CHAPTER 5

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5.1. Related discussion:

Over the years due to socio-economic and political influence of celebrities and their iconisation, celebrity journalism has been able to develop itself as a cultural variable, particularly with the advent of cinema, radio and electronic media. Inglis (2010) contends that development of consumerism in the eighteenth century along with other social formations such as invention of fashion industry, mass circulation of newspaper, additions of glittery gossip columns helped 'industrialisation of celebrity' (Ibid, p. 9). Thus, celebrity journalism and the concept of celebrity have developed as a product of urban culture, consumerism, and mass circulation of newspaper. The celebrity stories are selected from all domains—political, entertainment, film, celebrities who have newly attained celebrity status, sports to get the view of celebrity journalistic discourse in The Times of India and The Telegraph. Interviews, gossips, eye catcher (from etc of The Telegraph), features, photo features, posthumously made features, articles on political celebrities are analysed in the earlier chapter ‘Analysis of the Text’. Political celebrity stories show how politics and entertainment are entwined and politics have become less elitist. Star and swipes in the etc, Friday supplement of The Telegraph is a gossip column which is filled with tabloidised contents. The analysis in the previous chapter shows that celebrity texts are superficial or ‘hyper-real’ texts. ‘The reality has been replaced by the hyperreality’ (Baudrillard, as cited in Berger, 2012, p. 16) and it can be said that celebrity texts are appeared as ‘more real than real’. Newspaper is a modernist institution which tries to produce postmodernist or post-structuralist content through the prism of modernism. Celebrity journalism in newspaper competing with the television and new media deals with money, fame and power and it constructs discourse of hyper-reality. It is successful in making people believe that superficial glitzy celebrity is reality which has no connection with reality. The celebrity manufactured image becomes more real than the appearance which is an illusion (Dyer, 2004). Umberto Eco (1986) shows how
language can be used for hyper-reality when demarcating line between game and reality are blurred and ‘falsehood is enjoyed in a situation of fullness’ (Ibid, p. 8). Thus, celebrity texts depict the portrayal of ‘more’ real iconic copy of celebrity for public gaze. Eco (1986) also contends that these realistic fabrications are produced in an effort to contend with something real, an understanding that is applicable to virtually all fiction and culture and it gives us productions that are more pleasurable and more exciting. Describing Disneyland, Eco (1986) also found, “What is falsified is our will to buy, which we take as real, and in this sense Disneyland is really the quintessence of consumer ideology” (Ibid, p. 43). The understanding of Eco (1986) in terms of hyper-real Disneyland can be referred to in the context of celebrity journalism as it actually tries to form a disconnection between the reality and the representation through iconisation. The order of the reality might interpret a politician as a dictator, but the celebrity discourse is formed in such a way that readers are simply transported out of realistic plane to an altogether surreal plane where reality and representation suffer separation.

The analysis of the celebrity texts reveals that these texts especially celebrity interviews are results of planned spin doctoring or in Boorstin’s (1961) term- ‘pseudo-events’. Boorstin (1961, as Laughey quotes, 2007, p. 152-153) argues that the omnipresence of images which are so easy to produce is indicative of a wholesale change in the way to view the reality of the world. “......Pseudo-events have diminished what it means to be a famous public figure. Real heroes of the past who undertook great feats have been replaced by manufactured, image-conscious celebrities who have no genuine talent” (Boorstin, 1961 as cited in Laughey, 2007, p.153). Hence, celebrity texts are results of the newspapers’ continuous endeavour for unmasking the celebrity images even if the newsworthiness of such celebrity stories can easily be put under scanner. The analysis reveals that the genres such as interview, gossip are used as weapons of celebrity ‘pseudo-events’. Mahek Chahal, Clinton Cerejo, Onler Kom, Dimple Yadav, Gauri Khan and Tao Porchon-Lynch are not famous but their stories show media’s love for image manufacturing and process of celebrification. Their stories are propagated to make ordinary people as a celebrity spectacle. It is another instance of how people closer to power structure attain fame and become celebrity. This ‘charismatic domination’ is channelled through
interlocking of core text and secondary text in celebrity journalism in these newspapers. The analysis shows that celebrity journalism with presence of positive ideological squares reinstates Weber’s (2007) concept of ‘charismatic authorities’ who have certain extraordinary qualities which make them trend setter or icon in the society. The findings related to research objectives and research questions- discursive practices of celebrity journalism, celebrity projection with positive ideological square, representation of celebrity and their language tools, are discussed:

5.1.1. Celebrity as social entity:

Both the newspapers try to use attributes and rhetorical tropes in news making, gossips, interviews, eye catchers for the representation of the actors and it establishes media’s relentless efforts for celebritisation. Through the entire process of celebritisation, the celebrity news contributes to turn actors as a social entity and help readers to understand and make a sense of the social world. Verb ‘encash’ (The Times of India, 25th March, 2012) is used to show celebrity as powerful personality with brand identity. Their stories representing capitalistic ideology are invitation to fans to follow the lifestyle. Despite the achiever of success and fame, the celebrities are projected as ordinary human beings with desires, flaws (Story on political celebrities in The Times of India, 24th June, 2012, Priyanka Chopra in The Times of India, 9th September, 2012, Shah Rukh Khan in The Times of India, 3rd June, 2012, Amitabh Bachchan in The Telegraph, 19th October, 2012, Shah Rukh Khan in The Telegraph, 18th May, 2012). The human interest story of Aamir Khan as a social activist in The Telegraph (11th May, 2012) on female foeticide clearly show discourses on social mobilisation in the celebrity stories. Narendra Modi with charismatic appeal (The Times of India, 19th December, 2012) is portrayed as iconic leader who achieved everything through the hard way. The textual polysemy in the celebrity stories draws attention to serious issues like corruption, social issues, political decisions and implementation under entertaining coverage of celebrity news, thus amalgamating the human interest with public interest. Moreover, an article that featured Mamata Banerjee, Akhilesh Yadav and Rahul Gandhi published on 1st April, 2012 in The Times of India shows a more pro- capitalist stance for these political leaders than their role as politicians in a developing society where absolute capitalism may not be the
only panacea. The stories on political celebrities – Dimple Yadav, Narendra Modi, and Sharmila Reddy clearly show that politics is now celebrated by making the political news more trivialized and less elitist through the action of public relation exercise. In the arena of political news stories, the genre of celebrity journalism combines together public relation and promotion of actors’ activities.

5.1.2. Psycho narcotic hegemony:

The approach of these newspapers towards reporting of celebrities is similar to Hebermas’ description of public relation as a ‘psychological techniques of opinion management’ (1989:193). Since public relation is more effective as a persuasive technique than advertising as the arguments are penned by a journalist carrying the whole bogey of so called journalistic integrity, the dangers arising out of celebrity journalism and the economic and political as well social philosophy it espouses are always more dangerous. Habermas (ibid) contends:

“The sender of the message hides his business intensions in the role of someone interested in the public welfare. The influencing of consumers borrows its connotations from the classic idea of a public or private people putting their reason to use and exploits its legitimation for its own ends. The accepted functions of the public sphere are integrated into the completion of organized private interests” (1989:193).

The story of favourite pastimes on political celebrities in Times Life! section contains key elements of celebrity culture; the entertainment quotient. In these stories of political celebrities, discourse strands of politics, entertainment, corruption, and economy are entangled together to form discursive knots as the idea of creating and nurturing public sphere is a redundant idea for celebrity journalism.

Two sports stories are analysed to show the discourse entanglements of entertainment discourse and discourse of sports. Sports celebrities are shown to be blessed with superhuman qualities. The approach of sports celebrity reporting relies on adopting more rhetorically tailored language, underlying presuppositions to create
the ideological square of glorified identity of the celebrity. Almost all the select stories have positive glorified ideological square of the celebrities with celebrities blowing their own trumpets except a few. Shah Rukh Khan was portrayed in a negative light for his clash with MCA officials in The Times of India (3rd June, 2012) while the same story was depicted with a positive ideological square for Shah Rukh in The Telegraph (18th May, 2012). Posthumous tributes to deceased celebrities are published with equal importance in the newspapers to stir the sentimentally of the readers and fans. Stories on Bhupen Hazarika (The Times of India, 4th January, 2012), Vilas Rao Deshmukh (The Times of India, 15th August, 2012) and Rajesh Khanna (The Times of India, 29th July, 2012) are analysed as samples here. These stories reinstate the values of celebrity culture – ‘celebrity is a mode of consumption’ (Turner, 2004). The stories, published after their death, and even though there was a gap in terms of their action and limelight days in their own life time are able to create an illusion of intimacy with their fans. The newspapers’ interest in writing about these deceased celebrities show ‘immense verbosity’ (Foucault as cited in Wang, 2007, p. 327) to create ‘posthumous mythologization’ (Wang, 2007) and also tries to make these celebrities omnipresent in the minds of readers. It can be submissive and subversive psychological matrixes of masses. Submissive and subversive psychological traits produce vicarious pleasure subject to unending gratification or unending discourses.

5.1.3. Anaphoric- cataphoric contextualisation and positive self representation:

Anaphoric references and cataphoric references in these stories with the repetitive uses of deictic pronouns ‘he’, ‘she’, and ‘her’ portray celebrities as ‘possessive individuals’ (Albercrombie et. al, 1986; Pateman, 1988 as cited in Homes and Redmond, 2006, p. 2) who want to gratify public narcissism. Repetitive uses of ‘I’ in celebrity quotations in the stories show celebrities’ self-obsession. The anaphoric- cataphoric contextualisation shows emphasising the ideology of success and power as an individual. The media portray these actors as narcissistic persons who would love to create their own idolized images. All the celebrity stories have presence of conceptual tool ‘ideological square’. Celebrities are portrayed in positive-
self representation. These two national dailies successfully create para-social relationship between the stars and their fans through celebritisation and use of conversationalisation. The para-social relationship is essentially a creation of 'illusion of intimacy' where stars perform 'surrogate function, standing in for absent or non-existent friends' (Schickel, 1985).

5.1.4. Celebrity-fan discursive network:

According to Marshall (2011), “As a system, celebrities provide a spectacle of individuality in which will itself can produce change and transformation. The spectacular quality of the code of individuality that is enacted by public personalities works ideologically to maintain the idea of continuity between wealth and the disenfranchised rest of society. Celebrities reinforce the conception that there are no boundaries in contemporary culture that the individual cannot overcome” (Ibid, p. 246). With the tabloidised contents of gossip items, these celebrities gain power in a society and the media leave ample scope for the readers to speculate and negotiate those mediated identities as highly visible and attractive spectacles. It also shows the intoxicating effect of searching their similarities with the stars, following star’s styles which foster fan’s desire to share common sphere with their adored stars. The print media assert its power to attract readers towards celebrity aura, sophistication and power. The stories of political celebrities’ favourite pastimes and news on Bollywood celebrities- Aishwarya as a mother, Priyanka as a gawky kid, Shah Rukh Khan as a protective father, Amir Khan’s friendship with an auto driver and all are the continuous efforts of media to give human touch for depiction of more real self of the famous persons and celluloid personality. The representation of these celebrities as ordinary beings and gossip about their relationship not only enhance celebrity connectedness with their readers but also enhances the desire for the celebrity or culture of consumption.

5.1.5. Normative aberrations:

Celebrity stories not only provide instant gratification, as part of a lager media discourse, they also shape the understanding of the society as well as legitimise many
new issues as social norms. Many rigid social norms are shown to be disentangled and media publish the stories on celebrity relationship that serve as a reminder of the neoliberal discourse of Indian society. Happy marriages despite age differences in case of Pandit Ravi Shankar and Sukanya, live-in-relationships (The Times of India, 12th February, 2012), cross cultural wedding of Saif and Kareena (The Telegraph, 19th October, 2012) glorify love. It gives a picture of a liberal society where people are no more in need of labelling their relationships by law or institution of marriage. These love stories are published to validate social recognition of live-in-relationships, Hindu- Muslim wedding, and erosion of social boundaries of old school. This can be called as normative aberrations- it is not norm but people still accept it as a norm.

It shows a correlation between a liberal life style symptomatic of the laissez faire economy that privately owned media seek to uphold and justify. To validate the claims of laissez faire economy ushered in by the wheels of LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization) mantra of successive Governments in the last 20 odd years in India, media have a responsibility as they believe to introduce a concomitant social order perfectly in consonance with this particular brand of economic order. The Times of India and The Telegraph believe that through their glossy pages they can lead the people into believing that everything is hunky-dory, time has come to embrace a new and emerging social order which is already in practice in Western Europe and Scandinavian countries and the best way to impose these social practices is by promoting the life styles of high and mighty in India.

5.1.6. Celebrity dopes and power play:

Celebrities are shown as experts in different domains irrespective of their original profession which shows another form of celebrity power play into various other domains irrespective of their profession. Aishwarya Rai’s UN address in The Time of India, 23rd September, 2012 and Sonia Gandhi’s (The Telegraph, 9th November, 2012) tips on day-to-day fashion in The Telegraph are presented in a way as if the actors have certain amount of domain knowledge on the topics. The story of Clinton Cerejo, a musician from Bollywood (The Times of India, 15th January, 2012) is a clear marketisation of a musician who has not yet found fame in spite of his
steady career graph. It’s an attempt to launch him with a positive approach. The Times of India’s life style section is flooded with stories on celebrities from entertainment industry who has one or two successful movies and started tasting the pleasure of celebrity aura. Cerejo’s story in The Times of India is selected as a sample to show the newspaper’s strategy to turn human interest stories from entertainment industry into celebrity news. The article on Gauri Khan (The Times of India, 6th May, 2012) promoting her home décor company and the article on Sridevi’s style statement (The Telegraph, 5th October, 2012) are selling the ‘celebritocracy’ and flamboyance associated with celebrity life styles in a new light to reach the consumers. These are the efforts at promotions of their brands. This story might be called an advertisement targeting business minded consumer-reader segment for marketing the designs.

All these analysis of celebrity texts indicate an idea of promoting individualism, success and failure of public personalities. The striking fact about this genre of reporting is that through the victory of individualism that they are promoting, these papers are actually looking back at one of the tenets of modernity while the life style or the philosophy of life espoused by the celebrities talk about postmodern belief in the sublimity of momentary pleasure, split personalities or multiple identity. This unfilled yawning gap between what newspapers or the media discourse assumes as its responsibility to idolise and what the actors in the stories project about themselves is one of the startling revelations about celebrity reporting not only in India but celebrity journalism as a genre. Of course it would be unwise to claim that the architects of media discourse or the people engaged in the construction of hegemony of neo-liberal economic or social thinking are unaware of it. While the surface text betrays a looking back, the discourse formed through the subtle use of language is quite successful in imposing a certain amount of credibility and legitimization for this new social order. This provides an understanding of celebrity world and why it is portrayed as full of power play, image making, and achievements through journalistic discourse of print media. The celebrities are full of contradictions which are again a postmodernist feature and constant efforts of media to validate it through language dexterity loads up the media discourse on celebrity with more than one meaning. From these celebrity stories, it is easily understood that the celebrities also use media for the purpose of
celebritisation, the desire for fame and to be in the limelight and also for an amount of mental space in the minds of their active consumers in the society.

5.1.7. Language and power:

Celebrity journalism is a powerful genre of communication employed by press with the use of argumentation, presuppositions, and other rhetorical means like epithets, hyperboles, metaphor, simile, attributes- adjectives, and collocations and tries to organize an understanding of mass about the entire celebrity world. Aristotle’s (as cited in Richardson, 2007) three divisions of arguments are used in the celebrity news- forensic arguments are used to justify the celebrity past actions and epideictic arguments are used to project celebrities for fan admiration with their present actions. With the use of colloquialism, imperative sentences with direct addresses to the readers, use of modal verbs by the authors show conversationalisation and opinionated form of journalistic discourse in both the newspapers. Word usage of ‘sign off’, ‘copy-paste’ shows the influence of social media on newspaper. Stars/celebrities also use the media to increase their visibility for public consumption. Celebrities and their activities find space in media coverage sometimes for their professional achievements also – as the face of a product, star as a worker or sometimes for their personal lives. Both the dailies show that celebrity as a mediated persona but at the same time they can be conceived as a pretty normal human being. This juxtaposition of contradictory identities through the construction of an identity or image of the star both as an ordinary person as well as extraordinary person which can be understood from the newspapers’ dexterous use of language- neologism (chillaxing, fashionista, Saifeena, the Bong way, Sushilver), hyperboles for the celebrities (maestro, legend) to construct the discourse on celebrity and pave the way for the formation of hegemonistic social thinking. ‘Reveal’ seems to be both the dailies’ favourite word to add sensationalism to the story or basically it shows print media’s endeavour to beat the electronic media by using the tone of the latter. Hyperboles ‘great’, ‘legend’, ‘maestro’, ‘legendary artist’, superlatives ‘the biggest’, ‘larger good’, naming reference and epithets ‘the superstar’, ‘the politician’, ‘the icon’, ‘the actor’ with additional determiner ‘the’- are used to project the celebrity as an extraordinary achiever and also to generate readers’ interest.
5.1.8. Negotiation and re-appropriation:

Female readers can view the female stars as feminine role models who have been able to achieve sophistication and celebrity aura. Fans develop psychological connection with the imagined celebrity world without imagining that these women are essentially subscribing to the norms of male dominated society. Portrayal of Lisa Ray as strong personality contrary to conventional feminine stereotypes in The Times of India’s story (1\textsuperscript{st} January, 2012) talks about post feminist ideology where as Mahek’s and Mary Kom’s stories in The Times of India (11\textsuperscript{th} January, 2012 and 9\textsuperscript{th} September, 2012 respectively) show them as feminine stereotypes with psychological dependency on male partner despite their achievements in professional fields. Mary Kom’s story represents symbolic empowerment of women in society. Epideictic rhetorical arguments are used to project the individual in glorified image irrespective of gender. Priyanka Chopra in The Times of India (9\textsuperscript{th} September, 2012), Bipasha Basu, Sonam Kapoor in The Telegraph (6\textsuperscript{th} January, 2012), Sonia Gandhi in The Telegraph (9\textsuperscript{th} November, 2012), Sridevi’s story in The Telegraph (5\textsuperscript{th} October, 2012) are deliberate attempts of promotional exercise. Sonia’s story is the epitome of media’s fondness to make politics as less elitist. They are used as branding device by the Press. Bipasha Basu and Sonam Kapoor’s interviews in The Telegraph are promotionals for their upcoming Bollywood release and gossip items on Sridevi’s style statements try to introduce a post-feminist perspective where ‘young women can link fashion with power rather than powerlessness’ (Walter, 1999, cited in Laughey, 2007, p. 115). Rebecca Feasy (2006) identifies this kind of surface appearance and celebrity fashion as a site of post-feminist empowerment. Mahek Chahal’s story in The Times of India (11\textsuperscript{th} January, 2012) and Aishwarya Rai’s story on motherhood in The Telegraph (18\textsuperscript{th} June, 2012) try to portray them as ordinary women conforming to feminine stereotypes. The print media here tries to portray ideology of femininity where these female celebrities are publicized into the frame of feminine persona- Mahek as an ideal girl, Priyanka Chopra as an empowered woman, Bipasha, Sonam, Sridevi as modern women who emphasize glorified personality and appearance.

The female celebrity stories for promotions and gossips accompany evocative pictures of the female stars and show media’s keen interest to represent female
celebrities as sensual objects as well as to disseminate media’s dominant ideology of portraying female stars as pleasurable spectacles for mass consumption. Turner (2004) observes (as cited Rebecca Feasy, 2006, p. 183) that these celebrity stories actually ‘woo readers by offering positive pictures and gossip features about celebrities.’ These newspapers provide communication pleasure in celebrity gossips and tabloidised contents for playfulness or diversion of readers. The body fetishism of these starlets and its glorification in the newspapers ignore the fact that they are looking at their body from the viewpoint of men. They try to make them beautiful in a way which is portrayed as interesting to men by media, the most popular literature of modern society. Gloria Steinem (1986) had mentioned that how men or patriarchal order dominated by men; men could have transformed even female biological cycle into a potentially powerful social tool if it were a part of men physiology. The heightened individualistic image of female celebrities- Sharmila Reddy, Sonia Gandhi, Mahek Chahal, Priyanka Chopra, Bipasha Basu, Sonam Kapoor, Tao Porchon-Lynch, Sridevi and Madhuri Dixit are the tales of empowered women is an attempt to hide the act of conformity to patriarchy.

5.1.9. Celebrity spectacles and manufacturedom:

Fred Inglis (2010) quotes Debord’s idea of spectacle and their power as “The principle of commodity fetishism..... the domination of society by intangible as well as tangible things............. reaches its absolute fulfilment in the spectacle where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as the tangible par excellence” (Ibid, p. 5-6). Fred Inglis (2010) describes that these spectacles want to show others is the world of commodity they represent. The select celebrity news items act more as promotional public relation strategies for celebrities even if the news items convey negative publicity like story of Shah Rukh Khan in the Times of India (3rd June, 2012), gossip on Madhuri Dixit in The Telegraph (5th October, 2012) and gossip on Gauri Khan and Priyanka Chopra in The Telegraph (3rd February, 2012). The negative stories are part of ‘fame damage’ (Redmond, 2006) strategy of the newspapers where fans feel closer to the celebrities. All the select stories together show media’s continuous effort of giving importance to constructing a mediated star image as a real impression about
the star's life. These celebrity stories provide the 'promotional outlets for carefully managed and produced publicity' (Gamson, 1994) for mass consumption. Through the news on pleasurable identities, the national dailies try to provide instant gratification to readers by merging private and public spheres i.e., the news of private lives of stars, their thoughts and soft thrill news enter into the lives of readers. Public sphere is being converted into superficial sphere by ignoring the real issues of real life. These are all spectacles, artificial issues of artificial life. It is a spectacle of manufactured projection.

Celebrity gossips on Mahek, Madhuri Dixit, Virat Kohli, Katrina Kaif and public relation promotions like Priyanka Chopra’s story are the efforts of discursive construction of celebrity sphere which actually talks about culture of consumption in an era of laissez-faire economy to unveil the natural person under the cover of manufactured celebrity image which itself is a process of celebritisation. The attempt to humanise the celebrity in a mediated way is essentially a hallmark of celebrity reporting. The effort to bring the super-natural to the level of natural, to show the inhuman or any alienating activities as the work of an erring individual and thereby limiting the guilt has been one of the cornerstones of celebrity journalism. The press successfully constructs these celebrities as an object of desire; apparently unveiling the real person under the sheen of the professional performer with whom fans can identify themselves. These stories show cocoonisation of a fantasy world by providing temporary satisfaction to the readers and provocation for desire of fame and star quality.

The print media remain firm in its hegemonistic role of constructing imagined celebrity-fan discursive network through the process of celebritisation. Thus the analysis of celebrity text within the framework of Fairclough's (1995) three dimensional method clearly depicts the power exercised by the media which skilfully use the language-attributes, rhetorical tropes, argumentations and presuppositions to create the social identities of the actors and shape the understanding of reader’s knowledge about the celebrity world. These celebrity news items within a neo-liberal discourse and laissez-faire economy of media depict the social and cultural change of the Indian society.
5.2. Conclusion:

5.2.1. Tenets of celebrity journalism:

Celebrity journalism which began in the early nineteenth century by the Western media evolved as a writings on famous personalities and this trend of writing is blindly followed by the Indian media by merging of various domains like entertainment and information, public and private, real and hyperreal. Celebrity journalism articulates stories of achievements, profiles of distinct personalities. It helps people to ‘reconnect with celebrities and with each other’ (Marshall, 2008, p. 22) to fulfil needs of consumer culture and fill in the gap of isolation, of ‘anomie’ created in their lives. “Celebrity journalism worked to make the famous more real and worked to provide a greater intimacy with their everyday lives. Celebrities, via these journalistic profiles, became better known for their ordinariness along with their extraordinariness as these stories worked to connect individually with the mass audience” (Marshall, 2008, p. 22). As Marshall (2008) cites Dyer’s view that the structure of celebrity reportage is “a celebration of the idiosyncratic self. Celebrity profile possesses, then, a combination of the reporter’s obsequiousness around the creativity and uniqueness of the individual and an effort to reveal something that is normally hidden, to uncover the ‘true self’ of the celebrity” (p. 25).

5.2.2. Paradigmatic versus syntagmatic:

Paradigmatic proportions of the select celebrity texts in both the newspapers are units such as choice of word, rhetorical tropes, images in the stories used. Linguistic elements like use of adjectives, verbs, neologism, metaphorism, hyperbole, anaphora, epithet, collocation, colloquialism, naming references are used in the syntagmatic chain to thematise celebrity aura of greatness which has various choices like- human touch, portrayal of celebrities as adorable and loving individual, body fetishism, abolition of private and public, reinforcing society specific values- all the select stories show projection of emerging values indicative of an emerging neo-liberal social order with a reference to existing media induced values of media approved Pan-Indian society and culture in glorified texture, iconisation and other
things. Paradigmatically speaking there are many traits, even sometimes, celebrity's negative images which are shown in a positive light. There are many facets of Narendra Modi other than his butchery in Gujarat is claimed by the newspaper, he is shown as an iron man and negative aspects of his character are hidden within the garb of a good number of positive attributes. Likewise, Shah Rukh's story on his spat with MCA officials, gossips, criticism of politicians and stars are used to thematise paradigm of human relations, conflicts, human weaknesses. All the paradigms- human touch, extraordinariness, ordinariness, philanthropy, glitz, capitalism, Indian values-sari, motherhood in the celebrity stories describe the syntagmatic code of celebrity culture and power relations and are an effort to inject the values in the minds of readers. This is how the media try to exercise its power to control the minds of people with these mediated texts of celebrity coverage. This also represents political economy of newspapers which largely depends on the advertisements for its survival in the market amidst tough competition from broadcast and digital media. The fetishised celebrity images not only represent code of flattered image of celebrity culture but also represent particular economic order of celebritydom which can be seen as power of celebrity culture to create desire of touching the life style of a famous person.

5.2.3. Celebrity syndrome and selfie syndrome:

Hegemony is asserted by the celebrities in their power exertion of educating the masses about how to emulate and adopt the better lifestyles in the minds of surprisingly the most educated section of the society taking them as gullible consumers. Of course these stories are mainly aimed at youngsters, but even the youngsters are assumed to be highly de-politicised and assumed to be devoid of meaningful thinking pattern. The newspapers play the mediating role of implanting the desires for better lifestyles among the educated class of society. Richardson (2007) mentions Murdock and Giltin on media's preferences for elite ideological dominance and their authoritativeness, "the work of mainstream journalists mediates the relationship between ruling class ideology and news content and supports the hegemony by naturalising, or taking for granted, the inequalities of contemporary capitalism" (Ibid, p. 36). Gramsci asserts that 'capitalism is the natural way of things'
which says ruling classes are in better position to run things (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 36). So, the celebrity journalism in both the newspapers try to show celebrities as experts on various topics, their philanthropic role and portrayal of lifestyles which clearly project them in a better light and their individualised positions might genuinely be desired for. Moreover, these newspapers go for celebrity making process or celebritisation of people associated with entertainment industry, politics. Famous or renownness does not seem to remain as their only parameters for selection of celebrity stories. The representation of galaxy of celebrities is nothing but emotive and colourful representations. Shah Rukh’s monologue in The Telegraph (18th May, 2012) on conflicts, Aishwarya’s celebrated motherhood in The Telegraph (18th June, 2012), celebrity couple’s glorified love, nuances of their everyday lives are emotive representations as manifestations of celebrity journalism employed by both the newspapers carry binary oppositions of real self and imagined self of celebrity. The select examples show newspapers’ effort on the blurring of domains between hard news and entertainment news. Exaggerated metaphorism, hyperboles and adjectives are used not only for tabloidised contents but also for political stories, for personality projections to create reader’s interest for these celebrities. The use of exaggerated rhetorical tropes, minutely detailed attributes and argumentations show journalistic biases for quest for tale of cherished lifestyles. The select stories from politics, sports and entertainment world show that celebrity journalism with blurring vision of boundaries followed in these newspapers not only work as a part of tabloidisation or sensation creation but also try to enlarge the reflections of the renowned faces as deliberative matrix of human feelings, celebrity actions and heightened image of individuality to generate manufactured celebrity syndrome. The production and consumption of celebrities is understood from the newspaper’s stance for celebritification, celebrity making process or celebritisation. Celebrity journalism which Marshall (2008) states is ‘one of the key locations for the convergence of publicity, promotion and journalism’ (Ibid, p. 28). Selfie syndrome which has become viral on the social media is an after effect of this celebrity syndrome. Selfie syndrome shows self love and self image projection sliding into celebrity shoes of self advertisement, self-narcissicism. Celebrity syndrome is a kind of spin doctoring and also part of camouflaging the public relations.
5.2.4. Celebrity as product of political and media economy:

Gamson (1994) formulates four profit making groups who are benefitted from the ‘fostering of celebrity’ (as cited in Evans and Hesmondhalgh, 2005, p. 99-100):

- “The various individuals and companies involved in the production of celebrity, who are hired by the aspiring or actual celebrities to mould their persona

- Entertainment institutions, such as film and television companies, which use the celebrity to market their product

- The news and entertainment media (newspapers, magazines, television, radio and now internet), which use celebrities to fill space and airtime, but also to sell publications or build up audience ratings

- Ancillary industries, such as tourist companies, which arrange trips to see the homes of celebrities” (Gamson as cited in Jessica Evans and David Hesmondhalgh, ibid)

Media attempt to grab attentions on its celebrity proliferation for selling celebrities as commodities. “The entertainment industries produce a variety of celebrities who can act as brand names, organising mass taste into marketable units for consumption....” (Jessica Evans and David Hesmondhalgh, 2005, p. 122). In the earlier chapter ‘Review of Literature’, Turner’s (2007) argument on ‘economy of celebrity’ or interdependence was discussed. Media, entertainment industry, publicity industry and endorsement industry make ‘celebrity-commodity’ for commercial interests- “celebrities are developed to make money” (Ibid, p. 193). Turner (ibid) shows that celebrity and their agents and these industries are mutually dependent; their ‘economic interdependency’ can be seen as ‘constant battle for power’ (p. 202).

In analysing celebrity texts, some of the celebrity stories and gossip items on the celebrities in The Times of India and The Telegraph are agency reports. These
news stories from agencies are selected by the newspapers keeping in mind the interest of the products endorsed by these celebrities. The discourse positions of these stories are a reminder of the nexus between the newspaper and celebrity. This is also a pointer of the political economy of the media industry in the country or the kind of political economy that media wish to impose its faith upon as well as the complete corporatisation of media content at the instruction of advertisement industry. Turner (ibid) describes reason of this intermingling process of news, publicity and power – “how a news story on a celebrity finds its way to the front page for instance- are not visible. This serves two sets of interests: those of the publicist, who wants the items published to appear as news rather than as advertising because it will be more credible; and those of the journalist, who does not wish readers to know that the item under their byline was not the product of the practice of journalism…………….. They accompany what seems to be a constant battle for power” (Ibid, p. 202).

The figure 1 depicts the influencing factors in celebrity formation:

![Figure 1: Celebrity formation](image)

Celebrity formation essentially accepts the dominant code (Hall, 1982) and is closer to negotiated meaning. So, the figure shows a tilt towards dominant and negotiated meaning making rather that oppositional interpretation of media
production which was described by Hall (1982) as professional code. The reporting pattern of this brand of journalism almost follows a linear trajectory to form the genre of celebrity journalism.

\[\text{Figure 2: Meaning making process and mediation by celebrity journalism as a genre.}\]

Figure 2 shows that celebrity journalism hovers around the position of the dominant text and it tries to build a bridge between the oppositional and dominant through the negotiation, appropriation and reappropriation of certain practices. The discourse model (Figure 3) shows how media stand at the intersection between two sets of discourses. One set of discourse is the product of attitude and experience which impact an act of conformity to hegemonistic design of ISA. It is precisely so as attitude is essentially a social position with reference to a host of social referral points and discursive elements. Experience may not be directly social outcome but again it is hugely dependent on attitude and interpretation of experience is exclusively loaded with social norms. Other set of discourse that the model refers to is a product of realism and polysemy. Now if one accepts that there is realism, then one is actually
of realism and polysemy. Now if one accepts that there is realism, then one is actually denying polysemy or to put it otherwise post-structuralist and post-modernist traditions assume that there cannot be a reality as there is no fixed reality. If reality is to be understood on a surface level as an event which can rightly have a polysemic interpretations, then media do tend to have a role in the formation of discourse as it can offer a multiplicity of views of which are to be decoded by the reader. So the discourse model as shown in Figure 4 emphasizes the position of celebrity journalism as a permanent entity in the field of journalism for its ability to provide numbers of probable and possible multiple decodings by the reader and thus reinforces the tradition of polysemy. So, the media as the interface between the different sets of discourse can introduce a new range of discursive elements through the dextrous use of language even if these discursive elements are transitory and mundane.

![Discourse Model Diagram]

**Figure 3:** Media discourse model

**5.2.4. Emerging celebrity discourse:**

The picture that emerges out of the analysis of India's two leading newspaper speaks volumes on the extraordinary picture, the 'spectacle' that is created by these. There has been a consistent effort on the part of transnational corporations all over the world in general and underdeveloped nations in particular to impose a kind of linear
thinking process which is also known as the meta-narrative of cultural imperialism. There has also been efforts on the part of underdeveloped socities to continually resist the enticements and lure of global market, of not submitting to the pattern of hegemonistic consumption of a particular life style or cultural ethos. There has been an effort on the part of non-Western and underdeveloped national press to counter ‘instrumental rationality’ as mentioned by Weber (1974) by ‘value rationality’ which resulted in the growth of non-aligned movement and concomitant movement on balanced newsflow. While the movement is long-gone, the ideals of the movement continues to remain relevant in the backdrop of cultural imperialism logic. Of course with the arrival of social media, the understanding about cultural imperialism is well and truly gone without a shred of logic. The cultural imperialism logic might have been gone but the ‘news of spectacle’; idea that was introduced by the domination of television over the mediascape has been re-enlivened by the leading newspapers of India whose attempts at making good use of celebrity journalism is essentially an attempt to hark back to the good old days of televised mediascape of the West as also to the recent past in India when television held the sway over audience imaginations.

The idea to cover the newspaper with glossy pictures and glitzy tales started as a counter attack on television by the Press in the West and it resulted in ‘dumbing down’ of journalistic ethics and credences too by turning and submitting to the tenets of image and picturesque journalism. The problem with The Times of India and The Telegraph’s style of reporting in that the actions and life-styles of celebrities are not limited to what and how they report, but the problem is essentially of a bankruptcy of imagination. That people would be moved and thrilled by alluring tales of modern day kings and princess is too far fetched in an era when these stars themselves are available on social media and are too eager to go for an aggressive marketing of themselves.

Closely on the heels of cultural imperialism logic, one can aptly refer to the essential difference between a broadcast society and a post broadcast society. Journalism in its written form has been responsible for the birth of a society which is reflexive, mature and has got an ear for sound argument based on the logic of discussion. The arrival of broadcast society has sparked the death of argumentative
society all over and India is no exception, especially in the areas where satellite television is available. What these newspapers are trying to do through the mode of celebrity journalism is essentially a creation of ‘aura’ (Benjamin, 1936) that was a feature of good, old days of print journalism and later replaced by mechanical reproduction of art exhibits, while on the other it has followed the pattern of televised production formula of visual followed by words. The constant pressure from television and the concomitant urge to remain marketable have forced these newspapers to knock at the door of tabloidization and glossy reportage of sweet nothings of celebrity world. The ‘celebritocracy’ has been able to replace feudal aristocracy and modern corporates in terms of mediatised social influence. The birth of ‘celebritocracy’ has been able to impose a completely different kind of society where mushrooming of social elites is possible any day thanks to the charity of celebrity journalism.

Finally, the entire research work is focussed on the discourses of celebrity formation. The discourse on celebrity formation is also integrally connected to discourses of power. The society that works at the formation of celebrity, is also the society that understands the dynamics of power related to the formation of a new culture based on celebrities. There is absolutely no doubt that society that looks forward to tabloidization for giving birth to new icons is essentially a society which is in search for not only new heroes as it is deeply starved of it, but also a society which is on the verge of a paradigm shift in terms of its cultural landscape. The Telegraph and The Times of India, in its effort to give their newspapers the look of The Sun or The Daily Mirror are also attempting to build a brand of journalism which is markedly different from the espoused values of journalistic tenets in a developing society. Neither The Telegraph nor The Times of India has even been known for upholding core journalistic values and these papers have been known for pandering to a particular group of Indian society which is insulated in its own way thanks to their economic affluence. But the difference lies in the fact that The Sun or The Daily Mirror are tabloids only whereas The Telegraph or The Times of India are known as mainstream broadsheets. Since language is intimately connected with power equations in the society and language essentially is an expression of power dynamics, the celebrity journalism or the way celebrities are reported in the two newspapers under
discussion deserved a special kind of scrutiny. Every word mentioned in the newspaper relates to a larger culturescape and societal dynamics, and the reports on celebrity are to be viewed and analysed from that vantage point of media and cultural analyst only. The study reveals that newspapers under discussion have been instrumental in developing a new discourse on language, culture as well as journalistic practices. These newspapers promote a particular brand of neo-liberal economy is all too well understood but at the same they promote, validate and provide social order which infact is a macro-view of a micro-society in the backdrop of country with 120 crore people. Through the efforts of the newspapers, this micro-society in fact becomes emblematic of pan Indian society and this is essentially a false phenomenon. English newspapers are giving language teaching to masses with its new inventory of words and neologisms. With the celebrity reporting these newspapers are teaching elitism to match with the socio-economic condition of the country. It shows utterly urban centric fetishism. It is contradictory situation particularly for the masses in India. Stream of dream is supplied to those who strive for two course meals and do not have time to dream. The nexus of neo-liberal economy and concomitant social ethos largely symptomatic of Western liberal societies ahead of India at least hundred times in terms of affluence has been attempted to be popularised by these newspapers and indicate how these newspapers have failed to read the reader’s mind. Sex and sleaze sell but how far is yet to be tested and the onus lies on these newspapers to prove in an era of social media by sustaining themselves in a financially viable way. It is difficult to enthrall the readers with the photograph of a celebrity when the pliant reader follows the celebrity on social media pages. The battle for the mind of the reader is not yet over, it has just began for celebrity journalism and tabloid journalists in India.

5.3. Limitations of the study:

Both the dailies are flooded with celebrity stories and news originate from blurring domains of political as well as sports arena which have been treated as in a fashion more suited for the purpose of treating the celebrities from the arena of entertainment. This blurring of domains and the constraints of both time and the scheme of research to negotiate between these domains is one of the important
limitations of this research work. Each genre like gossip or interview in these newspapers can count for a separate research work if all the samples of each genre were selected for analysis. Thus, the study tried to select stories from each categories—sports, politics, entertainment, film, gossip, interviews as all stories on celebrities are not possible to be included for analysis. Techno- celebrities, spiritual leaders could have been separately analysed using the same methodology from different viewpoints and each category can be evaluated as a separate study. Moreover, there was limitation of time to complete the research work. As the study is a qualitative analysis, there is always a possibility of subjective biasness in selecting celebrity news items. Many critics including (Widdowson, 1998, 2004; van Noppen, 2004; Schegloff, 1997; as cited by Paltridge, 2006) criticise the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis because of its sole dependence on the analysist’s interpretations. Widdowson (as cited in Paltridge, 2006) suggested including the comments of the producer and the consumer rather than including only the interpretation of the analyst. Paltridge (2006) argues, “Critical discourse studies could be enhanced through a more detailed linguistic analysis of its texts.....” (Ibid, p.196). The study includes a thorough analysis of language tools present in the celebrity stories. But producer-consumer’s comments on celebrity text are not included as objective of the study is to locate discursive elements within the framing of celebrity stories only and this is left to the scope of future research.

5.4. Recommendations for future research:

The emergence of celebrity journalism in India and its firm entrenchment in the newspapers of repute under the concomitant pressure of a neo-liberal economy and visual media, tosses up a field for asking a plethora of questions for future researchers. The use of celebrities or rather the celebritisation of everything under the sun in Indian newspapers, especially the newspapers under consideration, prompts a debate on the role of the newspapers in a developing society even if that society actively pursues the economic model of North America. The problematic about these newspapers revolves also around their role in terms of prioritization. The appearance of celebrities sometimes even on the front page and especially the efforts to celebritise political personalities by trivialising and tabloidizing the political issues is essentially
a practice to de-prioritise politics and depoliticising the society. The newspapers like The Times of India and The Telegraph, in addition to getting involved in McDonaldization of newspapers are also actively engaged in depoliticisation of the society, which is a dangerous trend in a developing society where development is essentially a political agenda and depends on political equations. Celebrity journalism apparently may appear to be an essentially cavalier approach adopted by these newspapers to amuse the readers but essentially it actually impacts the average reader by turning the table of agenda in favour of the rich and the powerful.

The second major issue that afflicts a media critic is the nexus that has been formed by the agenda setters, i.e., media and the corporate. It takes very little intellect to understand that the entire newspaper system in India has become a reflection of how powerful and serious the public relation firms have become in terms of spin doctoring public in favour of a brand or a personality endorsing the brand. The language used to describe controversial political figures and in turn eulogising them shows that political public relation in India has come off age. It is now a very matured practice in Indian setting and is only likely to prosper in future. This combined might of economic and political celebrities has already transformed the core ethical practices of Indian journalism and the situation will only deteriorate.

Lastly, but not the least, the future researchers can also explore how the language has helped to change the pattern of discourse and how the newspapers have given birth to new set of discursive practices by formulating a language pattern which is significantly different from previous journalistic practices and that change of language can serve as a chronicler of contemporary flux in Indian media as well as of social priorities.
Reference:


