“Celebrities are manifestations of the organisation of culture in terms of democratic and capitalism.”

Marshall (2001: 246)

“We live in a celebocracy.”

Hyde (2009: 94)

A quick glance over the newsstand or surf through the TV channels, on any given day in the Western world, reveals the prominence of celebrity in media content. Within the tabloid newspapers and corresponding television programmes (such as Entertainment Tonight), celebrities comprise a particularly notable feature. Celebrity journalism, which centres on the lives of film stars, pop stars or those who, in the words of Daniel Boorstin, are simply ‘well known for their well knownness’ (Boorstin 2006) is in many ways the staple of contemporary journalistic copy. It is, presumably, of interest to audiences who consume these media products and therefore crucial to media producers who feature this content and, by extension, the companies who pay to include their advertisements in the accompanying media space. Celebrity journalism is, in short, of cultural and economic significance.

The rise of celebrity journalism, in recent decades, creates a range of potential challenges but also opportunities for journalists to navigate their way through and in this chapter I want to explore three in particular. They are:

- the links between the media’s focus on celebrity and tabloid-style ‘soft’ news
• the celebritisation of hard news (that is, the increase in framing hard news stories in terms of celebrity) and the dumbing-down of public spheres
• objectivity and bias in relation to the competition between media outlets for access and celebrity exclusives.

First, though, it is necessary to unpack some of the concepts bound up in celebrity journalism.

Celebrity and Journalism

In many respects, celebrities – famous individuals that are highly visible in the media, often emerging from the sports or entertainment industries, and whose private lives attract equal or greater attention than their professional lives (Turner 2004, p. 3) – appear to be a uniquely modern phenomenon. Yet, it is important, at the same time, to remember that there have always been famous people. However, the nature of fame and the systems that create and maintain an individual’s fame have changed dramatically over time. For example, from the medieval period to roughly the Enlightenment, western fame was subject to rigid social hierarchies, and was thus the preserve of the nobility, the aristocracy and, most of all, the monarchy. Fame was consistent with the social hierarchy in that it was connected to breeding. Since then, the West of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has witnessed two significant political and economic trends: the emergence of democracy and the expansion of consumer capitalism. Indeed, P. David Marshall, in his analysis of celebrity, refers to them as ‘the twinned discourses of modernity’ (Marshall 2001, p.4). These two aspects of contemporary western society underpin its culture and thus impact its allocation of fame and suggest that there is a link between the overriding means of organising a society and the types of famous people produced by that society.

This can be seen in Leo Braudy’s The Frenzy of Renown (1997) where the author charts the historical development of fame over a period of millennia. One function of fame that Braudy’s study uncovers is that it can be used to ascertain what, in particular, a society holds in high esteem, due to the corresponding elevation of those who possess such characteristics to the rank of famous. In pre-democratic societies, mili-
tary cunning, physical prowess, or to be born of a socially-regarded elite were held in high estimation and, therefore, those with such qualities rose to, or were born into, fame. Famous people were linked with characteristics and, through this process, such people become symbols of particular personal qualities. Charismatic leaders (such as Caesar) might be thought of in ways related to decisiveness or military strength. But at the same time, they also become a means of drawing the people together, of creating a single group identity among a disparate and varying collection of individuals. For example, a wide and diverse population might identify themselves as the subjects of a monarch. In doing so, not only are they creating the group ‘subjects’ but also assenting to being part of that group and validating the power structure of the group. In other words, they recognise and legitimate their position as followers of/subordinates to the elite individual and the social conventions that maintain these positions. In this way, a group identity can be forged around the symbol of the elite individual and a cohesive social identity can be maintained. More than this, the famous individual becomes a role model for the types of behaviours a society may collectively endorse, or character traits they may wish to think of themselves as possessing. This might include physical strength, intellectual rigour, or moral fortitude.

Celebrity, as it emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was a similar form of public identity in the sense that the dominant forms of social order reflected the dominant types of fame. However, where pre-democratic forms of fame were premised on rigid social hierarchies and were moulded in the shape of the elites who dominated, the new system of fame was dependent on the ascendant power of the masses. Democratic societies are supposedly rooted in meritocracy and social mobility. Celebrity within democratic society is, accordingly, often narrated in ‘rags to riches’ stories that highlight the celebrity’s likeness to the ordinary masses while spotlighting their exceptional qualities. Where, in pre-democratic societies, fame reflected the status of elites, in democratic society, the ability to reflect and embody the masses – in whom political power supposedly resides – is a characteristic held in high esteem. And so, where democracy places emphasis upon the importance of the individual, celebrity is seen as comprising a democratic function and is bound up with a celebration of the primacy of the individ-
ual in liberal, capitalist democracies. Correspondingly, celebrity vehicles such as films and music, and also consumer products advertised or endorsed by celebrities, become integral sites of this fixation upon the individual which coheres the masses into media audiences (see Marshall 2001, p. xi).

Just as celebrity can be seen as emerging from contemporary forms of democracy and capitalism, so is journalism linked closely with both expanding political enfranchisement and literacy during this period. In his overview of the intersections of celebrity and journalism throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Marshall concludes (among other things) that ‘[i]t is difficult to separate the histories of journalism and the emergence of the contemporary celebrity system’ (Marshall, 2006, p.323). As newspapers, in particular, became key locales of public deliberation and forums for political debate they, at least on some level, represented the interests of the populace. Where journalism focused increasingly upon interviews with the famous or, more broadly, on celebrity’s intersection with consumer capitalism, the ties between democracy and the type of contemporary individuality embodied in the celebrity strengthened.

Yet, it is not sufficient to regard celebrity as purely an effect of a democratic public sphere in which mass, popular audiences have their interests and desires reflected in new categories of exulted individuals. Nor is it wise to consider journalism as simply the vehicle through which this democratic function is performed. While the continuation of a celebrity’s career is certainly dependent on the sustained interest and approval of audiences it is, at the same time, reliant on a system of cultural production by media industries. These media industries are largely corporately controlled and whether private or publicly owned are embedded into a market system. Celebrities are linked with corporate interests. They are public personalities produced and consumed as cultural commodities within contemporary capitalism; that is, they are individuals whose public personas are sold within a market, such as (but not exclusively) within the advertising industry. In other words, celebrities, have significance for both media corporations and consuming audiences, and the interests of each group may be in tension.

Within a framework set by the media industries, celebrity can act, as Graeme Turner describes it, ‘as a location for the interrogation and elaboration of cultural identity’ through its
place as a source of gossip and its role in the processes of social and cultural identity formation (Turner 2004, p.24). It is through celebrities, in other words, that audiences can come to understand their cultural identity – as noted above. Celebrities, for instance, can provide role models in terms of how to be an individual of a particular gender, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. The personal indiscretions of celebrities, when disclosed by the media, provide the site for discourses on public attitudes towards individual behaviour and the shaping of collective norms. The tabloid press provides a typical venue for such content and these types of stories grant a seemingly inexhaustible fuel for journalists in the field as much as they do for the ‘tabloidisation’ debate.

Challenge I: Celebrity Journalism, ‘Tabloidisation’ and ‘Democratainment’

Tabloidisation
The term ‘tabloid’, while it might refer to the particular dimensions of a publication, distinct from a broadsheet, more often describes a specific type of journalism. Tabloid journalism refers to a style of journalism that is more heavily focused on human interest, scandal, entertainment, celebrity and sex. These are typically also defined as ‘soft’ news; news stories that might be of interest or hold entertainment value but do not necessarily impact upon the lives of many. This sets ‘soft’ news as something distinct from ‘hard’ news; typically more factual in content and more serious in focus (an economic summit or a global conflict, for example).

‘Tabloidisation’ can be thought of as a process through which the type of journalism fixated with soft news expands to other sections of the media. Turner has written extensively on ‘tabloidisation’, and defines it as a continually expanding category which has moved beyond a description of a particular section of the British daily press, muckraking television shows and talk-show confessional, to a description of ‘what is regarded as the trivialisation of media content in general’ (Turner 2004, p.76). Tabloidization is a form of journalism through which the news media has ‘become part of the entertainment industry rather than being a forum for informed debate about important issues of public concern’ (Franklin 1999, p.4). Tab-
loidization, therefore, is bound up with concepts of ‘trivialisation’, and the ‘trivial’ content found within tabloid journalism is the opposite of ‘important issues of public concern.’

The strong tone of such arguments hints at the nature of the tabloidisation debate: it often hinges on the perceived ill-effects of this trend. For some commentators on the political left, tabloidisation constitutes an anti-democratic trivialisation of civic affairs and a ‘usurpation of public discourse by soap opera’ (Gitlin 1997, p.35). For those on the political right tabloidization denotes a decline of ‘traditional values’. What underpins both positions is a perceived decline in standards or, in other words, a ‘dumbing down.’ Celebrity, which sits at the crossroads of journalism and the entertainment industries is presumably a key player in this professional decline. The columns and airtime devoted to which pop star/film star/TV personality was drunk/had sex/had cosmetic surgery are created at the expense of debates concerning important social or political issues.

‘Democratainment’
However, contrary arguments seek more solace in tabloidisation. Mick Temple, referring more specifically to ‘dumbing down’, argues that such distinctions miss a wider point: that ‘the simplification and sensationalism of “serious” news by journalists, is an essential part of the process of engaging people in debates’, particularly ‘those who will fail to respond to more conventional coverage of social and “political” issues’ (Temple 2006, p.257). Tabloidisation and dumbing down are, from this position, trends to be encouraged as they foster a more inclusive public sphere by engaging a wider spectrum of the electorate in political issues. The Oprah Winfrey Show serves as a suitable example. As a syndicated talk show which ran from 1986 to 2011, the show featured a range of celebrity interviews, social campaigns, discussions about social issues, self improvement guidance, a book club, etc. While it may be considered trivial in its style and content, Jane Shattuc argues that shows such as Oprah depend on social topics and allow the participation of average citizens. This is evidence of their capacity to fulfil a democratic function which is further enhanced by their lack of dependency upon ‘the power of expertise or bourgeois education’ (Shattuc 1997, p.93). In other
words, rather than being lectured to by experts about how they should live their lives, audience members are given a stage on which to air their concerns and articulate their experiences. Although Shattuc does place limits on the progressive potential of such programmes, this type of research tends to see such platforms as, at least to some extent, democratic in nature.

So tabloidisation, from this more celebratory perspective, represents an opening up of the platforms of debate to the wider populace beyond traditional elites. It is a realising of the democratic potential of popular television and print journalism; in short, a form of ‘democratainment’ (see Hartley 1999). Celebrity dovetails neatly with this movement particularly in terms of what Mark Rowland refers to, with caution, as the ‘levelling of fame’ that ‘made it universal: available in principle to everyone, irrespective of accidents of birth and innate endowments’ (Rowlands 2008, p.7). Both celebrity and tabloidisation can be seen as serving some form of democratic function. Both are closely linked with an opening up of the public sphere to reflect the supposed power structure inherent in democracy. Journalism, in its embrace of these ideals – manifested in tabloidization – becomes the forum through which this occurs.

But is it really this simple? Although there has been a simultaneous levelling of fame that opens it up to ordinary people and a levelling of political participation in the expansion of democracy, can a link between the two be so readily assumed? While celebrity journalism found within the tabloid media appears democratic in terms of a widening participatory demographic, because celebrities are more often ‘like’ ordinary people, this does not necessarily translate into the inclusion of an increased range of ideas or political perspectives. In other words, while celebrities may offer role models of how to be specific types of individuals, how many different types of role models are evidenced in celebrity journalism? A survey of celebrity journalism might reveal the similarities between the types of celebrities covered both in terms of their appearance and behaviour. They might often look very similar, do similar things, and do them while promoting similar products. Celebrity culture, while offering something to audiences, does so within a framework of what is acceptable to the dominant economic order of consumer capitalism. This means that the diversity among the types of individuals offered by celebrity journalism might be more limited
than its proponents suggest. In this respect, the democratic nature of contemporary celebrity culture and celebrity journalism could resemble a consumer choice made within a limited series of debates, each agreeable with the market in which journalism and celebrity both play a part.

So celebrity journalism represents an opportunity to journalists in that it provides a lens through which to view areas of social life. It allows the opportunity to discuss social, political or economic issues in a way that engages people who might otherwise be uninterested in such topics. Yet, at the same time, it presents a challenge to the conscientious journalist in that the scope of political perspectives that can be explored through looking at everyday celebrity culture – where celebrities go, who they go with, what they look like, what possessions they own – is often decidedly narrow.

**Challenge 2: The ‘Celebritisation’ of ‘Hard’ News**

As noted above, celebrity and journalism both simultaneously reflect the interests of the audiences that consume and the industries that produce. Although likely prompted by audience maximisation and/or profit, there is capacity for journalists to work with celebrities to engage with wider civic groups. Marshall (2006, p.319) refers to the machinations of the public relations industries and press agencies and notes how they encouraged positive press exposure of their clients. This was often in conjuncture with the promotion of particular events or products and this form of celebrity journalism provides a clear means of promoting cultural products. However, increasingly this is also the case within the ‘serious’ worlds of politics and economics. Politicians are keen to invite journalists in, granting behind the scenes access – presumably in exchange for favourable coverage. Thus, in a story that, on one level, was concerned with the decision of the Blair government to invade Iraq in 2003, a Sunday Times journalist and accompanying photographer, were invited to observe private meetings between the Prime Minister and his advisors and, moreover, to see Blair in his role as father and husband (Stothard, 2003b, Stothard, 2003a). In focusing on more than Blair’s professional role and the consequences of his policy decisions, a glimpse of the seemingly ‘real’ Blair is revealed. This fixation with uncovering the real person behind the
media presence is a key feature of celebrity journalism. Politicians such as Blair are acutely aware of the potential within this type of journalism to connect with the electorate. John Street (2004) convincingly argues that the performances of such ‘celebrity politicians’ becomes an important lens through which voters can identify with political candidates. This is because the persona constructed by, or for, a politician acts as an indicator of the political qualities (such as being in touch with the electorate) or character traits (such as possessing family values) with which they wish to be associated.

Politicians are not the only people to realise the potential benefits of the personalisation of their cause. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as charities and activist groups, frequently work with celebrities to raise awareness of the social or environmental issues with which they are concerned. This translates into stories concerning social issues framed in terms of the individuals involved. A good example of this would be the news coverage surrounding Bill and Melinda Gates. As a software designer, Bill Gates co-founded Microsoft in 1975 and became progressively more affluent as the company expanded and began to dominate the global software market with, among other products, its operating system, Windows. With a net worth in excess of $50bn, Gates became famous but, at the same time, increasingly interested in unlocking the philanthropic potential of his fortune. To that end, he co-founded the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in 2000. Since then he has transferred more of his time to philanthropy, taking less of a role in his company. The Foundation is involved in numerous large-scale projects within international development and, accordingly, has attracted the attention of numerous journalists. For example a feature on the Foundation’s development work in sub-Saharan Africa for The Sunday Times established the credibility of Melinda Gates, and thus her organisation, through references to her role as a mother and wife – ‘the brilliant brunette who snagged the boss [Bill Gates]...We may have called [Bill] Gates the übergeek but his bride is still smitten; when she talks about him you’d think she had married George Clooney’ (White 2005, p.38). In a similar fashion, journalist Brian Williams’ feature on poverty and development in Africa for MSNBC centres on the journalist’s trip to the region with U2 lead singer Bono (Williams 2006). In the feature, the singer described himself as a ‘travelling salesman’ for
ideas such as debt relief and the audience were given exclusive access to new lyrics the musician had penned. So, celebrity journalism can provide an important function in terms of using the fame of celebrities to raise the profiles of causes. Celebrities can offer to journalists, through their activities, a means of framing abstract concepts such as poverty and development. However, celebrity journalism also has the potential to create real challenges for journalists.

Celebrity activists such as Gates and Bono do much to raise the profile of their causes, as well as raising revenue. But, as Dave Timms asserts ‘flying a celebrity around the world accompanied by an in-house film crew...doesn’t come cheap’ and so is a method more exclusively used by ‘NGOs with the resources’ to do so (Timms 2005, p.127). What, then, happens to NGOs without the revenues to secure a useful association with a celebrity? Are they as able to attract the media’s attention as their more celebrity-inclusive rivals? This has implications for the range of stories to which audiences are exposed and, by extension, the democratic potential of celebrity journalism. It is not necessarily the fault of individual campaigners, journalists or celebrities; rather it is an outcome to which the system of celebrity journalism and celebrity-fronted campaigning tends. Put another way, a large-scale celebrity event, celebrity-inclusive publicity stunt, photo shoot or press conference, is more newsworthy than a report released by an NGO or even a press conference without a celebrity. As an illustration, campaigner and documentary filmmaker Jeremy Gilley noted how he struggled for years to gain media attention for his peace campaign. It was not until he enlisted celebrities that journalists granted him their attention (Gilley 2010). Celebrities, as established above, are of great interest to audiences but a challenge for journalist is navigating a path between using the social cause to focus on celebrity and using celebrity to focus on the cause.

A good example of this is the Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign and linked Live 8 concerts. This certainly represents a campaign ‘with the resources’ to attract media attention. Formed to coincide with the UK’s presidency of the EU and hosting of the Group of Eight (G8) summit, MPH comprised of more than five hundred organisations, including numerous prominent UK-based NGOs, trade unions and faith groups. It sought to mobilise large sections of the western population around demands of the
G8 governments concerning trade justice, dropping developing world debt and providing more and better aid (Make Poverty History). More than this, MPH sought to raise the profile of global, specifically African, poverty and position it at the centre of mainstream political debate. A significant element of the campaign was the use of celebrity endorsement of the cause, in particular its merchandise (white wristbands), film broadcasts and, most notably, a series of Live 8 concerts organised by musician and businessman Bob Geldof. The Live 8 concerts, which formed perhaps the most high-profile element of the campaign, featured a number of prominent celebrities, such as U2 and Coldplay, who both hosted and performed music at the event.

In terms of awareness-raising, the campaign was certainly successful and issues relating to poverty and international development featured heavily in the press during the campaign – particularly during the weekend of the concerts. Yet what type of coverage did this amount to? While it can be reasonably assumed that there was more discussion of international development in the press at this time than would have occurred without the celebrity campaign, there were simultaneously accusations that celebrities dominated the frame at the expense of other voices. This gets to the heart of one key challenge concerning celebrity journalism; celebrities can be attached to a story as a means to engage otherwise uninterested audiences but how suitable are celebrities as a vehicle for discussing complex issues?

Media coverage of the event focused primarily upon the celebrity elements of the campaign. Where poverty was discussed, the media often relied upon celebrities to provide the political context of the G8 summit and African poverty. The nature of the media’s reliance upon celebrities as information sources contributed to celebrities being represented as political outsiders, holding powerful governments to account on behalf of their supporters in the global north and those living in poverty in Africa. One journalist described Geldof as ‘a modern-day Moses leading his people to the Promised Land’ (Sylvester 2005). By the following week much of the press declared the campaign a success, citing that ‘[a]mong major outcomes of the summit will be a doubling of development aid for Africa to £28 billion’ (quoted in Monbiot 2005, p.21). Yet this was in stark contrast to some NGOs and campaigners who noted that the £28 billion promised, half of which ‘wasn’t new money, but...[an] amalgam of old pledges,
future aid budgets and debt relief’ (Hodkinson, 2005b) and that debt cancellation for the some of the poorest nations was linked to those recipient nations embarking on economic liberalisation programmes of which those NGOS were harsh critics. Regardless of who was right or wrong, these NGOs did not receive the attention from journalists afforded to the celebrities. As such, academic Stuart Hodkinson argued, politics were ‘buried by the personality’ (Hodkinson 2005a).

In covering the ‘serious’ worlds of politics or economics, news stories often the focus on key individuals and the apparent need to uncover the ‘real’ person behind the public persona. Likewise, as celebrities from the world of entertainment become increasingly attached to political events and causes there is also a drive to frame such stories squarely in terms of their associations with celebrities. The personalisation of news stories in these ways is a commonly used formula within journalistic practice and it presents opportunities to frame stories in a way relatable to readers. Yet what happens to audiences’ understandings of events when framed in this way? What is left out in the movement towards ‘celebritising’ news stories and can the celebrity dominate the frame at the expense of other aspects of the story? This becomes a key challenge to the responsible journalist.

Challenge 3: Exclusives, Access and Objectivity in Celebrity Journalism

Celebrity journalism is big business and the lucrative market for celebrity stories, in particular exclusives, is evidenced by the high price paid for such content. Indeed, at the 2012 Cannes Film Festival, the distribution company Alliance Films began charging journalists for interviews with film stars - €2,500 for twenty minutes with Brad Pitt (Spiegel Online 2012). Not only is there a potential financial cost but there is also the cost to journalistic content and the related concerns for journalistic accuracy and bias.

While seemingly popular with certain readers, celebrity journalism raises important questions regarding privacy and accuracy. In terms of privacy, the works of the paparazzi demonstrates the lengths press photographers go to in securing pictures of celebrities. While many photographs are taken in public locations, ethical questions regarding the right to privacy of celebrities is still an important consideration, as is the use of long distance images
taken of celebrities who presumably thought they were in private. This says nothing of the interest taken by numerous British mass circulation publications in the details of the private lives of celebrities, sourced from their medical notes. As part of a sting operation by documentary filmmakers journalists from mainstream titles offered money in exchange for information regarding medical procedures performed on celebrities (Atkins 2009). Although the undercover team had no intention of passing on such details (nor did they even possess them) their findings point to the lengths (of questionable legality) to which some journalists will go. In terms of accuracy, the competition among news outlets for celebrity exclusives is such that many will publish celebrity stories without adequate verification. The same filmmakers were offered money over the telephone in exchange for celebrity stories they had fabricated. The stories were published unchecked and this suggests the extent of the market for celebrity material.

Moreover, the market for celebrity stories is growing online and this seems to occur in two interesting ways. First, celebrities may maintain their own personal web space in which they can communicate directly with fans. There may be MySpace or Facebook pages by celebrities and celebrities might have their own Twitter feeds. While this is an ongoing and ever-evolving field, there is scope for a decline in celebrities’ need for journalists to reach their public. That said, the publicity drives for celebrities’ film and music look set to continue on television and in the press for some time. Second, the internet has also given a platform to bloggers and amateur journalists, such as blogger Perez Hilton. As a popular site, Hilton’s blog is a key forum for debate about celebrity gossip. Yet, Hilton is not bound by any professional codes of conduct and is free to publish (libel not withstanding) as he chooses. This includes unfounded rumours about the death of Cuban leader Fidel Castro (Hilton 2007).

The appetite for celebrity gossip is such that accuracy and ethics are sometimes sidelined. This poses a real challenge to the concerned journalist and it also suggests why authorised access is a coveted prize. An exclusive interview with, or access to the life of, an A-list celebrity or major political figure is surely a lucrative offer to a journalist. But what implicit or explicit conditions might be attached and how favourable must coverage be to safeguard continued access? There is certainly an incentive to sticking to the approved topics and while there
is scope to use public personalities to unpack and understand complex issues, there are limits to the scope of these projects if their continuation is to be guaranteed.

Summary

Celebrity certainly comprises a lucrative topic for contemporary journalism. Despite its apparent popularity it is also a deeply polarising form of journalism with numerous commentators considering it a trivial subject for news which debases the public sphere. Yet for others it can have a wholly emancipatory outcome. In this chapter I have highlight three potential challenges that celebrity journalism might create for the conscientious journalist. First, the expansion of ‘soft’ news stories that feature celebrities might engage greater sections of the populace in social debate, but they might also do this while adhering to the interests of the corporate interests that run the media. Second, celebrity can be an important ingredient in a story about important issues such as poverty or the destruction of the environment. At the same time this creates a challenge in terms of striking a balance between the celebrity and the cause and ensuring the celebrity does not eclipse other voices. Third, the success of celebrity journalism in financial terms means that a competitive market has emerged around access to celebrities (both authorised and unauthorised) and this has the potential to challenge journalistic ethics. These are complex issues and while solutions are by no means easily apparent, their careful consideration does merit the attention of the responsible journalist.

Challenging Questions

- How can journalists use celebrities to frame social phenomena?

- To what extent can celebrities obscure social or environmental causes?

- Do celebrities have a right not to be photographed when out in public?
Recommended reading


References


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