV formats. Referring to Bourdieu's (1984, 1996) stance on cultural production, one can assume that individuals with a high cultural capital would accordingly prefer to produce high cultural content. This is not the case if someone with an alleged high cultural capital produces a cultural product with a popular value. A lack of homology could be the consequence. It follows that this apparent potentiality of an absence of 'homology', which has been analyzed by Weber (2000, p. 128) with book publishers in the United States and France, is overcome by drawing *symbolic* boundaries. In the cases of the selected TV production companies one requires a theorem that could explain how these boundaries are called into action by the employees. Perhaps, they truly believe in the value of the 'lowbrow' products. As a matter of fact, most television studies or cultural industries scholars take all forms of TV seriously and see a value in analyzing lowbrow/popular cultural products[11]. My approach to this academic dilemma is not to choose which definition might be the most applicable one. It is rather important to find out with the support of the data, the interviews, how the respondents will define popular culture and if their replies tend to support the idea of popular as lowbrow or rather popular as something for the masses. Therewith, one can examine to what degree the CIWs draw what Weber (2000) terms symbolic boundaries. They can be seen in relation to Wei's (2012) identity work strategies because with both concepts, one can describe how CIWs deal with the factor of having a discrepancy with their aesthetic disposition towards their work. But whereas the strategies shall help to surmount any potential discrepancies between the CIW and his/her product, symbolic boundaries have the purpose for the employee to keep a personal distance to the content and the quality of one's own creation as Weber (2000) depicts.

The presented theories and concepts combined shall function to create new concepts which can make the motivations of for Reality TV formats and the strategies they use to uphold their artistic integrity transferable to other research areas.

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[11] Grindstaff (2008), Kleiner (2012), and Moore (2014) offer timely overviews of different interpretations that have been discerned in scholars' researches.

3. Methods and data

The best means to answer the complex research question and the following sub-questions is to conduct qualitative interviews to receive in-depth personal information and opinions. The style of them shall be open-ended, semi-structured interviews with the authors and editors, and everyone forming part of the creative process within TV production companies. This type of interview has been chosen due to the fact the main interest is in the interviewees' experiences and understandings (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 221) in relation to the theories and the proposed concepts such 'lowbrow' as part of popular culture, their identification, motivations and revelation about the role of cultural capital. Moreover, the interviews shall be explanatory because I would like to understand the employees' attitudes towards their "products" as well as their view on the consumers. Matthew and Ross suggest that semi-structured interviews are the most appropriate way to find out about the interviewees' thoughts and viewpoints (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 223) without risking the forestalling of any replies.

3.1 Data collection

3.1.1 Period of time and locations

The data collection of my research, namely the conduction of the interviews has taken place in the time period from the end of February to mid-April in 2015. At one occasion, two interviews have been undertaken consecutively. The production companies are foremost located in the Düsseldorf/Cologne media region, but in the case of the freelancers, the companies can be located anywhere in Germany.

3.1.2 The units of analysis

The outcome of the research is strongly dependent on the individual responses provided by the employees, so the respondents themselves are the decisive unit of analysis. Considering the fact that the interviews are conducted in the German context and the interviewees are Germans, they will be exclusively held in German. All the respondents are either freelancers or work at production companies and thusly fulfill the criteria which are considered suitable for this research. The interviewees will primarily consist of editors and authors, but also

those professionals with other unspecified positions apply as long as they actively create content for television production. As long as they work (or have worked) at a German TV production company and have been part of a project which produces popular content, more particular reality television formats or show formats that are similar, they apply as interview candidates. Further characteristics like the gender or age have not been crucial in determining who is and who is not an appropriate interviewee. However, the balanced sample of varying gender and age has been considered to be able to present representative findings.

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Table 2

List of criteria for sampling method

- Employment at a German TV production company or freelancer who works for these companies

- Experience as an author/editor of at least two years in the German TV production business

- Work for at least one German Reality TV project (in the present or past) with a commercial orientation (Reality TV projects from public channels are excluded)

- Reality TV projects include the following spectrum[12]: factual entertainment, dating shows, talent contests, Scripted Reality

- Successfully accomplished university degree (one exception)[13]

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3.1.3 How many units

In total, eleven individuals have been interviewed who all fulfill the preconditioned criteria. Immediately before the conduction of the interviews, the interviewees have been elucidated about their rights. I have promised to render their names anonymous and give them aliases (first names). Further, the production companies they are employed at are not named and their productions' names have been changed if requested by the interview partner. I present them with all the necessary information in the following chart:

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[12] According to the division made by Murray & Ouelette (2009)
[13] See table: Carsten, column: university degree

Table 3

Data of the respondents

Name	Age	Job title / position	Current employment contract	Years in TV production business	University degree
Tina	39	Editor	On maternity leave	12 years	Diploma in sport
Sandra	35	Chief editor	Short-term contract	8 years	Diploma in high-school education
Christine	30	Editor	Currently unemployed (in-between projects)	2 years	Master's degree in literature and journalism
Sven	32	Producer/Editor	Freelancer (for half a year)	6 years	Diploma in sport
Simone	30	Editor	Short-term contract	4 years	Master's degree in media science
Mona	35	Editor	Short-term contract	9 years (with interruptions)	Diploma in film and TV management
David	43	Author	Freelancer (for 10 years)	18 years (with interruptions)	Diploma in theater arts
Till	30	Producer/ Chief editor	Short-term contract	6 years	Bachelor's degree in geography
Nina	32	Editor	Short-term contract	6 years	Master's degree in pedagogy
Sabrina	27	Editor	Left profession (a year ago)	2 years	Master's degree in event management
Carsten	27	Editor	Short-term contract	5 years	Apprenticeship TV/film editing

Two of the interviewees I personally knew beforehand. Hence, making an interview appointment with them has been convenient and the first step towards finding more potentially adequate candidates. In the end, the two women, Simone and Mona, are interviewees 5 and 6 because, despite the fact that they had been the first to be asked, it proved to be difficult to find a time slot due to their busy schedules. Hence, the interview with Tina, a former colleague of Simone and Mona, has been the first one. Conclusively, personal contact made the first interviews possible. Not a scientific method had been applied.

Through these three contacts, new potential interviewees were recommended which resulted in the exchange of their contact information. Finding respondents in this manner is called snowball sampling or chain referral sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Noy's (2008, p. 327) more current view on this popular sampling method is that it "[…] can generate a unique type of social knowledge—knowledge which is emergent, political and interactional." In the case of CIWs working in or for production companies, it is appropriate for them to ask current and former colleagues to participate.

However, the authors Biernacki and Waldorf (1981, p. 143) indicate certain risks of this widely used method. These include the verification of the eligibility of the respondents or the pacing and monitoring of the data quality. In order to anticipate such pitfalls, the respondents had to fulfill a set of criteria otherwise they were not considered. As soon as those criteria explained in the paragraph about the units of analysis were met, the respondent was eligible and eventually contacted. This approach to finding the most appropriate interview partners is criterion sampling, also known as relevant sampling and being one form of purposeful sampling (Patten, 1990). Checking the interviewee's eligibility/relevance has been indispensable and each individual was asked several questions before the actual interview because this could determine if someone remained eligible or lost this status to forestall a waste of time.

They all with one minor exception have successfully completed their studies. Their academic title is at least at bachelor degree level. In Bourdieu's (1984[1979]) terms, they could belong to the cultural elite and if they were the consumers, they could be part of the dominant class. First and foremost, numerous respondents neither have studied anything

related to TV production like media studies or cultural studies nor did they finish subject-specific apprenticeships. Christine, Simone, Mona, Sabrina and Carsten are actually the participants who chose to get into a related field of cultural industries after school. Tina, Till and Nina had wanted to study media related programs but were not immediately admitted so that they at first decided for another career path. Sandra, Sven and David are the three interviewees who got into the business by chance. They had opted for studies and careers which are not related to TV production.

3.1.4 Operationalization and variables

In order to achieve satisfying results, I have prepared a topic list and a structured conversation guide (suggested by Boeije et. al, 2009, p. 268). The interview has been divided into four sections. Thereby, the first one is introductory to the extent that background information about the respondent's professional past is gathered and the second part revolves around the interviewee's individual lifestyle and most importantly, his/her personal affiliation towards television. Hereby, the most decisive emphasis lies on the respondent's own opinion about television and not what he/she might know about the medium.

At the beginning of the interviews I explore their professional backgrounds and careers further in order to get a better idea of how long they work in this profession, if they only recently entered this profession, and how their start in their career was. The first section's purpose is to ease the conversation and lets the respondent reflect on his/her personal career path. Such an approach enables the researcher to receive background information and one can more easily classify the person in terms of social, cultural and educational background, knowledge which is crucial to make statements about the individual's institutionalized cultural capital.

Then, it is about which activities they like to do in their spare time. What follows are questions about their spare time activities and which role "culture" thereby plays for them. This undertaking relates to the assumption that cultural industry works may have a high institutionalized cultural capital and have a high level of creativity as a form of cultural capital. Consequently, it corresponds to the concept of Bourdieu's cultural capital which is part of my theoretical framework. Moreover, it is elaborated which personal relation they have to TV and the German television landscape in particular. More background information

but also the first attitudes, beliefs and values of the interview partners become obvious. Their stance towards the medium and the production in Germany can be an indicator for the upcoming section about motivations.

In the third section, one returns to the working environment of the CIWs and all questions here aim at discovering what motivates them to work at production companies and also what demotivates them. So, this part involves the presented motivation theories and it is checked if they are appropriate to evaluate the motivation within production companies as one important segment of the cultural industries. Scholarly hypotheses about the *goal-setting theory*, *expectancy theory* and *reward theory* are helpful to evaluate the interviewee's answers what goals, expectations and fears they have. It also provides insights in regard of their personal stances on the reality TV formats they are part of; to what extent Caves' (1974) *nobody knows principle* is applicable and in what way they use identity work strategies (Wei, 2012) uphold their artistic integrity. The third section overall contains the most questions and constitutes the greatest share of the entire interview.

With the fourth and last section, the attitudes towards and opinions about the programs where the participants are either authors or editors, shall be illuminated. The feelings the interviewees have about the shows and the consumers tells more about their motivation, their dealings with the present working conditions and their attitudes towards those who enjoy their cultural good. The answers to the questions of this section support a better understanding of how the respondents use their high institutionalized cultural capital and how they value or appreciate their audiences. These ultimate questions are very important to figure out if the aforementioned dissonance between one's own aesthetic dispositions and the product truly exists.

3.1.5 How and where

The settings of the interviews have been well-chosen in advance instead of having been randomly selected. It was important that the interviewees feel comfortable at all times and if possible, talk in a private and intimate atmosphere. This approach to the conducting of interviews has been recommended by Rubin and Rubin (2005) or Boeije et al. (2009) and is also stated in comparable literature. All respondents said before, during and after the

interview that they felt comfortable, were relaxed and they affirmed that they felt no pressure at any point of the interview.

Due to their busy schedules and long working hours, I talked to them after their work at their home or during the weekend. This has been the case with seven interviews. Those nine interviews took place at their homes after the participants had permitted it. I could also conduct the interviews in their offices[14] or somewhere on the studio grounds as it has been the case for two interviews.

Each face-to-face interview then lasted for a minimum of 42 minutes, but the majority took longer than an hour, sometimes even closer to 1 ½ hours. This of course depended on how much the respective interviewee was willing to talk because the structure of the questions was the same in all interviews and only varied if a question for clarification was appropriate or necessary. Consequently, the disparities in matters of length and duration are not a weakness. Instead, they unveil the fact that some CIWs did not wish to reveal too much about their work. In some cases, they simply talked faster or it took them a while to give a reply. It follows that the quality of what has been said shall be considered much more significant than the duration.

3.1.6 Storage of data

I have not taken notes during the interviews which have been omitted according to Legard et al.'s (2013) advice which implies that it would divert the interviewee's attention. But instead I recorded the interviews with an efficient, reliable recording device. Subsequently I have orthographically transcribed them using the transcription program Express Scribe. The transcripts are all saved in word documents on the hard drive of a laptop and two external hard disk drives. This multitude of storage guarantees that no files are lost due to any technological error or by accident.

3.1.7 Coding – based on grounded theory

Already during the first interviews, a preliminary coding scheme has been established which has been consistently modified during the accumulation process of research data. The coding procedure follows a certain method (Saldaña, 2013). Coding is a complex task "[...]

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[14] If they have their own office space

and most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data", (Saldana, 2013). Thereby, numerous possibilities exist of how to code qualitative interviews. In this research about motivations, a mixed strategy of two specific coding systems is most appropriate, and it is designed as follows. I mainly base my first coding system on Saldaña's (2011; 2013) first cycle coding method called 'initial coding' or 'open coding' as it is named by Rubin and Rubin (2005). These authors are well-respected scholars who regularly publish articles and books about conducting qualitative research which is shown by who has dedicated one of his works (2013) solely on coding qualitative interviews. Everything that seems to be noteworthy at first sight is taken into account and phrases are written down in an analytic memo. The analytic memo is a separate document which shall help to document and reflect upon the codes (Saldaña 2013, p. 41). Whilst doing this, the coding techniques value coding presented by Saldaña (2009) as a first cycle coding method, is applied. Value coding has been selected for several reasons. It "infers the "heart and mind" of an individual's worldview", (Saldana, 2011, p.105). In order to discover the motivations and identity strategies of the respondents, there is a division into three main categories: values attitude, belief:

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Table 4

Value Coding

(V) – Value = attribute as important (person, thing, idea etc.) (Saldaña, 2011; 2013)

(A) – Attitude = evaluative way we think and feel about ourselves, others, things, or ideas (Saldaña, 2013)

(B) – Belief = what we think and feel as true or necessary, formed from our "personal knowledge, experiences, opinions, prejudices, morals, and other interpretive perceptions of the social world (Saldaña, 2013)

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Each phrase and expression used by the respective interviewee can potentially reveal something about their values (V), attitudes (A), and beliefs (B). In consequence, *value coding* is an appropriate addition to the more general method of *open coding.*

After the first results of this cycle of coding are written down, analytic transitions need to take place (Saldaña, 2013, p. 187). Those transitions are required to inter alia reanalyze the data, to construct categories, to draw preliminary models and reassemble the transformed data for a better focus. A mixture of *focused coding* and *axial coding* follows next. This means, that links and relations among the coded words and phrases are established and noted. Once again, in the second cycle of coding, like in the first cycle, the codes are connected and categories are created randomly to get an idea of what could be important for the analysis afterwards.

For the electronic coding process, the use of the coding program *ATLAS.TI* is necessary because it facilitates the procedure immensely. This program is frequently applied in qualitative research and it provides the ideal virtual spaces for the coding (Saldaña, 2013). With the program, all manual codes are either altered or taken over. As a consequence, one has a complete digital copy of the coding scheme.

The entire coding scheme contains the presentation with the key features of all the varying coding procedures applied in this research and the outline appears in the appendix of this document.

3.2 Possible limitations of this method

It is not possible to speak to all the producers, editors or authors of all relevant production companies with a commercial orientation in Germany which produce Reality TV formats. But a number of eleven suitable interviewees of both genders and differing age groups will suffice to provide a representative study of how those who work for a production company motivate themselves to create lowbrow products that is transferable to other sectors of the culture industries. Also, since there is the myriad of Reality TV formats (Murray & Ouelette), working experiences for all kinds of genres could not be considered in the research. As a consequence of this awareness, the eleven interviewees work or have worked for different Reality TV projects that include dating shows, factual entertainment, Scripted reality or casting shows. Another minor point is that I personally have known two of the interviewees beforehand. This circumstance might have influenced the manner in which the interviewees gave responses because of the form of familiarity that did not exist with the other interview partners. Yet, I have done my very best to keep a neutral stance at all times, and approach

and treat each respondent in the same manner. Ultimately prior acquaintance can also be an asset because knowing an interviewee before has the advantage of him/her revealing more and speak about critical issues more openly because of familiarity and the hitherto established trust.

3.3 Analysis of key findings – transferability

The analysis shall be structured in the manner that the differing theories and concepts are analyzed to detect how and if they find expression in the cases of the CIWs working for Reality TV productions. At the end of each chapter of the analysis, the results are reviewed so that the transferability of the theories and concepts for comparable sectors of the culture industries and other countries is examined.

For the first chapter of the analysis, this concerns the significance and applicability of the forms of capital based on Bourdieu's (1984[1979]) original conceptions, limited to forms of cultural and social capital, and specific interpretations thereof for instance creativity as a form of cultural capital. Hence, it matters how they are expressed. Following a similar pattern, the transferability of the CIWs' motivations shall be checked as well. A division is made between the incentives for employment in TV production with all the working conditions taken into consideration, and the motivations to work for the Reality TV genre. Closer inspection concerns some motivation theories' applicability in this regard. The forms of capital play a role again, but this time as part of the working motivations. It shall be seen if the various concepts harmonize. As the last part of the analysis, possible gaps in identification are illuminated and identity work strategies are applied. Hereby, the transferability of already established concepts are analyzed and alternatives shall be suggested.

4. Role of cultural and social capital

In the paragraph about expectations, 1.5, I have speculated that the CIWs possess a high cultural capital based on their creative work and their officially institutionalized cultural capital shown with their successfully accomplished university degrees. The notion and importance of cultural capital altogether has emerged as a possible soft entry requirement in the context of the interviewed TV production CIWs. In which way the value of a high institutionalized cultural capital in this profession expresses itself can be shown with the appropriate excerpts from the interviews, in particular the scrutiny of the answers to the questions of the personal and professional backgrounds of the CIWs and the importance of culture in their lives.

4.1 Cultural capital

All respondents have been asked about their favorite pastime, and afterwards about the role of cultural activities. Since culture can basically contain all kinds of hobbies, hereby the emphasis is on what culture means to the respondents. Contrary to initial expectations, Throsby's (1999) emphasis on cultural capital, the embodied state, could not be verified because only one respondent then immediately refers to cultural activities and considers them as an integral part of daily life. When asked about the role of culture, three of the respondents attribute an important meaning to high culture and its significance in their personal lives. The majority of the interviewees either concede that they are not as fond of culture as they might like to be or they merely show disinterest. It is also noteworthy that the interests in what type of their preferred cultural activities diverge

In consequence, not every respondent might have a demand and/or desire in consuming culture. It becomes clear with the diversity of answers, an interest or knowledge in cultural issues is not necessarily imperative. Knowledge or an interest in culture is one interpretation of having cultural capital. But with the interviews it has become clear that another facet of cultural capital, creativity, exerts much more influence for the CIWs.

4.1.1 Creativity as a form of cultural capital

As the alternative or more current term for cultural industries, namely creative industries[15] (e.g. deployed by Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), suggests, creativity cannot be left out as a motivation. The answers of some respondents that creativity is a component of the work that makes them like it so much confirms this. One's creative skills belong to cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, (1977[1970]) and play a role in stimulating employment as an editor or author for TV productions. Commanding creative skills, thus making use of one side of one's cultural capital, supports the realization of their career objectives.

Creativity as a skill might be very worthwhile and practicable in the artistic domains of the profession, for instance the writing of texts: or the development of new ideas, but it also helps in the organizational areas of responsibility. This would correspond with Sternberg and Lubart's (1999) definition who state that: "Creativity is the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e. original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e. useful, adaptive concerning task domains", (p. 3). They proceed with the wide scope creativity has for the individual for one's job. The upcoming annotation illustrates it splendidly:

> "One can excel if one has a talent to quickly think out things, what I understand as creativity […] Yes, one has to somehow render oneself conspicuous in comparison to his/her colleagues by having great ideas and thoughts if one wants to advance further. And, therefore, creativity is important "[16] (Mona).

Creative proficiencies consolidate an employee's position within the production company and most likely promote one's career chances. The recognition of the multifariousness of meanings one can attach to creativity make it comprehensible that several interviewees address the significance of creativity but do not see themselves as possessing it at a higher rate:

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[15] I use the terms 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' interchangeably.

[16] Mona : „Ja, man kann sich ja schon hervortun, wenn man ein Talent dafür hat, sich schnell Dinge auszudenken, also was ich jetzt unter Kreativität verstehe. […] Ja, man muss sich ja irgendwie ähm hervortun durch irgendwelche tollen Ideen und Gedanken gegenüber seinen… Kollegen oder so, wenn man halt weiterkommen will. Und… ähm… da ist das Kreativität schon wichtig."

"[Creativity] does play an important role for me, because we are the creative folks. We invent stuff and they are realized in the best case scenario. My creativity, I would say myself, however, is actually restricted"[17] (Sandra).

Creativity as a skill might be highly worthwhile and practicable in the artistic domains of the profession, for instance the writing of texts or the development of new ideas, but it also helps in the organizational areas of responsibility as several respondents have indicated. Although some interviewees acknowledge a lack or an austerity of creativity in specific task domains, they depict working situations in which they are creative later on, such as in the organizational realization of the productions. The tasks of authors and editors, and particularly in the case of the latter, vary and encompass a multitude of ranges which the respondents emphasize. Hence, if the conception of creativity as being original or artistic is not fulfilled, the CIW can attempt to excel in other task domains that generally are not relatable to creativity such as technical aspects. A lower level of creativity does not hinder them to succeed in this business or to enjoy being an editor/author who at times needs to be creative. As a result, many respondents are of the opinion that creativity is certainly an incentive and gives someone an advantage in comparison to competitors who possess less creative abilities but these.

4.2 Social capital

Most noteworthy for this analysis is the interplay and mutual dependence of the cultural capital and social capital (Lee, 2011). In the cultural industries, the people with a high social capital paired with an excellent performance contribute to having better promotion prospects or getting to work for projects they personally prefer. Some comments from the respondents have revealed this finding. A suitable description of how the proceedings take place in the TV production business is given by the comment: "I believe that posts are occupied out of sympathy or because the position is momentarily free and someone's

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[17] Sandra: „Sie spielt schon für mich eine große Rolle, weil wir sind nun mal die Kreativen. Wir denken uns Sachen aus und im besten Fall werden sie dann gemacht. Meine Kreativität würde ich aber selber sagen, ist eigentlich eingeschränkt."

contractually bound. But subject-specific interests or the employees' qualities are considered far too little"[18] (Till).

With this statement, the role of networks and an employee's social adaptability in production companies is signified. Additionally, it reveals that personal contacts and social capital most of the time matter as much as organizational talent and creative skills. Therewith the response is in accordance with Ursell (2000) and Lee's (2011) convictions of how employees are selected. Ursell (2000) states that: "The answer [why someone is selected] is by reputation and familiarity, conveyed in a mix of personal acquaintance, kinship, past working connections, and past achievements," (p. 811). She may refer to the British labor market but the comment solidifies her assessment for the German case. Ursell's (2000) observation of further common proceedings within production companies for instance her expressions 'keeping it in the family' and active 'networking' turns up in the interviews. Respondents refer to their production company and tell in this regard "My company was always a good company because they have always tried to continue one's employment",[19] (Tina).

4.2.1 Nobody knows principle

That the production company where Tina works is not an exception but rather represents the rule, becomes more evident by taking a closer look at the interview question which relates to Caves's (1974) *nobody knows principle*. The interview partners have been asked how they deal with the uncertainty of the commercial success of the formats they work for. Unsuccessful ones with low ratings commonly lead to rash cancellations and the editors/authors end in unemployment and need to look for other productions. Most respondents make confident remarks in regard of uncertainties. "I don't see uncertainties. I am completely relaxed. That might be the case because I am requested again and again."[20] (David). Ursell (2000) and Lee's (2011) opinion about how CIWs are asked for further

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[18] Till: „Ich glaube, dass ganz oft Posten besetzt werden aus Sympathie oder weil die Position gerade frei ist und jemand vertraglich gebunden ist. Aber fachliche Interessen oder qualitative, Qualitäten der Mitarbeiter werden, glaube ich, viel zu selten beachtet."
[19] Tina: „Meine Firma war immer eine gute Firma, weil sie immer versucht hat, einen weiter zu beschäftigen."
[20] David: „Ähm, Ungewissheit sehe ich da gar nicht. Da bin ich komplett entspannt. Das mag zum einen damit zusammenhängen, dass ich doch immer wieder angefragt werde…

projects is thus once again retrievable in the interviews in which the general response to uncertainty regarding the *nobody knows principle* is:

"I believe that I have committed myself to the company and not to the format. That is the most crucial aspect and as a result, I am not afraid if project ceases to persist and that one would fire me. I am employed at the company for too long for this to happen."[21] (Nina). In addition to that: "It can always be that this kind of certainty changes and they suddenly tell me: we do not need you anymore."[22] (Nina)

The CIWs are self-assured, know about risks and still cannot be completely sure about their future work situation. Albeit this, the majority of respondents is not too concerned about it[23]. That attitude would hardly change even if the company would abruptly end the contract or no longer employ them in the future. Since most of them state that they have acquired enough skills, have built a reputation within their company and/or the TV production sector in total, the worries of becoming unemployed are low. Their confidence of owning a strong social capital has become evident.

Not all of the interview partners are so convinced. Only three of the interviewees speak about worries not to be employed by their production company in the future. Furthermore, one respondent has opted for an employment outside the TV sector with a permanent contract because the person prefers having certainty in the working life and does not want to rely on networks, the form of social capital that dominates the cultural industries. Depending too much on one's own social capital and its greater significance that can rule over the value of the cultural capital induce these respondents not to be so confident and worriless. Intriguingly, these three have been the youngest[24] of all the interviewees which might mean they did not have as much time as the others to build networks to have the same confidence as their older colleagues.

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[21] Nina: „Ich glaube, ich habe mich an die Firma gebunden und nicht an das Format. […] Das ist für mich das Entscheidende und deshalb habe ich keine Angst, wenn ein Projekt nicht mehr besteht, dass man mich an die Luft setzen würde. Dafür bin ich da auch einfach schon zu lange."

[22] Nina: „Mit der Sicherheit kann es immer sein, dass es sich ändert und das dann doch plötzlich gesagt wird: wir brauchen dich jetzt nicht mehr.

[23] Carsten is the only exception

[24] Christine (30 years old), Sabrina (27 years old), Carsten (27 years old)

4.3 Transferability of concepts

As many researchers (Baumann, 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Lee, 2011; Ursell, 2000) have found out with their field studies, the combination of creativity as a form of cultural capital and networks as a form of social capital respectively has become apparent with the respondents' replies. It is thus a reality in TV productions that the interplay of both forms matters. Creativity is thereby not as significant as originally anticipated. Cultural capital and the original conception of its three forms (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]), on the other hand, could not be confirmed, and is not apt for transferability.

5. Working in the field of TV production

It has become evident that the possession of creativity to a certain extent and social capital to a large extent offer good chances to work successfully as a CIW in TV production. The question remains if this suffices as motivation. The quest for work motivations must be continued. Already the existence of numerous motivation theories as presented by Latham (2002) signal that the search for motives to work in this (and any other) professions demands the thorough analysis of all responses given in the interviews. The obvious and direct question of what motivates them to work at a production company has led to an array of various and diverging replies that shows the multifariousness of the work in cultural industries. Hence, there is no single motivation but several who make individuals choose this career path and that keep the CIWs interested in the field of TV production.

In the ideal case, a respondent has used the term *motivation* him/herself and in this way indicates inducements. The immediate question about the motivation has achieved those motives the respondents have thought of because they have had time to contemplate about it. However, most of the time, the interviewees would enunciate their commitment to the job either unwittingly or with the use of other related words. Therefore, for the purpose of detecting the factors, the category *motivation* has been applied in the coding scheme. Every expression or phrase that reveals information about the individual ambitions has been taken into account so that the results are as representative as possible.

In addition, a connection between the mentioned motivations and the various motivation theories is established. This conduct shall show to what extent these theorems are applicable in more creatively oriented occupations and if interdisciplinary approaches – in this case cultural studies, sociology, media studies and psychology – promote appropriate findings.

5.1 Motivations to choose the profession

The motives and motivations to become an editor/author or freelancer need to be clarified since they have been decisive why individuals have entered this profession. Proponents (Wanous et al, 1983) of the expectancy theory analyze possible reasons why someone chooses a profession. The expectations vary from having good career opportunities to doing

something out of a foible for the subject matters the future profession entails. To unearth the reasons for the job decisions in the case of CIWs, the respondents have been requested to delineate their professional background and also to depict their career perceptions when they were teenagers. These motivations are discerned in chronological order to perceive possible changes over time.

5.1.1 Interest in TV

As the reader may anticipate, some of the respondents indicate that they already had developed a strong interest in the media, television and its production when they were adolescents. "I am a junkie. I always have been. I have always said that this is why I started in the TV business",[25] (Nina). Those respondents have been fascinated by TV as a medium. Other respondents might have considered job opportunities in the media in their youth but it was only one possible option among many others. Most noteworthy, however, is the circumstance that no one distinctly says that working for television had been the favored career prospect before starting to study: In consequence, many might have had the wish to work in the media sector in their professional life. But not a single respondent explicitly names that working in television production has been a clear career prospect.

These indecisions are reflected in the study choices by the respondents. With one interviewee having a degree in media studies, one having successfully finished the studies in film and TV management and a sole interview participant who has efficiently completed an apprenticeship in TV editing[26], the majority decided to study academic disciplines which are not related or are only to a limited extent associated with television or the media. Two respondents studied disciplines that would have prepared them to work in other sectors of the culture industries. Nobody else studied something that would prepare them explicitly for these industries. So, no matter how much affiliation many respondents might have had with the media or television beforehand, they did not choose to study a subject that would prepare them for the TV business for varying reasons. Either they decided for another study because of other preferences or, they as a matter of fact did aspire to do so but the respective studies had restricted admission. Since their grade point average had not been

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[25] Nina: „Ich bin ein Junkie (lacht). Das war ich schon immer. Ich habe schon immer gesagt, dass ich deshalb zum Fernsehen gegangen bin."
[26] Sandra also finished an apprenticeship but on top of that completed her studies in English to become a teacher.

good enough, they were forced to choose another study. Their attempt to get into such study programs unveils a glimpse of motivation which was, however, not so strong that they would have tried to get into media studies some time later or enter this profession through other ways like an apprenticeship.

5.1.2 Coincidental circumstances

Furthermore, it becomes evident that the beginnings of several careers in television production companies have been rather fortunate or resulted from having networks with people worked for TV productions. Despite the fact that there are respondents who began to look for an opportunity to join TV production companies immediately upon completion of their studies, several entered the cultural industries by chance or through lucky circumstances. Those CIWs say that they were in need of a job and extra money so their decision to work for a production company was purely random and they could have ended up in other professions. Thus, it can be noted that the career path from a high-school graduate towards a CIW in a production company is not always planned, can be achieved through various ways and rather involves fortuitous circumstances. If someone is motivated to start working in a TV production company, the chances are high to get an internship at least.

Those coincidental circumstances counter those motivation theories with the emphases on expectations that people have to pursue a certain career. What is not acknowledged by Wanous's (1983) original theory is the factor that most CIWs have not been determined to select this career path and consequently could not have any expectations before. It had not been their first or initial decision to become an editor or an author. Thus, assigning certain motives for such career moves is more complicated and complex than motivation theorists consider.

It follows that two main instances mainly cause the eventual career choice and that enables a categorization in two camps of CIWs. One the one hand, it is the early association and fascination with the medium. Five respondents state that they have grown up with television and describe themselves as a "TV junkie" or a "TV child"[27] to stress their eagerness to work in television production. It was, however, not clear to them if they would end up in

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[27] This is a loose translation of the German term "Fernsehkind" which both respondents used.

production companies as they eventually did, and everyone made a detour regarding the career path towards becoming a CIW in television production. In contrast to this, the other half of respondents did not possess the same degree of affiliation with television and through more or less coincidental circumstances started working in this business. That has become obvious with statements concerning the personal career beginnings as interns in production companies.

> "The reason was that I did not like my studies[28] anymore and I desperately wanted to do something practical. There was this newspaper ad and I applied. I was taken for the internship"[29] (David).

This kind of statement signifies and assures that production companies are working environments where editors and authors have got chances to have careers even though their academic backgrounds are completely different and unrelated to the field of media production or the cultural industries. Even without a suitable degree, a person gets access to the world of television production. The degree of motivation concerning the choice of the profession is thus not always high and it does not need to be. Once again, it also becomes clear that institutionalized cultural capital is not significant and is a soft entry requirement at most.

5.2 Motivations to work in a production company

The respondents all have been asked about their motivation to work in general and for a production company. Since the two questions invite widely varied replies, the interviewees indeed mention a multitude of motivations. Interestingly, most respondents think for a while before they can come up with an answer. An exemplary initial reaction makes it clear: "Well… never have I ever thought about it"[30] (Christine). Yet, after a short interval of thinking, all respondents mention multiple reasons that have come to their minds. It has taken some respondents some time to designate their personal motivations but in the end, all could say at least three incentives.

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[28] David studied Political Sciences but cancelled the studies. A few years later, he began Theater Studies and successfully achieved a degree (diploma)

[29] David: „Das lag daran, dass ich gar keine Lust auf mein Studium hatte und ich unbedingt etwas Praktisches machen wollte. Und dann gab es da die Zeitungsanzeige, und darauf habe ich mich beworben. Bin für das Praktikum genommen worden.

[30] Christine: „Mhm… so konkrete Gedanken habe ich mir noch nie gemacht:"

5.2.1 The most common motivations

The most prevalent reply for the motivations while working in a production company is the *team/colleagues*. Seven interview partners refer to their fellow employees and colleagues when talking about their main work motivations. "[The team] is like a family"[31] (Sandra). Nearly all of them find a good team a main motivational factor within the cultural industries. There can be numerous causes why the team matters so much to the CIWs. A reason is that "I find teamwork incredibly important, because a production can only work if teamwork exists"[32]. The colleagues' teamwork capabilities are a prerequisite for the CIW's motivation to go to the workplace every day.

Equally important for them is the chance to eventually see the product of whose creation process they have been a part of. The desire to see what they have created has been coded as the *cultural product.* Six of the eleven respondents clearly deem the result of their work and their personal involvement therein as an indispensable motivation. That finding has got an important and a truly ambiguous meaning forasmuch as they often cannot identify with the *cultural product*. More on identification is mentioned in the upcoming chapter when the identity work strategies are discussed.

As the third most stated motivation, *fun* and *pleasure* play an important role in the lives of the CIWs. Common replies to the question of what matters most at work next to the team and seeing one's product resembles the following statement: "[…] that it is fun. The kind of work is what I mean"[33] In conformity with psychologists and scholars of motivation theories the pleasure and will for his/her own occupation should be an esteemed feature and keeps one engaged with his/her occupation. So, notwithstanding the fact that not every CIW explicitly names *fun* or *pleasure*, it is and should be one of the most decisive work incentives. Even the only interviewee, who has recently quit working at production companies, strongly emphasizes the fun she had and joy she felt whilst working as an editor. Precisely figuring out what determines one's *fun* and/or *pleasure* at work requires closer elaboration. Therefore, phrases with which the interviewees express their affinities have been scrutinized. Intriguingly, for editors the causes for what pleases them the most vary

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[31] Sandra: „Das ist wie eine Familie",
[32] Sandra: „Teamwork finde ich unfassbar wichtig, weil nur so kann eine Produktion funktionieren."
[33] Sabrina:: „[…] dass die Arbeit an sich Spaß macht, also die Art der Arbeit."

and this is demonstrated by the diversity of tasks and possibilities within this profession. *Fun* and *pleasure* are felt in different situations and under various circumstances.

5.2.2 Creativity as a motivation

What role does *creativity* as a motivation play? In chapter 5 it has become clear that only a few respondents highlight this part of their profession which Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) and Wei (2012) regard as an indispensable component of a CIW's work. Also, following the remarks of some respondents, applying one's creativity and acting out one's artistic skills belongs to the motivational forces for doing the job of an author/editor. However, there is a difference in regarding it as a motivation and in bestowing upon it an importance, and even lending it a form of indispensability. "[It is crucial that] you take part in the conceptualization of shootings (establishing shootings) and that you can realize ideas for certain topics"[34] (Simone). Describing the work as a "creative process" and regarding the work of an editor or author as one which demands creativity is commonly shared by interviewees. "[...] as a TV and media professional, on is having a creative job. I, personally, prefer being creative more than all the other areas"[35] (Till). Yet again, also the understanding of creativity is more nuanced and not unequivocally graspable. Some put the emphasis on storytelling which the following statement stresses: "So I find it awesome to tell stories and I like to tell real stories"[36] (Nina). Others rather think about coming up with innovative concepts and searches when talking about creativity. It is thus a term with many meanings and every CIW attaches another degree of significance to it.

Still others do not give much credit to creativity and naturally do not regard it as something motivating or as the reason why they are editors/authors. Those interviewees admit it does not belong to their strengths and the organizational aspects afford much more pleasure. Individual and diverse preferences within the profession of these CIWs are not untypical and show that creativity or creative skills per se are neither a must-have asset nor a necessary motivation to appreciate the work in this cultural industry. Consequently,

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[34] Simone: „Dass du halt an Drehkonzepten beteiligt bist, ähm, und, äh, Ideen zu bestimmten Themen verwirklichen kannst:"

[35] Till: „[...] als Fernseh- und Medienschaffender ist man in einem kreativen Beruf. Ich selber möchte lieber kreativ sein, als andere Bereiche."

[36] Nina: „Also das ist, das finde ich großartig, dieses Geschichten erzählen und ich erzähle gerade echte Geschichten.

creative tasks are either embraced or seen as a necessary concomitant issue in this occupation which one can mostly avoid by taking over other duties like casting or contacting participants of their programs.

So for the motivations to work in a production company, the main incentives are teamwork and a relaxed working atmosphere, seeing the finished product on television as well as the variety of tasks that are *fun.* Some other aspects such as the desire to entertain the people, to educate the people or the acquisition of more knowledge of either general or technical nature are only mentioned once. That is why they are not as meaningful as the other ones; however, they anon indicate that CIWs have a big range of reasons why they work in a production company.

5.3 Freelancing

All the motivations to work for a production company as a regular employee with a contract have been thoroughly analyzed. For the freelancing CIWs among the interviewees, different motives become recognizable. Only two interviewees currently work as freelancers and are not employed at one specific production company. Still, many respondents make remarks about freelancing so it emerges as an alternative for CIWs saturated with short-term contracts at a production company only. As a consequence, the motivations of freelancers should be taken into consideration. When being asked about motivations to be a freelancing CIW, the choice to select projects they can back 100% gains importance:

"In this way I am glad now that I am freelancing now, because I am not in the situation that I work for a company and I am told: we need someone for production XY, please do it. Do the show. I could not do that permanently"[37].

One of the greatest advantages of being a freelancer is thus the choice to do jobs for projects which suit the interest. Some respondents have the ambition to become freelancers at one point of their careers despite tougher work conditions in terms of flexibility and uncertainties (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). "At the same time, I see it actually as a chance

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[37] Sven: „[…] dadurch bin ich jetzt froh, dass ich freiberuflich tätig bin, weil ich bin nicht äh, nicht in der Situation, dass ich in einer Firma arbeite, bei der mir gesagt wird: wir brauchen jetzt jemanden noch für… Produktion XY, mach das bitte, setz dich da hin und mache diese Sendung. Weil, das könnte ich nicht auf Dauer."

and liberty to do [freelancing]. Then one is not so limited by the projects and the companies."[38] (Till).

But the respondents also realize that even though freelancing means the prospect for more personal freedom and a self-determining working method, it bears the risks of not having a secured income because of missing offers. It follows that the freelancers need to stand out in respect to their skills and networks. Yet, sometimes, freelancing is in many cases the consequence of demotivating factors that should not be neglected.

5.4 Demotivating factors

To obtain a complete impression of the CIWs' motivation, the scrutiny of the downsides of the profession requires attention as well. Next to all the aspects that motivate the CIWs to do their job, a couple of issues have been mentioned that are evaluated as negative and rather demotivating. Any type of findings that suggest reasons not to pursue the career are then coded as *demotivation*.

5.4.1 Long working hours

One of the most prominent inconveniences of the occupation is the long working hours. "[…] I would of course wish for the television industry, that more humane working hours prevail in the end"[39] (Mona). Tina's words can be added: "The working hours cannot be a motivation. It does not work. One has to work as long until the job is done. Even though it may last until the late evening and throughout the night"[40]. The additional remark implies the commitment of the CIWs towards the working conditions which imply they work hard and long hours so that the tasks are finished on time. For other respondents, the working hours do not seem to be a problem. They like the conventional standard that they can start working rather later – which is usually 10 am. According to them, the working hours do not constitute a so-called *demotivating factor*. For the freelancers among the interviewees, the working hours form an important part of the overall motivation. They enjoy the liberty they

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[38] Till: „Aber gleichzeitig sehe ich es auch eigentlich als Chance und Freiheit, das zu machen. Damit man da nicht immer so in diese Projekte eingesperrt ist und in diese Firmen.

[39] Mona: „[…] ich würde mir natürlich mehr wünschen für die Fernsehbranche noch, dass sich noch weiter sich durchsetzt, dass die Arbeitszeiten noch etwas humaner wird."

[40] Tina „Die Arbeitszeiten können keine Motivation sein." / „ Das funktioniert halt nicht. Man muss halt so lange arbeiten, bis es fertig ist. Und wenn es in den Abend, in die Nacht geht."

have to freely arrange their own working hours. Au contraire, it is their main motivation for freelancing. If self-determined working hours represent motivation, the framework conditions of TV production companies can be regarded as limiting this liberty and thusly are demotivating factors. Since not all respondents conceive them as restrictive and as a matter of fact evaluate them as positive, working hours should be classified as partly demotivating.

5.4.2 Money

Another demotivating factor named by the respondents is the salary which becomes obvious with several statements when the code *money* is in use. The opinion about the salaries is:

> "The way it is with us that the payment in this sector is, well, one must say, so so. That is definitely not a reason why you are doing what you're doing. I could have become an educator with this salary."[41]

The assertion is manifested: "And… well…yes… It cannot be because of the money. One does not earn well."[42] (Sabrina). Others ascertain by comparing their income to friends: "I believe that some girlfriends say: I would not work for this salary and not for the extra working hours on top of that"[43] (Tina). One could deduce that earning money is not a zest and such a result is rather representative for the cultural industries. Yet, as it has been the case with the working hours, money does not need to be a factor which would keep one from becoming a CIW. Some are pleased with their income and find it more than sufficient for their everyday lives, and even mention it as a part of their motivation. But according to Iljine (2009) the varying opinions about money as a motivation are substantiated by the fact that the income opportunities within the field of TV production diverge significantly.

5.4.3 Contracts

A third concurrent circumstance which many CIWs do not appreciate is the kind of contracts and the concomitant uncertainty if one is still employed in the upcoming months. Not untypical for working in cultural industries, the CIWs generally have temporary contracts and thus need to fear unemployment. Also, projects might be cancelled earlier than originally

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[41] Nina: „Es ist ja bei uns so, dass die Bezahlung in der Branche so ist, dass man sagen muss, naja. Dafür gehst du schonmal nicht (lacht, zwinkert). Da hätte ich auch Pädagogin werden können, bei dem Gehalt."
[42] Sabrina: „Und… äh… ja… am Geld kann es nicht liegen. Da verdient man nicht gut.
[43] Tina: „Ich glaube ich schon, dass Freundinnen von mir sagen: für dieses Gehalt würde ich nicht arbeiten, und dann die Überstunden."

planned due to low ratings. Surprisingly, only one interviewee openly speaks about being afraid of these uncertain conditions and says: "That is actually bad that there are formats for which one works and they can be terminated the next day and one is without a job"[44] (Carsten). According to some interviewees, the temporary contracts account for employees leaving TV production companies altogether. Whereas other respondents are not fond of these contracts, they have not been worried because of their conviction that a new project will come. Such confidence is founded, according to their reports, on their already established status within a particular TV production company or the optimistic belief that (any) production company will hire them eventually.

5.5 Transferability of concepts

As a consequence, the most common motivations and incentives the CIWs have for their profession are teamwork, seeing their cultural product, and the pleasure in the diverse tasks. Creativity, which has been anticipated to be an indispensable motivational feature of working for TV productions, has, however, not turned out to be a motivation for several respondents. However, those CIWs who do not see creativity as a motivation find alternatives interpretations for creativity which explains why they enjoy their work. Consequently, the concept of creativity in the culture industries requires a process of rethinking and a redefinition for the culture industries. It shall also encompass organizational and technical skills

A few demotivating factors could be discerned as well. Most of them concern the working situations which concomitantly arise when working at TV production companies such as the long working hours. But usually, the CIWs accept these inconveniences because the positive motivations prevail. However, knowing the overall motivations concerning working conditions at production companies do only explain why the CIWs have chosen to work and have decided to stay in the profession but not necessarily why they work for Reality TV. That is why the reasons to work for this genre will be analyzed next.

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[44] Carsten: „Das ist auch eigentlich schlimm, dass es Formate gibt, an denen man arbeitet, dass sie morgen abgesetzt werden könnten und dann ohne Job dasteht."

6. Working for Reality TV

The individual and most common motivational factors for the working as a CIW have been covered and illuminated. It has become explicit which aspects of working as a CIW motivate them and which factors they perceive as bothering, burdensome or as reasons for becoming freelancers or even quitting this profession. One of the most significant results involve their attitudes towards specific formats. In this section I get to the bottom of the respondents' tendency to object those programs in which their personal standards are not met. Since they themselves carry on jobs whose outcome the general public often grades as unpretending and 'lowbrow', it is an indispensable step to ascertain what could explain their demeanor and how they differentiate between a suitable Reality TV program and an inappropriate one and thus establish a hierarchy within this genre of which Feuer (2015) writes. How they obtain a homology between their aesthetic perception and the cultural product or if such a balance is even negligible for them is analyzed. The question is if such homology of the cultural producers exists as Bourdieu (1984) has envisioned with the high-culture consumers who only consume high culture. So as to provide an empirical answer, the interviewees' responses in reference to their view of 'lowbrow' and popular TV formats require analyzing.

6.1 CIWs' views on the quality of German TV

Without the interview partners' personal and professional opinions about the formats, their products, one could not come to know if a homology exists at all. A few questions within the interviews, such as their points of view regarding the significance of television for them overall, the German TV landscape or their favorite or least favorite formats they would work for, provide a basis for a more in-depth analysis of their attitude towards 'lowbrow'/popular TV.

6.1.1 Views on TV productions in Germany

As it has been described in detail within the theoretical framework, the German TV landscape consists of two main types of broadcast stations, the public and private channels. The notion to associate the public broadcasters with information and the private ones with entertainment respectively has manifested itself in the heads of the CIWs. According to

them, both have their raison d'êtres within the landscape but the repute of formats and channels vary. Since the answers are so multifarious, one needs to be cautious not to leap to conclusions. That is why I have placed the different codes *German TV landscape*, *favorite and least favorite TV formats* as well as the codes *private channels* and *public channels* under the umbrella of either *'lowbrow'/popular* or *highbrow*.

Commentaries about the overall status of television in their lives distinguish only slightly. For almost all, television occupies an important place in their private lives and everyday life without it appears unthinkable. Almost all consume this medium every day. But, the role of television loses significance since they regard it more and more as a medium they turn on and then do chores alongside. So, the content does not matter as much as it has been years ago because they do not watch attentively. Criticism of the German TV landscape reaches from total rejection to praise. A negative attitude towards it is:

> "I am somewhat disenchanted. Really. I find [it] actually pretty superficial, embarrassing and dull"[45]. She adds: "Well, once I have supported the concept of the dual system of Germany, but, whenever I see for which contents they spend the money, it does not really work in my opinion."[46]

The critique is all-encompassing, the fiercest and the most rigorous of all the respondents' remarks about the German TV landscape. Other respondent's comments hold much weaker criticism and their focus is more on the private channels only. Programs of the private channels are "[…] more and more tedious, because they are mostly trashy"[47] (Tina). The interviewees who share this opinion also lament a decrease in quality which implies it has once been better but it becomes worse and worse. On the other hand, dvocates of the German TV landscape can be found as well: "I am of the opinion that German television has a worse reputation than it intrinsically deserves. There are many [good] formats, but first one has to discover them"[48] (Carsten).

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[45] Christine: „Oha, ich bin da etwas desillusioniert. Wirklich. Ich finde die deutsche Fernsehlandschaft eigentlich ziemlich oberflächlich, peinlich und dumm."

[46] Christine: „Tja, eigentlich habe ich mal den Gedanken des dualen Systems respektive der öffentlich-rechtlichen [Sender] unterstützt, aber, wenn ich sehe, für welche Inhalte das Geld ausgegeben wird, geht die Rechnung, meiner Meinung nach, nicht auf."

[47] Tina: „[…] es wird viel schwieriger, weil da viele von diesen Trashsendungen kommen."

[48] Carsten: „Ich finde auch, dass das deutsche Fernsehen einen schlechteren Ruf hat, al es ihm eigentlich zustünde. Denn ich finde, es gibt viele Formate, aber die muss man erst mal entdecken."

Another question with relation to TV is about scholarly discussions and those of the public if the medium has a positive or negative influence on its viewers. The purpose behind this interrogation has been to potentially recognize a tendency among the respondents if they evaluate lowbrow content as something which bestows a negative influence on the public. In point of fact, the overall attitude towards the benefits of television proves to be unambiguous in as much as the replies resemble each other considerably, solely the phrasings differ. Television is compared to drugs:

> "I believe it is the same as with drugs. That is always a... it depends on the consumer
>
> if it is harmful. The consumer's own basic attitude is decisive"[49].

Consensus is reached that there are "intelligent formats" (Mona) on the one side and "cheap, bad and dumb entertainment" on the other. Opinions about the repercussions of this classification diverge. Whereas some hold that television consumption can dull someone's mind, others do not share this or do not specifically call it dumb. Meanwhile, others see it more positive: "Obviously, [television] can restrict one if one watches every day for six hours the afternoon programs on [a private channel][50]. Then one is a bit more stupid at the end of the year,"[51] (Carsten). Yet, stress is also on the positive effect of the informative content. Consent sounds as follows: "For information and entertainment, well yes, TV is good for this. Good stuff exists. Particularly when considering documentaries, there is much to be found"[52] (Sabrina). Focus on the upsides of TV is preserved and even discontent of the continuous criticism of TV is expressed:

> "There are many rants about a lot of programs or about TV in total. People say that
>
> the formats become worse and more boring. But it is like that: nobody's watching
>
> anyhow eventually everyone has seen it. That [general attitude] bothers me"[53] (Till).

This comment is exemplary for the CIW's belief that many people complain about TV and the German TV landscape despite the circumstance that they are watching all the programs in

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[49] David: „Ich glaube, es ist wie mit Drogen. Das ist immer eine... das hängt vom Konsumenten ab, ob es schädlich ist. Vom Konsumenten selbst sind die Grundeinstellungen entscheidend."

[50] Respondent mentions one particular channel which is anonymized out of legal reason here, see 37.

[51] Carsten: „Klar, kann es einen auch einschränken, wenn man jetzt jeden Tag sich sechs Stunden das RTL-Nachmittagsprogramm reinzieht. Dann ist man wahrscheinlich am Ende eines Jahres ein bisschen dümmer als vorher."

[52] Sabrina: „Um Informationen, zum Entertainment, so ja, für so was halt ist Fernsehen gut. Da sind gute Sachen vorbei. Gerade auch was Dokus angeht, Informationen, gibt es viel."

[53] Till: „Es wird ganz viel geschimpft über ganz viele Programme oder übers Fernsehen, die Sendungen werden immer schlechter oder langweiliger. Also es ist aber so: keiner guckt's dennoch hat es am Ende jeder gesehen. Das nervt mich."

the end. Since ratings are used as the benchmark for a format's success or failure, some think it is up to the viewers themselves what is broadcast. If they were genuinely opposing or boycotting Reality TV, such forms of entertainment would disappear. Shunning TV productions whereas at the same time following them appears to be hypocritical of the consumers and makes their complaints seem unjustified.

Beyond that, a balance between the consumption of public and private channels prevails. Most respondents list shows which are broadcast on the private channels. Yet, the positive reception of public media outweighs the private counterparts by far. So, the popularity of the public broadcasters predominates. This is made clear by negative criticism of particular private channels: "If you tune in on [the private channel][54], you have an audience that freaks out completely. It is all about emotions, standing ovations, yes, and that is why I watch more public TV"[55] (David). Intriguingly, most favor the special-interest stations of the public channels[56]. Programs on these stations enjoy the most popularity. One reason is most often stated: "I find it magnificent that all [these] new channels exist and that they have the courage to try new stuff"[57] (Nina). They also laud the formats' producers for their audacity to come up and realize new ideas. The public channels get most of the credit in reference to innovation but also some formats produced for private broadcasters are commended. Sometimes technical aspects or the design of a format catches the respondents' attention and prompts them to turn on the TV and follow a show no matter what genre.

It becomes clear that the respondents make a distinction between public and private channels and prefer highbrow TV over lowbrow TV. So far, the CIWs' standpoints about the value of TV and the German TV landscape with its particularities have been presented. The results expose clear deviations among the respondents. For almost all but two CIWs, TV occupies an important and irreplaceable role. They personally could not renounce the consumption of the medium. Further, they assess the German TV landscape's quality as in need of improvement and fault lacking quality[58] to some degree. Yet, they also recognize the

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[54] Out of legal issues, the channel is not explicitly named.

[55] David: „[…] also wenn du bei [dem Privatsender] einschaltest ein Publikum, das über alles komplett ausflippt. Es geht nur noch um Emotionen, Beifall, ja, deswegen gucke ich auch mehr öffentlich-rechtliche."

[56] Germany's two main public broadcasters, ARD and ZDF, together have eight special-interest stations.

[57] Nina: „Ähm, ich finde es großartig, dass es gerade die ganzen, die neuen Sender gibt und dass sie sich so viele Sachen trauen."

[58] Especially the private channel's screenings

avail of informative and innovative programs, the news and shows which appeal to audiences who would like to be entertained for a while.

6.1.2 Views on their own productions

The attitude the CIWs have towards the formats they produce would be incomplete if the image of the consumers, the audience, was not taken into consideration. Having inquired the views about them simultaneously equips one with a more precise notion of the formats in question themselves. Beforehand, all respondents have been directly asked what thoughts cross their mind when watching their own productions. The most vital finding at it is the differentiation between professional and personal consumptions of the CIWs. Some solely talk about their occupational way of seeing or that they only watch it out of professional reasons. This approach includes looking for possible (editorial) mistakes, reminiscing about the production process, and reactions of third parties like friends and family. For some respondents, it is hard to give up this professional 'lens' "because one is always influenced by the entire origination processes."[59] Any the less, not all respondents spend too many thoughts about the professional side but rather perceive either strongly positive or negative emotions. From pride to embarrassment, joy to discontentment, the responses display a spectrum of varieties. Some emphasize the pleasant feelings they have. For the others, if they say something about their personal sentiments, the range varies from positive to negative emotions. A third variant exists on top of that: not watching one's productions at all whenever they are broadcast. Some are appurtenant to these CIWs who have enough of the formats and avoid tuning in.

6.1.3 View on the consumers

Now it is high time to discover insights of the impressions the CIWs have about their formats' audience. The answers are far from coherent, yet one spots patterns that at the same time point to differing attitudes towards 'lowbrow'/popular TV content. One can discern between two prevailing views. First, some respondents clarify that he/she is of the firm belief that only 'lower class' people might watch these formats because they have got time and nothing better to do. Those respondents have the strict hierarchical separation of

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[59] Till : „[…] weil man ist da immer so beeinflusst von den ganzen Entstehungsprozessen:"

highbrow and *lowbrow* in mind. A second group of interviewees instead accentuates that such distinctions cannot be made. The average consumer can belong to any social class and/or could be highly educated and decorated with degrees and titles.

Prima facie, these two opinions stand in contrast with each other because one respondent group assumes that only particular individuals with little education follow the productions whereas the other one is convinced the high ratings can only be reached if every social class consumes. But the mention alone of the different classes and persons with careers for which one must have at least acquired higher university degrees[60] hints at a still generally valid association between highbrow and higher education as well as lowbrow and little education respectively.

6.2 Views on lowbrow TV formats - Reality TV

There is a feature which *demotivates* almost all respondents and that are lowbrow TV formats. They themselves do not use this type of terminology[61] yet their arguments and their wordings point in the direction that they dislike undemanding formats in terms of the realization, their reputation or if they have the purpose to ridicule protagonists. Yet, especially the last two attributes are often linked with Reality TV by the respondents themselves. Inasmuch as a couple of respondents feel highly motivated by the Reality TV projects they currently work for or for which they have put much effort in the past, the motivations and demotivations for Reality TV demand clarification.

6.2.1 Motivations for Reality TV

It has been the most curious finding that the approval of Reality TV formats among the respondents is overall low. Appreciation for Reality TV programs depends highly on the individual reputation the production has and how much they can learn in connection to their skills.

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[60] e.g. members of parliament or economists with Phd degrees are mentioned
[61] The interviews were conducted in German and the most appropriate translation for 'lowbrow' is "niveaulos" or "geistig anspruchslos" in German. Both terms do not appear in any interview conducted for this thesis.

6.2.2 Trash

Certain formats do not interest or bother the respondents to a high degree and whenever they express disaffection for a program, the phrase has been coded as *least favorite format (personal/work)*. Rejection towards formats in their personal TV consumption pattern correlates with their refusal or dissatisfaction in the case they are appointed for projects they do view as mindless. On several occasions during some respondents' interviews, *trash* is dubbed for these formats. "What I could imagine as something new would be doing something in the documentary segment. Well, something which is taken seriously. No factual entertainment, no trash"[62] (Mona). Others defend trash TV:

> "But TV has to entertain as well. Otherwise we would not have so many programs where one thinks that they are trash and only HartzIVler[63] or students or the lower classes watch it. But at the end of the day you cannot reach such ratings if not people from all classes are watching them."[64] (Till).

Hence, what some call trash per se is not automatically to be rejected. Trash is a term given by those persons of the German society who want to demarcate themselves from those with less education or the unemployed population. So, trash is what one considers as trash and is thus a subjective notion.

Returning to factual entertainment and trash, a pattern has become apparent. Despite the fact that the other respondents do not call certain formats *trash*, their statements concur in the sense which formats they would not like to work for.

6.2.3 Scripted Reality

Scripted Reality is the genre definitely no one wishes to be a part of. Two main reasons are responsible for the refusal of all the CIWs. On the one hand, it simply does not suit the personal interests of some because they do not find the tasks of an editor for *Scripted Reality* appealing:

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[62] Mona: „Was ich mir als ganz neue Richtung vorstellen könnte, wäre auch etwas im dokumentarischen Bereich, also, aber dann auch was ernstzunehmendes. Jetzt kein Dokutainment, keinen Trash.
[63] Hartz IVler: term for someone who receives unemployment benefits; often used in a derogatory manner
[64] Till: Aber Fernsehen muss auch unterhalten. Also sonst hätten viele Sendungen, wo man denkt, die sind Trash und das gucken nur die HartzIVler oder Studenten oder untere Schichten, aber im Endeffekt kann es nie solche Quoten erreichen, wenn es nicht alle Schichten durchginge.

"Yes… well… what I don't find appealing at all and what I would only do if threatened by unemployment, would be *Scripted Reality.* Not because I demonize it because it is perceived as bullshit but in respect of its realization"[65] (Till).

Then again, there are those ones who indeed deem the subgenre as undemanding and label it as stupid. Offers from producers who are in need of editors/authors for such programs would have a tough time to convince the respondents due to the genre's ostensible unpopularity in terms of its unchallenging content and its poor reputation and perception.

6.2.4 Ridicule

Apart from the genre, one particular feature of any program also causes the respondents to feel unwilling to put their energy into, namely conscious ridiculousness. Any show or format in which the protagonists are made fun of initiates the emotion of rejection: "[…] I would always have a problem if a program is at the expense of normal people"[66] (Simone). Some see it as necessary but have difficulties with derision: "[…] you need those people about whom the people talk, about whom they make fun of, those who are ridiculed. This is hard for me and I noticed that"[67]. To actively participate in ridiculing someone is a reason not to work for a TV production. But this does not implicitly include all Reality TV formats because they do not necessarily deride the protagonists.

6.3 Transferability of concepts

All the various responses of the respondents and the findings tell a lot about their attitudes towards their Reality TV formats. When they work for these formats, they appreciate the skills they learn and that they can be creative. Motivation studies about work for lowbrow content should take these two aspects into consideration. Otherwise, there is almost unanimous agreement that If it has a bad reputation (trash), makes fun of its protagonists or is Scripted Reality, the CIWs are not willing to work for.

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[65] Till: „Ja… ähm… was mich gar nicht reizt und was ich glaube ich nur in allergrößter Bedrohung von Arbeitslosigkeit machen würde, wären so Sachen wie Scripted Reality, gar nicht, weil ich das so verteufele, weil das so ein Scheiß ist, sondern es reizt mich einfach von der Umsetzung nicht.
[66] Simone: „[…] grundsätzlich hätte ich immer ein Problem damit, wenn äh ne Sendung zu sehr auf Kosten, auch von normalen Leuten geht.
[67] Sandra: „[…] du brauchst diejenigen, über die die Leute reden, über die sich die Leute lustig machen, die vorgeführt werden. Und das fällt mir halt schwer. Das musste ich feststellen.

7. Identity work

In the three foregoing chapters, the role of the cultural capital in this cultural industry has been explored and the motivations to work in this professional environment as well as in the specific case of Reality TV and lowbrow production have been delineated. Whereas positive motivations incent the CIWs, several demotivating factors impede their enthusiasm.

7.1 Identification

The degree of personal identification requires evaluating, especially in respect to the findings that the opinions about the Reality TV genre are more negative than expected. The approach or attitude towards Reality TV may divaricate based on how the CIWs value their personal identification with the formats. Most comments reveal a certain trend among the respondents. Representative pronouncements include:

"It differs a lot depending on the format. Well, there are formats which fulfill one to a 100%. Then there are the ones where one has to lower one's sights and then you have those projects where identification is very difficult"[68], (Simone).

Others would most likely consent since their responses feature comparable assertions. Identification depends on every individual format and is neither guaranteed nor does it deter one from working for it. Some are of the opinion that: "Principally, the attitude should be that one shows the same commitment despite less identification"[69]. According to these additional words, identification would not necessitate Wei's (2012) *identity work strategies* because CIWs should attempt to do their best at all times. In the case of no personal identification, endurance is the means to overcome this problem. Whereas this kind of work ethic has its proponents, some of the interviewed CIWs do not want to abide the work but rather look for some aspect they can identify themselves with:

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[68] Simone: „Das ist halt sehr unterschiedlich, je nach dem welches Format ich mache. Also ich ähm, es gibt Formate, da geht man zu 100% auf, in dem, was man macht. Dann gibt es Formate, da macht man halt irgendwie kleinere Abstriche und dann gibt es auch Projekte, wo die Identifikation eher schwer fällt."
[69] Simone: „Grundsätzlich sollte schon die Einstellung sein, dass man auch bei einer kleineren Identifikation die gleiche Arbeit macht.

"Ideally, I always identify myself with the project. Well, in case of doubt, in a production where I see a rub in it, I am looking for the thing where I say: that is what interests me, that is what I would like to realize"[70], (Sven).

The CIW in this case focuses on those elements of a Reality TV format which are inventive and where he/she can come up with his/her own ideas. Nina's strategy is similar when she speaks about the stories she can tell. Another one of her emphases is on the communal feeling among her team:

"We all [identify with] this project. I believe that you have to. Since it is a controversial project and that is our protection mechanism so to speak." [71]

Despite little or no personal identification, respondents have found their own way of how they bridge this discrepancy between their own disposition and the product. It follows that they are classified them as group 2 in which one draws a symbolic boundary by choosing an aspect of the Reality TV format with which one can identify.

A third group does not necessarily need to apply *identity work strategies* or to create *symbolic boundaries* because they readily identify with the formats. Yet, no one of the respondents really belongs to this Group 3. All of them either keep a personal distance to the content of the Reality TV formats and cannot fully identify with what they are doing. With other projects e.g. entertainment shows the sense of identification is much stronger.

7.2 Identity work strategies

The factor of identification should not be equated with the respondent's personal attitude towards his/her cultural product, the Reality TV formats. The *VAB-Coding* with its differentiations between value, attitude and belief has uncovered alleged inconsistencies between value systems and approaches at first glance. But the respondents have found a way to reconcile these two. One group expresses dislike for anything that is commonly labeled as 'lowbrow'. Those respondents belonging to this faction categorize many Reality

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[70] Sven: Im Idealfall identifiziere immer sehr mit dem Projekt. Ähm, d.h. im Zweifel, wenn es eine Produktion ist, wo ich zwar auch irgendwo den gewissen Haken sehe, suche ich mir den Punkt, wo ich sage: das ist, was mich interessiert, das möchte ich umsetzen.

[71] Nina: „Das tun wir auf diesem Projekt aber alle. Ich glaube aber, du musst das. Denn es ist ein sehr umstrittenes Projekt und ähm das ist so ein bisschen unser Schutz nach draußen sozusagen."

TV formats[72] as being part of television programs that make stupid and they distance themselves from them. They give specific examples of shows which are corresponding to the genre and do not appreciate their content and/or reinforce their unwillingness to work for these programs. The other group cares about the positive aspects and blocks the negative ones.

7.2.1 Distancing tweaking

Some of the respondents would never consider working for a Reality TV program they do not approve of. They refuse steadfastly to be co-creative for any certain Reality TV shows since they have either made bad experiences when they were editors for a screening or they have been taken aback by the reputation. One wonders how they can evince this aversion if they have worked or are still assigned to a Reality TV format. With the strategy of distancing tweaking, the separation of oneself and the product (Wei, 2012) the deprecating attitude and judging is explicable. So, whenever the respondents justify their decisions why they work for Reality TV programs despite the problems they have with them, they apply this particular *identity work* strategy.

Within this group of respondents, various factors for the employment for Reality TV projects emerge. Firstly, being an author/editor is seen as a fulfilling profession in itself and it does not matter in the end for which projects one writes or researches topics and comes up with creative ideas for the contents. "[…] Work comes naturally and it is fun for me because I am being paid for my creativity, basically for everything floating around in my head"[73]. They can act out their individual and learnt skills. This animates them to keep on writing or editing for Reality TV formats.

"One of the best schools was… a certain [Reality TV format][74] because it was my start in the business. And one has to say, no matter how trashy this format may be, one

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[72] I have not expressly asked the interviewees about their sentiments towards Reality TV for a reason. As it is mentioned in the theoretical framework already, the number of Reality TV programs is vast. Open-ended and more general questions capture a much more comprehensive insight into the views of the CIWs.

[73] David: "[…] die Arbeit fällt mir leicht und macht mir Spaß, weil mir dann die Kreativität bezahlt wird. Das, was mir im Kopf herumspukt.

[74] Out of legal issues, the format is not explicitly named

learns an awful lot, because one learns how to tell longer stories in a very compact form"[75] (Mona).

This statement exemplifies the opportunities to acquire more knowledge about highly diverse subjects and one's own skills. Passion and the eagerness to learn are thus the first reason why distancing tweaking as a strategy works for them. In consequences, their *identity work* has been and still is to focalize the "handcraft" of their profession.

The rather precarious employment and the felt insecurity in regard of the temporary contracts constitute another form that explains the reasonability of distancing tweaking. The reasons for accepting offers for projects a CIW might consider less desirable than others.

"[...] since one sometimes does not have a choice, and if you are occasionally unemployed, I would never say never. Therefore, I think I would work for everything because unemployment is a bad thing"[76].

The fear of unemployment is an issue for some. Those respondents worry more than others but it agitates several among them far less:

"In the case one had to do a project on an interim basis, and had to make phone calls for four weeks, one readily likes to do that for the moment because one was glad that they place one somewhere"[77].

Consequently, working for a Reality TV format is viewed as a duty or a "necessary evil" and nothing more. They have to heed that they need to pay the rent at the end of the month and cannot afford to reject disagreeable projects. In all, the main motives of this group which applies distancing tweaking are the enjoyment of the profession itself and/or the setting of priorities in relation to the indispensability to have a secured income.

7.2.2 Evaluative tweaking

Other participants think otherwise and not as negatively about Reality TV as their fellow CIWs. They belong to the group that uses the strategy of evaluative tweaking. They do not

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[75] Mona: „Eine der besten Schulen war fast also sogar... „[besagtes Reality TV Format]r", weil das so meine erste Station war und man muss sagen, so trashig das Format auch ist. Man lernt da unheimlich viel, weil, äh, man muss halt, äh, man lernt auch, ähm, wie man lange Geschichten sehr komprimiert erzählen kann, ne."

[76] Christine: da man es sich manchmal nicht aussuchen kann, wenn man auch ab und zu arbeitslos ist, sage ich lieber niemals nie. Daher... wird, denke ich, dass ich für alles arbeiten würde, weil Arbeitslosigkeit eine recht arge Sache ist."

[77] Tina: „Wenn man mal zwischen Projekten „zwischengeparkt" wurde, und vier Wochen telefonieren musste, hat man das gerne gemacht in dem Moment, weil man froh war, dass sie einen irgendwo unterbringen."

have to apply the kind identity work strategy as the other group because they are to the greatest extent pleased with the formats they produce. All respondents of this group back their (sometimes former) projects and defend their position. The attitudes towards several Reality formats and the degree of personal identification may resemble the tenor of distancing tweaking but the criticism is not as withering. Working for Reality TV formats reconciles much better with their conscience:

> "It was a conscious decision because it is a format ridiculed by everyone. But I thought, well, I have derided it a bit as well, but I found it interesting to know how it is done and the causes that lie behind it. That is why I had sent an application for this particular program"[78] (Carsten).

This response might converge with the justification that the prospect to attain more practical and relevant skills by partaking in some formats[79] no matter what kind of genre it serves. Yet, the sentiments differ. With the question what the respondents think about when watching their own productions, one realizes the differences. Group B is by far better tempered than the other one.

> "I am always cheerful at the end of a project and in a particular sort of way proud how I have mastered it and finished it and look forward to taking the next step or to beginning a new project"[80] (Till).

They feel joy whilst their programs are broadcast despite the fact that they also could not identify with them at all times. In contrast to this, Group A makes the consumption of their own productions conditional if they appreciate its quality or value it content-wise because they distance themselves. The feeling of vicarious embarrassment remains an issue for them which the following comment encapsulates: "[it] bothers me as it is. I would delete the content!"[81] (Christine)

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[78] Carsten: „Das, ähm, war eine bewusste Entscheidung, weil es eigentlich ein Format ist, das von allen belächelt wird. Aber ich fand, äh, habe das zwar auch belächelt beim gucken, fand es aber interessant, zu wissen, wie es eigentlich gemacht wird und was dahinter steckt. Und habe mich deswegen speziell auf [besagtes Reality TV Format] beworben.
[79] See reference 55
[80] Till: "[…] ich bin am Ende eines Projektes immer froh und auf eine gewisse Weise stolz, es so geschafft und abgehakt zu haben und einen nächsten Schritt zu gehen oder ein neues Projekt anzufangen.
[81] Christine: „das Fremdschämen stört mich schon. Diese Inhalte würde ich dann vor dem Bildschirm löschen."

7.2.3 Symbolic boundaries

Another aspect of identity work is to keep up a homology of the aesthetic disposition between the CIWs and their cultural products, the Reality TV formats. Weber's (2000) interpretation of existing *symbolic boundaries* of employees in the book publishing industry can be partly transferred to the realm of TV production companies. Like numerous book publishers, certain CIWs keep a distance between themselves and the Reality TV formats. It is their profession and formats they do not approve of content-wise but which are designated for the commercial TV market equally belong to the working life as other productions do. So they do these jobs despite the missing feeling of identification. The motivation is the certainty to have a workplace and the prospect not to become unemployed. But this does not pertain to every CIW. Other respondents enjoy their programs' content without sensing a feeling of embarrassment or personal discontent and thus do not require drawing symbolic boundaries as much as their fellow colleagues need to.

7.3 Transferability of applying identity work

It can be said that one half of the CIWs does not identify with the content and purely sees it as one side of their profession which occasionally needs to be dealt with. Their identity work strategy is distancing tweaking which in the case of CIWs in production companies means to concentrate on their tasks as editors/authors. Then again, we have those respondents who find it crucial to identify with at least something of the Reality TV format. They are not satisfied if there is no element[82] with which they can build a relation. They are the ones who for the most part enjoy making Reality TV, ignore its reputation and thus have the least problems being assigned to work for this genre. The concepts Wei (2012) and Weber (2000) apply have proved to be useful in this research and are thus transferable to other realms of the culture industries.

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[82] E.g. an innovative feature which has not existed before

8. Conclusion

All in all, the qualitative semi-structured interviews have unveiled a myriad of findings which have been thoroughly analyzed and brought into connection with the relevant theories and concepts. These manifold results have provided possibilities of how to answer the complex two-part research question. This has been anticipated and it does not come as a surprise in a diverse working environment such as the TV production companies. The CIWs, who are the units of analysis, have proffered valuable insights with their extensive and revealing replies.

Answers can be provided to what extent Bourdieu's forms of capital in their original form as well as in the amended ones have relevance in the discussion and research for CIWs in Germany's cultural industries. The applicability of one's own cultural capital, especially the institutionalized cultural capital in the realm of German TV production companies can be approved of to a degree because it could help as a soft entry requirement but on the other hand is not necessarily a prerequisite. Someone's professional qualifications might not be entirely unimportant and can be a soft entry requirement but the employee's practical skills, networks and experiences matter much more than a high institutionalized cultural capital. If it is connected with the CIWs' own social capital and if both are actively deployed by them, they can accomplish a lot in the production company and sees a chance to maintain one's ground in the entire sector. Creativity as an aspect of one's cultural capital concurs to its overall significance. As a consequence, cultural capital alone, all the same which form, does have an effect in the German TV production companies alongside the application of one's social capital as it is understood by Lee (2011) and Zweigenhaft (in Throsby, 1999, p. 4)

The investigation's focus has been to answer the question on work motivations of the cultural industry workers. The first sort of motivation concerns the CIW's perception of the working environment of their profession within the cultural sector and hereby in the branch of commercial television production. Thus, there is the motivation to work and the passion for this profession or what one respondent has called the "handcraft" which in the case of editors and authors is on the one hand creativity and on the other organizational and technical skills. These abilities paired with the enthusiasm for television or the media in general must withstand some of the working conditions present at production companies. Long working hours, temporary contracts which let many CIWs decide to become a

freelancer or it has made them consider freelancing, and an income which is according to most of the respondents not high, especially when they compare it with other professions have been named by the respondents. In some cases, the respondents have indirectly

As it has become clear with the answers from the interviewees and what is also recoverable in the consulted scholarly literature (i.e. Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008 & 2010; Ursell, 2000), tactics and strategies are applied that outweigh the negative facets of the working realities in production companies. The professional environment of television production companies is helpful in this respect. Many CIWs appreciate the nonchalant atmosphere and the amicable working relationships with colleagues. Teamwork has been the most frequently mentioned motivational aspect and is cherished the most. Being able to view the final product of what they have shaped to a certain degree as well as the pleasure and fun that has been felt whilst working on a project are two other strong motivational arguments given by the respondents. These motivation strategies in addition with occasionally named incentives such as the wish to entertain the masses contribute to the readiness to work in this sector and at the same time to accept those working conditions which might not be the most convenient. In several statements, the CIWs have indicated that the disadvantageous instances form an unavoidable part of this profession and the majority tolerates them. This is in line with Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) finding that the feelings of responsibility lets the employees live with the rather unpleasant working conditions. Another way of dealing with this is the option to become a freelancer, a possibility which some CIWs have pondered upon or already realized. The impression gained with the interviews about freelancing has been overall positive and does not affirm Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) image drawn about the freelancers. With the consultation of the *goal-setting theory*, findings about the future job perspective could be figured out. The prospects of being promoted or leaving television production altogether to gain insights in other areas of the cultural sector constitute other attitudes of how to circumvent the working realities in TV production of a regular editor/author. Hence, with relation to the working at TV production companies, the respondent's replies come close to the observations and scholarly findings by the researchers who have dedicated their works on CIWs.

Working conditions alone are not sufficient enough to explain why someone would choose this career and be motivated to do this job for a longer time. Further statements about motivations include their fervor for television, its production and the realization of applying their creative competences. The content of the Reality TV formats has been rarely referred to by the respondents and only one interviewee has concreted that he had been eager to be an editor for a Reality TV program. Now we come close to answering the first half of the twofold research question: "how do employees of TV production companies motivate themselves to produce lowbrow'/'popular content?" Proper results to this question could be detected by examining identity work strategies (Wei, 2012), and the drawing of symbolic boundaries (Weber, 2000). At the same time, the validity and adequacy of these concepts in the context of TV production, and more specifically Reality TV making, has been scrutinized.

Personal affiliation for television as a medium and a fascination with how shows are produced are frequently mentioned causes for being an editor/author but are not a prerequisite to do this work. Most of the respondents have problems with how TV is realized in Germany and especially criticize the private and commercially-oriented channels and what they interpret as trashy television. The most intriguing result to be highlighted in this regard concerns their values of and attitudes towards Reality TV production that is often classified as 'lowbrow'. The CIWs do not identify with the content of Reality TV and also have issues with the realization of productions belonging to this genre. But when it comes to the Reality TV formats that they work for, they exert their own identity work strategies for the purpose of justifying their active cooperation for such productions. The two strategies which Wei (2012) has discerned, distancing and evaluative tweaking, are also applied by the German CIWs. By and large, the respondents could be divided in the two groups distancing tweaking and evaluative tweaking in which the members of the former actively distance themselves from the product the CIWs associated with the latter use the strategy of evaluative tweaking more. The implementation of distancing and evaluative tweaking approximates Weber's (2000) concept of constructing symbolic boundaries.

All in all, through the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis, the complex working motivations can be grasped better as if only one theory or concept had been chosen. The existent working conditions, the identity work strategies at their disposal including the

establishment of symbolic boundaries in addition to certain parts of motivation theories explain why CIWs are motivated to work for Reality TV formats. With all these circumstances and strategic approaches they uphold their artistic integrity and surmount the any missing homology between their aesthetic disposition and the eventual lowbrow product.

8.1 Transferability

All the multifarious motivations, the possibility to apply their creative skills and the identity work strategies analyzed in the four preceding chapters assist in closing the identification gap that would otherwise let the CIWs either leave the cultural industries or be distressed. Let it be creativity in some cases as a form of cultural capital, one's established networks as a form of social capital (Chapter 5), the always changing working environment, the collegiality, or the fascination with television (Chapters 6 and 7), these motivations and characteristics can to a varying degree explain why the CIWs have chosen to work for Reality TV productions. Since this thesis's research is based on grounded theory, a coherent conceptual framework with the concepts that have proved transferable can be established.

As it has become clear that the concept of creativity must be redefined in relation to the CIWs of this research, it shall also include 'organizational' and 'technical' creativity. This new understanding of creativity could be recovered in the working motivations, so that this skill is certainly an incentive because applying and acquiring new attainments motivates to work for TV productions overall. At the same time, it explains to a certain degree why the CIWs' motives to produce Reality TV formats. Additionally, networks, general motivation theories and the application of identity work strategies (distancing, evaluative and symbolic boundaries) must be related to creativity in this framework since all components constitute the motivational intentions to work for Reality TV and comparable lowbrow formats. Networks, as a soft entry requirement, motivation theories which explain incentives to work, and identity work strategies that give them a justification make the framework complete. Conclusively, this conceptual framework is transferable to other work sectors where skills, one's personal standard and motivations require identity work strategies.

9. Discussion

Some of the results shown in this thesis require more remarks. The respondents have spoken about many diverse themes such as their personal relation to television, their work motivations and main characteristics of their employment. They further have shared their views on television production, the medium's consumption in Germany and their perception of the consumers. This complexity has become intelligible to the reader because it mirrors the reality of the working lives of the CIWs who produce for lowbrow productions. But the findings also raise questions that shall be discussed.

The respondents have provided answers and insights which could be related to the various relevant theories e.g. the motivation theories and concepts for instance the identity work strategies. But they cannot be familiar with all the terms. For example the terminology 'lowbrow' does not have a verbatim or suitable translation in the German language. Alternative words for it, like the commonly used word 'trash', do not get to the core idea of the concept as well as the English one. So, it has been a challenging task at times to link the replies to the respective theories and concepts due to linguistic differences. This is not a flaw of this research but rather signifies the difficulties to transfer research findings to other countries in which other languages are spoken. Fortunately, many terms like 'Reality TV' or 'Scripted Reality' are also used in the German language usage. Next to the plausible difficulties of linguistic translations, another form of 'translation' has run the risk to distort the results, namely the interpretations of values, attitudes and beliefs about Reality TV or the motivations. The specific techniques of value coding and dramaturgical coding have kept misconceptions about the CIW's views at a minimum. However, it sometimes has been intricate to exactly pinpoint if a viewpoint had truly been a belief or only a pretense in order not be presented as someone who e.g. enjoys ridiculing others. In respect to motivations and identity work strategies, it has thus been immensely important to read between the lines.

In terms of content, the work world of TV production is fast-paced, complex and encompasses comprehensive task fields. Hence, many of the CIWs have already worked for numerous projects with different genres and varying production companies, and have accordingly gained diverse experiences and impressions over the years. On the one hand,

this realistically represents the conditions of the working environment of the CIWs and has made them eligible to be interviewees of this research. But on the other side, it also leads to a myriad of divided and inconsistent opinions about working conditions and the employment for Reality TV genres.

9.1 Future research

The findings of this thesis have illuminated a particular commercially-oriented sector of the cultural industries as a workplace. They include the motivations the CIWs have as well as the strategies they apply in order to justify their work for lowbrow TV productions, in this research's case: Reality TV formats. More research can be conducted within the same genre, the Reality TV production. In addition to interviews, ethnographical observations could take place at the workplaces of the CIWs. In this manner, researchers of media studies, cultural studies and sociologists can get an even more authentic insight into the working environment. Studying the motivations and the identity work strategies by being an observant can provide a prognosis to what extent my suggested theory is applicable in field research. Motivations and strategies to work for specific subgenres of Reality TV could be further examined to disclose more knowledge about hierarchies within this genre because it is so diverse. The newly established concepts can find application in the culture industries overall. It could be investigated how other CIWs motivate themselves and which strategies they use to satisfy the needs of the market, the consumers and/or the relevant intermediaries. Since teamwork has resulted to be the motivation most CIWs value so much, it is another suggestion to conduct more research with the focus on the relations among them

Moreover, the exact roles of symbolic and economic capital can be incorporated in future research. Hesmondhalgh (2006) by referring to Bourdieu, however, finds these forms of economic capital to be crucial for cultural mass production. Although this might be the case, this form of capital has been omitted because the emphasis was on the cultural capital and social capital. Another research could be undertaken to observe the relations of all types of capital in TV production and the culture industries overall.

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Appendix

A. Interview guide

Operationalization

The following interview guide will have a structure so that all the theories and the concepts introduced in the theoretical framework are contained and that the research question about motivations can be answered satisfyingly. Before the interview, the respondents are asked to state their clear and informed consent to take part in this interview. Further, they only have to provide their age and the current position they have within a German TV production company (e.g. senior producer, editor, junior editor etc.). Then, the actual, semi-structured interview will start. The beginning of the interview is about the professional background and career of the interviewees. Due to the different age groups as well as their assumingly various career paths, these questions are significant to learn how someone attained an occupation at a production company and what his/her motives were/are. These questions pattern the first part of the interview.

What follows are questions about their spare time activities and which role "culture" thereby plays for them. This corresponds to the concept of Bourdieu's cultural capital which is part of my theoretical framework. I hypothesize a dissonance between the respondents' own aesthetic disposition and the cultural product they are creating and the replies could be the first indicators if this assumption is justified or not. The interview goes on with questions about television in general, the meaning it has for the interviewee as well as his/her opinions about this medium. This relates to the common division in *highbrow* and *popular* culture and the interviewees' aesthetic dispositions/habitus. If my interviewees unconsciously make such a distinction themselves reveals more about how they view their professional role and simultaneously says more about their motivations.

After these personal questions, the third and most in-depth part primarily concerns the interviewee's motivations. The theoretical emphasis is on various motivational theories that are applicable in the context of working in organizations. Scholarly hypotheses about the *goal-setting theory*, *expectancy theory* and *reward theory* are helpful to evaluate the interviewees' answers what goals, expectations and fears they have. This shall be translated

into the interview as follows: The first question broadly asks them to tell what motivates them to work at the production company. Several follow-up questions serve to receive more comprehensive responses and find coherence or discrepancies among cultural industry workers' motivation. These following questions are about professional goals, expectations and their favorite formats. They mainly focus on the interviewee's personal motivation but they are also about their relation to their workplace and the consumer.

In the last part, the focal point is on the cultural industry workers' perspective on the "product", its perception by critics and the public, and the consumers. The concept of cultural taste is taken up again. These ultimate questions are very important to figure out if the aforementioned dissonance between one's own aesthetic dispositions and the product truly exists.

All questions have been designed in relation to the theories and concepts mentioned in the theoretical framework. The respective theories and concepts to the questions are either noted in the heading of the chapter or after a specific question.

Interview guide (German)

Vorab:

Allgemeine Vorstellung der/s jeweiligen Interviewpartners/in

- Angabe des Alters und des Geschlechts

- Aktuelle berufliche Position im Unternehmen (Redakteur usw.) oder Freiberufler/in

- Die Namen der/s Interviewten und der Produktionsfirmen werden anonymisiert.

1) **Einleitende Fragen; Bekanntmachung meiner/s Interviewpartner/in und Ihres jeweiligen beruflichen Werdegangs:**

➢ **Einblicke in das Berufsfeld erhalten**

 Konzepte: cultural capital, social capital

a) Bitte erzählen Sie mir von Ihrem beruflichen Werdegang.

- Welche Arbeitserfahrungen haben Sie gemacht, bevor Sie sich bei einer Produktionsfirma beworben haben?

- Seit wie vielen Jahren sind Sie nun für TV-Produktionsfirmen tätig und in welchen Positionen waren Sie angestellt?

b) Wie wurde Ihr Interesse an der Arbeit bei TV-Produktionsfirmen geweckt?

c) Beschreiben Sie Ihre Anfänge im Fernsehgeschäft

- Wie sehr haben sich Ihre bisherigen Positionen innerhalb der Fernsehproduktion unterschieden? Im Bereich der Aufgabenfelder, Problemstellungen und persönlichen Entfaltung?

2) **Haltung zur „Kultur", Fernsehen in Deutschland**

 Konzept: cultural capital, lowbrow/popular

a) Welchen Aktivitäten gehen Sie in Ihrer Freizeit nach?

b) Wie wichtig sind Ihnen (dabei) kulturelle Aktivitäten?

c) Welchen Stellenwert besitzt Fernsehen im Allgemeinen für Sie?

d) Was ist Ihre persönliche Haltung zur deutschen Fernsehlandschaft?

- (Was denken Sie über öffentliches/privates Fernsehen?)

e) Es gibt viele öffentliche Diskussionen und Meinungen, in denen Fernsehen negativ betrachtet wird und wiederum andere, die einen Nutzen des Fernsehens sehen. Wie lautet Ihre Meinung dazu?

  ➢ Bezug auf Highbrow oder Lowbrow"Popular

f) Welche TV-Programme schauen Sie persönlich gerne?

3) Fragen zur Motivation und Unsicherheiten, bei einer Produktionsfirma zu arbeiten, für Reality TV Formate zu arbeiten; das erworbene kulturelle und soziale Kapital einzuarbeiten; Frage

  ➢ **Theorien: goal-setting theory, expectancy theory, reward theory**

a) Was motiviert Sie bei einer Produktionsfirma tätig zu sein?

  ➢ Bezug auf

b) Was ist Ihnen in Ihrem Beruf wichtig?

- Welcher Arbeitstyp sind Sie?

  ➢ Bezug auf *„goal-setting theory"* (Latham, 2002)

- Beschreiben Sie mir bitte Ihre beruflichen Ziele.

- Was war Ihre berufliche Vorstellung als sie jugendlich waren? Wie hat sich diese Vorstellung im Laufe der Zeit verändert?

  ➢ Staw, Bell and Clausen (1986) have concluded that adolescence is a time at which individuals have dreams and wishes about a career that they may want to realize eventually. This is unlike childhood where career aspirations are not thought through and subject to change.

- Welche Erwartung haben Sie an sich selbst, Ihre Projekte und Ihren Arbeitgeber?

  ➢ Bezug auf *„expectancy theory"*

c) Welche Rolle spielt Ihre eigene Kreativität?

  ➢ Kreativität als Form des kulturellen Kapitals

d) Welches Format weckt besonders Ihr Interesse?

- Für welches Format würden Sie gerne arbeiten?

e) Inwieweit identifizieren Sie sich mit den Inhalten der Formate, für die Sie arbeiten?

  ➢ Identity work strategies

  ➢ Dissonanz zwischen eigener ästhetischen Disposition und produziertem Inhalt

f) Für welche Formate würden Sie nicht arbeiten?

- Gibt es Grenzen die Sie ziehen würden?

g) Wie gehen Sie mit der Ungewissheit um, ob das Format, für das Sie arbeiten, erfolgreich sein wird (bzw. wenn bereits erfolgreich, es erfolgreich bleibt)?

➢ Bezug auf Richard Caves' *„nobody knows principle"*

h) Wenn es kein Fernsehen mehr geben sollte, in welcher Branche würden Sie dann gerne arbeiten?

4) Haltung gegenüber den Produktionen, Konsumenten und Dritten

a) Was denken Sie, wenn Sie Ihre eigenen Sendungen anschauen?

b) Wie denken Sie über die Zuschauer der Sendung nach, für die Sie momentan arbeiten?

- Was sind das für Menschen, die Ihre Sendung schauen?

- Würden Ihre Familie/Freunde die Sendung schauen?

- Wie reagieren Sie auf öffentliche Kritik, z.B. wenn das Format als einfallslos bezeichnet wird?

Abschließende Frage zum Schluss: Welche Rolle spielt Geld für Sie?

Interview guide (English translation)

- General presentation of the particular interviewee
  - Stating age and gender
  - Providing current occupational status (producer, editor, freelancer etc.)
  - Names of the respondents are anonymous.

1) **Introductory questions; becoming acquainted with the interview partner**

   Concepts: cultural capital, social capital

   a) Please tell me more about your professional background.
      - What kind of work experiences have you made before you became employed at this company?
   b) How did you become interested in working for a television production company?
   c) How and when did you start in the TV business?

2) **About culture and TV production in Germany**

   Concepts: cultural capital, lowbrow/popular

   a) What are your spare time activities?
   b) How important are cultural activities?
   c) Which status does TV have in general for you?
   d) What is your stance on the German TV landscape?
   e) Many public debates exist in which TV is viewed as something negative, others see a positive value. What is your opinion?
   f) Which programs do you like to watch the most?

3) **Questions concerning motivation and the relation to the workplace; working for Reality TV formats**
      - **Theories: motivation theories > goal-setting theory, expectancy theory, reward theory**
   a) What is your motivation to work at a TV production company?

b) What is important in your profession?

- Please delineate your professional objectives?

➢ goal-setting theory

- Which professional conception did you have as an adolescent? How did it change over time?

- Which expectations do you have for yourself, your projects and your employer?

➢ expectancy theory, reward theory

c) Which role does creativity play in your profession?

➢ creativity as form of cultural capital

d) Which sorts of formats do interest you the most?

- For which particular format would you like to work and why?

e) To what extent do you identify with the formats you are working for?

➢ Identity work strategies

f) Which sorts of formats do interest you the least?

- For which format/genre would you not work and why?

g) How do you handle the uncertain success of a format?

- How do you handle stressful working situations?

➢ Richard Caves's "nobody knows principle"

h) Hypothetically speaking: if TV production stopped tomorrow, in which professional sector would you like to work?

4. Stance towards productions, consumers and third parties

a) What do you think when watching your own productions?

b) What do you think about the consumers of the formats for which you currently work?

- What kinds of people watch your formats?

- Would your family/friends watch the formats?

- How do you live with critique?

Final question: Which role does money play for you?

B. Coding Scheme

Coding scheme following Saldaña's (2013) suggestions:

a) First cycle coding methods:

Table a1: Open Coding

List of initial codes

Codes (alphabetical order)	Number of times used
Activities/Hobbies	10
Audience	13
Career alternatives	13
Career aspiration	12
Career objectives	11
Challenge	3
Creativity (form of cultural capital)	29
Criticism	13
Cultural activities	10
Cultural intermediaries	11
Diversity	7
Demotivations	24
Early career	10
Expectations	14
Family/friends	15
Favorite formats (personal)	11
Favorite formats (work)	9
German TV landscape	10
Highbrow vs. lowbrow	22
Identification	15

Identity work	21
Least favorite formats (personal)	12
Least favorite formats (work)	7
Money	20
Motivation	14
Nobody knows principle	10
Organized	5
Pleasure/fun	20
Public channels	8
Private channels	8
Responsibility	10
Results (realizing goals)	9
Rewards	10
Studies	10
Team/colleagues	18
Technical aspects	9
Trash	8
Uncertainty	8
Value of TV	18
Work ethic	8
Workaholic/Perfectionist	4
Work type	11
Total: 42 codes	**516**

Table a2: Values coding (also used during second cycle coding)

List of codes

Codes	Number of times used
(V) - Value	49
(A) - Attitude	84
(B) - Belief	53
Total: 3 codes	**186**

b) Second cycle coding method:

Discarded codes challenge, results (realizing goals), workaholic/perfectionis

Emergent codes: demotivations, networks

Table b: Focused and axial coding (combined)

Category 1 (Capital):

Sub-categories:

a) Professional and personal backgrounds
➤ Description: the respondents state something about their professional or personal background as a career
➤ Code: 1,1

b) Cultural capital
➤ Description: the respondents state something about the role of culture in their lives
➤ Code: 1,2

c) Creativity (form of cultural capital)
➤ Description: the respondents state something about creativity as a prerequisite to work in a production company
➤ Code: 1,3

d) Networks (form of social capital)
- ➢ Description: the respondents state something about the importance of networks as a prerequisite to work for TV production
- ➢ Code: 1,4

e) Nobody knows principle
- ➢ Description: the respondents express uncertainties about work in production companies and do not rely on their cultural/social capital
- ➢ Code: 1,5

Category 2 (Working in TV production):

Sub-categories:

a) German TV landscape
- ➢ Description: the respondents express their opinions about the TV production in Germany
- ➢ Code: 2,1

b) Motivation
- ➢ Description: the respondents state their motivations to work in TV production (working conditions)
- ➢ Code: 2,2

c) Demotivation
- ➢ Description: the respondents state demotivating factors in relation to working conditions
- ➢ Code: 2,3

To category 3 (Work for Reality TV):

Sub-categories:

a) Lowbrow
- ➢ Description: the respondents state something about lowbrow TV productions
- ➢ Code: 3,1

b) Motivation to work for Reality TV
➢ Description: the respondents state something about their motivations to work for Reality TV
➢ Code: 3,2

c) Demotivations
➢ Description: the respondents state demotivating factors in relation to Reality TV production
➢ Code: 3,3

To category 4 (Identity work):

Sub-categories:

a) Identification
➢ Description: the respondents state how much they identify with their work
➢ Code: 4,1

b) Identity work strategies
➢ Description: the respondents state something that reveals their strategies to uphold artistic integrity
➢ Code: 4,2

C. Overview of tables