Celebrity, Journalism and Self-Identity

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Statement of Academic Integrity

The candidate confirms that the work submitted in this thesis is her own and that appropriate credit is given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

THIS thesis explores the intertwining discourses and displays of celebrity, print journalism and self-identity in the capitalist democracy of Britain, with particular consideration of relationships with US media cultures. Part One plots three successive phases in the development of celebrity journalism in relation to the "authentic self" linked to consumerism, "the citizen" linked to national identity, and "the star" linked to hyperreal self display. It spans the 18th to the late 20th centuries and considers celebrity and celebritised journalism in relation to socio-cultural, political, economic and media transformations. It argues celebrity and journalism cultures developed together, and this formed linguistic constructs and conventions that influenced how self-identity is articulated and constructed. Part Two considers how these themes shaped and are reshaped in digital spaces to create networked presentations of self-identity for specific social, political and commercial goals. It demonstrates how the thematic and structural conventions of celebrity journalism are used to effectively self-present on social media and the impact of this on news agendas. There is a gap in research in celebrity journalism due to it falling "between a number of disciplines, none of which have devoted sufficient attention" (Dubied and Hanitzsch 2014: 140). This study uses a theoretical framework and methodologies drawn from not only journalism and cultural studies, but also history, literature, sociology, and digital communications to demonstrate both the potentials and dangers of celebrity and celebritised journalism as a mechanism for constructing both self-identity and reality.

Keywords: celebrity news and journalism; celebritised news and journalism; self-identity; persona construction; individuation; celebrification

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Introduction

I.1: Conceptualisation and Research Question

ON the eve of a major celebrity studies conference, *Channel 4* News's Cathy Newman penned a scathing attack on the idea that celebrity culture could have political value. "Katy Perry can't teach our children anything about politics", she declared, outlining how she found organiser Dr James Bennett's arguments that celebrities can make difficult political, economic and social information more accessible "bizarre if not frankly depressing." For Newman, celebrity journalism should be limited, and while she acknowledged the odd celebrity can "add impetus to a story" (Angelina Jolie was singled out for a special mention), there are a host of others who should be ignored. A little of celebrity, Newman argued, "…goes a long way" (Newman, June 18 2014, *The Telegraph:* online).

Newman's concerns the about the pernicious influence of celebrity are familiar and reflect broader journalistic degradation of any attempt to understand the significance of celebrity culture and its impacts. From *MailOnline* lamenting the number of students taking "Mickey Mouse" media studies courses (Clark, September 12 2007) and gaining degrees "with much less effort" (Harris, 26 March 2012), to criticism of "ridiculous" university programmes such as Beyoncé Studies (Sanghani, 30 January 2014, *The Telegraph:* online), the news industry has a decidedly uneasy relationship with studies of celebrity. The reality is, of course, that news is influenced by celebrity culture far beyond the showbiz desk. Political correspondents on the election trail, crime hacks reporting murders or heists, foreign correspondents discussing the actions of dictators and terrorists and financial writers analysing the latest economic downturn, all use the dynamics of celebrity journalism to personify their stories. We would therefore be forgiven for thinking that the inquisitive

journalist would recognise celebrity culture as an important area for further study. When reading another emotive attack, we must wonder whether arguments against the study of celebrity attempt to deflect public attention from the reliance and purposes of news organisations' incessant focus on it.

This study found roots in my own experiences as a tabloid newspaper reporter and the reasons I walked away from the industry. I became disillusioned working for news editors who were more interested in *The X Factor* (ITV 2004-present) than exposé and after spending several Saturdays sitting outside the home of then tabloid fodder Kerry Katona, plotted an alternative career. The desk's incessant interest in Katona was not driven by her achievements – her spell in 1990s' girl group Atomic Kitten and success in *I'm a Celebrity Get Me Out of Here* (ITV 2002-present) a distant memory by this point – but by editor Andy Coulson's working relationship and subsequent spat with her then publicist Max Clifford. First, positive stories about Katona continued to make the newspaper in return for exclusives about other celebrities. Then, when Clifford broke ties with the *News of the World* (1843-2011), generating lurid tales about her private life became an almost seedy obsession of senior editors. I was suitably outraged that the egos of press agents and editors made the seemingly unremarkable Katona significant to the news agenda of the largest selling Sunday newspaper in the UK.

Having left the industry to work as a journalism lecturer, I was therefore somewhat frustrated when the first module I was given to teach was titled *Celebrities in Print*. However, reflecting on my time in industry, reading around the topic and thinking about how I could facilitate learning about the significance of celebrity journalism without coming across as a tabloid hack justifying her existence, I soon became fascinated by the complexities of the relationship. In a lecture, I used Katona as an example of Boorstin's

(1961) "human pseudo-event" and the subsequent discussion with students yielded interesting insights into how they understood Katona. Some accepted her as an example of entrepreneurial endeavour – a working class girl just like them- who succeeded against the odds. However, they also discussed how they quickly rejected her as a role model with reports of drug abuse and sexual promiscuity in news media, who vilified her as an example of "Chav" Britain. Tabloid coverage provided a living morality tale through which they could identify how to (or not to) live their own lives and "succeed". As Braudy (1986: 90) argues, to dismiss public visibility with "pat versions" of Boorstin's argument that they are simply someone "who is famous for being famous", could all too easily lead us to fail to recognise the significance of figures such as Katona in "shaping the values of our society". We could, therefore, see that celebrity can work as a "semiotic hook" (Conboy 2014: 179), used by journalists to embody significant socio-political issues and the moral dilemmas we face.

During my time at the *News of the World* and other tabloid newspapers, celebrity journalism was part of everyday working life. I engaged in processes of ***celebrification*** – raising an individual's exposure to the public, using discourses of celebrity news and journalism. There were well-developed production patterns for this, usually including a "sit down" interview accompanied by a photo-shoot. I followed this process for a range of stories, ranging from "kiss and tells" – most commonly about footballers, musicians or reality TV participants –to stories with the parents of young soldiers killed in Iraq or Afghanistan, murder victims or missing children. In these instances, the interview was a mutually agreed and beneficial process. For the participant, those benefits may be increased visibility for themselves or a cause, financial (interviews were usually paid for) or, in some instances, the opportunity to "attack" someone famous, suiting the agenda of the

publication. However, there were also instances where I engaged in processes of *beyond the control or consent* of the individual concerned. This often related to the coverage of crime, where either victims or alleged perpetrators could be ***celebrified*** in order to provide a new line on the story and to keep it in the public consciousness. In newsrooms, the number of by-lines equates professional value. Celebrification is one means by which journalists maintain the attention of both news editors and readers.

In March 2017, I attended two seminars with papers by leading journalism studies scholars researching the most damaging effects and implications of tabloid news culture. At the University of Leeds (March 8, 2017) Professor James Curran, who is revising his seminal *Power without Responsibility* (2009 [1981]), discussed the feral culture of celebrification of ordinary people who happen to find themselves on the news agendas of red top tabloids. Three weeks later, I listened as Professor Natalie Fenton (March 28, 2017) discussed links between politicians and the press industry, particularly the Murdoch Empire and some of the struggles she faced as part of the *Hacked Off* campaign which focused on tabloid journalists following the revelations of phone hacking. Both offered insights into the potential damage caused by journalism's pack mentality and whether this limits participation in democratic public spheres. Fenton declared a crisis in communications with significant implications for democracy and for citizens. Considering the production of celebrity news and its impacts, was key to the moments of self-reflection that led to the formation of this thesis. Translating our "own history into the formulation of research questions" supports "the process of learning the craft of inquiry" (Alford 1998: 1). While innocent, and therefore quickly cleared of "phone hacking" after my arrest during Operation Weeting in 2011, I participated in extreme news (room) cultures of celebritisation that

encouraged criminality by some colleagues. However, equally, I do not see the celebritisation of the news agenda as *in itself* damaging to journalism. The newspapers I worked for were amongst the most widely read in the UK, which indicates there is value in celebrity culture for both the industry- suffering from economic pressures –and to audiences. There were also instances where using processes of celebrification offered me opportunities to give voice to people, who were otherwise ignored.

This thesis explores the implications and purposes of celebrity journalism. I argue that the power dynamics between celebrity and journalism shape the way we understand and articulate our self-identity through addressing the following key research question:

How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?

Although this thesis is not a comprehensive history of either celebrity *or* journalism, I explore *the role of journalism in the creation of celebrity culture* and how this helped to formulate the conventions, structures and thematic priorities of print and online news. However, this work not only examines celebrity journalism itself, but also some pertinent examples of how it has *influenced and impacted on other media discourses and genres,* in order to approach the research question from a variety of angles and perspectives. I also examine how the linguistic and thematic patterns of celebrity and journalism *influence the performance of self-identity* by public figures, at times beyond those who might traditionally be categorised as celebrities. The way the news industry "weaponises" celebrity culture – using it to frame attacks on public figures – emerges as a central theme. This is evident from the first Western mass media discourse- the 18th Century London press – and throughout the development of journalism and celebrity cultures. One hope is that by focusing on the

development of linguistic, structural and symbolic developments of journalism and celebrity

in relation to one another, and to the development of notions of self-identity, we may

better understand how and why these discourses facilitate attack. Another key theme is the

significance of newsgathering and construction of celebrity journalism on news production

as whole. In particular, how interviewing developed as a self-advantaging exchange

between journalists and celebrities, is demonstrated as shaping not only news production,

but also the performance of self by celebrities in both print and digital media. By

demonstrating celebrity and news cultures as not inherently opposed, but complexly

intertwined from their origins, I aim to further understanding of both genres.

Journalism creates and sustains celebrities as publically visible images with whom

we identify or alternatively, reject and vilify. If news "shapes the way we see the world,

ourselves and each other", constructing and maintaining our "shared realities" (Wahl-

Jorgenson and Hanitzsch 2009: 3) and celebrity is an inter-textual performance practice

through which stars articulate what it is like to be an "individual" (Dyer 1979, Marshall 1997,

Turner 2013), then celebrity journalism aims to modify our behaviour. In Part One, this is

explored in relation to three key developments in self-identity between the 18th and 20th

centuries. Firstly, I explore the formation of the "authentic self" in the 18th Century and the

ways in which print media used celebrities to propagate consumerist values, specifically

linked to Romanticism. Then, I consider the concurrent development of "the citizen", linked

specifically to formulation of British national identity, democracy and constructs of "news".

Finally, Part One considers the formation of "the star" as linked to the development of the

Hollywood system, and its interactions with journalism and its discourses. In Part Two, I use

these three established frameworks to consider the networked relationships between

celebrity and journalism, and how they shape self-display in digital spaces. Journalists and celebrities were first in the cultural industries to harness the commercial potentials of convergent culture and I examine the relationships between digital celebrity and news cultures, self-performance and self-branding and, in turn, their impacts on journalism. In short, this thesis tracks how celebrity developed in relation to news media (Part One) and how this has impacted on digital media discourses (Part Two).

I.2: Understanding Celebrity and Celebritised News and Journalism

There are those who consider the term "celebrity news" an oxymoron. This issue was central to a special edition of *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* (Volume 15, Number 2: Feb 2014), which invited position pieces from P.David Marshall and Graeme Turner alongside journalism studies academics Thomas Hanitzsch and Martin Conboy. The premise was to broaden understanding of celebrity news, highlighted as an under-researched area. In this thesis, I consider how this gap results in many discussions of celebrity journalism – including some in the special issue – using assumptions, which are not fully evidenced. The most significant of these describes celebrity content and "traditional" journalism as distinct beasts, with different working patterns and emerging at different times. This study argues that celebrity culture has *always* been part of printed news, not distinct from "traditional" journalism, but helping formulate its conventions, constructs and agendas. This links to another assumption – that journalism builds from objective and impartial facts in "the public interest", whereas celebrity journalism only focuses on emotion and private interests, primarily for entertainment. This "assumes that the coverage of celebrity does not match a higher set of ideals" (Conboy 2014: 171). Tuchman (1981), Schudson (2000) and Allan (2005) have identified the centrality of the notion of objectivity and impartiality to the formation of

the journalistic profession. This research explores how the use of personality and human interest in news telling predates ideas of impartiality and objectivity as journalistic conventions. It argues that celebrity journalism also functions to enable democratic, social and political changes and that is as significant as purist notions of journalists as impartial "watchdogs" of democracy.

This thesis demonstrates that journalistic values of objectivity and impartiality emerged later than the use of celebrity culture. As such, the former has never existed without the latter. Celebrity journalism has an equally significant function in the construction of reality (Tuchman 1978) as other areas of news. Tuchman argues that news acts as a frame through which humans "learn about themselves and others" (Ibid: 1) acting as to construct reality through turning "occurrences into news events" (Ibid: 13). This works to support how news industries turn individuals into "human pseudo-events" (Boorstin 1961) for specific purposes. Journalists use celebrities as a means of constructing narratives which fit the rationale of the societies in which they live and the agendas of their publications. Sparks (1992: 37-38) argues that the linguistic patterns of tabloid papers, which are grounded in the everyday and personal, help shape journalistic news values, placing stories which fit a publication's news values at the top of their agenda. This helps sustain audiences and attract advertisers, using the commodification of celebrities in a similar way as other areas of the cultural industries use the star system, for example (Hesmondhalgh 2013: 97-134). As readers share, discuss, interpret and examine celebrities, they are helping to rationalise the hegemonic power of capital (Gramsci 1988 [1932]), applying the lens created to their own lives. News, therefore, is primarily a commercial exercise linked specifically to the construction of every day experience within a consumer society.

Many journalism studies scholars see consumer pressures as opposed to the role of journalists as watchdogs of democracy and vox populi. One of the most damning critiques was Bob Franklin's 1997 *Newzack & News Media*, in which he described a rapid decline in quality in newspaper and television. Franklin argued that journalism was placing the "trivial" before the "weighty" resulting in news media that were more concerned with stories which "interest the public than stories that are within the public interest" (1997: 4). He identified increases in celebrity and human-interest journalism from the 1970s onwards and declared this damaging to both journalism and society. Gitlin (1997) extended Franklin's argument to political reporting and its importance within the public sphere. He criticised the trivialisation of public affairs for breaking down political citizenry and engagement. Carey (2002) examined US journalism and argued that democracy itself was under threat unless journalism "disengaged from the global entertainment industries" (2002: 89). The damaging impacts of celebrity culture on both news and democracy underpin these arguments. From their position, celebritisation is part of a tabloid culture that, combined with biased reporting due to pressures from owners and shareholders, has resulted in the "colonisation" of newspapers from their public sphere responsibilities. In tabloid media even the coverage of politics resembles that of a television contest, where "polling is relentlessly continuous", (Corner and Pels 2003: 2) and the emphasis is on "personalities rather than the substantive issues at stake in political debate" (Stevenson 2002: 194). News industries place commercial interests above the public interest, undermining "the necessary conditions for effective democratic governance" (McChesney 1999: 8).

These critiques are often underpinned by Habermas' considerations of print culture at the time of the bourgeois public sphere, which are explored in detail in Chapter Two. Newspapers had two specific roles: to inform readers about the important social and

political news, and to provide forums for public debate by publishing readers' content and comment. However, Charles L. Ponce (2002: 17) highlights how the bourgeois public sphere was "equally open to polemics, propaganda and self promotion – much of it to arouse emotional response, be it sympathy, contempt, or outrage" and as such was as accessible to "muckrakers as philosophers". Conboy (2014: 175) argues "comparisons of tabloid media with idealized versions of what the news ought to be doing ignore the historical evidence that tabloid news" and its predecessors in popular print culture "have always sought to contest dominant bourgeois values". In his useful overview of analyses of tabloid culture in *Understanding Celebrity* (2013: 84-87), Graeme Turner considers whether critiques of tabloidisation are often "grounded in a conventional and longstanding hostility to popular culture itself" (2013: 86). He examines John Hartley's *Popular Reality* (1996: 27), which challenges critiques that place celebrity journalism and traditional news in binary as reinforcing "systematic bias". Lumby (1997: 17) considers such critiques as "based more in prejudice than in contemporary reality". She argues that tabloidisation – and particularly the visibility of people from broader social groups – allows a democratisation of news with potential for a "more open and egalitarian" public sphere (ibid: 38). Turner questions Hartley and Lumby's outcome of automatic democratic potential when people from differing social groups are in the public eye. His discussion of the "demotic turn" (2013: 91-94) argues that increased visibility does not necessarily lead to direct democratic action or change. Here, he departs from Hartley and Lumby who argue that a "more open and egalitarian public sphere" empowers people to challenge the status quo. In this thesis, I discuss that while there is no *automatic* link between widening visibility and democratic action, an early purpose of celebrity journalism was the encouragement of democratic changes and actions. Discussions consider purpose and effects of the constructs and

narratives of celebrity journalism, when channelled for specific commercial, political or promotional ends.

Driessens (2014: 643) defines "celebritization" and "celebrification" as distinct terms, too often used interchangeably in critiques of media. He argues that like other "-itization" concepts, such as globalisation or criminalisation, this term implies societal and cultural changes caused by celebrity culture. Celebrification, in contrast "comprises the changes at the individual level, the process by which ordinary people or public figures are transformed into celebrities". He identifies Braudy (1986) and Dyer's (2007 [1979]) discussions of individuality and the relationship between the ordinary and extraordinary, as forming celebrity culture. Driessens' definition of celebrification fits with the overarching argument of this thesis in relation to how journalism celebrifies individuals. However, Driessens argues that celebritisation happens *to an institution* and while he does not mention journalism or news specifically, extending his framework would echo those who claim news industries *became celebritised* because of the 20th Century media boom. In contrast, I argue that celebrity and news cultures *developed together*, mutually dependent and shaping one another from their origins. I demonstrate how reporting about celebrities has helped form the ways in which news is gathered, produced and disseminated.

Discussions of celebrification and tabloidisation often now extend to analyse digital celebrity culture and its impacts. Most news outlets, and many celebrities too, now function digitally first, with clicks, shares and views "synonymous with success" (Marwick 2015: 347). Journalists use celebrity displays on social media to find stories, package them and then use social media audiences and fans to disseminate them across timelines and profile pages. Their control over what makes the news, and who sees it, has radically declined (Singer

2013). Discussions of how digital technologies have revolutionised news media are prolific. This is often categorised by how digital news production differs from "traditional" newsgathering, particularly about the effects of increased audience interaction on journalistic "gatekeeping". Deuze (2012) categorises routines into *open* and *closed* news systems. *Open* sources come from the audience and are then moderated, filtered and edited; and *closed* following Bruns (2005) model of "gatewatching", where journalists watch the digital sphere and publicise news by pointing to the original from the "main page" (Bruns 2005: 19) of their own publication (Deuze: 2012: 286-269). This is as true of those producing what is often classed as "traditional journalism" as for those producing "celebrity content". As explored in my study of *MailOnline* (Usher 2014), which is extended in Chapter Five, production methods are often the same, with content viewed as "click-bait". I also identified how advertising is produced in a nearly identical way – often presented specifically as celebrity news – blurring lines between editorial and advertorial. Noam Chomsky (Russon, May 26 2015) declared that this form of journalism, which includes "native advertising", fits within the overarching argument of his "propaganda model" as outlined in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media* (Herman and Chomsky 1988 [2002]) as it is works towards the financial interests of elite groups. Native advertising targets audience members as individuals, using their perceived "likes" garnered from, in the case of *MailOnline*, the news page they have clicked on, and then channelling them towards specific consumerist actions.

Couldry (2012) describes the intertwining of celebrity and journalism in digital space as the "double helix" effect. He argues that we must try to unpick the multifaceted and complex relationships between mainstream, independent and social media. Similarly,

Whannel (2010) coined the term "vortextuality" to describe the speed and complexity with which a story about a celebrity can cross media brands and is shared by audiences. He claims that this is enabled by the erosion of lines between private and public spheres in social media. In my article *Twitter and the Celebrity Interview* (2015) - also expanded on in Chapter Five – I argued that to shape discourse with audiences for maximum promotional benefit, celebrities and their promotional teams sometimes *use* the constructs of the print interview. Marshall (2014: 160) argues such intersections between "representational media forms and presentational media structures via social networks" create, "elaborate layering of types and forms of communication that are filtered and engaged with by particular individuals in the most interpersonal way". Presentational performances on social and digital media by celebrities form "micropublics" (Ibid: 163-4) and *intercommunications* between on and off line/representational (mainstream, traditional) and presentational (social, self-presentation) platforms are shaping celebrity cultures. Two related ideas – expanded on in my method (1.4) – emerge from these debates. The relationship between **celebrity** news and journalism and **celebritised** news and journalism is core to the premise of this thesis. I consider how celebrity journalism helped form news and journalism and argue that this influence had significant implications not only for journalistic production, but also for how we understand, present and verbalise our self-identities.

I.3: Understanding self-Identity, individuation, persona and celebrification

This thesis considers the role of print media – specifically celebrity journalism – to mediated performances of self-identity. Persona construction, articulated by Marshall (2014: 154) as "the publicising of the self" is understood as inextricably linked to changes in how we understand our place in society and individual worth. Individuation – the notion and

expression of the individual – is similarly explored in relation to mediated displays of self.

Understanding Driessens' (2014) clarification of "celebrification" within this context

demonstrates it as a way of increasing public visibility to achieve celebrity status. The idea

of individuated self –identity emerged during the developments of capitalism and

democracy. Philosophical debates from the 18th Century articulated these changes and how

the might be responded to. These argued, "a multifaceted notion of the self…defined by

powers of disengaged reason with its associated ideals of self-responsible freedom and

dignity – or self exploration, and of personal commitment" (Taylor 1989: 211). Amongst the

greatest commentators was David Hume, whose *Dissertation on the Passions* (1759) built on

Lockean philosophy, understanding "self" as an inner core, but also influenced by

experiences and societal relationships. In *Sources of The Self* (1989: 345), Charles Taylor

argues that Hume aimed "to show the house that as humans we had to live in" and that he

explored "a way of seeing our normal fulfilments as significant even in a non-providential

world" (ibid: 344). Most philosophers of the Enlightenment were optimistic about the

potential of the individual, although each, in their own way, questioned whether there is

stability in human character. Hume was concerned with how humans accord significance to

their everyday lives as the "path of wisdom involves coming to terms with, and accepting

our normal make-up" (ibid.). Taylor argues that this period is marked by the emergence of

the "affirmation of ordinary life" (ibid: 211-285) highlighting "those aspects of human life

concerned with production and reproduction, that is labour, the making of the things

needed for life, and our life as sexual beings, including marriage and the family" (ibid: 211).

Examinations of emerging news cultures during the Enlightenment highlight how

increased literacy and mass printed media brought about the "deep structural changes in

social, cultural and political life" (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009: 17) described by Taylor

(1989). Journalism became a key mechanism through which "virtually all" human

experiences were "mediated – through socialisation and in particular the acquisition of

language" (Giddens 1991: 23). Media representations of identity and experience formed

understanding of lived experience and explorations of self-identity. Marxist readings of the

role of the media in shaping self-identity consider how the ideologies of capitalism –

individualism and consumerism – were the values of the expanding "middle class". This third

class, sitting between the aristocracy and peasants, formed around values of education and

endeavour with members defined by their "jobs not their family background" (Hughes 2014:

online). This defining characteristic is used to help identify the relationships between

celebrity and journalism and transatlantic middle class cultures at different periods,

throughout the thesis.

If we place this against Taylor's paradigm in *Sources of The Self* (1989*)*, the "conspicuous

consumerism" of the middle classes (Hughes 2014: online), became a mediated ambience,

linked specifically to familial, private life and displayed as a natural state of being. The value

placed on economic security ensured that individuals worked to achieve it, thus advancing

capitalism. Antonio Gramsci (1988 [1932]: 200-204) argued the press was the dominant

instrument in producing ideological legitimation and hegemonic constructs which maintain

this social order. Harold Innis (1950) and Marshall McLuhan (1967) tracked the impact of

media on social development, specifically in relation to the emergence of modernity.

Giddens (1991: 24) argues that these studies established "modernity" and experience within

it as "inseparable from its own media: the printed text and subsequently the electronic

signal." These "re-organise time and space" (ibid: 24), in a way which shapes our own

experiences, placing emphasis on remote events and peoples in our every day lives.

Experiences which might be "rare in day-to-day life…are encountered routinely" through

media representations of them, which helps to shape our understanding of how to respond.

Thus, in modernity, "the media [did] not mirror realities, but in some part form[ed] them"

(ibid: 27) and celebrity journalism offered forms for self-identity and its displays. However,

Giddens caveats this with a disclaimer that it does not mean that "the media has created an

autonomous realm of 'hyperreality', where the sign or image is everything". He is referring

to Baudrillard's "hyperreality" as outlined in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994), which argues

that the media offers models of identity, without origin or reality or original referent (1994:

1). Marshall (1997) identifies how codes or markers of identity are developed *through*

mediated performances of celebrities. Drawing on Baudrillard's concepts of simulacrum and

"ecstasy of communication" (1997: 11), he claims that these mechanisms can trap celebrity

self-identity within the created discourses of their purpose, primarily as driving forces of

consumer culture. In Chapters Three and Four Baudrillard's work is used to understand how

celebrity journalism enables hyperreal performances of self, by grounding them in the

languages of news as a mechanism for constructing truth and reality.

In *Heavenly Bodies* (1986: 7) Richard Dyer claimed that celebrities express "what it is to

be human in contemporary society" and "the particular notion we hold of…the 'individual'".

He explored how celebrities articulate the self "complexly, variously – they are not

straightforward affirmations of individualism". In *Stars* (1997 [1979]), he discussed the

importance of the language and techniques of psychoanalysis to celebrity performances as

an articulation of different types – or stereotypes – of identity. Stars "articulated…ideas of

personhood… shoring up the notion of the individual, but also at times registering the

doubts and anxieties attendant on it" (ibid: 9). Marshall argues that "the celebrity is specifically an engagement with an external world" (1997: 14), based "predominantly on the text and its ability to engage the spectator in a form of identification" (1997: 14). Celebrity journalism therefore, helps regulate behaviour by "assigning pronounced significance to symbols, signs and metaphors in the conduct of social life" (Rojek 2001: 38). Rudbridge (1996: 217) identifies authenticity as "not a property *of,* but something…ascribe [ed] *to* a performance" (original emphasis) and not fixed, but changeable. A performance, as Goffman (1956: 3) argued is "a period marked by…continuous presence before a particular set of observers", which influences them in some way. Replication forms pattern or routines for behaviour. These performances can either be sincere, where the performer believes "the impression of reality which he stages is the reality" (ibid: 10) or cynical, aimed only at influencing the audience to specific ends. Goffman, as Dyer (1986) and Marshall (1997) would later argue in relation to celebrity culture, claimed the understanding and expectations of society mould performances.

A key theme emerges in terms of how celebrity journalism – and effective use of its constructs for self-display by celebrities – facilitates "the illusion of a face-to-face relationship" (Horton and Wohl 1956: 215) with audiences. While Horton and Wohl's (1956) original study of such parasociality emphasised how public figures are understood by audiences as "peers", they discussed it in relation to television and argued that the nature of broadcast media made it a one-way exchange. This thesis considers how both celebrity and celebritised journalism, and mutual acts of production with audiences in print media, foster parasociality. There are many analyses of how letter writing in newspapers, for example, helped form citizenship through visible public debate from the time of the bourgeois public sphere (Cowan 2004) and to the present day (Richardson and Franklin

2002, Wahl-Jorgenson 2007). In this thesis, I consider how audiences contributed to print representations of celebrity culture through letters and journalistic writing. I argue that parasociality formed during such mutual acts of production (Giles 2010: 89-120), by celebrities, journalists and audiences helped circulate new ideas around individuality, love, consumerism and maternity (Chapters One and Two). This is demonstrated as having much in common with how audiences join in celebrity self performance and persona construction on social media, as explored in Part Two. This builds on Rojek's (2012: 25) discussions of how interactive methods "contribute to the illusion" of natural exchanges, diverting the audience from the "impersonality of the medium of interaction", in this case not the broadcast signal he discussed, but print journalism.

Part One demonstrates how developments in self-identity relied on mechanisms of print journalism. Firstly, I consider this in relation to the "authentic self" linked to the consumer revolution in the 18th century. Secondly, I explore the construction of the "citizen" linked to advancements in democracy and British nationhood in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Finally, I analyse the emergence of the 20th century "star" as a result of news discourses in relation to cinema. Part Two argues that the ways in which journalism shaped the displays of self-identity have influenced digital displays of self and the way digital news is constructed. It considers this through various lenses of consumerism, authenticity, authority and stardom in relation to a range of celebrities and public figures in both presentational (social) and representational (mainstream news) media. In order to establish how ideas contained in this literature review have shaped this analysis, it is important to clearly define the key terms celebrity and celebritised journalism and "celebrification" as methodological mechanisms to answer the research question.

I.4: Method

Method, "broadly viewed, is a series of strategies for finding a way to associate the abstractions of theory with the actual social relations being mapped, interpreted, or explained by the theory" (Alford 1998: 12). In order to answer the key research question for this thesis it is important to break down some key terms identified in the literature review against how analysis is conducted. The research question for this thesis, as outlined on page 17, asks:

How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?

This question is answered by understanding the development of celebrity journalism and how this relates to our understanding and performance of self-identity (Part One) and by detailing how this has shaped and been reshaped by digital communications (Part Two). Across both parts, I also examine pertinent examples of how it has influenced media genres and performances by public figures beyond what those traditionally understood as part of celebrity or news culture.

Sayer (1992: 99-100) emphasises that using both quantitative and qualitative methods together is often the best way to produce meaningful analysis and argument and this thesis does so throughout. Analysis in each chapter uses a mixture of quantitative methods, such as statistical and content analyses, alongside qualitative discourse analyses, which draw on the socio-economic context for the production of journalism. It applies theoretical discussions around self-identity, journalism, and celebrity cultures, in order to offer rounded, evidence-based conclusions. My critical evaluation of the role of celebrity and celebritised news and journalism extends to the "associated practices and the material

structures" which it produces and "which in turn sustain" that practice (Alford 1998: 40).

Following Alford's (1998: 3) model, which identifies the significance of theorising; this study

intertwines the theoretical with the empirical, placing analysis within a broader

understanding of cultural, media and socio-economic shifts and their implications for self-

identity (Alford 1998: 11-12). This enables both the identification and interpretation of

celebrity journalism as a phenomenon and its potential impacts on self-identity. I draw on a

broad theoretical base encompassing media, journalism and cultural studies, digital

communication, philosophy, psychology, sociology, history and English literature and

language. I use "mixed paradigms of inquiry" (ibid: 32) which consider what Alford (1998)

describes as *historical, interpretative* and *multivariate* arguments to maximize validity of

analysis.

This thesis forefronts *interpretive* arguments (Alford 1998: 42-45), "constructed from

theories about social interactions that have become symbolically meaningful" and focusing

on "ideologies, discourses and cultural frameworks" (Alford 1998: 42) to analyse data and

discourse. *Interpretive* arguments examine relations through statistical analysis alongside

historical methodological processes to help build a case, reinterpreting them to consider

human experience, and how we understand our actions. Explorations of the discourse of

celebrity journalism in relation to socio-cultural dynamics of capitalism and democracy, for

example, use an interpretive paradigm to demonstrate how news media are vital in the

social process that shapes the meaning of celebrity. Cultural frameworks for journalism and

celebrity overlap in their examination of the articulation of the ordinary and everyday lived

experience and the exploration of notions of power, identity and representation. However,

as Hartley (2008: 39) identifies, cultural and journalistic methods are sometimes seen as

adversarial or mutually exclusive, "despite (or because of) the fact that they share a common interest in the communication of meaning within societies." Drawing on methods, which may be more closely associated with celebrity and persona studies (for example, see Interpretive Phenomena Analysis in I.4.2) and building them together with some used more for journalism studies (for example, Critical Discourse and Web Sphere Analyses I.4.3) allows us to consider how interpretation of content and discourse will support answering the research question.

Analysis in this thesis uses *historical* paradigms of inquiry (ibid: 45-49), to identify and analyse celebrity and celebritised news and journalism at specific times and places, against the historical landscape of that period. To enable such discussion, theories are framed as historically developed concepts. Social histories of celebrity, which often choose description of the actions of specific celebrities to personify ideas (e.g Tillyard 2005; Wahrman 2006; Inglis 2010), also influence the method for this thesis. A number of "embodied links" emerge during inquiry. For example, news content relating to protofeminist Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire is demonstrated as having both consumerist (Chapter One) and political functions, (Chapter Two) and enables discussions of how celebrity and celebritised news developed in relation to both these purposes. The work of populist Victorian era journalist WT Stead, oft hailed as the father of the British tabloid press (Robinson 2012), links interviewing as a mechanism for vocalising socio-cultural and political changes (Chapter Two) to its power to increase public visibility for promotion (Chapter Three). His interviews with American actor Mary Anderson allow her to function as an "embodied link" to signal shifts in celebrity culture when the epicentre for the acting profession moved from the London stage to the lots of Hollywood at the turn of the 20th

Century (Chapter Three). David Bowie emerges as a pertinent example of the ways in which media constructs and production patterns can be used to create new realities in post-modernity (Chapters Three and Four). His *use* of the production patterns of celebrity journalism to develop hyperreal characters highlights the simulacrul nature of stardom and the place of celebrity journalism in constructing it. How he turned his experiences working with journalists when creating Ziggy Stardust into the production of *Bowienet*, one of the earliest examples of sustained digital celebrity practice (Chapter Four), demonstrates the plurality of celebrity journalism in digital spaces and connects the two parts of the thesis. Using biography as a method offers "rich insights into the dynamic interplay of individuals and history, inner world and outer world, 'self' and 'other'" (Merrill and West 2009: 1).

In addition, this thesis uses content analyses and statistical data familiar within contemporary journalism studies and applies them to historical newspapers. This stems from a movement of historical methods from traditional literary evidence, once considered "the ideal; recorded by contemporaries…considered to be the most authoritative source", supplementing "this traditional methodology with the techniques of the statistician" (Darcy and Rohrs 1995: 1). Hudson (2000: 7) argues that quantitative data are "usually less elitist and more representative than…qualitative data" because it broadens perspective away from the dominant voice of masculine elites, which dominate historical discourses. This thesis considers the *ways* masculine voices have shaped celebrity journalism, using *Multivariate* (Alford 1998: 48-51) data and statistical analyses to broaden viewpoints. Multivariate arguments assume "that a society is composed of relatively autonomous sub-systems" – such as individuals, families or the state – and that the "attributes of these units of analysis" are variables (ibid: 38). The multivariate aspect in this thesis considers social factors –

variables – to help explain developments in celebrity journalism and self-identity.

Theories help make sense of empirical "measures" of *independent, dependent, and intervening* and *control* variables. There are some general rules around variables enable reading of data here. Following Alford's (1998: 38) discussions, empirical correlation between *dependent* [explained in relation to another variable] and *interdependent* [those which provide that explanation] does not "itself establish causation; it provides only a basis for a theory of casual mechanisms that has empirical support". *Intervening* variables "*theorize* about the mechanisms that explain *why* the interdependent and dependent variables are related" (ibid: italics added). *Control* variables are those aspects of the societal environment held constant or that specify the conditions "under which the presumed relationship between interdependent and dependent variable holds" (ibid), for example in Part Two how statistics and discourse are shaped by coded commands of social media sites. This thesis uses, statistical and data analysis as part of wider examinations, which also consider industrial, societal and cultural changes. Both primary and secondary theoretical sources help form empirical correlations.

I.4.1: Defining and using key terms as framework for identification and analysis

Clearly defining differences between the first key words outlined in the abstract – ***celebrity and celebritised news and journalism*** and ***celebrification*** – offers clarity around how content is identified and analysis approached. ***Celebrity news*** relates to either the personal or the professional life of a "celebrity" as identified against Rojek's taxonomy of fame, which is explained in some detail during the content analysis of 18th Century newspapers in Chapter One[1]. "News" is identified primarily by its immediacy to the event and its structure.

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[1] See Section 1.2 for detailed discussion and first application of Rojek's (2002) 'Taxonomy of Fame".

By exploring development, we can see how it helped shape the conventions and constructions of print news more broadly. Pan and Kosicki (1993: 59-60) identify the significance of the inverted pyramid structure in news construction using the journalistic trope of "Who, What, When, Why, Where and How" (see also Van Dijk 1988: 50). Gaye Tuchman explains how news "constructs reality" using patterns such as inverted pyramid structure to establish purpose. News construction also includes the use of direct speech reported using quotation marks and often prefaced with a colon (e.g., 'She said: "…"'). The role of celebrity news in the development of these constructions emerges as a key theme in Part One and understanding how they influence and have been reshaped by digital communication practice is key to Part Two.

Celebrity journalism is a broader term, and while celebrity news fits under its umbrella, it includes feature articles, "sit-down" interviews and gossip columns. In Part One, I consider the development of these production conventions and how they shaped journalistic discourse. Immediacy to an event and construction patterns distinguish between celebrity news and celebrity journalism. These reflect differences in the working patterns of "reporters" and "correspondents". While both may have elements of "newsgathering", this is the principal focus of the former whereas the latter also incorporates opinion pieces, such as columns or reviews and features. Reporters, primarily produce news content, traditionally finding stories through contacts, investigation, official sources and presence at newsworthy events. Correspondents often pre-plan content through arranging interviews and attending screenings and organized events. How these working patterns developed in relation to celebrity culture is discussed in Part One and how they are reshaped in digital space in Part Two.

Celebritised news and journalism uses the same techniques and journalistic

production process – for example, details of private life or physical appearance – but the

person described *may not be a celebrity* as identified against Rojek's taxonomy. Celebritised

news and journalism, as processes of production, blur lines between "personal" and the

"public" and link self-identity to the performance of it. Clear definitions allow easier

identification of linguistic and thematic roots, and the significance to their development to

journalism as a whole. ***Celebrification,*** by contrast, is the process of *using the constructs* of

news and journalism to give individuals a "value of visibility" (Redmond and Holmes 2007:

5). This may be a self-advantaging exchange with a person engaged in fame building. It could

also be a process by which journalists increase an individual's visibility, because it suits the

news organisation's financial, social, or political agendas. This might not be positive in

intent, or a consensual and mutual exercise, but could also raise an individual's profile in

order to expose or attack them as the symbol of a perceived societal risk. In short,

celebritisation occurs when celebrity news and journalism production and construction

patterns and mechanisms are *applied* to an event or a person outside of the celebrity

sphere. *Celebrification,* differently, is a *purpose that may be achieved* through use of the

production patterns of celebritised news or journalism.

Celebrification, by extension, can be understood within the paradigms of *persona*

studies as way of identifying how and why *persona is constructed* in certain ways. Mackay's

(2016) useful overview of related theoretical and methodological frameworks from the

study of public relations, and Marshall et al's *Persona as Method* (2015)*,* both highlight

Erving Goffman's (1956) discussions of the public presentation or performance of self as

providing method for analyzing performances of self-identity. Using a Goffmanian paradigm

to shape method helps identify *how* celebritised news and the celebrification of individuals establish performance patterns for self-identity. This thesis uses Goffman's (1956: 3) understanding of "fronts" for performances – here applied to media and journalism platforms – to understand how conventions and construction patterns offer "expressive equipment of a standard kind" to shape linguistic and physical displays of self. Celebrity journalism, therefore, is viewed as a successful mechanism for the presentation and performance of identity.

I.4.2: From analogue to digital: methods to track celebrity and celebritised news and journalism

Part One uses both content and critical discourse analyses (CDA) to identify and interpret the development of celebrity journalism and its impacts on the understanding and articulation of self-identity. Berelson's (1952) seminal *Content Analysis in Communication Research* describes how it enables "objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952:18). Content analysis enables us to use numerical levels to identify developments and patterns of performance. However, as Kolmer (2009) identifies, without context, content analysis may not consider the influences of institutional practices or isolated events. Kolmer (2009) claims that Berelson's definition of content analysis excludes all messages, which cannot be interpreted without reference to other information, for example political bias of the examined media or audience knowledge and experience. These are overcome by how content and CDA work together and the way in which the key term definitions above are used as mechanisms to identify journalistic content.

CDA in this thesis broadly aligns with Fairclough's definition and methodological framework in *Media Discourse* (1995). While discourses are linguistic units encompassing more than a single sentence, Fairclough relates to Foucault's (1975) post-structuralism that extends it to cover institutionalised ways of thinking, behaving and speaking. Foucault examined socio-cultural and economic influences in the way that language is presented and accepted. Here, CDA also considers the gathering, production, dissemination and consumption of journalism (Fairclough 1995: 2). Fairclough draws from Fowler (1991), who approached CDA through a critique of linguistics and Van Dijk's (1991) "cognitive model". In *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press,* Van Dijk (1988: 10) addressed how researchers could adopt a "new, more explicit and systematic approach to the study of mass media discourse in general and to news reporting in particular". He argued that discourse analysis should complement, more qualitatively, content analysis. The discourse analysis in this thesis can broadly be understood through his lens, with content analysis viewed under the banner of CDA to gain a greater insight into the relationships between celebrity and journalism and their impacts on self-identity. This thesis draws on the broader social context, which negates some criticisms of CDA as not considering context (see, for example, Philo 2007), through simultaneous consideration of factors external to the text, such as socio-cultural and economic changes or professional practices of production, construction and representation.

My analysis of dialogue, produced by journalists using the newsgathering mechanism of interviewing and through the linguistic conventions of direct speech, draws on conceptual vocabulary developed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) and proponents of his work (Conboy 2002: 18-20; Morris 1994; Morson and Emerson 1990). While originally focused on literature,

Bakhtinian ideas and principles are applied to the analysis of truth and objectivity in news discourse (Allan 1998, Talbot 2007). Bakhtin describes how written dialogue gives voice to people. From Chapter Two onwards, I explore how use of direct speech by journalists - described by Stuart Allan (1998) as crucial to establish "truth" in news discourse– links to the development of *celebrity and celebritised news.* In Part Two, I use Allan's application of Bakhtin as a mechanism to identify how direct speech establishes "reality" to understand dialogue in digital spaces. I explore ways this relates to journalists' use of direct speech.

The construction of reality is inherently heteroglossic, created in the process of dialogic interaction between people collectively searching for "truth". In this thesis, this understanding of dialogic interaction supports analysis of the display of dialogue between journalists, celebrities and audiences, including on social media. Bakhtin described such dialogue as "utterance" – a thought to which a person gives voice, either in speech or in writing. For the purpose of this thesis, this concept is applied to any text that is attributed to direct speech captured in written form. This is understood in three ways: paraphrases (indirect speech/discourse) in journalism which infer what a person said; quotations (direct speech/discourse), which are direct reproductions of spoken utterances; and in Chapter Four and Five, social media posts which can be used to form both of the early categories. Conboy (2002: 19) argues that newspapers' popular appeal "lies in its successful reconciliation between…dialogic poles". This thesis understands direct speech both in news and on social media against this methodological framework, viewed as linguistic patterns and expressions to enable the constructions of reality and for utterances to be accepted as real, unifying through means of "editorial voice" (Conboy 2002: 20). Utterances offer insight

into private domains and thoughts, opinions and accounts of real life events. Journalistic use of direct speech constructs reality and enables acceptance of authenticity by audiences.

Similarly, recent works in persona studies (Barbour et al. 2014, Marshall 2014b, 2015) have developed a set of approaches for analysing the expansion and proliferation of the development of the public self. In Part Two, I consider how the success of utterances are judged instantaneously through follows, clicks, shares and likes. Marshall highlights the usefulness of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to studying mediatised display of self. Drawn from psychology, it aims to understand "the individual's personal perceptions of their experiences" (Hinds 2011 in Marshall et al 2015: 292). Marshall, Moore and Barbour identify the "fictive quality" (Ibid) of media production – interplays of reality and performance – and use IPA (Smith et al 2009) as a way of unpicking "discursive constructions of self". This thesis uses IPA to analyse celebrity journalism as a "built interpretation" of reality (Marshal et al 2015: 292) and as a discursive way of forming self-identity. My mechanisms to identify the "fictive quality" (Ibid) of celebrity performances include Baudrillard's work on hyperreality, and identify transition points in identity display between analogue and digital media. For example, Baudrillard's (1983: 11) "phases of the image" - describing how simulations can reflect a basic reality; mask and pervert a basic reality; mask the absence of a reality, or become a "pure simulacrum", with no relation to "any reality" – are used as "markers" to establish differences between the hyperreal and the authentic in Chapters Three and Four. In Chapters Four, Baudrillard's phases of the image are used both methodologically and analytically to identify connections and transitions between analogue and digital performances of self.

Marshall et al (2015: 300) suggest linking IPA with more established mechanisms of

studying celebrity culture and particularly textual analysis – extending from Barthes'

semiotic inquiries into Garbo (1993), Dyer's musings in *Stars* (1979) in relation to the

constitution of identity and Sean Redmond's "autoethnographic" approach. They explore

how such discussions are reliant on the "textual" materiality of the celebrity's images and

actions. Considering industrial and social contexts alongside the textual ensures rigour and

Marshall et al cite Graeme Turner (2013) as a useful example of this. Turner's approach is

not unlike the work of David Hesmondhalgh, specifically in placing celebrity within the wider

context of what the latter author calls the *Culture Industries* (2013). Using context, not least

the consideration of material production methods and their relationship to the fabrication

and development of reputation as a mechanism for fame, is key to this thesis.

Marshall et al (2015: 301) also highlight the importance of prosopography field study,

connecting biographies. Using biography and considerations of links between celebrities and

journalists offers a more comprehensive "collective biography of the field". This thesis uses

biography to identify "embodied links" between key inventions and innovations in celebrity

and celebritised journalism. Understanding journalists as part of the industry of "cultural

intermediaries" – and indeed the first formed profession of this kind –demonstrates shifts in

power and influence between celebrity and journalism. Using IPA, CDA, content analysis and

prosopographic biography focus Alford's "historical" and "interpretive" methods as outlined

in *The Craft of Inquiry* (1998*)*. Next, I explore how incorporating Web Sphere Analysis (WSA)

and digital communication methods and techniques allows us to clarify how we might use

"multivariate" methods and identify variables and constants in order to track developments

in celebrity, journalism and self-identity during various phases of mass media.

I.4.3: Web Sphere Analysis, archives and data visualization

To understand how networked connections can identify key trends in media and communication, studies of journalism and celebrity now widely use social network analysis and data visualisation. As information rich environments, relationships between quantitative and qualitative approaches become more significant. This underpins the approach of this thesis when analysing journalistic discourse. I use technologies and techniques of social network analysis and data visualisation, derived from graph theory and network theory, to visualise and aid analysis of data. Marshall et al (2015) identify the effective display of data as key to mapping digital persona. Data visualisation and infographics are produced with *Vennage* software, which allows images, text and graphs to be used together, allowing for more effective mapping of media production. Infographics are an increasingly popular way of approaching the display of statistics and data for journalists too, and this technique is drawn from my own practice and teaching in the field. Giardina (2012: 246) argues that this is a *pedagogical approach* with the "main objective of facilitating the understanding of news drawing on visual elements". He cites the work of Steve Duenes, graphic director of *The New York Times* who has discussed the balance of art, journalism and science to produce effective visualisation. Here, I broadly follow Valero's (2010 in Giardina 2012: 247) model for infographics as a mechanism to *classify* phenomena and *highlight trends* in celebrity journalism and the performance of self-identity.

Web Sphere Analysis (WSA) offers opportunities to systematically map the "hyper-linked, co produced and emphereal nature" (Foot 2005: 1) of digital communications. Taylor and van Every (2000) argue that the web can be viewed as both a "site and surface" for communicative action – or what Goffman might have described as the "front" for presentation of self. WSA collates information across numerous sites around a central

theme, such as a news event, or a person. This "multi-method approach involving contemporaneous and retrospective interrogation of web objects" allows exploration of relationships between producers and users (Foot and Schneider, 2006: 211). It is similar to Alford's discussions of multivariate analysis, but specifically relates it to the analysis of content in relation to specific events, concepts or themes (2006: 20). Spheres form through the sharing and hyperlinking and this facilitates mapping of discourse across platforms. Using open-access data analysis tools for social media sites Twitter and Facebook, alongside manual methods and discourse, is key to the analysis offered in Part Two. However, this approach also shapes how archived print media are identified and analysed in Part One. The increase of digital archiving of historic newspapers and magazines, allows searches, which can consider coded variables, through for example, identified key terms, timeframes or authors.

Foot (2005, 2006) argues WSA enables the identification of digital communications as collaborative production. Through identifying and analysing patterns we can understand them in relation to their "time and object-orientation" (2005: 4) – that is their place in the sphere and in history – through which "social, political and cultural relations" can be determined. In this thesis, WSA functions at both macro and micro levels, with events considered both statistically, by analysis of textual and visual elements, including hyperlinks, and through consideration of broader social contexts. The development of celebrity journalism and its influences on self-identity are tracked through analysing trends, languages, displays and forms. Foot (2005: 3-4) claims hyperlinks serve as "neural pathways through which the collective intelligences and performances of web producers and users are created, displayed and distributed". Throughout Part Two, analysis uses understanding of

WSA to identify how both journalists and celebrities use "hyperlinked contexts and [the] situatedness of web sites" (Ibid) to shape the content they produce.

Digital journalism and social media content can be understood as multimedia objects (often combining text, image, audio and video), which can be subjected to traditional forms of textual analysis. However, it is also often dynamically updated in a non-linear manner, which differs from traditional "representational media" (Marshall 2014). Jankowski and Selm (2005: 200) argue that there is much to "be gained through application of conventional research methodologies and practices" to digital spaces. For example, definitions and biography used to inform data and content analysis of celebrity journalism in Part One, also underpin the methodology of the statistical, data, content and discourse analyses in Part Two. Similarly, the way digital and social media are traced, tracked and displayed using WSA, influences the identification and analysis of archived print news materials. Methodologies chosen to frame this work focus on interpretation through use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis which simultaneously consider historical, socio-economic and cultural contexts, to best understand celebrity, journalism and self-identity as intertwining phenomena.

In summary, Part One of this thesis: ***Foundations: Frameworks, Inventions, Innovations*** forefronts the interpretive, building from *historical* paradigm of inquiry (Alford 1998: 45-49) and analysing celebrity and celebritised news and journalism at specific times against the landscape of that period. Biography drives the narrative and a number of "embodied links" emerge which support analysis of successive and concurrent phases. Part Two: ***Networked: Connections, Transitions, Transformations,*** analyses shifts in celebrity performance in relation to journalism – and vice versa – as a result of digital

communications and social media. The most significant is increased visibility of audience participation: producing celebrity journalism, using media production practices to build visibility, and engaging in promotional practices *with* celebrities. Where biographies and analysis of the practices of "embodied links" enables discussions in Part One, teaming biography with Web Sphere Analysis works better to analyse developments in the complex digital landscapes explored in Part Two.

I.5: Summary and chapters

It is Wednesday, November 30 2011 and I watch my face appear on *Sky News* at eight minutes past every hour. News of my arrest is third on the agenda, now linked to Alistair Campbell's evidence at the Leveson Inquiry by virtue of both happening on the same day. A friend texts to ask how much money she would get for a picture of me, aged 18, passed out on the floor of a nightclub in Magaluf. She is joking, but I can't laugh. I bought pictures like that of another girl once and they were splashed on the front page. I regret it.

A junior reporter from the local newspaper arrives. She is door stepping me and I was once her. I know the news editor will be unhappy if she returns empty handed, but my mother sends her away regardless. My phone rings and Mam picks it up. She visibly pales as she is told she will get what is coming to her for hacking a murdered child's phone. The fact that I wasn't even working at the *News of the World* (1843-2011) when that happened doesn't matter. Today I am in the public eye and therefore fair game. I know these rules.

I draft a statement for *The Guardian* (1821-present) protesting my innocence. "I embarked on a career in journalism with the best of intentions, believing that being the eyes and ears of the public was a just profession. However, I became disillusioned working with

some who saw human suffering as fodder to fill pages. As such, I made the decision to find

an alternative career" (*The Guardian*, December 1 2011).

I need to make sense of this and so I begin to read, frantically at first, during the 10

days before I'm cleared and allowed to return to work. I read biographies of early celebrities

and histories of journalism. I order Baudrillard (1983) and Boorstin (1961) and they fuel my

anger. As I relax into research, I realise I can make a professional goal from my attempt to

understand why celebrity culture came to dominate my practice and I begin to draft a PhD

proposal.

From this starting point, the risk was an imbalanced focus on the most damaging

societal consequences of the power plays between celebrity and news cultures. However,

this is just one component of the complex relationships explored in this thesis. Lines of

inquiry linking celebrity news to tabloidisation as a malignant force, dominate perspectives

of many journalists and academics, with the worst manifestations often argued as the sum

of the whole. As a result, those who consider other possibilities, often argue in opposition to

this position. By identifying the significance of celebrity and journalism to the formulation of

self-identity, such discussions are placed into broader contexts.

Chapter One – **Shaping and circulating the "authentic self": celebrity journalism**

during the Enlightenment and Consumer Revolution – demonstrates that celebrity and

journalism developed together and therefore never existed in isolation from one another. I

argue these intertwining cultures played a significant role in developing our understandings

of who we are and how we achieve personal satisfaction in consumer societies. Explorations

reveal the influence of celebrity news in circulating new ideas of economic and emotional

emancipation, emerging from Enlightenment debates and Romanticism. Celebrity

journalism in the first representational mass medium – the 18th Century London press –

displayed the "authentic self" linked to new experiences of "ordinary life", established by

Taylor (1989: 211) as "production", and by extension, consumer culture and "reproduction"

related to romance and familial bonds. This chapter considers how, together, celebrities and

journalists mediated, individuated and articulated these new ways of being to larger,

literate audiences. Through application of canonical definitions of celebrity (Boorstin, 1961,

Turner 2013, Dyer 1986) and Rojek's (2001: 17-20) of *ascribed, achieved and attributed*

celebrity, I evidence how celebrity culture was formed in early news media.

Chapter Two – **Shaping and circulating "the citizen": celebrity and celebritised**

journalism, the bourgeois public sphere and the forging of a nation – argues that celebrity

journalism in the 18th Century also had ambivalent political functions, understood and

discussed by both journalists and celebrities of the time. Analysis of news offers insights into

how ideas of self as citizen were partially formed by celebrities, performing what it meant to

be part of the newly formed British nation. Journalists' understandings of the commercial

and political values of the genre, led to them pushing the boundaries for libel, with

significant gains for freedom of the press. This broadened access to – and participation in –

news media. However, it was also used as a mechanism to maintain social order,

establishing discourses of "us" versus "them" and the tabloid technique of "attack

journalism", one of the news industries' most damaging practices. Explorations of the work

of early populist journalists, such as Thomas Paine in the 18th Century and WT Stead in the

19th, show the significance of journalists who became celebrities in increasing the visibility

of readers and campaigning for their rights. Such "cycles of empowerment" are argued to

have shaped journalism, helping form newsgathering techniques – such as interviewing –

designed to include the perspectives of a broader range of people in order to better understand and shape society.

Chapter Three – **Shaping and circulating "the star": mediated self-identity, promotional practices and psychoanalysis in the celebrity interview** – argues that the established practices of celebrity news and journalism were key to the emergence of stardom – a significant shift in celebrity culture at the turn of the 20th century. Linguistic patterns of interviewing were used to establish truth and reality through dialogical interaction (Bakhtin 1984, Allan 2005), which linked celebritised narratives of "ordinary" to the "extraordinary" figures appearing on silver screens. The interview, as a mutually beneficial exchange between celebrity and journalist, was both a significant promotional practice and a crucial component in making the star – a mediated hyperreal construct – an accepted state of being. This chapter considers how discourses of stardom developed during Victorian era interviews with actors, and were then reshaped by early Hollywood magazines. Cinema resulted in a boom in the circulation of celebrity both in print and beyond, and this dramatic sea change means that this period is often wrongly identified as when both celebrity and celebrity journalism were formed. The significance of the celebrity interview in constructing stardom is no better evidenced than through David Bowie's use of it to breathe the simulacrul Ziggy Stardust to life. In the final part of the chapter, I argue that it was only possible to imagine and realise the socio-cultural potentials of such a star, through strategic use of the well-established patterns of discourse and imagery of Hollywood glamour and the grounding constructs of celebrity journalism.

Chapter Four explores connections, transitions and transformations between analogue and digital celebrity culture through analysis of **Digital celebrity practices and new**

displays of "the star", "the authentic self", "the consumer" and "the citizen". In order to understand the place of journalism in digital celebrity practices, this chapter visually maps three illustrative examples of the dominant areas of self-identity established in Part One. David Bowie connects the two parts of the thesis, and I consider how his use of celebrity journalism to circulate his star image, shaped *Bowienet* (1998-2012), the first fully formed star website. Blurring lines between consumers and producers through collaborative creativity was key to the site's development, and analysis considers how established discourses of celebrity journalism created what was described as a "personal experience" with the star. This parasociality is a significant component of digital celebrity practice and works to create both emancipatory and repressive ambiences of "being". Analysis of contemporary "microcelebrity" (Senft 2008), highlights it as primarily a new display of "authentic self" linked to consumerism, and I consider how celebrity journalism helped turn what began as a process of self-celebrification by ordinary people in the noughties, into a professional commercial practice. Finally, this chapter argues that practices of digital celebrity and celebrity journalism can also be turned to popularise political extremism and fuel terrorism. In a similar way to how celebrity journalism mediated British citizenship in the 18th and 19th centuries, I discuss how media operatives used this alongside microcelebrity production to develop new ideas of citizenry and make the simulacrul Islamic State a real place to global (micro) publics.

Chapter Five – **Click, Consume, Share: news and networked celebrity performances** examines relationships between social media, digital news brands and networked celebrity practice. Exploring Twitter (2006-present) and *MailOnline* (2003-present) between 2008 and 2013 – their period of rapid growth in terms of unique users – demonstrates how the sites

facilitated the successes of one another through mutual circulations of consumer culture

and celebrity's self-brand-building exercises. A simple directive governs the production

practices of all three: "click, consume, share". This has transformed journalistic working

patterns, making "speed" more important than "accuracy"; "clicks" more important than

"truth" and aggregation a more important skill than newsgathering techniques such as

interviewing. By visually mapping brand Kardashian – the most visible display of self-identity

on the planet between 2015 and 2017 – I consider the significance of journalism to

networked celebrity practice in shaping, and then using, parasocial exchanges between

celebrities and fans. This reveals that journalistic power to moderate the authenticity of

celebrities has dramatically decreased, with celebrities now using their social media

audiences to make the appearance of moderation part of promotional displays.

Chapter 6 – ***Dogwhistles, Frogs and Snowflakes: celebrity, journalism and self-
display as political communication*** – considers the impact of digital communication on the

political purposes of celebrity news and journalism. Like journalism, social media sites are

now inescapable institutions for political campaigning. Through analysis of the pages of

political leaders during the 2015 General Election campaign, I explore how networked

celebrity practices, celebrity journalism and news, shaped performances of party leaders. I

then consider the impacts of increased levels of performance on social media on newspaper

coverage through analyses of four titles in 2015, compared to the 2010 and 2005 elections.

Levels of news gathered *from* the social media pages of political leaders is argued to be

minimal because journalists are still out on the campaign trail and the celebrification of

politicians is a long-established component of this coverage. Through analysis of how

newspapers attack political leaders who threaten their agendas, I demonstrate how some

discourses of earliest celebrity news are sustained with remarkable similarity. For example, in *The Sun* (1964-present), Ed Miliband was attacked using almost identical linguistic and thematic techniques as those used by *The Times* (1788-present) in relation to Thomas Paine almost 240 years earlier (Chapter Two). This strand of journalistic practice, from its origins to the present day, confirms the political as a key area for understanding the development of relationships between celebrity and journalism. It also highlights the increasing significance of the "celebrity columnist/commentator" to public spheres, including celebrities working as if political journalists, journalists who have become celebrities and ordinary people offering political commentary using microcelebrity production practices. The final part of this chapter examines the symbolic and the linguistic components of these *opinion spectacles* and considers whether it is undermining the professional integrity of journalism and fuelling political polarisation.

The 300-year timeframe for this thesis is ambitious, but in order to understand celebrity, journalism and self-identity it is important to track functions, forms and purposes from their origins to the present day. Early research into the topic identified the significance of celebrity news and journalism in circulating and structuring displays of self-identity and this component therefore grew organically from enquiry, before becoming a key mechanism for framing analysis and discussion. The three main areas of identity explored – "the authentic self" linked to consumerism; "the citizen" linked to the development of a democratic nation state and the development of "the star" as a hyperreal media constructed way of being - emerge as central themes of celebrity and celebritised news and journalism. Using them to map the place of celebrity news and journalism in shaping displays of self-identity in both analogue print and digital media, demonstrates some of the

ways media industries work to shape our self-identity.

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Part One

FOUNDATIONS: frameworks, inventions & innovations

Chapter One

Shaping and circulating the "authentic self": celebrity news during the Enlightenment and Consumer Revolution

1.1 Introduction

THE 18th Century was an "age of transition, which "seemed to usher in the type of industrial civilization with which we are familiar with today" (Marshall 1956: 2). The resulting "cultural revolution", sparked an entirely "new regime of identity", placing the wants of the individual above that of the community and moving for the first time to the idea of an "authentic", stable self (Wahrman 2004: xiv). A number of studies including Tillyard (2005), Mole (2009), Inglis (2010), Morgan (2010, 2011) and van Krieken (2012) claim this period as a starting point for the emergence of celebrity culture, often influenced by Leo Braudy's *The Frenzy of Renown* (1986), which placed celebrity on a linear narrative back as far fame as the Roman period. Braudy's seminal work claimed that with each new medium, the "human images it conveys [are] intensified and the number of individuals celebrated expand" (ibid: 4) and highlights the emergence of printed news in the 18th Century as particularly significant. Tillyard (2005) and Inglis (2010) link celebrity culture to the onset of consumerism in Georgian London with "its dozens of newspapers and print shops, its crowds and coffee-houses, theatres, exhibitions, spectacles, pleasure gardens and teeming pavements" (Tillyard 2005: 20). Mole (2009) also highlights the role of Romanticism in developing celebrity culture in relation to idealised self as an artistic soul, rather than traditional celebrations of "fame" which focused on military glory and honour. Historian Simon Morgan (2011: 96-97) calls for "dialogue" between his own field and "celebrity theorists" and points out "obvious analogies" between celebrity culture and earlier examples of "personality

cults". Each study identifies the importance of the nobility and aristocracy in offering models of emulation for the new economically enfranchised middle classes.

However, most studies that consider the origins of celebrity culture, insist on its "fundamental modernity" (Turner 2013: 11). Graeme Turner aligns himself to the "standard view…that the growth of celebrity is historically linked…particularly [to] the visual media" (Ibid). He identifies Schickel (1985: 31) as the least compromising in claiming that celebrity culture "did not exist before the beginning of the Twentieth Century", and that it emerged in relation to motion pictures (Turner 2013: 13). This argument stems from Boorstin's *The Image* (1961), which described American pop-culture as primarily based around "pseudo-events", created for the media by the media. Events are gauged significant based on media coverage. Boorstin (1961: 57-60) argued that these dominate newsgathering and news agendas as they are easily managed and contained and this reduces legitimate news. Celebrity, by extension is the "human pseudo-event", created by the media, with success also judged by levels of circulation. This first chapter uses components from these definitions of celebrity as a means to explore the relationship between celebrity culture and news at their origins and shows their impact on developing discourses of identity. It demonstrates how news discourses – linguistic and visual conveyance of ideas and ideologies – "economically …concretely, objectively" (Mackay 2016: 85-86) constructed celebrity culture.

Firstly, using Rojek's (2001) taxonomy of fame, which Turner highlights as the most useful for *Understanding Celebrity* (2013: 24-25), I analyse the content and discourse of Britain's first daily morning newspaper to demonstrate the growing significance of celebrity culture to news agendas during the period (1.2). Then, celebrity news from a range of publications

is analysed in order to highlight how it shaped and circulated ideas of authentic self-identity linked to Enlightenment debates (1.3), consumerism (1.4) and Romanticism (1.5). This analysis reveals that public figures *used* emerging news media to present specific identities in order to strategically build and maintain public visibility (Barbour and Marshall 2012, 2015). This is viewed as a process of *individuation and celebrification* (see I.3), which uses discourses of celebrity journalism both constructively and discursively for strategic goals. This chapter identifies that discussions of self-identity from Enlightenment and Romantic movements in relation to the Consumer Revolution underpin narratives of celebrity news at its origins. Some public figures from the time can be viewed as *human pseudo-events* (Boorstin 1961), created and maintained by news media. Their performances confirm Marshall's discussions of the role of *audiences at the centre of celebrity* as a way of constructing *norms of individuality* (1997: 61) and its displays in representational media (2014: 160-161) and Dyer's explorations (1986: 3) of stars as *inter-textual symbols*. As they do today, public figures of the time often *performed authenticity* as a mechanism to build their public visibility in order to sell consumer goods, through the demonstration that "satisfaction is found ... in consumption and leisure" (deCordova 1990: 108). Celebrity news and journalism during this period is identified against these definitions from celebrity studies and as such this period offers significant insights into how and why many of the dominant discourses, thematic patterns and purposes of celebrity were established.

1.2: Emerging mass media and changing social landscapes

The social and cultural fluidity of the 18th century is no better reflected than in the development of newspapers as the first mass media. The lapse of the Print Licensing Act in 1695 allowed publishers greater freedom and contemporary newspapers reports described

how "city, town and country, are over-flow'd every day with an inundation of newspapers" (*St. James's Weekly Journal*, 31 October 1719). Coffee house tables were so full with newspapers they looked like "the counters of a Pamphlet-shop" (*Freeholders Journal* in Black 1987: 9). The owners of the coffee shops were dismayed at the amount of material and the cost of supplying it to their customers and as such were often unwilling to accept new titles. Many publications did not survive, simply because advertisers were reluctant to buy space when it did not have access to this key sphere of readership (Black 1987: 13-15). Stamp duty returns for August 1712 and May 1714 both list 12 London based newspapers, but by the 1760s historian Robert Rea (1963: 7) identifies "at least eighty-six", including daily, weekly, tri weekly and fortnightly news publications, with some titles launched and then disappearing seemingly overnight and with little trace.

This backdrop makes content analysis of news from this period difficult and surviving material certainly dictates parameters for analysis. However, in order to authenticate celebrity in the news discourse of the period, I am going to try to measure growth against established definitions. I have chosen The *Daily Courant,* which later merged with the *Daily Gazetteer,* (1702-1797)[2] for linear analysis due to its position as the UK's first morning daily paper, its longevity and the survival of archived material in the now fully digitised Burney archive of 18th Century press. The content of *The Courant* is explored over two weeks at ten-year intervals to identify levels of celebrity discourse using Rojek's taxonomy (2001: 17-29) as an established mechanism for celebrity identification. Rojek identifies celebrity status as coming "in three forms: *ascribed, achieved and attributed*" (2001: 17, original emphasis).

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[2] *Daily Courant* (1702-1735), *Daily Gazetteer* (1735-1746), *Daily Gazetteer and London Advertiser* (1746-1748), *London Gazetteer* (1748-1753), *Gazetteer & London Daily Advertiser* (1753-1764), *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser* (1764-1796), *The Gazetteer* (1796-1797).

The *ascribed* celebrity is predetermined by lineage, while they may add or subtract from it via their own actions. *Achieved* celebrity "derives from perceived accomplishments of an individual in open competition" (Ibid: 18) and includes artists, actors and sportsmen. "Cultural intermediatries" create *Attributed* celebrity through the strategic development of an "illusion of intimacy", and this area is therefore linked to Boorstin's (1960) idea of pseudo-events. Rojek (Ibid. 21-24) offers two further terms to clarify this last category. The first is the *celetoid*, which he describes as compressed and concentrated forms of attributed celebrity, referencing particularly those involved in sexual scandal and areas of criminality. These are created by the same representational techniques, but do not have longevity of visibility. The second is the idea of the *celeactor,* fictional characters that become an "institutional feature of popular culture", representing a "character type that sums up the times" (Ibid: 23). The subsequent analysis demonstrates how figures fitting each of these categories developed in early print newspapers.

Figure One (1): Celebrity Related Content in the *Daily Courant/Daily Gazetteer* (1702-1792)
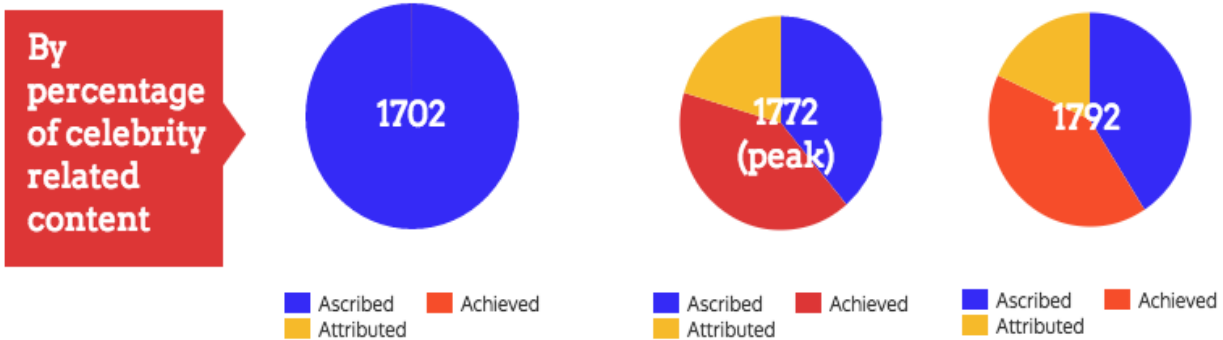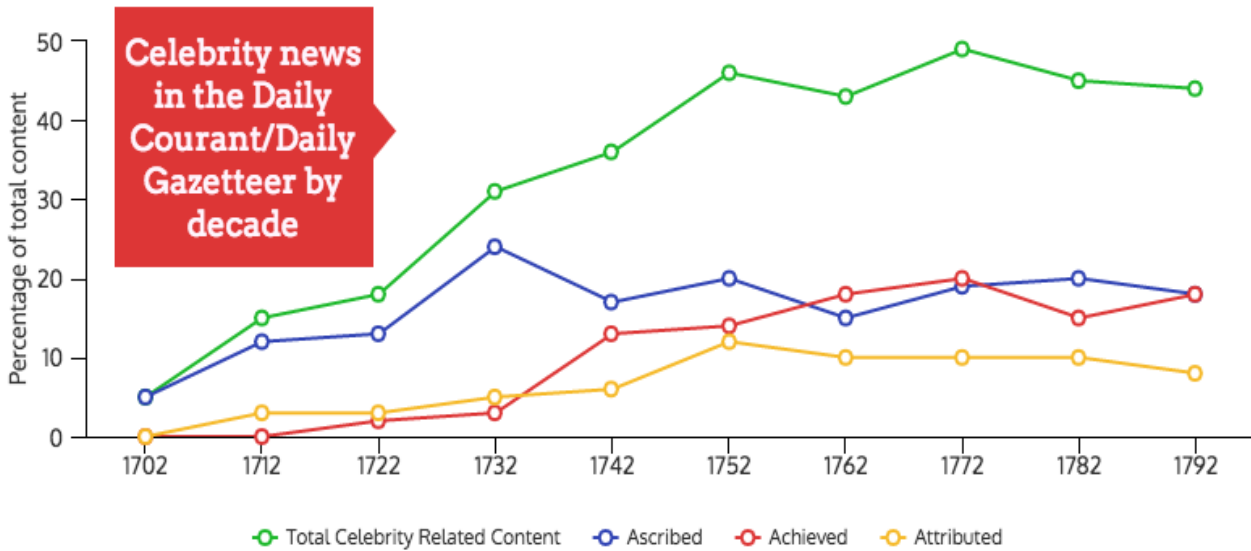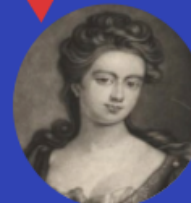
In his studies of 18ᵗʰ Century newspapers, Jeremy Black argues that news was still "predominantly political" (1987: 19), specifically focusing on foreign affairs. He claims that the only other essential aspect was advertising, which increased across the century. However, as editors needed to "provide a product…that people wished to read", he acknowledges that populist news items increased:

"In general there was more non-political news, particularly items devoted to social habits and fashions. Literary, particularly theatrical, news had become a regular feature…The activities of criminals were still a popular topic, while sporting news, virtually absent in the 1720s, was regularly carried by the 1780s, with much news of horse racing, boxing, cock fighting and cricket…Similarly several sexual scandals were discussed and exploited for political ends." (Black 1987: 19-20).

While Black argues none of this content in itself significantly shifted the balance of the news agenda, employing Rojek's taxonomy illuminates how much of it can be seen under an umbrella of celebrity discourse.

Commentary in newspapers of the time highlighted celebrity culture as a growing phenomenon and discussed its societal implications. Reporters were described as a new breed of "puny witlings", willing to write whatever grabs the public attention "to amuse and diverse" *(Critical Review*, July 1763 in Rea 1963: 10) – an early attack on populist news production. Discussions of the implications of fandom began too, such as a how a new "English mania…that an actress is the first of human characters" *(Morning Chronicle and London* Advertiser, January 25 1783) was circulating in and beyond the press. Figure One demonstrates that celebrity-related content increased considerably across the century. In 1702 it accounted for just 5 per cent of content with the *Courant*, a half folio sheet printed

front (with news) and back (predominantly advertising), focused largely on foreign, particularly military, affairs, lifted directly from continental publications. However, public figures were a component of this discourse. The actions of key players often framed reports of military action and foreign affairs. For example, on June 8, 1702 the paper used news content from the *Amsterdam Courant* describing how the "King of Spain had send the Order of the Golden Fleece to Count d'Arcos" (sic), a general of the Bavarian forces. The Duke of Modena is reported as desiring the French King's protection and the Princess of Mirandola is said to have written to the "Duke de Vendome on the subject", excusing her conduct. The movements of the aristocracy were used as "semiotic hooks" (Conboy 2014: 179), in order to engage audiences and explain military manoeuvres. This is not celebrity news and is not classified as such, but it is a *celebritised news discourse*, which uses the actions of public figures to make complex political matters more understandable to readers (see Method: I.4).

    As the century progressed, the day-to-day activities, Romantic intrigues and fashions of monarchs and aristocrats featured more regularly, hitting a peak of 30 per cent in the 1730s. However, focus moved away from military and political spheres towards personal and private ones. While reports that the "former Queen of England dined privately" with the King of France, or that the Dauphin was suffering a minor sickness (*Daily Courant*, June 7, 1702) can be viewed as both personal and political in significance, from the 1730s onwards, there was increased content which *only* provided the colour of court life. This included insinuation and gossip, such as details from the French Court that Mme de Beaujolis, a favourite of the King, was "indisposed for some days at the Palace Royal", or how Spanish aristocrat Don Carlos' face was "far from being pitted" after a spell of the smallpox (March

8, 1732). Descriptions of the latest fashions, which courtiers had latterly received "a gift of diamonds" and seemingly unimportant details of court life, such as when the new stable block at Versailles was likely to be completed, were part of news agendas (August 24, 1732). These intertwined insights into court life, state visits and matters of political significance, creating a new journalistic genre – an early form of gossip column – that offered readers tantalising and titillating glimpses into the private realms of the aristocracy.

The approaching Consumer Revolution increased significance and visibility for the middle classes and resulted in a significant increase in celebrity news in relation to achieved celebrities, such as entertainers and entrepreneurs. Celebrity related content peaked in the 1770s, with achieved celebrities replacing the aristocracy in terms of significance to news agendas. This, as is explored later (1.4), also coincided with the high point of the Consumer Revolution. By the end of the century, attributed celebrities included the children of entertainers, such as the actor Sarah Siddons. Their fame, inherited in a similar way to North and Saint West or the Beckham children today, lasted throughout their lifetimes. Using Chris Rojek's categories helps identify celebrity culture's influence on early news agendas. Next, I explore shifts in focus from the aristocracy to the lives of ordinary readers –their marriages, deaths, loves and business affairs –and how they articulated new notions of *authentic self* behind a *public mask* (see Rojek 2001: 11, Redmond 2014: 28-40). I consider why celebrity discourses developed in relation to societal and cultural changes and their impacts on "representational" news media (Marshall 2014). This period offers opportunities to explore how early news media worked with individuals in processes of *celebrification* (see I. 4.1) and how this, in turn, shaped understandings of personal identity and fulfilment.

1.3: From glory to the ordinary: a new "authentic" identity

Enlightenment and Romantic explorations of self-identity attempted to make sense of rapid

socio-cultural and economic changes and how individuals were responding to them. They

were concerned with self-identity in relation to lived experiences and argued "a

multifaceted notion of the self". This was defined by "powers of disengaged reason – with

its associated ideals of…freedom and dignity – or self exploration, and of personal

commitment" (Taylor 1989: 211). As identified in the thesis introduction (see I.3), amongst

the most circulated commentators was David Hume, whose *Dissertation on the Passions*

(1759) built on Lockean philosophy, understanding self as intrinsic, but also influenced by

experiences and societal relationships. Charles Taylor argues that Hume aimed "to show the

house that as humans we had to live in" (1989: 345), exploring "a way of seeing our normal

fulfilments as significant even in a non-providential world" (Ibid: 44). Hume was concerned

with how humans accord significance and authenticity to their everyday lives as the "path of

wisdom involves coming to terms with, and accepting our normal make-up" (Ibid). Taylor

argues that this period is marked by the emergence of the "affirmation of ordinary life"

(Ibid: 211-285), which highlighted "those aspects of human life concerned with production

and reproduction, that is labour, the making of the things needed for life, and our lives as

sexual beings, including marriage and the family" (Ibid: 211). It is easy to see links between

this and the arguments of other philosophers highlighting the importance of relationships

and experience. Hegel's (1807) discussion of how self is determined by fluctuating and

interwoven "master" and "slave" relations could be read as an account of the power

struggles of everyday relationships. Equally, Adam Smith's (1776) discussions of how

through education "low people" might learn for themselves "the freedoms of labour

movement" and the "happiness of domestic virtue and…the nice security of friendship" (in Inglis 2010: 71), is a celebration of the same. In short the authentic self as articulated in these philosophical debates was formed directly in relation to ordinary life experience as allowing an authentic way of "being".

Perhaps the most central figure in the development and circulation of these ideas was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau was a bridging figure between Enlightenment and Romantic debates and also produced the first celebrity autobiography *Confessions* published four years after his death (completed 1769, published 1782). Campbell (1987: 205) argues that Romantic sentiment was driven "by a longing to experience in reality those pleasures created and enjoyed in imagination, a longing which results in the ceaseless consumption of novelty", and drives a desire to emulate other people's experiences. Romanticism - a term encompassing romantic feeling, sentimentalism and the celebration of passion - cast the individual "of true virtue" in the role of an opponent to "society", whose conventions he must deny, if only to secure proof of his genius and passion. Rousseau lived as an embodiment of these Romantic ideals and newspapers joined in the circulation of him as such. His *La Nouvelle Heloise* (1761) "helped more than any other to define and "spread the new outlook" (Taylor 1989: 295) and its popularity drove Rousseau's own fame. This extended beyond his work and into his private life with celebrity news accounts describing how the "celebrated Monsieur Rousseau" was "banished from Geneva" (*Public Advertiser*, January 23 1766*)* and "landed in Dover" to stay with David Hume. Other papers accompanied news of Rousseau's arrival with longer biographies of "some account' of his private life" (*Lloyd's Evening Post* London, January 31-February 6, 1766). He positioned himself as a living alternative to the dominant consumer driven understanding of self. His

public persona placed personal reflection and solitude above all else, but paradoxically his successes in articulating them, resulted in him being swamped by crowds in London and inundated by fan mail (Cladis 2003, Taylor 1989). In *Confessions* – described by Taylor (1989: 289) as the "great exempla" for the autobiography - he attempted to deconstruct his public mask through a first person account of his life experiences, challenging whether consumerism really offered self-fulfilment. It was something entirely new and its influence, through celebrity autobiography and confession (see Redmond 2015) continues to this day.

Taylor (1989: 204) identifies tensions between the celebration of peaceful life purported by Enlightenment scholars and older notions of fame as embodied by the aristocracy, which "stressed glory won in military pursuits". He places a desire for the virtues of "citizen life" in binary opposition to the self-indulgent "search for fame and renown", which became viewed as "wildly destructive". The long established "ethic of glory" achieved primarily on the battlefield was confronted "with a fully articulated alternative view, of social order [and] political stability" (Ibid). Changes from *celebritised* to clearer cut models of *celebrity* news (see I.4) and journalism articulated a "new model of civility...in which the life of commerce and acquisition gains an unprecedented positive place" (Ibid). For Wahrman (2004: 168), much of 18th century was marked by the *ancien regime* of identity which "lacked a sense of a stable inner core" and where "personal identity", at least in principle, "could be imagined as unfixed or potentially changeable". He identifies a number of cultural indicators as demonstrating this notion of self, such as the masquerade ball or obsessive interest in fashion. Dress, he argues, was perceived as being able to transform not only outward appearance, but also *who the person really was*. There are multiple examples of this in celebritised news from the time, such as accounts of the life of Hannah Snell (see Stephens

1997), a woman who disguised herself as a man for four years to work as a sailor, simply by wearing men's attire.

Wahrman (2004: 190) also identifies patterns and discourses of cultural and societal behaviours as manifestations of the "possibilities opened up by the *ancien regime*", which enabled people to see beyond ideas of the self as an immaterial soul and towards rational accounts of personal identity and the self as mind. He argues that by the end of the century a more fixed sense of identity had emerged. For Wahrman, philosophical debates about self-identity and the fact they had an audience are additional cultural indicators of explorations enabling and reflecting this change. Links can be made between Wahrman's discussion of the changing understandings of self-identity during the 18th Century and Richard Dyer's (1973, 1986) discussions of the significance of "individual" when examining the star phenomena in the 20th century. For both, the individual is a way of thinking of existence as apart from society, but circumstance does not "alter the fundamental reality of that irreducible core that makes her or him…unique" (Dyer 1986: 8). We can therefore view celebrity culture as a significant component of how the very notion of "authentic self" formed. Indeed, I would argue that the impact of these celebrities on public consciousness through circulation in newspapers had *greater cultural impact* on audiences of the time than Enlightenment pamphlets, given their vastly larger and daily readerships.

In order to explore this more fully, the next two sections examine news content in relation to the two areas of ordinary life highlighted by Taylor (1989) as establishing authentic self-identity: production and by association consumerism in relation to product acquisition and reproduction and, by association, the celebration of familial life and love. Taylor argues that the value placed on these components of our everyday lives is crucial to

how we understand our identities. I examine how news media *represented* celebrities of the period as fulfilled through consumerism and leisure activities. I also consider the relationship between this and the strategic *construction of image* by certain public figures in order to attract news attention and raise their public visibility. This established some of the patterns of how celebrity works as a "cultural commodity" within promotional culture, with "tangible benefits" for both the celebrity and the news publication (Wernick 1991: 107).

1.4: Celebrity news during the consumer revolution: representation, persona construction and directed emulation

Tillyard (2005: online) identifies two events which coincided with the lapse of the 1695 Licensing Act and the resulting glut of news media as enabling the first celebrity culture: a monarchy with limited political powers and a public interested in new ways of thinking about other people enabled by the expansion of the British Empire. She places these circumstances against the backdrop of the "free-wheeling commercial development of…[the] Georgian era". Inglis (2010) also identifies the consumer market place of London as the perfect habitat for the germination of celebrity culture. He builds from the significant historical study *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (McKendrick, Plumb and Brewer 1982) which demonstrated that 18th century British metropolises were the first consumer societies, impelled "by a passion for going to market not to subsist, to buy and sell necessities, but to buy for the joy of it" (Inglis 2010: 39). The city was "one vast and roaring marketplace into which rivers of money poured from new imperial ventures, successful new wars, new technology and new industrial expression". Britain, celebrating its newfound liberty, "made possible the terrific expansion of economic activity and social imaginativeness" (Inglis 2010: 37).

Newspapers reflected this bustling and imaginative consumer society, not least in their expanding advertising sections, which included items to improve personal appearance and relating to hobbies and leisure activities. These ranged from Roman historical antiquities to elixirs for stomach cramps; toothpaste to improve the "whiteness of teeth" and gentleman's "apparel" (*Daily Courant* 1722-1742), to novels and pamphlets. Adverts for entertainment and leisure activities featured regularly from around 1715. Some actors were so famous billed higher than the plays they were in, such David Garrick (1717-1779) or Sarah Siddons (1755-1831) whose names appeared above and in larger font than the titles of stage productions. Entertainers also used patronage by celebrities as a mechanism for promotion in order to attract larger audiences, such as the horsewomen act "the celebrated Clementine…and the famous Miss Huntley'" who offered "a display…in the same manner as lately exhibited to their Majesties, the Royal Family and most of the nobility" (*London Gazetteer* June 1 1772).

Retailers, manufacturers and theatre producers also used the *value of visibility* of celebrities as a mechanism to sell their products. This is no better demonstrated than in celebrity news and advertising of products relating to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, hailed the "Empress of Fashion" by the London press. Her unique clothing designs and beauty regimes (including hair so high she had to sit on the floor of her carriage) were widely detailed, boosting circulation for newspapers and sales of products. McKendrick (1982: 11) identifies a "key role to the part of the rich" who "led the way" in ushering in the new era of consumption through a "veritable orgy of spending", particularly in the 1760s and 1770s particularly. He describes how the middle ranks of society imitated the decadence of the aristocracy both in purchase of goods and in leisure activities and how

promotion and advertising made products widely known. Emulation - be it parading in

Pleasure Gardens, promenading in fashionable towns such as Bath or Harrogate, or through

costumes at the masquerade ball - became part of the day-to-day life for many more

people. Perkin (1969), McKendrick (1982) and Inglis (2010) all highlight emulation of the

aristocracy as a driving force of the "consumer revolution", and how "leisure activities

simply could not thrive without the endorsement and the money of the mighty" (Ibid: 38).

Capitalism and consumerism were interwoven with celebrity culture and celebrities were

often displayed as embodiments of the virtues of enterprise and social mobility during a

time where "the idea that the life of commerce and acquisition gain[ed] an unprecedented

positive place" (Taylor 1989: 214). Campbell (1987: 33) suggests that understanding

consumer culture as driven by the desire to copy the aristocracy as one's "betters", does not

allow for how the "emerging bourgeoisie…functioned as the taste-makers of society",

promoting expressions of values and attitudes very different to those of the traditional elite.

Descriptions of fashionable young ladies "quite in the middle class of life", who shocked

their male peers by "following absurd fashions" (*London Gazetteer*, July 1, 1762), and how

"the very great" mixed with "the very rich" and "the very gay" hurried from London for the

summer (Ibid), show how the middle classes were becoming more significant to the news

agenda. Of course, these people often emulated the aristocracy and nobility as they took

their money to London "to be seen, to spend" (Inglis 2010: 39). However, consumer habits,

scandals, marriages and even deaths, became more significant too, as reflected in increasing

levels of news discourse. Paul Langford's (1998, 2002) work on middle class "politeness"

links it to fashion and describes how first it raised social aspiration and then became

synonymous with the "basic standards of civil behaviour" (2002: 311). He describes how

politeness and the idea of "polite society" was "paraded, described, characterised, applauded" and that this had an "enabling capacity, permitting people who lacked formal education and a place in the political hierarchy" to achieve it, through use of "codes of behaviour" (Ibid: 312). Fashion and social civilities were key components of consumerism and spending and displays in newspapers became part of processes of celebrification.

The middle classes led other areas of fashion too, challenging Inglis' (2010: 38) assertion that in order to as note-worthy, one had to mimic the aristocracy. Entertainers were often the most visible representations of middle class enterprise, not only following "the nobility in fashion, manners and conduct", Mole (2009: 13), but also leading them. By associating with the stars of the London stage, the nobility gained cultural value and furthered their visibility too. Crucially, both sides were famous and as reflected in the celebrity news relating to them at the time, there was a new a new kind of social equality displayed in newspapers, with each portrayed as members of what might be described as a *celebrity class*. If *being seen to spend* was a key component in the creation of consumerism, then as with the popular pastime of promenading, print media was *a site of display* to enable emulation. Eighteenth century celebrity culture was the kind of multimedia phenomenon described by Dyer (1986: 4-6) formed across "literature, theatre, music and visual culture, fashion…" (Mole 2009: 2). However, most of the population were unlikely to see celebrities in the flesh and therefore print news media was the *key site of its display*. It is not only that they were monarch, aristocrat, artist, actor or entrepreneur that made these figures models for emulation, but the fact they were cultural products of early news media.

Celebrity culture emerged not only thematically, but also with linguistic specificity, in the 1760s. The word "celebrity" thus, moved closer to its current "ambiguous form" in the 18th,

rather then the 19th century as identified by Marshall (1997: 4). "Celebrated" appeared regularly in both adverts for entertainment and in news columns from the mid 1760s onwards, describing public figures across the social and entertainment spectrum. For example, the "celebrated Daniel Wildman" exhibited "several amazing experiments" (*London Gazetteer,* June 5 *1772*); "the celebrated Comedian" Mr King entered into a business deal with other entertainers (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, January 3, 1770) while a new opera was said to be written by GA Stevens, "the celebrated Lecturer on Heads" (*Independent Chronicle*, January 5 1770). The use of the word "celebrity", to describe public visibility, also emerged in the late 1760s and early 1770s at the height of the consumer revolution. A young German author's work on Experimental Agriculture led to his "celebrity, even in England" (*Public Advertiser*, March 19 1771); the son of a country attorney who became a member of Parliament began to "rise in fame: and his celebrity soon established" (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* January 3 1773). Mrs Saunderton, "a female performer" who was "as capital in her profession as she was amiable as a woman", had a "private character" which equalled her "celebrity" (*London Chronicle*, February 1 1777). This last description offers a very early indication of the public/private self-dichotomy surrounding celebrity culture (Dyer 1986, Holmes and Redmond 2006, Marshall 1997, Turner 2013) and ties it specifically to the idea of an authentic self-identity revealed in private.

Turner (2013: 36-37) argues that "celebrities are developed to make money and as a financial asset, the development of their public profile is…serious business". He builds on Andrew Wernick's (1991: 106) description of a star as "any one whose name and fame has been built up to the point where reference to them via mention, mediatised representation or live appearance, can serve as a promotional booster in itself". Understanding how public

relations professionals develop identity and image, offers interesting insights into celebrification as a "constructive dialogue" to achieve specific aims (Mackay 2016: 87, see also Bakhtin 1984). During the second half of the 18th century, celebrity news was often linked directly to advertising and this led to the development of reviews as a journalistic, but promotional, discourse. For example, in the news section of the *London Gazetteer* (June 5, 1772), an account of opening night of Garrick's revival of Richard III, described how he was "in full possession of his amazing powers", while the show was advertised on the back page. On June 3rd the same paper reported a "festival held at Soho next week" would now be a masquerade following a number of prominent figures being "disappointed of their dress", while the advertising pages featured an advert for the "subscription Masked Ball" organised by Mrs Amelia "at the request of her great friends". Early journalism established links between celebrity, consumerism and promotion, where "each greedy innovation of the capital" was articulated as "another turbine, driving forward the juggernaut of fame" (Inglis 2010: 40).

Examining how 18th century advertising and news constructed "knowledge, identities and relationships that…work[ed] to facilitate particular sociocultural practices" (Weaver, Motion and Roper 2006: 18), also highlights the semiotic nature of celebrification. This is evidenced by news discourse relating to some *attributed* (see 1.2) celebrities, who used newspapers to build fame in order to socially climb. For example, the actress and courtesan Kitty Fisher's (1737-1767) celebrity burned brightly between the mid 1750s, when she began "to be fashionable" largely due to her "magnificent dress" (Casanova *History of my Life* in Pointon 2004: 78). Her self-celebrification included staged "pseudo-events" (Boorstin 1961), such as publically eating a £100 note and falling from her horse – pre-arranged with news media –

and exposing her bloomers to awaiting crowds. Her multimedia image creation was also

image based, displayed in self-commissioned portraits, including by Joshua Reynolds, which

she had reprinted, and sold in print shops. Nathaniel Horne's portrait was a comment on

fame, and depicted Fisher alongside a fish bowl in which faces of the public are reflected

peering at her.

Fisher also leaked love letters to the press, which described her passionate feeling, as

well as her taste wealth and opulence (*Public Advertiser* August 11 1759). She bought

advertising space where she criticised, for example, bawdy fictional accounts of her

childhood such as *The Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty Fisher* (Pointon 2004: 86). Her public

persona used mediated appearances as a Romantic heroine to sustain public interest. This

visibility enabled her to socially climb, firstly by becoming the official mistress of Lord

Coventry and then as the wife of John Norris, the son of the Norris parliamentary dynasty,

although she died just four months after their wedding. Once she was no longer able to

maintain her image through press interaction and staged pseudo-events, she quickly

dropped out of the public imagination. The next section explores how the visibility of

attributed celebrities such as Fisher reflected discourses of Romanticism and the affirmation

of personal desires. This links celebrity discourses to the other important element of

modern self-identity highlighted by Taylor (1989) - reproduction, romance and familial love.

I explore similarities between news discourses and the themes and structures of

Romanticism in literature, particularly in terms of fictional and real biographies.

1.5: Celebrity authenticity: Romanticism, artistry and love

Campbell (1987: 205) argues that individual authors, artists, philosophers or actors were

depicted as "virtuoso in feeling [and] also pleasure" and were key to circulating Romantic

sentiment. These achieved celebrities both produced - and became themselves - cultural and promotional products, which "yielded pleasure in others" (Ibid). The spirit of capitalist endeavour was "characterised by a longing to experience in reality those pleasures created and enjoyed in imagination…both the central institutions [of] fashion and romantic love" (Campbell 1987: 205) - the same aspects of human life (production and reproduction), that Charles Taylor (1989) describes as key components of self-identity. Celebrity news discourse and literature circulated interplays between romance, artistry and authenticity. Kitty Fisher, although a potent example of achieving fame through media engagement, was by no means unique in terms of women who brokered fame through the mediatised construction of Romantic and consumerist persona (see Tillyard 2005). The visibility of these women inspired novelists and some of the characters they created became so famous, they have come to represent the period for generations to come. They were early examples of what Rojek (2001) describes as "celeactors" (see 1.2), constructed to embody stereotypes of the age.

Parallels between the life of protagonist Fanny Hill in *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (Cleland, 1748*)* and Kitty Fisher, for example, are easily be made. Hill is a prostitute, who becomes a woman of fashion, and achieves a loving match with a gentleman of means. Her significance as a "celeactor" is no better represented than the fact her name is referenced as a source for the term "fanny" as British slang for female genitalia to this day (Spedding and Lambert 2011). Romantic novels "reflected and further entrenched the egalitarian affirmation of ordinary life" (Stone in Campbell 1987: 27) as subjects were often middle class, as were the readership. Novels "were devoured by an enthusiastic public, who found their own developing moral outlook confirmed, as well as strengthened and defined in

them" (Taylor 1989: 294). The modern novel was different from previous literature in that it detailed ordinary life, including real names to characters for the first time (Watt in Taylor 1989: 287) and describing private realms including the home; undergarments; food and of course, as in *Fanny Hill*, sex.

Everyday life was also part of the emerging narrative of celebrity culture circulated in the press. Celebrity news of the period revelled in the banal, such as details of food, clothes or everyday pastimes. Every cough – quite literally - of the Duchess of Devonshire was news fodder, such as her "cold and sore throat" (*The Oracle and Public Advertiser*, Jan 28 1796). This kind of celebrity news also glimpsed into private realms. Newspapers celebrated loving marriages and secure home-lives, articulated as "a crucial part of what makes life worthy and significant" (Taylor 1989: 292). For example, the "very amiable" marriage (*Public Advertiser,* March 22 1758) of David Garrick was honoured with large anniversary parties attended by "several of the nobility" (*London Evening Post,* August 18 1774) and by an *Ode to Garrick's Marriage* (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*). The fact the marital bed was saved for national posterity, currently residing in London's Victoria and Albert museum, demonstrates the significance of his marriage. Similarly, reports of Sarah Siddons' love for her children became a "national concern" after she insisted on taking them to court with her (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 25 1783) and their public appearances with their mother in childhood made their private lives - illnesses, marriages and ultimately deaths – newsworthy in their own right.

Newspapers also celebrated those from the aristocracy who embraced the middle class ideal of affectionate parenting. The Duchess of Devonshire shocked the nobility - but was applauded by the liberal press - as one of the first members of the ruling class to announce

she breastfed her children. The *Morning Post* described it as "sad…that females in high life should generally be such strangers to the duty of a mother, as to render one instance to the contrary so singular". She also *used the press* to construct her public persona as a loving mother, such as sending to newspapers a poem she had written when visiting Italy, dedicated "To My Children" (*Lloyd's Evening Post,* December 23 1799). As Charlesworth (2014) identifies, there is a socio-political and cultural relevance in celebrity displays of motherhood. In the 18th Century, idealised motherhood as circulated in celebrity news became an aspiration, firmly situated in the loving embrace of a stable home.

Mole (2009: 12) argues that by connecting the "romantic conception of a deep, privatised, developmental, self-actualising selfhood" to "industrial infrastructure of promotion and distribution", celebrity culture constituted a "powerful engine for normalising Romantic understandings of subjectivity". Mirroring inner subjectivity - and the imperative to do so - was also inherent in the novel genre from its 18th century beginnings (Wahrman 2004: 182). There was an increase in newspaper content, often in letterform, which aimed to articulate and capture the "authentic truth" behind the mask of public figures from the late 1770s onwards. For example, numerous newspapers in 1777 published a series of anonymous letters addressed to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, some attacking and others defending not only the way she embraced her role as a fashion icon, but also her private life and her morality. These letters indicated the significance of the audience "at the centre of the power of celebrity" as a means to construct "norms of individuality" (Marshall 1997: 61) and become part of celebrification processes. There was also parasociality (Horton and Wohl 1956)-a sense of really knowing the public figures-displayed by the audience in relation to the celebrities.

As today, audiences located the discourses around these celebrities from "their own ideological positions" and concepts of self, as well as consuming what a star projects outwards through the public sphere" (Thomas 2013: 244). Sarah Thomas's work is part of an expanding number of studies, which have recently explored how audiences authenticate stars and celebrities (see Tiger 2015, Eronen 2014) on social media. Exploring these early examples shows the long-standing significance of celebrity journalism in offering forms and potential discourses for moral argumentation. These letters can be understood as "techniques of persuasion", (Eronen 2014: 207), emerging at a time when understandings of self-identity were changing. Challenging Georgiana's self-display, as idealised "mother" in relation to her political interests or her rumoured sexual indiscretions was a significant part of the discourses that maintained her public visibility. Indeed, some letters even questioned whether women such as her -and by extension any woman claiming individualised emancipation - had a place in news discourse or public spheres at all. Just as Maria Eronen discusses in relation to online gossip today, this audience participation actually often aimed to "reinforce social hierarchies in the guise of freedom…of speech" (Eronen 2014: 208).

The Duchess of Devonshire's copy of Rousseau's *L'Novelle Heloise* which is archived at her family seat at Chatsworth, is scored with notes (Foreman 1998) and newspapers described how she lived as an example of Rousseau's philosophies, at a "plane of heightened feeling" and as a slave to her passions. The influence of Rousseau was evident in her own attempt at literature, a "thinly disguised autobiographical novel called *The Sylph*" (Ibid). It offered a tantalising glimpse into the inside the world of the fashionable "ton" group, which included the politician Charles James Fox, David Garrick and the writer Sheldon. It, like *Heloise*, was written as a series of letters, but in this instance from a young

fashionable heroine trapped in a loveless marriage. Though published anonymously, her

identity as the author was heavily hinted in newspapers throughout 1778. Georgiana's self-

narrative in *The Sylph* is very similar to the way she to her representation in newspaper

accounts; both clearly influenced by Romantic sentiment. Georgiana's mediatised celebrity

performance has another fascinating facet. She became perhaps the first mediatised

celebrity activist, channelling her fame as both a fashion icon and a Romantic heroine for

specific political aims. Within a broader discussion of the role of celebrity journalism in

shaping and circulating the citizen, Chapter Two explores how she directly targeted the

press in order to circulate the political agendas of the Whig Party at the request of

celebritised politician Charles James Fox.

While newspapers' praised Garrick's steady marriage and Georgiana's loving parenting,

they equally celebrated moments of high Romantic drama particularly around scandalous

love affairs. Inglis (2010: 62-70) describes the significance of Lord Byron's shocking sexual

exploits in selling his works and he was certainly a popular figure in newspapers of the time.

For Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, her private life and alleged affairs were linked to her

political work. The *Morning Post* (January 15 1800) reported her "heart [had] been taught to

glow and to expand beneath the faltering advances of a Spencer", while less complimentary

newspapers gossiped about the travel arrangements of the ménage a trois between her, the

Duke and Lady Elizabeth Foster (*The World*, Friday, September 4, 1789). Her portrayal as a

romantic heroine in newspapers, particularly the *Morning Post,* extended to poetry written

in her honour, such as a petition to time "not to make her beauty fade" (June 11 1789).

Many other female celebrities were also cast as Romantic heroines. Actress Mary Robinson

was referred to as Peredita in reference to the role the Prince Regent saw her play before

asking her to become his mistress. The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* described how she placed herself directly opposite the Prince at the theatre and "by those wanton airs, peculiar to herself, contrived at the least to bewitch him", before being thrown out by the managers for distracting him from the performance. The account finished with a short bawdy poem directed at the stage star [3] (February 12 1780).

Publishers of novellas and pamphlets, who were often the same as those printing newspapers, seized upon the sales potential of private details of the lives of public figures. In 1789 the popular pamphlet *A Picture of England* told "curious and interesting anecdotes" about a range of public figures including "Mrs Siddons, Mr Garrick, Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, the Duchess of Devonshire and Mr Wedgewood" (*The World,* July 23, 1789). The popularity of celebrity biographies inspired writers such as Daniel Defoe who used pamphlets of the lives of criminals as a framework for his Romantic morality tale *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders* (1722). His literary construction of Moll, one of the greatest celeactors of the age, in turn, influenced the construction of pamphlets recording the real lives of celebrities. The "double helix" (Couldry 2012, see I.2) relationship between celebrity news and literature, is no better illustrated than through comparison with the dozens of pamphlets, novellas and column inches dedicated to the tragic story of prostitute Sally Salisbury in the 1720s.

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[3] "Poor Peredita/Queen it not an inch further/But milk thy ewes and weep."

Figure Two (1): The similar discourses of "Celetoid" and "Celactor" (Rojek 2001) in the 18th Century press
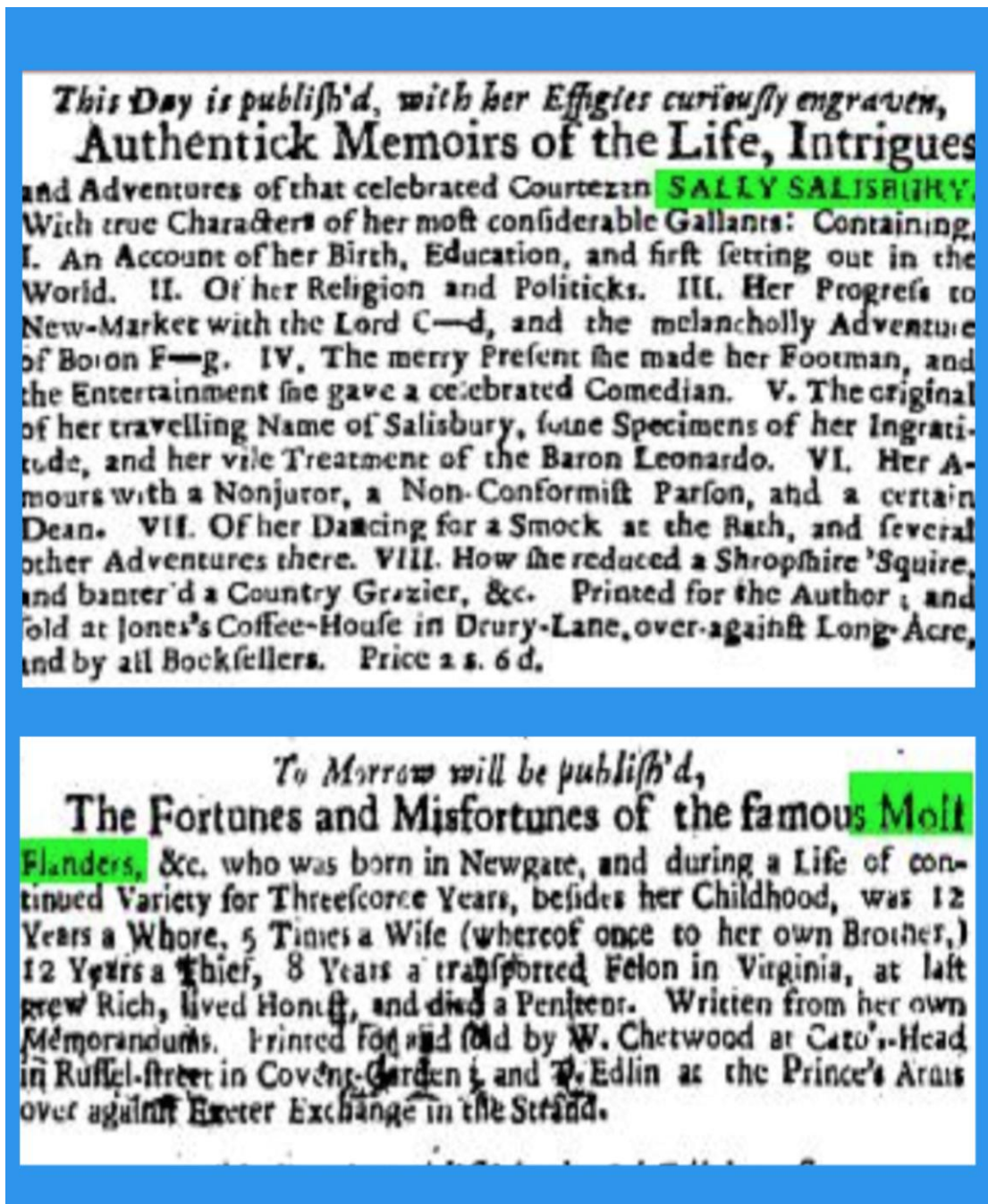
Salisbury, real name Sarah Priddon, was a "celebrated Lady of Pleasure" who shocked

respectable society by having a "chariot…a coachman and two footmen" (*Weekly Journal,*

September 12 1719), usually reserved for the aristocracy. She became significant to the

national news agenda after stabbing a "Gentleman" client (*British Journal*, February 9,

1723). News of her arrest and her trial, even by surviving records, featured across no fewer than a dozen newspapers and her acquittal for attempted murder following a campaign of sympathetic coverage (she was jailed for two years for assault), sparked "public demonstrations of joy in…venerable parts of Town" (*Daily Journal* April 26, 1723). Her death in Newgate six months later, despite appeals from hundreds of readers in letters, her former clients and even her victim (*Daily Journal,* November 5, 1723) appeared in dozens of newspapers. Salisbury is claimed as one of Defoe's inspirations for *Moll Flanders* (Howson 1969, Swaminathen 2007), published the year before the stabbing. There is, therefore, a two-way relationship between the "celetoid" Sally, very much the compressed, concentrated attributed celebrity (Rojek 2001: 20) and the "celeactor" Moll as an "important sub-category of the celetoid". Examining news archives reveals that no fewer than ten pamphlets were published giving details of her "genuine history". The construction of many mimicked the construction of Defoe's *Moll* and the advertising for both was strikingly similar, as shown in Figure Two. The accounts are presented as authentic first person memoirs, despite one being about a real celebrity criminal and the other about a fictional one. The intertwining relationship between the representation of celebrity in news media and the modern novel was thus clearly both structural and thematic.

1.6: Summary: *How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?*

Exploring the 18th Century press demonstrates the intertwining relationships between celebrity and news from their origins. This links to ideas of an authentic self-identity where individual wants and needs are both significant and celebrated. The idea that there is a "real" person behind public masks developed in response to the rapid socio-economic and

cultural shifts and the way they were affecting both public and private spaces. Identities formed by what people read in newspapers; events available to attend, consumer items advertised, and stories about celebrities. This, aligned with Enlightenment debates, resulted in some of the key writers of the movement becoming celebrities in their own right with their discussions most visibly circulated in celebrity news about them. Using definitions and taxonomies of contemporary celebrity culture and applying them to this period, offers insights into the significant role of celebrity news in establishing ideas of individual self-identity and the importance of personal fulfilment, achieved through both economic and emotional emancipation. The emergence of celebrity news and journalism demonstrates how celebrification works discursively as a mutually beneficial exchange for both celebrities and journalists. The goals of this exchange are the imperatives of capital through perpetuation of consumerism, not least the purchase of newspapers themselves.

The next chapter continues with this exploration of *Celebrity, Journalism and Self-Identity* in the 18th century, but shifts focus away from discussions of authentic self-identity and towards the formation of "the citizen". Understanding how celebrity journalism *enabled* the bourgeois public sphere offers new insights into self-identity in relation to and as part of a developing "nation". Celebrity journalism is significant to the circulation of discourses of suffrage and freedom as well as providing increased access to places enabling public debate, including in newspapers themselves. This examination identifies how celebrity and celebritised news and journalism was part of the developments of increased freedom of expression, as it made the voices of individuals more significant and pushed the boundaries of libel. It reveals the value placed on the right to know about political figures' private lives and consumer habits as shaping celebrity news from its origins.

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London Chronicle (1757-1823)

London Evening Post (1727-1797)

Lloyd's Evening Post (1757-1808)

London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post (1770s)

Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser (1769-1865)

Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser (1780-1869)

Oracle and Public Advertiser (1770-94)

Public Advertiser (1752-1793)

St James' Chronicle (1761-1843)

The Critical Review (1756-1817)

The Morning Post (1772-1937)

The Daily Courant/Daily Gazetteer (1702-1797)

Weekly Journal (1704-1720s)

Whitehall Evening Post (1718-1801)

The World and Fashionable Advertiser (1787-1802)

True Briton (1723-1793)

Chapter Two

Shaping and circulating "the citizen": celebrity and celebritised journalism, the

bourgeois public sphere and the forging of the British nation

2.1: Introduction

CHANGES to perceptions of self-identity during the 18th Century were broader than ideas of

"authentic self", enabled by consumerist and Romantic ideologies. Printed news also

discussed the rights of individuals as politically emancipated citizens within a "nation",

loosely defined by Colley (2009: 5) and Anderson (1991: 6) as "an imagined political

community". Miller (2012: 401) explores this relationship, arguing that the two are

intertwined because philosophical liberalism "insist[s] on a common language and nation as

prerequisites for effective citizenship". Certainly, many historians identify this period as

when it "became normal for newspapers to target a more general readership with political

concerns" (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009: 18) and early media theorists such as Marshall

McLuhan (1964) argued the role of print media in shaping nationalistic discourse.

Newspapers were transformed into instruments "of continual political argumentation and

deliberation" (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009: 18) as part of the bourgeois public sphere

(Habermas 1989). Nerone and Barnhurst support Habermas' view that this appealed to the

"norms of universal rational supervision" (2009: 18), although they acknowledge that

newspapers were also impassioned and partisan (citing Lake & Pincus, 2006; Mah 2000;

Raymond 2003). They argue that newspapers saw their *ideological purpose* as the

facilitation of rational debate in order to effect political change.

However, Habermas' argument that only issues in the "public interest" were viable topic

for discussion in the public sphere, not only ignores matters of exclusion and private need (see Benhabib, 1992), but also the reality of human discussion. His work is often used to dismiss celebrity journalism as opposed to effective citizenry in ways that perhaps were never his original intention. By casting an alternative light on established historical narratives and examining celebrity news alongside discussions of journalism's development between the late 18th and late 19th centuries, this chapter argues that celebrification and celebritisation are *overlooked hallmarks* of the bourgeois public sphere. I explore celebrity news as a linguistic conveyance of ideologies of political emancipation and freedom of expression. Content and discourse analysis of early political journalism highlights how structures and values formed in relation to celebrity culture (2.2). Through exploration of celebrity and celebritised journalism relating to the "Revolution Controversy" (Butler 1984), I examine relationships with the public sphere and demonstrate how these helped to broaden participation in political debate. However, I also demonstrate how this resulted in the formation of "attack journalism" – one of journalism's most sustained discourses - which emerged as a mechanism to undermine those who challenged the agendas of newspaper publishers or established social orders (2.3).

The final part of this chapter (2.4) explores how the journalistic interview developed as a celebritised production practice that enabled heteroglossic dialogic formation (Bakhtin 1984) of citizenry. As journalism's practices became professionalised, interviews were used to broaden the range of voices included in public spheres. Exploring a series of early interviews conducted by liberal journalist WT Stead during the 1880s demonstrates how he used interviews to challenge the "fuzzy frontiers" (Cohen 1994: 35) of citizenry through the display of a variety of political, personal and cultural perspectives. The frontiers of

citizenship, which emerge in this chapter, echo categories identified by Miller (2012), as having developed over 200 years from the end of the 18th Century. He argues successive zones: political citizenship in relation to the state (during the 18th Century); economic rights to minimum living standards (in modernity) and cultural citizenship and rights to technologies of communication (in post modernity). I demonstrate that these facets of citizenry are evident in celebrity displays in 18th and 19th century newspapers and argue the place of celebrity and celebritised journalism in their formation. Celebrity journalism "resonates with conceptions of individuality that are [its] ideological ground[s]" (Marshall 1997: 27) and I argue this has played a significant role in the formation of self as citizen.

2.2: Celebritised journalism at the time of the bourgeois public sphere

Habermas (1989) argued that 18th Century European public spheres developed to facilitate dialogue in order to hold the state to account. The bourgeoisie gathered in physical spaces – salons in France, dining societies in Germany and coffee shops in Britain – where merit of argument was more important than "social hierarchy'" did. (1989: 35-36). The bourgeois public sphere, like celebrity culture (Chapter One,) emerged following the relaxation of printing laws in 1667. Dozens of newspapers and pamphlets flooded the market (see 1.2) and with improved newspaper distribution and increased literacy, discussions were more inclusive. Jeremy Black (1987: 13-15) describes how a single copy of a newspaper might be read aloud to dozens of men in coffee houses. As discussed in the last chapter, celebrity news flourished as editors gave audiences "something they want[ed] to read" (Black 1987: 14). Common sense, therefore, dictates that discussions would not have only focused on news that enabled "rational, open-minded debate", as defined by Habermas (1989), but on celebrity and celebritised news too.

Goodwin et al (2001) argue that Habermas' discussions of rational debate are too narrow

because politics is inherently passionate and similarly De Luca and Peeples (2002) describe

debating as emotional and conflicted. Habermas' suggestion of a "golden age" of media

production (Hallin, 1994) is described as elitist (see for instance Dahlgren, 1995, McGuigan,

2002) and both Calhoun (1992) and Fraser (1992) highlight that newspapers and the public

sphere only counted "citizen" (or Us) as educated, property-owning men. However, even in

critiques, the role of celebritised and celebrity journalism is overlooked, sitting beyond

idealised narratives of news culture at that time. Habermas (1989) argued that the

bourgeois public sphere declined in the 19th and 20th centuries when editors commoditised

newspapers to meet commercial demands of advertisers and owners, in contrast with news

at the time of the bourgeois public sphere, which "levelled up" in the interest of self-

education and cultivation (see Roberts and Crossley, 2004). This narrative underpins much

research into the damaging effects of "tabloidisation" and celebrity news (see I.2), which

argue that celebrity is a 20th century phenomenon which damages journalism's democratic

functions. By inserting celebrity and celebritised discourses more clearly into journalism's

history, I argue that celebrification, at times, facilitated discussion of citizenry as a facet of

self-identity. This relates to the parameters of the "emotional public sphere", defined by

Richards (2012: 301) as the "emotional dimension of the political public sphere, that is…the

emotions which are involved in the political life of a nation". Richards argues that in order to

understand democracies and our "capacity to defend and enhance them", we must consider

the "essential and on-going power of emotion" (2012: 301-302). He views Habermas' model

as causing "rationalistic bias" in the field of science communication, with the "normative

model" having "little or no place for passion or emotion" (303). My argument is not that we

should consider celebritised journalism as part of a sub category of the public sphere where

"emotion" exists, but rather, as an *overlooked hallmark of the bourgeois public sphere* that often, albeit not always, facilitated discussion and debate.

While Barnhurst and Nerone (2009: 19) and Conboy (2014: 172-173) each identify the 1830s as the period when the term journalism entered the English language, the practices of the "journalist" were discussed far earlier. The earliest surviving archived record of the word "journalist" is in the 1760s and highlights its "constitutional" – that is political – role. (*Royal Westminster Journal and London Political Miscellany*, December 4, 1762). By the 1790s the responsibilities of journalists were articulated more broadly. For the *Sun* (1783-1800), it was the "business of a Daily Journalist to pay every tribute" to the "memory of those who die in the service of their country", until "the pen of the Historian shall consecrate it the esteem of prosperity" (March 29, 1793) – a news value held, by tabloid newspapers, particularly to this day. The *Oracle and Public Advertiser* (October 9, 1798) observed how some journalists "seem to place themselves like sentinels in our public gardens" in order to observe people of fashion and to "use their pens to draw amusing caricatures". These pieces indicate that there was an on-going and vibrant discussion of journalistic values and professional practices, with both political and populist functions considered.

Earlier in the century, political commentary was usually written as anonymous letters, which commented on the personalities of politicians and their popularity[4]. Nerone and Banhurst (2009: 18), offer Cato and Publius – pseudonyms for political leaders James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay – as examples of early newspaper writers who reflected Habermasian ideals. In the *Public Advertiser* between 1769 and 1772, the

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[4] For exomple, the *Daily Courant's* description of Mr Hebden MP, June 24, 1732.

anonymous Junius developed an early political gossip column, which linked the private to the political with a "combination of ruthless sarcasm, keen invective and political daring [which]…assured him a great popular following" (Rea 1963: 175 see also Tillyard 2005). Junius used details of personal affairs and consumer habits to question morality and political decisions. He revealed adultery, alcoholism and spats with friends, with "public conduct" described as "the counterpart of…private history" (May 30 1769). The Duke of Grafton was "recovered from the errors of his youth, the distraction of play and the bewitching smiles of burgundy" (January 21 1769), but still somewhat prey to the "heat of midnight excesses". He urged the Duke of Bedford not to "Take back [his] mistress, attend Newmarket" (April 21 1769) or engage in the same "busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted" (Sept 19 1769). He particularly vilified those who placed personal gratification over public propriety, such as Grafton who "frequently led his mistress into public, burying "shame and decency" under the ruins of "an ancient temple of Venus" and even parading her "in front of the Queen" (June 12, 1769).

Junius' celebrification of political figures vastly increased circulation and the popularity of his work its impact on the public sphere is reflected in dozens of letters from readers across multiple newspapers. His biggest critics, friends of those he publically attacked, described him as the "high priest of envy, malice and uncharitableness" (William Draper, *Public Advertiser,* January 26 1769). Draper also lamented that "political questions" descend "into the most odious personalities" (October 7 1769) and Reverend Mr Horne write that Junius felt "no reluctance to attack the character of any man, the throne is not to high, nor the cottage too low" (July 31 1771). These are recognisable criticisms of the press, still levelled at newspapers that attack celebrities or politicians to this day. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen's

(2007: 13) critique of Habermas argues that what constituted the public interest in the bourgeois public sphere was defined by the most powerful, "in such a way as to sustain their privilege". Junius revealed the impropriety of the ruling class in an attempt to *dismantle* their political power and as such, this celebritised discourse broadened the parameters of debate.

When Junius turned his attention to the Crown on December 19, 1769, his work was "destined to make publishing history" (Rea, 1963: 176) as the criminal trials of his publishers established the first legal public interest balance with privacy. His column urged King George not to adopt "Stuart principles" of opulent spending and political dictatorship, issuing a stark warning that "while [the crown] was acquired by one revolution, it maybe lost by another". It was an immediate commercial success, with circulation almost doubling to 4,800 (Rea 1963: 176). However, prosecution followed for his publisher H.S. Woodfall and six others who copied the letter. When the first trial resulted in a guilty verdict for outspoken politico John Almon, there was a public and newspaper outcry, fuelled by Junius' popularity. All other publishers were subsequently cleared and Rea (1963: 187) argues that this "prepared the way for a broader, a higher, consideration of press law and the press in politics". Junius' work offers a useful starting point to understand relationships between journalism, celebrity and the public sphere, and how the three together helped form citizenry.

Rea (1963: 3) describes 18th Century newspapers as the "portal of public opinion", where political thinkers could rise in popularity and influence without royal favour and beyond the ballot box. Debates about press freedom often defended it in relation to stories that detailed personal scandals. Rea (1963: 142-173) discusses how this facilitated rights for

parliamentary reporting, which challenged "the privilege of the House" and allowed journalists to defend against libel based on evidence and fact. For those who enjoyed the patronage of Parliament – such as Tobias Smollett writing for the *Briton* - the fact that lowly "forlorn grubs and gazetteers" provided information by which "prentices… porters…discarded draymen and hostlers", could judge the "wheels of Government" (*Briton* No. 15, September, 1762) was scandalous. Making political news accessible to all and offering details of the private lives of politicians was considered a step towards violent revolution. Next, I consider the significance of the pamphlet movement of the late 18th century, highlighted by a number of historians of journalism (Peters 2005, Barnhurst and Nerone 2009) as key to the formation of political journalism. Establishing levels of celebrity news about leading pamphleteers reveals the value of celebrification in increasing engagement with their works.

2.2.1: Celebritised politics, the pamphleteers and the revolution debate

Butler (1984: 1) identifies the "Revolution Controversy" as lasting from France's "new dawn" in 1789 to December 1795 when "Pitt's Government introduced measures to stop the spread of radicalism by the printed and spoken word." Junius' writings influenced discussions in newspapers between and about pamphleteers, which often linked accusations of personal impropriety directly to political argument. Rousseau's invention of the celebrity autobiography as a mechanism to explore new ideas of self-identity, (see 1.3) also inspired both Edmund Burke's pro-aristocratic *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1789) - although he despised much of Rousseau's ideology – and journalist and American revolutionary, Thomas Paine's (1737-1809) response, *Rights of Man* (1791). Both used personal experience as semiotic hooks to engage the reader and in Paine's case to argue for

a model of citizenry with political and economic emancipation.

To demonstrate how relationships between celebrity journalism and the Revolution Controversy shaped the zones of citizenship identified by Miller (2012) – political, economic and communicative - Figure One offers content analysis of newspaper discourse relating to Burke and Paine, using Marilyn Butler's six-year timeframe as an established parameter. As the most popular of the 25 main voices of the movement[5], Butler (1984: 108) identifies Burke and Paine's publications as having the largest circulation figures[6], although Paine's cheaper pamphlet outsold Burke's more than six times over and was copied by activists and given away freely too. The analysis considers all surviving archived newspaper coverage - including advertising - to ascertain levels of public visibility and the role of celebrification in the circulation of their ideas. Content is categorised in three ways: first as "Public", only discussing professional work as political writers and, in Burke's case, as a Member of Parliament; secondly "Personal" related only to private life, character or physical appearance; and finally, "Combined" which offers both the personal and the public. While publication of Burke's *Reflections* did not occur until the end of 1789, the entire year is included in order to consider shifts following its publication and increased visibility. Burke appeared in newspapers regularly in the time leading up to the publication of *Reflections,* as lead prosecutor of the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings, former Governor of India [7], which continued (on and off) for the entirety of the analysis period.

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[5] Butler (1984: 6) discusses the "closely knit circle" who divised pamphlets around "Johnson's dinner table".
[6] The sale Burke's *Reflections* exceeded 30,000 copies in two years. By comparison, conservative estimates claim Paine's *Vindication* sold more than 150,000 copies in two years and the author himself claimed more than a million had been sold by 1809 (Butler 1984: 108)
[7] Hastings was accused of misconduct during his time in Calcutta particularly relating to mismanagement and personal corruption.

Figure One (2): Newspaper discourse relating to Burke and Paine 1789-1795
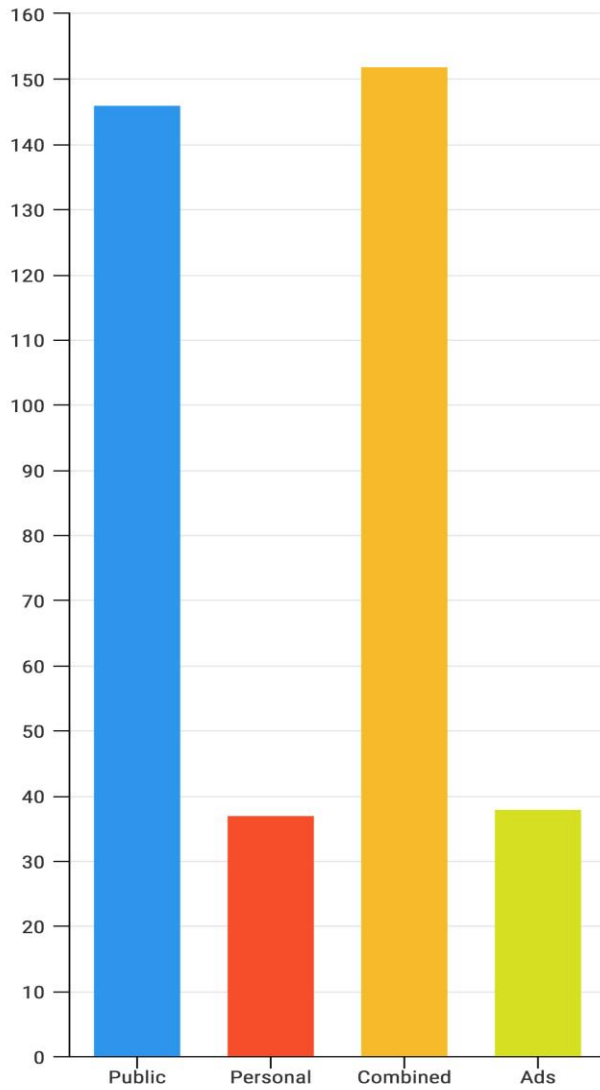
News Content 1st January 1789 - 31st December 1795

Total Sample:

Burke: 374
Paine: 211
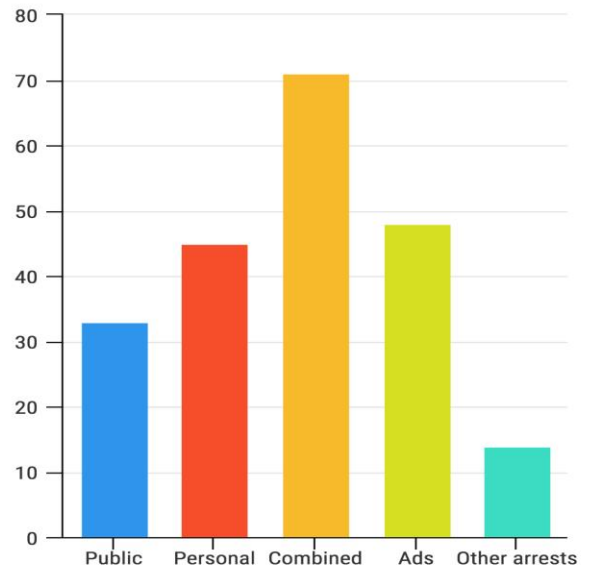
Reflections on the Revolutions in France Dec 1789

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) Pamphleteer and Member of Parliament

The Rights of Man Part 1: Feb 1791, Pt 2: Feb 1792

Thomas Paine (1737-1809) Pamphleteer and Writer

Both Paine and Burke were sources of gossip-based celebrity news. Information about their personal lives fuelled audiences' sense of "knowing" them, evidenced in numerous letters in newspapers from readers, which addressed them familiarly. While Schickel argues relationships such as these are just an "illusion of intimacy" (1985: 4) - Turner (2013: 26-30) explores the different social functions that this "parasociality" (see also Horton and Wohl 1956, Giles 2010, Rojek 2012) can have. Details of Burke's private life, without any link to his political or public career were not infrequent, accounting for just over 8.5% of total editorial coverage. These described his insomnia (*Morning* Post, April 23 1789), visits to Bath (*The Times,* February 13th 1790) and how he performed "the duties of a fond husband and good man...for the benefit of Mrs Burke's health" after an "unfortunate mistake in administering medicine" - perhaps insinuating a suicide attempt (*The Times*, September 17 1792).

More than a fifth (21%) of all content in newspapers relating to Thomas Paine offered detail of only his private life, reflecting his position as a visible "achieved celebrity" (Rojek 2001) and indeed the nature of his fame was discussed in detail.[8] *The Whitehall Evening Post* (August 16 1791) described how he "arrived to much celebrity by his political writings" and ran extracts from a biography offering details from childhood, published first in *The Times* (July 30 1791). These (often fake and scurrilous) biographies appeared within six months of the publication of *Rights of Man* and were advertised frequently throughout the research timeframe, fuelling public curiosity about the famous pamphleteer, and in turn, boosting sales of his works. Celebrity news allowed for a *cycle of empowerment* by which his arguments for the rights of ordinary people were broadly disseminated because of *their* purchases of his works, which, in turn, increased because of his fame. Indeed, for Paine,

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[8] Paine became a public figure after publication of *Common Sense* (1776) but his fame rapidly increased during this period.

unlike Burke, accounts of his professional work were *less frequent* than details of the personal, indicating that he was understood far more as a celebrity than the long-standing and respected "celebrated politician" *(World,* November 12 1790).

Butler (1983 6-10) identifies that these writers viewed pamphlets and newspapers as interconnected ways to publicise their ideas, with the potential for popular action. Content about Burke and Paine not only included celebrity news –news written in the third person about their private lives – but also was dominated, as reflected in the "Combined" categories of Figure 1(2), by content which *linked their ideas directly to their personal lives*, either to support or attack them. This was also evident in their own writings, not just pamphlets, but articles and letters for newspapers, which were often personalised. Applying recent discussions of celebrity culture's functions within the political sphere helps us identify the intention of "leading and/or representing" (Marshall 1997: 47) the audience. This offered ways through which their socio-political and cultural ideas could be "debated, evaluated modified and shared" (Turner 2013: 27, see also Hermes 1995 and Turner et al 2000). Discussions in prose, letters and poetry, written by celebrities, journalists and members of the public, did not simply offer ways to compensate "for changes in the social construction of communities of the time" (Turner 2013: 26), which as discussed in the last chapter, were complex and multiple, but extended the public visibility of the men and by extension their ideas. Audiences were encouraged to draw on "every day experiences" in order to consider the "ideological fit" (Marshall 1997: 47) and decide whether arguments made sense. This demonstrates how cycles of empowerment between Paine as a celebrity journalist and activist and his audience worked. The more he extended his advocacy for their rights, the more famous he became and by extension, those he fought for became

more visible too.

In Burke's case, discourse combining the professional with the private often focused on the breakdown of his relationships with friends and fellow Whigs, Samuel Johnson and Charles Fox. This included lengthy verses (*The Times,* February 13 1790, "To Edmund", *Woodfall Register,* Thursday, July 11, 1793) and readers' letters reporting social events attended by all three (*Public Advertiser*, December 31 1790). Discussions of the authenticity of Paine's friendships, particularly with James Macintosh, John Hooke (*Morning and Public Advertiser*, November 25 1791) and Romantic poet William Cowper (*Woodfall Registrar,* May 26 1791), also commonly featured. Journalists even imagined conversations between these friends ("Citizen Paine to Citizen Tooke", *Evening Mail,* February 22 1793*)* – and also Burke and Paine - in a kind of journalistic fan-fiction, detailing how they might debate face-to-face (*Whitehall Evening Post*, August 18 1791).

Richards (2012: 305) argues that celebrity culture "turns the public into an audience and so degrades active citizenry into passive entity, an aggregation of individuals who consume entertainment rather than seek constructive participation". Readers, journalists, Burke, and Paine, joined in processes of celebrification for their own purposes. For journalists it was an effective way to maintain reader attention reflected in how Burke and Paine were used in introductions for a wide range of stories unrelated to them specifically (e.g. *The Times,* July 1 1791). Private details helped undermine political arguments when opposed to the positions of the newspaper. Public understandings of Burke and Paine formed equally, by "what was said about them" (Dyer 1986: 9) as by what they had written. Readers wrote to newspapers with their own interpretations, picking through and analysing "the complexity of the image" and constructing "the variations, inflections and contradictions that work[ed]

for them" (Ibid). They engaged in both "semiotic" and "textual productivity", "interacting with these celebrity figures as "products" made available through news media (Fiske 1991 in Stevenson 2001: 155). Through this dialogic interaction, their utterances (Bakhtin 1984) shaped their own citizenry.

If we understand that parasociality occurs "in the activity that takes place during the act of media use itself" (Giles 2010: 95), which can help create and maintain visibility, then this mutuality of production is *a process of fame making* which involves the celebrities, the journalists and audiences. It also *forms a public sphere* around the celebrity, providing an epicentre to help focus debate and discussion. Whannel argues that celebrities offer their audiences modes of "public exchange in which moral and political positionalities can be rehearsed" (2012: 21) and Marshall (2014) has explored how "micropublics" form around celebrities on social media, offering sites for social and cultural exchange and identification. In my recent study of political persona (Usher 2016), I extended this to explore how *microelectorates* help to shape and maintain social media campaigning for politicians, (expanded in Chapter 6). This socio-political function of celebrity are right at its origins, intrinsically linked to the bourgeois' public sphere. A number of scholars (Livingstone 2005, Corner 2005, Dalghren 2003 and van Zoonen 2004) argue that opposition between public and audiences should be reconsidered, as contemporary audiences are seen participating in public spheres and political debate. As celebrity culture actively encouraged debate through productive participation – similar to the textual and semiotic productivity Fiske (1991) identifies in relation to fandom – we need to consider the terms "audience" and "public" more fluidly right from the origins of mass media. By doing so, we can rethink normative discussions and consider how celebrity and celebritised news discourses can be used to

facilitate active citizenry.

The nature of celebrity itself was a popular topic for audiences in relation to both Burke and Paine. Burke's supporters emphasised his "widely diffused share of public estimation and private deference" (*True Briton* April 16-18 1792) and how his writings would last "far beyond" the current age. The anonymous journalist "Cassandra" -another influenced by Junius - questioned his decision to leave the Whigs, and claimed that while it may have added to his current "celebrity", if loyal he "would have received the plaudits of the present age and of posterity" (*Public Advertiser*, November 26 1761). For Paine, his fame linked directly to the potential risks he posed to social order. He had a "radical goal of communication with a wider audience in a common language" (Butler 1984: 17), influenced by his time working as a journalist in America during their Revolution, and this ultimately led to his conviction and death sentence in Britain (by which time he had fled to France). He used populist and direct language, employing active rather than passive sentence construction and editing out superfluous words. He also had the radical aim of making writing affordable to all (Butler 1984: 8), resulting in vast sales, which terrified some newspapers. Paine worked to maintain his celebrity by sending letters to newspapers, keeping both himself- and by extension his writings – in the public eye. This populist approach to *production*, *dissemination* and *publicity* of work shaped the professionalisation of journalism. It also led to a sustained campaign of what is now described as "attack journalism" by some publications. In the next section, I explore this and another early example of this tabloidised news genre in relation to another celebrity we have already encountered, Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire. I consider how journalists weaponised celebrification to undermine the political arguments and actions of these two, very

different, celebrities.

2.2.2: Politicised celebrity, early "attack journalism" and newspaper "othering"

To make the news, an event passes through a series of values' tests, which include the agendas of the publication, its owners and the values of the individual journalist (see Elias 1970: 128, 1994, Sonwalker 2005: 269). If it does not meet specific criteria, it is not used. However, if perceived as a *direct threat to those values* then it can lead to newspapers engaging in "attack journalism". Patterson (1994, 2000), Fallows (1997), Barnett (2002) and Lloyd (2004) have each discussed this, in relation to modern political journalism particularly, arguing that adversarial techniques damage political debate by increasing cynicism and fear of recrimination. Patterson (2000: 9-15) argues that "critical journalism" compromises both the role as watchdog and the interest of audiences through over "zealous pursuit of scandals" and personal detail. For Richards (2012: 310), this is one of the greatest limitations of the emotional public sphere and he advocates that news "should move attack journalism to its margins…to build civility and open-mindedness into the foundations of political debate.

Van Dijk (1983: 123) argues that when newsgatherers perceive deviances which test "general norms and values", they create "*outcasts"* and *apply* social norms which confirm their "*own group*" (original emphasis). Sonwalker (2005,) uses this to explore "us-them" binaries in news, which forces out those who challenge the "order of symbols, values and beliefs which govern society" (Skils 1975: 3 in Sonwalker 2005: 269). Thomas Paine and Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire were attacked because they challenged social and political norms. Through the linguistic use of belittling adjectives – a still familiar technique to readers of right-wing British tabloids particularly – Paine was portrayed as an outcast and

traitor. Newspapers described how he was "hissed and hooted" at by crowds as he made his escape across the channel into exile (*Public Advertiser*, September 19, 1792). He was literally the devil –a "Beelzebub" (*The Times,* July 14 1792, *Morning Herald*, June 15 1792)- as well as a "Traitor" (*Morning Herald* December 22 1792); a "public pest"; "envious" of the wealthy (*The Times*, May 7 1792); (*Oracle*, October 3 1792); "seditious" and "scandalous" (*Morning Herald,* Jan 22 1793) and was dismissed as "Mad Tom" and "Poor Tommy" (*The Times*, July 14 1792). Newspapers reported they had obtained his military records, which "reveal[ed]" he was a thief" (*Public Advertiser,* December 28 1792). They questioned his sexuality, suggesting that his breeches were found in the "water closet" (*The Times,* May 11 1792) and described his effigy being burnt across the country, from Devizes (*The Oracle*, December 24 1792) to Essex (*Morning Herald*, December 22 1792), Taunton (*Morning Chronicle*, December 25 1792) to North Yorkshire (*Morning Chronicle*, January 7 1793).

Wahl-Jorgenson and Franklin (2008: 179) discuss the "heavy ideological baggage" of journalistic language, which can linguistically exclude people based on their class, race, gender or sexuality. Criticisms of Paine were often class based; he has a "mind not disciplined by early education" and is part of the "greasy multitude" (*Oracle*, October 3 1792). This coverage coincided with arrests and trials for booksellers caught with copies of *Rights of Man* after it was banned in late 1792 ("Other arrests" column in Figure One (2)). The impact of these events on the news agenda should not be underestimated, as reflected by Paine's exile in France being reported as the "Principal Occurrence of 1792" in the New Year lists of *The Oracle, Sun* and *True Briton*. Celebrification was a weapon used to prevent ordinary people aligning themselves with either him or his views.

When challenging Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire's use of her celebrity to campaign

for the Whigs, newspapers turned to misogynistic, sexualised language: "othering" based

on gender. At the request of Charles James Fox, Devonshire became the *first woman and*

celebrity to campaign for a political party (Foreman 2008: 141). The role of celebrities in

political advocacy and its impact on journalistic coverage of elections is a focus of much

recent scholarly activity (see Meyer and Gamson 1996; Marshall 1997; West and Orman

2003) and Georgiana's campaigning shows how it has been part of mediated political

campaigning since the time of the bourgeois public sphere. Georgiana was hailed by the

Whig supporting press as resembling those, "fair celestials of the Grecian bard…forming a

shield for the heroic leader of an oppressed people" (*Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*

April 24 1784). However, the tone of the opposing Tory press helped form some of the

ways in which newspapers still reinforce sexual difference in order to "bring into question

the nature of democratic discursive space and women's participation in it" (Holland 1998:

28). Patricia Holland's studies of women in newspapers identifies how by limiting women to

gendered roles of wife, mother (1987: 138-9) or sexual object there is little room "for the

expression of women's democratic aspirations and public participations" (1998: 28). The

celebrity news relating to Georgiana discussed in Chapter One embraced her as a figure of

consumer emulation and representation of idealised motherhood, used, for example, to

encourage breastfeeding. This softer socio-political use of her celebrity was more

acceptable to the press, not least because it linked to the kind of positions they perceived

women could fulfil. When she openly entered the masculine realm of party politics, she was

lambasted, as women were simply "too ignorant to know that they meddle with what does

not concern them" (*The Morning Post,* April 8 1784).

Foreman (2008: 141-148) describes how Georgiana offered an alternative, personalised

model of campaigning, which included holding the babies of people she met on the street, drinking tea with the wives of merchants and ale with tradesmen as she debated in taverns. Several news publications considered this a scandalous spectacle, which would encourage demands for universal suffrage. As her behaviour was an outrage to "common decency in a married woman" (*The Morning Post*, 8 April 1784), it was fair game to question her sexual decency too. Insinuations that she bought votes with kisses, slept with shopkeepers and cartoons showing her in bed with politicians were widely circulated in newspapers. In 1787, her spell "out of town" was described as being for the "the benefit of - - - the country", where "the horses are crying out for quarter and the Foxes would do the same", a veiled insinuation that she and Fox were having an affair (*World and Fashionable Advertiser,* February 20 1787). This early account of celebrity electioneering helped establish many ways women are represented in newspapers when they challenge masculine dominance over social and political fields, which, as Holland identifies, still happens. Firstly, newspapers represent women specifically in relation to their domestic roles – wife, mother – as a mechanism to show them as "other" to the expert voice of the white male (Hartley 1987: 138-9) and limit the value placed on their opinions. Secondly, they may sexually humiliate as a mechanism to try to keep women quiet. [9]

I have explored the role that early celebrity journalism played in establishing some of the most vitriolic and anti-democratic tendencies of the press which can encourage citizenship and participation – but only if these fit their own news values and agendas. However, while "Us" versus "Them" discourse, can disempower and exclude groups from active citizenry, Marshall McLuhan (1964: 192), argues such discourse also enables the political unification

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[9] For an example, see Holland's (1998: 27) discussion of *The Sun*'s response to Claire Short MPs Page 3 campaign.

of populations. For McLuhan the press played a crucial role in the development of national identity "as vernacular and language groupings are unthinkable without printed mass media circulating them". Nationalism "depends on the press" as the tribe is extended by print and replaced by "an association of men hegemoneously trained to be individuals" (Ibid: 192). The next section explores the development of the journalistic interview –arguably the most important newsgathering method of the pre-digital age – and the role it played in articulating and circulating ideas of British citizenry. I focus on the work of "father of the tabloid press" WT Stead (Robinson 2012), to continue my examination of how celebrity and celebritised journalism made public spheres more accessible through broadening the range of visible voices. Consideration of how Stead's work extended methods of the celebrity interview to circulate a liberal national identity, demonstrates the power of dialogic interaction (Bakhtin 1984) in establishing common senses of truth and reality.

2.3: The development of the journalistic interview: the nation, the citizen and the "people's voice"

Bakhtin (1984) argues that to analyse dialogue we must understand that every word simultaneously informs and is informed by the exchange (see Method, I.4.2). He claims "truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born *between people…*in the process of their dialogic interaction" (1984: 110, original emphasis). In *Understanding Media* (1964: 188), Marshall McLuhan argued that the social consequences of typography and print offered humankind a means of self-expression and new sets of language, which enabled identity and linked "individual to individual in massive agglomeration of power" (McLuhan 1964: 188). Interviewing emerged as a journalistic production practice during a period when human dialogue was linguistically reformed in

print media. Its development between the 1830s and 1880s coincided with a new British

identity following a "reshaping of the nation" (Colley 2009).

This period is also often identified as when celebrity journalism emerged. Ponce de Leon

(2002: 41) argues that public figures became celebrities when subjected to new modes of

presentation via the conventions of journalism, a process, "which began in the mid 19th

century but was not complete until the 1920s". P.David Marshall (2001: 20) identifies this as

when "reportage on the personality of the famous" emerged. Similarly, many historical

studies of journalism (Barnhurst & Nerone 2001, 2009, Carey, 1974), argue that it did not

exist until the mid 19th Century, when many working practices and values formed. These

included objectivity and impartiality as normative ideals of the journalist as watchdog of

democracy. Ponce de Leon extends this argument to print journalism as the creator of

celebrity culture, and claims that as "self styled arbiters of truth, reporters and editors were

compelled to view public figures with a new scepticism" (2002: 31). Conboy (2014: 172)

claims that, "the commercialization of the 19th-century mass media market was a significant

constituent of celebrity, as rival publications for a popular market sought to privilege their

own position". Journalism, he identifies, enters the English language in 1833 in "large part as

an attempt to categorize an activity which has come to be understood as a yoking together

of aspects of elite information and commentary with lower cultural narratives of scandal

and crime" (174).

Of course as identified earlier, discussions of the role of the journalist including its role in

relating to celebrity culture, began in the 1760s, some 70 years earlier. What did occur

during this period were fundamental shifts in the working practices of journalists as

reporters, the most significant of which was the use of interviewing. While Salmon (1997:

160) identifies the 1880s and 1890s as when the technique became widespread and widely discussed in Britain and the United States, British journalist WT Stead was using it and discussing its implications from the early 1870s. The practice, as it emerged in America in the 1830s (Dunlevy 1988), offered accounts of entire conversation between interviewer and interviewee. In an 1875 letter to his brother Herbert - a fellow journalist working in the US - while editor of the regional British newspaper the *Northern Echo* (1870-present), Stead argues that journalists should see interviewing as *newsgathering* practice:

"Remember that your aversion to interviewing, as you call it, arises from a misuse of the word. Interviewing in the sense you understand it, is unknown to the English press. To interview in the American meaning of the term, is to call upon a person to publish every word, question and answer of the conversation. To interview as I use the term is to seek to imitate Sir Walter Scott who is said never to have spent a quarter of an hour with any man without learning something from him and tapping the reservoir of knowledge, which however small, everyone has in his head." (Stead 1875, in Dunlevy 1988: 73).

Stead used the interview for opinion, information, emotion and to add colour - its purpose for most news reporters to this day – specifically to make journalism more engaging. This began a life-long project in developing populist news techniques to effect meaningful social change. [10] Under his stewardship (1871-1879) the *Northern Echo* (1870-present)

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[10] Stead's most famous campaign was against child prostitution in 1885. He produced four articles entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Babylon" accounting how he bought 13-year-old Eliza Armstrong. Copies changed hands for 20 times their original value more than 10,000 readers reportedly came to the Pall Mall Gazette offices for copies. The Gazette's supply of paper ran out and had to be replenished with supplies from the rival *Globe*. (Robinson 2012). Stead was gaoled for three months for child abduction.

transformed from a small pamphlet to a popular regional newspaper, offering reports of crime, society events, political meetings, comment on national and international news, investigations, campaigns, opinion and a "Housewives' Corner". Martin Conboy (2002; 2010) highlights Stead's work as part of "the New Journalism" (Conboy and Steel 2010: 500), which emphasised the significance of engaging audiences through a "personal touch".

Stead also interviewed working class people caught up in news events, conducted in a range of settings such as prison cells (Jan 5 1874) and working-men's clubs (*Northern Echo*, April 17 1874) and often presented as relaxed "conversations". When covering the case of Mary Ann Cotton – the "West Auckland Poisoner" – and Britain's first prosecuted female serial killer, Stead interviewed her father immediately after a prison visit (March 24 1874) and her neighbours in their homes (March 21 and 22 1874), as well as publishing letters from Cotton herself, which were widely syndicated to the national and American press. The trial was covered through reporting the direct speech of witnesses. Interviews with political and military leaders from other publications and news agencies, including *The Times* (1783-present)*, Daily Telegraph* (1855-present) and those working for *Reuters Telegram Agency* (1851-present)*, were also published, demonstrating the practice was widely used elsewhere. By 1873 every edition of the *Northern Echo* had at least one - and often more than one - piece s*tructured around direct speech* or "utterances" (Bakhtin 1984), gathered not just by interviewing but by covering courts, meetings, sermons and clubs and societies.

Stead's work demonstrates that when media producers *aim to use ordinary voices* to offer alternative cultural identities they can shape the "free citizen in democratic society" (Turner 2013: 88). Turner's (2013: 87-91) useful overview of the "tabloidization debate" includes discussions of whether increased visibility for ordinary people through, for

example, appearances on talk shows and reality TV, is beneficial to democracy. He considers

Hartley's (1999: 88, 2009) optimistic arguments that through increased visibility ordinary

people help audiences construct their own "cultural identities" "citizenry" and "knowledge"

through "performances of domestic discourses". However, he aligns himself with Couldry's

(2003) concerns that as media owners and corporations dictate the parameters of access,

real opportunities for meaningful display are limited. Both Couldry (2003) and Turner argue

"slippage" between building "effective citizenry" and the increase of ordinary voices. Turner

(2013: 91) concludes that increased visibility does not ensure "democratainment" (Hartley

1999)– that is entertainment that enables democracy - but a "demotic" turn. While there is

greater visibility for people from outside dominant social groups, this does not, necessarily,

broaden public spheres. However, Stead's work made ordinary people visible as

mechanisms to show the "semiotic furniture" (Ibid) of life. In doing so he not only offered

the opportunity for the semiotic self-determination – the DIY citizenship which Hartley

(1999) describes-but also a way through which ordinary people passed through what

Couldry describes as the "spectacular ritual" (in Turner 2013: 90) of celebrification [11] in

order to have their perspectives valued.

  This project reached its pinnacle when Stead moved to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1883.

Within two years, he published no fewer than 126 interviews, which is verified as written

directly by him or by one of his team of reporters[12]. These included "ordinary" people,

experts and celebrities, offering a range of voices, working towards a broader project of

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[11] The most interesting, and one of the first examples of these kinds of celebrity being created specifically though the journalistic interview, can be found in Stead's coverage of the Mary Ann Cotton case, England's first female serial killer, which was the biggest crime story on the Northern Echo's patch during his editorship.

[12] Dunlevy (1988: 72) claims Stead published 137 interviews during this period, but examination of news archives suggests this may include interviews produced by journalist for other national and international publications first.

articulating and shaping modern British identity and life (see Figure Two). The first interview

with the famous Liberal politician and philanthropist WE Forster was published October 31

1883 and came with a caveat that while the form was a "departure from the

conventionalities of English journalism...its convenience is indisputable and its utility

obvious" for enabling journalism to effect cultural change. Salmon's (1997: 163) analyses of

what he describes as the first "systematic codification of these journalistic techniques",

Edmund Yates' *Celebrities at Home* (*The World* 1877-1879), argues that Yates pioneered

many of the "rhetorical strategies, which came to distinguish the interview as a discursive

form". However, Yates methods are similar to those pioneered by Stead as at the *Northern*

Echo over the previous six years. At the *Pall Mall Gazette,* Stead, in turn appeared inspired

by Yates as he conducted more interviews with celebrities. He also installed the first

newspaper telephone line and conducted the oldest surviving archived telephone interview

("Mr Whitley – an interview by Telephone" Feb 11, 1884).

Figure Two (2): Analysis of *Pall Mall Gazette* interviews (Oct 1883-Oct 1885)

Total Interviews:

126 verified as by *Pall Mall Gazette* Reporters

W.T. Stead
(1849-1912)

- Celebrity: 58
- Expert: 35
- Ordinary Person: 33

- "Us" (British) (59)
- "Them" (Foreign) (37)
- "Us" discussing "Them" (30)

Celebrity: Famous. Interview in personal setting and includes personal detail.

Expert: Renowned. Interview about professional work or opinion.

Ordinary Person: Not Famous. Interview Location/Subject (personal/ professional) varies.

58 Celebrity Interviews

By Rojek's taxonomy (right) and by type (below)

- Achieved
- Ascribed
- Attributed

Bar chart: Entertainer, Explorer/Adventurer, Inventor, Writer, "New" Religious Leader, Artist, "Fame" Industry, Sportswoman

Stead made interviewing a *sustained journalistic* practice and gave direct speech

consistent construction patterns. In the next chapter, we will explore Stead's work

specifically in relation to celebrities and how it helped shape performances of stardom.

Here, I examine it as part of Stead's professional project of reshaping citizenry by

empowering the voices of ordinary people, using celebritised techniques. Stead's *Pall Mall*

Gazette interviews coincided with the "high imperialism" (Cohen 1994: 21) of the 1870s and

1880s, which was not just economic, but also "ideological and political". Salmon (1997)

identifies this period as when interviewing became a widespread journalistic practice. Henry

James' claimed the 1890s as "an age of interviewing" and registered concern about the

"disturbing modernity of the journalistic innovation and its status as a symptomatic of

contemporary culture" (in Salmon 1997: 160). Certainly many of the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s

interviewees – and other journalists commenting on Stead's endeavour – were

uncomfortable with its familiarity and its insight into the personal (Dunlevy 1988: 72-73).

However, for Stead, interviewing was not a new practice but one he had used for at least a

decade.

Anthony Giddens (1991: 24) argues that McLuhan's (1964) discussions of the relationship

between press and nationhood established human experience as "inseparable from its own

media: the printed text and subsequently the electronic signal". The "media does not mirror

realities, but in some part form[s] them" (27) re-organising "time and space", so experiences

which are "rare in day-to-day life…are encountered routinely" (24), helping shape our

understanding of our lived experience and our place in society. Stead used a dialectical

model to display a more inclusive national consciousness and identity, balancing the voices

of "celebrities" (46% of interviews), with "experts" (28%) and "ordinary people" (26%). His

was a narrative of tolerance and personal fulfilment through endeavour, be that in the entertainment industry, through invention or through exploration, or in helping others.

His choice of subject and the way he constructed their dialogue, reflects Colley's discussions of how British national identity was forged. Stead emphasised heroism, both economic, such as the tradesmen furthering British "mercantilism" (Cohen 1994: 21)[13] and military[14]. Colley (2009: 6) argues that the British nation was forged in "response to contact with" or "in conflict" with the "other". This is indicated in Figure Two by the number of interviews using one of "Us", such as British merchants or celebrities, to discuss "Them", such as the people of other countries. Sonwalker (2005) discusses how the discursive boundaries of "Other" and "Us", helps us to understand a society's power geometry, but also frames much of the discourse of nations. This is evident in discussions of the heroism of General Gordon – the most famous of Stead's interviews as it ultimately led to Gordon's return to the Sudan where he and his soldiers were massacred. Stead linked the personal, interviewing Gordon at his "sister's house", to heroism as the "ablest Englishman who ever held command in Equatorial Africa" using historic memories and associations such as an account of Gordon's personal experiences and friendship with Sudanese people to his military expertise.

Billig (1995: 112) argues journalistic routines perpetuate "hegemonic relations" and inequality and it would be easy to argue that WT Stead's interviews focus too heavily on the "greatness" of Britain – its exploration, invention and conquest – therefore celebrating imperialism. However, his accounts did not simply form "Us" in conflict to "Them", but often

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[13] "Interview with an "Old Trader"; August 26 1884; "Interview with an Old Congo Trader", April 1 1884.
[14] "Interview with General 'Chinese' Gordon", Jan 9 1884.

also tried to understand *differences* by emphasising similarities too. His interview with

General Gordon emphasised the kindness and civility of the Sudanese. In his interview with

Marori Arinmori, the Japanese Ambassador (February 26 1884) he asked about similarities

between the nations, which the ambassador responded to with discussions of geography

and national pride. When interviewing Oko Jumbo of Bonny (June 29 1885), Stead described

him as "genial and gentleman-like" and discussed his son as an "agreeable

gentleman…educated in Liverpool". Stead's interviews portrayed commonality as well as

differences. These reflect his ardent, even radical, liberalism (Robinson 2012) and his work

to develop an understanding of Britishness with greater tolerance for others. This is evident

in interviews with members of the working class, including "Socialists" (September 10, 1885,

October 8, 1885); former prisoners highlighting the horrific conditions in British gaols

(October 9 1885); and with the famous leaders of new religions[15], who were afforded room,

despite being clearly in opposition to the "protestant ideals" of the British nation (Colley

2009: 11-44)[16]. It is not just that these people are visible in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which is

significant but the fact he treat them with equal value and civility. There was no visible

difference between his dialogic interactions with a prisoner than with celebrities such as

William Morris (September 23, 1885), Ford Maddox Brown (September 24, 1885) or the

America actor "Lotta" (December 22, 1883). This reflects Stead's steadfast purpose to

change the lives of ordinary people through broadening access and participation to news

media (for which he was ultimately imprisoned[17]), but which helped shape not just tabloid

and celebrity journalism, but *social liberalism* in the British press.

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[15] Interview with "modern prophetess" Madame Blavatsky, April 26 1884 and "well known" evangelist Dwight Moody, July 4 1884.
[16] Stead became a spiritualist.
[17] See footnote 10.

2.4: Summary: *How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?*

When John Wilkes declared "liberty of the press [as] the birthright of a Briton, and…the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country (in Rea 1963: 6), he was not only articulating the right to challenge the powerful without the fear of recrimination. He was also beginning to articulate how the freedom to participate in the production of printed media as a zone of British citizenship. The press had a "life and light of its own" as a mirror of British social and political life (Rea, 1963: 11). This helped form the British nation as a community of citizens, bonded, in part, by news media. Rights to *actively participate* in media helped shape citizenry as a self-identity. Understanding the press as a mass medium characterized by mutuality of production and dissemination better highlights not only its political, but also its socio- cultural functions. The broader understanding of the bourgeois public sphere I have argued here, which includes discussion of celebrity and celebritised news, supports this purpose. Celebrity journalism involved the same the people as those shaping Habermas' (1989) public sphere, personalising discussions and making them more accessible.

The British citizen is "a clear-headed cool subject who knows when to set aside individual and sectarian preferences in search of the greater good" (Miller 2012: 401). However, in order to reach meaningful consensus of "common good", effective citizenry is constructed heteroglosically through dialogue (Bakhtin 1984) and by nature dialogue is personalised. One role of celebrity and celebritised journalism was the provision of figures to shape such dialogue in relation to society. Analysing the journalism of both Thomas Paine and WT Stead, working a century apart, highlights this function. Each broadened access to media, empowered the voices of those outside of the political and ruling classes, and entered into

cycles of empowerment with their audiences, using self-celebrification as a method to argue

for social changes. As advocates for more inclusive understandings of society and citizenry,

their use of celebrity and celebritised news discourses, made the political more accessible.

Their radical production and dissemination methods resulted in not only the vilification of

both men by journalistic contemporaries, but also criminal convictions. This had significant

personal cost, but it also increased visibility of their discussions. Paine and Stead were

journalists who became celebrities in their own right because they used populist and

celebritised methods of production to fight for social change.

The next chapter continues my analysis of Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette* interviews*,* shifting

focus towards interactions with entertainers – and particularly actors – in order to consider

how his interviews helped to establish thematic and constructive techniques, which helped

formulate "the star". As an iconoclastic, glittering display of self-identity, I argue that

stardom is a hyperreal mediated construct and that the dialogic processes of interviewing

were a key component in making it real. I consider the celebrity interview as a heteroglossic

exchange that can establish realities and is argued to be key to the development and

maintenance of "the star" as a recognised area of self-identity.

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Daily Journal (1720s)

Diary or Woodfall Registrar (1789-1793)

*Evening Mail (*no exact dates available)

General Evening Post (1710-1732)

Independent Chronicle (1776-1840)

London Chronicle (1757-1823)

London Evening Post (1727-1797)

Lloyd's Evening Post (1757-1808)

London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post (1770s)

Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser (1769-1865)

Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser (1780-1869)

Northern Echo (1870-present)

Public Advertiser (1752-1793)

Star (1788-approx 1811)

St James' Chronicle (1761-1843)

*Sun (*1793-1800)

The Critical Review (1756-1817)

The Daily Courant/Daily Gazetteer (1702-1797)

The Daily Telegraph (1855-Present)

The Morning Post (1772-1937)

The Oracle and Public Advertiser (1770-1794)

The Telegraph (1794-1797)

The Times (1788-present)

The World and Fashionable Advertiser (1787-1802)

True Briton (1723-1793)

Weekly Journal (1704-1720s)

Whitehall Evening Post (1718-1801)

Figure Two (2) Content analysis:

Pall Mall Gazette (1865-1923)

Timeframe: January 1883-December 1885

Chapter Three

Shaping and circulating "the star": the celebrity interview and mediated self-identity

3.1: Introduction

IN his seminal work *Stars* (1998 [1979]: 35), Richard Dyer describes "stardom" as an "image of the way stars live" and how the phenomenon was enabled by specific social and cultural changes resulting from the invention of cinema. This chapter explores the celebrity interview's role in facilitating the creation of the star as a "symbolic identity" and "dominant site for attention" (deCordova 1990: 112). The interview, as a mechanism for celebrification, is demonstrated as a "self-advantaging exchange" (Wernick 1991: 181) between celebrity and journalists, which offers sites for identification and idolisation. Exploring its role in the development of "the star" between 1880 and 1980, demonstrates the enduring significance of celebrity journalism in mediating displays of self-identity. Interplays between consumerism and authentic private life, influenced how stardom began to function as both a cultural "fabrication" (Morin 1960: 134) and as a condition of publicised self-identity. While exploring the intertwining of the symbolic with the economic, the focus here is not the role of the star system in the commodification of film or music, but the particular significance of the celebrity interview in the process and how this shaped stardom as an understood way of "being".

Ponce De Leon (2001: 33-56) identifies 1890 to 1940, as the period when celebrity journalism was forged in America. He discusses how new technologies such as news wires, urbanisation and the related print boom, enabled journalism to lift "public figures" to "new realms of consciousness" (Ibid: 52). Similarly, Schickel (1985) and Turner (2013: 11-13) argue that celebrity did not exist before the 20th century, arguing its "fundamental modernity" as a

result of the invention of motion pictures. This understanding builds from Boorstin's *The Image* (1961), which described 20th Century American popular culture as primarily based around the "pseudo-event" created by the media, for the media. As the celebrity interview as a pseudo-event was a constant feature in print journalism from the 1880s onwards, analysing examples supports understanding of *how* stars emerged as concentrated, idealised, glittering, displays of self- identity as a result of cinema. I argue that these significant changes in the visibility and display of celebrity culture and mediated self-identity, resulted in this period being wrongly identified as when celebrity, and by extension celebrity journalism, developed.

Similarities between how stars were developed by the motion picture industry to deal with "the uncertainty that particularly plagues the producers of media and cultural goods" (Hesmondhalgh 2005: 113-114) and how newspapers used celebrities to build circulation during the 18th century (Chapter One) are clear. Both primarily used celebrification for their own commercial ends, and this chapter demonstrates how the earlier process influenced the latter. The "progressive centralisation of control over production" (King in Dyer 1998 [1975]: 8), led to the co-opting of journalistic mechanisms of celebrification by film studio public relations and promotion teams. This chapter offers insights into this process, firstly by returning to interviews produced by WT Stead in order to establish that many of the discourses of stardom were evident in pre-Cinema celebrity displays in print (3.2). Then, exploring interviews in early Hollywood magazine *Photoplay* (1911-1980) between 1914 and 1944 (3.3) demonstrates how they were influenced by established newspaper discourses relating to private self and public display and how these, in turn, were reshaped by the professionalised promotional practices of Hollywood and growing interest in psychoanalysis.

Finally, this chapter explores the place of interviewing in enabling the development of entirely hyperreal, mediated self-identities or "self-brands". Examining how David Bowie used interviewing to breathe Ziggy Stardust to life, offers insights into this simulative nature of stardom, and how journalistic discourses facilitate its displays (3.4). In short, this chapter analyses how celebrity journalism and particularly "dialogic interactions" between celebrities and journalists (Bakhtin 1984) enabled a new, entirely mediated understandings of self-identity – that of "the star" - and how this significantly reshaped celebrity culture, in the age of *The Image* (Boorstin 1961).

3.2: Remnants of Romanticism: WT Stead and the celebrity interview

WT Stead's choice of interviewees emphasised endeavour and offered, "the general community […] an avenue through which to discuss issues of morality – family neighbourhood, of production and consumption" (Marshall 1997: 16). In total just over 10% of analysed *Pall Mall Gazette* interviews were with entertainers, including actors (6), balloonists (2), musicians and singers (2), a magician (1), tightrope walker (1) and a "thought reader" (1). It is in these pieces that relationships between fame and endeavour were best articulated. Only in this area were women featured equally to men and of the 126 *Pall Mall Gazette* interviews analysed (Figure Two (2)), there was only one profession where *more* women were featured than men – acting. Of six interviews with actors, four were women interviewed at home. These were narratives of achievement, with each interview introduced with a discussion of popularity as a reflection of artistry and Stead describing their dress, furnishings, décor and luxury items. Questions focused on stage success, consumer and leisure habits and linked public adoration to descriptions of private self-contemplation, often set in Romanticised settings.

Only one person was interviewed twice - the now largely forgotten American actor Mary Anderson (1859-1940) - and she offers a tantalising embodied link between the old world of the celebrity actress of the London stage and the stars of Hollywood studios. Anderson went on to act on screen and featured in, although sadly was not interviewed by, *Motion Picture Magazine* (1911-1977) following her appearances in the films *Heart of Oak* (1916) and *Eve's Daughter* (1918). In a second interview (December 5, 1883), Anderson and Stead engaged in dialogic image construction, which linked her fame directly to that of Romantic era actresses (see 1.4). She described watching the sunset while leaning on the railings of Sarah Siddons' grave at St Mary's Church, Paddington and contemplating her craft. Stead – with one eyebrow firmly raised -accounted how Anderson swept "into the room with that ease and grace which are remarkable among […] many qualifications for the stage" and the gifts sent as a "tribute to her art", including from the author Henry Irving and the famous English actors "Mr and Mrs Kendal". She showed him "stacks of letters" from "the perfect sea of faces" of her "audience", before casting "them into the fire", declaring, "unmeasured praise…has no value". She then name-dropped Longfellow and his advice when she was "just a girl of fifteen" to "never pass a day without seeing a beautiful picture, reading a beautiful poem or hearing beautiful music". This self-advantaging exchange between journalist and actress aimed to portray Anderson as a star some twenty years before the word was widely used to describe a way of "being" for the famous.

In his exploration of early film stars, deCordova (1990) indicates that stars were invented. Anderson and Stead's dialogic interaction displayed many constitutive elements of later interviews with film stars (see 3.3), for example, beginning with a reference to the journalist and celebrity knowing one another and ending with a moment where he praises

her beauty and talent. As such, deCordova's (1990) argument of the inter-textual construction of stars reflects a preclusive role of print media discourses. Analysing this interview establishes that rather than print media *reacting* to cinema to create picture personalities, performance patterns of stardom drew on long established displays of celebrity in newspapers.

Dyer's (1998 [1979] explorations of the close-up and how actors became more important than their roles, builds from Leo Lowenthal's *The Triumph of Mass Idols* (1961) to emphasise a shift from "endeavour" towards "image" as the dominant discourse of fame. Anderson's self-celebrification was enabled by interviews and photography, and a few weeks after her encounter with Stead, she posed for a series of photographs at a Regent Street studio. Her fame-making exercise was complex, using appearances on stage, discourses of journalism and the new technology of photography to raise her visibility. This endeavour interested WT Stead, who, having used celebritised narratives for his own ends (see 2.3), was supportive of the process. This performance reflects an important shift in individualised visibility, where entertainers were foregrounded as a "person as much as the characters they play" (Dyer 1998: 16), some 30 years before the period when Dyer identified it as shaping Hollywood's promotional practices (3.3). It also links directly to the way the biggest names of the 18th century stage, such as Garrick and Siddons, became more important than their productions or roles, articulated as a reflection of both their artistry *and* their private characters (see 1.4).

Figure One (3): "Miss Mary Anderson as Juliet" (January 1885)

MISS MARY ANDERSON AS "JULIET."

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The narrative of Stead's interview with Anderson had five threads, which are also the constitutive elements of the star: the display of consumerism and fashion; "unique" talent; glimpses of an "ordinary" or "private" person behind a glamorous public image; a Romantic notion of the artistic, authentic self and the display of adoration by audiences, peers and/or journalists. Marshall (1997: 13-14) examines the "private/public, individual/society dichotomy" and the irony that mass media demands performance in order to establish authenticity. Dyer (1979, 1986), Gamson (1994), Turner (2003, 2013) and Rojek (2001, 2012) all, to varying degrees, examine celebrities through the lenses of capitalism and bourgeois individualism. Dyer (1998: 38) expands this to describe how the "image of stardom can be

seen as a version of the American Dream", particularly in relation to themes of consumption

and fashion, success, talent and ordinariness. Jarvie (1990) analyses discourses of stardom,

and identifies common narratives around "striking photographic looks, acting ability,

presence on camera, charm and personality, sex appeal, attractive voice and bearing".

Perhaps it is no accident that Mary Anderson was American, but her persona construction

(Marshall 2010, 2014) - the way she deliberately presented her identity for the specific

purpose of building fame – drew heavily on discourses created by the London's press. The

next section explores how this narrative shaped interviews in Hollywood magazines as they

supported the development of the star and its promotional practices.

3.3: "Keep Young and Beautiful": promotion and persona in early "star" journalism

Anthony Slide's (2010) *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine* details how "fan magazine

writers" shaped Hollywood's promotional cultures, moving quickly from fictional narratives

written around movie scenes to biographies, industry features and interviews. The first "star

interview" in *Motion Picture Story Magazine* was in December 1911, the third edition, and

featured Florence Lawrence of the Lubin Company (Wagensknecht 1997: 24, Dyer 1998: 9).

By 1914 – when we have the earliest surviving editions of *Photoplay* - interviews were a

constant feature. Ponce De Leon's (2002: 40-52) discussion of early 20th Century celebrity

journalism in newspapers and magazines, largely outside the Hollywood bubble, references

the significance of interviews and biographies, but declares the first "celebrity journalism"

as the gossip column. While in *Photoplay* snippets of information about "picture

personalities" were a significant part of content from its launch, it is in interviews that we

best see dialogic interactions (Bakhtin 1984) between celebrities and journalists in order to

mediate self-identity. This section considers content and discourse from more than 40

interviews in *Photoplay* from 1914 until 1944 and argues their role in developing stardom as a means to articulate "what it is to be a human being in contemporary society" (Dyer 1986: 7) in the age of the image (Boorstin 1961).

Connections and changes to interviewing practices from newspapers to Hollywood magazines reflected how stars functioned as models for emulation and consumption. Tuchman (1978), in her analysis of journalistic practice, describes the interview as part of the "consciousness industry", which shapes our thoughts and actions. It is a structured narrative through which celebrities' articulate consumption (Dyer 1998) and effectively articulate capitalist ideology. Stars constantly discussed their relationship with consumer and luxury goods, their beauty regimes and fashions. Richard deCordova (1990: 108) describes how stars were "conspicuously displaying [...] success through material possessions", vividly demonstrating "the idea that satisfaction was not to be found in work but in one's activities away from work – in consumption and leisure." These were dominant themes in interviews with actresses in the Victorian era too, as demonstrated by Stead's interview with Mary Anderson. Another consistent theme related to the relationships between talent and hard work. Against Rojek's (2001) taxonomy these are optimum "achieved" celebrities, describing their journeys from humble beginnings to the lots of the film studios.

Across the forty-year study period, interviews were constructed in the first person narrative, both from the perspective of the journalist and as short celebrity autobiographies. Each of these had by-lines, suggesting journalistic "ghost writing" – a theme returned to later (3.4). The number of "sit-down" interviews peaked in the 1910s, with around seven "players" featured per edition. Early interviews were generally not invasive, describing

stars' home and work lives rather than emotions or relationships. They balanced "the exceptional with the ordinary, the ideal with the fundamentally every day" (Dyer 2001: 34-35), such as through discussions of "keeping house" or "doing the things other girls do" (e.g. "Many Sided Vivian Rich", *Photoplay,* November 1914: 52). They often concluded with a comment about the special qualities of stars, such as "Many sided she is and indeed every side is charming…" (Ibid), similar to how Stead ended his interview with Mary Anderson 30 years earlier.

Richard deCordova links domestic settings for female stars to magazines' broader agendas of demonstrating the link between a stable home and consumerism. Marshall (1997: 8-9) focuses on the rise of movie stars in 1910s as a clear sign of the decline of the 19th Century notion that public prominence was linked to heroism and "great men", although as established in Chapter One, this was challenged in celebrity journalism during the 18th Century (1.2) too. In early Hollywood interviews – as in Stead's interview with Mary Anderson – the journalists worked with their interviewees in a process of celebrification. The "stars", "actors" or "players" often *acknowledged* the way journalistic construction patterns aided their performances of self, in ways which were not necessarily, grounded in reality. For example, in "Why Film Favorites Forsook the Footlights" – part of what deCordova (1990: 102) describes as an effort "to disassociate the film actor from the theatrical model" - there were two such discussions between journalist Johnson Briscoe and "film favorites" Marguerite (Peggy) Snow and Augustus Philips:

"And was Denver your birthplace? I rather stupidly began…"

"Why yes you can say so in print if you like," replied Miss Snow, "though as a matter of fact I generally claim Savannah, GA as my birthplace, though I was really born in Salt Lake City."

………………

I arose to go and my genial interviewee, probably knowing the trials which beset an interviewer's path, said quite seriously

"You might write anything you like, and I'll swear I said it."

But he really did say the things I have set down here.

(*Photoplay,* November 1914: 124-132)

Both the journalists and the actors understand their role in the interview exchange and each are willing to engage in the performance. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman (1956: 13) identified "performance", as any "period marked by […] continuous presence before a particular set of observers", which aims to influence them in some way. As the celebrity interview is a mediated performance it can be replicated and Goffman described how this enables understandings of the patterns and routines which govern how we self-present. By the 1910s, there were well-established practices governing dialogic interactions between journalists and celebrities, designed to construct "truth" (Bakhtin 1984, see 2.3 and methodological framework I.4.2). Every word in these interviews simultaneously informed and was informing the exchange for the specific purposes of both the "star" and the journalist. Following Goffmanian logic, these performances were "cynical"; with neither journalists nor stars believing "the impression of reality" being staged was "the reality" (1956: 10), but constructing realities for their own ends.

Figure Two (3): "I Go-A Calling on the Gish Girls" *Photoplay* **(Dec 1914: 36-37)**
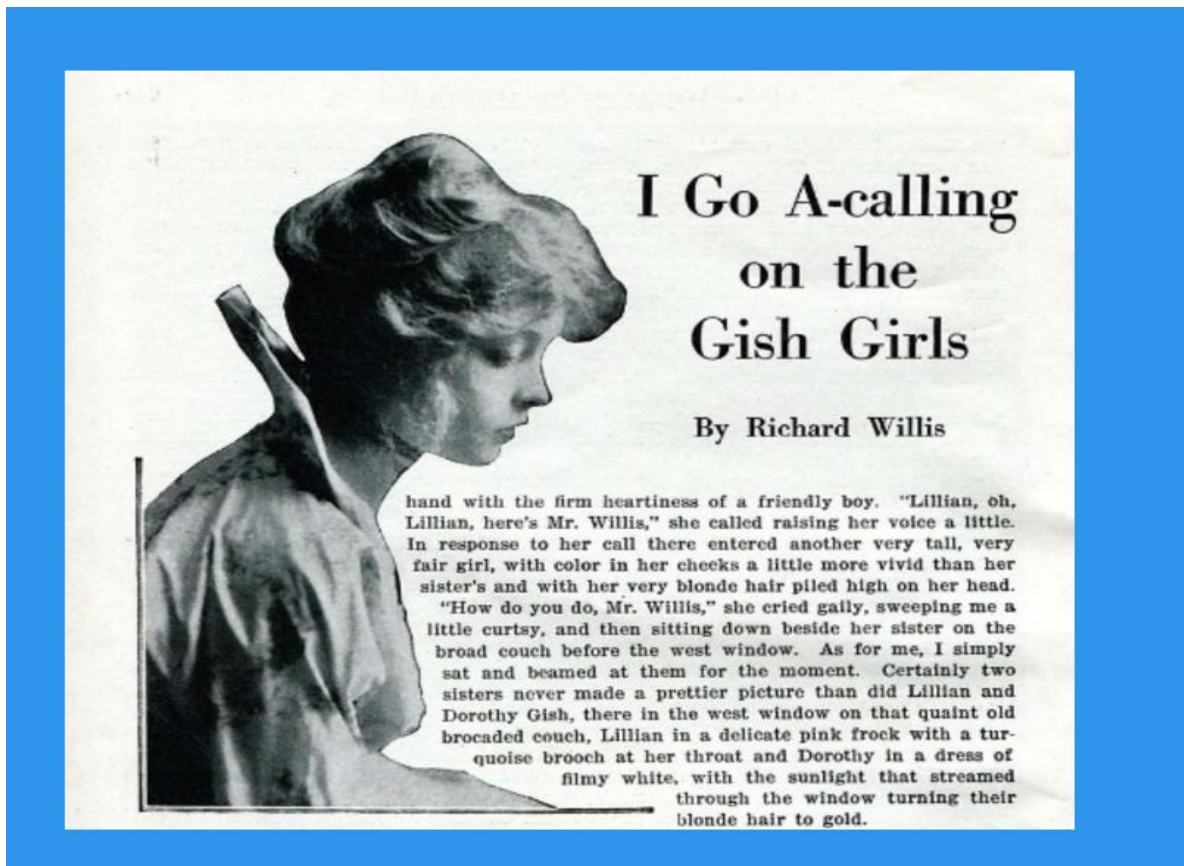
By understanding celebrity interviews as governed by the frameworks of their own performance and production, we can better analyse form, function and purposes. Figure Three (2) shows how journalist Richard Willis and the "Gish Girls" used the "extraordinary" and "ordinary" paradox described by Dyer (2001: 34-35, see also Marshall 1997 and Morin 1960) as part of a celebrification process. His presentation of the "star home" was constructed with "connotation of conventionality, stability and normalcy" (deCordova 1990: 107). Willis framed himself as the dominant force and, quite literally, accounted his "male gaze" (Mulvey 1988), sitting opposite a pretty scene of blonde domesticity. Dorothy Gish attempted to break the gaze, laughing as she told him she finds the term "star" and descriptions of her as "the most beautiful blonde in the world" ridiculous, although ensuring

he knew that she was regarded as such and he, in turn, made sure the reader knew too. Together they constructed a narrative of talent; hard work and beauty, using the established discourses of celebrity journalism (see 3.2 and Chapter One). She declared herself a "hardworking woman" instead of a "girl" and he firmly dismissed this, describing them as "girls" throughout the rest of the piece. Willis and Gish engaged in a complex performance of celebrification -or star making - viewed through a particular lens of white domestic femininity. In the advertising section of this edition of *Photoplay* readers could buy into this vision of stardom with no fewer than 13 products depicting blondes selling products including "arsenic skin wafers" to lighten skin, the "Ivanna Bust Builder" and hair dye. This interview portrayed a very particular vision of stardom: white, blonde and available to buy. Edward Wagensknecht dedicated *Movies in the Age of Innocence* (1962) to Lillian and Dorothy Gish and included an essay he wrote and sent to them in 1927, which had made them friends. Wagensknecht (1997: 251) referenced the dominance of the "blonde" and used Lillian Gish as a contrast to "most girls" who "have definitely outlawed overtones, where everything must be frank and open, everything ruthlessly displayed, no matter how ugly it may be". He compared Gish to the 18th Century actor David Garrick (see 1.3), describing her craft and artistry, and highlighted a shift between the "innocent" blonde and how the "star system" was remoulding women to fit changing expectations of society, particularly as a result of female emancipation.

Goffman (1956: 13–14) described how the "expressive equipment", such as the physical setting where a performance occurs, or the "personal", consisting of items we "most intimately identify with the performers", create a "front". Having identified such a "front" as displayed in the celebrity interview, the next section tracks continuity and

changes to displays of self-identity as a result of the significant socio-cultural shifts of female emancipation, and of the growing interest in psychoanalysis, and demonstrates how these reshaped interviewing's production processes.

3.3.2: Finding the "real self": psychoanalysis and the "star" interview.

Hollywood's fascination with psychoanalysis in the 1920s and 1930s - and particularly Freudian explorations of the self - is well documented. Cinema and psychoanalysis both emerged at the end of the 19th century and deCordova (1990: 143) discusses whether this was "meaningless coincidence" or reflective of a "historical shift in ideas of selfhood, images and desire". As the cinema industry converged in Hollywood, it became a hive of activity for therapy; perhaps reflecting attempts to reconcile "self" with the constructed and mediated images of being, which dominated the town. In 1924, Freud rejected a $100,000 offer from studio owner Samuel Goldwyn (1879-1974) to advise on scripts and film productions on the issue of relationships between men and women (Scull 2015: online) and to "commercialise his study and write a story for the screen". Scull (2015), Dyer (1986, 1998), Marshall (1997) and deCordova (1990) each reference the significance of psychoanalysis on films and stars. Marshall (1997: 14) discusses how increased knowledge of Freudian analysis influenced celebrities' "ability to engage the spectator" in a form of identification. Dyer (1986: 8) uses psychoanalysis ("the radical splitting of consciousness into fragmentary parts"); behaviourism (human beings are "controlled by instinctual appetites"); and linguistic models of communication (it is not "we who speak the language, but the language which speaks us"); in order to consider how stars "articulate…ideas of personhood". As an example, he describes Marilyn Monroe's performance of female sexuality as entirely dependent on male sexuality, *because of* the influence of Freudian analysis.

By the 1920s, interviews aimed to show celebrities "as they really" were (Ponce De Leon 2002: 56). This provided Hollywood with an effective mechanism for promotion, grounded in displays of individualised identity. Between the 1920s and 1940s, interviews with stars in *Photoplay* decreased, but there was increased use of direct speech gathered from other mechanisms of newsgathering, such as press releases, junkets and red carpet coverage. This change reflected the expansion of newsgathering practices across American print media (Ponce De Leon 2002: 42- 75) and professionalised promotional practices. Hollywood became the third "largest news source in the USA by the 1930s" with more "discourse around…private lives and intimate relationships" (Evans 2005: 34). Richard deCordova (1990: 12) describes journalism as "providing the institutional setting for much, if not most, of the discourse on stars". Against the backdrop of this busy news landscape, celebrity culture became an ever more visible phenomenon, but interviews remained the place in it where stars could articulate who they "really" were.

Figure Three (3): "Why I've Never Married" (*Photoplay,* January 1924: 30-31, cont: 118-119)

Two Famous Screen Stars—A Man and A Woman—Tell Their Reasons

Why I Have Never Married

By Bebe Daniels

By Richard Dix
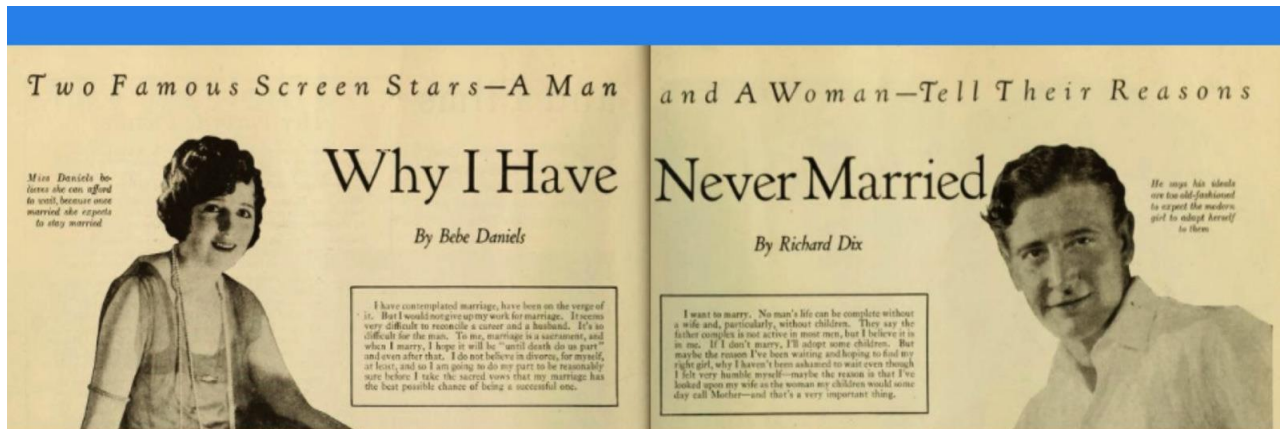
Men as a rule want their wives for themselves. Not only do they want their time and attention, but they want their thoughts. Men for centuries have been trained to expect their wives to be subordinate to them, financially, professionally – that they should stay at home, bear children and conduct the house.

But if a girl who has worked conscientiously for years and attained any degree of prominence and success in her profession, she isn't satisfied to abandon her ambitions any more than a man would be satisfied to give up his.
It is tremendously difficult for the man. I understand that. They are seeing what has been their traditions, their very world, tumble down around them.

I suppose the truth is, though my masculine ego hates to admit it, is that the real reason is that no woman has ever been sufficiently in love with me to ever want to marry me. If one had been, she would have.

A man is paralyzed by her many attractions, her understandableness, her mystery. Curiosity drives him into unbelievable experiments. I believe most men marry to try to solve the mystery. They think if they can possess a woman, live with her constantly, they shall find the answer to the eternal riddle Perhaps it is one of those riddles without an answer

I have awfully old-fashioned ideas about marriage. That's the trouble with me. I admire the modern girl and the modern woman tremendously. I look up to her and appreciate all she has done for humanity and all she has done to improve herself. But – I can't always reconcile her with my idea of marriage.

Jessica Evans (2005: 34) describes a shift at the beginning of the 1920s, with the emergence of industrialised methods for presenting "public personalities that literally had lives of their own outside the text of the films they starred in". Stars could reveal themselves as different to their screen image and perhaps could even become more marketable as a result. The star's "market function" is as an asset, not just for the individual person, but also for studios, agents, brand owners and associated industries such as news and magazine media (Dyer 1986: 5). Richard deCordova (1990: 9) places this against a view of celebrity, which sees it as fatalistic – based on "charisma, beauty, exceptional talent, and luck". The constitutive elements of celebrity interviews up until this period reflect both of these visions of stardom and were governed essentially by those five aspects identified from Stead's interview with Mary Anderson. These are display of consumerism and fashion; description of "unique" talent; the idea of the "ordinary" or "private" person behind the image; a Romanticized notion of artistic authentic soul and the display of adoration by both audiences, peers and/or journalists. By exploring how self-analysis reshaped interviewing, we can identify how shifting ideas around identity changed the dialogic interactions of journalism and, by extension, celebrity culture.

Both Dyer (1986) and Marshall (1997: 17) explore how stars work as "ideological" centres for capitalist societies and at the same time register the anxieties of self-identity within them. As female stars displayed increased independence and economic emancipation, discussions and representations of marriage became "ever present" in Hollywood fan magazines (deCordova 1990). In "Why I Never Married" (see Figure Three (3)) that narrative was deconstructed. The piece, while presented in the first person, was produced using the practices of interviewing. Both actors spoke directly to each other's viewpoints, discussing

the difficulties of stardom and how they were unable to find a loving marriage - Dix because he cannot find a girl who wants to be a "traditional wife" and Bebe Daniels because the men she meets want her to give up her career. The role politicised "citizenry" plays in this performance is complex. While for deCordova (1990: 111) political aspects were not "developed elaborately" in fan magazines, this performance clearly had socio-political purpose in discussing changes to male and female traditional roles.

This interview explored female suffrage and emancipation, but allowed the audience to decide whether it was a good thing. Bebe Daniels was portrayed as happier than Richard Dix, but she also longed to be a wife and mother and could not find love. Discourses of psychoanalysis influenced the construction of this narrative. Dix referenced his "father complex" (*Photoplay*, Jan 1924: 119) and its impacts on his relationships. Bebe Daniels discussed how "most women, feel that, until they have borne a child, they have not fulfilled the cycle of existence nor touched the highest point of being" (Ibid: 30). They used terminology directly from Sigmund Freud's (1856-1939) theories of male and female fulfilment and sexual development as discussed in *The Father Complex and the Solution of the Rat Idea* (1909) and *Totem and Taboo* (1911-1912). Either the stars themselves or the ghost journalist who has written this piece - and my best guess would be on the latter given linguistic similarities of the discourses and the fact they speak directly to one another - used Freudian language to construct this narrative. This article also demonstrates that one of the first constitutive elements of celebrity journalism, as discussed in Chapter One (1.3), was sustained from the 18th century to the 20th century press. The piece was still an articulation of what Taylor (1989: 211) described as the "affirmation of ordinary life", focused around relationships between production, including consumerism and economic freedoms, and

reproduction, including family and children. The shift during this period, I would argue,

because of the popularity of psychoanalysis, is that this narrative was also analysed and

deconstructed.

Figure Four (3): "The Girl with Hypnotic Eyes" (*Photoplay,* Feb 1924: 54-48, cont: 127-128)

The Girl with Hypnotic Eyes

What is the weird quality possessed by Sylvia Breamer which enables her almost to read one's thoughts and which seems to set her apart, even from her real self?
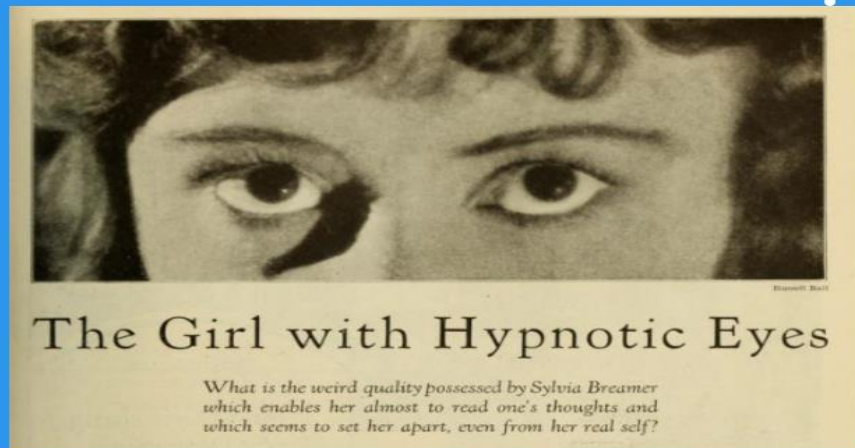
Bland Johaneson:

I challenged her, "Sylvia Breamer, you're a diviner..."

My accusation, half serious, half jocular brought from Sylvia a grave and convincing account of this curious power with which she had been endowed...

There is a law in Australia, which forbids the entrance of blacks into the country for sojourns extending over six months. The little girl was to endure the first hardship of the magnificent quantity. Fate had in store for her, the separation from the devoted nurse she loved. The old soul shared the child's anguish. But life and law are inextricable and little Sylvia heard her friend consign her to the mercy of Fate and promise that the psychic bond between them should acquire elasticity to encompass the furthest corners of this world or another...

She was the quickest subject the doctor every had imposed his will upon – that is she was able to discard her own violation and read other people's minds with miraculous ease. The doctor predicted a brilliant future for her...

Sylvia Breamer:

"I wasn't eating much in those days. Times were hard..."

"It was snowing. I never had seen snow. It thrilled and bewildered me, The street was deserted. As I stepped down I slipped and bumped all the way to the bottom. My head was split completely across the back. I passed out. Then as I regained consciousness I opened my eyes and the eyes that stared into them seemed familiar, although I had never seen them before in my life. I felt secure.

"Then when I was out of danger he went away and I never saw him again. He was a Hindoo."

"I believe in thought transference and often just for fun uses to impose my will on a voluntary subject. My will is...strong."

While Freudian logic has been used to analyse shifts in news values (Kovach and Rosensteil (2007) and celebrity display (Marshall 1997), explorations of how it influenced celebrity journalism are scarce. The interview in Figure Four, produced by journalist Bland Johaneson with actress Sylvia Breamer (1897-1943), reflects how psychoanalysis became linked to *how the interview works* as a dialogic mechanism to establish "truth" (Bakhtin 1984). Johaneson's dialogic interaction with Breamer - "The Girl with Hypnotic Eyes" - used interviewing as a framework to situate her fantastical performance of self, in a similar way to how Goffman (1956) described how "fronts" and "expressive equipment" support the presentation of self in every day encounters. Carl Jung's explorations of fantasy, experience, the occult and desire were referenced in this interview with linguistic specificity, with Johaneson framed as analyst and Breamer as patient, describing the hardships of her life and their impact. Breamer's discussion of psychic elasticity was a reference particularly to Jung's research into psychic abilities because of personal tragedy. Her account of mystical experiences, which have shaped both her inner being and the outer appearance of it - her "hypnotic eyes" - described the transformative journey – the on-going process of *individuation* – which allows the integration of the "psyche" with the "real self". Furthermore, this was highlighted as the *purpose* of this interview as outlined by Johaneson in the "stand-first" introductory paragraph. Using celebrity interviews as a grounding mechanism for truth, allowed both the journalist and the subject to explore Jungian logic, and the relationships between fantasy, reality and self.

The celebrity interview facilitated representations of stars and discussions of the *potential impacts* of stardom, drawing on methods and language of psychoanalysis. By the 1930s, interviews with stars were less frequent and more detailed, averaging just one or

two per edition. During this period, the voices of the journalist and psychiatrist became

increasingly intertwined, often as compensation for the reduction in direct access, as

evidenced in Figure Three. For example, in *Phantom Daddies of the Screen* (January 1934) a

journalist interviewed bereaved children and estimated the psychological impact of them

being able to see the moving image of their dead parent – a new phenomena enabled by

cinema.

Figure Five (3): Celebrity Journalism as psychiatric evaluation (*Photoplay,* January 1934)
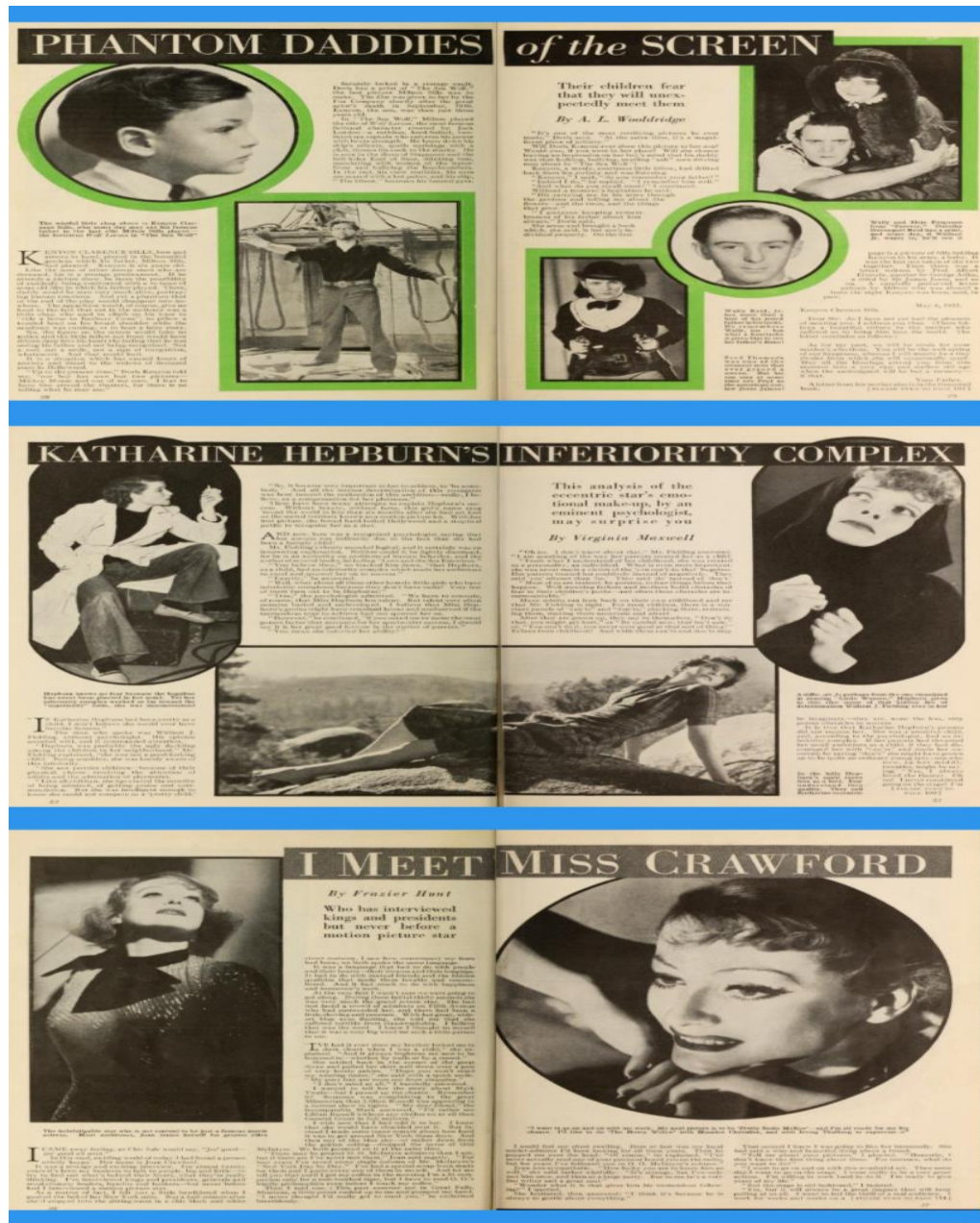
In the same edition psychologist William Fielding analysed the behaviour of Katharine Hepburn (*Photoplay*, January 1924: 32-33). He described her as having an "inferiority complex", a concept developed by Alfred Adler (1870-1937) in direct response to Freud's work on psyche and childhood experience, before concluding with the journalist that she would not have become a star if she were "pretty as a child". An interview with Joan Crawford, in the same edition, discussed claustrophobia stemming from childhood trauma, and her struggles with the invasive nature of fame. These interviews moved discourses of the private away from superficial descriptions of domestic spaces as in earlier interviews, to discussions of innermost, secret self, and this appears to be a direct reflection of increased interest in psychoanalysis in Hollywood and print cultures.

However, unpicking star's carefully constructed self-images in this way often reduced the promotional benefit of the interview itself, and ultimately the cultural intermediaries employed by studios to promote films and stars rejected these deep insights into the private self. As they looked for methods to influence how journalists represented stars, they reduced the number of interviews but increased press releases and conferences, junkets, and organised places for journalists to stand by the side of red carpets (Turner 2014: 33-49, Hesmondhalgh 2005: 97-134). This aimed to take complete control of the star image. While there were fewer interviews in *Photoplay* because of these changes, increased direct speech from stars via other means, masked this significant change in journalist/celebrity interaction. The studio system acted as both enabler and protector, using journalists to create and maintain stars and controlling their entry points for doing so. As a result, a new construction pattern for interviewing - the Q & A - emerged. For example, in "Truth or Consequences with Irene Dunne" (*Photoplay,* July 1942*),* the journalist put together a series

of questions, forwarded to Dunne, quite likely via the studio. The journalist had no direct

contact – no dialogic interaction - and even gave Dunne a get out clause for difficult

questions – the ability to take "consequences". This promotional moment is one of

complete safety for Dunne. The journalist Kay Proctor may have positioned herself as the

"conductor" of the exchange, but Dunne - or perhaps even a publicist answering the

questions for her - chose what she answered. This interview was still a "kind of self-

advantaging exchange" as described by Andrew Wernick in *Promotional Culture* (1990: 81),

but one in which the journalist's power was significantly diminished.

<u>Figure Six (3): "Truth or Consequences with Irene Dunne" (*Photoplay*, July 1942)</u>

In the next part of this examination of the role of the celebrity interview in the

formation of stardom, I explore how the thematic priorities and the performance

frameworks of the celebrity interview - and the power dynamics between journalists and stars – were so established that by the early 1970s, they could even be used to bring fictional stars to life. Through an examination of how David Bowie used and subverted the performance patterns, or front, of the celebrity interview and used them alongside extraordinary imagery developed by displays of Hollywood stardom, I argue this facilitated his ability to eclipse his "real self" with the hyperreal star character of Ziggy Stardust.

3.4: "I could make a transformation as a rock & roll star"[18]: hyperreality and the star/journalist exchange

Ziggy Stardust was a multi-faceted star created with what Weber (1947 in Eldridge 1971: 229) might describe as "charismatic authority", allowing "followers of disciples" "to accept him as a valid symbol for their age. The marketing campaign devised by Bowie and his "cultural impresario" Tony Defries, centred on his "capacity to express ambiguity and change" (Rojek 2001: 134) and used numerous interactions with music and news journalists to help establish him as a star. Bowie was, by trade, an advertising artist and understood the position of celebrity and stars in the "manipulation of the market…with the manipulations of advertising" (Dyer 1986: 12). He was also interested in how stars could represent "alternative values systems" (Ibid: 72) – his name drawn from Jim Bowie, the Texan rebel in the film *The Alamo*, (Chan 2016) and star imagery, as evident in the *Hunky Dory* (1971) album cover, which depicted him as a blonde Hollywood pin up. Cinque (2013: 401) defines Bowie's brand as questioning normative behaviour "sanity, identity and…what it means to be us". Understanding the role of news media in building star-brands that explore alternative identities, offers important insights into how journalists not only promote

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[18] "Star", *Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars,* 1973

celebrities' capitalist endeavours, but also use them to explore morality during periods of socio-cultural change.

Analysing Bowie's interactions with journalists during the 16 months Ziggy Stardust period (1972-1973) offers opportunities to explore his performance of a "star self" who blurred lines between marketing, art, simulation, and reality and the significance of dialogic interaction in this process. In total 52 archived interviews from UK and US music publications[19] were examined. More than 160 articles referencing Bowie from the tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mirror* from January 1972 to December 1976 were also analysed, although only those from the Ziggy period are included here. Ziggy was launched with "a preliminary publicity build up", similar to those organised by studio publicists in Hollywood (Harris 1957: 46 in Dyer 1998: 12). This began in a *Melody Maker* (1926-2000) interview in January 1972, which was published three weeks before Ziggy's first appeared on stage [20] and six months before the release of *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* (1972).

This interview has become a canon of Bowie fandom because it was the first time he declared he was "gay and always had been, even when he was David Jones", (*Melody Maker*, January 22, 1972: 19). His performance was visual and journalist Michael Watts, who interviewed Bowie at least four times during between 1970 and 1978, remarked that he looked notably different from the last time they met. The performance was also linguistic, using words such as "varda", a term from science fiction. However, while creating the

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[19] All those on the *Five Years, Rock's Front Pages* and *Bowie's Golden Years*, archives
[20] On February 10, 1972 Bowie took to the stage of to showcase Ziggy material to a small number of assembled music press. While he was not yet a superstar, he established Ziggy was, complete with screaming fans (Bowie's wife Angie reportedly stood at the front of the stage and screamed hysterically throughout the performance and entourage of "a group of camp fans" who filled "small venues".

illusion of "being Ziggy", Bowie was also keen to explain to the journalist the creative process and how he was acting the part, describing himself as "more an actor and entertainer than a musician" and that he may be "only be an actor and nothing else." This appearance offered his first opportunity to test the potency of the Ziggy brand: its look, language and back-story. It proved so successful that, in retrospect, Bowie was thrilled with its impact, describing it as "hilarious", because it served his purpose of "drawing bigger audiences than we had ever drawn" (*Camp Rock*, July 1973). This dialogic exchange both made Ziggy a reality and gave him "value of visibility" (Redmond and Holmes 2007: 5) and in doing so, highlighted the celebrity interview as a significant mechanism for the making of stars.

It is tempting to read Bowie's revelation through a framework of "ideas around sexuality that circulated" during the period (Dyer 1986: 17). The early 1970s were a time where, at the very least, the discussion of different gender roles and sexualities was possible. *Melody Maker* had announced 1972, the "year of the transvestite" and Ziggy was launched a little more than a year after London's first gay rights marches. He embodied the potent sexual and social changes of the time, showing how gender can be "performatively produced" with identity "the effect of the performance and not vice versa" (Longhurst 2007: 181). However, *Melody Maker* journalist Michael Watts questioned the authenticity of Bowie's "coming out", and whether he was "shrewdly exploit[ing] the confusion surround the male and female roles**."** He also, prophetically, discussed the potential power of this "…expression of his sexual ambivalence" in establishing "a fascinating game: is he, or isn't he?" It is a game which journalists were still playing 44 years later, with dozens of publications asking in the

week after Bowie died, "Was David Bowie Gay" (see *Billboard* January 14 2016*, New York Times,* January 13 2016, *Slate,* January 14 2016).

Whether Bowie – or rather David Jones – was bi, homosexual, or neither, is irrelevant if we view this moment as primarily the launch of a promotional strategy centred around using journalists to create a hyperreal star. Ziggy Stardust was gay; in the same way, as he was already a star with a high-fashion wardrobe, entourage and screaming fans, before he had released a record. Throughout his Ziggy interviews Bowie hinted that being gay was part of a performance. For example, In *Newsweek* he declared "…sexual nature is irrelevant...I'm an actor, I play roles, fragments of myself." (October 9, 1972). The *insignificance of reality* and the idea of Ziggy as a "star" character is evident in other facets of his promotion. For example, Bowie and Defries employed a team of people you might expect in in Ziggy's entourage. Including an "extraordinary woman called Cherry Vanilla" (Bowie 1998: *5 Years* Online Archive), a former Warhol starlet. She produced promotional materials for print publications, including a column written as Ziggy Stardust for a "teeny magazine..." (Ibid). She melded her own experiences with his, such as his train journey across Siberia in April 1973, to create a narrative of Ziggy/Bowie's life (Bowie 1998, *5 Years* Archive). Allowing journalists and publicists to ghost write in the voice of the star, as we have already seen, was an established method of print production. In this instance, Bowie allowed Cherry Vanilla to perform as Ziggy, using journalistic discourse to govern the performance. Pulling the wool over the eyes of young fans did not trouble him because, as an invented character, he saw no reason why someone else could not "play the part" of Ziggy Stardust too.

The "Bowie/Ziggy" star was ridiculed and vilified by mainstream news journalists who constructed news stories about him in order to specifically to challenge the cultural changes

he represented. As a potential risk to stability of identity, they entered into the celebritised discourse of "attack journalism", the origins of which were explored in Chapter Two. However, both supportive and hostile news media, equally helped maintain the illusion of the star character. As such, considering them as part of a co-existing rounded rhetoric supporting the promotion of Ziggy, indicates why Bowie and his manager Defries valued interactions with both supportive and non-supportive journalists.

For example, *Daily Mirror* reporter Deborah Thompson, produced dozens of articles describing stage-shows, relationships, and collaborations. She was initially supportive, because his "camp" stage persona was just an act - he was really "plain David Jones back home in Beckenham, Kent" living happily with "his wife Angie and baby son Zowie" (*Daily Mirror*, January 22, 1973: 14-15). However, as lines between Bowie and Ziggy were blurred, Thompson's articles became increasingly hostile, with clear distinctions between "us", the good folk who write and read the *Daily Mirror* and "him", viewed as a perversion. Sonwalker (2001: 268) describes how "binary features prominently" in both "newsroom discourse among news workers", but also "in news content", building on Gans' arguments (1980: 182) that journalists are unable to leave their conscious personal values at home". Deborah Thompson, a young woman working in the highly masculine world of 1970s tabloid journalism, conformed to the rhetoric around homosexuality that were norms in both newsrooms and news publications.

Recent studies of news discourse related to transgender people offers interesting insights into how this worked. Serano (2007: 15) argues that it is not transphobia but trans-misogyny at work, because language is often highly gendered, focusing on both female inferiority and sexuality. Siebler (2012) argues that journalists reinforce rigid gender binaries of masculinity

and femininity in their content of trans-people. In the *Daily Mirror* this was achieved linguistically through the use of multiple adjectives. In a piece headlined "Has the Star Gone too far", Thompson describes Bowie as a "bizarre high priest" of music and how he "behaves more like a soho stripper than a top pop-star" as he "bumps […] grinds[…]waggles his hips *(Daily Mirror*, May 22 1973*)*. The word "bizarre" was used in almost every piece and usually in the lead paragraph. Bowie was described as "camp" (October 30, 1973: 11); "odd" (December 28 1973: 5); a "weirdo" (April 25, 1973: 11); "dangerous" (June 26 1973: 7). Children were sent home from school as they were copying his hair (September 11 1973: 5). One mum's letter was given a half page in the news section, because of her anxiety that Bowie was sexualising and corrupting her pre-teen daughter (October 2 1973: 11). Even "religious", "clean" Cliff Richard commented, writing "This Rotten Pop" where he questioned what Bowie was "trying to prove" and why he is "effeminate" despite having a "wife and child" (June 19 1973: 23). For the *Daily Mirror* staff Bowie challenged the norms of the heterosexual, masculine society they as journalists inhabited and as such was ridiculed and condemned. This 20th century example of the sustained news discourse of "attack journalism" (see 2:3 for discussion in relation to Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire and Thomas Paine) was, essentially, misogynistic. Certainly, Thompson's descriptions of Bowie as a sex industry worker are a reinforcement of gendered behaviour. The *Daily Mirror's* representation of Bowie enters classic "Male Gaze" (Mulvey 1988) territory, with Bowie, presented as a highly gendered image articulated in response to the demand of male ideology about masculinity and female sexuality. This rhetoric enforces hegemonic power in regards to gender and female sexuality as well as homosexuality. After all, to "bump and grind" is to behave the whore. Bowie has "Gone to Far", in the eyes of the *Daily Mirror,* because he is behaving like the worst kind of woman.

Despite their clear hostility, Bowie continued to interact with the *Mirror*, offering sound bites and quotes, speaking to them from the side of the stage and allowing their photographers in to capture Ziggy's performances. The newspaper may have engaged in a process of "othering" but he enabled it by being willing to play "the other". Bowie was complicit, or at very least a knowing participant, in their misogynistic and homophobic portrayal of him. The question becomes, why? The first possibility was that it suited his purpose. The tension between the music press in celebrating his artistry and the news press in condemning his overt, troubling sexuality, were equally useful because *they maintained the illusion that Ziggy was real*. Both discourses worked together to blur the line between Bowie and Ziggy, supporting both the artistry and the commercial ends of the project. However, given Bowie and his wider circles' much documented discussions of how he was completely consumed by Ziggy, there is another possibility - he accepted this rabid tabloid othering as something they must both endure, in order to co-exist. Tanja Stark (2016: 84) highlights the influence of Carl Jung – and Jung's ideas around real self – in terms of Bowie's own performances. She discusses Bowie's own references to Jung and their similar interests in the occult and UFOs, in psychoanalysis and mysticism. This, she argues, demonstrates his performances as a process of "*individuation*", a psychological journey of emergence, transformation and centred integration of the psyche within a holistic "*self*". How celebrity journalism facilitated a hyperreality where Ziggy and Bowie merged as one "self" - one individual - through processes of celebrification and by means of interactions with journalists, is explored next.

3.4.1: It's no longer an act; I am him."[21]: star as simulacra

New found societal freedoms to discuss sexual and gendered norms *and* established social,

linguistic, thematic and professional patterns framing interactions between celebrities and

journalists, enabled the success of Ziggy. Simon Frith (1998: 205) notes that the use of

persona functions by "objectifying the artist as the medium of the art [and by] subjectifying

the artist as the site of the narrative". Ziggy was framed "*within* the everyday" (original

emphasis, Frith 1998: 207), using interactions with journalists to complete the narrative.

Frith's (1998: 208) example of telling jokes highlights the complexity in such an undertaking,

explaining how the **performer** needs to be *skilled enough with the language* to engage with

the performance and how the **audience** needs *to be able to recognize and interpret* the

language of the performance. The celebrity interview now had fully formed conventions and

constructions governing both sides of exchange and was harnessed as a news production/

promotional process. Without this established discourse, the creation of multi-dimensional

and iconoclastic Ziggy star character would have been impossible. Bowie's own

understanding of this is no better evidenced than by the fact that it was in an interview that

he unveiled his created "star". He was able to "play the part" because there is a mediatized

framework and established discourse in which he could situate this performance.

   Harold Innis (1951) and Marshall McLuhan (1964) tracked the impact of media on social

development, specifically in relation to the emergence of modernity. In interviews Bowie

referenced McLuhan's studies of media as a specific influence on the creation of space alien

rock god Ziggy (e.g. *New Musical Express*, 24 February 1973: Online). For Giddens (1991: 24)

McLuhan and Innis established "modernity" and experience within it as "inseparable from

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[21] Liner Notes Santa *Monica Live* 1972 [2008 reissue]

its own media: the printed text and subsequently the electronic signal." These "re-organise time and space" (ibid: 24), and "the media does not mirror realities, but in some part form them" (ibid: 27). His discussion of the significance of "the notion of lifestyle", particularly in relation to standardizing influences such as commodification and consumerism, links to how the celebrity interview can work as a dialogic interaction that produces the "truth" of lived experience (Bakhtin 1984).

Marshall (1997: 11) draws on Baudrillard's concepts of simulacrum and "ecstasy of communication" (1997: 11) to argue that certain codes used by celebrities are specific to film, television, or the concert stage. He claims there is an issue "around the ultimate freedom of the sign from the trappings of permanent value". However, with Ziggy, we were faced with a fictional star, created as art and brought to life through the blurring of lines with a real human being. Ziggy moved beyond the reflection of basic reality into the fourth stage of Baudrillardian simulation – a pure simulacrum – "because he has "eclipse[d] previous versions of reality and become the reality" (1983: 36). Lindridge and Eagar (2015: 3) discuss how celebrities can become "image prisoners" and the narrative that emerged was one of Bowie himself becoming a prisoner of Ziggy's image during this period. Interactions with media not only formed discourses that were the "basic reflection of reality" (Baudrillard 1983: 36), but also moved beyond, into a realm of hyperreality where the Ziggy character *was the reality* for audiences. Analysing Ziggy's star identity as a "cosmic yob" against the framework of Baudrillard's ideas, demonstrates clearly how hyperreality can occur. Baudrillard argues:

The conquest of space that follows that of the planet is equal to de-realising

(dematerializing) human space, or to transferring it into a hyperreal or simulation. Witness

this two- bedroom/kitchen/shower put in to orbit, raised to a spatial power one could say,

with the most recent lunar module. The everydayness of the terrestrial habitat itself

elevated to the rank of cosmic value… the era of hyperreality begins. (1983: 124). [22]

In interviews, Bowie articulated every day experiences and sexual desires of a man, against

the backdrop of the narrative of an alien rock God, producing a simulated hyperreal self

through a process similar to what Baudrillard describes. Ziggy was expressed simultaneously

in the grounded language of man's most basic desires and in the language of the cosmos.

Bowie, and at times the journalists interviewing him, embarked on linguistic flights of

fantasy together. For example, Bowie and Charles Shaar Murray, who interviewed him

several times during this period, discussed black holes in time and space:

The question of black holes is another concept that Bowie finds intriguing.

"Yes, absolutely fabulous. There's one just outside New York."

Elizabeth, New Jersey, no doubt. I inform Bowie that I became antimatter myself, after passing through this fearsome town in the late summer of 1970.

"Yes really? You went through it? There must have been quite a few losses."

David's smooth acceptance of this particular bizarre flight of fantasy threw me so completely that I forgot my next question, a fact which he noted with conceived amusement.

(New Musical Express, January 27, 1973)

This exchange elevates the "terrestrial habitat" of both the interview process and the

mutual experience of travelling through small town America, to "the rank of cosmic value"

as Baudrillard describes. The "dimension of the real" is key to the establishment of the

hyperreal, as it is that which ultimately destroys illusion. This "hologrammatic" dialogic

discourse "abolishes the game of illusion by the perfection of the reproduction, in the virtual

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[22] In the video for Survive (1999), Bowie created this moment from Baudrillard's work, standing in an ordinary house as it is lifted in to space and gravity collapses.

rendition of the real. And so we witness the extermination of the real by its double"

(Marshall 1997: 9), in this instance, the replacement of Bowie with the star Ziggy.

Similar to Christine Gledhill's (1991) discussions of the political function of stars, music journalists allowed Bowie to enact Ziggy to *critique* individualism, consumerism and stereotyping. Ziggy was a hyperreal creation, grounded in the themes of the celebrity interview as a mechanism for star creation. He also embodied traditional discourses of celebrity culture, particularly in relation to consumerism. This was linguistically defined as "decadence" and discussions of the term evidence further game-play between Bowie and journalists. For example, *Melody Maker*'s Roy Hollingworth and Bowie/Ziggy threw back and forth the blame for the term "decadent rock". Was it Bowie's fault for extravagant costumes and the gold Rolls Royce? Or Hollingworth's who, possibly, built his career by coining the term (May 12, 1973)? In the end they acknowledged complicity in establishing the cultural reference. Two weeks later Bowie discussed "decadence" again, with Ray Fox-Cumming for *Disc* magazine (May, 1973). Bowie and Cummings raised a mutual eyebrow at its "absurdity" and "both start[ed] giggling". Offering Cummings a "good last line", Bowie described decadence as taking his Rolls Royce to Yves St Laurent to buy a mundane pair of grey socks. Using the construction patterns of the interview (the last line), he blurred lines between his real self (a man who wears grey socks) and the fantastical Ziggy. In doing so he also disaggregated his "person as stable ego, from the fluid shifting self" (Dyer 1986: 9), by poking fun at the performance. The Bowie/Ziggy creation was visibly unstable, using the forms and narrative structures of interviewing as a mechanism of individuation and then subverting them.

This was visualised in images of Bowie/Ziggy used by both music and mainstream news publications. For example, the front-cover of *Circus* magazine (July 1973) for an interview with Bowie during his US tour that year, overlaid two very different images, both taken by Mick Rock. In the main image, Bowie appears very much the "cosmic yob" - masculine and sexually aggressive - looking straight to camera with punk indifference. Eye make-up and a super-imposed earring, in which a softer, Bowie sits at his dressing table, subvert this masculine image. His back is to the viewer, but his face is reflected in the mirror with a fixed gaze on those watching him dress.

<u>Figure Seven (3): Ziggy Stardust wearing David Bowie as an earring (*Circus*, July 1973) and close up of "earring" image.</u>

There are therefore three Ziggy/Bowie figures in the image, drawing together and offering insight into the varying dimensions of the hyperreal character. The image is both masculine and feminine, playing with gender and ideas of sexuality with a made-up Bowie, complete

with beautiful eye shadow, more masculine than the clean faced one. It also places a recognisable symbol of Ziggy –the oversized earring – and uses it to as a window into the private self behind the public mask. This Bowie, in satin dressing gown, without make-up or hair product, is offered as a glimpse of the "real" man. This performance is also symbolically linked to "decadent" consumerism, through the placement of gilded jewellery, mirrors or porcelain and the jewels on the earring itself.

In his coffee table picture book *The Rise of David Bowie 1972-1973* (2016), photographer Mick Rock describes this particular photo-shoot as "magical […] for both of us, the results cementing our friendship and guaranteeing my role in the great scheme of things". Like Defries, Cherry Vanilla and the numerous journalists with whom Bowie interacted, sometimes several times, Rock was another labourer for the celebrifying production processes needed to develop the Ziggy star creation. Baudrillard (1997: 30) argues that the best possible photographic subjects are those who have found their "obsessive form, their idiosyncratic identity, their narcissistic figuration". This describes Bowie's relationship with Ziggy as captured in Rock's pictures and their re-imagination by *Circus* magazine. Real Bowie is trapped in the earring of the aggressive Ziggy, but by being so, they together became a fantastical star subject for both the photographer and probing journalist. As Dyer (1986: prologue) describes when analysing an image of Joan Crawford in front of her dressing table, "logically, no aspect of this picture, is more real than another," but the smaller image encourages us to think in terms of "really". Bowie uses familiar discourses for star representation to guide audiences to see this is as reality. By placing this image in Ziggy's earring, *Circus* makes it clear, that for them, it is "cosmic yob" Ziggy rather than a private Bowie who is dominant.

This section began with a discussion of who was in charge. Was it Bowie as producer and image creator, cynically using gay rights and allowing journalists to be abusive for his own commercial end? Or was he so overtaken by Ziggy that he became his slave, willing to put up with the torment to be a star? This image encapsulates that dichotomy as described by Hegel (in Taylor 1975:156) in that the "man-made environment" has "come to reflect him [and]…is made up of his creations". Charles Shaar Murray put this question directly to Bowie, asking whether Ziggy was more important than his creator, and Bowie confirmed that he thought so, and that he was "a vehicle for something else" (*New Musical Express*, 27 January 1973). Mead argued there is a "veridical self" represented by "the I", and "the self as seen by others" represented by the "Me" (in Rojek 2001: 11) and that the pressures of commercial success can lead to the blurring of the celebrity's public and private selves by media. When this occurs, the personality can experience identity confusion or even worse, a "clinical or sub-clinical loss of identity". This idea is certainly something that Bowie himself articulated in 1977, while promoting *Low:*

"My whole personality was affected. Again I brought that upon myself.

*"I can't say I'm sorry when I look back, because it provoked such an extraordinary set of circumstances in my life. I thought **I might as well take Ziggy to interviews as well**. Why leave him on stage? Looking back it was completely absurd.*

"It became very dangerous. I really did have doubts about my sanity.

<div align="right">(Melody Maker, 29 October 1977)</div>

With hindsight, Bowie seemed particularly aware of the fact that he became secondary to Ziggy because he took him to "interviews as well". Taking Ziggy to interviews was part of the "grand kitsch painting" (Ibid) of stardom he was creating. However, his discussion also revealed that, even though he "put [him]self dangerously near the line", it was ultimately

worth it because it "provoked such an extraordinary set of circumstances" and made him a star.

3.5: *How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?*

When Schickel (1985) and later Turner (2013) built on Boorstin's discussion of *The Image* to identify that celebrity did not exist before the mid-20th century, what they identified was how stardom significantly shifted discourses and visibility of celebrity culture. Similarly, when Ponce De Leon (2002) identified the 20th Century and US newspapers and magazines as the birthplace of celebrity culture due to the increase of self-promotion and the number of public figures, he demonstrated increased levels of celebrity journalism as a reflection of the development of "the star". Its constructive mechanisms informed public self-display far beyond those of stars themselves, offering patterns for performance for those interviewed in print media and the construction of news.

The development of performative frameworks for celebrity interviews and the power dynamic between celebrities and journalists in the process had a significant impact on the production of stars as a presentation of self-identity. Stars were sites of continuity between earlier celebrity cultures with significant thematic similarities around ordinary life and the paradox with extraordinary fame, artistry and craft, the relationships between public and private selves and consumerism. However, they were also sites of considerable change as stardom was the first, *entirely mediated* area of self-identity and its development was completely impossible without the frameworks of celebrity culture as developed in print. The role of celebrity journalism, and particularly the interview, in articulating stardom, is

therefore as important a component in its development as cinema's image based displays of it.

These frameworks matured during the 20th Century, becoming so familiar they were used as a mechanism to eclipse the reality of whether the star really exists, not just in the sense of who they are constructed to be as opposed to their reality, but also *in any sense at all*. It is the display of self that makes it real, shaping how we may view relationships between who we are and how we live and the way we present or perform that to the outside world. Bowie's use of the interview to launch and perform a fictional star – and highlight that he was doing so – demonstrates the hyperreality of stars and the power of dialogic interactions between journalists and celebrities in creating realities and forming truths. By identifying and purposing the promotional power of star construction, he marks a significant transition point between late modernity and postmodernity, both a simulation and symbolic variable, embodying the falsifications of media exchange and value and its ability to change what is real. The interview, therefore not only has a special significance in celebrification as multimedia creation to enable construction of star and celebrity, but is also a way by which we can identify how and why we express our own values. Examining the specific power of the celebrity interview as a mechanism of self-advantaging exchange for journalists and celebrities offers insights how into how reality is shaped by mediated constructs for specific commercial ends.

In Part Two, I examine the implications of how hyperreal performances of self in celebrity journalism are reshaped in digital space. Examining the significant shift in audience visibility and its impact on the relationships between news and celebrity cultures, allows exploration of how conventions, constructions, patterns and promotional techniques of celebrity

journalism are changing. I consider the dominance of celebrity culture on digital news agendas and its implications for the performance of online self-identity, where fame can be brokered without representational media such as journalism.

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Part Two

NETWORKED: connections, transitions & transformations

Chapter Four

Journalism and digital celebrity practices: new displays of "star"; "authentic self";

"consumer" and "citizen"

4.1 Introduction

The fluidity of digital environments has radically reshaped celebrity and journalism cultures,

with celebrification an ever more complex process involving media professionals, celebrities

and their teams, and audiences working together simultaneously and in real time.

Parasociality (Horton and Wohl 1956) - between celebrities and audiences, built during

mutual and mutually understood acts of media production (Giles 2010: 95)- is now an

important part of promotion, governing both mainstream journalistic production

processes[23] and celebrity performances. The first chapter of Part Two "Networked:

Connections, Transitions and Transformations" considers the place of journalism in shaping

digital self-celebrification, identity curation and audience interaction of three independent

digital media brands between 1997 and 2017.

   Firstly, I argue the significance of early "star" practice, using David Bowie as an embodied

link from pre and post-internet ages and explore how his use of journalistic discourses to

create hyperreal mediated versions of self (3.3), shaped *Bowienet* (1998-2012) in the late

1990s (4.2). The innovative website used celebrity and celebritised news and journalism as

familiar discourses to both produce content and to shape interactions between the star and

users. Secondly, I consider the place of celebrity journalism in the professionalisation of

microcelebrity (Senft 2008, 2013) as it migrated from the bedrooms of ordinary people to

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[23] Explored in Chapter Five.

production studios (4.3). Analysis of the practices of "digital-first talent agency" Gleam Futures and its stable of "most followed" UK microcelebrities, demonstrates the endurance of the first theme of celebrity journalism – the authentic self linked to consumerism - and offers insights into how intercommunications between representational and presentational media work (Marshall 2014: 160). Expanding Rojek's (2001: 17-20) taxonomy of *achieved, ascribed* and *attributed* celebrity, I argue for the addition of ***applied*** celebrity, describing self-celebrification using both microcelebrity and traditional celebrity fame making processes, including journalistic structures and interactions with news media. Finally, this chapter argues that once we understand the significance of celebrity journalism and its intercommunications with microcelebrity, we can identify how they can enable media performances *beyond* what might be recognised as celebrity culture, with significant societal implications (4.4). Similar to how celebritised news and journalism facilitated the development of "the citizen" and zones of citizenry (Chapter Two), I demonstrate how it is used to develop new politicised self-identities which blur lines between "audiences" and (micro)publics to enable radicalisation. Considering the success of terrorist group Daesh as they build visibility of their self-developed brand Islamic State, offers insights into how using journalism as part of broader professionalised, but personalised, digital practices, enabled them to convince Westerners to join their cause.

In short, this chapter explores the categories of self-identity established in Part One: "the authentic self" linked to consumerism; "the citizen" linked to mediated understandings of nationhood and "us" and "them" discourses and the hyperreal "star" as part of celebrity and celebritised digital practice. It maps the place of journalism in these fluid, complex, intertwining performances and argues that while there are other areas of production which

influence celebrification in the network, the themes and construction patterns of journalism shape many areas of online displays of self-identity, helping develop parasociality, and supporting celebrity promotion.

4.2 Bowienet, early digital celebrity practice and hyperreality

Bowienet was the first fully formed celebrity website, with news, interviews, forums and exclusive access to downloadable material and tickets. It was also an Internet Service Provider (ISP), a social site enabling fans to communicate and upload sound, text and video and a place for selling merchandise. On July 17 1998, the newly appointed news and publicity team - music journalist Mitch Schneider and publicist Tresa Redburn - released a press release confirming "rumours" that *Bowienet* would launch September 1st (Schneider and Redburn 1998: online). The release was the first story in the "newsfeed" on the "pre-launch" site and outlined how it would provide "the best access to music and entertainment content on the Web" and "fully customizable homepage and a *davidbowie.com* email address" to publically display their affinity with the star. *Bowienet* promised "news, groups, chatrooms, online shareware, multi-player gaming and much, much more". Subscribers could access "unreleased tracks, videos and photos and a vast archive of journalistic material including exclusive reviews, news and interviews". *Bowienet* also offered 5MB of individual space, which while relatively small compared to current digital capabilities, allowed the creation of profile pages. A year before *Napster* (1999-2002) and five before *Myspace* (2001-current), *Bowienet* users could experiment with online self-identity with the star at the epicentre of their displays.

Bowie was described as a digital pioneer - "no newcomer to the internet" - using email and portable computers "from as early as 1983" and as one of the first artists to

"cybercast a live show". He was also the first "music star" to offer a song for free download - "Telling Lies" in 1996 - and had previously designed *bowieart.com,* an *"*Internet commerce site featuring artwork by Bowie and others for direct sale". The press release, followed the very analogue structure of an inverted pyramid news story (see I.4 for definition), and offered two sentences of direct quotes from Bowie:

"I wanted to create an environment where not just my fans but all music lovers could be a part of the same community…a single place where the vast archives of music information could be accessed, views stated and ideas exchanged.

"Our biggest challenge was to assemble unique proprietary content along with first-rate content suppliers and unparalleled Internet service from tech support to billing. After nine months of work, I believe we have achieved just that."

David Bowie (Schneider and Redburn 1998: online)

Bowie emphasised that the site would work both as a platform and as a community. As shown in Figure One, *Bowienet* was an innovation in both web functionality and content. It offered users the ability to construct their online identities, to upload their own material and the opportunity to interact with their idol, enabled by an exclusive CD Rom with a new, faster version of Internet Explorer. Content, promotion and technology were considered holistically as part of a project that aimed to make the audience not only part of star display, but digital producers.

Figure One (4): *Bowienet* **ISP network, front page and login and "virtual world"**

BOWIE RADIO is here!!! NEW - David DJs on Channel 2!

Receive special offers through the BowieNet E-MAIL LIST!

Bowie's VIRTUAL WORLD!

Get a free CD with your annual subscription!

bowienet

BOWIENET MEMBERS ENTER HERE

BOWIENET INFO & SIGNUP AREA

THE OFFICIAL BOWIE WEBSITE

BOWIE STORE.COM

THE INTERACTIVE REMIX PROJECT
BOWIENET SCREENSAVER
WORLDS 3D ENVIRONMENTAL PORTAL
BOWIEART.COM
SAVE THE CHILDREN.ORG

LOGIN TO BOWIENET

USERNAME

SAILOR

PASSWORD

****

ENTER

BACK TO HEADLINE

Billing Server

RADIUS

TFTP Server

AS5300-A

AS5300-B

PSTN

IP Backbone

PSTN

408-555-2000

919-555-8888

SIP Proxy Server

Boweinet was both "medium and message" and as with his performance of Ziggy explored in the last chapter (3.4), for Bowie, was all "very McLuhanish" (*Rolling Stone* 1976). Similar to McLuhan's (1964: 188) description of how print media reconstructed "human dialogue on a world wide scale" (1964: 188), Bowie discussed implications for production, fandom and communities, which would also link "individual to individual in massive agglomeration of power" (Ibid). In an interview with Jeremy Paxman on *Newsnight* (December 3, 1999), he described that the web would allow a "demystifying process" between "artist and the audience" and how "interplay between the user and the provider" would "crush our ideas of what mediums are all about." Bowie articulated how digital technology blurred lines between celebrities and their audiences, between presentational and representational media (Marshall 2014) and between "other" and self". These concepts have come to govern much research both in relation to celebrity culture (Marwick and boyd 2013; Marwick 2014; Marshall 2014, Turner 2013, Whannel 2012; Couldry and Markham 2007); journalism (Bruns 2013, Deuze 2012) and digital self-identity (Papacharissi 2012).

Bowienet represented the "spirit of private enterprise", which leads artists to "cultivate self-expression" or entrepreneurs to "create giant corporations." (McLuhan 1964: 192). Certainly it was costly to develop and Bowie describes this as the principal reason he floated earnings of his back catalogue on the stock market in 1996, raising £30m (*Newsnight*, December 3 1999). He partnered with Ultrastar Internet Services, who aimed to produce the most extensive "content on the internet" (Schneider and Redburn 1998: online). Their philosophy was to "allow users a *personal experience with their favourite personalities* via the Internet" (Ibid: italics added) and this shaped their development of sites for, amongst others, the New York Yankees, The Rolling Stones, The Police, Madonna and The Red Hot

Chilli Peppers. According to his partner in the venture, Rob Roy (*ars techinca,* January 13, 2016: online), Bowie was hands-on from the beginning, helping design how functionality, content and audiences could work together. At the height of the .com boom of the early 2000s, Ultrastar was valued at $818m dollars (*Quartz*, January 11 2016: online), although it was bought by early investors Live Nation in 2007 for a small undisclosed sum, specifically for its capacities for fan-musician interactions (*ars technica,* January 13, 2016: online). The technological advancements of *Bowienet* were certainly significant enough to include it as important amongst *Voice Over Internet Providers* (Peters 2000) and a simplified topology of its infrastructure from this text is included in Figure One.

How Marshall McLuhan would have analysed the Internet has been discussed in a number of academic texts (Stevenson 2002, Machessault 2004). Logan's (2001) *Understanding New Media: Extending McLuhan* uses McLuhan's method of viewing the technology and its potentials for media content, simultaneously. Logan (2001: 239), writing in McLuhian style, describes web pages as mystical gathering places and identifies the linguistic origin of "cyberspace" as coined by William Gibson in his 1984 novel *Neuromancer*, who described it as "consensual hallucination experience daily by billions" and a "graphic representation of data abstracted from banks of every computer in the human system". Gibson, a Bowie fan, who based a character on the star, also experimented with William Burroughs' "cut up method" for literature and art (Henthorne 2011: 65-67) and for both Bowie and Gibson, linguistic patterns were viewed as ways to develop hyperreality out of the real to establish new "truths". Logan's (2001: 239-249) extension of McLuhan's logic offers two ways of viewing cyberspace: as a romantic "metaphor to describe a magical experience"; or in technical terms, "information from a

server somewhere in the physical world". *Bowienet* experimented with both the technical and romantic to shape relationships *between* audience and star. It used fan interactions as "tube of pigment" very much as McLuhan describes in relation to the press agent; as a "ventriloquist does his dummy or a "painter does his pallet" (1964: 230).

    Bowienet was both symbolic and surreal, part of the "mosaic effect" of mass media which places "multiple items in juxtaposition" to sustain the "complex dimension of human interest" (McLuhan 1964: 221). As such it worked similarly to his interactions with journalists in the 1970s. This offered a new mechanism to maintain the Bowie "star" - which he considered "less and less to be" him (Bowie 1999: *Newsnight)* - and allowed realisation of his belief that audiences complete works. Referencing Duchamp, he celebrated the "grey space" between artist and audiences' interpretations. As Logan (2001: 236) describes, if the "media are the extension of the psyche then the interconnectivity of the Internet means that its users will be extensions of each other's psyches". By blurring lines between producer and consumer, Bowie the hyperreal star, became an extension of the audience's psyche and through their input and creative production, they became extensions of his too. This was evident in one of the most popular moments of mutual production on the site –a "mashup" competition – where members were given the opportunity to win an Audi TT coupe by "mashing" two Bowie songs from different periods. The winner, 17-year old high school student David Choi, became a YouTube sensation with almost a million subscribers (Moore 2015: 164). Of course, collaboration and the mashing together of cultural influences was part of Bowie's artistry and as Moore (Ibid: 153-166) argues, this can be viewed as characteristic of his "bricoleur" style.

Next, I consider more closely how using the codes and discourses of celebrity news and journalism shaped *Bowienet* and facilitated parasocial bonds with audiences. In his interview with Jeremy Paxman, Bowie discussed how notions of "known truths" and "known lies" began to break down in the 1970s, which marked the beginning of the end of modernity (*Newsnight*, December 3 1999). Before, we lived "under the guise of a single and absolute created society" which began to break down, creating two, three, four, five sides to every question". For him, it was the end of such "singularity" which "produces such a medium as the Internet and absolutely establishes that we are living in total fabrication". *Bowienet's* often very conventional use of the structures of celebrity journalism - and particularly the interview - offered familiarising and unifying moments of mutual production between celebrity and audience in order to construct reality. I explore how dialogic interactions between audiences and celebrities on the site used the established patterns of the interview to create truth, as described by Bakhtin (1984), in order to make the hyperreal *Bowienet,* accepted as real by audiences.

4.2.1 *Bowienet* and journalism*:* simulation, parasociality and the audience.

The development work for *Bowienet* coincided with touring *1.Outside: The Diary of Nathan Adler or the Ritual Art Murder of Baby Grace Blue: A non-linear Gothic Drama Hyper-Cycle* (*Outside* 1995) and writing *Earthling* (1998) and *Hours* (1999). My co-authored analysis of Bowie's interviews with *Q* magazine during this period (Usher and Fremaux 2015) used Baudrillard's *Phases of the Image* (1983: 11) as a mechanism to track authenticity and simulation in performances and argued that Bowie's use of interviews situated the hyperreality of his musical performances, in everyday familiar language. In the last Chapter's exploration of Ziggy Stardust, I used Frith's (1998: 208) analysis of joke telling to

demonstrate how by framing in the familiar linguistic construct of the interview, Bowie is

"skilled enough to engage with the performance" and the audience are "able to recognize

and interpret the language". I argued this is key to forming simulacra - the final order of

Baudrillard's phases of simulation (1983) - that can only eclipse the real if grounded in

mechanisms by which audiences shape reality.

This is not, or at least not usually, how Baudrillard viewed signifiers and referents in

relation to simulation. When considering Baudrillard's concepts of simulacrum and "ecstasy

of communication," Marshall (1997: 11) claims signs cannot escape the very things that

shape them. Gane (1991: 3) argues Baudrillard's work shows how the symbolic could only

be understood through reference points that may "render it null". The success of both

Bowie's Ziggy star simulation and the simulacrul *Bowienet* depended on such signs and

particularly on journalism to create realities. *Bowienet* used the conventions and

constructions of celebrity news and journalism in two ways. Firstly, it had a dedicated

"news" section, manned by journalists using traditional newsgathering and construction

techniques, such as the inverted pyramid structure. As the site developed these reporters

incorporated video and audio elements of music or interviews, creating early forms of

multimedia journalism. Sadly, *Bowienet*'s news section is not archived, although

www.davidbowie.com continues to this day. Secondly, regular web chats used the

conventions and structures of celebrity interviews - with either a moderator or Bowie

choosing which questions should be answered – to shape audience/star interaction. In "Live

Chats" Bowie played both interviewer and/or interviewee, alongside members of his social

circle, including wife Iman (January 8 1999; November 15 2001); son Duncan "home for

Christmas" (December 23 1999) and collaborators past and present, including Reeves

Gabriels (November 13 1998), Gail Ann Dorsey (August 29 2000; March 5 2003; October 27 2004), Tony Visconti (August 1 2001; December 17 1998) and Mick Rock (December 17 1998). Other popstars featured too, such as Boy George (February 27 1999), R and B singer Eve (May 1 2001) and even Ronan Keating, former lead singer of Irish boyband Boyzone (January 30, 1999). These interviews were a significant component of the site's discourse and promotion.

Interviews, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, are dialogic interactions used to create truths and realities. Digital technology allows audience inclusion in this process and these can therefore be viewed as *symbolic exchanges*. For Baudrillard (1976: 204), the "symbolic is neither a concept, nor an instance, or a category, nor a structure, but an ***act of exchange*** and a social relation which puts an end to the real, which resolves the real and in the same stroke the opposition between the real and the imaginary" (italics added). The interview is both the signified- a process that comes to mind when we see the word in media texts and "an act of exchange" which resolves opposition between the real and imaginary. In Bowie's virtual world signification began with either a "stand-first" introductory paragraph, reflecting journalistic construction, or an invitation to ask questions as if at a press conference, reflecting journalistic newsgathering practices. Only questions chosen by the moderator/interviewee appeared in the publically facing chat page. Scores, perhaps even thousands, of others were never made publically visible or put to interviewees. This power dynamic and the structure itself, is an extension of the Q & A interviews, which developed in Hollywood magazines (3.3.2), with the power lying increasingly with the celebrity and not the interviewer. The role of the audience in producing this content reflects the potentials of digital technology, which Bowie articulated

as key to the future of stardom in his Paxman interview. The work is only complete when

the audience comes to it, and that is key to both construction and promotion.

These interview moments are an early example of how digital technology increases

parasociality between audiences and celebrities through mutuality of production (Giles

2010, Usher 2014; 2016). Familiarity between Bowie and his audience, which developed

because of dialogic interaction, is demonstrated in several "web chats":

seriousmoonlit *asks: "how much do ya like being a father again?:-)"*

David Bowie *answers: I really, really love it. To be honest, I really have to pull myself together weekly to focus on my music that sometimes it almost feels like a distraction. The music, I mean. But I think I'm beginning to find a sense of balance between daddyfying and workifying. Mind you, the next album might have lyrics like: "the wheels on the bus go round and round..."*

……………………………………………………………….

lilith *asks: "Go home to Iman :)"*

David Bowie *answers: You may think that Ultrastar is a huge operation. In fact, I'm typing this in bed and Ultrastar is no more than me, and a 3'7" out of work waiter called Norman who only recently bought a dog eared book on HTML. But I think we're putting up a fine front. Although Norman is shrinking under the stress, and I fear may hit the three-foot mark shortly, in which case I'm going to have to prop his seat up with telephone directories for him to keep doing code...*

metzger *asks: "DAR WANTS TO SAY GOOD NIGHT"*

David Bowie *answers: I'm sorry, nobody's allowed to leave the room before I do. You paid for this, now bloody well sit there and put up with it! If you didn't know already, this is one of the perks of being a BowieNetter, and don't you forget it! Said with love....*

**(*Bowienet* June 4, 2001 and October 31, 2000)**

Using Bakhtin (1984) as set out in the methodological framework (I.4.2), demonstrates how

the parasociality of this exchange makes it seem real. Each side existed within a constant

state of endless re-infliction of meaning, what Bakhtin described as dialogic action or dialogism. Bowie's play with words was heteroglossic – full of puns, double meanings and linguistic play – consistent with his performance in interviews with journalists both during the Ziggy period (see 3.4) and at this time (Usher and Fremaux 2015). It also fit perfectly in the constructed and playful reality of *Bowienet* itself. Through this *Bowienet* transcends the artificiality of its environment. Bakhtin (1984: 110) argues that "truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born *between people* […] in the process of their *dialogic* interaction" (Bakhtin, 1984: 110 original emphasis). It is through familiarity of exchanges that *Bowienet* becomes a place where contact with a star is made a real possibility.

Collaboration, with other artists, journalists and promotional workers was part of Bowie's "star" identity long before *Bowienet* (see 3.4) and these interactions with fans could be understood as an extension of this. However, digital spaces also blurred boundaries and created bonds of intimacy. Rojek (2012: 131) discusses how use of knowing asides, observations or jokes involve audiences, referring to TV hosts as an example. Bowie's parasocial interactions were largely in line with Horton and Wohl's (1956: online) original arguments in relation to television, as when the "most remote and illustrious men are met as if they were in the circle of one's peers". Rojek (2012: 124) extends this point to describe the "illusion: of face-to-face contact which audiences can experience through "webs of intimacy" created by "print, photographic and electronic systems of communication". While Horton and Wohl's (1956) study focused on this as being one-sided because of the broadcast nature of television, Bowie's performance on *Bowienet* was at least two way and often multiple facing. He spoke directly to regular users, choosing their questions to answer.

When asked, "Who is in the room with you" he listed their user names "Aki, Squeakie, Tybalt, Total Blam Blam" (*Bowienet* 13 November 1998). This is not simply an act of creating bonds of kinship, but also a way of using digital technology to make the audience part of the project. It reflects a "generative…new type of individualism: a will to produce, that formulates a shifted constitution of desire and a different connection to the contemporary moment" (Marshall 2006: 636), through a celebrity interview conducted by the audience, moderator and star working together and published in real-time. His attention acted as a both reward for engagement with *Bowienet* and a moment of creation in its own right.

Figure Two (4): Mapping *Bowienet's* digital production practices
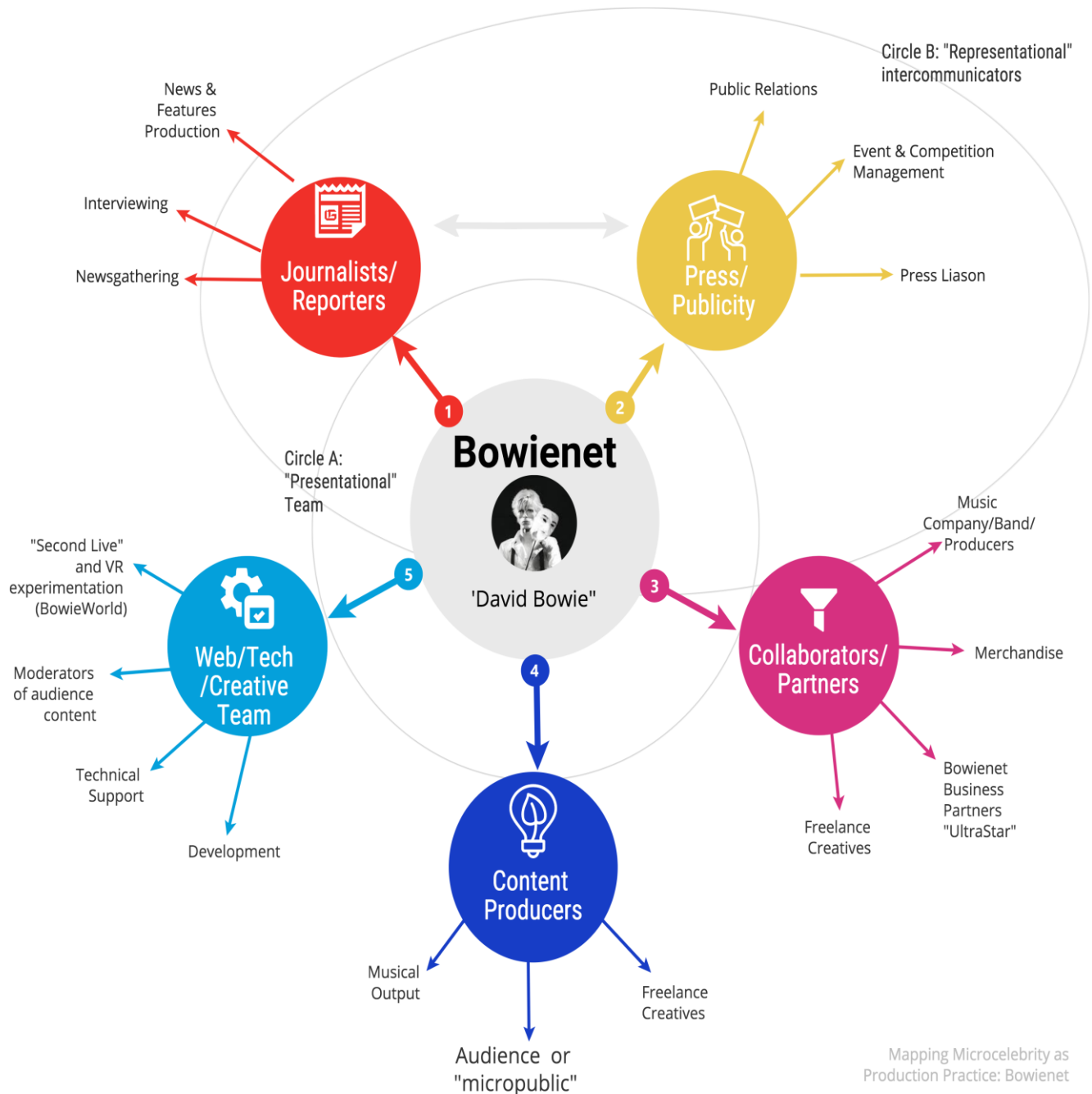
As shown in Figure Two, which maps this early example of digital celebrity practice to

demonstrate *the place* of celebrity news and journalism, *Bowienet* used the audience as

part of production alongside professional promotional and journalistic workers. Bowie, of

course, was an aficionado of using representational media as part of his presentational

persona construction (see 3.4) and these journalists and publicists used established

production patterns from analogue media. As mainstream media operatives they form

Circle B, which visualises an example of what Marshall (2014: 160) describes as "intercommunication" between presentational and representational media, with Bowie as a transition point. However, the audience/micropublic also act as "content producers" (number 4), with symbiosis between groups 1, 2 and 4 on the map. The next section – an examination of the professionalised practice of the most popular UK bloggers and vloggers almost 20 years after the launch of *Bowienet*-maps their production practices in a similar way and considers the range of media workers involved in the process. Through this we can identify the continued significance of celebrity journalism – and journalists – in complex networked landscapes and consider how microcelebrity, is now professionalised, working similarly to *Bowienet* or the digital practices of other mainstream stars.

4.3: Promoting "the talent": celebrity, journalism and the professionalisation of "microcelebrity".

When Theresa Senft coined the term *microcelebrity* in 2008, she used it to describe a new area of celebrity culture involving ordinary people – the audiences of traditional celebrities – using production capabilities of digital media to build fame. She identified microcelebrities as "amping up" their popularity using video, blogs and social networking sites (2008: 25) through the example of Australian "camgirls". These women allowed audiences tantalising glimpses into their private spaces with what Marshall (2014: 163-164) later described as a "micropublic" forming around their displays. While Turner (2013: 74) acknowledges that microcelebrities "borrowed from the publicity and promotions" of traditional celebrities, a quickly accepted narrative broadly identified microcelebrity as a new category, with fame viewed as "a continuum, rather than a bright line" separating celebrities from followers (Marwick and boyd: 141). Microcelebrities - as described by Gamson (2011); Marwick

(2013a); Marwick and boyd (2011) and Teresa Senft (2008; 2013) – are ordinary people engaged in cyber-self-celebrification, understood as a "bottom-up" process.

However, as Alice Marwick (2015: 347) recently clarified, microcelebrity "can be further understood as a mind-set and set of practices". It is something "one does rather something one is", blurring lines between the consumption and production of fame, with authenticity and "everydayness" key to performance and "clicks, shares and likes synonymous with success". It not only describes online exposure (Gamson 2011), "microfame" (Sorgatz 2008), or the presentation of self as if a celebrity "regardless of who is paying attention" (Marwick 2013a: 11). Microcelebrity is a *production process* (Usher 2015; 2016) which, like journalism, celebrifies to raise visibility. It is a "familiar mode of cyber-self presentation" (Turner 2010: 14), which like celebrity journalism, favours "practices of private" life (Jerslev 2016: 7), as part of the "game of celebrity" (Senft 2013: 350). Microcelebrity is often linked to self-fulfilment through consumerism and idealised leisure activity, but uses not just this theme for self-identity developed in celebrity journalism, but some of its construction patterns too. Just as the term "celebrity" describes not only an individual, but also a process (see Turner 2010, 2013; Dyer 1979, 1986, Marshall 1997, 2014), microcelebrity also describes practices on presentational media.

Jerslev (2016: 3) lists some alternative options to categorise the people rather than the practice, including "Youtube stars" (Burgess & Green, 2009a, 2009b Snickars & Vonderau, 2009); "YouTube celebrities" (Gamson, 2011; Lange, 2007; Marwick, 2013a); "Internet celebrity" (Gamson, 2011), "Web stars" (Senft, 2008) and "Internet famous" (Tanz, 2008), but none of these capture the complexities or potential intercommunications with traditional media. Furthermore, arguments that it is also "part of the daily practice of

millions of consumers" on social media (Hackley and Hackley 2015: 469), oversimplifies microcelebrity production practices. There appear to be some common misunderstandings of its functions and processes. As Jerslev (2016: 8) argues, referencing Gamson (2011) and Marwick (2013a), there is a "widespread conception of YouTube as a bottom up social media platform" and that "young microcelebrities are not enlisted into the powerful and commercialised systems sustaining celebrity culture". This analysis reconsiders this narrative and argues commercialised systems of production mean that microcelebrity practice is now professionalised. Examining links between early digital celebrity practices and the place of celebrity journalism in forming them – particularly in terms of the interplays between authentic self and consumerism - enables reconsideration of some claims made in relation to microcelebrity.

While Marwick (2015) and Senft (2008, 2013) each explore the dynamics of personal branding and strategic self-commodification, their work focuses primarily on the individual with the influence of public relations and marketing teams seen as an exception rather than a rule. Similarly, Zizi Papacharissi (2012: 1992) focuses on the individual as the principal performer, examining how Twitter enables "condensed performances of self" for a variety of actual and imagined audiences. She claims that success relies on shifting the emphasis from "stability of the self (self as object) to change of the self (self as process)". Explorations of microcelebrity as a cultural phenomenon, argue that opportunities for direct, individual-to-individual dialogue, is crucial to self-construction, which builds public visibility. Analysis of *Bowienet* showed that this was important to early digital celebrity practice too, and while individuated around "the star", was professionalised media work. By establishing that microcelebrity is now *a professional production practice*, we can better understand the

"Internet famous" (Tanz, 2008) and how as networked media professionals, they have much in common with the digital practices of mainstream stars.

This is illustrated through analysis of the work of Gleam Futures, the UK based "digital first" celebrity agency, whose roster of 42 "talents" includes the biggest social media - and particularly YouTube stars - in Britain. By July 2017, combined reach across social and digital media now totals more than 7 billion YouTube views, 80 million channel subscribers, 40 million Twitter followers, 54 million Instagram followers and 18 million Facebook "Likes". As demonstrated by Figure Three, these are the main platforms for microcelebrity practice, used for production, dissemination, promotion, and consumption of cyber-self presentations. These yield remarkable levels of financial success for some of the "digital personalities" on the roster. Gleam launched in 2010 when "talent manager" Dom Smales, a former promotions executive for *Daily Mail and MailOnline* parent company DGMT and Chanel (*The Guardian*, August 16, 2016), met sisters Nic and Sam Chapman – better known as beauty blogging brand *Pixiwoo* (2008-present)- at the launch of their first book. They, in turn, introduced him to their brother Mark and his girlfriend Tanya Burr who were also building large social media followings. Next Smales convinced another close-knit crowd of up and coming stars, Zoe Sugg, better known by brand/blog name *Zoella* (2009-present), her boyfriend *PointlessBlog's* (2009-present) Alfie Deyes and friend Louise Pentland (*Sprinkle of Glitte*r 2010-present) to join too. Through this association the careers of two more - Sugg's brother Joe and Alfie Deyes' sister Poppy – were launched. Eight out of the top 20 stars in terms of digital reach as shown in Figure Three are from these two intimate and increasingly intertwined social circles and all cross-promote, appearing regularly in videos on each other's YouTube channels. This world

of British microcelebrity is built not only around branded self-image, but also via the

networked constructed reality performances of intimate family relationships and friendships.

Figure Three (4): Top 20 Gleam Futures "digital first talents" by networked reach (July 1 2017)

	Blog Unique Monthly Users (million)	YouTube Subscribers (million)	YouTube Views (million)	Twitter Followers (million)	Instagram Followers (million)	Facebook Likes (million)
Zoella (Zoe Sugg)	1.1m	16.4m	987	8.76	11.1	2.64
PointlessBlog (Alfie Deyes)	N/A	11.3	471	4.30	4.9	1.73
Joe Sugg	N/A	7.9	1044	4.38	6	2.36
Caspar Lee	N/A	9	730	4.5	3.8	1.6
Marcus Butler	N/A	6.6	407	3.1	3.7	1.54
Tanya Burr	0.113	2.6	344	2.4	2.1	.803
Jim Chapman	0.093	2.5	178	2.09	2.3	1
Sprinkle of Glitter (Louise Pentland)	2	2.6	183	2.4	1.7	1
The Saccone Jolys	0.010	2.8	660	1.1	2.5	N/A
Niomi Smart	0.033	1.71	110	1.19	1.8	0.043
Pixiwoo (Sam and Nic Chapman)	0.019	2	293	0.487	1.2	.705
Lana	N/A	0.401	11.4	1.67	0.967	0.316
Claudia Salowski	N/A	2.52	122	0.308	1	0.107
Samantha Maria	0.246	1.82	163	0.208	0.592	0.037
Jack Maynard	N/A	1.2	91	0.46	0.669	N/A
Claire Marshall	N/A	0.830	45.7	0.036	0.368	0.353
SunKissAlba (Alba Ramos)	N/A	0.830	45.7	0.036	0.368	0.353
Inthefrow (Victoria McGrath)	0.116	0.549	38	0.156	0.779	0.035
Poppy Deyes	0.540	N/A	N/A	0.245	1.2	N/A
Josh Pieters	N/A	0.811	51.4	0.171	0.412	N/A

Smales has described how "the talent" represented by his agency reflect new ways of understanding celebrity. The rise of YouTubers, he argues, is "fuelled by a seismic shift in the way that a generation are consuming their media and entertainment", with audiences "hungry for more interactive relationships with their peers and idols" (*Independent*, January 10 2017). This describes the significance of parasocial relationships in this presentational form of celebrity, where relationships with social media followers resemble displays of friendships. Smith's (2014) study of YouTube star Charlie McDonnell focused on both his use of social media to link to his audience as individuals and also professionalised production techniques such as close-up shots and camera zooms. Examining the practice of the top 20 Gleam "talents" in terms of networked reach, quickly establishes patterns of practice - focused on four platforms - and while most do not also produce a personally written blog, those who do so have greater reach into mainstream media. As Senft (2008, 2013) and Smith (2014) highlight, boundaries are blurred as these figures appear in the audience's social media feed alongside updates from friends and family. Digital media enables this in real time - a "temporality of permanent updating, of immediacy, and of instantaneity" (Jerslev 2016: 3) - giving audiences senses of intimacy.

There are also structured patterns for publication of videos, usually highlighted in the banner for their YouTube TV channel, with comments such as "New Video Every Sunday"; or "Videos up each Weds and Monday". Followers are encouraged to like, subscribe, leave comments and make their own videos. Gleam's "content producers" now manage production practices with videos, at times, shot in studios, dressed as informal settings. These professional producers ensure videos have higher production values than those shot on home web cams. While most of these microcelebrities began their journeys to fame

organically, creating content around their own passions - and indeed Smales is keen to

emphasise that fame was not their "end game" but a result of "their hobby" (*Independent*,

January 10 2017) - this is now a managed business turning out content and publicity

materials from bases in both LA and London. Their "technological affordances and

immediate social context" (Marwick and boyd 2010: 115) are used to further network reach

and, increasingly, to build consumer brands. These microcelebrities work particularly to

influence consumer choices, producing numerous "haul" videos (e.g. "Asos Haul" (Alfie

Deyes, August 5, 2017*;* "Tech Haul" (Lily Pebbles, June 8 2015;) "America Haul", *Zoella,* (Feb

2015). In these they display item after item of consumer goods to audiences keen to "learn

not only about their daily lives, but also to follow their endorsement deals and product

lines" (Kowalcyzlk and Pounders 2016: 345). They disguise that this is advertising content

through personalised narratives of how the goods make their day-to-day lives better and by

commenting and sharing each others "haul" videos. Each of the top 20 Gleam Futures stars

have produced such "haul" videos or pictures and published them on social media.

These microcelebrities sit between Rojek's (2001: 17-21) categories (see 1.2): "achieving"

fame through their social media performances; but very much "attributed" by the media

and often without discernible talent outside their ability to construct effective networked

self-brands. Some were "ascribed" their fame by more famous siblings or partners. It would

be useful to extend Rojek's taxonomy and create the category of ***applied*** celebrity to

describe the application of methods and production practices of celebrity to build visibility

in digital space. Next, I examine how by mapping the practices of Gleam's biggest star Zoe

Sugg – better known by brand name *Zoella* – across social and mainstream media, we can

understand the enduring significance of journalism in enabling celebrification both by

offering structures for performance and producing content *about* public figures. I clarify how *applied* celebrity offers a useful new category to understand those who become famous in this way.

4.3.1: Consumerism, authenticity and journalism in *Zoella's* microcelebrity practice

"Applied" celebrities are sites of both continuity and transformation between print media celebrity cultures as explored in Part One. In particular, fulfilment of "authentic self" through consumerism remains a dominant theme, linking back to the first celebrities who used print media during the 18th Century to build fame (1.3), or film actors in the 20th Century, who became stars through interactions with journalists (3.3). Similarly, this narrative is located in (predominantly) white middle class homes - the key component of *Zoella*. Zoe Sugg performs as the girl next door or a big sister, upstairs in her bedroom, excited about her new make up and clothes, even though, in reality, she is now a 27-year-old living with her long-term partner in London. Jerslev (2016: 1) describes it as a "girlish lifestyle/lipstick universe with herself as the visual center", and highlights that while her posts describe her followers as "between 18 and 25", others describe them as "tweens and teenage girls" (Sheffield 2014 in Jerslev 2016: 1). She reportedly earns £50,000 a month (*Independent*, March 16 2016) from her ventures, which now extend beyond the display of consumer goods and into the production of them. A patent application filed on her behalf by Gleam (October 4, 2016) trademarks her brand against more than 2,000 services and goods ranging from eyebrow tweezers to fake pearls and educational materials.

Zoella was first the title of a blog, and personalised written content is part of the production practices of half of the top 20 Gleam stars (Figure Four, first column). It was an important component of the successes of the first "break through" talents, the Chapman

family (*Pixiwoo*, Jim Chapman, Tanya Burr) and Louise Pentland (*Sprinkle of Glitter*)

particularly. Research into blogging often considers relationships between *authoritative*

voice (as journalists) and *authentic self* (as celebrities). Arnould et al (2003) examined

relationships between bloggers and digital consumers, arguing that while authenticity and

authority weave together, the authoritative voice is paramount. *Zoella* negotiates

authenticity and authority in a way that traditional journalists – who retreat behind by-lines

and the brand of their publication – do not. Of course, there are many lifestyle journalists

whose personality is key to their success - for example, the *Guardian's* food writer Jay

Rayner or infamous *New Yorker* (1925-present) critic John Simon - but their visibility is often

an extension of the news brand for which they work. Zoe Sugg is both writer and the brand

Zoella, and both are dependent on audience's accepting her as authoritative and as

authentic. As Nisbet and Kotcher (2009: 329) highlight, the success of bloggers relies on the

balance of authority or prestige with their ability to act as "connective tissue" between

products and readers.

For Goffman (1956: 1-2) no person is ever authentic in public spaces, but is governed by

societal rules for behaviour. As established in Figure Four, there are clear rules for

microcelebrity and the use of professionalised celebrity production practices have been

used to challenge Sugg's authenticity, such as revelations that her debut novel *Girl Online*

(2014) was ghost written (*The Guardian*, August 7, 2016). However, while her YouTube

videos are now made with "content producers" in studios, Sugg still writes her own blog.

Her readership is large, with 1.1million – almost a million more than any other in the top 20

–unique users a month reading updates. Bloggers balance knowledge, expertise, concealed

influence and power in a similar way to journalists (Uzunoglu and Kip 2014: 592) and Sugg

incorporates the reviewing and feature writing practices of consumer and lifestyle journalism, with product testing, opinion and ratings. Ramapravad and Dewan (2009: 101) suggest, "new media driven by user generated content is starting to displace traditional media in terms of the way consumers learn about new products and services and even how they consume them". While consumer companies would once bombard the features and beauty desk of newspapers or magazines with products, now bloggers such as Sugg are key to effectively promoting consumer products.

As a "digital influencer" (Lyons and Henderson 2005: 319,) Zoe Sugg is trusted as authentic in her first person journalistic narratives of consumerism (Schar and Gily 2003: 385). Arnould and Price (2001: 149) argue this transforms consumption, object or experience into an "individuated possession". Anne Jerslev 's (2016) study of *Zoella* focuses on Sugg's performances of authenticity and highlights the informal style of greetings (Heelllo everybody!); references to "not being an expert"; mis-reading brand names for leading beauty products and her expressions of "love" for followers. Her performances appear spontaneous, showing "ordinary expertise" (Bonner, 2003 in Jerslev 2016: 10) - and often an "accurate ordinariness", such as the display of her sometimes "messy" and other times "perfectly styled" home. Challenges to her authenticity, such as use of a ghost-writer or revelations that she doesn't design all her products, are turned to demonstrations of her being an "ordinary girl" who needed help (*Independent*, October 3 2016). Penz and Hogg's (2013) discussion of how bloggers primarily sell themselves with products as merely an extension of this narrative, fits Jerslev's analysis of *Zoella,* which mentions Gleam Futures, but does not consider how they now govern her practice and their role in turning "*Zoella*" from the name of a blog to a lifestyle brand.

Figure Five (5): Brand *Zoella's* microcelebrity production practice

Mapping Microcelebrity as Production Practice: Zoella
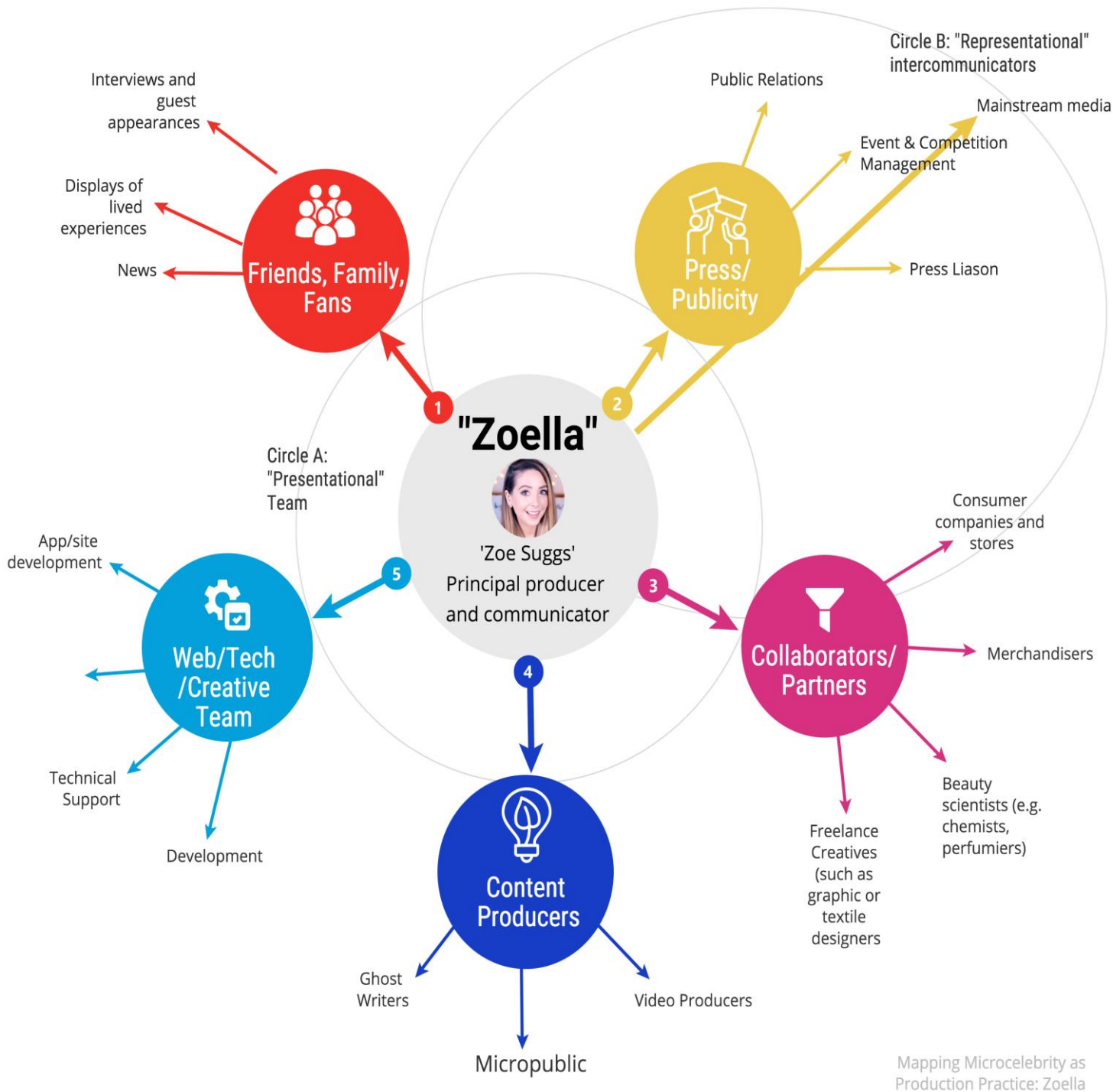
Brand *Zoella* was built using a "process of celebrification" similar to that described by

Couldry (2004: 289, see also Jerslev 2016) in relation to reality TV formats like *Big Brother*

(2000-present). Interactions with news media were key to developing the visibility of reality

personalities and by extension the shows on which they were appearing. Journalism's

processes of celebrification have always used public/private, extraordinary/ordinary

dichotomies to build visibility as explored throughout Part One. As a young reporter during

the reality TV boom at the turn of the 21st Century, I spent weeks chasing down exclusives

about *Big Brother* contestants, including a range of unnecessary "kiss and tells" and once

asked a news editor whether it was "really a story that a 20-year-old single man once had

sex?" Just as press and talent agents such as Max Clifford negotiated reality TV stars of the

early 2000s onto front pages, Gleam Futures' press officers work on behalf of these digital

first personalities. Manager Dom Smales may well declare that these are a new bright

"future of celebrity" where fans feel "much closer to the talent than they would be to

someone like Katy Perry". However, his role in it, like the role of celebrity news and

journalism, is an old one.

   Increasing levels of tabloid news content about Gleam stars since he became their

manager, reflects his role. *MailOnline* has produced more than 250 articles about the top 20

stars, and 208 about Sugg alone (*MailOnline* archive, July 2017). She has also appeared in

Vogue (November 2014) and *Glamour* magazines, as has Gleam stable-mate Tanya Burr, and

both make regular appearances on daytime television chat shows. Gleam Future "talents"

are beginning to appear on reality television too, with Zoe Sugg featuring on the first

celebrity edition of *Great British Bake Off* (*BBC* 2010-2016; *Channel 4* 2017-present) and

Jack Maynard recently appearing on *I'm a Celebrity Get Me Out of Here* (*ITV* 2002-present).

Maynard quit after a tabloid backlash following journalists scrolling through previous social

media posts and finding racist and homophobic tweets from many years earlier (*The Sun*,

November 27, 2017). This is proving an easy way for reporters to create controversy around

microcelebrities, with Zoe Sugg facing a similar "backlash" a week earlier for using words

like "slag" and "chav" in tweets many years before (*The Sun*, November 16 2017). For

tabloid reporters, the amount of content microcelebrities produce about themselves online

is a goldmine of potential stories, used to undermine both their authenticity and their

authority. The production practices of brand *Zoella* broadly reflects Turner's (2010, 2013),

Rojek's (2001, 2012) and Couldry's (2004) discussions of how reality television transforms

ordinary people into extraordinary, and the role of news media in it. Figure Five highlights

the place of mainstream news in enabling crossover success of such "applied" celebrities.

Sugg claims she finds press attention difficult (*Zoella* blog*, October 11 2016)*, for example

condemning publication of images of her new home (*Independent*, December 30 2015) or

discussions of her "sexy" photoshoot (*MailOnline*, November 22 2016). She has been

described by the *Daily Telegraph* (1855-present) as both a "clean-cut" great role model (3

April 2014), and alternatively as "not a perfect role model" (November 28 2014).

Newspapers now focus on ways to challenge her authenticity and highlighting perceived

hypocrisy.

As Arnould et al (2003) discuss in relation to bloggers and celebrities, there is a hyperreal

quality to the construction of self in digital space. While *Bowienet* was a deliberate artistic

exploration in simulation, the analysis of it is equally relevant to *Zoella* and its microcelebrity

production practices. Blogging relies on a dense barrage of images that continuously

(re)creates ostensibly, "fresh images and meanings based on the same signifiers" (Firat,

1991: 73) for commercial ends. Baudrillard's work on hyperreality and simulation began

with considerations of *Les Systems des Objects* (1968) and *La Societe de Consummation*

(1970), which built from Marcuse's (1955, 1968) discussions of "repressive affluence and

consumption" to offer an account of how consumerism works as an "ambience" rather than "aggression" in a purist Marxist sense (see also Gane 1991: 28-29). Zoe Sugg is as an example of how displays of consumerism and leisure activities are painted as liberating, but actually work as repressive forces. She is now in her late twenties, but when she tries to escape the image of a squeaky-clean teenager, she is attacked by news media. She still sits on her bed playing with make-up; only the bed is in a West London studio and the make-up might now have her picture on it. She is frozen in time, and her displays act as repressive forces on her audience too, with *Zoella* acting as a signifier of the "liberation of affluence", not of expensive goods, but through lots of cheaper items, which any girl (at least any middle class Western girl) might be able to afford. In the hyperreal *Zoella* world, more stuff is more. Baudrillard's attempt to "work out a theory parallel to Marcuse" which considers the "paradox of the liberation of affluence" (Gane 1991: 30) or the "mental dynamic" of symbolic relations around consumerism considering "purpose through the force of signs" (Baudrillard 1968: 70-71), works well to describe the hyperreality of *Zoella* as repressive and consumerist ambience. As demonstrated by Figure Five, this has complex production processes.

Next, I consider how microcelebrity and its relationships with journalism and news media to build brand can create repressions *other than* consumerist ones. Media operatives tasked with building the Islamic State (IS) brand are argued to have used remarkably similar practices to those used to build brand *Zoella* to enable IS to become part of public consciousness via attracting the attention of mainstream media. The ultimate purpose was to bring the simulated Islamic State into being through building a micropublic who would then join the caliphate. This exploration reveals the full potential of combining

presentational and representational media practice, not just for commercial or artistic ends*,* but also for political purposes.

4.4: Islamic State as media brand: digital celebrity practice and the mediatised citizen as extremist

Digital and social media are crucial to the development of the brand "Islamic State" (IS), which existed as a signifier for a political cause long before the Islamic State existed in reality, in occupied parts of Syria and Iraq between 2014 and 2017. While the Arab Spring was celebrated as a pinnacle of the potentials of digital media and citizen journalism to launch revolutions against tyrannical regimes and demand democracy (Bruns et al 2013, Allan 2013), digital tools were turned to promote terrorism and radicalisation, with IS paying not only militants, but also media workers (*The Guardian* January 20 2016). Through digital production practices, including microcelebrity YouTube production and building parasociality with "fans"; the development of first player Apps and games and use of traditional news narratives to cover their operations, IS groomed thousands of often socially and economically isolated young people, including children, from Western capitalist democracies. Some were convinced to join the caliphate, such as British schoolgirls Shamima Begum, Kadiza Sultana and Amira Abase (*The Independent*, August 12, 2016). Others to launch terrorist attacks in their home countries, such as Paris attack leader Salah Abdeslam (November 13, 2015). IS inspired terrorism attacks totalled 94 in 30 different countries between May 2014 and July 1, 2017.

Khuram Zaman's (*Fifth Tribe*, November 20, 2015), analysis of 17,000 tweets from more than 100 pro-ISIS "fanboy" accounts after the Paris attacks in 2015, identified IS' digital strategy as "high volume" and "high quality". Funded from the $2 billion a year accrued from oil, taxes, punishment tolls, slavery and sex trafficking, a number of highly

skilled digital content producers and creatives worked together. Twitter was the "cornerstone of the group's digital strategy" (Ibid), with around 90% of all content disseminated through the site. Accounts totalled between 46,000 and 70,000 although most of these were "Bots" (Stern and Berger 2015) – short for robotically automated accounts - retweeting ad infinitum. The majority of tweets were from 2,000 accounts who acted as focal points for a micropublic (Marshall 2014), both as embodiments and "bearer(s) of a promotional message" (Wernick 1991: 106). These accounts tweeted more than 50 times per day and more during periods of heightened activity such as when promoting either a live or a recent military action, including terror attacks. In 2015, Berger and Morgan (2015: 28) placed the number of promotional tweets for IS at 133,422 per day, with around 18% in English, a further 6% in French and the rest in Arabic, which broadly reflected the nationalities of combatants.

Zaman (2015: online) offered two categories: "content for recruitment" and "content for enemies". He identified "*reporters*" using conventions of breaking news to cover ground action; "*reconnectors*" who highlighted new accounts when one is deleted; "*intellectuals*" who used philosophy, economics and political theory to justify actions; "*fanboys*" who circulated and shared content; *recruiters* who groomed to direct action and "*mudjhadeen*" – front line fighters, celebrity figures glorified as "heroes". Figure Five demonstrates how understanding microcelebrity as a production practice helps map divisions of labour, professionalised practices and intercommunications with mainstream media to build the IS brand. Just as Gleam Futures formalised microcelebrity production practices to further the social media reach of their "talents", so too operatives used its mechanisms to celebrify their "mujahedeen" and attract mainstream news attention. Examples of this included "Jihadi John" (Mohammed Emwazi), leader of the "Jihadi Beatles"

– a name given to a group of British operatives by their Western captives - or "white widow"

Samantha Lewthwaite, reported to have organized "live streaming" of the Westgate Mall

attack in Nairobi in 2013 (Mirror, Sept 28, 2014). These Western fighters were paid double

the wage of Syrian fighters because of their increased ability to attract media attention (*The*

Guardian January 20 2016).

Figure Six (4): Brand Islamic State's networked reality practice

Mapping Microcelebrity as
Production Practice: Islamic State
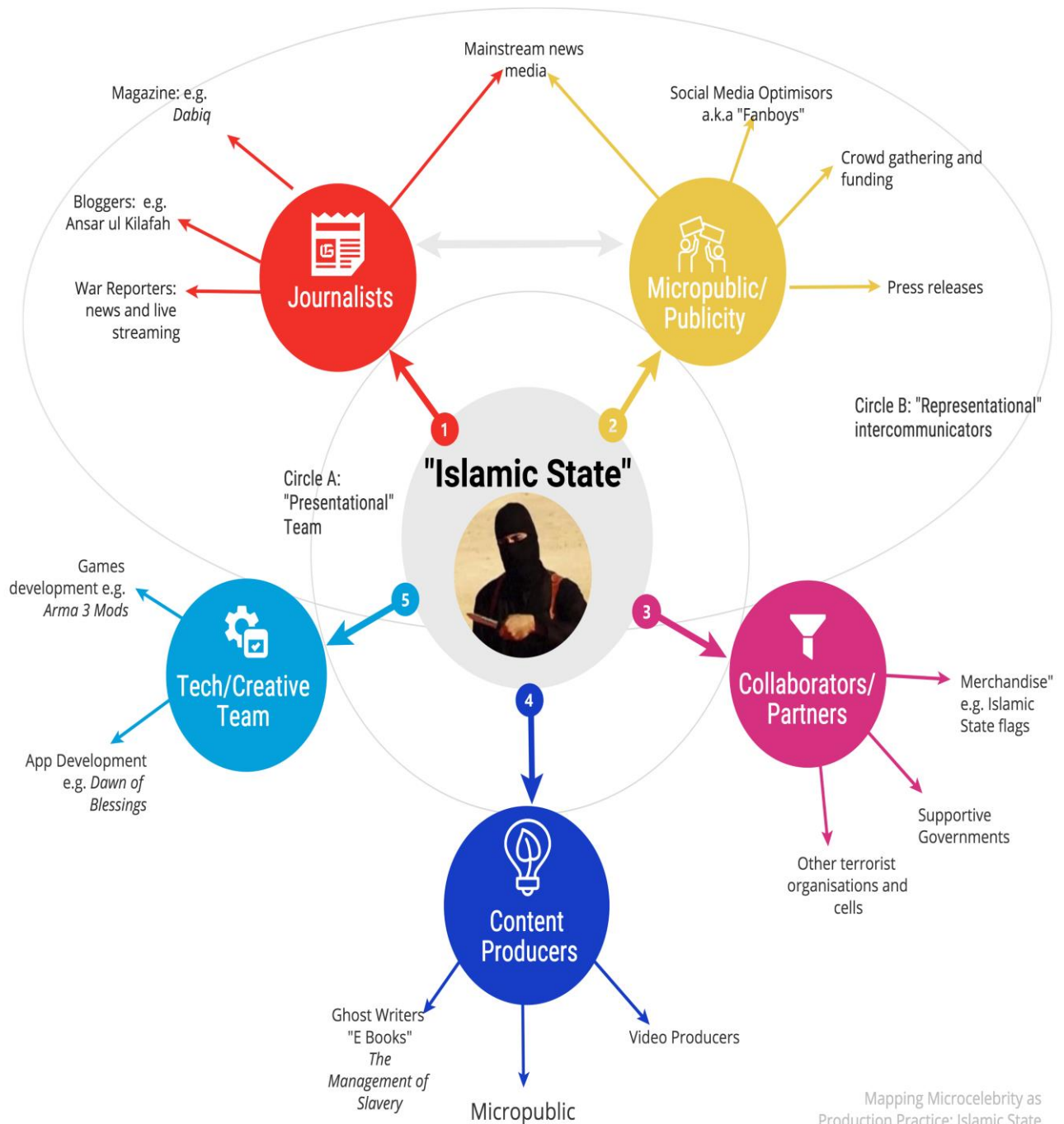
Journalism was at the heart of IS' networked production practices. Online magazines

Dubiq and Rumiyah functioned as newsletter and fan magazines, with "how-to" guides and

background news features on terrorism attacks. There were adverts for tech modifications,

which allowed IS characters for Grand Theft Auto, downloads for rap and pop songs glorifying

victories and the Dawn Glad Tidings App, which gave pro-IS alerts and tweets. Other Apps

included a children's game attacking Big Ben (*The Telegraph*, December 19 2016), launched

six months before the real terror strike on the Houses of Parliament in March 2017. Fans

used media to explore what life in the Islamic State might really be like. Fighters were

simultaneously portrayed as "ordinary" people from the West – depicted with household

brands such as Nutella (Vice, December 23 2014) or cuddling pet cats (The Telegraph, May

2016) – and "extraordinary" with huge weapons and committing barbarous acts of torture

and slaughter. The familiar ordinary/extraordinary paradox of celebrity culture (Dyer 1970,

1986; Turner 2010; Marshall 1997) was used to communicate with fans, subverting symbols

and narratives usually used to promote celebrities. By adopting narratives of celebrity culture

developed in news media during the creation of capitalist democratic nation states – and

notions of self as both "consumer" and "citizen" needed to sustain them – the Islamic State,

like the creation of "Britain", (Chapter Two), was made real. There are thus two parallel

meanings to "Islamic State". The first is the media brand (here referred to as brand IS) and

the second is the name given to captured parts of Syria and the Middle East (Islamic State).

As discussed in the methodology (I.4), news constructs are used to signify "truth" and

"objectivity" (Allan 1998). Brand IS reporters used the conventions of journalism and its

structures, covering battles and producing "breaking news" from inside Islamic State.

Through interviews, they created heteroglossic dialogue (Bakhtin 1984) to justify actions and

make the hyperreal Islamic State, real. Reporters also followed professionalised models of dissemination on social media, using and creating trending hashtags, and uploading reports filmed with their most famous fighters. In a time when mainstream news coverage of war and terrorism resembles a "soap opera" or reality TV, "blurring the boundaries between the factual and the fictional" (Thussu 2009: 16), this footage was not out of place amongst the "sensational" and the "spectacle" of global news as "infotainment" (17-18).

Brand IS journalism functioned in a similar way to that described by Allan and Zelizer's (2004: 25) in their analysis of how war reporting during the Iraq war fundamentally served a "propaganda purpose". It operated as state propaganda, using the mechanisms of war reporting and journalism to establish narratives of truth and in doing so crippling "the capacity of media consumers" to challenge or "make useful sense of the world" (Ibid). This propaganda war was fought on multiple fronts, with traditional news media "facing considerable challenges in deciding which images to broadcast" (Allan, 2005: 371). Like mainstream news' coverage of war, those broadcast on video sites and blogs viewed events as "spectacle" and "entertainment" (Allan 2010: 204) and the ability to attract an audience was more important than political or social significance. Journalism processes "events in a spectacular form" as they "compete for attention" (Kellner 2012: 116). News media's preoccupation with "the most brutal cases of violence", wins out, "reflected, repeated and echoed in endless variations through the lens of entertainment violence" (Bok 1998: 6-7). Acts of terror pass through news value tests with "consequences of…deeds" calculated against the "likelihood of gaining media attention" (Slocum 2005: 188). Rojek (2001: 154-155) discusses the collusion between criminals and mass media in the process of

celebrification, each for their own ends. Through the production practices of journalism and microcelebrity, brand IS seized control of mainstream news' agendas.

Critiques of tabloidisation of news argue that it transmutes everything to signs and symbols rather than offering meaningful analysis, (see I.2; 2.3 also Turner 2013; Thussu 2007). They highlight spectacle, celebritisation and celebrification as key components of "infotainment" and discuss democratic implications. Turner's "demotic turn" (Ibid: 91-95), discusses how ordinary people gain public visibility through increased levels of media. Brand IS focused on building fame for "cool looking" fighters such as "hipster Jihadi" Egyptian Islam Yaken (*Mail Online*, August 17, 2014), images of whom were circulated widely on social media or Western men, women and children from amongst its ranks. Videos of Jihadi John and Western children, such as four year-old Isa Dare, nicknamed "Jihadi Junior" committing barbarous acts of torture, talking of their reasons for doing so and relaxing or playing afterwards, worked to construct a networked reality narrative building fame through using microcelebrity and journalism production together, and by doing so setting the agendas for mainstream news media. It is not unlike the way that news organisations join in the celebrification and spectacle of reality television as discussed by Couldry (2004) in his analysis of *Big Brother* or how audiences interact with *Zoella* as discussed in the last section. Its primary purpose is to attract the attention of journalists to extend the visibility of their cause.

For example, the networked reality narrative constructed around Jihadi John and the Jihadi Beatles began with the release of a video depicting the murder of American journalist Jim Foley on *Twitter* on August 19, 2014, without identifying the perpetrator. His British

accent – and information from a former captive that he was part of a gang of four British fighters nicknamed The Beatles - led to the development of the pseudonym, first created by Douglas Murray for *The Spectator* (1828-current) on August 20 and splashed on the front of the *Daily Mail* the following day. As Emwazi went on to kill another ten prisoners on camera, newspapers began a game of identification, before revealing he was just an "ordinary schoolboy" (*The Telegraph*, 26 February 2016), who was in the same year as former *X Factor* judge and N-Dubz singer Tulisa (February 26 2015). This was celebrity news, complete with "Exclusive" pictures of him hanging out with friends (*MailOnlin*e, January 26 2016) and smiling "innocent" in his school uniform with classmates (*MailOnline* February 26, 2015). Jihadi John's "descent from schoolboy" Emwazi to mass murderer was reported in the same way as any other reality TV star who suddenly becomes famous. British newspapers were complicit in brand IS' efforts to celebrify Emwazi because it suited their own agendas – he was simply too good a story to miss. For tabloid newspapers, maintaining his celebrity status through interviews with former friends, rumours of his whereabouts and the devastation of his parents, was useful. Coverage teamed celebrity news discourse with symbolic images of Arabs as "others" hidden in our own country and threats to personal and national security (Altheide et al 2007: 288 [1979]). It played out on the front pages and in more than 3,000 stories across the websites of British tabloids *MailOnline, Mirror Online*, *The Sun* and *The Express*, between August 2014 and reports of his death in December 2015. His celebrity status was highlighted in a full-page *Dabiq* obituary (January 16, 2016), complete with new "behind the scenes" pictures of him relaxing with friends, without his infamous mask.

Howie (2009: 5) claims the "goals of the celebrity terrorist are notoriety, fame" through "the production of terrifying images that have meanings". However, his analysis focuses on

celebrity as the ultimate *goal of the terrorist* – that is they become terrorists in order to be famous. Colen (2008) echoes this, claiming they "crave…what Paris Hilton and Madonna crave when they have sex in public. What they long for…. [is] an obsessive audience". However, it is clear it is *not the individual's* desire to be famous which is driving the use of microcelebrity and journalism practice by brand IS. Rather, it is brand IS media operatives' *understanding* of the power of celebrity culture and its mechanisms which they use as part of digital brand development aimed at making the Islamic State itself, an accepted reality. This is demonstrated through analysis of "special appearances" on the IS networked reality show of "Jihadi Junior" Isa Dare, a four-year-old taken by his mother from his South-East London home. The world watched in horror as he executed a prisoner (*MailOnline,* August 26, 2016) and cried when his grandparents revealed Isa had managed to call them from a mobile phone and begged them to save him (*MailOnlin*e, 5 January, 2016). Fame was clearly not Isa's goal when forced to blow up prisoners. This was a child living beyond his control and suffering horrific emotional, mental and physical abuse. It was the desire of media operatives who understand that a British child forced to murder was an effective way to bring their message of fear to the West. This use of celebrification for strategic goal made them like the mainstream news media, which were willing to be complicit in the process. News organisations became part of brand IS' media practice, embracing the opportunity to celebrify terrorists, because it helped build their audience. The brand IS team used microcelebrity practices - celebrification of individuals through networked reality and the production of journalism -to reach thousands of socially disaffected young people. News organisations joined in the process, celebrifying these killers. As hundreds commented underneath online news stories, about what should happen to IS members and often any

other person who happens to be Muslim, journalism became an active recruitment tool for

terrorists.

4.5: Summary: *How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?*

Digital media blurs lines between professional practice and audience display of online

identities. Microcelebrity is now co-opted into the mechanisms and money making schemes

of media industries, with production and promotional tools borrowed and borrowed back

again (Turner 2013: 74). Subversive social media is mainstream; mainstream news

companies blur representational and presentational techniques. However, this

demonstrates the continued significance of journalism in shaping digital celebrity and

celebritised cultures. The constructs of journalism remain powerful mechanisms to develop

and maintain celebrity. This is now characterized by "real time" permanent updating where

interaction, production and dissemination occur simultaneously. The *Zoella* brand works

because its principal performer Zoe Sugg appears to be an *authentic consumer*, as well as a

journalistic "authoritative voice" and both are displayed as her real self-identity; *Bowienet*

worked within the wider hyperreal performance of Bowie as a *star*, where persona

construction and simulation were more significant than authenticity. Islamic State is a

mediatised brand and a simulacrul place made real. Its *citizens*, both physical and imagined

across the globe, inhabit a horrific hyperreal world, where there is breakfast of Nutella and a

cuddle with a kitten, before mass murder; computer games and genocide on the same day;

child stars and child rape; all blurred together in one mass mediatised display. The areas of

self-identity which journalism played a significant part in developing, as discussed in Part

One, shape and are reshaped by digital practice that extend from the long established practices of celebrity news and journalism.

However, in each case analysed here, fame is not articulated as the goal. Bowie was a long established and iconic star when he launched *Bowienet*. For him it was an experimentation of his passions and interests: new technologies; hyperreality and simulation; cyber culture and art. Zoe Sugg and her boyfriend Alfie Deyes, along with their "talent manager" Dom Smales - have emphasised that fame is only a bi-product of their desire to communicate their passion and hobbies online and was "never the end game". Sugg has emphasised this when asking fans to respect her privacy, despite a performance practice, which constantly invites them into her private spaces. Brand IS media professionals have little regard for individualised fame. Masking Jihadi John hid him, but added to his mystery, while his accent confirmed he was a Westerner killing another and guaranteed maximum attention from mainstream news media. Four-year-old Isa Dare was made to kill in order to shock Western audiences, regardless of the impact on him. Processes of celebrification are key, but celebrity status is not understood as the purpose. As self-identity - "who we are" - becomes ever more inseparable from public display, "Applied" celebrity works as a new category within Rojek's taxonomy, but this is complicated by the fact that the desired result of this application *may not simply* be the achievement of fame itself.

The next two chapters explore these ideas in more detail focusing on how they are shaping celebrity culture, journalism, displays of self-identity and political communication. I examine how we may understand networked celebrity in relation to self-identity and its displays, where the "end game" or strategic aims are more clearly the building and maintenance of public visibility. I consider this against two key areas: the building of

mainstream media brands - including those of celebrities and news media - and the furthering of political messages, including through the celebrification of politicians and its relationships to news coverage. These two areas are chosen as the most significant emerging from considerations so far, linking authenticity, consumerism and political engagement together and using celebrity news and journalism as a means to understand shifts in identity and its displays.

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Chapter Five

"Click, Consume, Share": news and networked celebrity performance

5.1: Introduction

IN May, 2008 two websites – Twitter and *MailOnline* – made significant technological advances to support "back-end functionality" and "front-end" audience experience which fundamentally shifted journalism production, dissemination and its relationships with celebrity culture. Twitter, which launched two years earlier, gained additional investment (*Twitter Blog*, June 24 2008*)*, allowing it to improve robustness and user experience. The launch of the "Twitter whale" graphic - which explained that the site was "over capacity" - reflected the work of the expanding technical support team. Visits to the site were eight times higher than the year before – doubling in the previous three months alone - and worldwide monthly unique users had reached a million, tweeting 3 million times a day (*TechCrunch*, April 29, 2008: online). Five years later, Twitter was central to the formulation and circulation of celebrity and journalism, boasting 218 million active accounts (*Adweek,* October 4, 2013*)*, tweeting between 400 million and 500 million tweets daily (*The Telegraph*, May 29 and September 6, 2013). The social media site is unique, not only because of how it performs as a portal and aggregator for an abundance of digital content, but because of the opportunity it affords for 24-hour-a-day real time interaction between corporations, public figures and multiple complex audiences and for the depth of experience facilitated through hyperlinking and sharing.

During the same period *MailOnline* became the world's most visited news website. When re-launched in May 2008, its number of unique users was 18.7 million per month. By May

2013, it reached 128 million per month (+685%) (*Press Gazette*, Online, June 20, 2013).

According to digital business analytics company Comscore (Jan 19, 2012: online), *MailOnline*

boasted not only the biggest audience of any news website worldwide, but for other key

media categories including TV and showbusiness and consumer areas such as fashion and

style. In the executive summary of Brand42, the digital agency commissioned with re-

launching the site, the brief was simple: "to make *MailOnline* the UK's number one

newspaper website" (2012: 2). Brand42 identified its key objectives as "enhancing the user

experience, maximising editorial and imagery" in order to "engage and appeal to a younger

web savvy audience, encouraging interaction and comment" (Ibid: 3). They increased

opportunities for audience interactivity through comment and social media share, and

radically altered the content management system, making it more "user friendly, flexible

and responsive" (Ibid: 6). In June 2011, the number of visits through individual article pages

shared on social media, surpassed the number through the homepage (Ibid: 6) enabled by

flexibility of "entry points and journeys" (Ibid), from social media. By 2014, *MailOnline*

employed 615 reporters, producing more than 750 articles per day, with 70% of hits from

outside the UK (*Financial Times*, April 18, 2015).

   This chapter explores the role of celebrity, journalism and the presentation of self-

identity in the success of these two sites as they direct audiences through processes of

"click, consume and share". Firstly (5.2), statistical examination of the top 20 celebrity

Twitter accounts at the end of the six-year period of "rapid growth" (2008-2014), offers

insights into the importance of levels and methods of tweeting and how journalists use

them for newsgathering. Secondly (5.3), closer examination of "Brand Kardashian" -

encompassing six women from the US Kardashian and Jenner families - demonstrates

complexities of networked celebrity display and its impact on digital news agendas. The relationship between consumer culture and the display of authentic identities is demonstrated as a connective theme from the origins of celebrity culture in print news (Chapter One) and I expand my rationale for a new category of "applied" celebrity for Rojek's (2001) taxonomy (see 4.3). Finally, this chapter considers intercommunications (Marshall 2014) or "vortextuality" (Whannel 2010) between dialogic interactions (Bakhtin 1984) on news and social media (5.3). I consider Twitter's impact on journalistic practices for gathering direct speech and how journalistic displays of direct speech shape celebrity displays of self-identity.

5.2: Sustainability of Twitter performance, interactivity with micropublics and the impact on *MailOnline*'s news agenda.

In 2011, Marwick and boyd established that the vast majority of celebrity Twitter accounts were produced by the individual, with only around 13% of the most popular 144 showing signs of authorship by publicists. This work extended Senft's (2008) examination of microcelebrity, understood here as a production process (see 4.3), used by both public figures and "ordinary" people to gain status online, and its reshaping of fame as a continuum "rather than a bright line that separates individuals" (Marwick and boyd 2011: 141). However, claims that successful Twitter performance relies on the illusion of "uncensored glimpses" (Ibid) into private lives, overly simplifies audience understanding of the process. It suggests they need to believe celebrity discourse on Twitter is spontaneous in order to accept it as authentic. As explored in the last chapter, audiences are often engaged in celebrification, with parasociality happening during the "act of media production itself" (Giles 2010: 95). On Twitter there is continuous interplay between self and

micropublic, amidst a "massive collective desire to become part of the new social construction of identity and public display" (Marshall 2014: 163). Micropublics are linked together by content and via celebrities, "regularly and publicly updated and responded to in the tradition of broadcast and print media forms that make it a quasi-public network" (Ibid: 164). While audiences are therefore more involved in celebrification, public figures are still the dominant voice, both having – and being seen to have– complete control over with whom they interact. As such, "older processes of broadcasting/receiving star images and the hierarchies of stardom/fandom prevail" (Thomas 2014: 2).

The last 3,200 tweets before June 2014 - the number stored publically at that time - of each of the top 20 celebrity Twitter accounts in terms of followers were coded using Seartwi analytic software (see Figure One (5)). Zizi Papacharissi (2012: 2) argues that "presencing" on the site – a term introduced by Couldry (2012) to describe construction of continual online existence– "uses interaction...to pursue publicity, privacy and sociality". She discusses the patterns and routines of performance as "part of the performative repertoire marking identity" and builds from Derrida's (1967/78) discussion of the conventions and customs of language to analyse tweets. On Twitter, individuals "are challenged to manage the persistence, replicability, scalability and searchabilty of their performances fluently, in environments that prompt (and in some instances reward) sharing" (Papachariss 2012i: 4). They are embedded into "social routines essential for forming and sustaining connections between communities that are both imagined and actual" (5). As demonstrated in Figure One (5), sustainability of performance was key, with all but one of the top 20 celebrity accounts averaging at least one tweet a day. It is clear that public figures also recognised the potential of engaging with their micropublic as part of "participatory web-based culture"

(Beer and Penfould-Mounce 1999: 1). There was also a *type* of celebrity who reached the top 20: 14 popstars; three reality/chat show TV stars; two sportsmen and one politician - all primarily famous as themselves, rather than for playing fictional characters. The dominance of musicians could be explained by understanding it as an extension of already existing promotional practices, which often include construction of new identities (see 3.4). If we understand Twitter as an extension of this promotional process, the dominance of these kinds of celebrities on the platform, makes perfect sense.

Figure One (5): Statistical analysis of top 20 celebrity Twitter accounts (last 3200

Twitter name & Date Joined	Followers (m)	Tweets	Daily Average	Reply (%)	Retweet (%)	Total Interactive (%)	Broadcast	Stories (June 1 2011-June 1 2014)
@katyperry: February 2, 2009	53.8	5671	3	9	20.5	29.5	70.5	711
@justinbieber: May 28, 2009	52.343.6	27,012	14	12.5	38.5	51	49	1158
@barackobama: May 5, 2007	43.6	11,891	4.5	0	19	19	81	98
@ladygaga March 26, 2008	41.5	4760	2	35	23	58	42	813
@taylorswift: December 6 2008	41.3	2231	1	1.5	51.5	53	47	589
@britneyspears: Sept 9, 2008	37.6	3666	1.75	36	32	68	32	479
@rihanna: October 2, 2009	35.7	8980	5.2	56.5	27	83.5	26.5	1163
@justintimberlake: March 25, 2009	32.6	2388	1.25	19.6	54.8	74.4	25.6	209
@theellenshow (Degeneres): August 13, 2008	29.4	8999	4	0	44.5	44.5	55.5	103
@JLo: October 27, 2009	27.9	3908	2.3	6	85	91	9	107
@cristiano (Ronaldo): June 14, 2010	26.9	1977	1.3	3.5	50.5	54	46	62
@Shakira: June 3, 2009	25.6	2981	1.6	2	72	74	26	140
@Oprah: 23 January 2009	24.5	9308	4.7	46.5	36.5	83	17	203
@Pink: April 3, 2009	23.8	5386	2.8	22	64	86	14	N/A
@ddlovato (Demi): Feb 17, 2009	22.8	11,496	8	8	53	61	39	245
@KimKardashian: March 19, 2009	21.2	17,450	9	7	16	23	77	1471
@HarryStyles: August 22, 2010	20.9	4764	3.4	59	12	71	29	580
@SelenaGomez: May 8, 2010	20.7	3256	1.7	7	14	21	79	657
@OfficialAdele: August 30, 2010	20.3	323	<1	2	32	34	66	210
@kaka (Ricardo): June 28, 2009	19.4	3499	2	0	9.5	9.5	90.5	7

tweets, June 2014) and impact on _MailOnline_ news content (June 2011-June 2014)

Public and direct replies (@+username) had the greatest currency for followers. These conversations were generally instigated by a question or comment, tweeted in hope of capturing a celebrity's attention. All but three (85%) engaged with their audience in this way and all 20 interacted with their followers through retweets. Five celebrities used 30% of tweets to reply to other Twitter users and 13 spent more than 50% of their time either replying or retweeting. Interactivity, both through direct conversation and retweeting, was therefore a key part of popular models of communication. Broadcast methods were significant too, often more so than interactive models. Celebrities detailed their activities, announced products and offered opinion and these were retweeted often tens of thousands of times. The dominant role for "televised personalities such as journalists and celebrities", where "personalities and commentators…actively filter and shape the news" (Mathiesen 1997: 225), therefore extended to social media. Celebrities also behaved differently at different times, for example, sometimes actively engaging directly through @+username replies and other times not, sometimes quiet and at other times tweeting multiple times a day. Their relationships with the site were fluid and also increasingly professionalised, with 65% of tweets (13 out of 20) appearing to be at least partially written by public relations agents or teams - a significant increase on 13% found by Marwick and boyd (2011) four years earlier. This reflects the professionalisation of microcelebrity production practices too (see 4.3).

MailOnline's use of social media displays reflected how analytics govern journalistic work. A clear directive both from celebrities on Twitter and MailOnline governed interactions with audiences: click content; consume it (and maybe buy a product) and then

share it. Turner (2014: 152) argues that celebrity news may be the "first genre" to see

entertainment as its sole objective, and *MailOnline* used analytics of how entertaining the

audience found certain stories to direct production. Just as celebrities measure the success

of social media performances by levels of "favorites", retweets or replies, similarly editors

measure success of content in terms of clicks. More clicks mean greater amounts of similar

content. This is evident on the *MailOnline* homepage and particularly the celebrity news

sidebar. This content is tagged and linked in differing ways, which affect the way it is

archived. The gap in terms of levels of content relating to popstar Pink in Figure One (5), for

example, is reflect that she does not have a "tag" on the site, and while others in the list do

not either, articles could be manually coded using their names[24]. Only stories tagged as "TV

and Showbiz" and where the named celebrity was the lead focus, were included in analysis.

There were significant patterns in theme, gathering, production and dissemination of

MailOnline celebrity news. It was highly gendered, appearing until 2014 under the banner

"FeMail" and while the banner has been removed from the top of the "side-bar of shame",

the lilac colour coding for this content area remains[25]. Women were not only viewed as

"consumers" of this content (Thornham 2007: 8), but also were also its principal subjects.

For example, the total number of celebrity news stories about the five women who feature

most on *MailOnline* (@KimKardasian; @Rihanna; @LadyGaga; @KatyPrery; @SelenaGomez)

is 4,815 - more than double the 2,107 stories produced about the top featured men

(JustinBieber; @JustinTimberlake; @HarryStyles; @BarackObama; @Ronaldo) (See Figure

One). Stories "emphasise[d] women's sexuality rather than their achievements" and

"images of female emotional distress, even when…rationale for their inclusion in the story is

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[24] The word "Pink" yielded almost 20,000 results rendering manual methods impossible.
[25] July 2017.

unclear and questionable" (Davies et al 1987: 73). The women were hyper-sexualised

through "language and imagery" – not unlike the way language and images of Page Three

girls - which carried the full power of "sexual, as well as, gender difference" (Holland 2002:

18). Images are used as "instantly recognisable hooks "to capture the casual reader" (Harper

2009: 158). *MailOnline's* "side bar of shame" - described by publisher Martin Clarke as

"journalistic crack" (Usher 2014: online) - shifted rapidly between celebrations and attacks

based on physical appearance, sex lives, experiences or consumer habits. This "side bar"

was credited for *MailOnline's* extraordinary audience hold of around 11 minutes, when for

most newspaper websites two and half minutes was considered a "pretty good show" (Ibid).

Turner (2014: 145-151) highlights three components, which direct the production of

celebrity news, focusing specifically on newsgathering. The first is through intermediaries

such as press releases and press packs, events such as film premieres or award shows and

interviews often negotiated through "personal contact with publicity and promotional

organisations". Other news is produced in relation to images such as paparazzi "candid

shots". Often these images are staged, with reality television personalities particularly

working *with* photographers. These pictures are taken by freelance photographers "selling

directly to picture editors" (McNamara 2011: 516) and reality television personalities are

offered free trips abroad or a cut from image sales. Stories are also produced based on

"rumour" or gossip, which may be fabricated, offered by paparazzi or the agencies selling

pictures, as revealed by British "snapper" George Banby in *Channel 4's Confessions of a*

Paparazzi (7 February 2017), or from a tip off from a member of the public. Turner identifies

celebrity news as "probably the key area where we see consumers unproblematically

accepting gossip or rumour as news". *MailOnline* reporters use all of these methods for

their stories, but their most significant newsgathering source, at least for the "TV and

Showbiz" category, is the networked practice of celebrities across social and mainstream

media. Around 30% of stories about Kim Kardashian, for example, were simply gathered via

her social media accounts and this is one of the reasons that the most prolific two tweeters

in the Top 20 (Kardashian and Justin Bieber) are also the two most featured celebrities on

MailOnline.

How digital technologies have revolutionised the ways journalists work is a popular

theme in studies of mainstream news media. These are often categorised by how they add

or detracts from traditional professional newsgathering and the impact of increased

audience interaction. Deuze (2012: 269) categorises these new routines into *open* and

closed news systems. In *open* news systems, content is sourced by audiences and then

moderated, filtered and edited by professionals to produce a piece of journalism – for

example citizen journalism. In contrast*, closed* news systems follow Bruns (2005) model of

"gatewatching" where journalists watch the digital sphere and publicise news by pointing to

original material, which would include social media accounts (Bruns 2005: 19). Examining

these systems in relation to the content produced by *MailOnline* reporters highlights that

they newsgather in both these ways. They are "gatewatchers – observers of the output

gates" (Ibid; 17), such as the broadcast of TV reality shows or social media accounts of

celebrities, to identify material as it becomes available. They no longer rely on direct

interaction with sources to produce content, but look to direct interaction between

celebrities and their audiences on social media, content produced as part of reality

television shows, and pictures published online, treating these as a news sources. However,

MailOnline journalists move beyond Bruns' description of news publicising. While they point

to original sources, they also moderate, filter, edit and use news conventions, a process that has some hallmarks of traditional gatekeeping.

Long established journalistic construction patterns – the inverted pyramid; conventions for the display of direct speech (see I.4; 4.6) - turn gossip, images and promotional materials into "news". "Utterances" (Bakhtin 1984) from Twitter were packaged initially using the term "tweeted:" but this quickly moved to the long established conventions of "said: " or "added: ". Indeed, the "highly-optimised" templates created for journalists during *MailOnline*'s redevelopment, embed such linguistic and structural conventions. The next section focuses particularly on the most covered celebrity, Kim Kardashian, and identifies how conventions of news were used to construct reality during the building of her family's brand. Exploring how *MailOnline* shaped, modified and translated performances to audiences, offers new manifestations of Goffman's (1956: 23-24) argument that displays of self-identity are "moulded to fit into the understanding and expectations of society" and "exemplify the officially accredited values of the society". In the case of Brand Kardashian, self-identity and self-fulfilment are linked specifically to consumer culture, the oldest and most sustained narrative of celebrity news (see Chapter One).

5.3: "Brand Kardashian": applied celebrity, networked reality and *MailOnline*'

The growth of Twitter and *MailOnline* coincided with the development of constructed reality television. Keeping up with the Kardashians (2007-current) and its eight spin off shows (referred to here as *KUWTK et al*), are part of a genre that uses displays of the lives of real people as vehicles to sell consumer goods. The overriding narrative of *KUWTK et al* is how these women live a "perpetually productive life" inside a "social factory" of production

and consumption to become a "branded self" (Hearn 2010). This constructed reality performance works beyond the remits of the television show. Kim Kardashian, and her sisters, are prolific on social media, offering snapshots of both private and public moments. They are commodity signs – "entities that work and at the same time, point to [themselves] working" (Hearn (2008: 197). The construction of their brand and their networked personas were "simultaneously enacted in reality television's narratives and on their shop floors" (Ibid: 203) including social media. They were incredibly successful at building followers, first on Twitter particularly, but later expanding to Instagram and Snapchat. By June 2014, the principal cast of *KUWTK* had more than 85 million Twitter followers, placing them as a collective at the top of Twitter tables. As shown in Figure Two, social media reach by June 2017 on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook approached 700 million, and Snapchat "views" surpassed 250 million a month.

Building Brand Kardashian has much in common with microcelebrity production (see Figure Two and 4.3) and these six women also sit between and beyond the categories of Rojek's (2001) taxonomy of fame. "Momager", Kris Jenner (previously Kardashian) turned the "value of visibility" (Redmond and Holmes 2007: 5) because of a leaked sex tape of her daughter Kim, into a successful pitch for a reality TV show on the E! Channel. Kris at that time managed her husband, Olympic Gold medallist Bruce Jenner, who seized a "window of opportunity" (E! True Hollywood Story, April 2008) to gain lucrative advertising deals. The eldest three Kardashian women are the daughters of Robert Kardashian (1944-2003), famous as attorney and best friend of OJ Simpson, who featured in US tabloid news throughout the infamous trial. The show's main story arc – creating the global Kardashian

brand – was underpinned from the outset by "attributed" fame from the mediatised pasts and achievements of father figures.

Reality television personalities are usually highly mediated "ascribed" celebrities, created by and for mass media consumption (Rojek 2001: 18). Turner (2004, 2006, 2013) analyses how the transition from the fly-on-the-wall documentary in the 1990s, such as *Airport* (1996-2008) or *Driving School* (1997)*,* to more constructed internationally broadcast formats such as *Big Brother (*2000-current*), Survivors* (1997-current)*, Pop Idol* (2001-2003) and *American Idol* (2002-2016) and *X Factor (*2004-current*)*, relied on an amalgamation of reality with game and talent show formats. These were accepted by the audience as reality only in relation to the process of the show. The structured reality of these shows was perpetuated by extensive tabloid news coverage, which was driven by news media seeing an opportunity for cheap, commercially driven content (Turner 2004: 74-76). Commercial television produces these celebrities, "rather than being merely the end user" (32) of celebrity culture. For reality TV participants "celebrity can spin off into many related sub-industries through endorsements, merchandising and the like. Individuals can become brands in their own right, with enormous commercial potential" (Turner 2014: 42). However, constructed reality such as *KuwK et al* differs from previous reality TV shows in two ways. Firstly, they are often partially scripted (scenes are set up and reactions agreed beforehand) and edited into planned story arcs, with "performances of selfhood […] completely conditioned by the shows' narrative conceits, aesthetic concerns, production exigencies, and sponsorship imperatives" (Hearn, 2014: 448). Cast members also need to look good because they principally exist as vehicles to sell, and as such, they are afforded glamour through make up and lighting. Of course this could be argued of any celebrity, but unlike "achieved"

celebrities, derived from the "perceived accomplishments of the individual in open competition" (Rojek 2001: 18), selling consumable items is *the principal purpose* of these shows and as such their "perceived achievements" are displayed entirely in relationship to promotion and brand building. They are perhaps, pinnacles of Boorstin's (1961) claim that celebrity in our consumer driven society is entirely superficial, possessing little, if any, real merit. Hearn (2010: 72) argues that while this could be seen as a triumph of reconciling immaterial labour and self, worth only exists through the exploitation of this labour and therefore is no genuine reconciliation. The success of Brand Kardashian is painted on the shows and *MailOnline* articles as simultaneously emancipatory and restrictive for the women themselves.

Figure Two (5): Brand Kardashian's "applied" celebrity and networked reality practice (July 2017)

Mail Online

- 4,112 stories (June 2011-July 2017)
- 30% from Twitter
- Most featured celebrity (Kim Kardashian)

News Media

- 20 average monthly UK/US Magazine covers (2015)
- 18 Vogue covers
- Daily 'Kardashian' feature on "E!" News

Representational/ Presentational intercommuncation: e.g. stories from social media

Representational/Representational intercommunication: e.g. stories from TV show.

Microcelebrity

Representational/Presentational intercommunication: e.g. reality story arc of personal life and building self brand

Reality Television

- KUWTK shown in 150 countries
- Highest rated show on E! network
- High of 10.5million US viewers
- 9 Spin Off shows

Press/ Publicity

- Kim Kardashian "most googled" person in 26 countries 2015
- Expanded press & publicity team via corporate affiliation

Web/Tech /Creative Team

- App development
- Web development
- Tech support

Collaborators /Partners

- Corporations
- Freelance Creatives
- Audience of Micropublic

Social Media

- Content Producers
- Graphic designers
- Optimisers

155.7 million

350 million weekly views

406.1 million

106 million

Brand Kardashian

The overriding narrative of *KUWTK et al* is how these women live a "perpetually productive life" inside a "social factory" of production and consumption to become a "branded self" (Hearn 2010). This constructed reality performance works beyond the remits of the television show. Kim Kardashian, and her sisters, are prolific on social media, offering snapshots of both private and public moments. They are commodity signs – "entities that work and at the same time, point to [themselves] working" (Hearn (2008: 197). The construction of their brand and their networked personas were "simultaneously enacted in reality television's narratives and on their shop floors"

As Figure Two shows, production practices used to build Brand Kardashian are complex, blurring the lines between representational television formats– their first mechanism for gaining public attention – celebrity news and journalism and microcelebrity practices. The Kardashians are better described as "applied" celebrities who construct "a particular *ambience,* comprising sensibilities and values, which may then condition consumer behavior" (Arvisson 2005: 244). As discussed in the last chapter (4.5), this ambience works as a "repressive" force (Baudrillard 1970), fostering false attachments and emotions, which restrict self-identity. For Arvisson (2005: 239) this is key to the success of developing successful brands. Across social media, television and journalism publications such as *MailOnline* the Kardashian and Jenner women "monetize themselves", developing legions of "followers" (Hearn 2013: 499) who, in turn, became part of the production process, extending the promotional and commercial potentials of this networked reality performance. For example, on Twitter, the Kardashians offer regular crowd-sourced interview moments, both pre-organised, usually relating to a specific product, and "spontaneous" sessions framed as a reward to fans. These are remarkably similar to Q & A sessions in early Hollywood magazines (3.3) and those on *Bowienet* (4.2). During

"#KardashianKollectionChat", the driving dynamic, as with most celebrity interviews, was

the promotion of goods:

@MinieKardashian: @khloekardashian #KardashianKollectionChat What is your favourite item from the Kollection? Xo

@KhloeKardashian: @MinieKardashian Love the new mint and black dress I'm wearing in our campaign shoot. The color denim and the fab print leggings! What's yours?

@MinieKardashian: @KhloeKardashian I love that dress! From the Kollection in our stories, I love the black and white spotted dress! Sophisticated&chic! Xx

@MinieKardashian: @KhloeKardashian #KardashianKollectionChat Have you ever had a day when you just sat at home and relaxed?

@KhloeKardashian: @MinieKardashian yes, those are my FAVOURITE days, LOL

(Twitter, May 5, 2013)

In this instance MinieKardashian's questions appear to be chosen as she has previously

interacted with her idol and her name is recognised, as demonstrated by this conversation

just two months previously on March 12. On that occasion the conversation appears

"unfiltered" (Song and Kim 2016: 570) "direct and interactive communication" developed

through a strong sense of "being together" (Ibid):

@MinieKardashian: @KhloeKardashian YOU are perfection koko! Post me some of your beauty!! Xo
@KhloeKardashian: @MinieKardashian LOL love you
@MinieKardashian: @KhloeKardashian I love you more!!! Xoxo

(Twitter, March 12, 2013)

Goffman (1956: 13-14) described the "expressive equipment", such as the physical

setting where a performance occurs, or the "persona", consisting of items we "most

intimately identify with the performers themselves", as the "front". Twitter, as a virtual

performance space, melds both the setting and the personal aspects of a front. While the

broader page layout, timeline system and typographical systems are part of the setting; it is

also formulated by the page and avatar of the celebrity's image and profile information. The audience are able to copy the personal front of the celebrity on their own profiles, making themselves easily identifiable as a fan or part of their micropublic. This is evident when we consider the other side of the interaction between Khloe Kardashian and "Yasmin Kardashian", who performed the role of a journalist in this interview process. "Yasmin Kardashian" (@MinieKardashian) is part of a trend on Twitter of users who construct their identity – or profile – on the site entirely in relation to public figures they admire. She finds "identity, connection and meaning" (Jenson: 1992:18) via interactions with Brand Kardashian and the women who encompass it. She uses the surname of her idols, a picture of Kim Kardashian as her avatar, the Kardashian "brand" of the mirrored 'K' as part of her screen name and her Twitter biography describes direct social media communication. She not only supports the construction of the Kardashians as products, but has also become *like* the product, producing her online identity in relation to her idols. She tweets about watching their shows; reading about them in celebrity news; buying their branded clothes. She copies their phrases and writing style (for example calling other fans "Dolls"); wears their perfume; she posts pictures of herself spending her leisure time attempting to interact with them; having henna tattoos of their brand; going out dressed in pieces from their collections of clothes and accessories; eating cake iced with their mirrored K brand symbol. Being a fan is a routine part of her daily life, "a central preoccupation of the self and serves to govern a significant part of one's activity and interaction with others" (Thompson 1995: 222), which asserts "membership of [the] particular fan community" (Fiske 1992: 38).

Marshall (1997: 248) argues that celebrity offers us examples to live by, through exemplification of individualised perfection, and that fandom allows formation of clear

consumer groups. The celebrity interview has played a principle role in the performance of "individual", to sell. As described during the period when the celebrity interview was fully developed in relation to Hollywood stars (see Chapter Three), this demonstrates "the idea that satisfaction is found […] in consumption and leisure" (deCordova 1990: 108). This extends to how fans use Twitter as a site for displaying both consumption and of leisure. Here a fan is using techniques, which are a familiar part of the thematic patterns of the celebrity interview – such as questions about a latest fashion collection or how they spend their leisure time – to support the celebrity in the construction of their image.

Early discussions around parasocial interaction see audiences as passive. It is all one way, with fans gazing at personalities without the opportunity to interact and articulate their desires and needs (Horton and Wohl 1956). However, when examining @MinieKardashian's Twitter presence, it is clear she is an *acknowledged* participant in the Kardashians' construction of their image and that her role as interviewer on these occasions is part of a much wider range of voluntary promotional work. While examinations of how fandom has moved beyond Horton and Wohl's (1956: 215-229) original argument of parasocial interaction due to its two-way nature, such forms of interaction, as discussed here, suggest it has also moved beyond their argument that they are governed "by little or no sense of obligation, effort, or responsibility on the part of the spectator"(Ibid: 215). Analogue technologies meant the fan was "free to withdraw at any moment" (Ibid), but social media has created a working model through which fans publically demonstrate the quality of their relationship.

As @MinieKardashian constructs her "on-Twitter" identity as a projection of an "off-Twitter" life lived in relation to her heroes and asks questions which support the building of

Brand Kardashian, she is rewarded with "love" from her idol, helping fulfil desires of search

and belonging" (Rojek, 2001: 93-94). Thompson (1995: 223) argues that the social world of

the fan is highly structured with "its own conventions, its own rules of interaction and forms

of expertise, its own hierarchies of power and prestige [and] its own practices of

canonization". By June 2014, "Yasmin Kardashian" had more than 15,000 followers of her

own because of this work and was rewarded with the ultimate canonisation of public "love"

from her idol. In June 2017 her total followers stood at 33,000 and she was a recognised

leader of the Kardashian "Doll" community. She is now the centre of a throng - a

microcelebrity in her own right - or what Marshall (2014: 163) would describe as a "cultural

meme", who has reached a level of fame by supporting the creation of someone else's

online persona. This capital only exists as a reflection of the Kardashian brand. The effort

she has put into this "digital labour" (De Koshnik 2013: 98–112, Sholtz 2013) creates a sense

of obligation not only to the Kardashians, but also to other fans, highlighted by constant

interaction. This tempers her ability to "withdraw" from the relationship. There are

significant penalties, such as the loss of social standing or contact with her idols.

Digital and microcelebrity practices create parasociality through mutuality of

production, including the use of the conventions and constructions of journalism. The way

"Yasmin Kardashian" yields up her own identity to that of her idols is similar to the fan

productivity described by Fiske (1992: 38) as "in group solidarity". She displays all three

areas of fan production Fiske (1992: 37-38) explored: *semiotic productivity* through images

of her own self-identity through consumerism relating to celebrity; *enunciative* productivity

through the creation of a collective identity – being part of and forming a micropublic

(Marshall 2014) – to further the promotional reach of her idol and; *textual* productivity,

producing content (tweets, pictures, videos) for her followers, who share her passion for the

Kardashian brand. These areas of fan production are "rapidly cycled through and readily

hybridized" (Hills 2013: 130), with this fandom "a central preoccupation of the self, serving

to govern a significant part of [daily] activity and interaction with others" (Thompson 1995:

222).

For *"MailOnline Reporters"* – the job title of those working for the site– this is the kind of

material, which works with well within the templates of a content management system that

places celebrity news at the top of the agenda. Brand Kardashian's use of a "performance of

selfhood" situated within the "aesthetic concerns, production exigencies, and sponsorship

imperatives" (Hearn 2014: 448) extends to their readers. For example, they use the

traditional inverted pyramid structure to present scenes from the show as if it is exclusive

news content (May 15, 2012); tweets as if they are direct speech gathered via an interview

(May 9, 2012); and dress "advertorial in news' clothing" (Usher 2014: online), through

"offering opportunities to "steal the style" of the Kardashian sisters. Fans and general

readers alike are encouraged to steal "celebrity skin" to "emulate (through diets, exercise,

beauty products, surgery and, most intangible of all, lifestyle) the very process of "becoming

celebrity" (Blum 2003: 236). *MailOnline encourage* readers to yield up their identities to the

celebrity brand in order to suit their own commercial agendas. Given their role in building

brand Kardashian through vast amounts of content (see Figure Two), it is unsurprising that

the Kardashian sisters are self-confessed "huge fans" of *MailOnline,* with Kim describing it as

"my favourite website of all time" (*Vogue*, April 2014). They make special guest appearances

at *MailOnline* parties (e.g. Cannes June 25, 2014) and Kim was the face of its first US

advertising campaign. The "Seriously Popular" strap line – which put the two "Kims"

(Kardashian and Jong Il) "on the same page", reflected *MailOnline*'s mission. They take popularity very seriously indeed, and in that, they are the perfect partnership for Brand Kardashian, which does so too.

Harrison (2011: 191-195) argues that there are two distinct versions of what can be understood as "news". The first leads to "informed public opinion", the second as part of cultural hegemony and the domination of specific sets of ideologies, namely consumerism to aid capitalism. For the latter, she draws on Taylor's (2007) definition of social imaginary as part of the every day function of social existence. This aligns with Turner's (2014: 151) distinctions between "traditional" news, rather than "celebrity" news where the aim is to entertain (and sell) rather than to inform. As demonstrated in Part One, distinctions were never this clear-cut in early print news culture. Celebrification of individuals also helped form the purposes and functions of journalism as it circulated information about political and social changes. Much *MailOnline* content can be seen as an extension of the kinds of stories produced either celebrating or attacking Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire or Thomas Paine as explored in Chapter Two. Indeed, gaps in understanding the integrated relationship of celebrity in print media and how it has equally facilitated democratisation through increased use of direct quotes – the utterances of ordinary people - leads to oversimplifications on both sides of the "tabloidisation" debate. By contrast, this celebrity news only serves the purpose of fuelling the commercial imperatives of *MailOnline*. It cynically uses the conventions and constructions of journalism, developed as mechanisms to convey truth and fact, and turns them to titillation, image led discourse and gossip for commercial gain.

The impacts and repercussions are significant, although they do not necessarily follow the antiquated and very analogue understandings of barriers between "high" and "low" culture evidenced by so many of those who bewail celebritisation of news. The success of *MailOnline* can be understood as part of shifts towards active identity construction and increased celebrification using presentational media techniques, which reach out from the columns of celebrity news and have significant impacts on politics, political communication and societal cohesion (explored further in Chapter Six). However, that doesn't mean they are necessarily "undermining […] conditions for effective democratic governance" (McChesney 1998: 8) or breaking down citizen engagement" (Gitlin 1997, Carey 2002). While networked journalism and networked reality celebrities can be used to demonstrate the worst examples of tabloidisation and its potential impacts, the way those impacts are viewed often stems from misunderstanding the relationships between celebrity, journalism and self-identity from its origins. Rather, the constant criticism and celebration of celebrities as forces of consumerism, maintains ideological control of audiences' self-identities. *MailOnline* celebrity news is used to further right wing, neo-liberal agendas, which both confirm traditional roles for women (sex object; wife; mother) and encourage the sublimation of identity to the imperatives of capital. Tuchman (1979) and Thornham (2007) have each suggested that these images support patriarchal power shaping how audiences see "the world" (Tuchman 1979: 551, see also Thornham 2007: 25). *MailOnline* reporters are complicit in supporting the construction of celebrity brands when it suits their agendas, but are also willing to chip away at them when it suits them better. Crucially, both have the desired effect of attracting those people interested to click on content and, significantly, this also suits the far-right, socially conservative, free market, capitalist and misogynistic agendas of the publication.

The final part of this chapter considers the impacts of algorithm and optimisation mechanisms for newsgathering, production and dissemination and how these affect journalistic work. The significance of interviewing as a core skill for the verification of "truth" is declining and so a discussion is necessary as to whether these "reporters" are functioning as journalists. However, understanding how interviewing and its structures are co-opted by celebrities and their managers to shape promotional moments on social media, demonstrates the enduring significance of the linguistic structures and conventions of celebrity journalism on the construction and display of identity.

5.4: The celebrity interview: maintained patterns/new practices

The interview is a method of journalism as "consciousness industry" (Tuchman 1978), which aims to modify our beliefs and thus our behaviour. It is a performance where celebrities articulate consumption (Dyer 1979), propagating consumerist values and effectively articulating free market, capitalist ideologies (Dubied and Hanitzsch 2014). Rojek argues that celebrity culture emerged "as a central mechanism in structuring the market of human sentiments" (2001: 5) and this is easily extended to the significance of the journalistic interview as a mechanism for the linguistic articulation of truth (Bakhtin 1984). Fully emerging in the UK during the professionalisation of journalism at least in part, at the *Pall Mall Gazette* (see 2.5 and 3.2), the aim of WT Stead's early interviews was to influence public opinion on issues of social, political and cultural importance and to test the authenticity of public figures by questioning and checking responses. In this popular early practice, interviews focused on revealing the truth of character and detail of private realms. They furthered ideas crucial to the advancement of capitalism and democracy, namely that societal stability and personal happiness rely on the individual not only being significant, but

also free to pursue their own wishes and desires. Interviews have thus played a crucial role in the process of establishing, rationalising and monitoring the authenticity of celebrity as an "embodiment of the potential of the individual" (Marshall 1997: 43). This helped to establish the themes for interview discourse, which dominate our understanding and articulation of what it is to be an individual within mass society as explored in Part One.

Journalists, according to seminal studies of their practices, are "non-routine workers" (Tunstall 1971: 27-28, Tuchman 1978). However, interviewing was identified as a significant part of the working day. Tunstall (1971: 150-151) found more than half of newsgathering time was spent interviewing people - 25 per cent of the time on face-to-face interviews with sources, and 39 per cent on the telephone. The development of the interview is tied to professionalisation and to shifting notions of self-identity, reflected and shaped by celebrity culture (Chapters Two and Three). However, when examining working practices of *MailOnline* reporters, it becomes clear that many of these reporters *never* interview sources. This poses a significant question: are *MailOnline* "reporters" really journalists? Rather than use the traditional processes of newsgathering, they aggregate stories, placing sourced material from other media streams into pre-developed "highly optimized" news templates. They then use a templatised inverted pyramid structure and the "drop in" of direct speech or "utterance" to make this content appear as if it is news. They are certainly not journalists as Jeremy Tunstall or Gaye Tuchman would recognise, but instead represent a new kind of news worker – *digital news processors*.

However, lead stories on *MailOnline* are often those from the *Daily Mail* newspaper and many of these are still produced through the interviewing of sources. There are a number of other differences. Firstly, for MailOnline compared to *Daily Mail,* speed is valued over

accuracy. At the most basic level, there are often spelling and grammatical errors, with stories put up quickly and then amended or corrected later as reflected in "updates" at the top of posts. Secondly, quantity is valued over quality. Finally, these workers are not news gathers in the traditional sense, but aggregators, pulling together online content – in this case the networked performance of the branded celebrity - which is then given the appearance of news. This is cheap news production aimed at maximising clicks. The ability to aggregate content from multiple sources quickly – like data imputing in a call centre – is more important than interpersonal and effective communication skills. This is fundamentally opposed to the professional identities of most journalists. Even when producing *Big Brother* (2001-present) stories for the *News of the World* (1843-2011), the ability to convince people to speak and conduct an effective interview was central to my practice. This was highly prized by editors and those who were best at it were often paid the highest salaries. If reporters no longer verify information through directly speaking to sources, then the role of the journalist as a verifier of fact is in decline. Indeed, when there are so many sound bites freely available on social media, and with the job of a reporter shifting towards generating lots of content rather than exclusive content, the need and desire to verify fact or comment becomes ever less important to digital news editors.

The main purpose of the celebrity interview is promotion – that of self, media product or consumer goods – through constructing a narrative of self-identity. As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that it has come to influence celebrity Twitter discourse. Turner (2014: 43) argues that celebrities can endlessly promote on social media without the previous inconveniences of press junkets or interviews: they can promote "by the hotel pool, at home, in a restaurant, or on the golf course". The consumerist values they legitimatise are

also fundamental to commercial interests of media outlets. In traditional print interviews, these are constructed by journalists and performed by celebrities following certain conventions and patterns, in order to maximize promotional opportunity. Similarly, Twitter users are governed by a series of patterns, which use both embedded coded commands and typographical symbols to structure interaction. Celebrities, their promotional teams, and their audience, at times, use these in a way to mirror the conventions of the interview in print, in order to make content easier to engage with and to further reach and promotional benefit. Twitter, like the interview, is a place where celebrities sell products, articulate why they make consumer choices, discuss their private lives and express moral judgements, working dialogically to establish truths (Bakhtin 1984). In turn, audience members distinguish themselves from others by demonstrating similarities with the celebrities' expressions of their identity and the purchase of related product. It offers *opportunities* for followers to increase their own cultural capital via interaction or acknowledgement (Marwick and boyd 2013). However, the vast majority of audience members are unlikely to ever be spotted by their idol. Twitter is full of tweets from fans begging their idols to notice them. Pre-organised chats, often highlighted by #ask+starname, increase the chances for fans to be noticed.

These crowd-sourced interviews offer focused moments of interaction with huge commercial opportunities. As such, they are a popular way to try to structure interaction for a wide range of public figures. Seventeen of the top 20 Twitter celebrities (85%) in Figure One (5) carried out Question and Answer sessions between 2008 and 2011, either using the popular hashtag #ask+starname or a personalised variation. Sometimes questions were sourced from audience members on Twitter, but then the interview process itself was moved to another platform, such as video website YouTube or the site of a corporation. The

popularity of crowd-sourced interviews with fans has led to some stars using them as a direct incentive to model and direct audience behaviour. For example, in July 2013 pop and TV star Miley Cyrus promised an #askmiley session (in which she would reveal the name of her latest album) if she was followed by 100,000 more people to hit 13 million. Her fans posted thousands of tweets, pleading for extra followers to reach the target. Of course, traditional interviews are usually given by stars to promote products. This is also the main purpose of these new social media interviews too. However, they are often presented as a selfless "thank you" to fans, who then extend the promotional moment by retweeting and discussing the content on their own timelines.

The interview has long been part of promotion, but the removal of the interviewer from the process allows celebrities to promote in a safer way. There is undoubtedly a similar power dynamic at play in the many traditional interviews too, increasingly so over the past twenty years, where managers and PR agents set rules about what celebrities will discuss (Turner 2004: 36-37). However, those discussions happen outside audience sight, with demands sometimes publically rejected by journalists, who refuse to carry out the interview without freedom to ask what they choose. This can give the illusion that the interviewer has control, whereas there is no question about who is the dominant force during Twitter interactions. Of course there are Twitter users who ask celebrities more difficult, or even at times insulting, questions – acting "synoptically" (Mathiesen 1997, Doyle 2011) - but celebrities are far more likely to answer questions fitting their own agenda and this is clearly understood by those who tweet them.

This power dynamic is illustrated through an exploration of a series Twitter interview moments. Firstly, I analyse an example of spontaneous direct discourse with British TV host

Jonathan Ross, instigated by a follower. This shows how interaction is influenced by the working patterns of the interview and how it is used by public figures to maintain elements of their image and to encourage the audience to accept them as authentic. Secondly, I analyse another example of the popular #ask +nameofstar crowd-sourced interviews, where celebrities give a specific time to ask them questions, usually as part of promotional activity in relation to product. I compare two crowd-sourced interview moments on Twitter with one in a lifestyle magazine given by Britney Spears when promoting her album *Circus* and her Las Vegas residency in 2013. This analysis demonstrates how the linguistic constructs and thematic patterns of the celebrity interview in print directly influence Twitter discourse. Finally, I examine a spontaneous moment of interaction between Katy Perry and her fans, this time instigated by her, which draws on the same processes as the #ask format and shows how the celebrity has power over the audience. Perry encourages fans to sublimate their own identity and reflect hers, through directly rewarding those who do so with direct interaction.

Interactions develop depending on how users position themselves in relation to celebrities. Fan tweets to stars are often framed in models of praise, offering affirmation or asking questions fitting the stars' own agenda, while the questions of wider audience members are broader and more conversational, drawing on a wider range of material. For example, this interaction between British TV personality Jonathan Ross and one of his followers, showed shared interests:

@lennyukDeejay: '@THR: Dark Knight returns' No 2 Cover features £478,000 at Auction #Batman' @Wossy? You been splashing out again? [With link to *hollywoodreporter.com story*]

@wossy: @lennydeejay not me. Never liked that cover. Batman looks constipated. We've all been there.   **(Twitter, August 3, 2013)**

The question from @lennyukdeejay is complex, aggregating a wide range of media material. Firstly, it demonstrates he is aware of TV personality Jonathan Ross's extensive and expensive comic book collection. This is discussed across a range of mainstream media such as newspaper coverage of a £40,000 *Spiderman* comic Ross donated to charity Comic Relief in 2009 and is also often mentioned by Ross himself during his chat shows *Friday Night with Jonathan Ross* (BBC One, 2001-2010), *The Jonathan Ross Show* (ITV, 2011-present) and the four-part documentary series *Comic Britannia* (BBC Four, 2007). Secondly, it draws on a current news story about an auction of *Batman* comics, which states the buyers "did not want their names disclosed" (Associated Press for *The Hollywood Reporter*, August 2 2013), picked up from the timeline of the publisher (@THR). The way @lennyukdeejay draws together material, including "stored" knowledge and then asks Jonathan Ross a specific question, mirrors the techniques of interviewing: aggregation of associated materials; focusing of knowledge and then question asking with a specific purpose in mind. It also draws on the thematic patterns of the celebrity interview as a site for the expression of individuality in capitalist democracies, in this case the discussion of consumer and leisure choices (see 3.3).

So why, out of the dozens of questions Jonathan Ross is asked every day, does this one prompt a response? For one, it offers Ross the opportunity to appear both authentic and authoritative (Arnold et al 2003). He has drawn credibility as a television host from positioning himself as an aficionado of, amongst other things, comics and graphic novels. Whether or not Ross really is so familiar with this one cover he can recall it instantly (a picture of which is included in the news story), his tweet shows he wants *to be seen* to have this knowledge. Indeed, much of Ross' career has been built on his positioning himself as a

self-proclaimed "geek", intensely interested in popular culture. He has drawn on this not only to create TV programmes, but often as a way to position questions when he himself interviews celebrities. His response therefore is part of the inter-textual performance of "Jonathan Ross: the popular culture fan" which is part of his success. The continuation of this element of Ross' public persona on social media makes it appear authentic. The way the initial question draws from techniques used by the interviewer, offers Ross the chance to present himself as credible.

This interaction is successful, with each achieving some credibility from it: Ross in terms of the authenticity of his performance of self and @lennyukdeejay in prompting interaction from someone famous. This has associated rewards, such as the attraction of a greater number of followers (Marwick 2015). However, there is another dimension to their digital conversation - they tweet as if they know each other. @lennyukdeejay's question "... you been splashing out again?" is relaxed and familiar. It could be argued this is evidence of specific kinds of bonds of intimacy (Rojek 2012, Marwick and boyd 2013) afforded by interaction on Twitter. Certainly, Twitter allows the audience an unprecedented chance to interact with public figures. Ross is one of the most interactive celebrities on the site with 90.5% of his tweets adopting an interactive model and 75% cent of all tweets @replies. He is also a prolific tweeter, with almost 22,000 tweets between when he joined on November 30 2008 and June 2014 - an average of 10.6 a day - and it appears he is writing these entirely himself. However, this interaction is also similar to the easy relationship performed by interviewers and celebrities on television chat shows, rather than evidence of intense feelings of affiliation identified in many studies of parasocial relationships between celebrity and fan (Horton and Wohl 1956, Thompson 1995, Rojek 2012). There are distinct differences

between this interaction with more general audience members such as @lennyukdeejay

and self-identified fans, distinguishable by the construction of Twitter identity in relation to

public figures, such as @MinieKardashian, as explored earlier.

In the last three months of 2013 popstar Britney Spears offered two #ask sessions to

coincide with the announcement of her Las Vegas residency and new album. Spears, as

demonstrated in the statistical anaysis in Figure One, is rare in terms of celebrity Twitter

users in that she spends an almost equal amount of time interacting with the audience via

public replies (36%), retweeting other people's posts or interactions with her (32%) and

producing status updates (32%). She also allows her promotional team to construct a

significant number of her Tweets, particularly during periods where she is releasing new

material or performing on stage. When comparing these to another interview carried out in

representational media - *InStyle* Magazine (Gonzalez Whitaker, 2013: 120-127) - which hit

stands the same week as her second Twitter session, there are dominant themes of

discourse and they are constructed in a remarkably similar way:

@SofiaElmaOneDay: If you were to get coffee with a regular (not famous) person, what things would you like to talk about? #AskBritneyJean

@BritneySpears: @SofiaElmaOneDay Skin care, parenting... shoes, exercise, yoga... #AskBritneyJean

@PartyDiscoLove: @britneyspears What is your biggest inspiration

@britneyspears: @PartyDiscoLove My boys of course!

………………………………………………………………………..

@ITunesMusic: @britneyspears Do your kids ever inspire your lyrics? #AskBritney

@britneyspears: @iTunesmusic Of course! I've recorded a few songs in the past specifically about my boys and they are my daily inspiration. :) #AskBritney

@ITunesMusic: @britneyspears Are you excited for your Las Vegas residency?

@britneyspears: @iTunesMusic SO excited!! I'm counting down the days to December 27th! I REALLY think this is going to be my best show ever... #AskBritney

……………………………………………..

What do you do to relax? Penny Kelen, Los Angeles

Britney: *I love Spa treatments, especially ones at the Four Seasons. It's like, there is a God….*

Your sons are always smiling? What makes you a good Mom? Chelsea Moyer, New York

Britney: *I have passion and I have humor but I'm a serious Mom too….*

(Twitter #AskBritney sessions October 29 and December 6 2013 and *InStyle* Magazine interview December 4, 2013)

Dominant themes relate to parenthood, work, leisure time and relationship with consumer goods. During the interviews Britney is an "identity marker" expressing herself as a model "of standardised lifestyle" which Dubied and Hanitsch (2014: 140) argue reduces social complexitity to a manageable array of options that are "ready to apply". The interview process has always offered celebrities the opportunity to construct their lifestyles and indentities in a way which offers models of social behaviour – not least in relation to consumerism – for the audience to emulate. But in both the Twitter and the magazine interview, other versions of Britney – schoolgirl, virgin, whore, shaven-headed madwoman - are erased, replaced by two dominant identity markers: successful popstar and dedicated mother. While on Twitter there are a number of questions asking about her past breakdowns, alleged drug use and the fact she doesn't have full custody of her children, these are ignored, and she therefore has complete control over how she appears. Questions supportive of the promotional opportunity far outweigh the difficult ones. For example, in the October #AskBritneyJean session, dozens of followers asked when the new album would be released despite the fact an internet search would be a quicker (and more likely to be successful) way to find this out. Indeed, it might be assumed that as devoted fans many would already know. This is a similar process to one often seen on the chat show, when the interviewer will ask about release dates of new material, despite the fact they already know the answer, simply to afford the star the opportunity to tell the audience.

The constructions of the crowd-sourced interviews on Twitter and the one which appears in *InStyle* magazine are almost identical too. Spears reweets the questions into her own Twitter feed, before answering, mirroring how magazine Q & As are produced (see also 3.3). The fact that she does so, offers insights into her understanding of this process. It highlights that the purpose is not interaction with individuals who pose questions, but, as with an interview, the performance of the process as a means to promotion. It was also a news source for *MailOnline*. Spear's revelation that her favourite author is evangelical preacher Max Lucado was picked up immediately (November 2 2013) for an article suggesting that she could face a "homophobic backlash" as Lucado is outspoken about gay rights. The journalist is no longer the interviewer, but has shifted to the role of a spectator watching an interviewing process conducted by fans, on terms dictated entirely by celebrities and their PR teams. As Dubied and Hanitzsch (2014: 146) argue, the celebrity news journalist now does not act as an "old fashioned news gatherer" involved in a process such as interviewing, but as "filtering agent", inverting the "practices on which traditional models of news journalism have been built".

Having used #ask format crowd sourced interviews when launching new material, popstar Katy Perry - top of the Twitter tree in terms of followers - now gives impromptu moments where she answers questions from her fans. Even though these moments do not have a direct link to the launch of a specific product, they still follow the patterns of the celebrity interview: asking her about her work, her private life and what inspires her:

@katyperry: Okay: 5 questions: 5 answers. Go.

@KatyCompletesMe: @katyperry are you going to change your icon & header any time soon? I think it's time babe.

@katyperry: Everything's about to change @KatyCompletesMe

@piersmorgan: When are you coming on my show? @katyperry

@KatyPerry: Well it's nice to see you on my impromptu Q & A @piersmorgan

@katyeuteamo: @katyperry What's your favourite music now?

@Katyperry: The Disclosure record! @katyeuteamo

@VIDALOKATY: Do you not think you're taking too long to release this album we're almost dying of anxiety, sad reality being a fan is hard

@Katyperry: @VIDALOKATY the journey is hard, but the destination is great. Chin up

@superrynatural: @katyperry you've been working a lot lately?

@Katyperry: Working more than you know

(Twitter, July 18 2013)

For Freud it is only the leaders of tribes – here applied to celebrity – who are completely individual. Everyone else must sublimate their own desires and allow the leaders' desires to speak for them (in Marshall 1997: 22-25). During this interaction between Katy Perry and her fans, four out of the five questions she chooses to answer have used her name – part of her "personal front" (Goffman 1956)- to construct their own Twitter user identity. Perry is "central to the formation of both collective behaviour and the process of identification" (Marshall 1997: 24). Fans have formed themselves into an easily identifiable consumer collective or micropublic (Marshall 2014). The only person who Perry answers from outside this group is someone else who has achieved the state of an individual - another celebrity. She does not answer journalist and TV personality Piers Morgan's question, but acknowledges his presence as another leader. Morgan's decision to publicly ask this question is interesting. He is using Twitter both to bypass usual method of setting up an interview and to prompt a response from Perry in order to reinforce his own celebrity status.

There is a specific lessons audience members can learn from this opportunity to be part of a crowd -sourced interview. Repressing their own identity and constructing another in relation to Perry makes them more likely to be noticed by her. Crowd-sourced interviews also give Perry access to her consumer collective and a way to use it to support the creation of her identity, becoming part of her networked celebrification practices. The chances to appear authentic and formulate image are similar to those given in the interview process. However, even with the influence of press agents and their attempts to control interviews, there is still unpredictability, not least because they rely on direct human interaction, which can at times go spectacularly wrong. Here, Perry has complete control of the image of her identity she wishes to project, as she can pick which questions she answers and ignore others. Twitter allows her to control the interview process, moving it out of the hands of other areas of the media machine –such as risky journalists – and into her own. She has power over the audience, rewarding those who promote her through using elements of her "personal front" (Goffman 1956) and choosing questions that allow her to articulate the elements of her identity, she wishes to highlight.

5.4: Summary: *How did the relations between journalism and celebrity develop and how do they work to influence self-identity and its public displays?*

The relationships between news websites, social media and networked celebrity performance have transformed journalistic practice. The successes of constructed reality TV and its "branded selves", Twitter and the *MailOnline* were intertwined with significant implications for relationships between celebrity and journalism and displays of self-identity. Significantly, the role of journalists as newsgatherers and verifiers of truth through direct interaction with public figures waned, but the amount of celebrity news content and the

way it supported celebrity brand building became more important. Celebrity news reporters were forced into the position of gatewatchers and aggregators, watching as audience members fulfilled their traditional role of interviewing public figures. As they used the utterances of celebrities' social media accounts as direct speech in news stories, they added authority and made it real by using mechanisms for construction of news and the successes of this process in terms of clicks fuelled production of celebrity related content, which was shared and shared again across social media.

However, the conventions of journalism maintain their significance for celebrity promotion as they are used to structure interactions between celebrities and their fans. Audiences are encouraged to join production as part of a "massive collective desire to become part of the new social construction of identity and public display" (Marshall 2014. 163). Micropublics are linked to content and to each other via the individual celebrity and are part of persona construction. The use of the celebrity interview to construct interaction, melds the audience with the journalist. Social media users, following established media patterns during such moments of "direct access", have greater understanding of their role in constructing celebrity image. These interactions are supplanting the celebrity interview as the principal platform for promotion, linked to glimpses of "private self" behind "public image", but while the audience may be able to #askanything, celebrities and their agents choose what is answered, maximising their control over promotion. For Goffman, repeated engagement with a performance makes it less cynical as it moves through a "cycle of disbelief to belief" (1956: 12). Thus, despite audiences understanding how and why these promotional activities occur, they may nevertheless accept them as authentic exchanges. As such we may question whether their acceptance of the authenticity of celebrity

performances online, is dependent on the illusion of unstructured glimpses into real life at all.

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Chapter 6

Dogwhistles, Frogs and Snowflakes: Celebrity, journalism and symbolic self-display as political communication

6.1: Introduction

THE 18-month period from the UK General Election in May 2015 until the US presidential campaign in November 2016 was a period of significant political change. The 2015 campaign followed the first coalition Government for 55 years and the narrative that governed journalistic coverage was what kind of coalition the country wanted next. The subsequent working majority for the Tories, the collapse of Labour in Scotland from 41 to just one MP and images of crushed coalition partners the Liberal Democrats losing seat after seat - from 57 to eight - were described as "watching the pillars of Hercules crumble" (*The Guardian*, May 8 2015: online). Only two party leaders would survive in post following the surprise "Leave" vote in the EU Referendum the next summer.

This chapter examines how interplays between celebrity, journalism and self-identity together with displays on social media during the 2015 General Election campaign set the scene for the momentous political events of 2016. Firstly (6.2), it focuses on the social media displays of political leaders during the "short campaign" of March 30th to May 7th to examine "intercommunication" between long-established discourses of "representational" journalistic coverage of political events - and the "presentational" techniques of DIY celebrities, who use Social Network Sites (SNS) to build fame through self-display (Marshall, 2014: 160-161). Understanding the place of journalistic constructions, conventions and thematic priorities in negotiating authenticity and authority on social media, offers insights

into the relationships between celebrity, journalism and self-identity in relation to political communication. Secondly (6.3), I examine whether increased visibility of political leaders on social media impacts on printed news coverage of election campaigns. Analysis of 2015 newspaper coverage in comparison to 2010 and 2005 General Elections offers insights into the importance of celebrity and celebritised journalism for political campaigning. This analysis demonstrates recent manifestations of the sustained celebritised news discourse of "attack" journalism (see 2.2; 3.3). Examining both social media and newspaper discourse in the 2015 short campaign identifies the increasing significance of the "celebrity columnist/commentator" (6.4). These include celebrities who act as political journalists, columnists and journalists who have become celebrities, and ordinary people using microcelebrity practices. The final part of this chapter examines how linguistic and symbolic displays of "us" in relation to "other" work as part of *opinion spectacle*, reshaping both journalism and celebrity cultures. When Meyer and Hichman (2002: 99) coined the term "Politainment" to describe politicians using their "immediate physicality and its hold on the media", journalistic coverage was at the forefront of their arguments. This chapter considers connections, transformations and transitions between analogue and digital displays of politainment using celebrity, journalism and self-identity as connecting threads.

6.2: Political campaigning on social media as networked reality display

The 2015 "short campaign" - described by journalists as the first "social media election" (Channel 4, May 6 2015) - offered complex performances of political identity. Alongside inclusion of the leaders of smaller parties in televised debates, social media increased visibility for leaders of seven political parties instead of the traditional "Big Three" Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats. The first part of this chapter focuses on

the textual and still image components of the leaders' Twitter and Facebook profiles – the only two platforms used by all – to establish how they helped construct their online identities using patterns of both celebrity performance and journalistic coverage of campaigning. Short campaigns are periods of heightened activity, but their specific parameters offer opportunities for broader insights into focused, goal-driven presentation of identity and the place of celebrity and journalism in such displays. SNS content does not *invent reality*, but *connects and frames real events*. Politicians now enter into the same kind of networked reality performances we explored in the last chapter (5.3) using "rhetorically persuasive packaging" and their "own promotional skin[s]" (Hearn 2013a: 27). Examining the construction of political persona offers insights into how SNS have reshaped political communication and journalism, which Kriess (2015: 132) identifies as an underesearched area (2015: 132). He argues for greater conceptualisation of how "retweets and sharing campaigning content…may be a highly meaningful or consequential form of political speech in terms of inadvertent exposure".

There are numerous studies of the relationship between journalistic media and politics, often using Shumpeter (1973) and Downs (1957) mid 20th century examinations, which used lenses of business economics and marketing. Marshall (1997*)*, Meyer and Hinchman (2002), Corner and Pels (2003), Street (2003), and Turner (2004, 2013), argue variously that the political leader should be viewed in relation to the logics of celebrity culture – a commodity presented and negotiated through the systems of public relations and marketing – and how this relies on attracting news coverage. More recently, Kellner used Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (1967) to demonstrate that US presidential campaigns are "subject to the logic of spectacle and tabloidization in the era of media sensationalism, infotainment [and] political

scandal" (2010: 117). SNS offer new vehicles for campaign teams to manufacture political personas that "embody the sentiments of the party, the people and the state in a similar way to [how] celebrity has to embody the beliefs and attitudes of an audience" (Marshall 1997: 203). The success of politicians, and by extension parties' publicity teams, is now judged by not only column inches and polling in the press, but also by increased followers, shares and comments.

SNS are not simply platforms for expressions of the politician as an individual, but are formalized within the structures of political marketing and celebrity production as *professionalised group production* activity (see Chapter 4 and 5.3). As with celebrities and microcelebrities, politicians aim to create parasociality with the electorate in order to "compete for the largest number of listeners" (Marwick 2015: 347, see also Chapters 4 and 5). Journalistic conventions for covering campaigns frame networked construction and management of image through the capture of real-life "experiences" (such as on the campaign trail) alongside displays of agreement. Coleman (2015: 169) argues that during campaigns, political leaders are both the "scene-setters…[and] the script editors", using storytelling to appear "close to us".

Studies of how politicians internationally (Baxter et al 2013, Jankowski et al 2004) and in the UK (Auty and Cowen, Gibson and Ward 2000, Gibson et al 2003) use social media often focus on the opportunities for increased dialogue as enabling the public sphere. Michael (2013: 46) argues that social media could support the development of a more "collaborative political culture" – but that "any such process would require authenticity on the part of politicians, informed contributions from the public, and a willingness to engage from both". Most conclude that politicians are only *symbolically interactive*, reluctant to engage in

"open, dynamic forms of electronic communication with the electorate" (Baxter et al, 2013: 465). Ross, Fountaine and Comrie (2014: 251-252) claim that online campaigning "under-exploits the very characteristics of social media's interactivity which could genuinely enable a real shift in political-public communication". Kreiss (2015: 118-135) argues that empirical research into online political communication finds that its potential for allowing deliberation to reshape democratic process is overstated. He identifies how few voices are heard and that the professionalised mechanisms of journalism and public relations set the agenda, offering rare opportunities for meaningful discussion.

However, it is not only dialogue that enables users to contribute to the construction of other people's online personas. How celebrities and other media operatives use micropublics (Marshall 2014: 162)   - audiences centralised around their image - to support the social construction and maintenance of their profiles emerged as a key theme in the previous two chapters. To expand here, understanding how campaign teams attempt to channel what could be described as *microelectorates* to *displays of agreement (*clicks, likes, shares)*, which are shaped by the coded construction patterns of SNS, is important. As members of the leader's social media team choose which members of their microelectorate to respond to, the "older processes of broadcasting/receiving images and the hierarchies of stardom/fandom" may prevail (Thomas 2014: 2), but the simple display of agreement has become crucial to political communication on SNS.

Kreiss (2015: 125) argues that political communication on SNS looks much the same as offline and reflects how political reporting is intertwined with the dynamics of celebrity culture, specifically in its use of "emotional, moral and partisan appeals". The narrative on political leader's social media profiles is essentially the same as journalism, but moved from

the third person narrative (as in representational news medial) to the first (as on presentational social media). Examinations of how SNS have expanded Horton and Wohl's (1956) initial concept of parasocial relationships, such as those by Marwick (2011), Marwick and boyd (2011) and Senft (2008, 2013) often highlight two things: how SNS offer symbolic opportunities for both direct dialogue and tantalising glimpses of the "private self" behind the public mask. Over the last two chapters we have explored how parasociality "takes place during the act of media use itself" (Giles 2010: 95) which now includes planned opportunities to jointly engage in production processes of promotion shaped by the structures and conventions of journalism (see 4.3; 5.3; 5.4). Next, I consider how these dynamics are also shaping political communications and how by sharing, liking and commenting on newspaper stories, members of microelectorates help create and maintain the visibility of politicians. While audience appraisal may not always be positive, criticism also increases visibility and extends message. However, as the coded commands of SNS primarily work to encourage the demonstration of agreement and as posts are produced *with the aim* of encouraging displays of support, this is the primary focus here.

Mackay (2016) argues that for public relations professionals, identity is solid and real and aims to create images in the minds of the observers. However, he highlights distinction between "how a person is", rather than "how they are thought of" (Ibid: 85). Mackay's use of "how" rather than "who" (a person is), emphasises the importance of identity as a constructed discourse before observers. SNS performance aims to fix the authentic identity of political leaders. Mackay, like many others argues the usefulness of Goffman's (1956) *Presentation of the Self in Every Day Life* in examining digital *conscious performances*. As explored in the last three chapters, Goffman (1956:13) identified performance as "a period

marked by…continuous presence before a particular set of observers", which aims to influence them in some way. If it can be replicated, then a pattern or routine can be formed. Of course, as Mackay identifies, this language translates easily to the performances of self on SNS. The 38 days of the short campaign produced a total sample of 3,177 tweets and 1,033 Facebook posts, which were coded using both Seartwi analytics and manual methods to identity the kinds of patterns and routines Goffman highlights as crucial to understanding performance of self.

Figure One (6): Levels of SNS activity during 2015 short campaign
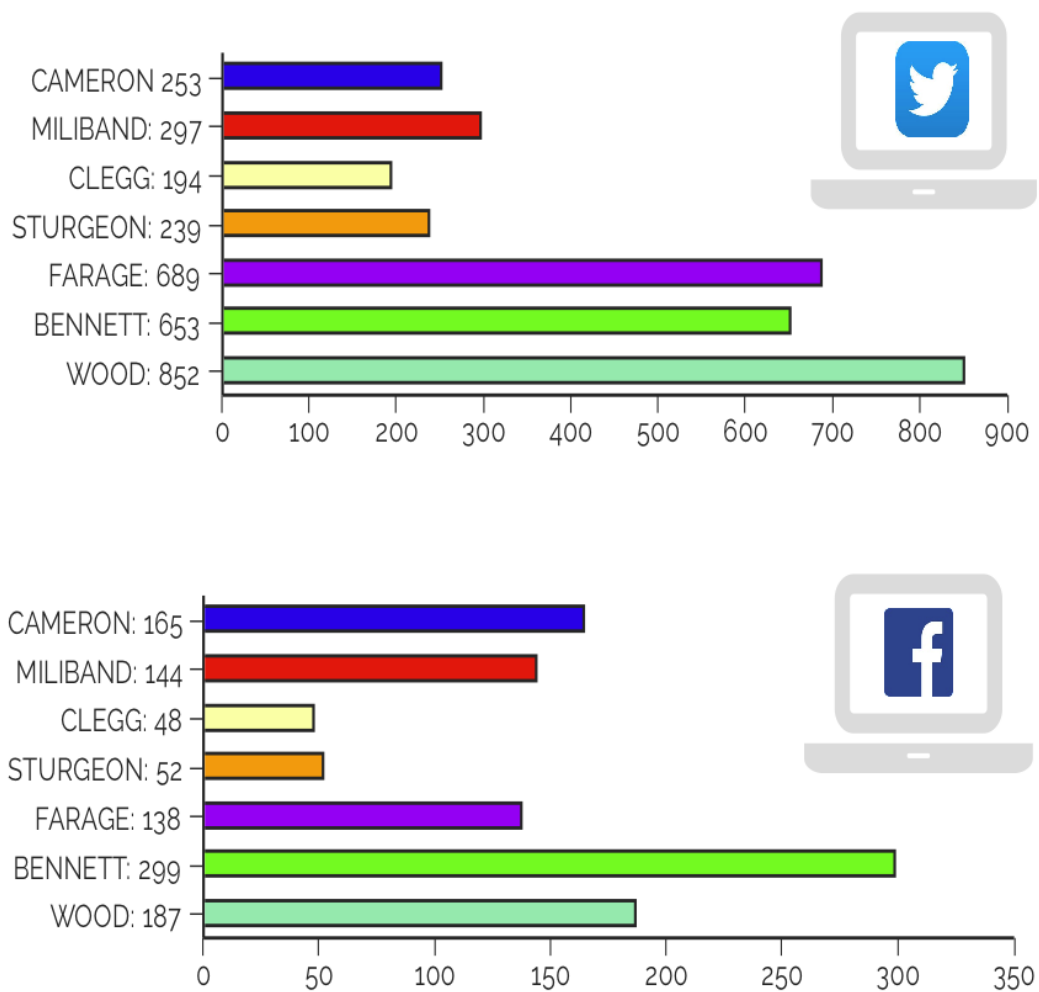
Whilst engagement varied, all leaders had consistent and sustained SNS presence. Twitter was most popular with several tweets each day. Two leaders (Clegg and Sturgeon) used Facebook more sparingly, offering content first shared on other online platforms. Only Sturgeon's team (at times), produced posts in the third person rather than the first person self-narrative, describing experiences on the campaign trail specifically as would be written by a journalist. The two political leaders with the smallest "official" campaign teams and budgets [26] (Natalie Bennett, Leanne Wood), produced the largest amount of content over all and there was significant similarity in their production patterns. On Twitter and Facebook they usually reposted content from other users, with simple, short comment above. This is a rapid posting pattern, achievable by an individual.

Goffman (1956: 10) argued the construction of persona can either be sincere, where the performer believes "the impression of reality which he stages is the reality", or cynical, only aimed at influencing the audience to a specific end. Performances are "moulded to fit into the understanding and expectations of society" and will tend to "exemplify the officially accredited values of the society" (Ibid: 23-24). Of course, Goffman's works discussed

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[26] Australian Lynton Crosby was engaged by the Conservatives in 2012 and was joined the following year by Jim Messina from the Barack Obama campaign team. In 2014 Labour hired the American David Axelrod – who, along with Messina, engineered Obama's successful 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns. The Liberal Democrats employed South African Ryan Coatzee in 2012 to serve first as special advisor to Nick Clegg and then strategic director for the 2015 short campaign, while Ruwan Kodikara, from the Quiller consultancy, assumed the role of head of media and branding. Former BBC journalists Paul Lambert and Alexandra Phillips, with assistants, led uKIPs' campaign. Both Bennett and Wood replied to questions by the researcher on Twitter about their teams, which numbed fewer than four. Old Alex Salmond ally Kevin Pringle with Peter Murrell, party chief executive, acting as Head of Communications, spearheaded the SNP campaign.

Total spend for each political party for GE campaign 2015 in descending order:

Conservatives: £15.6m; Labour: £12.1m; Liberal Democrats: £3.5m; UKIP £2.9m; SNP: 1.5m; Greens 1.131m; Plaid Cymru: £97,139 (Source: Chorley, M 'How Much Does it Cost to get an MP elected' *The Times,* Jan 20 2016.

physical rather than virtual environments and this was extended in his paper *The Characteristics of Social Institutions* (1957) a year after *Presentation of Self* was first published. There, Goffman described how "we tend[ed] to sleep, play and work in different places". SNS now amalgamate the last two categories for all those whose careers rely on negotiating public visibility. Viewing SNS as institutions with similar "house rules", privileges and functional requirements focuses attention on the significance of consistency in the way SNS are updated. The levels of discourse in Figure One reflect that political party marketing teams see SNS as significant institutions for campaigning, which, like the long-standing campaigning institution of political journalism, have conventions. These undermine the personal autonomy we may "expect to exert over […] interpersonal environments and may produce the terror […] of being radically demoted" (Ibid), through decrease in followers or fewer shares or likes of a post. For public figures, SNS are primarily workplace institutions as compared to institutions of play for most users. Indeed, for many, such as politicians, microcelebrities or journalists, they are *now total institutions*, inescapable platforms for maintaining visibility. As such, following Goffmanian logic, these political performances are both cynically produced and very controlled.

Like bloggers and "digital talents" (4.3), performances straddle lines between *authority as politicians* and *authenticity as social media users*. Arnould, Price and Zinkhan's (2003) examination of the relationship between emerging bloggers and consumers, arguing the threads of authenticity and authority weave together, but that fundamentally the authoritative voice is paramount in influencing consumer choice. For Goffman, no person is ever authentic in public, but always governed by institutional rules and patterns. Expanding these discussions to political leadership highlights it as a vertical operation of persona

construction, with the authoritative voice outweighing an authentic one. Success depends on constructive use of the conventions of SNS, created specifically to enable the presentation of identity. In the next section I consider how the differing "house-rule" coded conventions of Facebook and Twitter, reshape journalistic narratives of campaigning and intertwining authoritative political voice with displays of authentic self. Twitter allows 140 characters per tweet, the quick and easy sharing of other people's tweets and instant replies. Facebook allows unlimited text per status update and talking space directly beneath, but also quick demonstration of agreement through "likes". As such, analyses of how these performances worked and were shaped by dynamics of celebrity and journalism needs different focuses.

6.2.1 Building brand through bond: parasociality, authority and authenticity

Visualising both routines and textual discourses of Twitter activity (Figure Two), illustrates how the short campaign was a period of intensive performative activity around the image of political leaders. All produced more "Status Updates" than any other kind of tweet, therefore following a broadcast model of tweeting. However, all seven also interacted directly with followers either through replies or retweets. Miliband and Cameron interacted with their audience the least, while the three female leaders, Sturgeon, Green and Wood, did so most. Bennett and Wood were also amongst the most prolific tweeters averaging 17 and 22 tweets a day respectively. Nigel Farage and Ed Miliband did not reply to followers on Twitter at all and despite being the most interactive party leader when also factoring retweets, Leanne Wood barely did so either.

Figure Two (6): Statistical analysis of leaders' tweets and text cloud of discourse during final week of short campaign
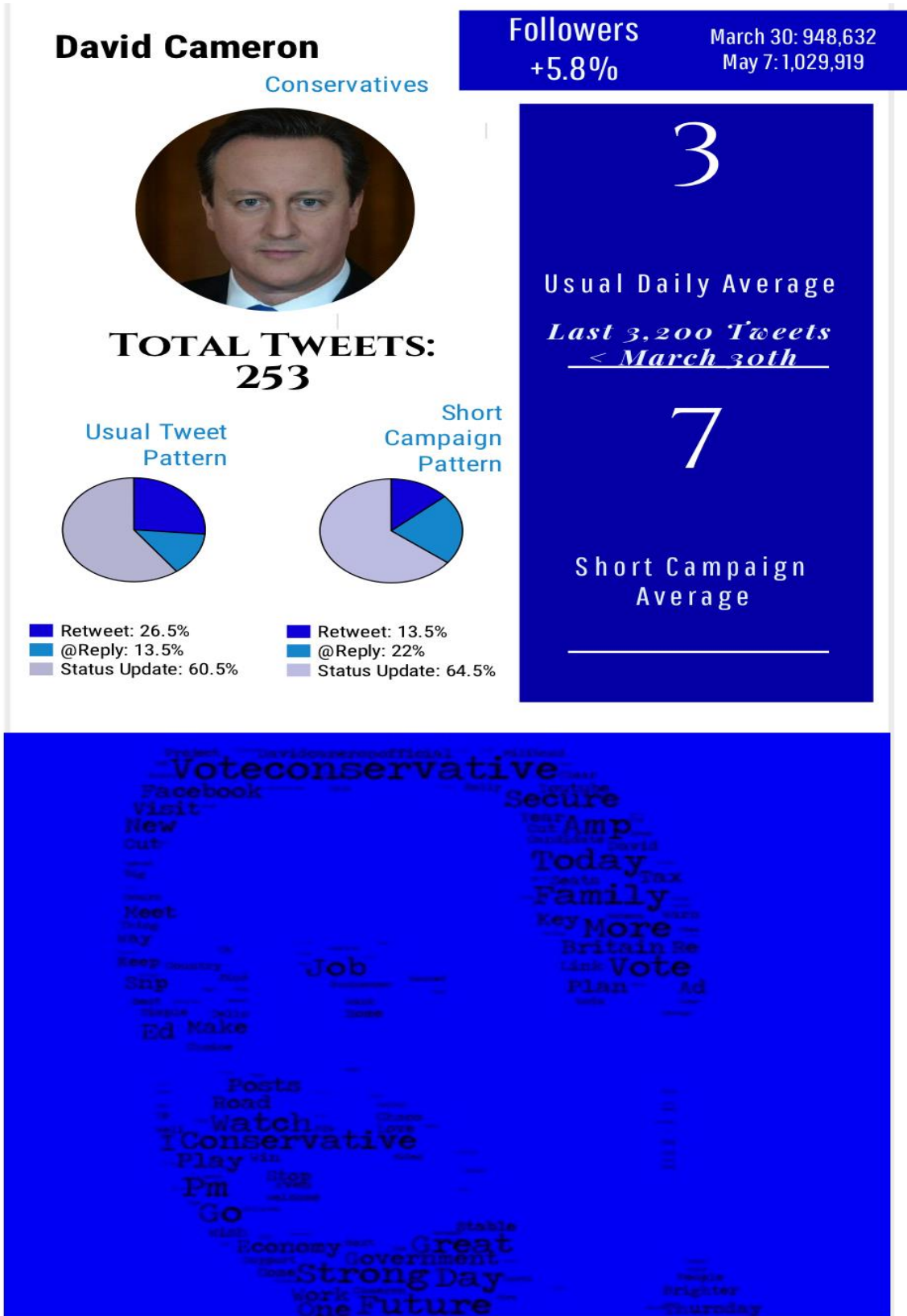
Ed Miliband

Labour

Followers +20%

March 30: 402,469
May 7: 483,010

3

Usual Daily Average

Last 3,200 Tweets < March 30th

8

Short Campaign Average

TOTAL TWEETS: 297

Usual Tweet Pattern

Short Campaign Pattern
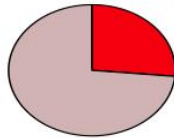
- Retweet: 26.5%
- @Reply: 0
- Status Update: 73.5%
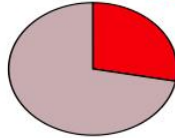
- Retweet: 28
- @Reply: 0
- Status Update: 72

Nick Clegg

Liberal Democrats

TOTAL TWEETS: 194

Usual Tweet Pattern

Retweet: 57%
@Reply: 17.5%
Status Update: 35.5%

Short Campaign Pattern

Retweet: 62%
@Reply: 12.5%
Status Update: 25.5%

Followers +11.5%

March 30: 217,885
May 7: 243,389

2
Usual Daily Average

Last 3,200 Tweets < March 30th

5
Short Campaign Average

Nicola Sturgeon

Scottish Nationalist Party

TOTAL TWEETS: 239

Usual Tweet Pattern

- Retweet: 74.5%
- @Reply: 20.5%
- Status Update: 5%

Short Campaign Pattern

- Retweet: 70%
- @Reply: 23.5%
- Status Update: 6%

Followers +30%

March 30: 135,514
May 7: 196,388

9

Usual Daily Average

Last 3,200 Tweets < March 30th

6

Short Campaign Average
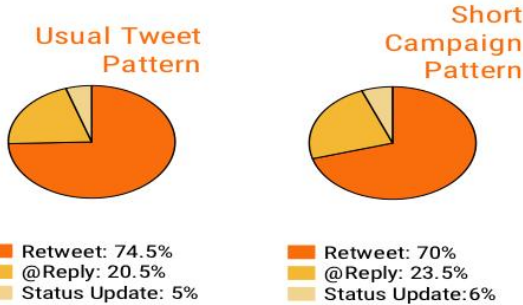
Nigel Farage

UK Independence Party

TOTAL TWEETS: 689

Followers +13%

March 30: 198,485
May 7: 221,823

11

Usual Daily Average

Last 3,200 Tweets < March 30th

18

Short Campaign Average

Usual Tweet Pattern

Short Campaign Pattern
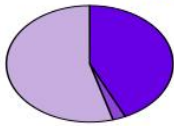
Retweet: 43%
@Reply: 2.5%
Status Update: 54.5%

Retweet: 43%
@Reply: 0%
Status Update: 57%

Natalie Bennett
Green Party

Followers +33%

March 30: 54,704
May 7: 81,805

TOTAL TWEETS: 653

11

Usual Daily Average

Last 3,200 Tweets < March 30th

17

Short Campaign Average

Usual Tweet Pattern
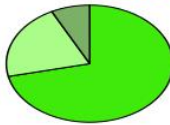
Retweet: 71.5%
@Reply: 21%
Status Update: 54.5%

Short Campaign Pattern
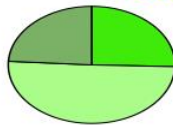
Retweet: 25.5%
@Reply: 50.5%
Status Update: 24%

Leanne Wood
Plaid Cymru

13

Usual Daily Average

*Last 3,200 Tweets
< March 30th*

22

Short Campaign
Average

Total Tweets:
852

Usual Tweet Pattern

Short Campaign Pattern

Retweet: 79%
@Reply: 19%
Status Update: 1%

Retweet: 94.5%
@Reply: 4.5%
Status Update: 1%

The influence of celebritised journalistic coverage of political discourses to this was significant. Most tweets offered accounts and updates from the campaign trail, bearing many hallmarks of mainstream news coverage. For example, although posts were usually written in the first person narrative, they also included "sound-bites" and candid "press-photographer" style pictures. Some tweets were constructed like news intros, including descriptions of the "who" "what" "where" and "why" of leaders' public appearances. Journalistic conventions were used to construct the reality of electioneering and to maintain authority for the leaders of the main two political leaders particularly (see Tuchman 1978, also 5.3). While Cameron focused on neo-liberal discourses of security ("strong"; "secure") and the economy ("economy"; "jobs") and Miliband the socialist ideal of universal health care ("plan"; "rescue"; "NHS"; "cut"), their SNS displays were remarkably similar, both in levels and structure of tweets, and use of hyperlinked journalism to give their arguments authority. This was interwoven with narratives of authenticity, which particularly used "family" to address people "as if they would know what moral category they belong to" through "simplicity of narrative [and] their relationship to practical consequences" (Coleman 2015: 172). They bonded the real life (authentic) concerns of microelectorates to their political authority through displays of what Rojek (2012: 131-134) describes as "fraternisation" or Marwick and boyd (2011: 147) as "affiliation".

Marshall (2010) argues that presentational media encourages elaborate constructions of self as if it is a marketing practice. Hearn (2013b: 165) builds on this and on Wernick's (1991) argument that all manner of communication can be understood within the contemporary cultural conditions of promotionalism. Understanding attempts to "colonize the lived experience" (Hearn 2013b: 165) of the electorate in the interests of not capital, but voter accumulation, highlight the branded self as a "distinct kind of labour", using "highly stylized

self-construction, directly tied to…promotional mechanisms" (Ibid). This, like all types of brand management, relies particularly on consistency of message and familiar mediated discourses.

Leaders were positioned in relation to "others, as particular kinds of people" (Bucholtz & Hall 1995:259). Rather than actively engage in debate and dialogue with the electorate, interactions used symbolic displays of mutuality of stance to demonstrate popularity. Coupland and Coupland (2009: 228) argue "stances …(are) clearly hooked into wider social discourses and ideologies, or are contextualized in important ways by them". Interactivity was used to demonstrate immediate identification rather than to engage in real dialogue and so the authority of the political leader's voice dominated. For SNS users, indications of mutuality of stance happen quickly over single interactions (liking or sharing a post/tweet) as described by Du Bois (2007), over multiple interactions (commenting or discussing beneath a post/tweet), and "intertextually" as described by Damari (2010), (such as sharing news or other evidence). The density of the text clouds of Sturgeon and Bennett's discourse reflects far higher levels of retweeting of other people's comments. Prolific retweets or reposted tweets with brief framing, means dozens of individual's names appeared just once, and the terms "thanks"; "thank you"; "you"; "I"; "Good"; "great" appear as key terms in their visualised discourse.

Nigel Farage, Leanne Wood and Nicola Sturgeon used nationalistic discourses to build their branded-self and mutuality of stance. Wood's profile achieved this linguistically through tweeting in both Welsh and English about the particular social issues facing Wales. Sturgeon linked emotive terms such as "love", "support" "proud" and "Great Day" to herself and the Scottish Nationalist Party as positive representatives of "Scotland". Farage identified himself as the voice of the "UK" or "Britain", often directly in opposition to the "EU" and

"immigrant". His self-brand was also built through the expression of distrust of establishment politicians and other authoritative voices (such as the BBC or expert opinion). He described them as in direct opposition to himself as an everyday "bloke", longing to escape globalised multi-cultural society.

Nick Clegg's Twitter account worked differently, building strategic intimacy (Senft 2008, 2013) through glimpses of behind the campaign scenes and was therefore the only performance more influenced by dynamics of microcelebrity than celebritised journalism (see 4.3). Key words evident in his text cloud include "Day"; "Bus"; "Stop"; "Best"; "Tour" and there were also a number of references to food, including from the restaurant chain "Nandos' – which often offers free food to minor celebrities in return for tweets. Clegg's tweets made few directives to vote or descriptions of Liberal Democrat policy. Marwick and boyd (2011a: 74) argue that success of celebrity performance on Twitter is reliant on back-stage access. Clegg was the first of the political leaders to use SNS as part of campaigning, with the display of private moments on both Twitter and Facebook, key parts of what was described as "Cleggmania", during the 2010 election campaign (see Tolson 2015). However, by the 2015 campaign, the structures of the political marketing machine had turned political communication on SNS into, primarily, another exercise in establishing authority and as such Clegg's approach appears out of place. Indeed, in terms of likes and followers (see Figure 6)- and later at the ballot box -he did not engage voters.

Given how Clegg and his team embraced personalised narratives on Twitter, it is curious that they all but abandoned Facebook – a site which encourages revelations of the personal through its coded commands. Figure Three identifies correlation between levels of visibility on Facebook and personal models of linguistic performance, where political policy is framed as direct conversation. Facebook offers a way of measuring the size of public spheres

(people talking about) based specifically around individual users. While, of course, the number of followers the leader has on the site is a variable, there is clear parity between the use of first person narrative ("Me"; "I") linked to both mutuality ("We"; "Us"; "Our") and direct addressing ("You"; "Your") of the microelectorate. Linguistically, posts often paired these phonetic and semantic representations, to create symbolic bonds. This is evidenced in the way political performers and their campaign teams use personal pronouns when putting content on to Facebook - a technique discouraged by Twitter's textual constraints, as pronouns are often sacrificed for information. The continuous use of personal pronouns by Cameron, Miliband and Farage particularly, established a dialogue of selfhood, which Rojek (2012: 130-133) identifies as a key to maintaining public visibility. However, it too is only symbolically interactive, not dialogic (Bakhtin 1984) as with other interactions between celebrities, audiences and journalists explored in this thesis. This aimed for displayed of mutuality of stance as explored during analysis of Twitter profiles. It appears to be a successful technique with these three political leaders having the largest number of people "talking about" them throughout the short campaign.

Figure Three (6): Use of personalised pronouns and number of people "talking about" leaders on Facebook
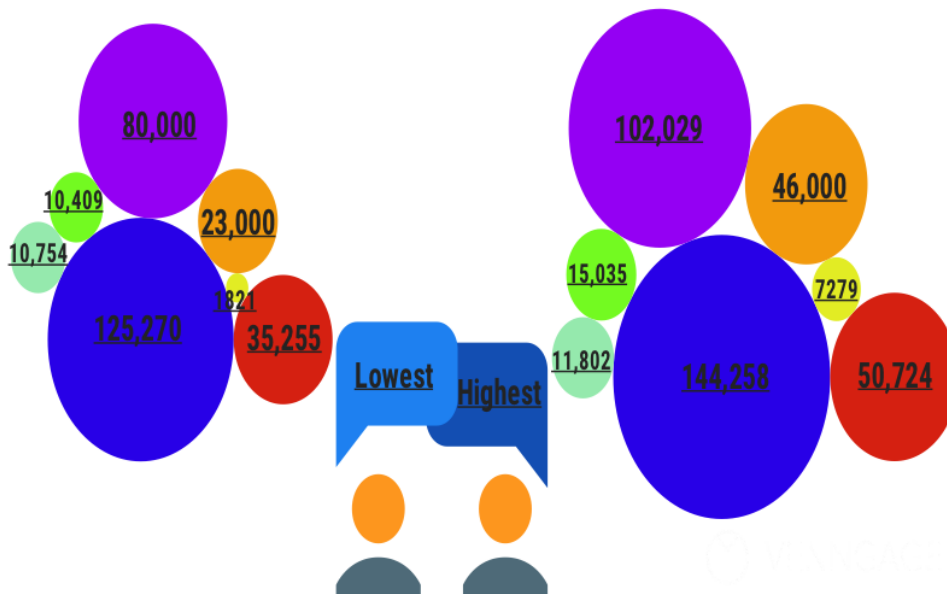
Using first person narratives, linked to right-wing news coverage of immigration, proved a particularly effective way of getting people "talking about" Nigel Farage. As shown in Figure Three, he was often discussed on Facebook more than the leaders of all other smaller parties combined. As discussed in Chapter Two, in *Understanding Media* (1964), Marshall McLuhan identified printed media as establishing and perpetuating nationalistic discourse. He argued that printed media reconstructed the "human dialogue on a world wide scale", and the result was "nationalism, industrialism, mass markets" (Ibid: 188). Typography and mass media allowed political unification of populations through vernacular and language groupings. Nationalism, therefore, "depends on the press" extending and replacing the tribe with "an association of men hegemoneously trained to be individuals" within a nation (Ibid: 192). On SNS (and beyond), Farage acted as a nationalistic mouthpiece, using what could be described as *digital dogwhistling* to attract and maintain an audience. Despite refugees rarely committing crime, tabloid newspapers disproportionately report those who do. The *Daily Express* (1900-current) particularly, whose owner Richard Desmond financially backed UKIP, was used consistently as part of the construction of Farage's Facebook page, linking his persona to the far-right agenda of the publication. For Anthony Giddens, (1991: 24-27) McLuhan's work established that the "media does not mirror realities, but in some part forms them" re-organising "time and space", so experiences which are "rare in day-to-day life…are encountered routinely", helping shape our understanding of our lived experiences. On *MailOnline* Farage was portrayed similarly to networked reality personalities we encountered in the last chapter. He criticised David Cameron's hair (April 7 2015), the BBC (May 3 2015) and "self loathing…middle class white people" (April 25 2015). He "hit the pub" (May 6 2015); took "selfies" (April 24 2015); revealed his favourite karaoke song is "My Way" (April 25 2015) and got "frisky" on St George's Day (April 24 2015). Kelsey (2015: 980)

argues that Farage's persona construction relies on the balance between "straight-talking man of the people" and the "common conventions of the Hero archetype" (Ibid: 976). He uses "symbolic reminders of his opposition" and a celebration of being "gloriously non PC" (979). Under the banner "Make Britain Great Again", Farage's Facebook page brought these elements together as a networked celebrity display, and teamed them with nationalistic discourse and celebration of opposition to immigrant "others", via the use of news as evidence. His page also often invited audience members to like or share posts if they "agreed". This worked particularly well in terms of increasing his visibility during the short campaign and beyond, with Farage not only having a larger number of people talking with him (of course many condemning his Far-right nationalistic discourse) but also gaining the most followers (see Figure Six), of all the political leaders.

6.2.2: Politicians as celebrities: photojournalism and post-digital image display

The ubiquitous presence of mobile phone cameras makes the visual display of self in still images a vital dimension of SNS persona creation. Every person encountered by the political leader when campaigning is now a potential photographer, redefining long established representational media methods and techniques for image capture. Campaigns are staged activities – linked together, planned pseudo-events (Boorstin 1961) – designed for media to circulate images of political leader, which capture both authority and their authenticity. During the short campaign, three types of pictures dominated Facebook and Twitter uploaded picture galleries. The first was professional high quality images by an employed member of the party marketing team, with the photographer directly uploading to SNS with identifiable routine. These were the most dominant and reflected the production patterns of press journalism or paparazzi. Secondly, members of the marketing team created

image/picture blends following structural techniques of the meme, which are a recognisable part of SNS display and audience participation. Finally, pictures taken by the microelectorate – particularly selfies – were shared. While focusing on those images uploaded directly to the leaders media galleries and thus afforded permanent visibility, it is worth noting that many more pictures taken by both members of the public and the press were also shared or retweeted, making them a part of more transient timeline display.

It is not surprising that pictures of the leaders usually dominated their personalised SNS pages, as shown in Figure Four. Indeed, avatars are a first access point for all SNS profiles and as such the captured image of the leader is a consistent presence while accessing their pages. For four out of seven (exceptions Farage, Bennett and Wood), uploaded images were usually professionally taken. These followed long established conventions and techniques of photojournalists covering campaigns and were often uploaded shortly after the public facing campaign moment had taken place. Attempting to capture unguarded moments of authenticity, during the staged activity of campaigning, is key to photojournalist coverage.

Figure Four (6): Content analysis of uploaded still Images on Facebook and Twitter

% Featuring Political Leader

| 80% | 33% | 94% | 94% | 65% | N/A | 88% |

% Featuring Political Leader

| 75% | 14% | 73% | 86% | 55% | 50% | 58% |
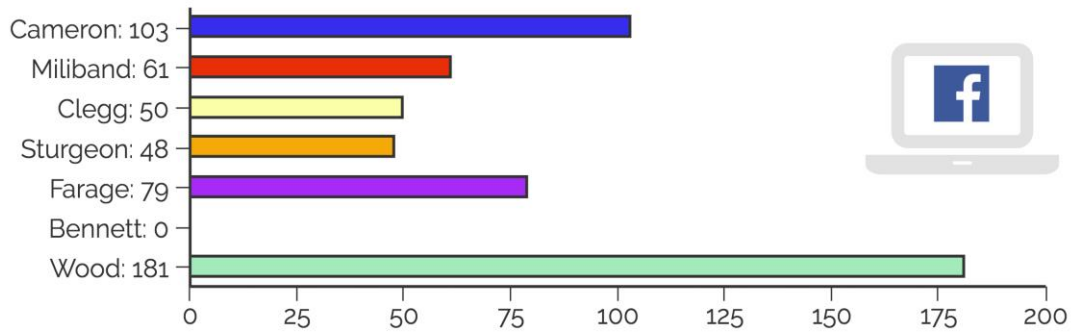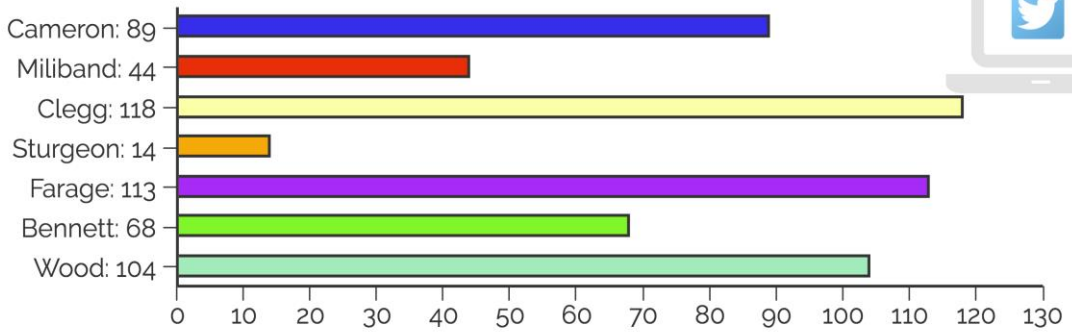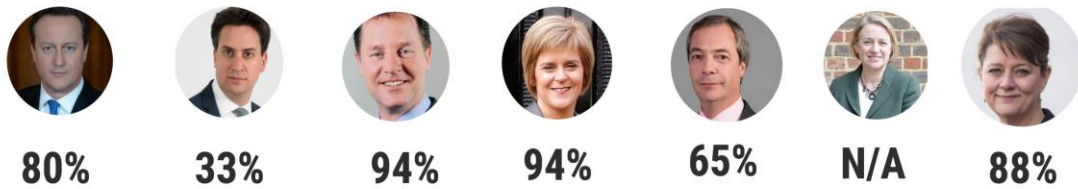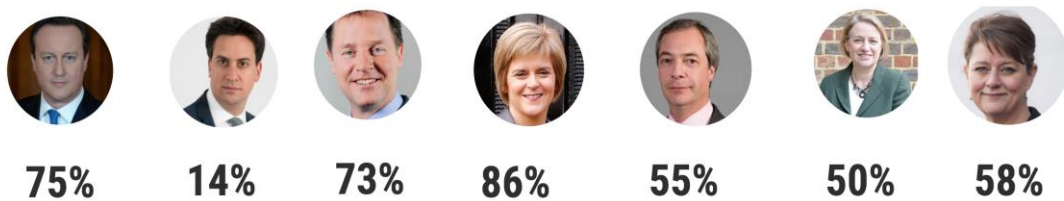
Edwards (2012: 681-697) explores how press photography during election time

contributes to "political illusionism." He argues that the newspaper photograph has special

resonance for the public as "an easily stabilized and repeated representation of people and their action". Photojournalism of electioneering finds credibility in the successful use of "past success as a news formula" (Bennett 1988: 14), often reducing "complex issues and circumstances to memorable but simplistic visual frames" (Zelizer 2010: 1). Co-opting the way photojournalists act as witnesses to moments of authenticity through the capture of off-guard moments, means image handlers are able to circumvent the influence of mainstream news media, choosing which pictures work best to "frame the subject in a positive light and to promote a strategic image" (Marland 2012: 214). While, appearing to be taken on mobile phones rather than by a professional photographer, Farage and Wood's SNS profiles included images which used the structural techniques of photojournalism's coverage of campaigning, if not the high end kit. Natalie Bennett's profile only shared pictures taken by Green activists and no pictures were uploaded directly to her Facebook page throughout the campaign. The lack of a professional photographer reflects differences in the campaigning budgets of these parties as compared to the other four.

However, as Figure Four shows there was nervousness about using pictures of Ed Miliband, even on his own SNS profile pages. Miliband's physical appearance was regularly subject to ridicule - particularly in tabloid newspapers - throughout his tenure as Labour leader, as explored in the next section, and this may well have influenced this decision. Indeed many pictures that were shared featured the back of his head while talking to others. Instead, Labour's most dominant use of images was image/text hybrids following the construction patterns of memes. Audience generated memes have become a significant dimension of SNS construction and work well to instantly communicate an idea within the scrolling functions of Facebook and Twitter. In his recent study of how memes work as part

of digital self-construction, Shifman (2014: 342) argues they are "genres governed by dimensions of truth and temporality which have emerged as governing logics in an era marked by an amalgamation of digital photography and participatory culture". The way they are used on political leaders' profile pages, reflects her examinations of standardised content and form, the way they aim to demonstrate "stance" and how they are now circulated, imitated and transformed (Ibid: 343), although not usually the whimsical nature she identifies. Of the 61 pictures uploaded on Ed Miliband's Facebook page, 39 (64%) were memes, including text of policy and either symbolic images of Labour (such as the red rose), or over-laid on a photograph of Miliband from behind, or at a distance. However, all of the leader's pages at some point used memes' textual and performative dimensions to communicate political ideas.

This blurring of audience production and consumption with professional marketing practices also occurs in use of selfies. As Jerslev and Mortensen (2016) demonstrate, selfies are part of the world of digital intimacy that Marwick and boyd (2011a, 2011b) identify as key to the creation of online fame. In their examination of celebrity selfies, they argue they are a *performative practice*, which rely on the perception of backstage access. Busetta and Colandonato (2015: 2) argue that the selfie should be understood as an important vernacular media production, influenced by "a larger series of techno-social practices" as part of the building of celebrities' self brand or politician's public visibility. All political leaders allowed selfies to be taken of them with members of the public during the short campaign. However, only Sturgeon's team used them following a consistent pattern, as a strategy for constructing her political persona. There were usually two lenses on her during selfie moments. The first was that of a mobile phone of a member of the electorate she met

in person during campaigning, either taken by her or by them. These were mutually beneficial interactions demonstrating mutuality of stance for promotion of self. Sturgeon demonstrated her popularity using the audience member as if a fan and in return the individual she posed with was rewarded with an image with someone famous, which they could circulate on their own SNS. The second lens on Nicola Sturgeon was that of the SNP's official press-style photographer, capturing selfie moments from afar and uploading to her Twitter profile using the hashtag "selfie". This combination of representational and presentational media practices as a means to create the image of a leader in relation to the public, reflects the potency of selfies as celebrity activity and how campaigning teams construct political identities through creating the illusion of unguarded backstage access.

Tracking likes, shares and increased followers, allows the campaign team an almost immediate understanding of how successful a moment of online persona construction is in terms of resonance with microelectorates. This has two consequences: discourse which gets high clicks and likes provides templates for how personae are developed, managed and maintained and, like for many other public figures, SNS have become inescapable institutions for maintaining public visibility. Figure Five demonstrates how successful the campaigns were in terms of encouraging microelectorate direct, regular access to political leaders through "following" or "liking" SNS pages.

Figure Five (6): Increases in sustainable user engagement
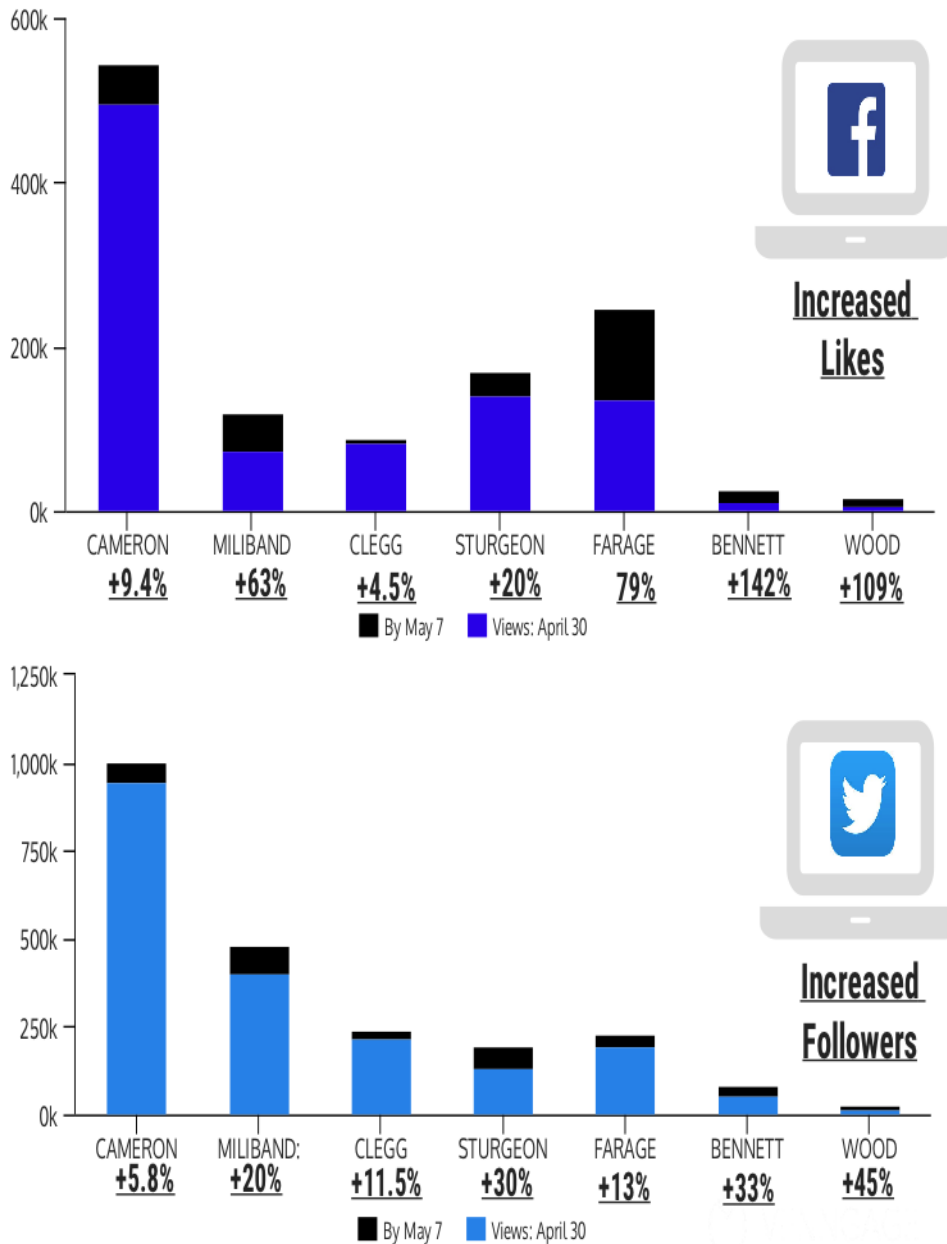
Kreiss (2015: 118-135) argues that the potential for dialogue with the politician is limited, but that the communicative value of increased followers for extension of message can be significant. The leaders of the smaller political parties made real gains, reaching greater numbers of voters. However, this was still only a fraction of David Cameron's followers. Cameron's relatively small increase by percentage - despite the Conservative's having the

largest budget and most consistent production patterns of all parties- suggests there are saturation points for SNS visibility. The ability of campaigning teams to *expand* the visibility of longer standing political leaders using current production processes is limited. On Facebook this trend continues. Cameron and Miliband had greater reach due to a pre-existing levels of followers and this reflected their sustained visibility in mainstream media as PM and leader of the opposition. However, Nigel Farage's "likes" were almost triple those for Cameron during the short campaign. His digital dogwhistling, which teamed nationalism with fear and distrust of both establishment institutions and immigrants, resonated with Facebook audiences particularly. This had extended benefit during the EU Referendum campaign the following year, as these themes were consistent focuses for discourse in both mainstream media and on his SNS sites.

The next section considers whether the performance of political leaders on SNS - and the dynamics of celebritised displays – is impacting on mainstream printed news coverage. It explores all coverage of the first three UK General Elections of the 21st Century in four leading national newspapers *The Sun* (1964-present), the *Daily Mirror* (1903-present),[27] *The Guardian* (1821-present) and *The Daily Telegraph* (1855-present) [28] and considers how coverage is influenced by dynamics of celebrity culture. This offers insights into on how online environments have influenced off-line print news and whether the dynamics of networked reality dominate when journalism is still being produced for an analogue platform.

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[27] Subsequently referred to as the *Mirror*
[28] Subsequently referred to as *The Telegraph*

6.3: Old Dogs/Old Tricks: newspaper coverage of post-digital UK General Elections

Between 2005 and 2015 circulation of all four analysed newspapers - and across UK titles -

plummeted. Internet news sites becoming accessible through social networks (Meyer 2009),

information surplus (Chyi 2009), reduced investment in titles through reduction of editorial

staff (Nielsen 2015) and distrust of news media (Curran and Seaton 2009) all played their

part. Numerous studies of UK political campaigns have argued that, at least pre-Internet,

tabloid newspaper support was crucial to election success (Richardson and Franklin 2002,

Linton 1995, Thomas 1998). Political leaders are "constructed" (and deconstructed) "in a

manner that resembles other public personalities" (Marshall 1997: 214) and Tony Blair's

"New Labour" was determined to win over the highly critical and hostile Murdochian press

(Toynbee 2001) through unprecedented access to him in social settings. Blair used his skills

as an effective communicator - a charismatic, "telegenic" (Washbourne 2010: 44) "celebrity

politician" (Street 2004: 437) - to build a network of supportive media figures, including

sports stars (such as Manchester United manager Alex Ferguson), music stars (such as

Oasis's Noel Gallagher), celebrity entrepreneurs (such as The Apprentice's Alan Sugar) (*The*

Telegraph, Sept 1 2010: online) and newspaper editors such as Piers Morgan and Rebekah

Brooks (then Wade) (*The Guardian*, January 14 2011: online). This allowed him to attract

support of newspapers (and indeed voters too) from across quality/tabloid and traditional

political binaries through "skilfully negotiating between young and old and between

formality and informality" (Pels 2003: 48), or as described in the last section, the lines

between "authority" and "authenticity".

   This accounts for high levels of coverage relating to "Political Persona" in 2005, as

demonstrated in Figure Six, which is the last election campaign he fought. Once he resigned,

two analysed newspapers changed party allegiances. *The Sun* had considered switching to the Conservatives in 2005, but decided to give Labour "One Last Chance" (*The Sun,* April 21 2005: 7), not least because of Rebekah Wade and Rupert Murdoch's friendships with Blair. It officially switched back to its traditional support of the Conservative Party in September 2009, declaring "Labour's Lost It" (September 30 2009: 1). *The Guardian* also changed allegiances, supporting Labour in 2005 (although declaring they wanted more Liberal seats at the cost to "whichever party" (April 30, 2005: 33). In 2010 it openly backed the Liberal Democrats – swept away on the tide of "Cleggmania" (discussed above (see also Tolson 2015), which sparked heated debate in the letter section between readers throughout the final week of the short campaign. Nick Clegg offered Blair style charisma in social media spaces and his popularity in 2010 reflected his ability to effectively negotiate authority and authenticity. As *The Guardian* was the only newspaper to engage meaningfully with social media in 2010, it made a particular impact on its journalists and they switched allegiances.

Figure Six (6): Content analysis of GE newspaper discourse 2005-2015

Circulation

2005: 3,382,509

2010: 2,986,099 (-12%)

2015: 1,809,240, (-40%)

The Sun

Backed — Labour — Conservatives — Conservatives

2005

- Campaign/Issues (23%)
- Political Persona (62%)
- Celebrity (12.5%)

2010

- Campaign/Issues (48%)
- Political Persona (44%)
- Celebrity (8.5%)

2015

- Campaign/Issues (49%)
- Political Persona (46%)
- Celebrity (5%)

Total Articles

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails

Total Words

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails

Circulation

2005: 1,748,327

2010: 1,238,145 (-29%)

2015: 868,992 (-29%)

The Daily Mirror

Backed

Labour

Labour

Labour

2005
- Campaign/Issues (49%)
- Political Persona (39%)
- Celebrity (12%)

2010
- Campaign/Issues (66%)
- Political Persona (35%)
- Celebrity (9%)

2015
- Campaign/Issues (67%)
- Political Persona (36%)
- Celebrity (9%)

Total Articles

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails

Total Words

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails
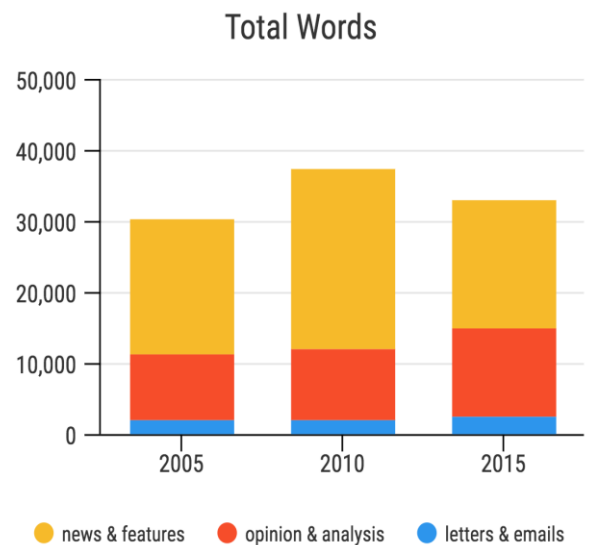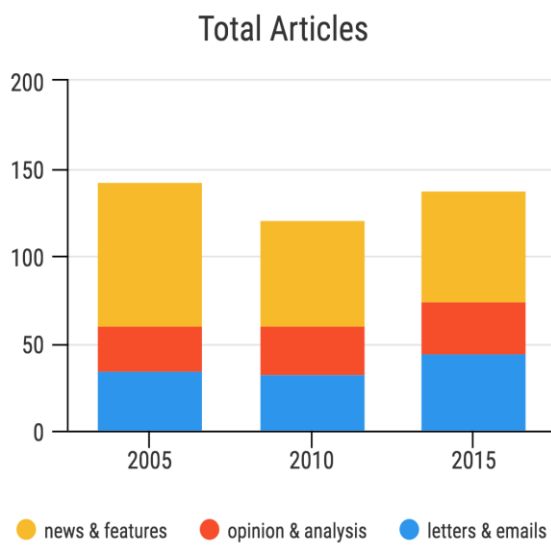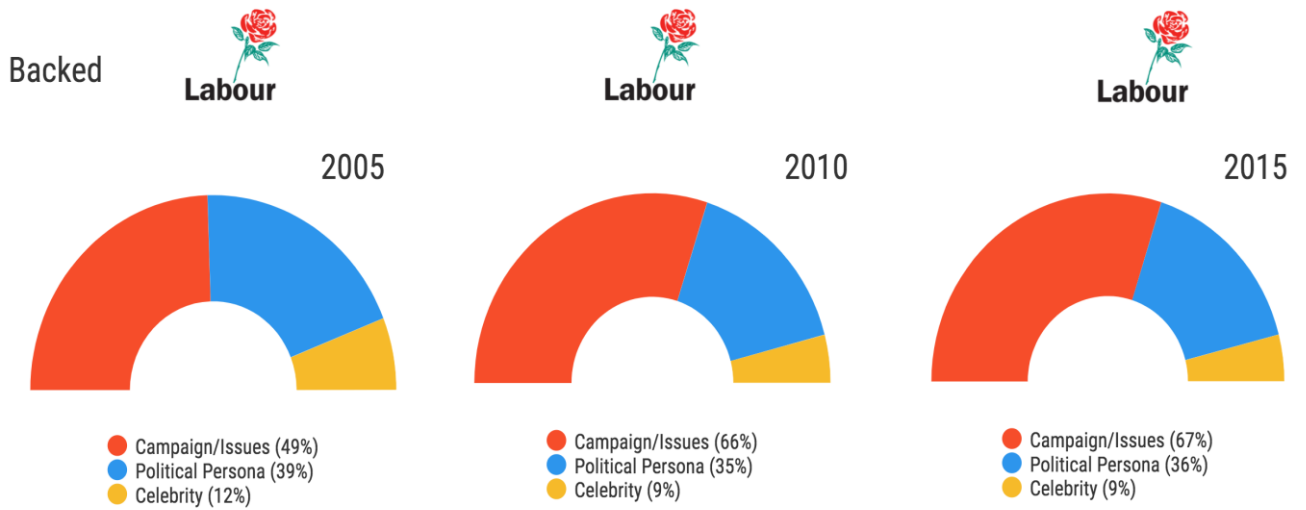
Circulation

2005: 375,818

2010: 300,472 (-20%)

2015: 178, 758 (-41%)

The Guardian
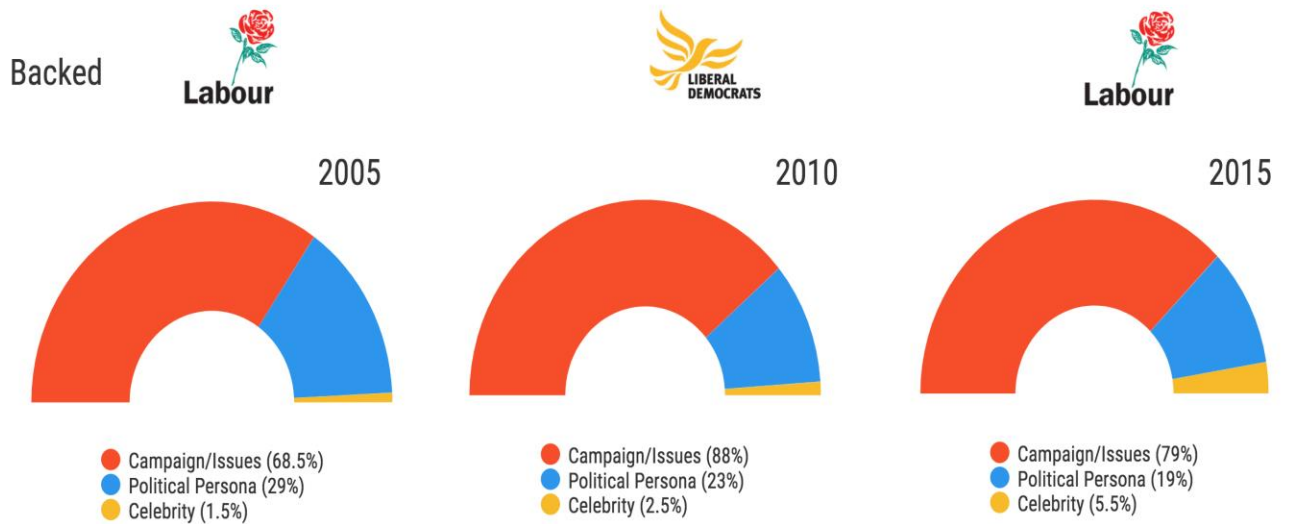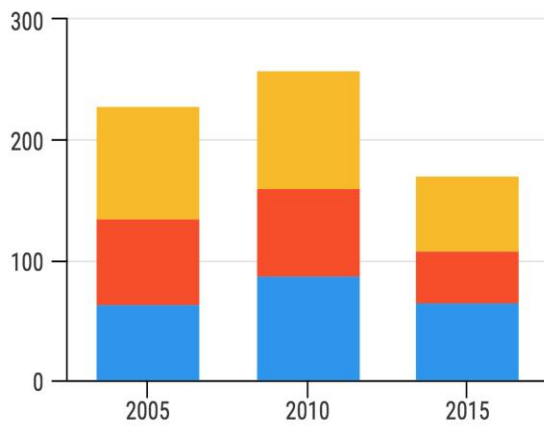
Backed

Labour

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

Labour

2005

- Campaign/Issues (68.5%)
- Political Persona (29%)
- Celebrity (1.5%)

2010

- Campaign/Issues (88%)
- Political Persona (23%)
- Celebrity (2.5%)

2015

- Campaign/Issues (79%)
- Political Persona (19%)
- Celebrity (5.5%)

Total Articles

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails

Total Words
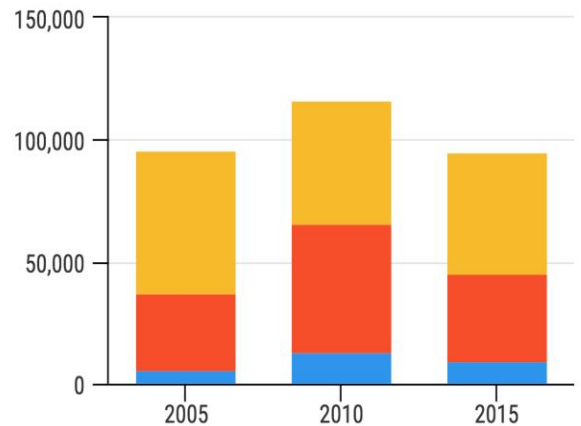
- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails

Circulation

2005: 930, 745

2010: 698, 456 (-15%)

2015: 486,262 (-30%)

The Daily Telegraph

Backed

2005

2010

2015

- Campaign/Issues (70%)
- Political Persona (30%)
- Celebrity (0%)

- Campaign/Issues (46.5%)
- Political Persona (39%)
- Celebrity (4.5%)

- Campaign/Issues (67%)
- Political Persona (36%)
- Celebrity (4)

Total Articles

Total Words

- news & features
- opinion & analysis
- letters & emails
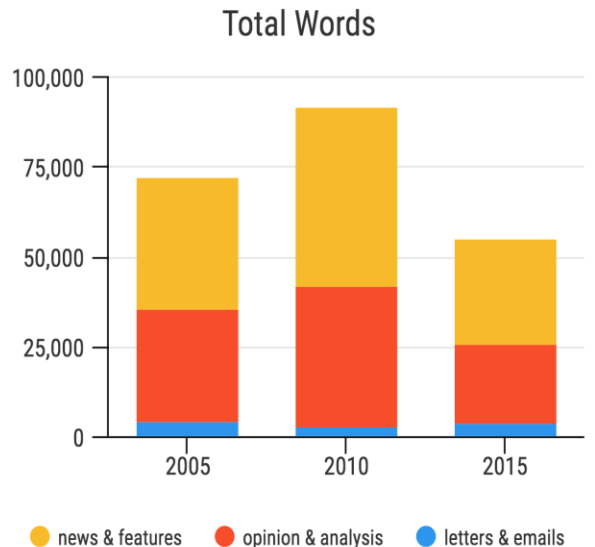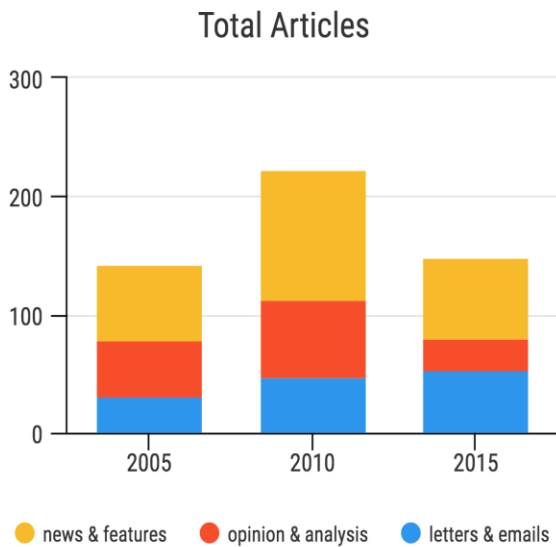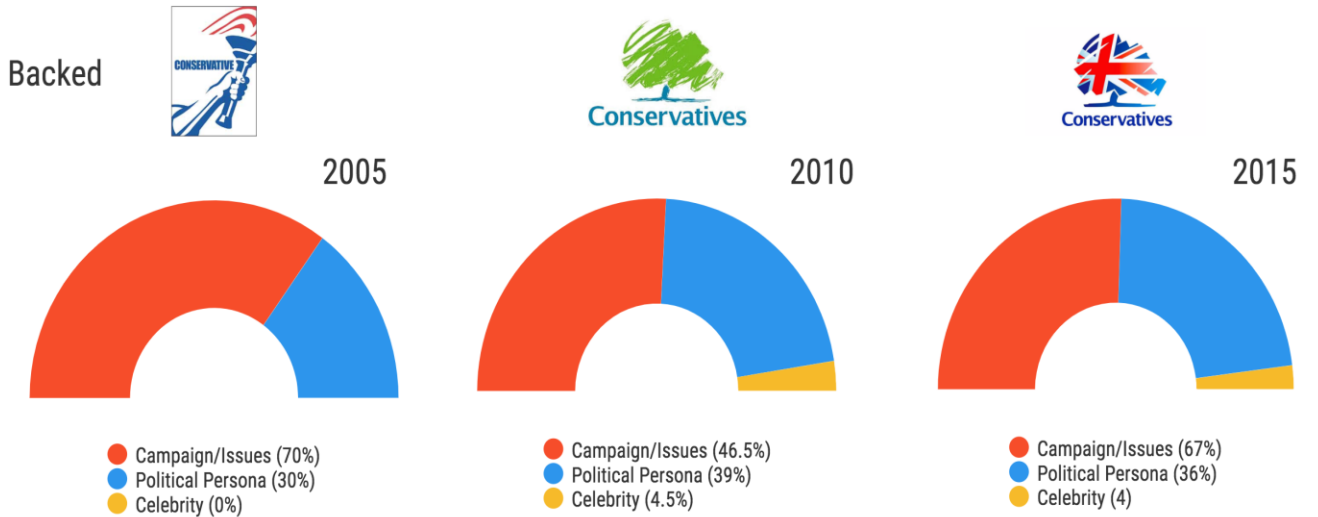
The General Elections led the news agenda of all four national newspapers in the week before voting. There was consistency of style in news and features from the campaign trail for all four papers between elections, with little evidence of significant shifts resulting from the increased presence of politicians on social media. Political leaders and their actions were used as "semiotic hooks" (Conboy 2014: 179) with journalists producing content from the campaign trail. Reports demonstrated hallmarks of how political campaigning now "resembles a reality television popularity contest" with "relentlessly continuous" polling (Corner and Pels 2003: 2, see also West and Orman 2003). This included direct access to political leaders (all papers May 6, 2010), talking to "fire-fighters in Carlisle, fishermen in Grimsby, factory workers in Darwen and paramedics in Dudley" (*The Sun*, May 6 2010: 1), giving speeches to Asda supermarket employees (*The Telegraph*; May 2 2015: 12-13) or having snaps taken at schools and tourist landmarks (*The Telegraph*, May 6 2015: 1). It was the same narrative as that on social media (6.2), but constructed in the third person instead of the first.

However, as social media display increased in 2015, the number of news articles covering the campaign trail declined. Audiences were often watching events live in real time on SNS and as such newspapers found themselves behind the curve and generated new lines, often using members of the public or exclusive access to politicians. Increased visibility of the political leaders of the smaller parties (see 6.2) did not, by and large, result in visibility in newspapers, although Nicola Sturgeon was covered more in Scottish editions (and was backed in *The Scottish Sun*, May 7*). Nigel Farage was popular with *The Telegraph* particularly and was even given a column to bewail the betrayal of "England" by mainstream politicians and "BBC bias". These narratives were consistent with those on his social media accounts

(see 6.1). In short, the increased visibility of politicians on social media, which one might assume given the impact of celebrities SNS displays on news agendas would increase news discourse (5.4), appears to have had the opposite effect.

As shown in Figure Six, the use of celebritie*s* as part of the coverage declined in "tabloid" papers, but increased in "quality" papers across the three elections. When backing the Conservatives in 2010, the only person other than David Cameron offered the front page to voice their opinion was *X Factor* (2004-current) and *Britain's Got Talent* (2007-current) judge Simon Cowell who declared "Britain's got to Change" the day before voting (May 5 2010: 1). In 2015, *The Sun* struggled to muster someone of his celebrity status to back the Tories. The best they could find was Amy Childs, a former cast member from constructed reality TV show *The Only Way is Essex*, who declared "if celebs, like me and Joey Essex say "this is what we think […] people will start voting" (*The Sun,* May 7 2015: 9). Increases in celebrity news and journalism in *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* included details on the fashion choices of leaders' wives and interactions of political leaders *with* celebrities, such as Ed Miliband's YouTube interview with comedian and Hollywood film star Russell Brand and Eddie Izzard campaigning on Labour's behalf "in a skirt". These celebrities - which also featured in *The* Mirror and *The Sun* - attracted the attention of all newspapers, which celebrated and condemned in equal measure in relation to their partisan views.

In 2015 there was also a significant shift tone for tabloids. In 2005 and 2010 numerous "funnies" – short gimmicky stories – and "mock-up" cartoons of political leaders appeared both on the front page and inside. For example, *The Sun* had a "News in Briefs" Election Special, displaying "16 Page 3 Girls in all their glory" which claimed Labour's Harriet Harman and Lynne Featherstone were killjoys aiming to ban Page Three. This is another example of

Patricia Holland's (1998: 17-22) analyses of how *The Sun* humiliates female MPs when they question use of sexualised imagery. The *Mirror* "Chicken" was out in force, shadowing Cameron even after he agreed to attend the leaders' debates and while they repeated this again in 2015 this content did not feature in the final week. Mock ups in the red-tops in 2005 and 2010 included a "Come on You Reds" declaration of support for Labour (May 5 2015); Michael Howard as the "Prince of Darkness" with a stake through his heart (May 5 2015); both Howard and Cameron with Margaret Thatcher hair (May 3, 2005; May 5, 2010) and a recast of the famous Obama "Hope" picture with David Cameron gazing heavenwards (May 6 2010). This type of celebritised content reflects the analysis of those most vehemently opposed to tabloid news as encountered earlier in the thesis (Franklin 1997, McChesney 1999, Gitlin 1997 – see I.2; 2.2; 5.3) and could be argued to directly reflect editor's view of readers as "consumers" to be entertained rather than "citizens" to be informed (Bennett 2002: 187). By contrast *light-hearted* celebrations and attacks were scarce in 2015. The only mock-up was on the front of *The Sun*, linking anticipation for the vote to that for the imminent arrival of Princess Charlotte of Windsor, with Cameron peaking out of a baby's blanket under the headline "It's a Tory" (April 30, 2015). The birth of "the daughter Diana had always longed for" (*The Telegraph*) knocked election coverage off the front-page of *The Sun* on Monday, May 4th and Tuesday, May 5th.

While celebrity news declined, the celebritised news discourse of "attack journalism" (see 2.2; 3.4) was sustained, although no single politician faced as venomous an assault as Ed Miliband by *The Sun* in 2015. On becoming Labour leader, Miliband was (allegedly) threatened by an "ally" of former *Sun* editor Rebekah Brooks, for saying she should resign over phone hacking with "we are going to make it personal about you" (*MailOnline*, July 9,

2011). He also insisted he would impose rulings of the Leveson Inquiry into the unethical and criminal behaviours of the tabloid press and declared that the Murdochian Empire "must be dismantled" (*Guardian*, July 16 2011: Online). The "attack journalism" he suffered appears to be directly related to the perceived threat towards News Corporation interests. This is celebritised news discourse at its most dangerous and it stems directly from earliest manifestations, both in terms of the linguistic style and, indeed, the way specific terms were used, against early celebrity campaigners Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and Tom Paine in the 18th Century (see 2.2).

Miliband had "two faces" (May 2 2015: 6), was "shamefully dishonest" (May 1: 8) and "vacuous" (May 5: 8). He was both "laughable" (May 4: 8) and "revolting" and would "defile" Number 10 with his "arrogance" (Ibid: 11). He appeased "Islamists" to "keep the Allah block vote". He was an "imbecile" (April 30: 13), "barmy" (April 30: 5) and could not "wear the trousers" (Ibid). He was a "lame duck" (April 30: 13), a "grisly mix of left and lefter" (April 30: 5), who wanted to spark a "class war" (May 1: 6) through "socialist lunacy" April 30: 5). He used "slave labour" and, with a distinct whiff of anti-Semitism, was described as making a "pig's ear…out of a helpless bacon sarnie" before heading to his "three bathroom…North London" home (May 6: 1-2). For *The Sun,* Ed Miliband was, quite simply, a "horror story" (May 2: 6) that could not be risked - a "wholly owned creature of the militant union barons" - who "crumbles under fire" (May 1: 6) due to "comic idiocy" (May 4: 11) and who, as a result, could bring about a complete collapse of the economic and social security of the country (Ibid).

It is difficult to comprehend that so many journalists were willing to engage in a sustained attack on a mild mannered father of two, widely regarded as one of politics' "nice

guys" (Alistair Campbell, *New Statesman*, 17 June 2010: online). Perhaps, in reality, it did not involve as many as it would first seem, with news editors and sub editors adding insults to stories as part of an agenda of those up the chain of command. However, if, as Richards (2012: 207-310) discusses, "civility and open-mindedness" in debate is key to successful democracy, *The Sun's* pack mentality aimed to render Miliband entirely mute to readers. Patterson (1994, 2000), Fallows (1996), Barnett (2002) and Lloyd (2004)'s discussions of adversarial techniques in contemporary political journalism and how they damage debate by increasing cynicism and fear of recrimination are no better evidenced than in this rabid celebritised discourse. Miliband was subjected to a more focused and sustained attack than Jihadi John (see 4.4), who, in contrast, was portrayed more like a reality television star than a threat. Indeed, he was subjected to levels of vitriol normally reserved for the worst kind of dictators and despots.

Defence of Ed Miliband had two leaders: journalists at *The Guardian* and a group of teenage girls acting as the kind of fans encountered in relation to the Kardashians (5.3). They created an a celebrity discourse - the "Millifandom" - which began with superimposed images of Miliband's face on the body of Hollywood hunks, and mock-up videos of Miliband in Romantic scenarios, shared via the hashtags *milifandom* or *milibae* (here used to denote "before all else", used usually for a boyfriend or girlfriend). It proved far more effective in resetting the discourse than *The Guardian's* "Miliband Fight's Back" (May 2, pages 1 and 8). The unsuspecting leader emerged as 17-year-old Abby Tomlinson, who said she and some of her "friends" on social media were "annoyed that the media presentation of [Miliband] was a deliberate distortion" when they particularly liked his "passion for the cause of eradicating inequality" (*The Guardian*, December 20, 2015: online). As a result Abby - whose Twitter

handle @twcuddleston, was inspired by her love for Marvel comics film star Tom Hiddleston - also faced "attack" journalism. Several *Sun* reporters "door-knocked" her grandmother, searching for negative stories, which she discussed in a YouTube video (*WestminsterAbby* YouTube, Sept 11 2015). *The Sun* columnist and former Tory MP Louise Mensch was accused of "bullying" the teen after bombarding her with tweets accusing her of falsely claiming to have started the movement and penning a 4,000-word rant in which she threatened to write about her in her next column (*The Guardian*, May 19 2015: Online). The success of the Milifandom in breaking *The Sun's* narrative about the Labour leader, alongside a new kind of "online activism", piloted by journalist and Southampton Labour candidate Rowena Davis (*The Guardian*, May 2, 2015: 11), became key components of the *Momentum* movement, which helped Jeremy Corbyn become Labour leader and collapsed the Tory majority in the surprise 2017 General Election and its even more surprising result. *The Guardian* saw the potentials of this kind of grassroots digital activism in political campaigning and discourse in 2015, discussing how "new ways of campaigning" were being tested in the "marginal seat of Southampton" (Ibid), led by a number of female Labour MPs working with volunteer activists.

Noveck (2004: 21) argues that democracy is not simply dependent on free speech, but on "open, equal, reasoned deliberation." Debates should involve "the viewpoints of all members of the community", and be "structured according to democratic principles and designed to transform private prejudice into considered public opinion…to produce more legitimate solutions". Newspaper columnists led both attacks and defences of Ed Miliband and this reflected shifts in their prominence. Columnists became celebrities through their networked displays and the formation of their own considerable micropublics on social

media. Celebrity politicos and journalists became part of a growing international trend, which linked political discourses and campaigning directly to supportive journalistic workers using dynamics of microcelebrity (see Chapter 4). These partisan, opinionated and biased journalistic performances are explored in the next section, which considers the rising visibility of *journalists as both celebrities and political activists*, building their visibility by creating politically branded selves.

6.4: Snowflakes, frogs and dogwhistles: journalists as celebrities and political communication

Strömbäck (2005: 38) argues that "since it is through media and journalism that citizens mainly access political discussions, the deliberative model of democracy places exacting demands on media and journalism". If the role of journalists extends beyond informing citizens and includes analysis and opinion on political events, then using the dynamics of celebrity to extend visibility makes perfect sense. Celebrified columnists working for each newspaper during 2015 had distinct sets of characteristics, which framed deliberation and debate. In *The Sun* they were usually celebrities first, such as television favourites Jeremy Clarkson and Lorraine Kelly and reality TV personality turned "professional troll" "Brand Katie Hopkins" (*The Guardian*, April 3 2015). *Mirror* columnists tended to be left-wing Northern hacks including political reporter Kevin Maguire and Hillsborough campaigner Brian Reade. *The Guardian* largely employed members of the liberal-left London-based intelligencia including *Chavs* (2011) and *The Establishment* (2014) author Owen Jones and journalist Polly Toynbee. *Telegraph* columnists were largely white, male middle-aged elite conservative journalists or politicians (or both) such as Boris Johnson, Michael Heseltine and John Major and as discussed earlier Nigel Farage (Friday, May 1: 24). Despite apparent

differences in terms of background and perspective, by the 2015 election, celebrified

columnists drawn from across television, politics and journalistic media, had often formed

their own micropublic on social media and were familiar faces on broadcast television news.

These were visible reflections of Deuze's (2012) considerations of how social media shifted

the dynamics and perceptions of journalistic success towards individualisation and visibility.

For journalists, like celebrities and politicians, SNS are "inescapable institutions"

(Goffman 1956, see also 6.2), used for the gathering, production and dissemination of news

and to build their own visibility. Transformations of newsgathering, production and

dissemination is a key focus of much recent research into journalists' use of social media

(Hermida 2013; Holton and Lewis 2011; Lasorsa, Lewis and Holton 2012) and almost all

journalists now view Twitter as a significant part of their working routine (Gilyas 2013).

Recent studies of "celebrified journalists" (Hedman (2015) and Molyneux 2015; Molyneux

and Holton 2015) argue that the promotion of self as an individual has gained greater

significance than the promotion of particular media brands, with significant impacts on

journalism (Bruns 2012; Hedman and Djerf- Pierre 2013). This is no better evidenced than in

the networked, self-branded performances of left-wing columnist, author and campaigner

Owen Jones and "Alt-Right"[29] darling and reality TV regular Katie Hopkins, as demonstrated

in Figure Seven. Through visualizing the complexity of their networked production practices

and known associations across media and political spheres, we can see how strategies of

intercommunication are aimed at "reinvigorating a political process that often stagnated"

(West and Orman, 2003: 112) through self-celebrification. They are sites of *opinion*

spectacle, building visibility in the UK, and in Hopkins case the US too, across mainstream

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[29] Short for "Alternative Right" (Lyons, 2017), the Alt-Right "is a loosely organised far-right movement, which according to Lyons (2017: 17) has core principles of authoritarianism, misogyny and white nationalism.

and social media in similar ways to other celebrities, as explored in the previous two

chapters. Opinion spectacle relies on the development of mutually beneficial relationships

with politicians, other journalists, celebrities and activists, working together to make

particular ideologies "part of people's everyday lives".

Figure Seven (6) Networked celebrity practice of journalists Katie Hopkins and Owen Jones (July 2017)

Celebrity Journalists as microcelebrity practice (July 2017)

Celebrity Journalists as microcelebrity practice (July 2017)
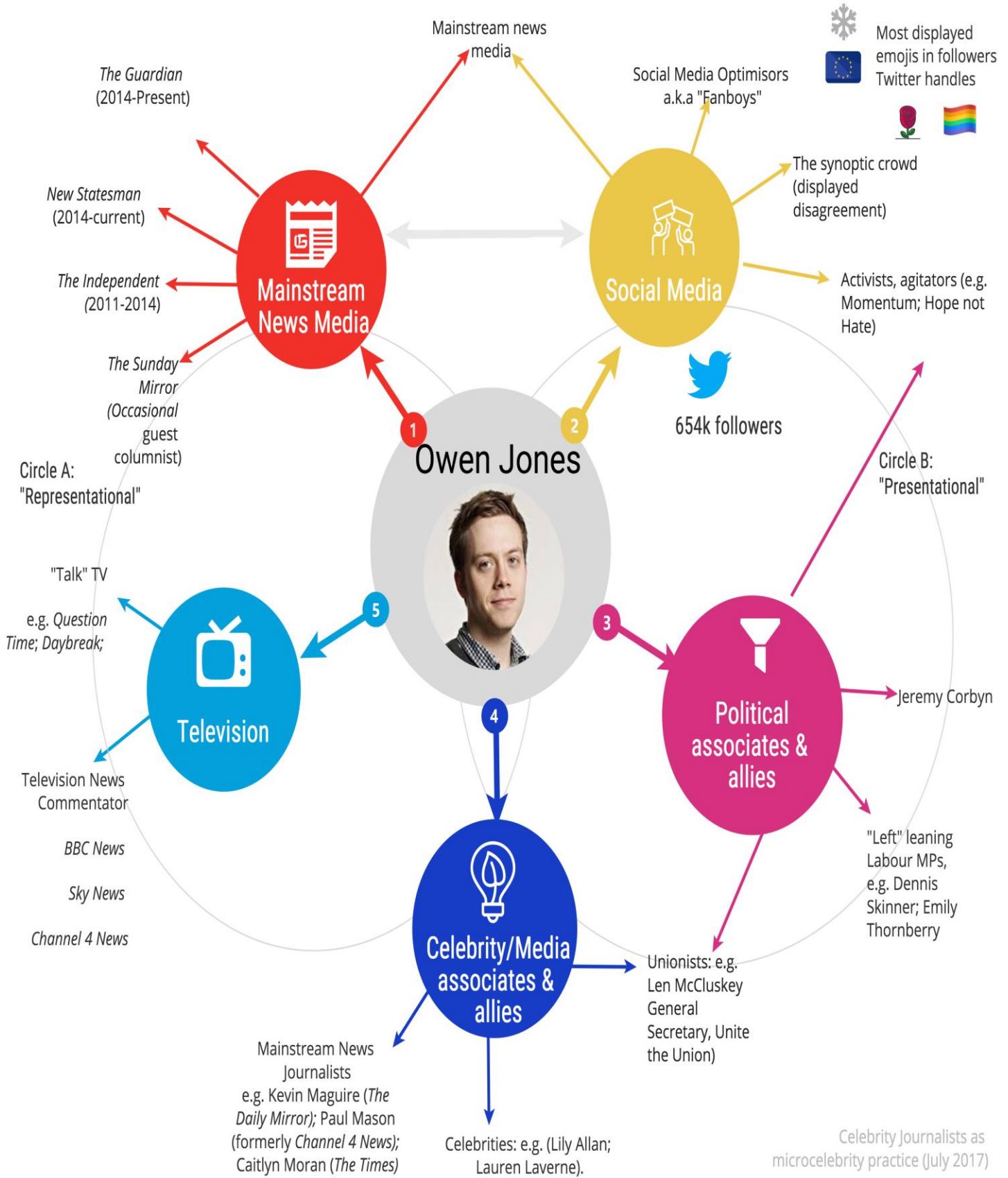
Though neither are trained journalists, Hopkins' and Jones' are part of the editorial teams of leading news publications, and as such they automatically gain a level of credibility and authority. Jones won "Journalist of the Year" at the 2012 Stonewall awards which celebrate the achievements of LGBT community and its advocates, and Hopkins was famously praised by President (then elect) Trump as a "respected columnist" who told the truth of the risk of Islamic Extremism in the UK (*Independent*, 10 December 201: online). Jones has much in common in terms of working practices with infamous pamphleteer and early celebrified journalist Thomas Paine (see 2.2), writing lengthy political treaties vindicating the rights of working class people, producing commentaries for newspapers and engaging directly with activism. Hopkins, by contrast, uses reality television where her outbursts and opinionated displays attracted the attention of first journalists (who used her as a subject of stories) and then editors who saw her potential value as "click-bait" through generation of controversy via extreme discourse. She has been questioned by police several times for "hate speech" in relation to her anti-refugee and Muslim rhetoric and twice fined more than £100,000 for libel. Hopkins was headhunted by *MailOnline* shortly after the 2015 election, reflecting her alignment with their values and their focus on hits before all else (see 5.2).

Both Jones and Hopkins conduct interviews as part of their wider professional practice as depicted in Figure Seven: Jones, for example, to produce first person features for *The Guardian* (e.g. "Where work and poverty go together", May 7, 2015: 11) and Hopkins as part of her former *TLC* programme *If Katie Hopkins Ruled the World* (2015) and *LBC* radio shows (2015-2017). Examining their practice offers interesting insights into how gatewatching and gatekeeping are intertwined in on and offline journalism. For example, if we consider their columns from the final week of the 2015 election short campaign, Jones (*The Guardian*, May

6, 2015: 30) addresses many of the same key points as Hopkins (*The* Sun, Friday, May 1

2015: 11): resurgent English nationalism; the potential of the formation of an English

Parliament and "putting personality into politics" (Ibid). Indeed these points were key

considerations for Nigel Farage in his *Telegraph* (Friday, May 1: 24) column too. These

similarities have two underlining factors: firstly, columnists talk to and often against each

other; secondly, "gatewatching" - keeping abreast of news, debates and discussions

dominating social and mainstream media spaces – is a key part of production.

Shoemaker and Riccio (2016: 1) describe how gates are "decision points where political

and other forces constrain information". The purpose of columnists is to dictate debate,

choosing material, which fits with both with their own self-brands and the agendas of their

news organisation (Bruns 2010: 250). Hopkins and Jones are both the breathing

embodiments of the ideologies of the publications for which they work and are significant

figureheads in the polarisation of British politics. When synergies like this occur between

journalists and the news agendas of the publications they work for -and are teamed with

the ability to perform effectively as celebrities across representational and presentational

media - then the opinion spectacle flourishes. Debord's (1967) S*ociety of the Spectacle*

considered how symbolism and entertainment governed media discourses and displays,

building directly from Boorstin's (1961) discussions of pseudo-events and the image based

logics of media culture. Kellner's (2010) consideration of this in relation to presidential

campaigning (see 6.2), argues that this is "the era of media sensationalism, infotainment

and political scandal and contestation" (117). In simplest terms, the success of the

expanding celebrity and journalistic practice of opinion spectacle, like other fame building

exercises, is both image and discourse led, linking to the way fame-building by

"journalists…is informed by celebrity culture" (Marshall 2010: 38) and microcelebrity

production practices.

We could view them as human pseudo-events (Boorstin 1961, Debord 1967), using both

representational and presentational mechanisms to build positions of celebrity as political

and ideological focus points. Interactions with others in the public eye are a crucial

component, as demonstrated in Figure Seven, including: ***politicians*** (Hopkins has been

praised by Donald Trump (*Independent*, December 20 2015: online) and defended by Nigel

Farage (*Mirror,* January 1 2015: online); Owen Jones campaigned both for and alongside

Jeremy Corbyn in the Labour leadership contest and the 2017 General Election); ***political***

activists (Hopkins has marched alongside and been photographed with Tommy Robinson,

former leader of the English Defence League, now an "editor" for *Rebel Media UK*; Owen

Jones campaigned alongside Labour movement *Momentum* and speaks regularly at political

rallies and meetings) and ***other journalists and celebrities***. Hopkins is particularly linked to

other self-styled political commentators such as Alex Jones and Paul Watson of transatlantic

media brand *InfoWars*. Her brief spell writing for *Breitbart* (2015) while Stephen Bannon

was CEO, brought her to the attention of both *Fox News* and the Trump camp. These

interactions are crucial to maintaining public visibility through "sustaining connections…

that are both imagined and actual" (Papacharissi 2012: online).

Alex Jones (@TheRealAlexJones) and Paul Watson (@PrisonPlanet) work as "journalistic"

self-brands differs from Jones and Hopkins in that is primarily video based and is not given

authority as an extension of being part of a mainstream news brand. However, as YouTube

"stars" with more than 3 million subscribers, 1.5 billion video views, 1.7 million Twitter

followers and 3 million Facebook likes across both their personalised and *Infowars* branded

social media accounts (August 2017), they too are significant sites for opinion spectacles through the use of similar techniques to such "digital talents" as Zoe Sugg (4.4). Castells (2009) argues that networks construct new political forms and meanings by encouraging casual linage between private expressions and public discourse. Opinion spectacle relies on displays of parasocial bonds with audiences, both supportive and negative. Support is often both *linguistically and symbolically* exchanged, using phrases, pictures, emojis and sharing Memes, not unlike other kinds of in-group solidarity formed through fandom (see 5.3), or related to politicians (6.2). Marchi (2012: 253) describes how this might be viewed as part of a growing trend in fake news- "entertainment TV shows that parody network news sites use satire to discuss "public affairs" without "journalistic objectivity". They operate as a new kind of watchdog (Marchi 2012: 254). Disagreements, opposition and even threats of violence towards other public figures are used to maintain and extend visibility. In Alex Jones' case – who was issued a White House Press Pass by the Trump administration in May 2017 – the extremities of his discourse have directly led to violence. His reports that Hillary Clinton and her campaigning team were linked to a child sex trafficking ring from a pizza shop (Pizzagate), resulted in a shooting by one of his viewers at employees in December 2016 (*CNN,* June 22 2017).

Support from and combat with Twitter users is a key part of opinion spectacle for all these celebrified journalists. For Hopkins and Owen Jones, this centred on their own very public spat, with tweets criticizing one another spanning (at thesis completion) more than three years. Hopkins has described them as "sworn enemies" (*MailOnline* June 14, 2016) and has attacked Jones' appearance and "faux Northern" accent when they have appeared together on television. In May 2017, Jones led a campaign to have her sacked from her *LBC*

radio show after she called for a "final solution" for Muslims following the bombing of the

Ariana Grande concert in Manchester. Numerous tweets were exchanged about the other,

including Jones describing her sacking as one of his "proudest achievements"

(@OwenHones84, 22 July 2017) and Hopkins describing Jones as a "creature. Laughing as

others were being stabbed and slaughtered" (@KTHopkins, June 4 2017). These exchanges

act as a central point for the synoptic behaviours of Twitter followers as part of the

production practices of opinion spectacle.

Mathiesen (1997) discusses audience participation in persona construction implying a

shift in the modality of power (Penfold-Mounce, 2010: 33). The "viewer society" allows "the

many to see and contemplate the few" (Mathiesen, 1997: 219), which often works

alongside Foucault's (1988) discussion of panopticism where the few (such as state agencies

or marketing companies) monitor the many and may modify messages accordingly. For

Mathiesen (1997: 223) the Internet affords synopticism and panopticism "fusion with each

other" for effective persona construction. Van Kriekan (2012: 73) expands this point to

social media and considers the "complex and multi-layered", "power relations between

celebrities and their audiences", which "move in a number of directions at the same time".

Audience manipulation and monitoring governs self-control in order to "attain a certain

state" (Foucault, 1988: 18). While Doyle (2011: 290) argues that one of the limitations of

Mathiesen's work is that it does not allow for how "patterns of resistance" might work,

resistance from audience members *becomes part of the opinion spectacle*. The power of the

audience allows these currents of resistance to frame "production and reception" (Ibid) of

their microcelebrity practice. Hopkins and Jones respond to currents of resistance very

differently. Hopkins relishes them, describing the "bucket load[s]" of criticism, the "joy of

[her job] (*Independent*, 12, August 2015). Jones, who often faces abuse discussing his sexuality particularly, has discussed how difficult he finds it and quit social media for a spell in 2017, citing his inability to distance himself emotionally from the constant barrage of abuse (*Press Gazette*, March 13 2017: online).

Followers of both also directly attack the other and the most vocal of these often use symbolic displays of political affinity. The use of flag emojis is obviously aligned to active citizenry and national identity, such as the large number of Owen Jones' followers who have EU or rainbow flags in their Twitter handles or biographies as a symbol of being anti-Brexit or pro LGBT. For Hopkins, the most popular emoji used by followers is the Union Jack although she also saw a swell of US followers using the Stars and Stripes and "Trump Trains" in 2017 as a result of regular *Fox News* appearances. The "red rose", which is often also used by Jones's followers is the symbol of Labour and therefore shows partisan affiliation. "Snowflakes" and "frog" emojis, also regularly used by their followers as symbolic mechanisms to demonstrate in-crowd identity, have more complex meanings and roots. Both stem from Memes and phrases emerging out of the Alt-Right movement. Pepe the Frog was part of a deliberate attempt to use cartoons in racist memes to make the message appear less confrontational and therefore more acceptable (Anglin 2016, Caiani and Parenti 2013: 123). These are easily received by audiences with associations and ideologies communicated through the quick scrolling of a screen. When smart-phones embedded a larger set of standard emojis in 2015, frog faces became shorthand for Pepe – a way to quickly and symbolically demonstrate political allegiance to Alt-Right ideology. Its visibility grew extensively after Hillary Clinton referred to "Pepe the Frog" and the "Basket of Deplorables" during a speech at an LGBT Gala dinner (September 11, 2016). The

"snowflake" emoji used by many of Owen Jones's followers is also from Alt-Right discourse. "Snowflake" is an insult used to indicate weakness (*The Guardian,* 28 November 2016). As Alt-Right visibility grew during the 2016 presidential campaign and Steve Bannon and Trump used the term, many left-leaning Twitter users displayed snowflakes emojis in their biographies, as symbolic self-identity display, which worked in binary to the right-wing "frogs".

This symbolic discourse aids the opinion spectacle of celebrified journalists. Deacon's (2007: 195) analysis of images argues three lenses: index, symbol and icon. Index shows the relationship between the signifier (the symbol) and the signified (the ideology; the public figure) while the objects themselves are "symbols" which allow it to represent something larger than itself. Icons use the index relationship to demonstrate social convention or iconic significance. This aligns with Priest's (2009: 192) discussion of image analysis, which explores how analysis must also examine surrounding discourse to identify *why* producers issue such symbolic projections and *why* audiences accept them. Owen Jones challenges and subverts the "snowflake" narrative; using it against the right to illustrate their own "melt-downs" as well as retweeting fellow self styled "snowflakes" (@OwenJones84, November 19 2016). Katie Hopkins has declared she is "Happy to sit in the basket of deplorables" to "MakeAmericaGreatAgain" (@ KTHopkins, 21 November 2016) and has referred to "snowflakes" in her *MailOnline* column. Symbols are used panoptically to identify supportive followers by both Jones and Hopkins and as part of the opinion spectacle of their networked self-identity construction.

6.5: Summary: *How did the relations between journalism and celebrity develop and how do they work to influence self-identity and its public displays?*

Examining both electioneering and news on SNS and in newspapers identifies relationships between celebrity, journalism and the construction of political identity. For politicians, the "appearance of honesty and humanity [is] more important than the proof of honesty and humanity" (Corner and Pels 2003: 7). Marketing professionals are afforded greater control over the public image of the political leaders and are able to produce content in their voice, in real time, but with routine. The trick for campaign teams is to produce content that communicates quickly during the scroll of a social media timeline, allowing for instant identification. When Meyer and Hinchman coined the term "Politainment" (2002: 99) to describe how politicians use their "immediate physicality and its hold on the media" to negotiate with the electorate, news media and journalistic coverage of politicians was at the forefront of his mind. Certainly the logics of celebrity culture and SNS political persona display are important parts of newspaper discourse during election campaigns. However, there is more news content relating to political issues than leaders or celebrities, even in the much-maligned British red top tabloids (see Figure 6). Political journalism and SNS performances fuse "matter and manner, message and package, argument and ritual" (Pels 2003: 45). They are emotional, entertaining, celebrified and informative. While Meyer and Hinchman may argue that the audiences are grateful for the lack of information offered, celebritised discourses also hold attention. As such, at the very least, this gives *more room and scope* by which audiences *might* become informed.

Simons (2003) argues that putting politics into celebrity terms does not necessarily result in trivialisation, but can lead to engaging an audience, with political images, not simply absorbed by a passive public, but read, analysed and considered.

Networked celebrity commentators are increasingly framing public debate and if we consider Katie Hopkins and Owen Jones as journalists by virtue of their employment by mainstream newspapers, then there are a raft of digital first opinion spectacles such as Alex Jones and Paul Watson of *Inforwars* who, inevitably, will be viewed as such too. By issuing Alex Jones with a White House Press Pass, the Trump administration highlighted how this has significant implications for the professional integrity of journalism. This also reflects the increased visibility of ordinary people in political communications - using emojis, creating Memes, taking selfies, clicking, sharing, liking, trolling, making video content and setting up their own "news" brands. This constructed DIY digital practice of citizenship (Hartley 1996) quite definitely engages others in debate and is therefore democratic and not just demotic (Turner 2004: 82, see 2.3). But the polarization of political systems and societal norms means, that for many proponents of liberal democracy, the results may not be desirable. As such, whether celebrity and journalism can equally be turned to encouraging social cohesion and political stability - to counteract the way they are being used to fracture them – becomes significant for the survival of democracy.

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Facebook Accounts: Timeframe March 30-May 2015

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Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1: Introduction

It is 5.10pm on Saturday, April 8 2017 and I scroll Twitter on my Smartphone. The *Washington Post* reports that Donald Trump bombed Syrian airbases because his "heart" told him to and that his son-in-law Jared Kushner and adviser Steve Bannon have gone for dinner to "make amends". There is a hashtag for a *Channel 4* documentary from the night before, which filmed the sale of Marilyn Monroe's "most intimate" possessions. Khloe Kardashian posts a picture on to Instagram in a department store and shares it to Twitter. She stands before a sign that says "Good American". TV personality and former *Countdown* (*Channel 4*, 1982-present) "Numbers Board" legend Carol Vorderman speaks exclusively to *MailOnline* and tells them she started "clean eating…before it was cool." She wears a red spandex dress and long blonde hair extensions. She does not talk about mathematics. Goal! Norwich is beating Reading 7-1, thanks to Cameron Jerome. A make-up artist has "come forward" to Perez Hilton to disclose he covered "many bruises" for former Spice Girl Mel B after alleged beatings from her husband Stephen Belafonte. Former England striker and *Match of the Day* (*BBC* 1964-present) presenter Gary Lineker and his followers argue about Katie Hopkins and refugees. And so it streams, never-ending, celebrity and celebritised displays, told to journalists, told by journalists, told directly to followers. High and low culture blurred together in a quick process of click, read, retweet, reply, scroll, click.

This thesis aimed to answer the following research question:

How did the relationships between celebrity and journalism develop and how do they work to shape self-identity and its public displays?

This conclusion considers how by tracking intertwining elements we can map genes of the "DNA code" (Couldry 2012) of representations and performances, or alternatively, unpick some strands of what Whannel (2010) described as "vortextuality". Without understanding origin and development, it is impossible to identify connections, transitions and transformation in the digital age. Using digital archives of pre-digital media facilitates focused content analysis, and allowed for a number of key linguistic and narrative themes to emerge during the course of the 315 year-timeframe of this thesis. Reconsidering the historical narratives for celebrity and journalism, confirms their importance for circulating and constructing models of self-identity. The dominant categories of self-identity on display therefore, are effective frameworks for analysing the linguistic and image based patterns of celebrity and celebritised news and journalism, how they shape our expressions of self-identity and how this in turn sustains discourses. This conclusion considers the key findings of this thesis and I begin by arguing the significance of the different historical narrative for the emergence of celebrity and journalism (7.2), how celebrity news and journalism influenced the development of the structure of news and how this has shaped the development of digital news platforms and content (7.2.1). By considering the three dominant themes of self-identity as significant components of celebrity news and journalism, I argue that the first narrative relating the "authentic self" shaped how we understand and accept our lives in Western capitalist societies (7.3). This not only enables consumerism (7.3.1), but also frames how journalism works to both encourage and limit

democratic participation and action (7.3.2), and shapes simulative self-identity display -

such as the star – to support "repressive ambiences" of consumerist and political

hegemonies (7.3.3). Next, I consider what is learned from identifying how journalists have

sustained the celebrity and celebritised news discourse of "attack journalism" with

remarkable linguistic and thematic similarity for more than 300 years (7.4). This discussion

identifies not only that the political was a key component of celebrity journalism from its

origins, but also that journalistic process of "attack" can simultaneously raise the visibility of

a significant social or political change and work to limit acceptance of it by audiences. This

frames the subsequent discussion of the celebrification of journalists (7.5). The differences

between two key terms which emerged in this thesis - "cycles of empowerment" between

journalists and readers or as "opinion spectacle" describing networked celebrity journalist's

practices - offers insights into how self-celebrification can be used by journalists to

campaign for social and political inclusion or equally to encourage political polarisation

(7.4.1). In entirety, the conclusion leads towards what is arguably my most significant

conclusion, that the "tabloid/quality" and "audience/public" binaries, which are starting

points for so many analyses of journalism, are nonsensical and limiting, particularly to the

field of journalism studies. Moving past this is now critical, as journalists need to understand

how relationships between celebrity and self-identity shape their practice in order to work

effectively as verifiers of truth or watchdogs for democracy (7.6) in the plurality of post -

modernity. Political instability, extremism and the unfolding crisis for transatlantic

democracies is fuelled by interplays between celebrity, journalism and self-identity and as

such understanding how they work together, has never been more important.

7.2: The importance of accurate historical starting points

The terms celebrity (see 1.4) and journalist (see 2.2) both emerged with linguistic specificity in the 1760s. Their languages, narratives and displays developed together, in relation to one another and never existed in isolation from one another. Journalists have always reported celebrity news as well as using public figures as "semiotic hooks" to facilitate discussions of socio-cultural and political changes (see 1.2; 1.3. 2.2) and this is evidenced both in news content and in the earliest discussions of both celebrity culture and journalistic work. Gossip and innuendo about public figures, fuelled demands for press freedom (2.2; 2.4); celebrities worked to encourage political engagement (see 2.2) and gathering direct speech was an important component of the development of interviewing as the most significant newsgathering practice for pre-digital journalists (see 2.3; 5.4). Without celebrity reporting, the narratives, newsgathering practices, patterns of production, thematic priorities and methods for dissemination of print journalism would not have developed as they have. Similarly, without journalism as first mass medium, the significant place of celebrity culture in shaping, framing and circulating areas of self-identity or "ways of being" could not have emerged when and how it did.

The emergence of "the star" as a hyperreal, glittering extension and sub category of celebrity culture would also not have been achievable without the long-standing patterns of constructing celebrity display created by journalistic coverage (3.4). Cinema resulted in a significant change in celebrity culture, but the narratives of celebrity journalism played an equally significant part in developing stardom. It is the increased visibility of celebrity culture during this period - not least in terms of recorded images of stars becoming a part of every day life - which is identified by those who claim celebrity is an invention of modernity.

Similarly, Ponce De Leon's (2002) claim that 20th Century US newspapers and magazines were the birthplace of celebrity culture, is better understood as an analysis of the considerably increased levels of celebrity news as a result of the visibility of the star.

The constitutive elements of stardom were evident in interviews with entertainers *before* cinema and in celebrity news relating to the most famous actors and actresses from the 18th century (3.2). There are five areas of continuity of themes in pre and post-cinema displays: consumerism and fashion; "unique" talent; glimpses of an "ordinary" or "private" person behind a glamorous public image; a Romantic notion of the artistic, authentic soul; and the display of adoration by audiences, peers and/or journalists. The ordinary/extraordinary paradox of celebrity culture, which many theorists argue stems from Hollywood stardom (Turner 2013; Dyer 1998 [1979], Marshall 1997) and is a "version of the American dream" (Dyer 1998: 38), were actually narratives created by London print news media to circulate celebrity. Celebrity journalism and its discourses, acted as bridges between iconic, glamorous captured images (first still and then moving) and real people. Through this "the star" was formed.

In turn, the creation of stars reshaped the structures of celebrity journalism and particularly the relationships between the written word and the image. Words began to be constructed in relation to picture-led displays (see 3.4; 5.2), rather than pictures being used to illustrate the words of journalists (see 2.3). The movement of celebrity discourse from being predominantly text to image led is key to understanding today's social media displays (see Chapter Three; 5.2). Furthermore, the shift from being the principal mode of communication for celebrity culture, to part of an increasingly fluid and multiplying landscape, has significantly altered the way journalism is produced (see 5.4). Mapping

digital, networked and microcelebrity production practices against the key areas of self-narrative identified in this thesis -authentic self linked to consumerism, citizenship and stardom – clarifies the place of celebrity journalism in digital displays. There are two key elements to this. The first is an extension of celebrity news and journalism in analogue media, with ever-increasing levels of celebrity news and journalism, which even when not supportive, maintain visibility (5.2). Secondly, celebrities and their publicity teams use the conventions of journalism to shape interactions with their audiences, which facilitates parasociality as a promotional practice. The familiarity of journalistic structures enables self-display and application of them is proven an effective way to build fame.

Rethinking Rojek's (2001) taxonomy of fame to include "applied" celebrity, helps to clarify how visibility can be increased through the strategic use of discourses of celebrity, including celebrity journalism (see 3.4; Chapter 4; 5.3). However, this in itself is nothing new. Drawing from a long-established tradition of self-celebrification (see 1.4; 1.5 3.2; 3.4), digital technology and its affordance of access to platforms of media construction and dissemination, simply increase opportunities to gain attention. Targeting the attention of journalists continues to be an effective, and arguably a principal, way to build public visibility across networks of audiences (see 4.3; 4.4; 5.3). Those who argue that the significance of print journalism is waning in terms of influence on and means to circulate the promotional performances of celebrities do so at their peril. There has never been greater visibility for its practices, and while newspaper sales continue to collapse (see 6.3), the patterns and priorities of print prevail in digital space.

7.2.1: Pattern and practice: language, structure, images and platforms

Analysing patterns and practices of celebrity journalism at micro and macro levels allows us to draw conclusions about how both linguistic and image based discourses of news developed. The populist gathering, production and dissemination methods that emerged in the 18th and 19th Centuries (see 1.5; 2.2) shaped how it is constructed to this day. This specifically formed the linguistic patterns of news and formed dialectical models for constructing truth, placing the voices of ordinary people into journalistic discourse (see 2.3). While journalists may always have been "unroutine workers" (Tunstall 1978), direct access to those in the public eye is a long-standing tradition (see 1.3; 2.3). Celebrity journalism was key to this, placing "who" as the first considered component of news constructions within the inverted pyramid structure. This was used initially as a "semiotic hook" (Conboy 2014: 179), by which stories could be constructed - and remains a key construction method for all news reporting (see 5.2; 6.3). As a result, this shaped the *technology* of news websites' back and front-end functionalities and was particularly key to creating templates for digital news production. These mean gossip can be quickly turned into news, Twitter posts can appear as direct quotes and pictures can be made into stories, at ever increasing speed. While "real" interaction between journalists and celebrities decreases, these structures suggest contact and mask the decline of journalistic gatekeeping and interaction with sources. This is visible not just in celebrity culture, but reflects changing levels of direct contact between journalists and other public figures and sources too.

Tracking celebrity journalism therefore reveals, that while *packaging* of direct speech remains largely unchanged in digital media as in digital news (see 3.4; 5.4), social media transformed *gathering* (see 5.4). How journalistic discourses developed was complex, but by

focusing on celebrity journalism particularly, a clearer understanding of how some components emerged is possible. In particular, the use of direct speech, such as from celebrity interviews (3.2; 3.3) or tweets (5.2; 5.3), demonstrates Bakhtin's (1984: 11) argument that "truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born *between* people […] in the process of their dialogic interaction". Allan's (2010) use of Bakhtin's arguments to decipher how truth telling and verification practices of news were formed is equally applicable to celebrity news (see 2.3; 3.2; 5.4). Turner's (2014: 145-151) discussions of celebrity journalism's production (perhaps better described as its sources) (see 5.2; 5.3) are also equally applicable to the other newsmaking routines. Pre-digital celebrity content was usually gathered through "personal contact with publicity and promotional organisations" (ibid) - a field of media work driven by the pushes and pushbacks between celebrity and journalism (Chapter Three). Direct contact and interviewing were key to shaping the ways that direct speech is used and this led to rules of engagement - what questions are asked, how answers are constructed - which govern the self-advantaging celebrity/journalist exchange and also the practices of associated promotional workers in relation to both print (Chapter Three) and digital (Chapter Five) news.

Controlling power relations between celebrities and journalists was an early role of the press agent, and control over image still underpins their work. The interview was co-opted by the motion picture industry and journalists combined images produced for promotion by celebrities and by studios, which in turn shaped construction (see 3.2; 3.3). The earliest use of images - another area of production highlighted by Turner (2014: 145-151) - reflected the beginnings of the formation of stars, which were fully realised with the invention of cinema

(Chapter Three). Stardom was accepted as a "way of being", once the public could see captured images both in and beyond the pages of newspapers (3.2; 3.3). While portraiture played a significant part in early circulations of celebrity (1.5), photography allowed for greater construction and circulation of *images* of self (Chapters Three). Like portraits, these were originally idealised, managed and staged. Pictures became part of journalistic discourse in two ways, both aimed to build readerships through celebrifying processes. They support celebrities as effective images for promotion, gossip or titillation (or all three) or "attack" them for challenging social norms or as "imperfect" examples of social stereotypes (particularly gendered), achieved through the use of candid shots (3.4; 5.2; 6.3). The latter is an extension of one of the longest standing discourses of celebrity news - "attack journalism" (discussed further in 7.5) - which originated from the political positions of partisan papers. It is an effective technique not just to curb engagement with the political messages of those who challenge the values of papers or societal norms, but also to undermine the narratives of celebrities if it is beneficial to the political or commercial agendas of the publication.

The principal purpose of the use of unflattering candid images is revealed through consideration of how they visually unpick elements of carefully constructed celebrity images, such as groomed physical appearance or public behaviours (see 5.2). This is linked to Turner's (2014: 145-151) final source for celebrity news - "rumour" or gossip - and how it is placed in both linguistic and image based discourses. Gossip and innuendo about public figures fuelled people's demands to know, leading to increased press freedoms (see 5.2). It is a crucial component of both journalism and celebrity cultures from their origins, used both for commercial (Chapters One and Three) and political purposes (Chapter Two). The

digital age offers new ways of forming and finding gossip as part of networked reality displays. Rumours sit alongside inference, innuendo and glimpses of private realms given freely by public figures on their social media pages (see Chapter Five; 6.2). While these platforms have created new ways for celebrities and promotional teams to extend influence over media discourses, structural patterns (see 5.3; 6.2) and thematic priorities (5.4) are shaped by the practices of journalism. This is no better illustrated than through consideration of the place of celebrity journalism in the development of networked and microcelebrity practices (see Chapter Four and Chapter 5.3), which are increasingly similar.

Pioneering celebrity websites, such as *Bowienet* (1998-2011) used the production patterns of journalism to offer opportunities for "personal experiences" with stars (see 4.2). Audience members were encouraged to join digital celebrity production practices (see Chapter 4 and 5.3) as part of a "massive collective desire to become part of the new social construction of identity and public display" (Marshall 2014: 163). Similarly, journalism shapes celebrity social media performances and as such, the influence of representational "news" media endures (see Chapter Four; 5.4; 6.4). Micropublics are linked to content - and each other - via the individual celebrity (see 4.4; 5.3; 6.2). As a result, social media users not only have greater understanding that glimpses into the "real" live of celebrities are constructed, but also of their own value in the process (see 5.3). Equally celebrities and their promotional teams are knowing beneficiaries, demonstrated not least by the high number of crowd-sourced interview moments offered to fans by public figures across media spectrums. This has enabled social media interactions to supplant the interview as the principal mechanism for promotion, through the interplays of authenticity, authority, stardom and real self.

The relationship between celebrity and journalism in digital space is thus two-way and should be placed within broader contexts of concurrent displays in other media. As celebrities and their teams use the production and construction processes of journalism, so too, these displays transform newsgathering practices. As identified, this is embedded into both "back-end" functionality of news sites, shaping both content production and user experience design. It forms a clear directive from celebrities, social media and news websites: click content; consume (and maybe also buy a product); and share it on, so followers may do the same. Direct speech -which no longer needs direct interaction between journalists and celebrities - adds authenticity and authority. However, it is unverified, aggregated content and as such, while the mechanisms of news continue to offer effective mechanisms for celebrity promotion, the power of the journalist to verify and establish "truth", has waned.

Journalism has shaped networked celebrity practice (Usher 2014, 2015), which is reliant on parasociality to build audiences (see 1.5; Chapter Three; Part Two). This creates a sense of knowing the "real person" and is achieved through mutual "act[s] of media production" (Giles 2010: 95). It may be framed as an individual-to-individual experience, but is often a *group production process* with a number of media and promotion professionals working towards a common goal. Examples such as Twitter "ask" sessions (see 5.4), media operatives and "fanboys" building the brand of Islamic State (see 4.4), or direct interaction between politicians and microcelectorates (see 6.2), all demonstrate how journalistic practice shape media. Audiences not only embrace opportunities for unfettered glimpses into the real lives of the famous, but also opportunities to be part of them. They value feelings of closeness. Understanding fame as something "one does rather something one is"

blurs lines between consumption and production, with authenticity and "everydayness" key to online performance and "clicks, shares and likes synonymous with success" (Marwick 2015: 347). It offers constructive and instructive patterns, through which "audiences access […] the real person behind the celebrity" (Marshall 1997: 82). These processes are simulative, hiding the hyperreality of the experience through involvement in production. As such, the place of celebrity journalism in maintaining the "understanding and expectations of society" and in shaping the "social functions of stars" and public figures (Dyer 1986: 17) remains significant. Next, I consider *how* these forms and functions of celebrity and journalism shape our understandings of self-identity against the three key areas identified in this thesis: consumerism and authentic self, citizenry and politicised nationhood and hyperreal stardom.

7.3: Form and function: the narratives of self-identity

Applying established definitions and taxonomies of celebrity to 18th century journalism offers immediate insights into how it reflected and shaped ideas of individuated self-identity (see Chapters One and Two). In many ways, both continuities and changes reflect established research into how celebrities support cultural hegemony, (Marshall 1997: 14-16), acting as models for emulation and articulating capitalist ideologies (Dyer 1978; 1986). This thesis has also identified some of the ways in which journalists work as part of a "consciousness industry" (Tuchman 1978) to shape and moderate beliefs, thoughts and actions. However, celebrity journalism was not only "moulded" to fit the understanding of expectations of society (Dyer 1986: 17), but helped shape them. Understanding the historical starting point for celebrity and journalism as linked to Romanticism and Enlightenment debates, the Consumer and Print Revolutions and the formation of the

bourgeois public sphere, helps make sense of its continued purpose in shaping self-identity as a mechanism for societal control. Journalists use celebrities as part of the great "mosaic" of print culture to articulate events and to further the agendas of their publication. From the beginnings of journalistic practice, using celebrification to develop signifiers for socio-economic, cultural and political ideas was part of practice. From this viewpoint, we can map celebrity journalism as both a *process* of individuation and also a *means to understand* ourselves as individuals. Journalists celebrified individuals who represented political change and debate (Chapters One and Two); were good examples of commercial, industrial, scientific or military endeavour; articulated new religious explorations; or those from other nations, who embodied difference, commonality or equality (see 2.3).

This shaped journalistic practices, including newsgathering, construction and dissemination (see 2.2; 2.3). In modernity, our understandings of self and celebrity journalism changed, reshaped by the image based discourses of stardom, the linguistics and processes of psychoanalysis and changing ideas around sexuality and gender norms (Chapter Three). However, this thesis establishes that discourses of consumerism were a constant throughout successive phases of celebrity journalism, underpinning explorations of different ways of understanding self-identity. The relationships between sexuality and sexualisation, fashion, public and private spaces, authenticity, performance, stability and scandal revealed by examining press between the 18th and 20th centuries, establishes that many of the current core themes of celebrity culture relate directly back to its origins as a way of linking Enlightenment and Romantic ideas of the "authentic self" to consumer culture. As such, understanding how this key theme shapes understandings of visibility and self-value, emulation, the formation of citizenry and nations and the simulative qualities of

celebrity culture, is significant to understanding the forms and functions of journalism as a whole.

7.3.1: Visibility and value: emulation, self-identity and self-worth

The narrative of celebrity journalism established in this study is primarily one of middle class –in the original sense - (see I.3) endeavour where once "ordinary people" now have "extraordinary" visibility. It moves beyond "functioning as an economic category in a system of exchange" (deCordova 1990: 112), to a way of *linking financial freedom* to broader emancipation as citizens of a nation (2.2; 2.3); to advocate for women's rights (see 3.3) or for those wanting to live alternative sexual identities (see 3.4). These freedoms are shown to be obtained *through consumer action* and therefore act as "channelling device[s]" (Marshall 1997: 49) or models for lived behaviour within Western capitalist democracies. Journalistic discourse affirms ideas of stable and authentic "real self" linked to public displays of how life is lived. It works to confirm that personal emancipation and individuation *is only attainable* through the systems of the capitalism and through engagement with market forces, therefore securing economic and social hegemony.

Celebrity journalism raises public visibility so figures can act as an "ideological centre" of capitalist culture and at the same time reconcile "the doubts of the individual within" them (Marshall 1997: 17). This has a number of themes, developed at origin in the 18th century and sustained to the current day. The display of consumerism and fashion is placed alongside descriptions of both "uniqueness" and "ordinariness" (see 1.3; 3.3). The narrative displayed in mainstream media is largely of white domesticity and while the ways that celebrity journalism has enabled visibility for different races were demonstrated during analysis of WT Stead's interviews (see 2.3), the overwhelming "whiteness" of those featured

in this thesis links directly to the narratives of celebrity established in the 18th Century press. These circulated Romantic ideas of love linked to self-fulfilment through reproduction, described in relation to a comfortable domestic life and link Romantic artistry to forces of production (see 1.5; 3.2). These narratives were firmly placed in the aspirational white middle class home and continue to be so, as demonstrated through exploration of the world of British microcelebrity (4.3). Models for emulation are intertwined with displayed adoration in which audiences, journalists and peers participate, highlighting that visibility is crucial to "self-worth". The function of celebrity journalism is therefore both the construction of "identity markers" for models of "standardized lifestyles[s]" (Dubied and Hanitsch 2014: 140), and also a way of ensuring that self-value and self identity are understood only through the lenses of consumerism, capital and fame.

Celebrity journalism therefore works as a repressive ambience, encouraging audiences to emulate and to feel fulfilment from emulation (see 1.4; 3.3; 4.3; 5.3). Through using its discourses, celebrities can control their image and eradicate versions of self-identity that do not support promotion (see 5.4). Celebrities have always acted as symbols of the joys of buying as a reflection of financial stability, which is evidenced throughout the two parts of this thesis. Directives to emulation are powerful tools of individuation, reflected not least by the fact that the most visible displays of self-identity are often particularly constructed around the endeavour of developing the self from ordinary to a brand, which sells mediatised identity to others. Celebrity journalism formulated this narrative and continues to play a significant part in its display, directing audiences to copy, to buy, to belong to the group. From the beginnings of news culture, journalists have enthusiastically supported celebrity endeavour to construct an image in ways that offer models for consumerism.

There is evidence that mass media audiences have always been willing to yield parts of their own identities and emulate celebrity figures to attract attention and become part of celebrity displays. From those who wrote letters and autobiographies pretending to be public figures in early print newspapers (1.4; 2.2); to the women in the "middle of life" who shocked journalists by following the bizarre fashions of the famous (see 1.4;); to users of *Bowienet* or the Kardashian "dolls" who develop social media profiles as reflections of their idols (5.3); ordinary people have "applied" celebrity displays to their own performances of identity in both real life and in engagement with media. Celebrity journalism shaped the "massive collective desire to become part of the new social construction of identity and public display" (Marshall 2014: 163). It created personal "fronts" and established patterns for behaviour and articulations of lived experience (Goffman 1956). The linguistic and image discourses of celebrity journalism developed in analogue print news, shaped social media behaviours, where of course a degree of visibility is available to all. The paradox is that as a result the power of the journalist is waning, with audiences and celebrities now having both the models for constructing self-narrative and the tools at their disposal to do so. However, those who build their own audiences in digital spaces often reap benefits when they attract the attention of news media and broaden their visibility beyond their original micropublic. As such they have become a fascinating new manifestation of the ordinary/extraordinary paradox as a dominant theme of celebrity culture. The tools they use are ordinary - we all have equal access - but practice and use of them is extraordinary as they have achieved astonishing levels of public visibility and attracted the attention of mainstream media.

Examples such as the *Zoella* and Kardashian brands (see 4.3; 5.3) show that models of consumerism, which use journalistic construction patterns and attract the attention of news

media, still allow transformation from "ordinary" girl to an "extraordinary" talent as they did when print was the main media discourse (see 1.4; 1.5; 3.2; 3.3). Such narratives always depended on creating parasociality to direct audience emulation, evident in how Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and Kitty Fisher interacted with their audiences (Chapter One); how newspapers encouraged readers to write narratives and letters about public figures (Chapters One and Two); how stars interacted with journalists in interviews (Chapter Three); the development of the first celebrity websites (Chapter Four); in micro and networked celebrity practices (Chapters Four and Five); and the performances of political leaders as a way of shaping citizenship (Chapter Two; 4.4; Chapter 6). As such Horton and Wohl's (1956) discussion is better understood not as identifying a new response to mediated figures as a result of television, but a rise of such parasocial relationships as a result of the immediacy of the platform and its genres. Before television, the themes and structures of celebrity journalism controlled both celebrity performances and those of audiences, helping replace real life relationships with parasocial ones, offering vicarious lived experiences and hyperreal imagined and mediated lives. Continuous interplays become extensions of self-identity, creating the repressive ambience of celebrity cultures (see Chapter Four) and also criticising them (Chapter Five). Celebrity journalism, therefore, has both synoptic (Mathiesen 1997) and panoptic (Foucault 1973) functions, both of which act to normalise behaviour, which fits within the narratives of democratic society (see 4.3; 5.2 and also Mathiesen 1997: 218). It works *with audiences* to regulate the behaviour of celebrities, such as through critical stories, and works *with celebrities* to regulate the behaviour of audiences (see 5.3), for example through stories that further images of consumerism. Each of these relies on parasociality.

Expanding Rojek's (2001: 17-20) taxonomy of *achieved, ascribed and attributed* celebrity, to include *applied* celebrity, highlights individuals who become famous through the application of a model of networked celebrity practice which includes journalism's structures and narratives (see Chapters Four and Five). This is largely used for promotion, not just of celebrities themselves, but also by association, consumer goods and leisure activities (see 1.3; 4.3; 5.3). However, this application does not always have the purpose or effect of shoring up hegemonic norms, but can equally be used to challenge them. Analysing the practices of media operatives working towards building the Islamic State, demonstrates how they situate their own demands for a different kind of nationhood and citizenry within similar mediatised constructs, as those which helped build Britain as a capitalist democracy and consumer society (1.3; 2.3; 4.5). This demonstrates the power of the constructions of celebrity journalism as fame-making processes. Another example is how David Bowie *applied* the techniques of celebrity journalism with the specific purpose of breathing the Ziggy Stardust character to life. Situating Ziggy within consumer culture and using construction patterns of the celebrity interview and celebrity news, enabled the character to challenge normative ideas around homosexuality (3.4), but also helped make the fictional character real to audiences. The next section expands on celebrity journalism role in challenging political and social norms and developing and changing ideals of citizenry.

7.3.2: Citizenship, democracy and debate

Celebrity journalism intertwines the narratives of capital and democracy in order to maintain social structures. This enabled the bourgeois public sphere, helping circulate and gain visibility for political communications and increasing access to places for public debate (2.2). Demands for free speech depended on celebrity news to further ideas of

individuation, to increase media access and to push the boundaries of libel (2.2). When John

Wilkes declared "liberty of the press [as] the birthright of a Briton, and…the firmest bulwark

of the liberties of this country" (in Rea 1963: 6), he not only articulated that the press must

be able to challenge the powerful and their social, political and cultural hegemony without

the fear of recrimination, but was also beginning to articulate the freedoms of citizens to

participate in production, dissemination and discussion of printed media as part of the

fabric of British citizenship (Chapter Two). This narrative has continued into digital space,

with freedom of expression linked to the ability to publish thoughts, such as the views of

new kinds of journalists (Chapter 6-see also 7.4). Closing Twitter accounts, removal of server

space, or more recently the removal of blue verification ticks from far-right commentators,

is understood as curbing freedom of expression itself (see 7.4). The right *to be seen to*

participate in democratic life is linked to both the tools and narratives of visibility. Visibility

is key to the formation of place in a nation and the narratives of celebrity journalism are key

to increasing and maintaining it (see 2.2; 4.4; 6.4).

The press boomed in the hands of London's printers who used both professional and

audience produced content to become a mirror of British politics, and also British life, and in

doing so possessed a "life and light of its own" (Rea, 1963: 11). This helped bond the British

nation as a community of citizens, formed around commonalities of mediatised language

and expression. The rights of citizens to have freedom to *actively participate,* rather than

simply being informed by press, in order to feel visible in society, was fundamentally

important to shaping citizenry. This offers a broader understanding of the function of the

press, beyond the traditionally understood "journalistic corollaries of political citizenship",

described by Miller (2012: 397) as reporting on political affairs, lawmakers decisions,

representative Government and parliamentary parties, social movements, global security and electioneering". Understanding the press as a mass media characterised by mutuality of production and dissemination, better highlights not only its political, but also its socio-political and cultural functions. As such, tools of celebrity journalism, which were used to enable this circulation of citizenry, can equally be turned to building alternative versions of it, such as those of Islamic State (see 4.4). If we understand celebrity news as significant to the creation of citizenry, then citizens do not have to be "clear-headed cool subject[s]" who "set aside individual and sectarian preferences in search of the greater good" (Miller 2012: 401), but can equally be developed as hot headed, murderous subjects who *use* individuality to further sectarianism. A meaningful consensus on "common good" must be *inclusive* of *human's lived experiences* in that nation, which, by nature, are personalised and emotional (see 2.4; 4.4), and can be manipulated by media.

Understanding how celebrity and celebritised journalism broadened social visibility and, as a result the discussions happening within public spheres, is important. Through this, we can better understand Habermas' public sphere as a "powerful tool for analysing the fundamental problems of limited participation in mass democracies" (Wahl Jorgenson 2007: 15). This links to the different understanding of the bourgeois public sphere argued in this thesis, which includes discussion of celebrity and celebritised news as another hallmark (see 2.2; 6.2). Celebrity culture did not belong to a separate realm, but can be understood as part of discussions and which often supported its purpose in broadening political participation of debate. Discussion of celebrities and celebrity journalism happened at the time and place, involved the same the people and is related to news media as Habermas (1989) identified.

As demonstrated in Chapters One and Two, we must see the bourgeois public sphere as less objective and more personalised at its origins.

7.3.3: Simulation, the symbolic and the signified

Wahrman's (2004) discussions of the shift from the *ancien regime* of identity, where self was as changeable as putting on and taking off a mask at a masquerade ball, towards a more fixed sense of who we are (1.2), offers new perspectives on the significance of celebrity journalism for the construction and performance of self. Celebrity journalism's discourses matured in the 20th Century and became so familiar that they could be used to eclipse the reality of self-identity and replace it with another (3.4). A mediated performance of self can make it real, shaping how we view the relationship between whom we are, how we live and the way we present to the outside world. Constructing persona advanced from a fame-making practice (see 1.2; 1.3; 3.2) to a hyperreal star making practice (see 3.3) and went on to shape our understandings of self in relation to how we present in digital spaces (Chapters Four and Five). It has special significance in the multimedia creation of persona, not just of stars and celebrities, but also of us all.

Acknowledging the role of celebrity culture within early representational media, such as newspapers, Enlightenment pamphlets and Romantic novels at a time of cultural revolution (Chapters One and Two), supports analysis of current shifts in identity and persona construction as a result of the digital revolution. If once again we change ourselves as we change the masks of our avatars – each different self, offering a constructed authenticity within the specific institutional routines, coded commands and conventions of a social media site – then perhaps our understanding of who we are is shifting once more. Like the people of the 18th century, we are in an age of vast transition, reflected and developed by a

rapidly changing and fluid emerging media. The place of celebrity journalism in shaping web spheres - where celebrity culture acts as a driving force for patterns of production (Chapter Four) - is impacting how we construct our public images and display ideas of authentic "inner self", both linguistically and semiotically. Technological, coded commands, shape our self-displays (5.2). This highlights the simulative qualities of persona construction and the role of journalism in its processes. In this conclusion, I have highlighted how patterns and constructions of news are used as mechanisms for verifying truth. Interplays between "real" and "constructed" are complex and enter into constructive processes through which hyperreality can occur. The symbolic discourses of celebrity journalism are mechanisms of individuation and can replace "real" with "double" – a hyperreal self – which has its own purpose (see 3.4; 4.2; 4.4).

While this pre-dates digital technology, the melding together of production and consumption of self-display has allowed it to become a more widespread practice. Micro and networked celebrity practices have three principal components: use of representational media such as journalism, reshaped in order to support audiences to decipher "truth" and negotiate "trust"; every day familiarity with digital technology and use of it to self-display; and intimate relationships afforded by the Internet across geographical and emotional boundaries. As a process of celebrification it is characterised by "real time" temporality of permanent updating, used increasingly for strategic ends (see 4.3; 6.2). However, it is also shaped by the same discourses of celebrity journalism from the analogue age, which act to make constructions an accepted reality.

There is a significant amount of "play" visible between journalists and celebrity as they focus on persona construction and celebrities often acknowledge production processes (see

Chapter Three; Chapter Five). Both sides of this self-advantaging exchange clearly understand patterns of celebrity journalism and their own place within them (Chapter Three; 5.3). Stevenson's (2006. 38-39) discussion of how Bowie used a "flexible" understanding of identity - which could be made and unmade - offers further insights into how journalism's representations of celebrity help subvert self-identity (see 3.3; 4.4). As such, the production mechanisms of celebrity journalism form ways in which media can act to elevate terrestrial habitats to the rank of cosmic value as described by Baudrillard (1997: 9). This describes its role in the movement from ordinary to star, both situated in and beyond the narratives of every day life. This "hologrammatic" discourse "abolishes the game of illusion by the perfection of the reproduction, in the virtual rendition of the real. And so we witness the extermination of the real by its double" (Ibid). For Baudrillard (1976: 204), the symbolic is "neither a concept, nor an instance, or a category, nor a structure, but an act of exchange". Celebrity journalism at times highlights each of these instances. It is a concept, which is viewed as an oxymoron, but is here argued as a key term for understanding news culture in its entirety. It is not an instance, but is made up of multiple examples, which highlight both continuity and changes to its form. It is a category of news culture, but this thesis demonstrates that lines between these categories are blurred and need revision. It is not a structure, but it has structure - sets of linguistic and image-based patterns that govern its shape in both analogue and digital ages. Perhaps describing it as an "act of exchange", linked to how self-identity is displayed, best represents the symbolic potentials of the genre. Celebrity journalism may be understood best as a "social relation" which puts an end to the real, which resolves the real and, in the same stroke, the opposition between the real and the imaginary, as described Baudrillard (1976: 204).

The interview itself is not a referent, but a symbolic act of exchange, which originated between two areas of media production (journalism and celebrity) and moved to include the audience (see 2.2; Chapter 3; 5.4). Digital media gives audiences greater access to celebrity journalism production and therefore an increased intimacy with the genre. While journalists have always created narratives of the act of exchange, for example when writing up their interviews (2.4; Chapter Three), now the process, production and publication happen simultaneously with audiences watching live (4.2; 5.4). Consideration of relationships between established narratives of celebrity journalism and how they shape self-identity display in digital space, could easily follow a Goffmanian (1956) logic of presentation of self. However, how it acts simultaneously as a panoptic lens on celebrities themselves, could work as a mechanism to shatter the replication of the real from its double or disrupt persona construction. Marshall (1997: 11) claims there is an issue "around the ultimate freedom of the sign from the trappings of permanent value", something which Gane (1991: 3) claims Baudrillard was at least aware of – that the symbolic could only be understood through reference points that may "render it null". The way some celebrities highlight the unreal quality of their public visibility and its narrative forms (3.3; 4.3), works not to undermine the hyperreality of living in mediatised world, but becomes bars at the windows of the experience. They maintain the prison of repressive ambience, highlighting that there is no escape from its tools and as such hegemonic cultures are maintained, self-identities continue to be shaped to fit them, and engagement in displays that follow normative cultures are encouraged. Celebrity journalism therefore, "forms a "sort of genetic code which controls mutation of the real into the hyperreal" and enables "hallucinatory resemblance of the real within itself" (Baudrillard 1983: 142). This shapes how we approach our lives, with clear rules for the performance of self. Those who are unable to follow the

rules - who cannot fully engage with the symbolic nature of self-identity - may find themselves unable to function as members of society. It is a mechanism through which hyperreal mediatised constructs – for example, Ziggy Stardust or the Islamic State - can be breathed into life and also a way to exclude those who cannot, or will not, perform within its patterns, from social visibility.

7.4: Weaponisation of celebrity and celebritised news and journalism

In order to fulfil its symbolic function in relation to self-identity, celebrity journalism casts certain people as outsiders. Those who threaten hegemonic power of news media are often ridiculed or vilified. How discourses of "attack journalism" are directed at individuals who threaten the repressive ambiences of capitalist, democratic and patriarchal societies, has emerged as a central theme in this thesis (see 2.2; 3.4; 5.2; 6.3). Discourses work to confirm traditional female roles (sex object, wife, mother) and to wrap them as the ways to reach personal satisfaction and value. Celebrity news is constructed around masculine authoritative voices, which place women in positions of subordination based on their gender and simultaneously offer them as symbols of emancipation through successes as "brands" (see 4.3; 5.3). Those who challenge this position through playing with gender norms and stereotypes are attacked, although those who recognise the symbolic nature of the celebrity journalism exchange can turn this to their advantage (see 2.2; 3.4; 4.4).

On one hand, "attack journalism" and "othering" can damage participation in public spheres, not least, as Richards (2012) describes, in that it can frighten people away. However, there are numerous examples across both analogue and digital media of public figures using the visibility of attacks to extend their own fame and reach. As such, there is even ambivalence in the way we might view this most unpleasant and dangerous form of

celebrity journalism and news. Attack journalism highlights the significant political purpose of celebrity journalism from its origins and how this has continued to shape news in relation to public figures. It is a key discourse for maintaining hegemonic control and at its worse ostracises those who challenge socio-economic norms and the role of the media. However, it also offers opportunities to further ideas, to establish clear lines of opposition and allows audiences to consider their own differences. No freedom is easily won, but the way journalists target certain figures, may in fact help make freedoms a reality, by giving visibility to thoughts and ideas that may have never crossed the minds of readers before (see 2.2; 3.4). This understanding starkly highlights whether the "tabloid" versus "quality" binaries, which underpin much study of celebrity journalism, make sense. If there is ambivalence in even its (quite rightly) maligned processes, perhaps we should rethink this dominant starting point for the study of news cultures. Before moving on to this question specifically, I want to frame it again through consideration of the practices and purposes of the "celebrified journalist" as one of the most sustained components of the relationships between celebrity, journalism and self-identity.

7.5: The celebrified journalist: "cycles of empowerment" and "opinion spectacles"

Analysis of the practices of several "celebrified journalists" demonstrated two differing ways to understand their practice: how it can facilitate "cycles of empowerment" with readers; and how it can work as "opinion spectacle" which fuels political polarisation. My argument that the celebrification of journalists can result in "cycles of empowerment" with readers is evidenced particularly during considerations of both the work and the celebrity news surrounding Thomas Paine (2.3) and WT Stead (2.4). Both journalists were populists who experimented with production and dissemination techniques and used personalised – or

celebritised – narratives to make their work accessible to readers. Both also worked built and sustained their own public visibility as a means to keep the causes of ordinary people in the public eye. Paine maintained his fame in Britain, even when in exile, through interaction with the press and insights into his life (2.3). WT Stead used his own voice as part of journalistic construction, evidenced not just in interviews, but also in his first person investigations and campaigns. *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Bablyon* (1885), in which he described buying a child sex slave in order to highlight paedophilia, whereby the wealthy paid to rape the children of the poor, led to his imprisonment (2.4), but changed the law and resulted in vastly increased readership for the *Pall Mall Gazette.* Both Paine and Stead's celebrity status was evidenced in the size of crowds who reportedly turned out to watch Paine flee the country or Stead's release from prison as well as levels of celebrity news about their lives (2.3; 2.4). While there is evidence that both men revelled in their fame – and certainly during interviews Stead made his own voice as much part of the narrative as that of his subjects – it is clear that this was, for both, essentially a means to an ends. They never lost focus on their primary aim: to use print media to campaign for rights for ordinary people and to broaden social and political inclusion through increasing the visibility of others.

Stead is often hailed in the UK as the "father of the tabloid press" (Robinson 2012), because of his use of celebrity journalism, maps and graphics, pictures and lifestyle features and direct speech (2.4). In this he demonstrated the original and purest purpose of tabloid culture - which is not just "demotic" but democratic – and aims to build readerships viewed as audiences in order to empower them as publics. For both Stead and Paine celebrification aided their political and journalistic purposes, but fame was never the primary goal. I'd

suggest this is a significant difference between them and the celebrified journalist as

"opinion spectacle" which is governing political journalism in the digital age.

Edelman's (1988: 1) work on *Constructing the Political Spectacle* begins by

highlighting how spectacles can "more effectively protect and promote their own interests

and the public interest". He focuses on news reporting as constructing political problems

and personalities with people "involved in politics" acting as "symbols to other observers:

they stand for ideologies, values or moral stances and they become role models,

benchmarks, or symbols of threat and evil" (1988: 2). While he discusses politicians, this is

equally applicable to the spectacle of networked celebrity journalists analysed in Chapter 6

(6.4). Networked celebrity and reality displays are reshaping public performances and

understandings of journalists, both in terms of the growing popularity of journalistic

microcelebrities who also act as advocates, often for extremist ideologies, such as Paul

Watson and Alex Jones of *Infowars* (1998-present)*,* and for those who work for mainstream

print news publications such as Katie Hopkins and Owen Jones. They are now also political

"symbols" and use displays and narratives of self, to stand for political ideologies *as if this is*

a hallmark of journalistic practice. There are two significant differences with the practices of

WT Stead or Thomas Paine. The first is functional – the spectacle happens across multiple

platforms at once, as such, is ever more influenced by the dynamics of networked celebrity

display, and is an extension of the kind of multiplatform spectacle Edelman (1988) describes

in relation to politicians. The second relates to the primary aim of these networked reality

performances (6.4). Their fame, rather than the concerns of their readers, is their primary

concern, demonstrated no better than their glee at achieving certain levels of followers,

YouTube views or causing outrage or upset. For Owen Jones fame might not have been his

original intention when he wrote *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class* (2011), which made him a public figure and resulted in his first newspaper column. However, public catfights with celebrities, appearances on talk shows and the fact that, even when he says he's quitting, he just can't stay away from social media, all reflect his desire to remain in the public eye. For Hopkins, Alex Jones and Paul Watson, this was no better demonstrated than when Twitter began removing the blue verification tick from the accounts of "Alt-Right" figures (November 2017) and they all expressed their fear at losing this sign of public importance. They framed it as a curb on "freedom of speech" despite the "blue tick" having no impact at all on Twitter access; only working as a symbol that you are verified as a "famous" user of the platform. Indeed, the way all encourage symbols of agreement rather than active debate, demonstrates this as a fame building exercise similar to that described by Marwick (2015: 347), with success judged by levels of interactions not by affecting meaningful social change. They *use* the journalistic ideal of providing a voice and campaigning for the rights of ordinary people, primarily as a *way to build their own fame* rather than the other way round. In doing so they undermine the credibility of the journalistic profession, with their work appearing self, rather than public, serving.

7.6: The nonsensical nature of "tabloid/quality" and "audience/public" binaries

Celebrity journalism is both a mystifying and demystifying media process. It is a way of propelling an individual to stardom and bringing them back down to earth with a bang. However, its purpose and function simply does not fit within binary understandings of news which place celebrity, human-interest, the personal and the private on one side and renown, public-interest, the significant and the public on the other. As described at the outset of this conclusion, there was never a time when celebrity news and "traditional"

news existed in isolation from one another. While this study highlights the power of news agendas in deciding both who and how public figures appear, and the ability to shape parameters of debate (see 2.2; 5.2 and also Couldry 2012), this has never been a complete control. It has never prevented those with alternative political and social ideas, from breaking into public consciousness through forcing their way on to the pages of news publications (see 2.2; 3.4; 4.3; 4.4; 6.4).

The slippage described by Turner (2003, 2013) and Couldry (2013) in terms of whether increased visibility can determine effective citizenry is reconciled when examining self-celebrification as a mechanism to further reach of political ideas. This perpetuates celebrification by attracting news media and demonstrates that there are indeed democratic potentials and consequences in increased media visibility for a wider range of "ordinary" people. While Turner and Couldry rightly argue that the current circumstances of widening participation are not automatically leading to self-determined citizenry, what, for example, analysis of the work of Tom Paine, WT Stead, celebrified columnists or microcelebrity political bloggers demonstrates, is that when producers *have the specific aim of using ordinary voices to do so*, they can help shape not only that production method, but shape the "free citizen in democratic society" (Turner 2013: 88). Equally, this can be used to attract those to become citizens of radicalized societies such as Islamic State. Through appearing in celebrity journalism, ordinary people pass through the "spectacular ritual" (Couldry 2012) and can find ways of making their views matter to others. Journalists who wish to circulate political ideas, might find was to use celebrity and news cultures together, to do so.

The fact that so many analyses of journalism place tabloid/quality, celebrity/news and audience/public in binary opposition is more reflective of institutionalised elitism in some areas of the academy and amongst some journalists, than the realities of the development of news cultures and the place of celebrity in it. These attitudes dominate discussions of news to such an extent, that many studies of celebrity journalism (including my own) feel obliged to justify analysis against this position, asking questions such as "is celebrity news, news?" The evidence here is that celebrity helped shape early political journalism (2.2); is an overlooked hallmark of the public sphere and circulated ideas of political emancipation (2.3); and was an important component of the pamphlet movement (2.3; 7.2.3). From the beginnings of news media, journalists used celebrities for both commercial and political purposes, and sometimes the same celebrity, even in the same story, for both (see 1.4; 2.4). That is not to say that celebrity journalism is therefore a force for democratic "good", but it is significant to journalism's political functions, and deserves to be considered as such.

Binaries between readers viewed as audiences, rather than publics, as "passive consumers" or as "active citizens" make no sense either (Franklin 1997; Richards 2012). Of course, you can also be an active consumer or a passive citizen, as demonstrated both in the ways audiences work with celebrities to promote their products (5.4) and also when political communications are liked or shared by social media users, often without any real engagement, based on affiliation with the figure (6.2). While there are those who argue that we should reconsider opposition between audiences and publics due to the fluidly of the digital age and the visiblility of participants in public spheres (Livingstone, 2005, Dalghren 2003), from journalism's origins, audiences and publics were not opposed understandings of

readers, but were always understood as two composing parts. Journalists communicate a range of information with readers and while the purpose of the story might shift, the view of the reader does not move forwards and back, from consumer to citizen. They are always viewed as both and, as argued in this thesis, the development of these identities was one of the original purposes of print journalism.

Considering the intricacies and complexities of the relationships between celebrity, journalism and self-identity renders binaries nonsensical and highlights the significance of the genre, not only to media in its broadest sense, but also to the formation of society. Celebrity journalism can act as a liberating and a repressive force; it can help develop and maintain socio-cultural and political revolutions and be employed to try to prevent them; it is neither benign nor malignant in its own right, but a symbolic exchange that, once understood, can be turned by both celebrities and journalists to numerous personal and social ends. What is clear is that celebrity journalism as a genre, shows no sign of wavering in terms of levels of content or audience engagement. Figuring out the best ways to channel its power, is key to journalism successfully fulfilling its role in democracies.

7.7: Summary

It is Saturday, August 12 2017 and I watch events unfold in Charlottesville, USA on Twitter, *Fox News* (1996-present) and *CNN* (1980-present). I flick between the three, waiting for Donald Trump to give a statement in which he is expected to condemn white supremacists. Paul Watson (@PrisonPlanet) of *Infowars* (1999-present) is discussing why the actions of "Unite the Right" demonstrate that he is misunderstood when categorised as a member of the Alt-Right movement. He does not self-identify as such. He discusses the repressive nature of news media and the way it works to determine how we think. He retweets a

theory that the car which ploughed into a crowd of "counter-protestors" was actually driven by Antifascists, whom he refers to as the "Alt-Left". This conspiracy theory is written as a news story using the inverted pyramid structure. There is a picture taken from Facebook of a man who recently bought a car similar to the one that ploughed into protestors. He is described as an anti Trump demonstrator and as evidence the story uses a Facebook post criticising the president as if it is direct speech. Within moments, pictures of the real killer - a mug shot and an image of him in the march - are circulated. He wears "khaki pants" and a "white polo shirt", mirroring the "preppy" dress of Donald Trump on the golf course, which *CNN* describe as a new uniform for the Alt-Right. Trump steps up to the podium, which has stood empty on television for almost an hour, and declares there was violence "on many sides". He does not discuss that at the protest Nazi and KKK symbols were visible and Hitler salutes thrown. There is a media storm - a moment of high synopticism – as one by one public figures on both Twitter and TV condemn the President. They ridicule his dress and hair. They share memes and Gifs of movie scenes when their favourite stars punched Nazis. They scream about hate speech and white supremacy. I feel part of the story as it unfolds. I know Trump and suspected he might respond like this. I read the thoughts of Nigel Farage, Owen Jones, Katie Hopkins and the Kardashian sisters on Twitter and watch retweets and likes multiplying, as people use these celebrities' thoughts to represent their own. I am completely engaged in this networked reality display.

I watch as the constructs and cultures of celebrity, journalism and self-identity are used, reshaped and used again to create a complex multi-faceted narrative of this singular event. As I do so, it is clear that more people have an understanding of how to weaponise news and celebrity cultures in order to display their own identities and frame other people's. The

power of celebrity journalism is disaggregated to the crowd, who use its simulative practices to construct reality and truth. I set down my Smartphone and think about the role of the journalist in picking through the narratives - choosing the ones to highlight and the ones to debunk. I decide that it may be very different to their role as gatewatchers, but it is a significant new function with an ever more important purpose. I wonder how many other journalists think the same.

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